THE
Freeman

APRIL 21, 1952 25¢

The brightest spot in all the world

Words we live by, and stand ready to die for "*. . . all men are created equal . . endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights . . .*"

Words so precious they are protected in helium behind golden tinted glass to keep their ink as unfading as their meaning "*. . . in order to . . . secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity . . .*"

Words that prove how important words *can* be when men write what they mean and mean what they write.

☆ ☆ ☆

Because the written and printed word influences so much of all our lives, chemistry rightly lavishes money and brains in the service of the paper industry.

Monsanto has developed scores of products to help make paper better . . . Mersize* CD-2 to improve sizing, Mertane* to control spots, Sterox* CD for absorbency, Santosite* for better pulping, Santobrite* to control organisms in paper-making, Mertone* for brighter blueprints, Resimene* melamine and Resinox* phenolics for paper laminations, coatings for heat-sealing applications, plasticizers and Aroclors* for paper specialties.

Monsanto Chemical Company, 1700 Second Street, St. Louis 4, Missouri.
In Canada: Monsanto Canada Limited, Montreal, Vancouver.

*Reg. U. S. Pat.

Photographed in Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 8-inch reproduction, without advertising, mailed free upon request

MONSANTO
CHEMICALS — PLASTICS

Serving Industry . . . Which Serves Mankind

THE Freeman

A FORTNIGHTLY FOR INDIVIDUALISTS

VOLUME 2, NUMBER 15 APRIL 21, 1952

Contents

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN and HENRY HAZLITT, Editors

SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE, Managing Editor

KURT M. LASSEN, Business Manager

THE FREEMAN is published fortnightly. Publication Office, Orange, Conn. Editorial and General Offices, 240 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. John Chamberlain, President; Henry Hazlitt, Vice President; Suzanne La Follette, Secretary; Alex L. Hillman, Treasurer.

Entered as second class matter at the Post Office at Orange, Conn. Rates: Twenty-five cents the copy; five dollars a year in the United States, nine dollars for two years; six dollars a year elsewhere.

The editors can not be responsible for manuscripts submitted but if return postage is enclosed they will endeavor to see that manuscripts rejected are promptly returned.

It is not to be understood that articles signed with a name, pseudonym, or initials necessarily represent the opinion of the editors, either as to substance or style. They are printed because, in the editors' judgment, they are intrinsically worth reading.

11 Printed in U.S.A., by Wilson H. Lee Co., Orange, Connecticut

A Word About Our Contributors

JOHN H. CRIDER, after five years as editor-in-chief of the *Boston Herald*, resigned last November to open his own office for the practice of free-lance journalism. He writes a weekly column for newspapers throughout New England, and broadcasts nightly as a CBS news analyst. Before going to Boston he was a member of the news staff of the *New York Times*. Mr. Crider is the author of "The Bureaucrat."

BURTON RASCOE, author and critic, was formerly literary editor of the *New York Tribune* and dramatic editor of the *New York World-Telegram*.

HUBERT MARTIN is the pseudonym of a writer who has been connected with international organizations for many years. He wrote "The Heritage of UNRRA" for the *Freeman* of September 10, 1951.

OSWALDO BUONANNI is an Italian businessman and economist now resident in Peru.

GARET GARRETT, formerly chief editorial writer for the *Saturday Evening Post* and financial writer for the *Wall Street Journal* and *New York Times*, has contributed a number of articles to the *Freeman*. For an appreciation of his book, "The Wild Wheel," and his earlier "The Driver," see John Chamberlain's column in this issue.

M. K. ARGUS, author of "Moscow on the Hudson," is on the staff of an anti-Communist Russian language newspaper in New York City.

H. C. NORTH'S "Mice and Men Plan" is a brainstorm that struck during the wee sma' hours while he was working on a serious book on the distribution of wealth. Mr. North formerly served as economic adviser to the A & P Tea Company, was on the staff of the *New Yorker*, and edited *Detective Story*.

Forthcoming

Among future articles in our series on Presidential candidates will be one on Senator Robert A. Taft, by Forrest Davis; one on Governor Adlai Stevenson, by George Tagge, and one on Senator Richard B. Russell, by John Temple Graves.

FROM OUR READERS

The Fujii Decision

While I am in substantial agreement with the general tenor of the argument of Joseph H. Ballew in your issue of March 24, titled "Assault on American Sovereignty," he is misinformed about the Fujii case.

Mr. Ballew refers to the Fujii decision as one by the "U. S. District Court of Appeals." It was given by the California Second District Court of Appeal, a court of considerably lesser standing than any United States appeal court. It is currently pending in the California Supreme Court, and the opinion of most lawyers here is that it will almost certainly be reversed.

An amendment to the Constitution which would provide that the Constitution can not be amended by the adoption of a treaty would be a wise precaution, since if one court can adopt the far-fetched reasoning of the Fujii case opinion, others might do so. But I believe the danger to our Constitution resulting from this lone, isolated decision is being exaggerated.

Los Angeles, Cal. EDWARD C. KRAUSS

A Student Speaks Out

I have just read "UN Blueprint for Tyranny" (January 28), and I will not attempt to put down on paper my emotions of fear, frustration and disgust.

I am a senior in high school, 18 years old. I want to complain about the mess that is being taught in the schools. I am sick of being fed all this nonsense about the noble UN, New Deal, Fair Deal, economic planning, what we owe Europe, our foreign policy and how wonderful it is. I am fed up with the apologists for Yalta and Teheran.

Our schools are filled not with Communists but Socialists. They admire and preach about men such as Acheson, Jessup and Marshall. It is all right for these people to have their own opinions, but a classroom is not the place to air them.

Thaddeus Ashby said something to the effect that our hope is in the Junior High students. Maybe. But if the so-called educators get hold of many more minds, this nation will not be worth saving.

What we need in our schools and colleges is someone to stand up for our American system. We have people who are pro-England, pro-France, pro-world, but very few who are pro-America.

Norfolk, Va. MARY ALBERTSON

The Florida Outrages

On page 324 of the *Freeman* for February 25, you find the criminal and label him "Floridian." Surely you realize that the man who threw the bomb at the Miami Temple and pulled the trigger that shot the Negro was the agent of conspiratory forces that are trying to foment trouble among all Americans.

If and when they locate the perpetrator of these deeds, I doubt that he will be a Floridian. In all probability he was born in New York—or perhaps Russia.

MRS. WILLIAM G. POST, JR.
St. Petersburg, Fla.

A Limit on Office Holding

It seems that most of our troubles with Presidents and Congressmen come from their desire to be re-elected at the end of their terms.

What would be the result if we established a Constitutional limit of six years on all elective and appointive offices in the national government? Could we butter this up for them by paying all elected and appointed officeholders in the national government the same salary for a further six years as a pension, but only in case they had no income from any job connected with politics?

Would such a Constitutional change cause national officeholders to decide policies on a basis of what is best for the country rather than what they thought would re-elect themselves?

Fowler, Ind. C. G. LITTELL

The Lattimorean China Lobby

The Senate Committee in the examination of Owen Lattimore is seeking the fathers of our policy in Asia and the facts concerning our desertion, undermining and smearing of our Chinese ally.

It is one of the oldest rules of debate to abuse an opponent when issues are unanswerable; and Lattimore's vituperations were of the best. He outdid himself. His labeling some of his accusers as members of "the China Lobby" was a masterly attempt to conceal his own hand in the creation of a China Lobby which undermined and smeared the Chinese Nationalist Government and helped to prepare it for the kill by Moscow. When asked to name the members of the lobby he had in mind, he was able to recall only the names of a handful of anti-Communist Americans who never held any political positions.

The cry of "China Lobby" by Lattimore reminds me of the man who stole a watch and shouted "stop thief" when the police chased him.

Brooklyn, N. Y. NATHAN D. SHAPIRO

On Mr. Markel's Letter

Relative to Lester Markel's statement ("From Our Readers," March 24) that in 1945 there was only honest difference of opinion on the China question, I'd like to remind him that on the pro-Communist side there were two groups: those who knowingly sponsored the Kremlin's line, and dupes who innocently, but ignorantly, picked it up.

As early as 1945, widely circulated, authoritative articles gave the facts. In the June 1945 *Reader's Digest* Max Eastman and J. B. Powell quoted the Chinese Reds to the effect that they were "revolutionaries, not reformers." There is really no excuse, in my opinion, for anyone, even an editor of the *New York Times*, not having been fully informed of the truth of the matter years ago.

Delta, Utah RICHARD S. MORRISON

An Appreciation

The *Freeman* is a great delight to me, almost an answer to prayer. I had been thinking along those lines for years but was not in touch with others with similar ideas. Of course my thoughts are my own and I adhere to them against all onslaughts, but it is sustaining to know that others, whom I respect, are thinking along the same lines.

Wyckoff, N. J. MARGARET RAMBAUT

Mr. Redman's Poem

"Legend for Our Times" by Ben Ray Redman [March 10] is gorgeous, with three underscores, plus. Wish I had written it.

Atascadero, Cal. GRANVILLE TRACY

THE
Freeman

MONDAY, APRIL 21, 1952

The Fortnight

When Newbold Morris rode his white charger into Washington to clean the town of corruption, we were openly skeptical of his chances. But now that he has gone out carrying Attorney General McGrath along with him, we must admit that he achieved the only victory possible for him under the circumstances. The Morris victory was in the realm of psychological warfare: he obviously scared the Truman gang half to death. Just a mere hint at disclosure of income sources, just a mere questionnaire of the type the Treasury Department sends to Tom, Dick and Harry every March—and the whole gol-blamed house fell in. We applaud Mr. "Samson" Morris, who pulled down the pillars and made his getaway intact.

When the Eisenhower "write-in" vote almost managed to overtake the "regular" vote for Stassen in Minnesota, the cry of "miracle" went up in certain newspapers and magazines. But no comparable cry smote the heavens when Taft got a bigger write-in than Eisenhower in Nebraska. Seems like wonders never happen twice, or that when Taft passes a miracle it's just routine business. Just what does Our Bob have to do to get credit for miracles, walk on Lake Michigan?

Elsewhere in this issue (page 466) we publish an article by Arthur Kemp on Senator Taft's excellent ability as a vote-getter. When we showed Mr. Kemp's words to a distaff member of our staff, she said, "Yes, Bob Taft is a good campaigner. But it's his wife Martha who wins for him, isn't it?" That rocked us back on our heels for a moment, for Mrs. Martha Taft did undoubtedly win a lot of votes for her husband by carrying his case to the women of Ohio in 1938 and 1944. Martha Taft is an estimable woman, and she makes a lollapaloosa of a speech on the hustings. We quickly recovered the courage of Mr. Kemp's convictions, however, when we reflected upon a further fact. In 1950 Martha Taft was indisposed, and Senator Bob had to run for reelection without her formidable forensic aid. It didn't seem to make any difference; he won anyway, and he must have gotten the women's vote, too.

Once upon a time an economist named Dr. Julius Klein was listened to in Washington, D. C., when he had some advice to offer. That was in the now virtually prehistoric period of BFDR (Before Franklin D. Roosevelt). Dr. Klein, being neither a Keynesian, nor a Mixed Economy partisan, nor a controller of any one of eight different types, has had to go underground these many years. But if he has not had the ears of Washington, there have been South Americans who have been willing to listen to him. Specifically, the Peruvians have listened to him. Not so long ago the Peruvian government decided to take his advice: it lifted the exchange controls that had brought stagnation to the Peruvian economy. Lo and behold, a miracle happened—the miracle described by Oswaldo Buonanni on page 467 of this issue of the *Freeman*. Without controls, Peru started to import, to export, and, best of all, to prosper. It all goes to show that you can't keep a good man—to wit, Dr. Klein—down. It also shows something else: we in the United States ought to stop exporting our prophets. We need them in Washington, right here at home.

Our congratulations to *The Reporter* for its "exposure" of the so-called China Lobby in its April 15 issue. True, the "exposure" creates the illusion of enough smoke to do justice to a dozen high-class opium dens; true, it snorts and writhes like a dragon of veritable Loch Ness monster proportions. But all this is mere literature. The facts uncovered by the "exposure" boil down to one simple thing: that a few Americans had sufficient courage and foresight to oppose the growth of Communism in China as long ago as 1941 or 1945. Anything sinister about that?

That strange book ("Mr. President") which Harry S. Truman has ghost-written for Mr. William Hillman seems to be selling quite well, but its publishers, Farrar, Straus & Young, are trying their darndest to push it even farther. In a recent promotional release to the newspapers the firm expressed its belief "that no book has previously received such worldwide publicity." Except perhaps the Bible which, however, does not properly belong on best-seller lists as no royalties have to be paid to the authors and the book is mostly circulated in

what the legitimate trade calls "pirated editions." Offhand we can think of only one other book that might have received even more world-wide attention than "Mr. President"—and, come to think of it, that book, too, was co-authored by Mr. Truman. We mean of course "The U. S. Budget for the Fiscal Year of 1952-53," a heavy volume whose sizzling eight-billion-dollar chapter on "foreign aid" was all the rage in most capitals abroad. But this book, too, will have to be disqualified for the contest: the royalties are paid, not to the American authors, but to the foreign readers; and the publication has surely all the earmarks of piracy.

After we had mailed our income tax return for 1951, we reached for the newspaper and learned that 3632 people, drawing more than $17 million in Federal salaries, are handling Mr. Truman's "publicity and public relations." Our first thought was to run out of the house, smash the mail box and recover our donation. In the nick of time we realized, however, that we would be violating the U.S. postal law. So we merely sighed, turned the page—and learned that the very same Manhattan Collector of Internal Revenue to whom the aforementioned letter was addressed had just been fired for violation of the U.S. tax law.

This made us feel much better about the "public relations operators" whom our tax check will help to keep in clover for another year. For considering the volume of "publicity work" this government would need to improve its reputation effectively, a mere 3632 "public relations operators" testify to Mr. Truman's heroic thrift. And when it dawned on us that some of our tax money must be spent on jailing our tax collectors, we reached for the checkbook to augment our contribution. In the nick of time we realized, however, that we would be violating the U.S. banking law which, rather pettishly, makes the issuance of an uncovered check a Federal offense. On the whole, we were surprised how often we had to think of jail when contemplating Federal affairs.

Amar Singh, a farmer from India, has been inspecting farms in Carroll County, Georgia. He wasn't much impressed with our large-scale mechanized farm methods; as he puts it, "deep plowing with machinery lets the humus wash off quicker." But he was enormously impressed with the plethora of ingenious small hand tools which our so-called "capitalistic exploitation" has turned out. The Cyclone seed spreader (price, $3), which increases the swing of the man who is sowing by more than six times, had Mr. Singh's eyes popping out. The American broiler industry, which supplies farmers with chicks, feed and veterinary service and enables one man to take care of 10,000 chicks, seemed a miracle of organization to the visitor from India. He says: "We could use this idea in India." Well, why don't the farmers of India use it? If they were so minded they might discover that the methods of capitalism (or voluntary organization) are the cheapest and easiest of all methods to ameliorate the chronic poverty of a tormented land.

Elmer Rice, a playwright who has lately appeared in the news columns more conspicuously than on the stage, protested the other day that no artist had been invited to sign a recently released "Freedom Message to the Peoples of Russia." This, felt Mr. Rice, betrayed a shocking ignorance of the artist's congenital political soundness. "If," he argued, "the world's affairs were in the hands of artists there would be neither dictatorships nor war." This of course is the opposite of the truth.

If the world's affairs at any time during the last two decades had been in the hands of artists, said world would be one Communist dictatorship. For, as everybody except Mr. Rice knows (though he is in a notoriously good position to know it particularly well), nothing in the last two decades has been more puzzling or more scandalous than the ease with which communism has made converts among the world's artists. There is, at this late hour, no doubt among honest men that a feeble partiality to communism is in fact the professional malady of the modern intellectual. Yet the most astonishing facet of Mr. Rice's precious untruth is that he so obviously believes what he is saying—a kind of amnesia which goes a long way in explaining the artist's moral delinquence.

A woman in Cleveland had to give up her TV set to qualify for a 25 dollar increase in her weekly relief check. At the current value of TV programs, the lady got a bargain, it seems to us, but Cleveland's politicians might be asking for trouble. If they go on insisting that people do without TV sets to merit that generous sort of municipal relief, those people might lose track of the office-holders who dispense the dole and, simply because they would be missing the election acrobatics on TV, cast their votes for thriftier candidates.

Discussing, rather minutely, the delights of human existence "after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in all countries," the Moscow radio on March 4 was especially persuasive in matters cultural and linguistic. As recorded by a British monitoring service, the broadcaster reassured us that there will be "a single general culture with a single language for all," but that this language will "not be German, Russian or English, but a new language which will have absorbed the best elements of the national and zonal languages." This will make it easier all around. Any Russian, German or Englishman can learn to say "*Sibirski Konzentrations* camp."

Who Likes Ike

We have been asking some questions, sort of casual like, of the people who like Ike. What we have discovered fills us with some uneasiness, not to say dismay. The main thing that develops from our researches, admittedly carried on in an old-fashioned way without benefit of Gallup, is that Ike's supporters split into two or more groups, each of which seems to have equal and opposite anticipations of favors to come.

The main groups are split into sub-groups, and there seems also to be a special group whose cerebration frays out into an astounding vagueness that hopes for nothing better than a vacuous "unity," an Era of Brainless Good Feeling in which no issues whatsoever will be voted on, or even mentioned in polite, or maybe we should say café, society. The "I Like Ike" groups are marching shoulder to shoulder at the moment, for nobody seems to have an accurate compass bearing on the direction of the parade. But what will happen in the ranks when somebody notes the shadows cast by the sun?

