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Dictatorship by Default

An Editorial

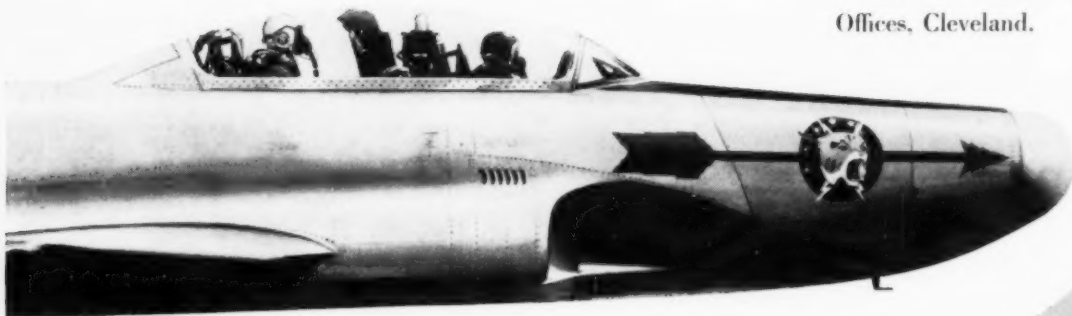
Reviews by William S. Schlamm, Harold Loeb, Anthony Harrigan and William Henry Chamberlin



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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.

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A Word About Our Contributors

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES has been called "the most heard and read Southerner." He is the author of a syndicated column which is widely read in the South; and as a popular lecturer he has been heard during the past two years not only in the South but in 46 of the 48 states.

F. A. VOIGT, English newspaperman and author, was for some years the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* in Germany. From 1938 to 1949 he was Editor of *Nineteenth Century and After*. His books include "Unto Caesar" and "Pax Britannica." He is known to *Freeman* readers for his articles, "British Socialism is Dead" (June 4, 1951), "Foundation and Superstructure" (December 3, 1951) and "The Sovereign Position" (January 14, 1952).

RUSSELL J. CLINCHY was formerly Minister of the First Church of Christ, Congregational, in Hartford, Connecticut, and is now a senior staff member of the Foundation for Economic Education.

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JEROME MELLQUIST is a writer and lecturer on art, now living in Paris. His most recent contribution to the *Freeman* was "Belgian Painter-Prophet," an article on James Ensor, in our issue of November 5, 1951.

HAROLD LOEB, economist and writer, is the author of "Full Production Without War." He contributed "How to Bring About Inflation" to our issue of August 13, 1951.

LEONARD WICKENDEN is a chemist who now specializes in soils. He is the author of "Make Friends With Your Land."

This CONTROL is needed in a FREE ECONOMY



When the power to control public money is taken from the hands of the people, its purchasing value inevitably becomes less and less. It has always been so. Since 1933, when the government abrogated the people's right to exchange paper money for gold, the value of the dollar has constantly descended.

The incentive to save is gone . . . expansion of production facilities is hampered. Kennametal Inc. is a case in point. We make hard cemented carbide tool materials which can triple production in metal-cutting and other vital industries. This is the type of industrial product that keeps America far ahead in technological advancement.

Investors have always before contributed much to the realization of American

enterprise. Today, however, they are handicapped by high taxes, and hampered by all the uncertainties that go hand-in-hand with unsound money.

The public must again be given control of the government's purse strings. We must return to the Gold Coin Standard . . . which gives the people the right to express lack of confidence in government policy, if necessary, by redeeming their currency for gold.

When this control has been restored to the people—wasteful government spending will be stopped—and American industry, of which Kennametal Inc. is a key enterprise, will be able to plan and produce with the vitality that exists only in a free economy.

WHAT YOU CAN DO ABOUT THE GOLD STANDARD

Ask your Senators and Congressman if they wish to help restore the Gold Standard with sound money redeemable in gold coin on demand. Write to The Gold Standard League, Latrobe, Pennsylvania for further information. The League is a voluntary association of American citizens joined together to prevent collapse of our monetary system.

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FROM OUR READERS

The Newest Freeman

I have examined with great interest and enthusiasm the new *Freeman*. It is not only an enormous improvement but it takes on a rare distinction that its editorial content deserves.

New York City

RAYMOND M.

Congratulations on the new format and the prospect, reported in *New York week*, of wider newsstand circulation. I have always felt that the main danger for the *Freeman* might be that its light would be hidden under a bushel.

Cambridge, Mass. W. H. CHAMBERLAIN

Congratulations to you on "the newest *Freeman*" as it appears in the issue of April 7. It is good to see that Republic Steel, Timken Roll Bearing Company, Kennametal, and the Chrysler Corporation have seen fit to appropriate a portion of their advertising funds for the *Freeman*. It is altogether fitting that Republic Steel should have a "preface page." Those who have memories have not forgotten that the Republic Steel was smeared and double-crossed by the unions and the Communists.

Indianapolis, Ind. ALEX VONN

I have just seen the *Freeman* in its new format and I am sure you have taken a step in the right direction. I am particularly pleased, as I am sure you and your associates are, to see the kind and amount of advertising in your April 7 issue.

New York City WILLARD H.

As my copy of the *Freeman* arrived a few days after the publication, I offered on the newsstands I picked one up this morning from Pat, a news boy at 42nd St. and Madison Ave.

The first thing I noticed was the new cover. Personally I think it is quite an improvement.

And while writing might I say that I have thoroughly enjoyed the publication, as do all the others I have talked with.

New York City WILLIAM SCHULTZ

Congratulations on the new *Freeman*.
San Francisco, Cal. GEORGE

(Continued on page 515)

THE Freeman

MONDAY, MAY 5, 1952

The Fortnight

As we went to press, the country was sliding smoothly into fascism without undue opposition from any source that had to be taken seriously. Mr. Truman, having seized the steel companies, was asked at a press conference: "Mr. President, if you can seize the steel mills under your inherent powers, can you in your opinion also seize the newspapers and/or the radio stations?" Mr. Truman replied that the President had to act for whatever was for the best interest of the country. That is your answer, he added. So now we know. The President has the power to do anything that in his own judgment is for the best interests of the country, and any belief that the law, the Congress or the courts have anything to say about the matter is of course ridiculous.

The courts have gracefully recognized this in the decisions so far made on the steel seizure, and Congress has recognized it so far by acting with due recognition of its impotence. In fact, it was the pro-Trumanites who were taunting their adversaries to move impeachment, secure in the assurance that most Democrats in Congress would be partisan enough, and most Republicans faint-hearted enough, to vote overwhelmingly against it. It is, moreover, unthinkable in an election year that anybody should offend Philip Murray. The future historian, eager to learn how America ceased to have a government or an executive of limited powers, should know that the change was marked by no untoward opposition. Though many talked as if they thought it desirable to preserve our institutions and liberties, it was agreed on all sides that this was hardly worth doing if it had to be done at the cost of some indecorous Congressional resolution, some ungracious court decision, or some clearly discourteous remark.

The primaries roll merrily on, and what they mainly prove is the enormous effect of political organization on the so-called "popular mandate." The Eisenhower forces controlled the State Republican machines in New Hampshire and New Jersey; and Ike won in New Hampshire and New Jersey. Stassen supporters controlled the Minnesota machine;

and Stassen won in Minnesota. The Taftites were in control in Illinois, Wisconsin and Nebraska; and Bob Taft won in Illinois, Wisconsin and Nebraska. As for the "write-ins," they seem to have been commensurate with the effort put out by bona fide political workers with lists and telephones at their beck and call.

We hear much of political "miracles" whenever a candidate gets upwards of 100,000 write-in votes in a state the size of Minnesota. In other words, it's considered a miracle that a century or more of free public education has produced a population that can spell "K-E-F-A-U-V-E-R" or "T-A-F-T" or "E-I-S-E-N-H-O-W-E-R." This low-rating of the American people by editors and politicians argues a cynicism that we find slightly patronizing, to say the least.