One of the big groups that is friendly to Ike's candidacy numbers in its ranks such estimable and highly intelligent citizens as Congressman Walter Judd of Minnesota. Now, the distinguishing thing about people like Judd is that they long ago saw the importance of Asia in U. S. foreign policy. Judd knows the world is round; he knows that any Communist advance in China, in Korea, in Japan, in the Philippines, in Indonesia, in Burma and in Indo-China must be translated ultimately into agonizing pressure on Europe and North America. Judd accurately senses what Lenin and Stalin have both projected as Twentieth Century Marxism, the theory of the Muscovite "revisionists" who decided some time ago that democratic capitalism must die of constriction if the "colonial" worlds of Asia, Africa and South America succumb to Red Nationalism. Knowing that the world is round, and that Formosa and France are attached to the same foreign-policy string, people like Judd must have it in the back of their minds that Eisenhower will stand with them.

Maybe Judd—or, for that matter, Tom Dewey, who is certainly no Achesonian—has tabbed Ike accurately on the matter of Asia policy. But so far as our knowledge goes, Ike himself has never uttered a public or even a private word bearing on the portent of Mao Tse-tung, or the pertinacity of Owen *(toujours de l'audace)* Lattimore's Red China Lobby, which may yet wangle the UN to its own ends. We sincerely hope that Eisenhower can rise superior to the occupational psychosis that must tend to go with prolonged identification with the mechanics of the "Europe First" (or the "Europe Only") campaign. But we have no means of knowing in advance, and it seems faintly ominous to us that reporters like John Gunther have never quoted Ike on his round-the-world-view, if any.

This brings us to the second big group that favors Ike—a group that is ably represented by John H. Crider, whose eloquent case for Eisenhower appears in this issue of the *Freeman*. Mr. Crider's group likes Ike because Ike is against Washington corruption and for the checks and balances of the old American Republic. We take it from this that the Crider group rates Ike as a man who is high on a free economic system. We don't doubt the sincerity of Eisenhower's generalized Free Enterprise statements, and we certainly hope that as President he would not fall into the demoralizing habit of conjuring up a "crisis" every third week to justify new controls and new blood transfusions for Washington bureaus.

But even granted that Ike is okay on the subject of a free domestic economy, we are skeptical of the foreign policy by which the Crider group would defend that economy. Mr. Crider doesn't seem to think it very important that Communism has won China, the pivot of mainland Asia; he thinks Communism can be "contained" by warfare on the periphery all the way around the globe. But what if Japan elects to trade with a Communist Asiatic mainland? Will it be very long in that event before the oil and tin of southeastern Asia are added to a Communist industrial complex in Manchuria, and a satellite industrial complex in Japan?

As we see it, the West must find a way of winning the same type of cheap victory in continental Asia and eastern Europe that Stalin has been winning in China, or else free capitalism is going to die in the valleys of the Mississippi and Hudson because of the gigantic cost of a permanent military economy. Mr. Crider's group of pro-Eisenhowerites would, in our estimation, allow the West to be outflanked in the "colonial" world, and the result of the outflanking would be to force a rigid militaristic autarchy in the older industrial regions of Europe and America.

If Eisenhower is indeed against corruption and courthouse politics and a low moral tone in Washington, he would make the fur fly in an attempt to clean up the tax bureaus, and he would presumably be on his guard against the idea that our Alger Hisses are hardly to be considered as corrupters, or as "immoral." But here we run smack into another vocal group of "I Like Ike" partisans—the group that frowns on corruption in general, but inveighs against any Joe McCarthy or Pat McCarran who has the temerity to uncover corruption in particular. We distrust this particular "I Like Ike"

group, for we think its members rate a spurious gentility over any sort of effectiveness that is designed to smoke the rascals out. Certainly this group of Eisenhowerites is counting on a cessation of hostilities against the dupes and fellow travelers of communism in our midst. But if Ike cottons up to the purveyers of spurious gentility, he will disappoint Mr. Adolph Menjou, to cite one example. Menjou has fought the Communist infiltration of Hollywood in season and out, and he has incurred a thousand scars in the course of his extremely effective battle. He will certainly expect Ike, whom he likes, to uphold his hand in the fight to restore the primacy of patriotism as a value in America.

Finally, we come to the "I Like Ike" supporters who are for Eisenhower because they see in him a man who will suspend politics and transcend the aches of mortality. Led by Walter Lippmann, this group is for Ike on the astounding theory that the future has no roots in the past. They see Ike as a man who can forget such things as Yalta and start anew. Since Ike is General George Marshall's good friend and since he has also been military beneficiary of the Roosevelt school of "beat Stalin by blarney," there may be some warrant for thinking that Ike would like to forget Yalta. But nobody can forget Yalta.

It was because of Yalta that Eisenhower himself halted General Patton's forces when they were about to capture Prague, the capital of the Bohemian bastion that is military key to central Europe. And it was because of Yalta that Mikolajczyk was kept from making a determined fight for Poland, as Chiang Kai-shek was kept from gaining the initiative against the Communists in Manchuria. It may be perfectly true, as Dean Acheson and Professor Henry Steele Commager have insisted, that Stalin could have taken Poland and Manchuria, Yalta or no Yalta. But the United States lost its moral refulgence at Yalta, which means that it lost the great intangible that is needed for trust and "face," and final credit in the eyes of the world. Moreover, even Professor Commager must admit that Patton *could* have jockeyed his tanks into Prague ahead of the Russians, and there is every reason to believe that Eisenhower himself could have reached Berlin if Washington had not trapped itself by that unfortunate meeting on the Soviet soil of the Crimea.

The point about Yalta is that Eisenhower must repudiate it if he is to set his values straight in dealing with Russia from here on in. But if he does repudiate Yalta a large bloc of "I Like Ike" people are going to feel hurt.

To sum it all up, the question of "who likes Ike" must give way to the question: "For what do they like Ike?" This is a question that can not, in its nature, be settled by preference primaries, or by bandwagon appeals; it is a question that can be settled only by Ike himself. That is the reason why he should come home, and come home fast. For if certain groups are bound to be disappointed in Ike once he has opened his mouth, it is far better that they be disappointed before rather than after the Convention. A man who is chosen for President on the basis of clear issues, clear alternatives, can effectively pursue given policies without creating too much bad blood. Those who lose out in the policy-making may not like it, but they can not say that they were not warned. If, on the other hand, a President is elected as "all things to all men," the resulting deep chagrin of some men is bound to create an intolerable situation. For the loser who thinks he was bilked and cheated is a far more dangerous citizen than the man who knows he lost in a fair fight. A working approach to "unity" is possible as between a fair victor and a fairly considered loser. But "unity" with a man who feels he has been cheated is impossible, now and forever.

Wisconsin For Sanity

Senator Taft's Wisconsin victory came in the nick of time to counteract one of the strangest political intrigues in American history—the press-manufactured "bipartisan" Eisenhower "groundswell." And so effective proves the intrigue that the reading public is hardly aware of Senator Taft's momentous success.

Wisconsin, to begin with, permits Democrats to vote in a Republican primary (and *vice versa*), and there can be no doubt that thousands of surreptitious Democratic voters were tipping the Warren and Stassen scales: while in general elections the two parties share the State's votes just about evenly, three times as many votes were cast in the Republican primary as in the Democratic contest. And that Democratic raiders of the Republican primary did not like Taft seems a safe assumption.

Secondly, the remnants of Wisconsin's La Follette machine saw in the primary a chance for a factional comeback. Former Governor Philip La Follette threw what forces he commands behind the pro-Eisenhower Warren slate. To complete the raiding party, Milwaukee's famously clever CIO strategists supplied their notorious left hook.

Thirdly, Wisconsin's Republican party, far from being the "McCarthy Machine" that New York's "liberal" press is fulminating about, remains honeycombed with Stassen men. And whatever indigenous Eisenhower sentiment existed among Wisconsin's *bona fide* Republicans rallied behind the Stassen-Warren candidates with an enthusiasm gone frenzied after the "Minnesota miracle."

Pitched against a coalition of such potency, Senator Taft won not only four-fifths of the State's Convention delegates but also a plurality which, allowing for the manifold primary intruders, amounts to a clear majority of the legitimate Re-

publican vote. A formidable success and, as we said, one that came in the nick of time for the Taft forces. For the press strategists of the "Eisenhower groundswell" had just about succeeded, with a staggering display of "public relations" wizardry, in stealing the Republican nomination as well as the Presidential election. And whether or not it was a deliberate part of the "bipartisan" intrigue, Mr. Truman's abdication on the eve of the crucial Wisconsin primary, came as a climactic stroke.

Surely Mr. Truman does not for a moment expect that the reasons he has publicly stated for his withdrawal will be believed. His incompetence in government is matched only by his mastery of political routine; and for an incumbent President to abdicate four months ahead of his party's nominating Convention is so clearly a breach of precinct etiquette that Truman must have had an overriding motive. That motive, we submit, was to secure the Republican nomination for Eisenhower.

By every rule of the game an incumbent President, if eligible for renomination, must remain available until the party has selected a successor of his own choice. When Mr. Truman withdrew, no such successor was on the horizon. For, while it is perfectly possible that his party's left wing, the "Americans for Democratic Action," have sold Mr. Truman on their candidate, Governor Adlai Stevenson, no one knows better than he that Mr. Stevenson may prove indigestible for the Democratic South. The relief the Southern Democrats share with the rest of the country over Mr. Truman's disappearance is indisputably genuine and great, but it can not possibly outweigh the dread of a "popular front" President after FDR's image —another "patrician" in the grip of northern radicals and labor leaders. Clearly, Mr. Truman went over the hill before he knew the name of the Democratic candidate.

But, by so doing, he might have wanted to control at least the Republican nomination. The Taft strategists (and this may have been their most serious blunder) offered their man as the tailor-made contestant for a race against Harry S. Truman. Taking advantage of that mistake, the Eisenhower strategists quite cleverly granted that Taft could perhaps beat Truman—but no other Democratic candidate. In such a hypothetical relation of Siamese twins, the suicide of one would be the murder of the other; and Mr. Truman, who, as we noted in the last issue, has read Plutarch, may have chosen his course in a fit of antique heroism.

In this atmosphere of clever hallucination, the people of Wisconsin may have restored national sanity. A man had come to them and presented the principles by which he lives. Those who liked the principles voted for the man. And, in spite of the "public relations" wizardry that seems to blanket the country, it is still not too late for the nation to choose its next President on the issues.

Runaway Taxation

A good many people are familiar with what is known as runaway inflation. Where this condition prevails, a government is no longer able or willing to stop the progressive decline in the value of its money. World history is full of examples of this experience, and there are numerous recent examples in the years since 1939 and 1945.

Runaway inflation is always associated with runaway spending, and, more often than not, with runaway taxing as well. In a country, therefore, whose government has lost control over the budget, becomes habituated to ever increasing appropriations, and professes to see no way of cutting expenditures, citizens will suffer by having their incomes reduced through taxation and the shrinking value of whatever income they manage to retain after paying their taxes.

This is the case today with taxpayers in the United States. In 1952 the Federal, state and local governments are taking in taxes almost twice the amount they took in 1945, the highest year in tax receipts of World War II. How thoroughly these governments have exploited their taxing power the following figures of government receipts since 1945 clearly demonstrate. Receipts for 1952 are not given, but, barring a business depression, they will surely run well above $90 billion.

1945:	$54 billion	1949:	57 billion
1946:	52 billion	1950:	70 billion
1947:	58 billion	1951:	88 billion
1948:	60 billion		

No amount of argument can explain away the fantastic heights to which this Administration has piled the tax burden of the country and the debonair manner with which it defends budgets that require or justify a tax take of the present magnitude. In 1945 we were paying the bills of the greatest and most expensive war in history and were supporting armed forces of twelve million men. In 1952 we are certainly not engaged in anything like such a gigantic military effort, and yet our government demands and gets nearly double the funds it collected seven years earlier.

The failure of Americans to comprehend this record of government extravagance and carelessness and the moral it teaches is one of the strangest and most disturbing phenomena in the history of this country. Doubtless many taxpayers believe that they profit from a total fiscal policy which takes income from some and gives it to others. But this transfer of income is already running its course as the government's increasing demand for funds requires it to dip for tax receipts into the lower income groups and to search out new objects to tax.

The truth is that the government will continue

to spend as it now does so long as an apparently apathetic and indifferent public continues to surrender bigger and bigger slices of its income without protest. Under existing circumstances neither Federal nor local authorities see any reason to economize. When they get hard up for funds, they lift the tax rates and devise additional sources of taxation. What they are unable to raise through taxation, they obtain through borrowing. The operation is classic. It reduces everybody's income and cuts the purchasing power of what is left. Only a revolt by the taxpayers can cope with this state of affairs.

The Latest Scandal

The resignation of C. E. Wilson as Director of Defense Mobilization is further evidence, if any were needed, that there are few people left in Washington concerned with protecting the public interest. We now have a government run by powerful pressure groups and special private interests. The retirement of Mr. Wilson removed a conscientious and expert public servant. His greatest error was in failing to resign in 1951 when the labor leaders moved in on the stabilization and mobilization machinery. That was the time to present the issue to the American public, for it was then that organized labor laid its plan of campaign and won the support for it of Mr. Truman and his associates.

Philip Murray's victory will prove of little value to the members of the United Steel Workers, to the 14 million members of other unions, or to the general public whose welfare is adversely affected by policies which strengthen the forces of inflation. Whether or not the steel industry gets the price rise it is asking for, there is every indication that Mr. Truman's wage decision is part of a general inclination in the Administration to remove the lid and let inflation take its course. This is one of the calculated risks the high-brow news interpreters are always talking about. It must be remembered that this is the year of a Presidential election in which the stakes are large and decisive. It should not be surprising, therefore, if the Administration, deceived by the lull in business and weakness in prices of the past year, were prepared to take a chance on another dose of inflation. Like all economic novices, Mr. Truman's advisers hope that holding down steel prices will keep all prices under control. But that, as all experience shows, is a vain and empty hope.

The leaders of organized labor must assume a large share of responsibility for what is now being done and for what will follow. Despite their protestations and the lip service they pay to "stabilization," the policies they adopt and fight for are strongly inflationary by any accepted definition of that word. From the beginning of the program of price and wage control, they have demanded what they called a "flexible" wage policy. It was in the interest of that policy that the United Labor Policy Committee scuttled the first Wage Stabilization Board, let loose a shameless flood of vituperation at Mr. Wilson and his colleagues, brought about the resignation of Sidney Weinberg and General Clay from Wilson's staff, and got a second Stabilization Board with personnel and powers more to its liking. The unions then represented by the Labor Policy Committee are now cashing in on the concessions they were granted by Mr. Truman in 1951.

Only a careful reading of the steel decision by the WSB and the comments on it by Mr. Feinsinger, the Board's chairman, can yield a true picture of the incompetence of the Board members who wrote the decision. Mr. Feinsinger's earliest comment was that the decision did not set a pattern, that it would not be followed by other unions in other industries since the terms were peculiarly applicable to steel. He had hardly spoken before Mr. Murray personally and authoritatively applied the decision to the steel fabricating industry, a large, far-flung, amorphous industry related to basic steel only by reason of the fact that many of its employees belong to Murray's union. In a wide range of industries throughout the country, the consummation of union-employer negotiations was delayed until the union negotiators could learn what was happening in steel. Now that they know, it ought not to be hard to infer what they will do.

None of this, of course, accounts for John L. Lewis, the United Mine Workers, and their prospective agreement with the coal operators. All we know is that Mr. Lewis does not believe in stabilization, has a deep and abiding contempt for boards he himself does not control, and is likely to come out of his conversations with the coal operators with more, not less, than Murray got. How Mr. Feinsinger could have been blind to all of these perfectly obvious circumstances must remain one of the mysteries of Washington. But, whatever the reason, it can certainly do him no credit.

The steel decision and its consequences are a serious indictment of the succession of labor boards, statutory and otherwise, which have come out of Washington in the past several decades. Anyone who knows their history can hardly regard the steel decision as unexpected or wonder that a public official with Mr. Wilson's duties and responsibilities could exert so little influence on it. Perhaps his resignation will serve to bring this fact home to the American public; and, if it does nothing else, it may warn the next Administration that such boards are dangerous instruments of public policy unless their powers are clearly defined and strictly circumscribed and their members chosen with much greater care than has been the case in many recent years.

The Case for Eisenhower

By JOHN H. CRIDER

The former editor of the Boston Herald *finds General Eisenhower the ideal candidate because he can handle generals, has a gift for getting along with people, and, above all, appears to be the man who can win.*

It is my conviction that General Dwight D. Eisenhower is the only candidate in the whole field, Democrat or Republican, who possesses the qualities which our country so desperately needs at this critical moment in its history.

Another Democratic President is out of the question if for no other reason than that twenty years for one party in the White House is long enough, if not too long. No party has ever controlled our Executive Branch for more than twenty years continuously. But there is another reason stemming from the first: namely, that the deep-seated rottenness which corrodes any party so long in power, would hang like a dead weight around the neck of any Democrat, even a man like Adlai Stevenson, whom I admire very much. The health of our polity demands a clean sweep, and this can be accomplished only by a change of party control.

Feeling strongly about this, I want a Republican candidate who can win the election against anybody. The only way a Republican can win is by getting the votes, not only of independents, but of Democrats. There is no other Republican candidate in the field, with the possible exception of California's Governor Warren, who would surely win the votes of many Democrats. But Governor Warren, though a fine man, just doesn't have the qualities of leadership or the broad popular following that General Eisenhower commands.

The case for General Eisenhower could end right there, but because so many objections have been raised, on one ground or another, we must put the Eisenhower candidacy in much broader perspective.

There have been times in our history when our excessive republican tendencies needed to be democratized; and others when our excesses of democracy needed to be republicanized. Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman tended, progressively, to develop continuously less restrained democracy. Franklin Roosevelt became the star performer in this area when, not satisfied with Democratic Legislative and Executive Departments, he proceeded to convert the Judicial Branch into an organ of his own political party. Time and again he identified his party and his program with what "the people" wanted. He would dangle a tasty political morsel before the eyes of the largest special-interest groups—the farmers and unionized workers—and when they grabbed for it he knew that what he said was true, or true enough for his purposes. He led the people, but created the illusion that he was following them. Harry Truman simply follows what he thinks the people want, catering to desires well cultivated by his predecessor.

While Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman made political capital of the so-called greed of private business and finance, they were at the same time releasing and catering to the most unwholesome store of mass greed ever witnessed in this nation. They have democratized the country far beyond any intent that can be found in the writings of the Founding Fathers. Indeed, unless some of the checks are soon restored, we shall be in danger of being swallowed up by the very unleashed majorities which the authors of our Constitution most feared. It is the function of government to arbitrate among those elements contending for special privilege or for disproportionate shares of the national wealth. When it does so arbitrate to provide a balance in the interest of *all* elements of the population, our government becomes a satisfactorily functioning republic, as the Founders of our country intended. We do not want to be ruled by the labor unions any more than by the National Association of Manufacturers.

It Has Happened Before

What is most needed is a moral reawakening. We need a rallying of all the common moral and religious riches with which the West abounds. We need to identify our political and material objectives with high moral principles. But first we must find the leadership to assert them—leaders both honest and strong enough to tell the people the truth, however ugly; leaders who can lead upward and forward and not follow the Gallup polls into some gutter of excessive paternalism.

The country has been in the political gutter before. For the thirty years from John Q. Adams to Abraham Lincoln it was either in it or teetering on the edge. It was finally the undoing of the Whig Party, lusty ancestor of the present GOP. When Franklin Pierce was elected just a hundred years ago, the Whigs about gave up, and it was not until a new, successor party was formed around the genius of Abraham Lincoln that the two-party sys-

tem again functioned effectively. The gutted Whig Party could not have been much more torn by faction than is our Republican Party today.

The leader of the conservative Republican faction is Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio. In this role he is unchallenged. Yet the progressive wing of the party has no acknowledged leader. It has strong adherents like Governor Dewey of New York, Governor Warren of California, Senator Duff of Pennsylvania, and former Governor Stassen of Minnesota. Curiously, all of these men, until some of them announced their own candidacies, were looking to an outsider to rally the forces of progressivism in the Republican Party. That outsider is General Eisenhower.

The three principal objections to General Eisenhower are: (1) that he is a military man incapable of the compromise requisite to democratic government and therefore inclined to be dictatorial (collaterally, that as a military man he would be a pushover for the Pentagon and would militarize the country); (2) that he is not a party man and could not get along with the politicians; and (3) that he is one of those beings called "internationalists" who some (like Lawrence R. Brown) contend have betrayed their country.[1]

An Arbiter Between Opposing Views

As to the first, the dangers suggested might be real if General Eisenhower had distinguished himself only as a leader of combat troops, or if he had had only an American command. Officers of such limited experience are used to giving orders and having them obeyed. But General Eisenhower's greatest claim to fame was his diplomatic handling of diverse national troops and commanders in moulding the unified, multi-national offensive which smashed Hitler's Europe. This was as much a political as a military achievement, if not more.

The Supreme Commander in the West at the conclusion of World War II did not have any push-button command over his own nationals. He had to reconcile many differences in planning and organization with very important military *and* political leaders of other nations before he could push the button for a campaign. Much the same is true of his latest experience with the organization of the North Atlantic Treaty forces. It is his skill as an arbiter between opposing views which gives him a qualification for the Presidency far beyond that of any other military or non-military man.

It tickles me to hear people say that we would become more militaristic with Eisenhower as President. In the first place, any man who has seen as much of war as this particular general, has many more reasons than most civilians to keep militarism out of government, and more particularly, to avoid war. But the special reason why we need a military man of General Eisenhower's stature in the White House now is the very fact that our military establishment is so big, and the Pentagon such a large factor in the halls of Congress.

One has only to answer this question to see how much better it would be to have a five-star general in the mansion on Pennsylvania Avenue. Who would be more in awe of, or less able to cope with the big brass of the Pentagon—a midwestern Senator, an ex-artillery captain, or a career military man who has achieved a reputation far beyond that of the others?

The Advantage of Independence

Now, about my candidate's not being a politician and not liking the kind of politics with which this country is so often cursed. I've only had one talk with Ike—about three years ago when I hoped to get five minutes in which to plead with him to run. We talked for almost an hour in the President's office at Columbia, and the one thing I came away sure of was that the man is simply nauseated at the very thought of the kind of county-court-house, or city-hall politics we've been having at the national level these past too many years.

To me, this is decidedly on the plus side. Need it be gainsaid that we have had entirely too much so-called "regular" politics making for insensitivity in high places to immorality and corruption in publice life? That General Eisenhower despises things of the kind that Harry Truman takes for granted would appear to be an overwhelming advantage. If we can't stand high moral standards in our public life, then the day can not be far away when we shall deserve the despotism of which we were warned long ago by Benjamin Franklin, who said, in putting his name to the United States Constitution:

> I think a general government necessary for us and there is no *form* of government but what may be a blessing to the people, if well administered; and I believe, farther, that this is likely to be well administered for a course of years and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall become so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other.

But to say that General Eisenhower despises county-court-house politics is not to say that he can not get along with political men—he has been doing so for years—or that he would be incapable of distinguishing good ones from the bad. Surely we can stand some of this discrimination as well.

Some go so far as to say that if we are to preserve our two-party system, the party coming to power must have as its candidate a strictly party man. It is true, of course, that the professional politicians are leery of individualistic candidates whom they may not be able to control. But do we want another "regular" party man in the White

---

[1]For Mr. Brown's version of history since the beginning of World War I see the *Freeman*, March 24.

House, either Democratic or Republican? Haven't we had enough of that? The argument for regularity puts party above country.

The Issue of Foreign Policy

As to the third count—that Eisenhower was a party to his country's betrayal because he became obligated to the late President Roosevelt for his dramatic rise in the Army's officer corps—do we have to try that case here? I agree with Mr. Brown that the only real issue between Eisenhower and Taft is foreign policy, but I wish I had the time to write a book about how wrong I believe he is as to the issues between what we both call "internationalism" versus "isolationism." Within the space of this article I shall have to be brief.

Of course, I must first in honesty confess to being an "internationalist," but not as Mr. Brown erroneously describes such a creature. Contrary to Mr. Brown's view—I had never heard it expressed before—I am an internationalist, and so is Ike, because we believe that the best way to defend America is to have friends who will fight with us. Fight our battles, yes, but also their own battles. The business of maintaining similarity of targets is vital. We "soft-headed" internationalists don't want to have to fight the next war on the North American continent. In my opinion it is nonsense, as Mr. Brown puts it, that Soviet Russia can any more attack us directly than could Hitler Germany. It can, of course, but only by mechanical means, through the air, which the Germans also could do. Where he gets this—to me—fantastic notion that internationalists are only interested in western Europe, I don't know. We support the policy of a strong Japan. We support the assistance that we give to the Philippines, to the French fighting the Communists in Indo-China. That many of us believe Chiang Kai-shek is a has-been—the darling of the man the "isolationists" despised, Franklin D. Roosevelt—doesn't seem to me to have anything to do with loyalty to America. It is my opinion that those who cozy up to Chiang today are really cozying up to Moscow, but haven't the slightest notion why.

Let's put aside pat, self-made versions of recent history. The politicians serve them on a dish, free. If you have read the newspapers thoroughly every day for the past decade or so; if you have been able to discern in your magazine reading what bias you were exposed to; if you searched for the facts, you will not find them as Senator Taft or Mr. Brown presents them. I am completely at sea as to what Senator Taft does believe about foreign policy. Maybe there are two Tafts—the pre-book Taft, and the post-book Taft. Having spent months, literally, hearing and watching Taft at Senate hearings, and on the floor, I just can not recognize the man I used to know in his recent book on the subject of foreign policy.

In General Eisenhower we have no amending of record. We have no trying to change things to get a vote here and there. People say that Taft has a record. Yes, he has, but he doesn't talk it any more. It's changed. Read his book if you doubt.

In the man who is deplored as "glamorous" we have the very same man who won the war in the West, the man whose innate honesty makes him despise corrupt politics, whose middle-of-the-road philosophy the country has been waiting for. If you have read his own words you will know that he stands for progress through the middle way.[1] Once I asked him how he could so completely win every audience he ever talked to without preparing his speech. He hardly ever speaks from a text except when he has to for matters of record. He said it was easy because "I only say what I believe."

What we need for the Presidency of this country is a man who says only "what he believes." And I, for one, believe we can count on Ike for that.

An Assurance of Strength

General Eisenhower's decision to seek the nomination has been literally world-shaking. It meant the difference between appeasement of Russia in Europe—for that is what a Taft-wise watering down of west European defenses would mean—and assurance of the rugged strength for the free world which can be the only guarantee of victory over the worldwide forces of imperialism and irreligion generated from Moscow.

Having a military man of General Eisenhower's stature at the head of our government at such a time will, of course, lend itself to Soviet propaganda charging us with "warmongering." It apparently makes no difference that the Soviet dictator calls himself "Marshal" and has been head of Soviet armed forces for years. Whatever Soviet propaganda might say, the Kremlin would in reality be more respectful of American power when commanded by a vigorous military man than when it is presided over by a mere politician. How happy the Kremlin would be with a Robert A. Taft in the White House! It could be sure, then, that the defense of the West would proceed, at best, half-heartedly.

The alternatives confronted by General Eisenhower in making his great decision did truly constitute the crisis which he said in 1948 would alone warrant a military man accepting a Presidential nomination. We know he can give his country a rebirth of honesty and decency in high places, and to the whole free world that inspiring leadership for which it has so long waited. For, whether we like it or not, circumstances have ordained that our country *is* the leader of the anti-Communist world. With General Eisenhower in the Presidency we can comport ourselves as a real leader should.

[1]See "Where Ike Stands" in the November 1951 *Reader's Digest.*

Mr. Lattimore Protests Too Much

By BURTON RASCOE

This article and the subsequent excerpts from the McCarran Committee record show what happened when Owen Lattimore tried to refute Alfred Kohlberg's charge that the IPR followed the Communist line.

One of the few central points in the 17,500-word diversionary obfuscation which Owen Lattimore read before the McCarran Committee was that the charges against himself and the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) stemmed out of the "so-called Kohlberg charges" in 1944.

To a certain extent Lattimore was telling the truth. Had it not been for Alfred Kohlberg's futile attempt to warn patriotic IPR members of Communist infiltration of the organization, there might have been no McCarthy charges, no McCarran Committee hearings. The McCarran investigation has already established conclusively that not only were Kohlberg's charges true, but that he had barely adumbrated an underground conspiracy in which three members of President Roosevelt's official White House staff of advisers, ten key officials in the State Department including Alger Hiss, one Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and three or more members of the Department of Justice were involved in Soviet espionage. These traitors in government, the record shows, collaborated with 43 Communist writers for the IPR, eight of whom have been identified by various witnesses as members of one or another Soviet espionage group. A brief history of the "Kohlberg charges" therefore seems in order.

The Kohlberg Charges

Their origins go back to the autumn of 1939. Alfred Kohlberg, California-born New York importer of Chinese textiles and long a foe of totalitarianism in all its forms, had joined the Institute of Pacific Relations at the invitation of Galen Fisher in 1928.

Mr. Kohlberg, reading the IPR publications, *Pacific Affairs* and *Far Eastern Survey*, observed with alarm how the writers paralleled, in their allegedly "objective" reportage on Asia, the Soviet propaganda line in American Communist publications. Until after August 1939, this parallelism did not have sinister significance; for the "second Communist-Kuomintang honeymoon" had been celebrated since February 1937 and Mao, to avoid being wiped out by the Nationalist forces, had made the "concession" of ostensibly joining in a "united front" against Japanese aggression.

With the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact, the Soviet policy line changed. All of a sudden, Earl Browder in America and Mao Tse-tung in China announced that the war of Britain and France against the Axis powers was an "imperialists' war" in which the "democracies" of Stalin and Mao would give no support to either side. Mao and his political spokesman, Chou En Lai, publicly proclaimed the renewal of an intensive effort to carry out the Marxist-Leninist revolution, and refused to accept military orders from the Generalissmo. The Communist Fourth Army even refused the Nationalist Army passage through its lines to get at the Japanese, and a clash followed.

Politically the new Soviet line was immediately reflected in the IPR publication, *Pacific Affairs* (December 1940), in an editorial by Owen Lattimore praising a book by the head of the Soviet IPR, Motylev. It was also reflected in *Far Eastern Survey* and the more frankly pro-Communist magazine, *Amerasia*.

Mr. Kohlberg declined to be associated with an organization which he believed to be giving aid and support to the "gangster governments" of Russia, Germany, Italy and Japan and also dedicated to the undermining and overthrow of the Chinese Nationalist Government which had borne the brunt of the Japanese invasion. He sent his resignation, without comment, to Edward C. Carter, then executive vice-chairman of IPR.

Carter immediately pleaded with him by letter to reconsider his resignation and submit a memorandum stating what had prompted it. Kohlberg replied that he thought it would be "extremely presumptuous" of him to criticize the work of the IPR, considering his ignorance of "the vast field of its studies"; but that his personal conclusion was that the Institute was promoting forces whose "philosophy is closely akin to that of the gangsters of the American film" and that his conscience would not allow him to support it.

Carter replied that he agreed with the views Kohlberg had "so vigorously voiced" and that the IPR needed Kohlberg's "moral support," since his views "were clearly those of the majority at the last meeting in Princeton." Carter added, "I think you will find the atmosphere quite different from that of a year ago." Kohlberg withdrew his resignation. But the atmosphere grew steadily worse. Frederick Vanderbilt Field, Lawrence K. Rosinger,

T. A. Bisson, Guenther Stein and forty-odd others, since identified as Communists by more than one witness, had not merely infiltrated the IPR but, *led by Owen Lattimore*,[1] they were, Kohlberg saw, not only exercising in Stalin's behalf a vast influence over American opinion, but were also working with traitors inside the government to direct American foreign policy toward Soviet aims.

Kohlberg got up an 88-page half-folio pamphlet of photostatic reproductions of matter from IPR publications which paralleled the line of known Communist publications, with his own comments and identifications penned in ink in the margins. He sought to get the list of IPR members in order to mail them copies. It was refused. He filed for a writ of injunction against the IPR to show cause why he should not have the list. After two years in court the trustees decided to let him mail his charges to the membership list. As early as 1945 an "answer," however, had been quickly prepared (in a manner made clear below) but was never sent to the members. Kohlberg resigned in 1947, submitting documented evidence from the IPR's own record as the basis for his action.

Lattimore as Witness

When Owen Lattimore appeared before the Tydings "whitewash" committee in April and May, 1950, he came prepared not to answer questions but to evade them, and to vilify as "scum of the underworld," etc., everybody who had ever criticized him (except his Soviet "critics") as well as those who had testified against him. As he later tried to do before the McCarran Committee, he read a prepared "statement"—a long, glutted, irrelevant exercise in specious Lenin-Institute double-talk. It was the standard diversionary technique of using a hearing or a courtroom for soapbox declamation to becloud and evade the issue.

These "statements," as Senator McCarran is quick to remind any witness who appears with one before his committee, are received into the record of a hearing only if witnesses are prepared to offer them as testimony made under oath and subject to the usual penalties for perjury. Before Lattimore got very far with his "statement" before the McCarran Committee, he had sworn falsely on at least six matters. Faced with documentary evidence of this, he took refuge in the dodge that the documents had "refreshed his memory." How "refreshing" they were may be gathered from the fact that one letter written and signed by him showed that —although he had denied it under oath in executive session—for some months he had used the office of Lauchlin Currie, special assistant to Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, while Currie was away; that he had read Currie's mail and taken care of Currie's correspondence. Currie has been identified by ex-Communist agent Elizabeth Bentley as a member of the Hiss-Ware-Perlo underground espionage ring in the high echelons of the Administration. Lattimore, before being confronted with his own letter, had sworn his acquaintance with Currie was formal and slight, and that he had never had access to Currie's mail.

Twice, in the midst of his tirades before the Tydings Committee, Lattimore had stated under oath that McCarthy's charges were only a "rehash" of Kohlberg's and that these had been studied, analyzed and found "utterly false." He swore that Kohlberg's charges were made "in a vindictive but unsuccessful attempt to discredit and take control of [the IPR]," a falsehood established by the testimony of two IPR trustees. He said:

> I would like to emphasize that this analysis was not made by me but was made five years ago by officers and trustees of the IPR. They included Mr. Arthur H. Dean, a partner of Mr. John Foster Dulles of Sullivan & Cromwell; Mr. William H. Herod, president of International General Electric Co.; Mr. Huntington Gilchrist of the American Cyanamid Co.; Prof. Joseph C. Chamberlain of Columbia University; Prof. Philip C. Jessup, also of Columbia University; Mr. Walter Dillingham, a business leader in Hawaii.

In the previous list of the "distinguished members, trustees and officers" who, he said, had made the analysis, he had included Robert Gordon Sproul, Ray Lyman Wilbur, Sumner Welles, Edward R. Embree and W. W. Waymack. (It would be interesting to learn whether, between April 6 and May 2, these men had written to Lattimore protesting that they had never seen the "analysis," which E. C. Carter said had never been sent out because it would cost too much.)

Now look at this testimony before the McCarran Committee by Raymond T. Dennett, secretary of IPR at the time the Kohlberg charges were "analyzed":

> MR. MORRIS [Special Counsel for the Committee]: Mr. Dennett, were you secretary of the American Council of IPR when Alfred Kohlberg brought his charge that there was Communist influence in the Institute?
> MR. DENNETT: I was. . . .
> MR. MORRIS: . . . was there ever any thorough investigation made of the so-called Kohlberg charges?
> MR. DENNETT: I would say "No." I would say there was an answer prepared; which was somewhat different.
> MR. MORRIS: Who prepared the answer?
> MR. DENNETT: Marguerite Ann Stewart.
> MR. MORRIS: Did she make any objective investigation of the so-called charges?
> MR. DENNETT: . . . I would be inclined to think not. . . .