Some Republicans will be sad to hear that Mr. John Foster Dulles resigned from his job as an adviser to Mr. Acheson because the Department's foreign policy was, of all things, too hardheaded. That policy of "vast public loans and grants to other nations," said Mr. Dulles the other day, failed because they were made "in order to achieve certain political objectives" rather than given "out of compassion or because of love of our fellow men." Now we do love our fellow men, Mr. Dulles included, but we have not heard such mushy talk since an enthusiastic Henry Wallace returned from his visit to Siberia's forced-labor camps. That the worst blunder of Marshall-Acheson Aid was precisely its failure to insist on "certain political objectives" is no longer debated among informed people. And those students of politics who still wonder how Dewey could have lost in 1948 should wonder no more: a Republican Party whose foreign-policy "experts" criticize the Marshall-Acheson record from Henry Wallace's position deserved its fate—and would not escape it in 1952 either.

Suppose Senator Taft had ever made this statement: "When a country needs certain things above all others, whether time, oil or food, it must get them where it can find them and afterward count the cost. A country's own needs are the

only calculable factor." Can any one imagine how New York's internationalist press would haunt the Senator with the echo of such an irresponsibly isolationist, profoundly cynical and unforgivably nationalistic pronouncement? Yet that very statement was published in the *New York Times*, and no metropolitan editorialist was provoked to protest. To be sure, the author of this Machiavellian lulu was a leading British propagandist, the famously "liberal" and "internationalist" Mr. Edward Crankshaw who, to the applause of our own "liberals," spearheads the journalistic fight against American selfishness.

For leftist American journalists who in their heart of hearts oppose an effective alliance against the Soviets and yet do not wish to sound like advocates of communism, there always remains a popular tune to play: each time a former Nazi is discovered in the employ of Dr. Adenauer's west-oriented government, just raise a terrific hue and cry that the anti-Soviet alliance means to revive Nazism! For future reference, when dealing with such slyly camouflaged fellow travelers, we advise our readers to file what Herr Vincent Mueller, an officer of the Communist East German Government, proudly announced on March 26 in the Berlin *Taegliche Rundschau*, official organ of the Soviet Control Commission: "Today former members of the Nazi party and former professional soldiers and officers occupy responsible positions in all [East German] branches of economic, political and cultural life. They are now men of good will fighting for a democratic united Germany."

Sometimes, in our more reprehensibly bilious moments, we are inclined to think Gutenberg is the name of the man who did the human race in. For if printing had never been invented, we would surely have been spared reading the report of Dr. James B. Conant's recent attack on the private schools as "divisive" and subversive of democracy. Dr. Conant is merely the President of Harvard University, a notoriously private institution. If there is no case for the private school, there is no case for Harvard—and, by extension, no case for Dr. Conant as President of Harvard. If the graduates and overseers of Conant's own private school have the slightest concern for the fair name of logic they will be starting a movement to retire their prexy to the acids of his chemistry lab.

While on the subject of education, we note that the public high school students of Stamford and Greenwich, Connecticut, justify cheating on examinations because there is corruption and cheating in government. Well, we have always held that public education can rise no higher than its political sources. We are not against public schools, which are an honored part of the American tradition, but they certainly need private competition along with

the steady correction provided by educators who insist on freedom of conscience and freedom of religion. Need we add for Dr. Conant's benefit that these freedoms are inseparable from the right to free choice between private and public schools?

We hear tell of a remarkable boom in Tangier, Morocco. There aren't any high taxes or price ceilings or import and export quotas in Tangier, and as a result prosperity is busting out all over. Of course, Tangier is a tiny place, with practically no productive base, and the fact that it is putting up de luxe hotels is hardly of great consequence. But principles are principles.

Second to none in our admiration of the scientific spirit, we try our best to keep track of its advance and its glories. What scholarly investigation can accomplish, if the scientific mind is applied with diligence and, whenever possible, subsidized by public funds, we have again learned from a recently published report on the discoveries made at the Biochemistry Institute of the University of Texas. Professor Roger J. Williams, a world-famous authority on nutrition and growth, revealed that "An extensive study of individual metabolic patterns in the University of Texas laboratories confirms the idea that individual needs are different." We are glad the study was extensive. Without the overwhelming documentation Professor Williams seems to have collected, the idea would have been far too new and revolutionary to find even a hearing.

The death of Victor Mikhailovich Chernov revived in us a feeling of pity for a generation whose sense of history has been mutilated by the most spectacularly successful mind-poisoning of modern times. This representative of a great Russian tradition—one of passionate but civilized concern for social reform—spent the last thirty years of his eventful life in a Western environment which gradually forgot that pre-Bolshevik Russia belonged to the family of civilized nations. To the intelligentsia that shapes public opinion, and teaches our youth, Russian history begins with Lenin who, by some act of original creation, allegedly turned a prehistoric, savage slum of a country into a modern society.

Any young American who is sincerely curious about modern history, and seeks liberation from the dead hand of his leftist college teachers, could do much worse than look into the exciting life story of Victor M. Chernov. Thirty-four years before he died (at the age of 78), he presided over a genuinely democratic Russian parliament — the one Lenin's gunmen dispersed in January 1918. But if there is to be any future for the free world, there will come a day when the Russian people will remember the Chernovs with considerably greater love than Lenin and his gunmen.

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Dictatorship by Default

The sophistries, omissions and distortions by which Mr. Truman sought to justify his illegal seizure of the steel industry were so glaring that we need not waste too much time on them. In defense of his Wage Stabilization Board's "recommendations" for a record-breaking wage boost, he argued that "the steel workers would simply be catching up with what workers in other major industries are already receiving." Yet his own Bureau of Labor Statistics finds that while the workers in all manufacturing industries were earning an average of \$1.64 an hour, the steel workers were already earning an average of \$1.88 an hour; and that while the workers in all manufacturing industries were earning an average of \$66 a week the steelworkers were earning an average of \$78 a week.

As for catching up with living costs, these had risen 11 per cent since the outbreak of war in Korea, while the earnings of steelworkers had already gone up 13½ per cent since then. It would be interesting to learn what Mr. Truman's catch-up wage formula is, and where he starts measuring from.

He has, however, needless to say, no catch-up formula for prices and profits. On the contrary, he constantly denounces the Capehart amendment, which is nothing more than a partial and limited catch-up formula for price ceilings. He applies an unabashed double standard. He makes it quite clear that his real purpose in wishing an extension of price-and-wage fixing powers is not to "stabilize," or to halt inflation, but to hand out political favors and penalties, and to effect a redistribution of income.

His discussion of steel industry profits was almost incredible. He declared that these "are now running at a rate of about \$2.5 billion a year." He completely neglected to point out that this was his estimate of profits *before taxes*. These, of course, are not "profits" available for the steel companies at all, though he constantly and deliberately gave the impression that they were. On the basis of 27 steel producers accounting for 90 per cent of the nation's ingot capacity, the magazine *Iron Age* estimates that after paying about \$1.2 billion in taxes, these companies had left in 1951 a net income of slightly more than \$625 million.

"The steel companies," Mr. Truman went on, "are now making a profit of about \$19.50 on every ton of steel they produce." The steel industry's own estimate is that, after taxes, the steel industry in 1951 made only about \$6.50 a ton. It is important to add that even this figure does not apply to *every* ton of steel; it is merely an average.

Marginal companies were of course making considerably less. If their profit-margin were more than wiped out, their production would stop.

The most inexcusable omission in Mr. Truman's speech defending his steel seizure was, of course, his complete failure to mention that the order of his board would impose compulsory unionism throughout the steel industry—that it would force every individual worker to join Phil Murray's union and pay tribute to it in order to keep his job. What this had to do with "stabilization" or "fighting inflation" only Mr. Truman and his hand-picked "public" members on the WSB seem to know.

How did we get here? Let us glance backwards at the New Deal ideology that has dominated our legislative, administrative, executive and judicial policy for the past twenty years. It began with the assumption that even the largest and strongest unions were so weak that they needed governmental intervention to strengthen their bargaining power. It also assumed that unions could do no wrong. It therefore compelled every employer, however small, to "recognize" and "bargain with" every union, however large, that succeeded in gaining the approval of more than 50 per cent of a given group of his employees. This meant that no matter how unreasonable or exorbitant the demands of the leaders of this union might then be, the employer had to deal with them and no one else. They were government-certified monopolists.

It did not end there. He had to bargain "in good faith." What did that mean? Obviously, that he had to end by making concessions—or else where was his good faith?

But now the requirement has taken its logical next step. He must end by granting every final demand that the union makes. Otherwise the union will strike. And then, according to Mr. Truman's phrase and logic, it is not the union, but the *employer*, who is "willing to stop production" to have his willful way.

So if the employer refuses to meet the union's demands, the logical next step is for the President to appoint an "impartial" board to decide that the employer must meet them. If the employer is still obstinate, then the next step is for the President to seize and denounce the industry, regardless of the absence of any legal authorization, on the argument that this is the only way to prevent a strike and to keep production going.

There are even further steps. If the President allowed the steel industry to raise its prices enough to pay the additional wages that a government board was forcing on it, the public would blame

the President for the higher prices. Therefore he must *forbid* the steel industry, or any other, to raise its prices enough to take care of the higher wages he has ordered.

Mr. Truman has launched the country on a course that means complete abandonment of the economics of free enterprise and free markets. It means an imposition of the economics of statism, fascism, and socialism. It means that all prices and wages are to be fixed by government dictation. It is true that he is not quite candid about this. He pretends that wage-and-price fixing are necessary "temporarily" in order to "combat inflation." Yet it is he himself who, by his spending and monetary policies, is causing the inflation that he pretends to "fight." He first tried to impose one-sided compulsory arbitration on the employers—hypocritically in the name of "collective bargaining"—and when the employers boggled at the terms, his Secretary of Commerce announced he would impose them instead.

The truth is that the government, having stricken from the hands of employers, representing hundreds of thousands of shareowners, all the previous economic weapons by which they could combat a strike, and having built up by law the Frankenstein monsters known as industrywide unions, has rendered itself as well as employers powerless to combat an industrywide strike. Therefore it must submit to the unions' demands. It can do this and still save face only by pretending that the demands are "fair and reasonable." But in solving a strike by buying it off, it must buy itself a hundred more strikes. And it leaves itself no course of action but to seize each industry in turn until it has brought about complete socialism—and done even that not by democratic, but by fascist methods.

The parallel between Peron's seizure of the newspaper *La Prensa*, because it would not meet the demands of its striking employees, and Mr. Truman's seizure of the steel industry for the same reason, should not escape attention.

The legal, political and Constitutional implications of Mr. Truman's action are surely no less serious than the economic. In the case of a threatened industrywide strike, Congress provided an explicit measure of procedure in the Taft-Hartley Act. Mr. Truman contemptuously ignored it. He deliberately delayed using it until he could plausibly argue that there was no longer any time for it. Then in violation of the Constitution that he had sworn to uphold, he seized private property without due process of law and without any Congressional authority whatever. Worse, he sent an insulting message to Congress, telling it what he had done, and daring it to oppose his action if it happened to have the folly to "deem some other course to be wiser."

There was a time when, if such an executive usurpation of power and violation of Constitu-

tional rights had been attempted, even by a strong and popular President (let alone by an inept one, already repudiated by the voters in the primaries), the courts and Congress would instantly have moved to challenge and to nullify it. But the Federal District Court to which the steel companies first appealed made the astounding ruling that the courts had no power to protect citizens against illegal acts of the executive. The Court even added: "It is not sufficient to show that the action sought to be enjoined is illegal." Just what redress do private citizens have against illegal acts by administrators? Just what are the courts for? Just why do we have a Constitution?

In Congress, up to the moment of writing, the reaction has hardly been better than in the courts. The only bill a Senate committee is considering is one to give the President retroactively the seizure powers he did not have when he acted! Individual Senators and Congressmen have made strong individual statements, but only one or two have followed them by appropriate action.

Yet if Congress has not abdicated, if we are to keep a government of law, if fascism and socialism are not to be accomplished facts, if the Constitution is to retain meaning, there are a score of possible measures Congress could take to improve and nullify Mr. Truman's high-handed action.

On the negative side, it could and must at the very least allow Mr. Truman's price-and-wage fixing powers to expire on June 30, and allow his Wage Stabilization Board to expire with them. Even a "wise" government, "above politics," could not be trusted with such powers—and certainly not Mr. Truman. In addition, Congress must make it once more possible for a strike to be broken. If it does not repeal the Wagner-Taft-Hartley Act, it must at least withdraw the present legal compulsion on an employer to bargain with industrywide unions.

But these negative actions will not be enough. Congress should pass a resolution denouncing Mr. Truman's act of executive usurpation and refusing to permit a dollar of government funds to be used to administer the seized steel industry.

In addition to these acts, Congress might go further. It might submit a Constitutional amendment permitting Congress, like the legislatures of Canada, Australia and Britain, to force either the resignation of an executive in which it had lost confidence, or an immediate new election.

At least one man in Congress has had the courage to move that a Congressional committee consider impeachment. If Mr. Truman's action in seizing private property without due process of law, and acting beyond any authority granted to him by Congress, is not even a "misdemeanor" within the meaning of the Constitution, it would be interesting to find out what is.

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Enter Comrade Schacht

The Russians, who after all invented everything else, exhibited at the Moscow "International Economic Conference" their latest invention—the "bilateral trade" jimmy heretofore patented by Dr. Schacht, than which no burglar's tool has greater promise in forcing capitalist safes. The dupes, and worse, who came from afar to play the self-appointed "foreign delegates" at the fair, have sent home enraptured messages about a new era of peaceful trade between East and West. And those peculiar "neutralists" in Western Europe who never tire of fulminating about the naked selfishness of American policies, wax lyrical over Commerce Commissar Mihail Nesterov's gracious offer to relieve the free world of \$10 billion worth of strategic goods.

For even in its plush version of seductive propaganda the Soviet trade offer does not hide the military aim of Communist imports. Comrade Nesterov, in a breakdown of his proposal, was bidding for machines from Britain; ships, lead and rolled metal from France; power equipment, cranes, ball bearings and ships from Italy; ships, hoisting equipment, radio tubes, rubber and tin from the Netherlands; power equipment, ships and rolled metal from Belgium; machine tools, electrical equipment, pumps and compressors from Western Germany. Altogether Mr. Nesterov was kindly willing to accept \$2.5 billion worth of machinery and tools from the capitalist countries and \$3 billion worth of raw materials from Southeast Asia, the Near and Middle East. And his specifications read precisely like the list of strategic goods whose export to the Soviet Empire has been declared detrimental to NATO interests and policies.

And what did the Commissar propose to export in payment? "Cereals, grain, timber, manganese, chrome, coal, asbestos, pulp, anthracite, oil products and medical supplies." Even a French "neutralist" could not possibly fail to notice the skimpiness of the Soviet sales catalogue. But, by a strange quirk of the famously realistic European mind, the promoters of a deal with Russia seem to have persuaded themselves that in more trade with destitute communism there would be lasting prosperity for the capitalist world.

For example, Mr. Edward Crankshaw, the prolific British "liberal" journalist, solemnly announced in the *New York Times Magazine* that Western Europe's only salvation lies in its trade with the East—"imports of food . . . in exchange for exports of machinery." As Mr. Crankshaw could learn from his compatriot Lord Boyd Orr (the equally ubiquitous former chief of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization), the East is certainly in no position to export food. In fact, claims Lord Orr, the East is undernourished

and embraces communism precisely because the heartless West has not fed it generously enough.

But Mr. Crankshaw and Lord Orr do not really seem to mind arguing on both sides of the street. Apparently all that matters to them is to plead in every conceivable case the appeasement of communism—and consistency be damned. Furthermore, if universal experience with Comrade Nesterov's kind of trade arrangements spells disaster for the world's economy, universal experience be damned too.

For no sane person will deny that the disastrous effects of "bilateral trade" agreements for a free economy grow from the very nature of the totalitarian partner. When free economic agents engage in foreign trade, both sides remain sensibly controlled by profit motives and thus direct, augment or halt the trading on advice of the price mechanism which keeps the mutual economic interests in accurate balance. If free entrepreneurs were to engage in trade with Soviet import-export monopolies, they would of course soon discover that, not to speak of its perilous political consequences, there just is no profit in trade with Leviathan. Except for a few marginal traders, American businessmen gained from their short-lived trade experience with the Soviets nothing but disgust with import-export monopolies.