[1] Named by Alexander Barmine and Louis Budenz as a Communist espionage agent; and declared by Professor William Montgomery McGovern, Professor Kenneth Colegrove, Assistant Secretary of State Eugene Dooman, President Harold Stassen of the University of Pennsylvania, Generals Wedemeyer, Willoughby and Fortier and author Freda Utley, among many others, as an advocate of pro-Communist views and a follower of all the changes in the Moscow foreign policy line.

MR. MORRIS: It [the answer] was prepared by Marguerite Stewart, the author of "Land of the Soviets"?
MR. DENNETT: Quite correct. . . . She volunteered to do it. . . .
SENATOR FERGUSON: Have you ever read "The Land of the Soviets" by her?
MR. DENNETT: I explained to the Committee [in executive session] that I had, Senator.
SENATOR FERGUSON: After reading that, would you think that you would designate her as a person to make an objective analysis as to whether Kohlberg's charges were true?
MR. DENNETT: I would not.

In spite of this testimony and that of E. C. Carter, both given last October, Lattimore, in March, again repeated under oath the false statement that Kohlberg's charges had been thoroughly analyzed by the whole board of IPR trustees and shown by them to be "utterly false."

Mrs. Stewart is the wife of Maxwell S. Stewart, identified as a Communist by various witnesses. She once taught in the Lenin Institute of revolutionary Marxian methodology in Moscow. That her writings have been consistently those of a Communist sympathizer is generally conceded.

After eight years, the Kohlberg "charges" remain eloquent substantiation of the rise and development within the IPR of the criminal conspiracy to deliver all Asia into the hands of Stalin. The active collaboration of the leaders of the IPR cabal with the traitors in the Departments of State, Treasury and Justice, and in the White House, was not then apparent and was not fully disclosed until Freda Utley, before the Tydings Committee, gave testimony that was swamped by nearly a million irrelevant words that Lattimore and his lawyer, Abe Fortas, got into the record to obscure the facts.

The Kohlberg "charges," in part, may be found buried in pages 1612-1642 in Mrs. Stewart's "analysis." No one expected anybody to read it, least of all Lattimore when he had it inserted in the record. Freda Utley's masterly analysis of Lattimore's party-line technique of literary propaganda remains an unchallengeable indictment, though she was treated like a criminal and subjected to the most infamous indignities by Lattimore, his lawyers, and Senator Tydings.

It has been Lattimore's constantly reiterated complaint that the Kohlberg "charges" were false and discredited; that McCarthy's charges against him merely "parroted" Kohlberg's; and that the testimony of Freda Utley, Elizabeth Bentley and Louis Budenz repeats the accusations originally made by Kohlberg. Lattimore still maintained this in March in spite of the testimony of former academic colleagues, Far Eastern experts and army officers, substantiating Miss Utley's testimony.

Lattimore is therefore perhaps the first man in history to contend that multiple corroborative evidence of guilt is proof of innocence.

This Is What He Said

Selected by HUBERT MARTIN

Owen Lattimore appeared before the McCarran Committee with the avowed purpose of disproving two old charges: that he, as editor of the IPR's *Pacific Affairs*, had consistently sponsored a political line which paralleled the Communist line, and that he had been the "architect" of the Far Eastern policy which has led us to Korea.

Lattimore accused the McCarran Committee of bias against him and against the IPR. He predicted that his testimony would not sway the committee; confronted with the fact that eleven people closely identified with the IPR had refused to testify on the grounds of self-incrimination, Lattimore excoriated the Committee:

> The fact that some individuals may have refused to testify that they were ever Communists is still not evidence that they took over the Institute [of Pacific Relations] or that they controlled it or that they used it for conveying information to Soviet Russia. . . .
>
> To give a false appearance of reality to this nightmare of outrageous lies, shaky hearsay, and undisguised personal spite, the subcommittee has put into the record letters, memoranda, book reviews and others items from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Curiously enough, a large number of the letters and documents Mr. Lattimore so scorns were from his own pen. One of the individuals whose refusal to testify could not signify anything to Lattimore was Frederick Vanderbilt Field. After much backing and filling, Lattimore conceded:

> My recollection has been that I began to think that Mr. Field was a close fellow-traveler of the Russians at the time of the American Peace Mobilization [a notorious Communist front].

Counsel stated: "This is a photostat of a document, of a carbon copy, in the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations . . . addressed to Mr. F. V. Field, American Peace Mobilization. . . .

> Dear Fred: Enclosed I am sending you an article submitted to me by "Asiaticus." For readers of *Pacific Affairs* it would read like propaganda, and rhapsodical propaganda at that. As the article is too long, however, we might be able to shorten it, pruning out a great many of the adjectives, but still retaining the realistic points. . . .

Lattimore claimed that this letter had no bearing on the Committee's thesis that there might have been a pro-Communist taint to the material in *Pacific Affairs*.

There is an IPR memorandum from April 1936 which reads:

> OL brought up the question of editing the vocabulary in left and Soviet articles. In regard to the Asiaticus article he had to revise the vocabulary considerably or otherwise the article would have been discounted as propaganda.

Mr. Lattimore continued to deny that Soviet Russia had any influence on the editing of *Pacific Affairs*. On May 16, 1940, Field wrote to Lattimore of another article, that "while the analysis is a straight Marxist one, and from that point of view should not be altered, there are a great many of those over-used Communist words and phrases which will make most of your readers vomit and which can be very easily paraphrased to the great benefit of the article."

Lattimore wrote back: "I hated to shorten the article at all. . . . This article is a good stout core around which to build the whole of the September issue of *Pacific Affairs*."

On the stand, Lattimore had a complete explanation: "I went on my own judgment of the manuscript and not on Mr. Field's characterization of it . . . that was his opinion. I still felt that I was quite competent to stack up my opinion against his when I read the article. . . . My opinion of the article differed from Field's."

There Ain't No Such Animal

If there exists evidence which would convince Mr. Lattimore that anyone is a Communist—short of the person's admission under oath—he has not yet admitted the fact.

"SENATOR FERGUSON. Mr. Lattimore, did you consider the Soviet Government a normal government, or did you consider it an international conspiracy?

"MR. LATTIMORE. When?

"SEN. FERGUSON. I will ask you the question when if you will tell me whether you ever did.

"MR. LATTIMORE. In my opinion, the government of Russia was the revolutionary [*sic*] of Russia and different from any other government . . . [whether it is a conspiracy] involves questions of relations between the Russian Government, the Comintern and the Communist Parties of various countries on which I am not versed. . . . I have not come to the conclusion [that it is a conspiracy] because I don't know how the structure of international relations is set up as between the Russian Government and the various Communist parties."

Therefore it is not surprising that Mr. Lattimore has his doubts about Alger Hiss, now serving his jail sentence, or about Philip Jaffe, formerly editor of *Amerasia*, who paid a fine of $2500 for illegal possession of government documents. The testimony revealing these doubts was in part as follows:

"SEN. FERGUSON. We asked you if you knew or had reason to believe, and your answer would infer now that up to this time you did not know, nor did you have reason to believe that Hiss was a Communist, or that Jaffe was a Communist. Do you want that answer to stand?

"MR. LATTIMORE. Yes. I don't believe that I know of any evidence that Mr. Hiss is a Communist. . . .

"SEN. FERGUSON. . . . Do I understand, then, that from all you read about Mr. Hiss, all that was in the paper or anything else, all that you heard about it, that, under the definition that we gave you, you would say you had no knowledge or reason to believe that Mr. Hiss was a Communist, or ever was a Communist? . . .

"MR. LATTIMORE. I am simply saying, Senator, that I haven't followed the news about Hiss very carefully in the press. I don't consider myself an authority on the subject. . . .

"SEN. FERGUSON. I am just wondering if, after reading this record, if you did not have some notion at least that Hiss and Jaffe were Communists. What is your answer to that?

"MR. LATTIMORE. I would say that sworn testimony to the effect that Hiss was a Communist would come within the definition, 'Reason to believe'; but I don't remember any sworn testimony in the case of Mr. Jaffe.

"SEN. FERGUSON. So you would say now that you do have reasons to believe that Hiss was a Communist, do you not?

"MR. LATTIMORE. I would say to that extent, yes.

"SEN. FERGUSON. You qualified that answer by saying 'to that extent,' that somebody swore that he was; is that right?

"MR. LATTIMORE. That is right.

"SEN. FERGUSON. But you do not believe so.

"MR. LATTIMORE. I have no personal knowledge about it.

"SEN. FERGUSON. But you have no reason to believe?

"MR. LATTIMORE. I consider that sworn testimony is some reason to believe. But it is not the same thing as conviction, is it?

"SEN. FERGUSON. I am asking you. To you it is not, is it?

"MR. LATTIMORE. No. To my mind, conviction is conviction, and accusation is accusation."

How to Influence Without Influencing

Of equal difficulty was Lattimore's attempt to persuade the Committee that he had not influenced American foreign policy. In the McCarran Committee record are two letters to President Truman which show his eagerness to influence policy, as well as memoranda urging the course of action which was subsequently taken by the government. Curiously, Lattimore failed to tell the Tydings Committee about this in 1950.

On June 10, 1945, Lattimore wrote the President:

> There appears now to be a major change in our policy, which may invite the danger of a political and even a territorial division of China and the further danger of conflict and rivalry between America and Russia. . . . The first step toward a solution must be to correct the alarmingly rapid drift of current American policy. With the utmost earnestness, I venture to urge you to have America's policy toward China impartially reviewed by advisers who are not associated with either the formulation or the implementation of that policy as recently practiced.

The President replied that he would be glad to discuss China policy with him, and Lattimore answered on June 20: ". . . If the views which I earnestly wish to place before you for your consideration should be of any value to you, they would be of more value before your forthcoming meeting with Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin."

Lattimore saw the President on July 3, 1945. He told the McCarran Committee as he had told the Tydings Committee, "Our conference lasted about three minutes. Neither my letter nor my visit had the slightest effect on American policy." He did not think it worth mentioning that he had left with the President two memoranda on Japan and China policy.

"SEN. FERGUSON. Why did you not tell [the Tydings Committee] that you had written a memorandum of your views on the Far East or on China?

"MR. LATTIMORE. I told [them] that I had seen the President. If they wanted to know more about it, I was perfectly prepared to answer.

"SEN. FERGUSON. Did you tell them that?

"MR. LATTIMORE. I don't remember the transcript of the Tydings Committee at that point. I certainly didn't refuse to answer any questions.

"SEN. FERGUSON. You are aware of the fact that you were sworn at that time to give them all the facts, were you not? . . . you produced here a letter giving your views on the matter. You swore, when you read this, that it was the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth . . . instead of leaving the idea that you had left nothing with the President, but talked with him for just three minutes . . . Why did you not then give to the committee the fact that you had written the memorandum and left it with the President? . . .

"MR. LATTIMORE. Senator, I have already said that I, as a citizen, do not believe in taking the initiative in revealing what a citizen talks about to his President when he sees him. If the committee wants to ask for it—and this committee did—it is not in my power to refuse. But the responsibility lies with the committee. I see no obligation to volunteer anything of that kind. . . . The question of the truth is a question of what the Committee asks me. . . .

"THE CHAIRMAN. Did you go there for the purpose of influencing the President? . . .

"MR. LATTIMORE. Yes, of course, I did. . . .

"SEN. FERGUSON. Will you read [this] memorandum? . . . It was written by Vincent . . . is that not just what you were saying in your second letter, that the Communists would have to accept a minority standing as a long-term status, but Chiang would have to give them real power within a coalition government proportionate to their real strength, not just token representation? . . .

"MR. LATTIMORE. That indicates close, similar thinking.

"SEN. FERGUSON. . . . Would that not indicate that your second alternative, a unified China, was exactly what the State Department and the President were doing?

"MR. LATTIMORE. It indicates that my thinking was similar to that which led the State Department or the State Department and the armed forces in combination to that decision. I see no cause and effect relationship.

"THE CHAIRMAN. This memorandum had been placed before the President before General Marshall was sent abroad?

"SEN. FERGUSON. Yes, by almost six months. How can you then say, with this in mind, Mr. Vincent writing it, that you had not the slightest effect, or your memorandum did not have the slightest effect?

"MR. LATTIMORE. I am convinced, Senator, that it did not have the slightest effect. . . . May I refer to the fact that the President had already told me that affairs in China were well in hand?

"THE CHAIRMAN. In the meantime, Mr. Vincent had been promoted?

"SEN. FERGUSON. Mr. Grew was put out, Mr. Ballantine was put out, and Mr. Dooman was put out.

"MR. LATTIMORE. In the meantime of what, may I ask?

"THE CHAIRMAN. In the meantime between the time you left the memorandum with the President and the time Marshall was sent to Asia. . . .

"SEN. FERGUSON. Right there, is that not exactly what you told the President?

"MR. LATTIMORE. That indicates similar thinking but no cause and effect.

"SEN. FERGUSON. No cause and effect. Would you think, then, that the only way we could get a cause and effect would be for the President to say in here, 'This was the policy proposed by Owen Lattimore, the authority on Far Eastern affairs'?

"MR. LATTIMORE. No, sir, I don't.

"SEN. FERGUSON. How would you get it?

"MR. LATTIMORE. I think one of the gaps in our knowledge here is whether the President ever transmitted my memorandum to the Department of State, or whether they were ever considered or accepted. I have never heard they were."

Although the Committee succeeded in making Lattimore admit that he had gone to the President for the purpose of influencing him, and that the official views subsequently expressed by John Carter Vincent and Dean Acheson and the instructions

given to General Marshall corresponded with the views and the advice put forward in his memoranda, Lattimore continued to repeat, "They had not the slightest effect."

His attempts to plead ignorance were not always successful.

"MR. MANDEL [reading]:

'MR. BUDENZ. That was a meeting of 1943. . . . At this meeting Mr. Field stated that he had received word from Mr. Lattimore. . . . I got the impression that he had talked to Mr. Lattimore personally, and Mr. Lattimore stated that information coming to him from the international Communist apparatus where he was located indicated that there was to be a change of line very sharply on Chiang Kai-shek. . . . The Politburo suggested that someone, and the name of T. A. Bisson was mentioned in that connection, be enlisted to write an article in connection with the Institute of Pacific Affairs publication on this matter explaining the democratic character of the Chinese Communists and indicating that Chiang Kai-shek and his group represented anti-democracy. . . .'

"MR. MORRIS. Did you read the article?

"MR. LATTIMORE. I don't believe I did.

"MR. MORRIS. Is it your testimony, then, Mr. Lattimore, that you did not at that time read the Bisson article and that the Bisson article was contrary to things you were writing at that time?

"MR. LATTIMORE. It is my testimony that, to the best of my recollection, I did not read the article at that time, didn't even know of it until some vague time later, and most of my knowledge of it at this moment is based on reading the transcripts of these proceedings.

"MR. MORRIS. And could it not coincide with what you were saying at that time? . . .

"MR. LATTIMORE. Yes, I believe it is completely contrary. . . .

"MR. MORRIS. Mr. Lattimore, will you look at that letter and testify as to whether or not you wrote that letter?

"MR. LATTIMORE. I must have written this letter, yes.

"MR. MORRIS. Will you read the first paragraph, please?

"MR. LATTIMORE. Yes, sir.

'Dear Bill: Your letter of July 20 arrived just as I was reading T. A. Bisson's article on China. I was trying to formulate for myself some way of expressing an opinion. I think you do this very well. Bisson's terminology will turn away a number of people whom he might have persuaded with use of a different terminology. Nevertheless, I think his main points are as sound as you think they are. . . .'"

The Irreplaceables

Whatever the shortcomings of Mr. Lattimore may be, nobody can deny that he possesses one great virtue—loyalty to his friends. Faced with the difficult choice between private friendship and public duty, the choice that has harassed so many Communists when they broke away from the party, Mr. Lattimore apparently never hesitates. "Reasonable doubt" does not exist for him.

"MR. LATTIMORE. . . . John Stewart Service, an exceptionally able career diplomat, after being cleared six times by the State Department Loyalty Security Board—and I believe I am in error in this, I believe it is more than six times—and after a careful statement that he was not guilty of disloyalty, has been summarily dismissed for 'reasonable doubt' of disloyalty, under a new ruling.

"SEN. FERGUSON. Is that not a Presidential order, and is that not the wording of it? . . .

"MR. LATTIMORE. Yes . . . it constitutes a new ruling on past cases which has been given retroactive force and conveys to some members of the public, of whom I am one, a flavor of cruel and unusual punishment. . . .

"SEN. JENNER. . . . Are you trying to tell this Committee that if there is a reasonable doubt about a man being loyal to this country, that he should remain in the office of public trust and handling secret papers, and so forth? . . .

"MR. LATTIMORE. Senator, I believe that the question of loyalty in our Government service is . . . of such importance that I think it should be handled strictly on grounds of proof or disproof; that vague words like 'reasonable doubt,' which may mean one thing to one man and something else to somebody else, are not the words of a ruling under which a high morale can be maintained in the Department.

"SEN. JENNER. Mr. Lattimore, you have named three men here whom you think have been unfairly treated, that is John Stewart Service, O. Edmund Clubb, and John Carter Vincent.

"MR. LATTIMORE. May I modify one word there, Senator? I think 'scandalously' would be better than 'unfairly.'

"SEN. JENNER. I will accept your word. Now going back to another period in the history of the Far East, would you be kind enough to tell this Committee what you thought of the way Joseph Grew was treated?

"MR. LATTIMORE. I know very little, indeed, about the resignation of Mr. Grew, and couldn't tell offhand by whom he was replaced.

"SEN. JENNER. Do you know anything about Stanley Hornbeck, what happened to him and why?

"MR. LATTIMORE. I have known Stanley Hornbeck for many years. . . .

"SEN. JENNER. . . . Now, would you tell me what you mean by 'irreplaceable personnel,' 'both directly by attacks on irreplaceable personnel'?

"MR. LATTIMORE. I think that personnel like Vincent, Service and Clubb are very difficult to replace.