The only method by which a nationalized economy can attain its trade goals is the bilateral arrangement—trade between governments. Once a totalitarian state has induced another government to guarantee a specified trade volume, they no longer have to worry about the exasperating free entrepreneur. The Soviets' law of existence is the supremacy of politics over economics. The aim of their foreign trade is not mutual economic stimulation but, on the contrary, the ultimate perdition of the capitalist trade partner and, on short terms, the unilateral growth of their own military potential. Such aims are unattainable in dealings with individual traders. They must be imposed on them by another political power—their own government, once it accepts bilateral trade deals with the Soviets.

The potency of that tool, if used by determined totalitarian operators, has been classically demonstrated by Dr. Schacht, who, if Hitler's megalomania had not exploded into war, would have subjugated most of Europe without firing a shot. In the thirties Nazi Germany, too, needed Europe's strategic goods but had neither the reserves nor the intention to acquire them in free trade. And as Nazi Germany, too, had established the supremacy of politics over economics, Dr. Schacht found it fantastically easy to get what Hitler needed through bilateral deals.

The trick was simply to lure one European country after another into a barter arrangement by which a set volume of specified goods was to be

exported to Germany. Once the productive capacities of such an unfortunate country were geared to German specifications, Dr. Schacht could at will renege on the initial German exchange commitments: the hooked country could have liberated itself from German looting only at the price of total economic dislocation. And so, after the initial cost of a generous bait, Dr. Schacht stripped the dependent country of all the strategic goods Germany needed.

The Soviets, on their part, did not wait till 1952 to adopt Dr. Schacht's ingenious invention. Even while blatantly looting their Roosevelt-donated half of Europe, they employed, right after the war, the Schacht technique in some more delicate cases. Sweden, for instance, whose Socialist Minister of Economics, Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, was hell-bent on appeasing the muscle-flexing communist neighbor, stumbled in 1946 into such a bilateral deal. After a couple of years, the normally prosperous country was on the brink, not only of total dependence on Russia, but also of a devastating economic crisis. And though the postwar prosperity of capitalist Europe bailed Sweden out in 1949, that country still suffers from Dr. Myrdal's Socialist sympathies for his erring brethren in the East. (Dr. Myrdal's career, by the way, survived the debacle magnificently: he is currently, to no one's particular surprise, chief of the United Nations European Commission.)

The Western malaise of will and vision has now progressed sufficiently for the Soviets to apply the Schacht jimmy on a far more ambitious scale. And we would underrate the effectiveness of their trade offensive at our own peril. No matter how unequivocal the experience with bilateral trade arrangements, the characteristic shortsightedness of European governmental greed for immediate profit may cause the West to grab the bait. And what makes matters worse is that the Truman-Acheson policy has deprived America of its credentials to oppose the approaching sellout on moral grounds: any European government, if warned by Mr. Acheson to watch its appeasing steps, can point to the fatal inconsistencies of Mr. Acheson's own policy—and smugly put its head in the Soviet noose.

For it has always been the basic fallacy of Mr. Acheson's "containment" concept that he is trying to fight a war, cold or otherwise, without breaking off relations with the enemy. By what right can we object to European "arrangements" with the Soviets when our own government has chosen the ineffable shame of American defeat in Korea rather than displease the Soviet masters of Manchuria? A European government signing on Comrade Nesterov's dotted line would be merely adjusting Mr. Acheson's code to continental customs and conditions.

Nor does the Soviet trade offensive necessarily mean that Stalin has abandoned the idea of military moves in the near future. Dr. Schacht's "bi-

lateral" penetration was stepped up to highest gear when Hitler had already made up his mind not to postpone, but to precipitate, armed aggression: the faster he knew the showdown approaching, the greater became his greed for Europe's militarily relevant resources. And as Mr. Truman has neither the power nor the credentials to prevent Europe's surrender to the "peaceful" looting, there remains little for us but to hope that Europe's will to live may overcome its congenital myopia.

Cobwebs For Communism

We were struck by a paid advertisement placed in the *New York Times* of April 12 by Elia Kazan, the motion picture director. The advertisement took the form of a moving confession by Mr. Kazan that he had been a member of the Communist Party for a year and a half back in the mid-thirties. He got out because he couldn't stand the undemocratic procedures of the Communist Party.

Mr. Kazan's confession, which he made publicly in order to silence some "intolerable rumors" circulating in Hollywood about his "political position," sounds entirely sincere, and we do not doubt the reality of his disillusionment and conversion. But Mr. Harry Feldman, who has written about the movies on occasion for the *Freeman*, points out a curious thing about the sort of picture which an ex-Communist can direct.

Take "Viva Zapata," a Twentieth Century Fox production, written by John Steinbeck and directed by Mr. Kazan. This purports to be nothing but a horse opera set below the Rio Grande. Zapata, a Mexican guerilla, leads a bunch of good guys against a bunch of bad guys who oppress them and keep them from making a living. But Mr. Feldman points out that "Viva Zapata!" is essentially nothing but a rehash of the celebrated Soviet films "Chapayev" (1935) and Alexander Dovzhenko's "Shors" (1938), the latter of which was suggested by no less a figure than Stalin himself. The "good guys" in both "Viva Zapata!" and the Russian films represent the downtrodden peasants; the bad guys are bad because they represent the class enemy, the rich landowners. It's the class struggle, and the triumph of the exploited class constitutes democracy.

We don't say that it is a sin to schematize the Mexican Revolution by referring it to the Russian. We don't say that the "class struggle" had no reality in the Mexico of Diaz. What we do say is that a simple-minded approach to the idea of democracy (which *ought*, after all, to contain some reference to the idea of individualism) can still plague a man after he has ceased to be a Communist. Mr. Kazan has cleared himself of any Communist taint in his advertisement. We'd now like to see him clear the cobwebs out of his mind.

Mr. will year ized man ator Fair the put the or go In indiv one t volt in th draw tured was Georg of Pa But to dro now, other man's that i that Steven as the Troy's Mea of Se half-p nomin tion w for his shows which have t states it is e He i tion. V Press" estly c matter mainde televisi

The South Likes Russell

By JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Since President Truman is no longer a candidate, the South would like to see Georgia's Senator Russell the Democratic choice. But come what may, it means to block socialism and Trumanism.

Mr. Truman's withdrawal makes it certain there will be no Southern Democratic break-away this year. The opposition in the South was so personalized that it had come to be stronger against the man than against the things he means. Unless Senator Humphrey, who is said to be organizing a Fair Deal bloc for Convention operation, should be the nominee, Southern political leaders will stay put now, no matter even, I think, how objectionable the platform may be. They will either pipe down or go Republican.

In so far as its opposition was to Truman the individual, the South has a victory, of course, and one that goes back to Strom Thurmond and the revolt of 1948. When Editor Ralph McGill remarked in the *Atlanta Constitution* that the Truman withdrawal "left the Dixiecrats with their balloon punctured and hissing" there was comment that this was like saying Cornwallis's surrender deflated George Washington and that liberty was the death of Patrick Henry.

But even though Southern leaders seem inclined to drop all talk of breaking with the national party now, many Southern editors are vowing that another Fair Dealer and FEPC advocate in Mr. Truman's place would be worse than Mr. Truman; that it is a philosophy, a 20-year regime, a gang, that must go. Some have likened Kefauver and Stevenson, who are deemed as much Fair Dealers as the President, to the wooden horse that brought Troy's downfall at the moment of victory.

Meanwhile the South is thrilling to the candidacy of Senator Richard Brevard Russell of Georgia, half-persuading itself that he has a real chance of nomination and election. He will go to the Convention with the South turned temporarily solid again for his sake; but every public appearance he makes shows the fatal handicap of the race question under which he runs. The organized Negro vote may not have the balance of power in 17 key Northern states which Walter White has boasted it has, but it is enough to veto the Georgian.

He is not permitted to get away from the question. When he was interviewed on the "Meet the Press" program recently the reporters seemed honestly of a mind to avoid too much stress on the matter, but once brought up it absorbed all the remainder of the interview. On the new "Crossfire" television program more recently, the Senator him-

self complained at the finish that even though his Senate record identified him with many important national and world issues he had not been asked a single question on Korea, the Atlantic Pact, inflation, the steel strike, the farm problem or any of the other "regular" topics for Presidential candidates. Questions had been almost exclusively on civil liberties, Southern revolt, the Negro and the real meaning of Russell's candidacy in the current confused set-up.

The only answer to a situation like this which shuts out of the Presidential picture a man like this, some Southerners are saying, is a real two-party system in the South, with the Southern vote valuable enough and uncertain enough to give the region respectful attention as regards Presidents and Presidential issues.

It should be noted of Senator Russell's candidacy that even though it has the unreserved support of Senator Byrd and Governor Byrnes and was apparently engineered by them originally, he is not necessarily their man. For that matter Senator Byrd and Governor Byrnes themselves are brothers political more by convenience than in blood.

Senator Russell is less conservative on the record than either Byrd or Byrnes, and has been on better terms with Truman. "Except on the so-called civil rights program," Arthur Krock wrote of his record a few weeks ago, "he has been what politicians call regular. He has followed the leaders—Roosevelt and Truman—whenever possible, and possible with him has meant most of the time." Virginus Dabney, analyzing the Russell record in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, concluded that the Senator went along with Roosevelt in the thirties for the most part, even on the "Supreme Court packing" bill.

... but in recent years he has veered away from the Fair Deal except in the sphere of agriculture. He voted for the Case strike control bill in 1946 and the Taft-Hartley bill in 1947. He opposed at about that time the loan of \$3.75 billion to Britain, but soon thereafter proposed that England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland become four states of the American union.

On Korea, Senator Russell told the *U. S. News* last month,

... I had my own plan but nobody adopted it. Just as soon as the Chinese came into Korea in any considerable strength, I advocated pulling all of our

ground troops out of Korea immediately . . . I did not want to try to fight a land war with the Chinese and I advocated as we removed them to start bombing some important sector of China every day and notify them that we were going to continue until they got out of Korea.

The Senator concluded that it is too late now.

Dick Russell's candidacy today is obviously not what it was at its inception. In the beginning, with political confusion confounded worst of all in the South, it could be looked on as the Byrd-Byrnes South feeling its way—with its best foot foremost. The *Winston-Salem Journal* said it was "the South playing its ace." Russell was to be the rallying point for Southerners determined to beat Truman, who were persuaded by the spectacle of the coalition ruling Congress that a balance of power and, therefore, a veto over Truman, exists in the Southern states. Under the leadership of Byrnes at the Democratic Convention, or by a show of force before, they would hope to stop Truman. Failing, they would "confer" after the convention on the next steps to be taken. States Rights leaders of 1948 were presumed parties to the plan but were played down in order to emphasize the 1952 move as different both in calibre and in dimension.

Russell, nationally respected, who had not bolted in 1948 but, remaining, had been given the Presidential nominating votes of all the Southerners who stayed and of others to a total of 263, was ideal for all this. He could command far more of the South than Strom Thurmond had. He could command more than Byrnes and Byrd. And he would have support in other states, even though he was "regular" against FEPC and on the race question from the Southern point of view.

Russell as Candidate

In falling in with the Byrnes-Byrd plan, Senator Russell was probably moved by several considerations. One was his own sincere philosophy of the South and the Constitution. Another undoubtedly was the practical fact that his state of Georgia was seething with unlimited anti-Trumanism. But the Senator must have been aware, too, of many Americans who deem him exceptionally qualified for the Presidency. They have been telling him so for several years, even though he has often expressed his own certainty that no Southerner could be elected.

From the start Russell's picture of his candidacy may have differed somewhat from that of Byrnes and Byrd. He was careful not to say whether he would bolt if Truman were nominated, even though the Southern assumption was that he would.

It is likely that he has been more interested from the start in actually winning than in just stopping Truman. Now, with Truman out, he and many of his supporters think his positive chances are impressive. For others he represents a hope of reuniting the Democratic Party with a ticket on

which Stevenson would have first place and Russell second. Reaction to that in Russell's own part of the country would be sharply divided. Those who have believed the real issue is not Truman but Trumanism and who see in the Illinois governor Mr. Truman's choice and counterpart would be outraged. Oddly and embarrassingly enough, Stevenson is a friend of Mr. Truman's bitterest political and personal enemy, James F. Byrnes. Byrnes appointed him head of the United Nations Preparatory Commission in London in 1945. "An out and out Fair Dealer, who favors FEPC," the *Charleston News and Courier* calls Stevenson. "It seems fantastic to us that Governor Byrnes and others who have been speaking out against statism, socialism and party labels, could go along with any such agreement, even to 'save the party.'"

These must be days of difficult decision for Mr. Byrnes. As a politically disembodied soul, without plan to run again for office as Russell and Byrd will be doing, and with a name secure, he is most free to act on the basis of what he deems the best interest of his country. The charming little South Carolinian may be facing in this light the question, which of two big uphill selling jobs he will undertake in the South, selling Stevenson or selling the idea of voting Republican in the Presidential race. All he will say now is that he is for Russell, and not for Vice President but for President.

Dream of a Deadlock

In spite of his superior qualifications and greater kinship with the South on the race question, Senator Taft would not have as many votes in the South right now as General Eisenhower, although the Senator's unprecedented campaign for Southern support and his proved willingness to sacrifice Negro votes elsewhere for it are having an effect and may bring considerable changes. The Byrd-Byrnes-Russell plan if Truman had stayed in the running and been nominated was to let nature take its course in case of Eisenhower. The South, or some Southern states, would simply go Republican, either through Republican electors or independent ones. That would have reflected not only the feeling of Byrnes and Byrd that Eisenhower could win in the South as a Republican but their own amiability towards the General. They have liked Ike with a liking that must seem strange to some of their fellow conservatives in other parts of the country.

But if Taft were to have been the nominee against Truman the Byrd-Byrnes group, even though cordial to him, was persuaded he could not hope for Southern electoral votes direct, and had planned to repeat the process of 1948, with a separate ticket which they would have wished Russell to head but, failing him, would have topped with the personable and powerful young Governor of Texas, Alan Shivers, whom Byrnes has publicly anointed as heir apparent to Southern Democratic

leadership. They were mathematically sure that the election could be thrown into the House, no candidate receiving a majority in the electoral college. There, with voting by states, Georgia counting equally with New York, the South would have vetoed Truman for Taft, or, better yet, since Taft people wouldn't take Truman or Truman people Taft, have made Russell President.

This same dream of a Southerner elected through a deadlock in the electoral college was dreamed in 1948, but I think Southerners have realized lately the bitterness and Constitutional crisis that would ensue if a minority candidate, third on the list, with the South's viewpoint on the race question, should ever become President through such a deadlock. Don Ewing pointed out in an editorial in the *Shreveport Times* that if the election were thrown into the House and the 25 least populated states voted together, "representatives of 23,288,000 people could determine the Presidency of the United States against the will of representatives of 123,409,000 people. One hundred million people, mathematically, would be ignored." This is theoretical, since the 25 least populated states would not be voting together, but it suggests the national reaction.

With Truman's withdrawal, Senator Russell's candidacy assumes a constantly more positive aspect. Today a genuine and aggressive effort is being made throughout the nation to win the Presidency for a dyed-in-the-wool Southern leader, against all modern precedent. That Kefauver, a Southerner, should seemingly have a chance, makes it imaginable that Russell, much more a Southerner, has one, too. The prospect has been helped by the kind words of Truman himself and by the fine impression the Georgian makes in his television and other appearances. Under the spotlights, he looks like a President and sounds like one. Many Southerners who were for his candidacy originally as a road-block to Truman are undoubtedly playing him to win now, and straight across the board. Also many Americans who can't stand Truman or Trumanism but fear Taft on foreign policy are probably favoring him as the most likely Democratic leader to make sure that even as socialism is defeated at home the current foreign policy of the Administration is continued. They look on him as a fine hedge if Eisenhower doesn't get the Republican nomination. And the Senator himself, whose years and accomplishments in Washington have given him in most matters a national rather than a merely Southern point of view, must find it increasingly within reason and possibility that he should be President.

Even if nominated and not elected, Senator Russell might feel that he had qualified to run another day and that in the meantime those whom he and his fellow Southerners deem the true Democrats would have regained possession of the party of their fathers, with four years out of power in which to put it together again.