"SEN. JENNER. Would you say that Joseph Grew and Stanley Hornbeck and Adolf Berle and Patrick Hurley and Lieutenant General Albert Wedemeyer would be hard to replace?

"MR. LATTIMORE. I don't know enough about the

details of their qualifications to have an opinion, Senator.

"SEN. SMITH. Mr. Lattimore, it is a fact that at the time Mr. Grew and at least some of these other men were fired, we did not have the same situation in the Far East with respect to the Communists being in dominant control that we have today?

"MR. LATTIMORE. I presume you are right. This was some years ago, wasn't it?

"SEN. SMITH. Yes. So that since these men who were known as anti-Communists were relieved of their duties and their positions, communism has made great advances in the Far East?

"SEN. JENNER. That is why they were removed.

"SEN. SMITH. I am just asking for the facts.

"MR. LATTIMORE. Is your argument, Senator, a *post hoc, ergo propter hoc?*

"SEN. SMITH. I believe you said you did not want to indulge in legal or technical language, so I am asking you in plain language if, after these men were removed, is it not a fact that there have been great advances by communism in the Far East?

"MR. LATTIMORE. Yes. Of course, the advances of communism since the death of Julius Caesar have been even greater.

"SEN. SMITH. And that is the relation that you think you ought to have in discussing a current matter?

"SEN. FERGUSON. Could we have an answer, Mr. Chairman?

"MR. LATTIMORE. I confess, Senator, I see no connection between the points you are making."

Macy to Gimbel to Taft

By ARTHUR KEMP

One of the derogatory remarks directed at Mr Taft by his political rivals is an oft-repeated "but' statement. It runs something like this: "Oh, Sen ator Taft is the best man for the job, *but* he can not win the election!"

Instead of accepting such an unsupported assertion, it would be wise for Republicans to examine the evidence. In the Presidential election year of 1948 the Ohio popular vote was: Truman, 1,452,-791; Dewey, 1,445,684; Total, 2,898,475.

When Senator Taft was reelected in 1950, the Ohio popular vote was: Taft, 1,643,341; Ferguson 1,212,673; Total, 2,856,014.

Several things are obvious from these figures and several probable conclusions may be drawn.

First, Senator Taft's majority was 431,668 votes compared to a meager plurality of 7000 for Mr Truman over Mr. Dewey. It is sometimes said that Mr. Ferguson was a weak opponent, but his vote was only 240,000 votes less than that of Mr. Truman although Presidential elections typically draw a high total vote. The logical conclusion is that Senator Taft had great drawing power among Democrats and/or "independents."

Second, Taft's vote exceeded Dewey's by almost 200,000 votes. In a non-Presidential year, the Senator attracted more votes for the Republicans than Mr. Dewey in the typically heavier voting of a Presidential election.

Third, Taft's vote exceeded Truman's by 190,-000. This, too, points logically to Taft's drawing power among Democrats and/or "independents."

Fourth, looking at the figures from another point of view, Taft's majority of 431,688 might be assumed to be made up of 197,657 more Republicans than voted for Dewey, plus 190,550 more Democrats than voted for Truman, plus 63,461 votes from the independents.

These 190,550 more votes for Taft than for Truman represent more than 2 per cent of the Ohio population. If, in a nation-wide contest between Taft and Truman, a similar average ratio resulted, it would constitute a tremendous victory. Considering that organized labor poured millions of dollars into Ohio and hired expert propagandists to defeat the Senator, the number of industrial districts he carried is impressive indeed.

Republicans also should consider a few intangibles in the selection of a candidate. The American voter likes a fighter, a plucky one, who is not afraid to stand up and slug if need be. Mr. Truman, who is generally conceded to be an astute politician, demonstrated this beyond question. Furthermore, Mr. Truman prefers to have the Republican Party nominate Senator Taft—or so he has said in some unsolicited political advice. Perhaps he is being helpful to his political opponents, *but* does Macy tell Gimbel his business?

Not All Monkeys Are Indian

Some 55,000,000 holy monkeys are responsible for 15 to 20 per cent of India's crop loss yearly. Thus, in a rather well-informed letter to the *New York Times*, Mr. C. H. Bartholomae asks:

> Do "good morals" call for our helping to feed the 55,000,000 monkeys of India? Where fifty years ago only the langur species (genus Presbytis) were regarded as members of the Hindu pantheon, in the form of Hanuman, the monkey god, the more destructive rhesus (genus Macaca) have since been taken in under the mantle of divinity. Enormous inroads on crops have resulted. . . .

Since we are now asked to add $50 million in gold to our $195 million gift of wheat grains to India last year, it follows that the gift in gold is to be used largely to make up the difference between what we gave originally and what the holy monkeys consumed.

The next thing some uncontrolled bureaucrat in Washington will want to know is: who put the R in money!

MAX GELTMAN

Economic Miracle in Peru

By OSWALDO BUONANNI

A resident of Peru describes the remarkable recovery that has occurred in that country since it abolished the system of exchange controls.

A recent visitor to Lima, the capital of Peru, was amazed by the number of new automobiles, American, British or German, to be seen there. If he had inquired further, he would have been amazed by the fact that Peru is not only supplied but oversupplied with all kinds of merchandise from whisky to textiles, and from machinery to nylons.

Toward the end of 1948 Peruvian international trade, as far as imports were concerned, was frozen. Dollar reserves in the vaults of the Central Reserve Bank had shrunk to a few paltry thousands. The most urgently needed merchandise, up to and including imported raw materials and essential industrial products, could not be obtained at any price.

If shiny new automobiles nowadays crowd the streets of the city or wait in showrooms for purchasers, if such abundance is more visible in Lima than in any other city in South America, if dollars are readily available in any reasonable amount at any of the local banks, one has not to go far to look for an explanation: Peru has been the first and only South American country to suppress the graft-laden system of exchange controls and import licensing. During the first five years following the end of the war, this system had brought the country within an inch of bankruptcy.

This Peruvian miracle has been accomplished without foreign loans or the help of American generosity of any kind. It is merely the result of the elimination of exchange control—with its incompetence, favoritism, graft, and the inevitable flight abroad of dollars or any other currency or commodity which it makes officially scarce.

Import and exchange controls were denounced in Peru, after careful investigation, as having caused widespread corruption both in official and commercial circles. This fact, which is very well known to both businessmen and many government officials here and in foreign countries, is not easily understood by the ordinary citizen, whose normal activities do not bring him in contact with commercial or banking institutions.

What experience has indirectly demonstrated in Peru (and this can surely be extended to other countries where such a system of statism still prevails) can be summarized as follows:

1. Most of the invoices for merchandise imported under this system are generally "rigged" to the extent, in some cases, of a full 100 per cent. This causes a tremendous drain on the dollar resources of the country. It increases at the same time the real price the consumer has to pay, in spite of nominally cheap dollars and price controls within the country.

2. Nearly every import license involves either favoritism or graft, or is granted under some kind of agreement with the importer whereby the official who grants it has a share in the profits.

3. Extreme incompetence in estimating the country's requirements of imported goods is readily apparent in most cases, even when the official responsible is not sharing the profits.

During 1951 the last import restriction was removed in Peru. Importation of American-made automobiles was resumed. The measure also caused the return to the country of a good many of the dollars which had previously taken flight. The expectation that the rate of the Peruvian currency unit would fall in relation to the dollar ceased to exist. At the end of 1951 a deficit of $34,000,000 was found to exist in the trade balance of Peru. But the return of dollars, either in the form of currency or as merchandise purchased with funds held abroad, not only compensated for the unfavorable trade balance but made possible, at the beginning of the year, the purchase of approximately $12,000,000 in gold from the United States Government as a welcome increase to the reserves of the Central Reserve Bank of Peru.

A Lesson for Lenders

Peru's experience would tend to indicate that the re-establishment of normality in matters relating to exchange and imports should first be considered whenever loans or other financial help from the U. S. to other countries are proposed.

In Peru it has been proved that an artificial rate of exchange does not benefit the consumer. Graft, overbilling, etc., tend to make prices even higher than they would be at a free rate or the so-called "black market" rate of exchange. It has also been proved that any kind of help from abroad which allows State intervention to continue, tends only to wind up in the pockets of a restricted number of corrupted officials, unscrupulous businessmen and speculators—people with "pull" and, in general, the less reliable and desirable elements.

In Lima, in years past, it was possible for a man

with connections to erect a ten-story building, using mostly imported materials, at no cost to himself—by simply ordering more materials than needed and reselling them in the black market. The public and the producers of exportable products were in fact paying for such buildings. But if Peru had received American Government loans (which she did not) to keep her system of import and exchange controls alive, such building and such dollar balances held abroad would also have been paid for in part by the American taxpayer.

How many buildings of ten stories, and how many of such dollar balances, is the American taxpayer now helping to pay for in other countries?

The Mice and Men Plan

By H. C. NORTH

My Mice and Men Plan is a simple little plan for controlling the economy of the nation and also of the world, and I want to say right here that it is not just another plan. The trouble with other plans is that they are full of blind economic forces that are always creeping in and these forces seldom do what you want them to do and, if they do, it is seldom at the time that you want them to and my plan isn't like that. My plan might be called the Push Button Plan because it is practically automatic, but I like to call it the Mice and Men Plan because it is fundamental besides being automatic.

My simple little plan for keeping the blind natural forces in line so that they are good for us is based on a well-known fundamental fact easily confirmed by experiment and observation. To state it in its simplest terms: *Mice eat wheat.*

Now once you get anybody to admit that, you've got him where he has got to admit that you can control the wheat supply of the world simply by controlling the number of mice in same. The more mice, the less wheat. The less mice, the more wheat. Anybody except parties looking for an argument would admit it in the first place.

It stands to reason that now you have the wheat supply under control you automatically have the men who raise the wheat under control, and also just as automatically the men who transport the wheat and the men who mill it and the men who build the mills and the men who make the mill machinery and the men who make the machines that make the mill machinery and the men who mine the metals etc., etc., and right back up the line again from the mines and farms to the savings accounts in a sort of chain reaction until you've got the whole darned economy right where you want it. And that is where it is good for you.

Now of course all bold new ideas always have a few little wrinkles that need ironing out. It is a well-known fact, easily confirmed, that the greater the food supply, the faster animals multiply; and mice, being animals, are no exception. Which in non-technical language simply means that a wheat surplus would breed more and more mice to eat the wheat, and some fine day this would lead to no wheat at all which is nearly as bad as a surplus.

On the other hand, hawks are no exception either, and hawks eat mice. So the greater the mouse supply, the more food there would be for the hawks and they would multiply faster and there would be more hawks to eat the mice. So a wheat surplus would lead to a mouse surplus, which would lead to a hawk surplus, which would lead to a mouse shortage, which would lead to a wheat surplus, which is just what we started out with.

And as if that isn't enough to think about, it seems that when a wheat surplus increases the mouse population, mouse colonies get congested. Which leads to disease, which leads to epidemics, which leads to fewer mice. And as if *that* isn't enough, it seems that hawks follow the line of least resistance and prey on the weakest mice. So they leave only the healthiest mice to reproduce, which leads to more and better mice than we had at first, which leads to a wheat shortage again.

As you can see, this is going to take a little time to figure out scientifically and so I have called in a fellow who is an ecologist. It seems that ecologists know all about the relations of mice and men. And it now turns out I jumped into this thing without studying the scientific aspects too carefully. This fellow says that hawks eating mice isn't the only scientific aspect, but that all little animals are eaten by other little animals that are eaten by other little animals etc., etc., until they are eaten by fairly good-sized animals. For instance, he says that aphids are eaten by hover flies which are eaten by spiders which are eaten by wasps which are eaten by small birds which are eaten by hawks.

Now it's the hawks we want to get at because they eat the mice that create wealth etc., etc., and anybody not knowing anything about it might think that by controlling the aphids you could control the hover flies etc., etc. But this fellow says, No, those aphids feed on plants and if you're going to control those aphids, you've got to control those plants and the thing to do is to find the one key plant that those aphids have just got to have.

Now it seems that this fellow knows another fellow who is not just any ecologist like the first fellow but a plant ecologist. And it seems that soils and climates and weather and stuff like that are likely to enter into this; also other little plants and animals you can't even see, some of them living in the ocean. But this other fellow knows all about that, which is one of the reasons we've taken him into our confidence. Now there are three of us working on it and I guess I'll be able to report progress in the right direction almost any time.

Marks of Empire

By GARET GARRETT

The American system of satellites differs from all previous systems in that we pay dependent nations for allowing us to help protect them.

Besides (1) the rise of the executive principle of government to a role of dominant power, with executive agencies now making 90 per cent of our laws: (2) the subordination of domestic policy to foreign policy, which we painfully feel, and (3) the ascendancy of the military mind, another historic feature of Empire, and this a structural feature, is *a system of satellite nations.*

We use that word only for nations captured in the Russian orbit, with some inflection of contempt. We speak of our own satellites as allies and friends, or as freedom-loving nations. Nevertheless, satellite is the right word. The meaning of it is *the hired guard.* When people say we have lost China or that if we lose Europe it will be a disaster, what do they mean? How could we lose China or Europe, since they never belonged to us? What they mean is that we have lost or may lose a following of dependent people who act as an outer guard.

From the point of view of Empire the one fact common to all satellites is that their security is deemed vital to the security of the Empire; from the opposite point of view the common fact is that a satellite nation is one that is afraid to stand alone and wants the Empire's protection. So there is a bargain. The Empire, in its superior strength, assumes responsibility for the security and well-being of the satellite nation, and the satellite nation undertakes to stand with its back to the Empire and face the common enemy. It may desert and go over to the enemy. That will be a change of position only, not a change of status. There will be one more satellite on the other side and one less on this side.

By this definition our principal satellite is Great Britain. Since that relationship began, in 1940, the American Government has contributed, first to her defense and then to her postwar recovery, gifts and loans amounting approximately to $40 billion, and there is yet no end in sight. That could be justified to the American people only by the formula that the security of Great Britain is vital to the security of the United States. Nor is it sentiment that causes Great Britain to lean her weight against us, or to prefer, in the words of Lord Halifax, "a relationship which can not be dissolved." If she could stand alone she would. She would sooner have more satellites of her own than to be one.

By the same definition, all the 13 foreign countries that adhere to the North Atlantic Treaty are satellites. First of all, the United States assumes responsibility for their security. By the terms of the treaty, if any one of them is attacked, that shall be deemed an attack upon the United States itself. Meanwhile, we give them billions for armaments on the ground that if they will use the armaments to defend themselves they will at the same time be defending us. We do more. We underwrite their economic welfare and their solvency, on the theory that a wretched or insolvent satellite is not much good.

President Truman says:

> We must make sure that our friends and allies overseas continue to get the help they need to make their full contribution to security and progress for the whole free world. This means not only military aid — though that is vital — it also means real programs of economic and technical assistance. It means helping our European allies to maintain decent living standards.

On the other side of the world, by the terms of the Pacific Pact, we assume responsibility for the security of Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines; and by treaty we undertake to protect Japan in return for military privileges.

Beginning of Entanglement

It is a long list, and satellite traffic in the American orbit is already pretty dense without taking into account client nations, suppliant nations and waif satellites, all looking to the American government for arms and economic aid. These are scattered like festers all over the body of the sick world. For any one of them to involve us in war it is necessary only for the Executive Power at Washington to decide that its defense is somehow essential to the security of the United States. That is how the Korean war started. Korea was a waif satellite.

This vast system of entanglement, which makes a war anywhere in the world our war too, had its origin in the Lend-Lease Act of March 1941. That was in the second year of World War II and nine months before Pearl Harbor. The American people were resolved not to get into that war. Mr. Roosevelt persuaded them that the only way to stay out of it was to adopt "measures short of war."

The Lend-Lease Act was entitled, "An Act to promote the defense of the United States." It was

the single most reckless delegation of power by the Congress to the President that had ever been made or imagined, amounting in fact to abdication. Literally, under the law, the President could have given away the United States Navy. When at a White House press conference that extreme point was made, the President disposed of it derisively, saying: "The law doesn't forbid the President of the United States to stand on his head, but he doesn't expect to stand on his head."

Under this law the President was free, without limitation, without accountability to anyone—to give not only economic and military aid but secret military information also to any country "whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States," and this "notwithstanding the provision of any other law." On the day the bill passed the President declared the defense of Great Britain vital to that of the United States; four days later he added China. When the war ended Lend-Lease goods were flowing to every non-enemy port in the world. The total cost was roughly $50 billion. The principal beneficiaries were Great Britain, Russia and France, in that order.

Fear Is the Moving Force

After the war the American Government distributed billions for the relief of human distress everywhere. Then came the Marshall Plan, which has already cost more than $12 billion.

At first the Marshall Plan had no political meaning. The idea was that we were willing to share our wealth with Europe as a whole, to promote her postwar recovery. All European nations were invited to participate in that supernatural windfall, Russia included. But when Russia and her satellites spurned our capitalistic dollars, and then as the Russian mask began to slip, the character of the Marshall Plan changed. Its subsidies and benefits were for those countries of western Europe that would align themselves against the Russian menace. The Marshall Plan was to have expired in 1951. It did not expire. Its name was changed. It is now the Mutual Security Plan. The Marshall Plan countries have become the North Atlantic Treaty countries, all looking to the American Empire for arms, economic aid and security.

"What we have tried to accomplish," said the Secretary of State on returning from the first Brussels meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Council—the British, French, Belgian, Dutch and all the other NATO nations—

> has been in the light of a clear conception which we have all held. That is that the security of each one of us is tied up with the security of all of us, and therefore strength and security is a common problem and a common task. So far as the United States is concerned, that is a really national policy.