Dick Russell will have the South solid behind him, but his candidacy has not been received there in unanimous enthusiasm by anti-Trumanites. Some have hesitated from the beginning for fear he would "compromise" at the Convention. Pointedly the States Rights candidates for elector in Alabama (now disqualified by the United States Supreme Court because they refused to pledge themselves to support the national nominee) said nothing of Russell in their statement of policy. They promised only, if chosen electors and a Trumanite were named, "to vote for some great American who is acceptable to Alabamians." The *Charleston News and Courier* continually speaks of Russell with fingers crossed. "Will he or won't he stay with the Truman party," asks Editor Waring, "if a platform similar to the 1948 platform is adopted? Is his candidacy designed to hold the Democratic Party together, regardless of a Trumanite victory in Chicago, or is it designed to protect the country from the Fair Deal, regardless of the consequences to the party?"

The Tragic Issue

Whatever Dick Russell's plan, his tragedy is the tragedy of the South itself: that for one hateful but immense consideration alone, all others must be subordinated.

The South can not hope to put its man in the White House, but it can be the decisive factor in the Democratic Convention and the November elections if its strength is assembled and tactically employed. Both Byrnes and Byrd have been stressing the fact that the Democratic Party can not win this year without the South, and it could be that the Republicans can't either. In a speech at Selma, Alabama, last fall Senator Byrd pointed out that in 1948 when the South withheld 37 electoral votes, Truman won by only thirty-nine. Two more Southern states against him would have cost him the election. It appears more and more, however, that only by voting Republican or remaining Democratic can the South exercise a decisive balance of power this year. No third ticket is likely, or would amount to much, even though there will be a very important remainder of hostility to what is called Trumanism in spite of Mr. Truman's withdrawal. It is possible that Republicans will carry some of the Southern states. It is certain that they will have a large vote in all the Southern states.

The Florida Presidential preference primary May 6 will face Kefauver with Russell for the first time. After his own Georgia, Florida is the state most enthusiastic for Russell. Victory there over Kefauver would give impetus to the idea—or illusion—that he can be nominated and elected. On the other hand a victory for Kefauver with its indication of Southern support for him in spite of his Fair Dealism and acceptance of FEPC, would so alert the Byrd-Byrnes States Rights element

that, with a third ticket no longer practicable, it might create a dramatically large Republican vote and swing some of the Southern states to the Republican column next November.

In long course of dealing with what it deems to be a problem peculiarly vital to it, the South has become more aware of the menace in too much Federal government than any other part of the country. With that menace the national issue this year, numbers of Southerners will see to it that their vote counts in spite of the one-party system and the disappearance of their personal Devil. They will do it with the split ticket, and be the more certain of their right because the Federal courts in pro-Negro decisions have called the Democratic primary in the South the equivalent of the general election and by that token invited whatever party irregularity given situations require in those primaries. The split ticket may be the sign of the South this November.

If it should come to pass that because of its hateful but real race problem the South saves the nation from socialism, bankruptcy and the deadly vested 20-year interest of one political regime, that will be another of the mysterious ways in which God is said to move.

Laddermoar Deposes

By VIRGINIA FREEDOM

Q. Have you ever visited Soviet Siberia?

A. I have no recollection of doing so. I may have visited it as Editor of *Antarctic Circle*, but I did not visit it as a private citizen.

Q. When did you make that trip?

A. If you have a document to refresh my memory—Oh, yes. My psychiatrist says I was not there mentally on that trip—I may have been physically.

Q. Did you ever photograph any Soviet troops?

A. To the best of my recollection, I did not.

Q. These pictures in *Antarctic Circle* for December, 1937 are marked "Photographs taken by Ogle Laddermoar, Editor." They are Soviet troops.

A. That doesn't mean I made the photographs. It means I "took" them—out of a desk drawer—or I "took" them from some one who handed them to me for that purpose. Your committee is always jumping to conclusions.

Q. We'll go back to the question. Did you ever photograph Soviet troops? Not these—any Soviet troops, anywhere, at any time?

A. Possibly. As Editor of *Antarctic Circle*, as you know—all editors have photographed Soviet troops. It is no different from what all editors were doing at the time. We were bending over backwards to get Antarctic Russian scholars to cooperate, particularly those based on Spitzbergen after Norway leased it to the Soviet Union.

Q. Are you saying that all editors in the United States were considered "experts" on Antarctic matters, and that they would be considered by the public to know as much as you do?

A. I have never claimed to be an expert. I am an objective scholar who has never made up my mind on any subject.

Q. Doesn't the jacket of your book, "Snafu in Asia" refer to you as an expert?

A. If you will read it closely, it says, "Ogle Laddermoar is 'considered' an expert." "Consider" in its true sense means "to think." It merely says I am "thinking"—or others are "thinking" about me. It doesn't say what I am.

Q. When did you realize the Soviet Union is interested in the conquest of the world?

A. I don't think I realize it now. That is a version that does not represent all viewpoints. I always try to present all viewpoints in *Antarctic Circle*, especially if they are written by Molotov, Gromyko and Vishinsky, or some other unbiased Soviet writer. We have trouble getting them to write for us, as you know from the record of our conferences.

Q. Would you say the Soviet Union is neutral in Korea?

A. Of course. After all, she must gain time to complete her railroads and submarines before she can demonstrate how peaceful she really is.

Q. Did you ever try to influence anyone in our Government on Far Eastern policy?

A. I had a date for high tea with the President once, which slipped my memory. We discussed the problem of barnacles on World War I bottoms. I believe I left a memorandum with him, and some books. He never read them. The pages were still uncut the last time I was at the White House.

Q. Did you ever try by any other means?

A. Oh, I think I sent a few cables, made a few telephone calls, and used to hang around the Far Eastern Desk, four or five days a week—nothing you would call "influence." Actually, 28 of my 29 recommendations were carried out, but the 29th was ignored. It hurt me terribly, but then I was just the average citizen. I would say that policy was just a parallel with my 28 recommendations—just a coincidence.

Q. Did you ever have a desk in the State Department?

A. No. I had a sofa in the White House. All editors had them in those days.

Q. Did you know Lauchlin Currie?

A. He was a casual acquaintance. He loaned me the sofa.

Q. Did you have a telephone?

A. No, I used short-wave radio.

Q. Did any Communist write for *Antarctic Circle* while you were editor?

A. I can not honestly say who did write for us. We never read the articles either before or after publication. That seemed to be more scholarly and objective.

The Containers Contained

By F. A. VOIGT

A distinguished British journalist argues that the "containment" policy contains the Allies while the USSR moves to neutralize Europe in order to secure its western frontier and have a free hand in Asia.

It was a simple rule of Russian foreign policy under the Czars to secure one of the three frontiers of the Empire—the western, the eastern, and the southern—so as to have freedom of action on the other two.

This rule was applied afresh under the Commissars. From 1921 on, Russia secured her western frontier by means of treaties, "non-aggression pacts," membership of the League of Nations, and so on, while exercising freedom of action in Central Asia and China. She remained at peace in the West while she waged war in the East, though both her peace and her war were subordinated to that purpose from which she has not swerved since the Revolution—the conquest of the world.

She was successful in creating the impression, at least among the Western powers, that her ultimate purpose was peace, not conquest, an impression fortified by Litvinov in Geneva, by his Pickwickian appearance and his advocacy of total disarmament. That she was never *not* at war and *not* engaged in destroying the foundations of Western power in Asia, was a fact never properly recognized at Geneva, or in London and Washington.

Her immense prestige and popularity at the end of the Second World War, the might of her victorious army, her advantageous strategic position, and the extraordinary complaisance of her Western allies, gave her freedom of action on *all* her three frontiers. Without any difficulty, without any sacrifice, and without any danger to herself, she advanced the western confines of her power right into the heart of Europe and assured the complete triumph of the Communist Revolution in China.