That was the beginning of the first officially organized evangel of fear to which the American mind was ever exposed. A year later Senator Flanders was saying:

> Fear is felt and spread by the Department of Defense in the Pentagon. In part, the spreading of it is purposeful. Faced with what seem to be enormous armed forces aimed against us, we can scarcely expect the Department of Defense to do other than keep the people in a state of fear so that they will be prepared without limit to furnish men and munitions. . . Another center from which fear is spread throughout our people is the State Department. Our diplomacy has gone on the defensive. The real dependence of the State Department is in arms, armies and allies. There is no confidence left in anything except force. The fearfulness of the Pentagon and that of the State Department complement and reinforce each other.

Senator Flanders missed the point. Empire *must* put its faith in arms.

Fear at last assumes the phase of a patriotic obsession. It is stronger than any political party. Any candidate for office who trifles with its basic conviction will be scourged. The basic conviction is simple. We can not stand alone. A capitalistic economy, though it possesses half the industrial power of the whole world, can not defend its own hemisphere. It may be able to save the world: alone it can not save itself. It must have allies. Fortunately, it is able to buy them, bribe them, arm them, feed and clothe them; it may cost us more than we can afford, yet we must have them or perish. This voice of fear is the voice of government.

Thus the historic pattern completes itself. No Empire is secure in itself; its security is in the hands of its allies.

At the end of World War II General Marshall, then Chief of Staff, reported to the President: "The security of the United States now is in its own hands," Five years later, as Secretary of Defense, he was returning American troops and armament to Europe as our contribution to an international army which, it might be hoped, would defend the security of the United States somewhere between the river Rhine and the Pyrenees.

Now the voice of persuasion, saying: "Let it be Empire. It will be Empire in a new sign. For the first time in the history of mankind the paramount power of the world is in the keeping of a nation that has neither the will to exploit others nor any motive to increase its wealth at their expense. It wants only to chain the aggressor down, and then a world in which all people shall be politically free to govern themselves and economically free to produce and exchange wealth with one another on equal terms. Are Americans afraid of their own power? Shall they forbear to use it to bring their vision to pass?"

The view may be sublime. That will not save you if, as you reach for the stars, you step into a chasm. It is true that Empire may be a great civilizing force. The Roman Empire was. But it is true also

that this *is* Empire in a new sign, and there lies the chasm.

Every Empire in history that endured at all, even those that did greatly advance civilization, somehow made it pay. And why not? Is there any good without price? Rome exported peace, law and order; but not for nothing. She laid her satellites under tribute, and when the cost of policing the Roman world and defending the Roman peace was more than her satellites were willing to pay, the Empire fell.

There was a price for Pax Britannica. The British Empire did not lay direct tribute upon her satellites. She so managed the terms of trade that the exchange of manufactured goods for food and raw materials was very profitable for England; and as year after year she invested her profits in banks and ports and railroads all over the world she grew very rich and her navy ruled the seas. Again, why not? Could a few million people in the British Isles, when it came their turn, afford to police the world for nothing? When the terms of trade began to turn against them—that is, when the people who exchanged food and raw materials for the high-priced products of British machines began to revolt, the Empire was in trouble. Yet while it lasted it was the most civilizing force the world had known since the fall of the Roman Empire.

Empire Through the Looking Glass

Never has it been imagined before that Empire out of its own pocket should not only pay all the costs of Empire but actually pay other nations for the privilege of giving them protection, defending their borders and minding their economic welfare.

That indeed is Empire in a new sign. The chasm is bankruptcy. Not to make sense of it, which is impossible, but only in order not to forget that you belong to a race of once rational creatures, you have to keep telling yourself that it all began when you walked through the looking glass.

We pay Europe to let us defend her civilization; we give steel to Europe because the European production of steel is limited for political reasons; we give coal to Europeans when the one thing they have plenty of is coal, and do this only to save them from the alternative of either mining enough of their own coal or freezing; we increase our own national debt to give Great Britain the money to reduce her national debt, on the ground that that will be good for her credit. And when, from buying more American goods than she can pay for, over and above what we give her, Europe goes from one financial crisis to another, called the crisis of the dollar gap, we put more billions in her pocket to enable her to go on buying more than she can pay for (that is what the Marshall Plan was for).

The formula is not confined to Europe. It acts with a kind of centrifugal force, to scatter dollars all over the world. Thus, we find ourselves defending the American way of life by engaging in such projects as the following:

In the colonial territories of Great Britain: road development in Nyasaland, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Northern Rhodesia, North Borneo, Sarawak and Malaya; reservoir construction in Somaliland, an agricultural equipment pool in Mauritius, locust control in the Middle East and East Africa, a lumber project in British Borneo, drainage and irrigation in British Guiana, a Gold Coast railroad, and so forth.

In the colonial territories of France: road development in French West Africa, the French Cameroons and French Equatorial Africa; water and power distribution and workers' housing in Casablanca, steam power plants at Bone and Oran in Algeria, agricultural services and wheat storage in Algeria, water supply in the Brazzaville area of French Equatorial Africa, irrigation and stock watering in the Masso Valley of Morocco, a rayon pulp plant, and so forth.

In the Belgian Congo: soil survey, waterways, roads and a power project. At Portugese Angola: a meat industry project. In Burma: irrigation, flood control, soil conservation, control of livestock diseases, agricultural extension work, canning, rice storage, cotton seed improvement, harbor development, low-cost housing, public health activities, education, technical assistance, audio-visual service, and so forth.

In Indo-China: road development, Cambodia fisheries, irrigation, river transportation, water purification, fire-fighting equipment, public health, low-cost housing, a radio school, information service, and so forth. In the Indonesian Republic: fisheries, a forest project, control of foot and mouth disease, rehabilitation of the textile industry, improvement of native industries, public health services, and so forth. In Thailand: irrigation, agricultural research and development, deep freezing, harbor development, roads, a railroad shop, mineral development, planned communications, technical assistance, and so forth.

These, you understand, are but the fringe activities. They represent only spillings from the great Marshall Plan pool, after it had provided dollars for industrial projects in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom and Turkey.

Casting out only those areas around which the Russians have drawn their hard red line, if there is a country or a land in the whole world where the American Government's planners, almoners, experts and welfare-bringers are not passing miracles with dollars, it is because the State Department's map maker either forgot it or couldn't spell it and thought it might never be missed.

This is Imperialism of the Good Intent. Empire of the Bottomless Purse.

Stalin and Mark Twain

By M. K. ARGUS

The Kremlin has a weakness for dead writers. One can twist a dead man's writings any way one wishes, and there is nothing he can do about it. One can say (as do Stalin's propagandists) that, were Shakespeare alive, he would have supported the Soviet system. One can also say the opposite—but not in Russia.

Of contemporary foreign writers, including American, only those who follow the party line are published in the Soviet Union. As soon as they begin to deviate, they cease to exist, and their books are eliminated from circulation. But with dead writers, there is never any danger of deviation.

This is one of the principal reasons why nineteenth-century European and American writers occupy a special place in Stalin's propaganda setup; and Mark Twain is one of the most prominent among them.

There are many advantages in propagandizing Mark Twain. First, he is dead and can not protest. Second, he is an excellent answer to anyone who doubts the cultural standards of Communist Russia. "You see how cultured we are," a Soviet apologist will tell you. "Mark Twain is better appreciated by the Soviet people than by his own countrymen. Five million copies of Mark Twain's books have been sold in the USSR in the last two years. Can you match it?" Nobody, of course, can match it; neither can anyone check the figures. Third, Twain was a humorist and a satirist, and he poked fun at many aspects of contemporary American life. Disregarding, of course, the time lag, Soviet propagandists quote Mark Twain to show how backward, corrupt and uncultured the Americans are today. (In a similar manner, they use Charles Dickens to show the appalling conditions in English jails.)

Connecticut Yankee in Moscow

A new edition of Mark Twain's "A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court" has been published recently in the USSR, with learned commentaries and footnotes. But the editor of the edition and the author of the footnotes are probably sorry they started it all. Vile deviations and gross misstatements have been discovered in the explanatory notes and the official *Literary Gazette* (September 11, 1951) came out with a terrific blast against the poor individuals who had anything to do with the book, but especially against the compiler of the footnotes, who was found guilty of "falsifying historical truth" and of being "a sycophant of the West"—two very serious crimes, indeed.

Here are a few of the heinous crimes committed by the editor of the book and the compiler of the footnotes, as pointed out by the *Literary Gazette*. There is mention, in "A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court," of James Watt, Richard Arkwright and Samuel Morse. Taking it for granted that the enlightened Soviet reader does not know these people from Adam, the compiler of the footnotes explains:

> The Scot, James Watt (1739-1819), was famous for his invention of the first steam engine.
>
> Richard Arkwright (1732-1792), an Englishman, was the inventor of the first spinning jenny.
>
> Samuel Morse (1791-1872), an American physicist and painter, invented the telegraph.

"How can anyone make such ignorant statements," exclaims the *Literary Gazette*, "when every schoolboy in the Soviet Union knows that the first steam engine was invented not by James Watt but by a Russian, Ivan Ivanovich Polzunov, way before James Watt ever thought of it?"

As to the spinning jenny, "everyone in the Soviet Union knows that it was invented by a Russian, Rodion Glinkov."

Mark Twain, who was not a Russian schoolboy, might not have known who the true inventor of the telegraph was, but the author of the footnotes, says the *Literary Gazette*, ought to know better: "The telegraph was invented in Russia by Pavel Lvovich Schilling and improved by Boris Semyonovich Jacoby."

But that is not all. There is one footnote in the unfortunate edition of "A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court" that made a good Stalinist's hair stand on end. It is about West Point.

"This nest of American imperialism," fumes the *Literary Gazette*, "is presented as a temple of learning and as a military school from which enlightened officers emerge."

That, as every Soviet citizen knows, is atrociously wrong. "West Point is the military academy that has produced such warmongers as Eisenhower and MacArthur. Graduates of West Point have participated in all American wars of aggression and robbery. Why," asks the worthy newspaper, "has the compiler of the footnotes chosen to extol the non-existent virtues of West Point?"

There is an ominous note in the question. Nothing, of course, will happen to Mark Twain, for he is dead. But the editor of the new edition of "A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court" and the author of its commentaries and footnotes may soon disappear mysteriously.

To Whom It May Concern

Desist now; we know what your false notes mean;
We see through your sly propaganda screen.
Cease stalling, cease fire, above all cease
This making a scandalous word of PEACE.

CORINNA MARSH

ARTS AND ENTERTAINMENTS

By WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Literary Fashion Show

The *New York Times Book Review*, a friendly place, is the favored hangout of our certified literary accountants. Supposed to contemplate manners, arts and morals, your reporter eavesdrops there every Sunday—not so much to pick up news of the book world (which my colleague, John Chamberlain, surveys satisfactorily just around this corner) as to learn what the well-dressed intellectual will be wearing this season. For the *Book Review* runs the best fashion show in the business.

The other Sunday, it had a really stunning exhibit—a page on which three novels were discussed with a unity of emphasis that could have been supplied neither by an integrating editor, nor by the unintentional wit of the make-up department, but only by the *Zeitgeist* itself.

In columns one and two, critic John Barkham considered "Mittee," by Daphne Rooke. "The plot," he informed us, "is spattered with crimes like murder, incest and miscegenation, and with characters who are either amoral or abnormal." And if you were for a second afraid this might connote disapproval, you would be merely proving that you are out of touch with the business. Mr. Barkham, who is not, found "that it is clear another literary talent has emerged. . . . Fascinating."

In columns three and four, Mr. Robert Lowry reported on "The Time And The Place," by Robert Paul Smith. Its material: "From the beds and bars where they celebrated their love affairs, Paul and Louise drifted into marriage." The rest of the story: "what to do when young love beckons to a 39-year-old man with a family to consider."

In the last column of that memorable page, Mr. Henry Peyre rendered judgment on "Awakening," by Jean-Baptiste Rossi—"a love affair between a schoolboy of 14 and a nun twice his age," as Peyre puts it so interestingly. "There is nothing coarse or base in the love story," affirms Mr. Peyre who being a Yale Professor, would have otherwise to object. A "very promising first novel."

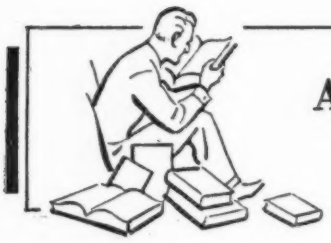
My own interest in murder, incest, miscegenation, amoral or abnormal characters, love affairs celebrated in beds and bars, and love affairs between 14-year-old boys and nuns twice their age, is rather satiated, and so I shall read none of these three novels. Moreover, perfection is a rare thing and I do not want my pleasure marred by a possible discovery that the three novels are less perfectly synchronized than that beautifully composed *Book Review* page would make them appear. Spared any pettish scrutiny, it can stand as a definitive monument to the literary year 1952.

But while I thus declare a private moratorium on the year's fiction crop, I do keep brooding over the state of the minds who grow it. What devil is riding our novelists? It could not be sensationalism, for the concern with the putrid is by now clearly monotonous. So what is it?

Here, again, the *Times Book Review* supplies all the news that's fit to print, and more. It interviewed the novelist Paul Bowles, whom Manhattan wholesalers of *avant garde* fiction revere as the nearest thing to Proust their business has yet produced. "I am writing about disease," he testified. "Why? Because I am writing about today." This I found a wordy version of the answer any strong-minded child of five likes to give: ask him why he smeared jam on the curtain, and he will firmly say, "Because!" And Mr. Bowles must have felt uneasy himself, because he soon returned to the subject:

> This is certainly no time for anyone to pretend to be happy, or to put his unhappiness away in the dark. (And anyone who is not unhappy now must be a monster, a saint or an idiot.) You must watch your universe as it cracks above your head.

I am less sure about the rest, but that parenthesis is a lulu. Being neither a saint nor, I hope, an idiot, I must be a monster: I am happy for hours at a stretch, and so are some of my best friends. When events such as a new novel threaten my happiness, I reach for an old novel and feel good again. Quite often it is by a notoriously unhappy author —Dostoevsky, for instance; and in this there might be a lesson for Mr. Bowles. Surely not one to put his unhappiness away in the dark, and minutely watching his universe as it cracked above his head, Dostoevsky could not help creating at the same time the profound happiness that comes with every true expansion of knowledge and sensibility. He was, in other words, an artist. He was so much of an artist that, though he could easily have handicapped a dozen Bowleses in painful awareness of man's tortured destiny, he would have bitten off his tongue rather than reject serenity as a source of creativeness. And Dostoevsky, verily an expert on saints as well as idiots, would have reserved the forceful term "monster" for writers who, no matter how craftily, dabble in sin without themselves having a longing for redemption.



A REVIEWER'S NOTEBOOK

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The curious thing about education, formally considered, is that it makes so little allowance for curiosity. One prepares for education by signing up for certain courses and reading the prescribed books. One continues it by taking recommendations from the *Zeitgeist*, or time spirit. In obedience to the spirit of my own times, I dutifully read through a vast literature prescribing various forms of Sidney Webbicalism, Veblenism, Marxism and interventionism as the cure for all our ills. As a glandular optimist I never liked the idea of socialism, for it seemed rooted in a pessimistic theory that man was not capable of the sustained practice of freedom. But everyone around me in the early thirties kept saying that socialism was both inevitable and necessary. With breadlines lengthening all over the world the anvil chorus was hard to refute.

The point about education, however, is that curiosity keeps breaking through. It is sparked by the chance encounter, which can be more powerful and formative than the whole weight of numbers and tradition and the social pressure of the time spirit. One of my own chance encounters was a novel by Garet Garrett called "The Driver." At this date I don't remember too much about it as a novel aside from the fact that it was a dramatization of the life of old E. H. Harriman of the Union Pacific. But the opening pages of "The Driver," which described the experiences of a young reporter in the great depression of the nineties, kept haunting me all through the Franklin Rooseveltian years. What Garet Garrett had to say about the economic recovery of 1895 and 1896 seemed to make hash of everything the New Dealers claimed. What the New Dealers—or, as Bernard Baruch used to call them, the New Stealers—had done was to institutionalize the depression, making it necessary to jolt the economy periodically by wider and wider diffusions of public spending channelled into forms presided over by the wasted manpower of a burgeoning bureaucracy. The America described in Garet Garrett's novel was saved in the nineties from this sterile fate by the horse sense of a people who knew that a rich land must recover quickly once its debt structure is brought into a workable relationship with its capacity to produce.

The years have done something to Garet Garrett, making him a pessimist about the future. In a brilliant pamphlet titled "Ex America" (Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho, 75 cents) he sees us going the way of all Statist empires. We are pumping out our substance into nothingness. Rome has started to haunt his mind, and with the next spin of war, inflation or depression he foresees that we will bind ourselves to creative impotence by imposing our own laws of Diocletian. Tyranny and decay are just over the horizon.

I have nothing in my own armament with which to refute Garet Garrett's theory of Roman decay beyond that same glandular optimism that originally made me receptive to the message of "The Driver." Looked at rationally, Garrett is right: the spirit which he once hymned so eloquently in novels like "The Driver" and in books of prophecy like "The American Omen" has been broken beyond redemption. There is no immediately visible way back to the doctrine of natural rights, the economics of free choice. In a nation that is committed to supporting a passive, sullen world there can never be a surcease from grinding taxes, militarism and inflationary budgets. And in a country where thirty cents out of every dollar that a customer pays for an automobile goes for accumulated taxes on the materials and services that go into manufacture and sales, there will never again be a cheap car. Model T is gone, and its successors must support Washington.

The spirit of man dies hard, however, and it is impossible for Garet Garrett to welter in pessimism. Rome may haunt him, but when he goes to his desk in the morning he must needs create images of the American Omen that will live again in some future, whether far or near. He has just created a magnificent image in a book called "The Wild Wheel" (Pantheon, $2.75). This is the story of Henry Ford and what Henry Ford did to overthrow the last vestiges of the hold which European economics had on the mind of the American. It is also the story of how a rocket burned out and the stick fell. The wheel is no longer wild, and the European mind has again prevailed in the America that once broke free.

Henry Ford was that sublime American figure the mechanic who saw all things fresh because he worked from a complete innocence. Before his time a thousand economists had preached the idea that if wages rose profits must decline, since both wages

and profits apparently came out of a fixed sum. All the great European economists, both of the right and of the left, had believed this. Before Henry Ford's time an American economist, Francis Amasa Walker, had done something in theory to refute the idea that wages and profits were in mortal conflict. But nobody of consequence believed Walker until 1914, when Henry Ford announced a minimum wage of five dollars a day for all his employees down to the floor sweepers. Five dollars a day was more than double the prevailing wage scale in 1914, and everybody predicted that Ford would go broke. But the energy which the Ford idea released in the shop proved that both John Stuart Mill and Karl Marx were wrong about the "iron law of wages" and the linked theory that profits had to be squeezed out of the worker's hide. By paying his men more, and by adapting the old mass-production-of-interchangeable-parts theory of Eli Whitney to the moving belt line, Henry Ford increased the productivity of both labor and capital to the point where there was a magnificent "take" for everybody, whether worker, stockholder or consumer.

America boomed on Fordism; it even had energy to spare for that cultivation of antique hunting which Ford himself carried to its crest in the restoration of the Wayside Inn and the assembly of staged pieces in Greenfield Village. And then America turned to doubt again. The American labor movement deserted the free theories of Samuel Gompers in favor of the old-fashioned Scottish economics of Philip Murray and the Statist German economics of Walter Reuther. And the American capitalist, frightened to death by the tax take of a Europeanized American government, quite understandably fell back into the habit of thinking that seed-corn capital must come out of the worker's hide since the State seemed bent on leaving no other sources available.

Garet Garrett has a wonderful eye for the foibles, the idiosyncracies, the hobbies, of Henry Ford and his bosom friend, Thomas A. Edison. He pictures these "heroes of the same mythology" as emotional children who made power their toy. "As they set it free in a muscle-weary world, the roar and heat and light of it filled them with innocent glee." These innocent children were more mature than most, however, when it came to seeing effect in the light of cause, and vice versa. The story I like best among all the wonderful stories in "The Wild Wheel" concerns the destruction of the Ford statistical department. Ford had a saying that statistics never manufactured a car. One day he walked into a room at the plant and saw innumerable people bent over books, punching business machines, and drawing ruled lines on paper. He went out forthwith to see Sorensen, his production manager, who had asked for more space. Ford pointed to the statistical department room and said "You can have that space if you will go and take it." Whereupon Sorensen called two men to come in a hurry with crowbars, armed himself with a blunt instrument, and the three of them proceeded to wreck the statistical department, typewriters, computing machines, everything. It is not recorded that the Ford Company lost a single sales dollar as a result of this depredation, which gives one pause when one contemplates the mountains of aimless paper work that are deemed necessary in business today. True, paper work must be done and preserved in anticipation of the tax collector, but it is not recorded that the Department of Internal Revenue ever made an automobile, either.

Garet Garrett wastes little time haranguing the American people to return to the world of Henry Ford. Apparently he thinks they got what was coming to degenerate stock. He hates the world of the collectivists and the Statists, but he puts the primary blame for the death of laissez faire on its own supposed votaries. Laissez faire, he says, "was betrayed by its friends, not for thirty pieces of silver but for debased paper money that would be legal tender for debt. Then it was stoned to death by the multitude and buried with hymns for the easier life. The obsequies were performed by the government. . . ."

So the pessimist in Garrett has the last word in this book about an exhilaratingly optimistic day. But don't fool yourself about Garet Garrett: he will never succumb personally to his own pessimism. If and when Caesar does take over in the United States Garrett will denounce him unreservedly and go to the scaffold with a sardonic smile on his lips and a light as of two contemptuous imps in his mocking eyes.

Doctor in the Kitchen

Good Food for Bad Stomachs, by Sara M. Jordan, M.D., and Sheila Hibben. New York: Doubleday. $2.95

Making the Most of Your Food Freezer, by Marie Armstrong Essipoff. New York: Rinehart. $3.00

Cooking with Whole Grains, by Ellen and Vrest Orton. New York: Farrar, Straus & Young. $1.75

We have here an anomaly. Three cookbooks whose basic concern is with something beside the preparation of food. The first takes off from an ailing stomach, the second is fundamentally a piece of high-powered salesmanship, and the third has a decided Messianic slant (Eat whole grains and be saved!).

"Good Food for Bad Stomachs" should be hailed with a shout of delight both by the unlucky victim of an ulcer and the unlucky housewife who has to cook for him. An ulcer in the family is no fun for

anybody and is a major problem in an increasing number of households. It is said that people with the "ulcer temperament" comprise about 15 per cent of the population of the United States and the conditions responsible for their plight are multiplying.

An ulcer results when the glands of the stomach generate too much hydrochloric acid—a condition induced and aggravated by worry. Even after the patient is "cured" he is still enmeshed in the problem of what or what not to eat, and eating in itself becomes a worry. This generates more of the fatal acid and there he is—caught in a vicious circle from which there is seemingly no escape.

The problem is often further complicated by his doctor. Instead of telling the patient what to eat, too often the doctor stresses what can't be eaten. This is because most doctors are men and very often indifferent to food themselves. It takes a doctor who is both a woman and a cook to solve the problem. Dr. Jordan of the Lahey Clinic in Boston solved it for the late Harold Ross. She not only cured his ulcer but told him what to eat if he wished to avoid another. To Mr. Ross's surprise, he discovered he could eat lobster if properly prepared—a food he was fond of but which he assumed was banned. It then occurred to him that Dr. Jordan ought to do something about a cookbook for ulcerites and suggested as collaborator Sheila Hibben of the *New Yorker* staff, an experienced and imaginative cook and the author of several books on the subject.

The aim of the resulting book is stated in a foreword by Dr. Jordan. "It is not enough to help men and women to eat with safety," she says, "something should be done to allow them to eat with pleasure and even delight." In short, enjoying his food can be an important step in a patient's recovery. This is where Mrs. Hibben steps in. Nor does she have to confine herself to the dreary chore of trying to jazz up slops. The list of foods Dr. Jordan allows her to play with is impressive, including as it does such things as onion soup, lobster stew, *coquilles* St. Jacques, lamb *en papillote*, tarragon chicken and artichokes in sour cream. Desserts aren't blacklisted either. The ulcerite is vouchsafed such festive items as chocolate Bavarian cream, soufflés, and even pie, provided the crust is made with crumbled zweiback.

There are five hundred recipes in the book—classified in three groups, designated by the letters A, B, and C. A indicates the foods to be used by those on the most strict diet, B for patients who have completed the first stage of medical treatment, and C for the ulcer graduate or for those whose digestive tracts must be coddled indefinitely. The patient, therefore, is on safe ground when he eats according to this book. Furthermore, it enables him to eat with the rest of the family, comforted by the realization that one meal has been prepared instead of two, for the foods featured in this book can also be relished by the layman who doesn't possess an ulcer.

One is convinced before one has finished the first page of "Making the Most of Your Food Freezer" that Mrs. Essipoff is not only sold on her freezer but is determined to sell you. Go without a living room suite, she advises newlyweds, and buy a freezer. It's an economy no matter how much you pay for it because you will get a great deal more out of it than you put in.

Mrs. Essipoff's gusty approach to the wonders latent in a food freezer sounds formidable, but the whole thing is really quite simple. You simply buy a bigger freezer than you think you'll need and then chuck things into it. She stockpiles everything from bamboo sprouts to whale meat. One gets the impression as one reads this headlong treatise that a freezer is very much like an Aladdin's lamp. Simply rub it and anything will pop out—anything from a lobster claw to crêpes suzette. Not that Mrs. Essipoff isn't scientific. She gives blanching charts and other detailed information on preparing foods for the freezer and discusses the relative merits of aluminum foil and plastic bags as containers. She also stresses the freezer's value as a storage place for leftovers—even such an insignificant item as an egg white.

Mrs. Essipoff is also an experienced cook, and the pages of her book are interlarded with recipes. Having married a Russian she features dishes originating in that country. Her recipes for Solyanka Borsch and Beef Stroganoff sound like the real thing. Nor is she without humor. Her description of a forty-pound gobbler that nearly wrecked her freezer as well as the nerves of both herself and her husband before they got him to the table reminds one of the anecdotes which enlivened Dale Lutes's immortal "Country Kitchen." A book not to be passed up if you have a freezer, and to be enjoyed if you haven't.

"Cooking With Whole Grains" ought to bring about a revolution in the American kitchen and it won't be the fault of the Ortons if it doesn't. As Mr. Orton reminds us in the preface, up until a hundred years ago all cooking was done with whole grains. In fact, the greatest periods of culinary art that we have known, those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in France, were based on whole-grain cookery. But in the mid-nineteenth century industry discovered a new and cheaper way of making flour by a process called "refining" which actually did nothing more than remove the essential life germ from the wheat berry. The result was a tasteless white flour which would keep indefinitely simply because the life had been processed out of it. The Ortons did something about this. They reactivated a 150-year-old buhrstone mill in Vermont and began producing whole-grain flours which resulted in a mail order business and

in this cook book. The recipes range from sauces to Yorkshire pudding. There is even one for brioche. More people would cook with whole grains if they knew how. This little book tells how.

ALIX DU POY

Where "Peronismo" Rules

Bloody Precedent, by Fleur Cowles. New York: Random House. $3.00

The Perón Era, by Robert J. Alexander. New York: Columbia. $3.50

It is easy to dismiss the phenomenon of *Peronismo* in Argentina simply as strong-man government. But that is a tragic misreading of the facts. It is not even entirely correct to define it as fascism with a South American accent. For that does not suffice to explain three of Peronismo's major unique elements: its roots in the trade union movement, its articulate and potent following among the women, and its antecedents in what Fleur Cowles calls the "Bloody Precedent"—the 17-year dictatorship of Juan Manuel de Rosas which ended just one hundred years ago this past February.

It was the latter two elements which fascinated Fleur Cowles (wife of Gardner Cowles, the magazine and newspaper publisher, and a colorful magazine editor in her own right) during the course of her recent travels in South America. The result is this highly readable, although rather disjointed study of the Peróns and the Rosas.

As far as it goes, the Perón-Rosas parallel is fascinating. Both *El Restaurador* Rosas and *El Líder* Perón excelled in physical skills. Both rode roughshod over all opposition in their quest for power while protesting their devotion to "legalism." Both had, as Mrs. Cowles says of Rosas: ". . . a remarkable instinct for the mass medium of crowd; they understood the hypnotic effect of fear; they used gossip and intrigue and the manipulation of the law to an astoundingly sophisticated degree." Both came to power as the champion of the underprivileged. (Compare the statement of Rosas: "I do not trust or believe in any man who used starched shirts and ties" with Perón's exaltation of the *descamisados*—the "shirtless ones.") Both vigorously promoted their own deification by the people. Both married dynamic women who contributed significantly to their initial successes and their perpetuation in office.

From this point on, however, the comparison becomes strained. Encarnación de Rosas, from all the available evidence (and we must be grateful to Mrs. Cowles for bringing to light as much information about this woman as she has), was an ambition-ridden spitfire with an infinite capacity for hatred and a shrewd awareness of the explosive potential of the down-trodden masses. She maintained a corps of devoted volunteer spies, rumormongers and organized cutthroats to help promote her husband's political fortunes.

But Encarnación, who died in 1838, only three years after Rosas became Governor-Dictator of Argentina, was no Evita Perón. She organized no political movement. She gave no impetus to the drive for women's emancipation. She contributed no ideological *mythos*. She was an interesting figure in Argentine history—but she was hardly the dominating personality of that era.

As for Rosas himself, he was cast in the classic mold of the old-time bloody tyrant. Essentially his basic weapons were physical. His rule was sanguinary and unimaginative. When he was finally overthrown he left no ideology which could be perpetuated as an article of faith by his followers.

In short, the distinction between the Rosas and the Perón regimes is a basic one. The former was strong-man rule, the latter is real totalitarianism, with the supreme power shared by a man and a woman.

Mrs. Cowles had the privilege of a close-up look at Evita Perón. Her conclusion:

> A woman-politico with too little opposition, too much greed, too much power, too much rage, too many flunkies in high government office; a woman too fabled, too capable, too sexless, too driven . . . and far, far too underrated for far too long by our world.

Subtract something for rhetorical effect, and this statement sums her up pretty neatly. The Eva Perón Foundation is the greatest single social welfare agency in the country. The Peronista Women's Party is one of the key props of the regime. The Ministries of Labor and of Health have emerged as dominant agencies with a life-and-death grip on Argentine economy. These all are Evita's own. She may have stubbed a political toe when her elaborate build-up as a vice-presidential candidate failed. She may be gravely ill, as the evidence indicates. But a woman who could break the popular Foreign Minister Juan Bramuglia, humble the pedigreed Buenos Aires aristocracy, keep the armed forces in respectful subservience, and help silence the free voice of *La Prensa*, must be reckoned as a real force in *Peronismo*.

One could wish that Mrs. Cowles had made sufficient use of editorial assistance in eliminating irritating repetitions, awkward sentences and minor inaccuracies. However, "Bloody Precedent" is an incisive study of political personalities in our time.

Generally eschewing the personality angle, Dr. Alexander, an economist who has specialized in Latin American affairs, concentrates on the origins, development and meaning of *Peronismo* itself. His is a meatier, more authoritative, if somewhat less colorful, book. It is the success story of a totalitarianism which, using the terror mechanisms of fascism and the sloganeering and prosyletizing of communism, now sits astride the body of the wealthiest and most influential country in Latin America.

Peronista agents (usually working closely with Communist agitators) have infiltrated labor and political movements in almost every country south of the Rio Grande. By blackmail, brutality and blandishments they have attempted to seduce all opposition. And as continued North American ambivalence toward the Perón menace confuses and divides pro-democratic forces, *Peronismo* continues to gain strength. With justice Dr. Alexander soberly concludes:

> Unless the United States is careful, she will one day wake up to find a united front of totalitarian military dictatorships among the nations to the South, proudly headed and dominated by *El Líder* . . . General Juan Domingo Perón.

MILTON EDELMAN

Response to Generosity

The Soviet Image of the United States: A Study in Distortion, by Frederick C. Barghoorn. New York: Harcourt, Brace. $4.00

The big question is why the Kremlin acts that way. The Kremlin has been waging a propaganda war against the U. S. not only abroad but also, and perhaps more significantly, within Russia. We used to be damned by the Communists on general principles, along with other capitalists. We were pictured as one of the many "rotten liberal" and "imperialist" powers encircling what Stalin called, as late as 1946, "this lone Marxist state." However, since then the Kremlin has focused most of its abuse upon America. The Russian people are being now conditioned, deliberately and systematically, to regard the U. S. as the only malignant nation. Stalin, in other words, has completely reversed the proposition he set forth six years ago: Russia is no longer alone, she is powerful herself and she is surrounded by a belt of friendly satellites; it is we who are isolated, but we are still able to do evil.

What this adds up to is the simple fact that the Kremlin is already fighting America on Russian soil. If we ask ourselves what the U. S. Government did to the Soviet Government to trigger this response to the generosity with which we once shared our military production with the Kremlin, we will find the answer we are looking for. "It would probably be difficult enough," says Professor Barghoorn in the middle of his crowded book, "to live on slogans even if one believed that one's own country, however poor, enjoyed a better life than all others. But there is abundant evidence that many Soviet people have always suspected that life was richer, freer and more humane [elsewhere] . . . and this attitude was intensified by what Soviet people learned during the war." What they learned even in the most impoverished areas outside European Russia, even in the poverty-haunted villages of the Balkan backwoods, was that free peasants were better housed and equipped than collective farmers. What they learned in Hungary and Czechoslovakia was that "bourgeois" factory workers generally live in four or five-room apartments.

But from the Kremlin's point of view what they learned from the Americans was deadly. They actually saw the Americans giving away something for nothing. American soldiers gave away candy and cigarettes; the American Government gave away jeeps, trucks, ships and a wonderful canned pork confection put up by the capitalists of the city of Chicago, but according to the true Russian recipe. This pork was restricted, of course, in its distribution; it was doled out, like all good things in the USSR, to "build up the strength of the cadres." Officials ate practically all of it. Yet upon each can was plainly imprinted "Chicago," a sinkhole of capitalist iniquity made famous by that great American novel, "The Jungle" by Upton Sinclair, which has gone through perhaps forty or fifty Russian editions. Everybody has read it. But here those same packing-house capitalists, who make a profit by poisoning the American worker, prepare delicious pork for the Russians and give it away for nothing. There was but one inference a reasonable Russian official could draw from this apparently grotesque perversion of Marxist principles. Marx was right. The capitalists were trying to bribe the cadres, and with pork too. This was nothing less than an underhand act of war.

Professor Barghoorn's documentation makes it abundantly clear that the Kremlin is convinced we started this psychological infighting, and that there are plenty of sound domestic reasons for keeping it up, no matter what we do. We might await the issue in confidence, knowing that the conflict would be settled, in the long run, according to the old rule that sooner or later one side or the other would have to put up or shut up. However, the Kremlin has really discovered something new. It has discovered how to make other people fight for Russia.

The alarmed and even slightly aggressive tone of this humdrum treatise, which bears many marks of the author's former State Department affiliation, is due to the Korean War. When the book was finished we seemed to stand on the brink of victory, and Professor Barghoorn ventured to include some advice for conciliating the natives of Korea which reads very oddly now. He would, presumably, favor current efforts to conciliate the Communist Chinese. He knows, however, that we can not deal with the Kremlin in that way. "The USSR is the embodiment of a social philosophy, and its ruling Communist Party might be called an ideology in arms." What he suggests is an effort, as deliberate as the Soviet propaganda war against us, to make the most of the conflict between the Russian intelligentsia and the Communist Party apparatus. What this means in plain language is that Professor Barghoorn believes we should beam the Voice

America at the lesser bureaucrats of the Soviet Union, rather than toward the Russian people.