To "contain" the "spread of Communism" as a fire in a city may be "contained" by a cordon around the burning quarter may have been a provisional necessity, a makeshift, but no more. It could never be a substitute for policy. The great evolutions of the modern age do not stop of themselves. They go on until they are stopped. How could the mighty Russian Revolution which has been burning for more than thirty years and has not reached its maximum intensity even now, how could the Chinese Revolution, which may prove to be mightier still, be extinguished, or even abated, by being "contained" in a region so vast, so populous, and so rich in resources as that extending from the Elbe to the China Sea?

It is commonly assumed that the purpose of "containment" is not merely to "contain," but to "create the conditions" for "peace" or a "general settlement" with the Communist powers, while the Atlantic Allies rearm, not for war, but to "negotiate from strength" (in the words of Mr. Eden).

What are we to negotiate about? What do we mean by a "settlement"? What is to be "settled"? What inducement have the Communist powers to conclude a peace that would oblige them to abandon their plan of universal conquest?

What the Atlantic Allies are really asking for is that the Revolution should stop. But why should it? It has triumphed in Russia and China, it has made vast conquests, it has every prospect of making further conquests. To ask the Communist powers to abandon the world revolution is asking them to abandon everything they have lived and worked and fought for, to surrender their doctrine and to repudiate the heritage of their prophets and masters. We are simply asking the Revolution to commit suicide. It has no intention of doing so. If it goes down, it will go down fighting—and drag down with it as much of the world as it can.

Containment Endangers the Containers

"Containment" offers our opponents no inducement to "come to terms"—and it denies to ourselves the means of exercising the pressure which is the only inducement they can not ignore. The truth is that we are ineffectually "containing" our opponents and effectually "containing" ourselves.

The Communist powers can be assured of one thing. As long as we assume that "containment" is a "policy" which will produce a "settlement" they need fear no danger to their institutions or their conquests. "Containment" assures them that they need make no concessions, that they will remain free within the "containing" cordon, to pursue their preparations for universal conquest. Our rearmament is subordinated to one purpose—to preserve the cordon. It does not challenge the Communist powers unless they decide to accept a challenge at any point or time of their own choosing. We are in permanent danger; they are in none, except when they think the danger to be worth the encounter.

No foreign policy can be effective without the

exercise of pressure. By "containment" we deny ourselves that exercise—and afford it to our opponents. We have exercised peripheral counter-pressure at times and points of our opponents' seeking, but only to preserve the cordon. Pressure can not serve the ends of policy if it is not transmitted to the center. Our opponents, who have never lost the initiative, exercise an unremitting pressure which, although applied on the periphery, is transmitted to the center—to London, Washington, or Paris. For example, the pressure exercised by the Communist forces in Indo-China is transmitted to the center of French political, economic and military power. It may even affect French political stability. It is even transmitted to the United States, which may be called upon to increase its financial and military aid to France. It may even reduce the strength of the Allied forces in Europe. Yet this pressure is exercised and transmitted without any appreciable effort or sacrifice on the part of China and none at all on the part of Russia. Even the losses inflicted on China by the Korean War are outweighed by the gains. The losses are not irreparable, considering China's immense reserves of manpower, while the gains are incalculable even if the war remains inconclusive, for they are of that moral order which is of such vital importance to youthful revolutions.

When the North Korean forces had been driven back on that sector of the "containing" cordon which is known as the 38th Parallel, and the intervention of China enabled them to establish the deadlock that has endured ever since, General MacArthur proposed the exercise of pressure which would have been transmitted to the center. China would have felt the pressure with very limited means of exercising counter-pressure. Had General MacArthur's proposal been carried out, the present negotiations in Korea could have taken a different course, for the sustained exercise of pressure on China would have been an inducement to accept terms which today are unobtainable. Only pressure on the enemy can extort favorable terms. It is even conceivable that if General MacArthur's strategy had been adopted, the Korean War would have been over by now. In that case, there would have been less danger than there is today, and perhaps no danger at all, of a catastrophe in Indo-China.

Europe Is To Be Neutralized

It is a simple rule of strategy to "contain" an enemy on one front so as to strike at him the more effectively on another. This is the evident purpose underlying the proposals made by the Kremlin on March 10 with regard to Germany. Russia, today, intends to secure her western frontier, as she did in Czarist days, to gain greater freedom of action on her other frontiers. The "self-containment" of the Western Allies serves the Communist powers so well that they mean to reinforce it in Europe.

We are to be "contained" there by our opponents as well as by ourselves.

The proposals display the empiricism which the Kremlin commands despite the rigidity of its principles. The ultimate purpose—universal conquest—remains clear and unalterable, but the methods of pursuing it vary from occasion to occasion. The Allied Powers, on the other hand, have no clear purpose, but they have little empiricism and their methods remain fixed.

Hitherto the Kremlin was opposed to German rearmament. It now pronounces in favor of German rearmament. Hitherto it was for repressing the former Nazis and was constantly denouncing the Western powers for not repressing them enough. Now, in the proposals addressed to these same powers, it demands equal citizenship with all other Germans on behalf of the "Neo-Nazis."

The Kremlin understands perfectly well that if war were to break out in Europe, the outcome would be unpredictable. At the same time, it perceives extraordinary and unprecedented prospects of conquest in Asia—even the conquest of India, never seriously contemplated by the Czars, may be brought within the bounds of possibility.

If the Atlantic Allies are "contained" in Europe, their freedom of action in Asia is greatly reduced, whereas if Russia is "contained"—or "self-contained"—in Europe, her freedom of action is vastly increased. Her plan is beginning to appear in outline—the formation of a *glacis* of neutral states flanking the present *glacis* of "satellite" states which extends from the Black Sea to the Arctic Ocean. Yugoslavia is, in effect, a neutral state already. As I explained in the *Freeman* of January 14, the rupture between Marshall Tito and the Kremlin serves the interests of the latter. If it persists it will, in the event of war, whether in Europe or in the Middle East, increase the invulnerability of Russia and reduce the striking power of the Allies in the only region where Russia can be decisively defeated.

Finland recently proposed that the Scandinavian states form a neutral group. The proposals were certainly instigated by the Kremlin. If the neutrality of Sweden were extended to Finland, Norway, and Denmark, Russia would be invulnerable in Northern Europe and the Baltic would be closed to Anglo-American sea-power.

The proposals of March 10 would, if carried out, convert Germany into a neutral state. The three Western Allies have rejected them, but the final decision is with Germany and Russia. For the first time since the end of the war Germany has freedom of choice, and therefore can develop a foreign policy. She reemerges as a power, to become, perhaps, a great power. Her decisions may affect the future not only of Europe but also of Asia.

From her point of view, the proposals are advantageous and at the same time exceedingly dangerous. If she is severed from the Atlantic Alli-

ance, as the Kremlin demands, will she not be at the mercy of Russia? This, the great danger, is tempered because Germany will, according to the proposals, be allowed to rearm so that she will not be completely helpless. And even if she is neutralized and no longer associated with the Atlantic Allies, and is threatened by Russia, the threat will be to *them* as well as to herself. Will they not, in that event, be compelled to promise their assistance in the event of an attack?

Russia can give Germany what the Western Allies can not give her—the present eastern zone, or “German People’s Republic.” Germany has no other hope of recovering this region, which comprises about a third of her national territory in area, in population, and in production, except through a victory of Allied arms in a war which would destroy her cities and industries afresh. To the inhabitants of the “German People’s Republic” the Kremlin’s proposals must be immensely attractive, for they open a prospect of liberation from the Communist despotism.

The present Adenauer government will certainly cling to the Atlantic Allies. Its terms will stiffen. Its bargaining power has been greatly increased by the freedom of choice it has now acquired. Germany will not join the Atlantic Pact save on terms of complete equality. She, not France, will decide the future of the Saar. She may, before long, demand a voice in decisions relating to Austria. She is better able, also, to bargain with Russia. If, under a new government, she undertakes to negotiate with Russia, she will demand the return of those former German territories beyond the Oder and the Neisse, now incorporated in the Polish and Czechoslovak “People’s Republics.” The two republics will have no voice in the decision (in Russian eyes, Poland was never anything more than a function of Russia’s German policy).