But why, it might be asked, single out the bureaucrats and forget the Russian people? It might be remembered that thirty-odd years ago we successfully appealed to the people of Germany when Woodrow Wilson published the famous list of "Fourteen Points." Wilson said we would deal with the German people and not with their government, and it worked.

ASHER BRYNES

Stalin Did It

The Katyn Wood Murders, by Joseph Mackiewicz. New York: British Book Centre. $3.00

Mr. Mackiewicz is a well-known Polish journalist and a leader of the Polish underground during World War II. He was one of the group of anti-Communist Poles who witnessed the exhumation by the Germans of the 4144 bodies of Polish officers found buried in the Katyn Forest near Smolensk. He has combined his own observations with other published and unpublished data to give us the most complete as well as the most readable account of the Katyn Forest "mystery" that has yet appeared.

It is no longer a mystery. In fact it was never a mystery to the Poles, or to certain American and British officers, or to the Swiss and Danish professors of criminology and forensic medicine who witnessed the Katyn "show" put on by the Nazis after their discovery of the bodies in April 1943.

Stalin's NKVD did the terrible job. The neutral experts said so, in effect, in their official report. Several of them have subsequently reaffirmed their testimony, and the only one of them to repudiate it was a Bulgarian who was obviously acting under Communist duress.

Lieutenant Colonel Van Vliet and Major Stewart, two of the four American prisoners of war who were made to witness the Katyn show, both said they thought the NKVD did it, and that this view was shared by everybody who examined the evidence on that occasion. Incidentally, when Van Vliet was liberated he put his testimony in writing for the information of the Pentagon, which put the report on ice, then lost it, and finally was prodded into releasing a second Van Vliet report on September 18, 1950.

It would seem that despite the unanimity of the qualified independent investigators, it has been the policy of British and American officialdom until recently to leave responsibility for the Katyn atrocity in the limbo of "suspended judgment." There has been, of course, some warrant for this policy because of the lack of an independent tribunal (the Russians ducked a showdown at Nuremberg) and the lack of access to the scene of the murders.

Katyn is far back of the Iron Curtain, and the NKVD has silenced most of the witnesses—by assassination in at least one case, Mr. Mackiewicz suspects.

Not all the witnesses have been removed, however, as proved at the hearings already held by the House Committee to Investigate the Katyn Wood Massacre, which began its formal hearings in February. Congressman Madden's Committee has provided at last a tribunal, as impartial as we are likely to get, for assigning the guilt for the Katyn atrocity. Before this tribunal, the American Committee for the Investigation of the Katyn Massacres has presented much new evidence, including the testimony of at least one actual eyewitness of the murders, who slipped miraculously through the clutching hands of the NKVD.

Much credit is due to Arthur Bliss Lane and to Julius Epstein, respectively chairman and secretary of the Committee, for their diligence in assembling evidence and for their insistence that Katyn be not forgotten.

One of the chief merits of Mr. Mackiewicz's book is that by sketching the general context of Moscow's wartime barbarities, he rids even the most naive reader of the idea that Katyn was in any way unusual or exceptional as far as the NKVD was concerned. Long before Katyn, Stalin was operating what were in intent as well as in effect extermination camps for political prisoners in the Kolyma goldfields. In June and July 1941, when the rapid advance of the Nazi army made difficult the evacuation of Polish war prisoners, the NKVD saved itself trouble by machine-gunning them in cold blood. In the Lwow prison alone about 4000 prisoners were liquidated in this way—about as many as the bodies found at Katyn.

Mr. Mackiewicz emphasizes a fact to which too little attention has been drawn: that less than a third of the 15,000 missing Polish officers were found buried in the Katyn Forest.

The whereabouts of the remaining 10,000 is the unsolved "mystery." On that point this writer's Katyn file provides a scrap of interesting testimony —hearsay, but credible. The chairman of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission to Investigate German Atrocities, which conducted the Soviet whitewash of the Katyn affair, died in 1946. Shortly before he died his friend B. Olshansky, now a refugee in this country, asked Professor Burdenko what he really thought of Katyn. The old man replied:

> There have been many Katyns in the past and there will be many in the future. If we wanted to search Mother Russia, we could dig up a lot of things. Our task was to disprove the widely publicized German Protokol on Katyn. On personal instructions from Stalin, I went myself to the Katyn mass graves. We inspected several bodies—all of them were four years old. They had been killed in 1940. . . . The fault lies with our comrades of the NKVD.

JAMES RORTY

Mr. Nathan's Theater

The Theatre Book of the Year 1950-51, by George Jean Nathan. New York: Knopf. $4.00

George Jean Nathan has been writing about theater and drama for forty-five years, and this latest book is a compilation of his weekly newspaper reviews of the plays of the 1950-1 season. For the reader who wishes to prove he was right, this annual offers a comprehensive view. It should serve another purpose, though—to remind producers of past mistakes and provide a "How To" book on what *not* to do next time.

Nathan's reviews are in the main censorious but, whether deprecatory or praising, they are incomparably lively. Nathan is cunningly perceptive in his observations, extremely honest in his criticisms, and above all he displays his customary wit.

Some of the reviews are infinitely amusing—one especially, where Nathan makes predictions of what the coming season is likely to contain in the way of variety and incompetence. In citing an aversion to "becoming a part of the play," which quality is trumpeted by publicists of the Arena type production (a style for which Nathan has little use), he says, "If the play happened to be something like 'The Green Bay Tree' and I became a part of it, I should not only be pretty discouraged with myself but even a bit terrified." And in deflating the talent of a certain actress, he says, "The acting genius of . . . requires for its appreciation a suspension of judgment that might be envied by the architect of the Triborough Bridge."

At times Nathan seems to suggest that the only good things in the theater belong to the past. But to say this is an injustice, for he is the first to acclaim an outstanding current production, play, playwright, or individual talent. At his best he is clever, knowledgeable and amusing; at his worst, he is reiterative and irreverent. But even his irreverence is that of the moralist who appreciates a medium so much that he must damn it utterly to redeem it. The main stricture he would place on Broadway today is that "... the theater needs . . . an equivalent of the Pure Foods Commission to guarantee the honesty of labels and warn those whose claims are false."

HELEN ZAMPIELLO

SECOND HARVEST

BY EDWARD DAHLBERG

Selected Poetry and Prose of Coleridge, edited with an introduction by Donald A. Stauffer. New York: Random House-Modern Library. $1.25

The republication of good books is now more essential than the writing of new ones. The latter too often inflame the palate rather than refresh the soul. Besides, most of the classics are out of print; it has become a hardship and a waste of shoe leather on Fourth Avenue to find an Herodotus in the famous Bohn Library, or a Terence in a Loeb edition.

What is of great benefit in Coleridge's "Biographia Literaria" is not the cumbersome, latinized prose, or the learning (which for its own time was no more than agreeable, wine-stuffed table talk), but Coleridge's affection, his ready access of love for people like Wordsworth and Southey. There is doubtless a number of living authors who write better than Coleridge, but there are desolately few whose diction is warm with human courtesy. As the ancient philosopher Empedocles held, "the thought of men is the blood around the heart." No doubt there is intellectual sickness in Coleridge, the sickness which he describes as the disease of slowed action. This has unusual meaning for us, since we too suffer from the plague of inertia. However, the difference between Coleridge and many of us is striking. Coleridge freely owned his faults, where the modern age hides or dissembles. It is said that Coleridge dropped to his knees twice each day, for he had an ample fear of his blemishes.

The asperities, too, in the "Biographia Literaria" are worth our attention. There are readers, surfeited with novelties in letters, who will peruse with pleasure Coleridge's invective against those who "sacrifice heart and head to point and drapers," or the plain assertion that the "mind is affected by thoughts, rather than by things."

Coleridge had a high moral temper and some real abilities as an oracle, and he earnestly ransacked a book to determine its didactic value, for he knew that not all gifted authors are inevitably wise or good or even moral. Callimachus, the a
cient poet, was of the opinion th
"a great book is a great evil." W
think of the nineteenth century
a stable one. Compared with o
own lunatic and bedlam time it w
quiet. But, writing of the specio
seers in his own day, Coleridge an
that "in times of tumult they a
. . . destined to come forth as th
shaping spirit of Ruin."

Coleridge wrote a rough, thew
prose, and no one who peruses hi
quickly will understand what he
reading. But, then, it was Aesop
tortoise and not the fleet but feebl
minded coney which won the ra

The Portable Melville, edited wi
an introduction by Jay Leyd
New York: Viking. $2.50

There is now a Herman Melville s
ciety which is kindred to our earli
Robert Browning circles and th
Tennyson groups which afford
such rare pleasure to widows a
the remaining cousins and aun
and relatives of dead authors. B
as Lao-Tze said, "When the gre
Tao is obliterated . . . prudence a
circumspection appear, and we ha
much hypocrisy."

Mr. Jay Leyda, the latest Melvil
authority, is supposed to be a r
markable bibliographer. But t
speak without ambiguity, I do n
like his portable Melville, nor do
it please me to handle it.

There have been some very cred
table editions of Melville. T
Princeton University Press repu
lished a book of Melville's essa
which were bound and paginat
with civil regard for the author. B
sides, the essays were printed
wholes, and included "Hawthor
and His Mosses," which is specia
tion on the paschal lamb in the e
human heart. The Princeton U
versity Press also reprinted "Tim
leon," poems which had no mo
than a boreal, metaphysical exi
tence in Melville's own lifetim
Liveright brought out the short
novels, including the famous "E
cantadas," "Benito Cereno," t
narrative monody, "Bartleby t
Scrivener," and "Billy Budd."

We little imagine the effect
modern life upon reading and wri
ing, and do not realize that the ve
word, portable, is a sign of restl
inattention and foolish locomotio
It is obvious that Mr. Leyda expe
no one to be disciplined enough t

remain
with a
one ch
Man"
outcry
what
than a
There
"Clare
and a
"Mard
Marr."
each
factory
to his
been a
powers
now re
volition
was th
Montai
Brevia

Sartori
York

"Sartor
dedicate
But wh
of Ame
diseased

Faulk
stuffed
the Nob
hear so
apocalyp
turn eve
"Mosqui
or, now,
be ampl
decadenc
heady c
white-tra
amateuri
ample:
bowl of
but Cunn
to run a
and have

In "S
Faulkner
hero:

> And
> whereup
> waited
> clumsy
> breath,
> his own
> and sha
> him into
> dream

It was a
lished su
first time
reprint it
America

remain more than a half-hour or so with any particular story. There is one chapter out of "The Confidence Man" which is a most embittered outcry against American trade, but what can any one derive from less than a dozen pages out of a novel? There is also a puling amount of "Clarel," the long Jerusalem poem, and a niggling few pages from "Mardi" and from the poem, "John Marr." There should be appended to each "portable" book an automatic factory whistle to blow the reader to his next assignment. There has been a great falling off in ordinary powers of attention, for reading is now reckoned an austere exercise of volition, where in former times it was thought to be an easy pastime. Montaigne's works were called the Breviary of Idlers.

Sartoris, by William Faulkner. New York: Harcourt, Brace. $4.00

"Sartoris," first printed in 1929, is dedicated to Sherwood Anderson. But what was a chanting awareness of American place in Anderson is diseased distortion in Faulkner.

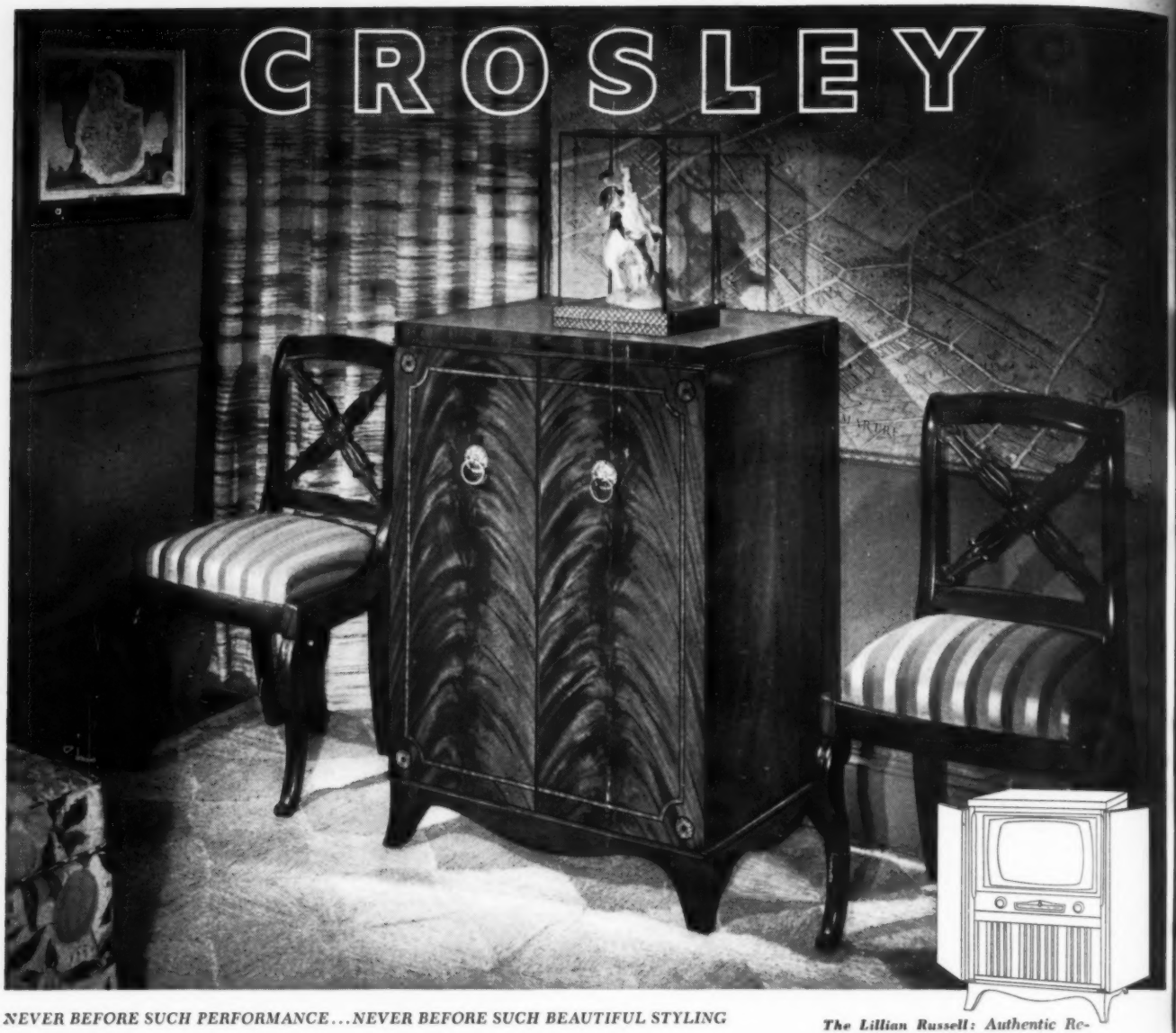
Faulkner's reputation is very stuffed at present. He has received the Nobel award. I confess that I hear so much about Faulkner as an apocalyptic writing beast that I return every few years to "Sanctuary," "Mosquitoes," "As I Lay Dying"—or, now, to "Sartoris"—expecting to be amply instructed in American decadence. I find, however, no rich, heady compost of vices, but poor-white-trash conversations of an amateurish, vaudeville texture. Example: "Old Louvinia drapped the bowl of peas and let out one squawk, but Cunnel shet her up and told her to run and git his boots and pistols and have 'em ready at the back do'."

In "Sartoris," as in most of Faulkner's fiction, the corpse is the hero:

> And the next day he was dead, whereupon, as though he had but waited for that to release him of the clumsy cluttering of bones and breath, by losing the frustration of his own flesh he could now stiffen and shape that which sprang from him into the fatal semblance of his dream . . .

It was a mournful folly to have published such arrant scribbling the first time, but it is total waste to reprint it when there are poets in America who can't get printed at all.

CROSLEY



NEVER BEFORE SUCH PERFORMANCE...NEVER BEFORE SUCH BEAUTIFUL STYLING

***The Lillian Russell:** Authentic Regency console in lustrous mahogany veneer. 17-inch television. Room setting above by W. & J. Sloane, N. Y.*

For you... the clearest, brightest pictures in all TV

with CROSLEY *Automatic* TELEVISION

Now enjoy television at its finest—*Automatic* television. Yes, the great new Crosley is so automatic that a turn of your hand tunes it. From there on, your Crosley *automatically* makes all the adjustments, *automatically* brings in unsurpassed reception on all your channels. No constant readjustments, no "fiddling."

Heart of this superb performance is the Crosley *Automatic* Chassis! Super-engineered with five major automatic circuit controls, it delivers Crosley's Permaclear Picture *automatically* – the sharpest, brightest, clearest picture ever.

All this is yours with breath-taking beauty, too. Cabinets authentically styled –in traditional and modern designs, with striking woods, to fit your room setting, add graciousness to your home.

See television's outstanding performance, and television's outstanding furniture styling at your Crosley Dealer's. You will agree, we believe—*there's no finer television at any price!*

Crosley Division AVCO Cincinnati 25, Ohio

Television, Radios, Shelvador® Refrigerators, Shelvador® Freezers, Electric Ranges, Sinks, Food Waste Disposers, Electric Water Heaters, Steel Kitchen Cabinets

5 WAYS *Automatic*

1. Automatic **Power Control**—boosts the signal for "fringe areas" to bring in distant stations clear and strong . . . levels off to prevent overloading when close to stations.
2. Automatic **Picture Lock**—keeps picture steady, prevents "tumbling."
3. Automatic **Interference Control**—shuts out virtually all airplane, auto and other picture disturbances.
4. Automatic **Antenna Selector**—selects the right element of its built-in dual antenna to give best pictures on any channel.
5. Automatic **Unituner**—tunes the sound as it tunes the picture . . . when the picture is right, the sound is right —*automatically.*

CROSLEY SETS THE PACE IN TELEVISION

25 MODELS PRICED FOR EVERY FAMILY'S BUDGET