The Bait to German Nationalism

The Kremlin, by its proposals, gains political leverage *inside* Germany even now, which may become more powerful than any the German Communist Party could offer. If the eastern zone is restored, its Communist “government” will disappear. The Kremlin’s proposals imply that Russia is willing to sacrifice the German Communist movement in favor of whatever German nationalist movement will emerge or reemerge. Such a movement will be able to proclaim these seductive but perhaps not impossible aims: *Peace with Russia and the Atlantic Allies, eastern and western trade, armed neutrality, the return of the lost territories, and the reconstruction of the reunited fatherland!*

What can the Atlantic Allies do if Germany, a few years hence, decides to compound with Russia? How will they deal with the possible threat (by no means the first!)—of an *entente* between Russia and a neo-nationalist Germany? What will become

of the “containing” cordon which divides Germany today? What can the Allies offer, or what pressure can they exercise, to make Germany decide for them and against Russia? They have nothing they can give her, and the exercise of pressure is against their principles (though perhaps it will not remain so). But Russia has already offered the eastern zone. She may offer more—and will have no hesitation in exercising inexorable pressure if it shall be in her interest to do so.

Perhaps the reader will dismiss these speculations as hypothetical and doubt whether such things can happen. But are they not happening even now? Is not Germany in process of becoming a neutral power? She is determined, above all, never to be caught in a war which will be fought out on her territory. If she joins the Atlantic Alliance, her voice will be decisive in all matters concerning herself. The Allies will not be able to wage war in Western Europe without her consent. Is it not conceivable that she will be neutral *in effect*, even as a member of the Alliance? And if she is *not* a member, can the Atlantic Allies make war in Europe without her consent even then? Will they not be compelled to exercise pressure or counter-pressure?

The Way to Allied Security

Russia, in the writer’s opinion, is on the way to success in securing her western frontier. If that is so indeed, the Atlantic Allies must prepare to conduct their main operations in the vast region extending from the Persian Gulf to the Far East, a region which can not be reduced by bombing, which affords no operational bases comparable with those they have established in Western Europe and North Africa, a region within a periphery so vast that the enemy can, with his internal lines, select the *terrain* on which he wishes to fight. But if the Allies weaken their defenses in Europe, may not the enemy change his strategy and threaten to advance on the Rhine? Will not the forces of the Atlantic Allies be divided in two parts, at an immense distance from each other, and will not these two parts be further subdivided?

Only in Southeastern Europe will the Allies be able, after the necessary preparations, to be in a position to strike decisively at Russia provided they draw Yugoslavia into the Alliance. They must therefore strengthen this position at all costs and, if Yugoslavia is not compliant, exercise pressure to make her so.

Until they begin to think in terms of pressure and counter-pressure, both general and local, but always such that it will be transmitted to the enemy’s center, they will never reduce the exorbitant might of the Communist powers and never gain that unchallengeable *security* which is, or ought to be, the supreme purpose of all their planning and of all their effort and sacrifice.

Religion is a Free Response

By **RUSSELL J. CLINCHY**

There is nothing in the Christian teaching, says a former clergyman, to warrant the belief that it is compatible with Marxism or the modern welfare state.

The radical and secularized impulses of the past quarter century have had a very definite effect upon the direction of Christendom. Social action groups in all denominations and forms of Protestantism and Catholicism have developed in program and power beyond all previous periods. It has been the day of "social advance."

There have been two main tendencies. One is the assumption that the Kingdom of God can be realized here on earth through personal effort supplemented and enforced by governmental action. The second is the willingness to accept as compatible with Christian teaching the proposal of Karl Marx: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs." Amazing as these tendencies are, they have been promoted in the churches by men and women who naively believe social welfare to be of such paramount importance that any means to its attainment is true and good.

These aspirations have led many people to misunderstand the nature of religious experience and the validity of the moral order. It becomes necessary, therefore, to study this situation. Let us consider the statements which are continually being thrust upon us with the implication that unless we accept them we can not be classed as Christian. Some of us believe that they are wrong, un-Biblical, and dangerous to valid Christian experience. Let us see if this is so.

Jesus Praised Husbandry

It is said, by a few people, that we should consider material possessions, other than the bare essentials of living, a sin; by others, that competitive attitudes and the profit motive are antisocial and un-Christian.

It is true that the Gospels contain directives to a dedicated life, but surely they were given to a chosen few who would be an inner circle living under a personal discipline, in the world but not of it. The directive is explicit: "You are not to be as the others." When Jesus sent out the twelve disciples, he said: "Get you no gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses; no wallet for your journey, neither two coats, nor shoes, nor staff; the laborer is worthy of his food. And into whatever city ye shall enter, search out who is worthy, and there abide."

Obviously this is not a blueprint for society.

These are directives to men who are to be members of a monastic order, who are to give up home, family, property, and concern for their living, in order to preach the Gospel. The purpose, dedication and specialized function of such voluntary groups is beyond criticism. Their avowed purpose is to be the yeast, not the whole loaf. They will live by the charity of those who produce; but they can be granted such charity only if their number is small in comparison with the whole of society.

Such living can not be a general pattern, for if all were required to live in this manner there would be no life beyond this generation. Continuation of life demands that men and women marry and have children, and that the family be provided with food, shelter and clothing through the responsible work of parents.

There is no need, then, to quote these directives for monastic living to those who can not possibly live monastically, and to judge them by this code. It is as idle as suggesting that all men should accept the dictates and restrictions of research, and give up the meaningful labor of producing, selling and distributing its results.

In all the words of Jesus there is no other reference to any form of propertyless living. But there is repeated praise of responsible and trustworthy husbandmen. "Well done, good and faithful servant," was said to men who had increased their possessions 100 per cent. In the same chapter Jesus commends the bridesmaids who had the foresight to fill their lamps with oil. There is no suggestion that they should have shunned that menial duty, or made someone else pay the cost. Zacchaeus did not tell Jesus that he had decided to give up his business in order to follow Him; but that he would give of his possessions to feed the poor, and would make amends for anything he had stolen. His reward was one of the warmest commendations Jesus ever uttered.

Possession of property was commended when it was used responsibly and with charity to the helpless, acting upon the voluntary choice to give or to withhold. There is not a single suggestion in all of the New Testament that the use or sharing of property should be coerced into forms and ends determined by one's associates. Every reference is to a personal and voluntary decision. Jesus urged "the cup of water given in my name." Paul said, "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfill the

law of Christ." That is why there is no such thing as Christian social action, or a Christian community. There can only be social action by Christians, and only a community of Christians.

Do not think that this was an invitation to irresponsibility. "It were better that a millstone be hung about a man's neck, and he be dropped into the sea, than he harm one of these little ones." But God would bless the use of one's possessions in compassion and service and for ministries to unfold the freedom of the human spirit. "Seek ye first His kingdom, and all these things shall be added unto you."

This is the Christian basis for such personal action, and it is also the basis of classical humanism. In all the great religions—such as Judaism, Christianity, Confucianism and Humanism—the development of human personality through its unique individual forms is the mark of man's true relationship with the eternal verities. That is "character." The meaning of the Old Testament is found in the development of great personalities in whom the spirit of the living God moved and had its being: Abraham, Moses, Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah. They were great servants of Jehovah, but their greatness as servants was engendered by the uniqueness of their personalities, achieved through voluntary response to a sense of vocation, as exemplified by Isaiah: "And I heard the voice of the Lord, Whom shall I send, and who will go for us? Then I said, Here am I, send me."

Again, in his parable of the man who built bigger and bigger barns, Jesus did not say, as is usually reported, that the man was a fool because he needed more barns in which to store his farm produce. Jesus said he was a fool to equate his peace of soul with the measure of his possessions, because he had said when he surveyed his barns, "My soul, be at thine ease." The need for larger barns is the result of good farming, an increase of crops which the farmer knows will feed more people and on which he knows he will earn a profit. Jesus did not condemn that process. He was concerned with the security of the soul, which is found in the personal relationship between God and man and is not conditioned by the ways of the world.

Christianity Is Not Socialism

It is said that the accumulation of much more than an average share of this world's wealth is to be condemned, because the social basis of a religious attitude is "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs."

No religion, with the possible exception of Buddhism which is a negation of life, teaches that inequality in possessions is wrong or that, from a religious premise, the total wealth should be divided by the decision and power of the State. No such suggestion is in the Bible, the source book of both Judaism and Christianity. Roman Catholicism

can make authoritative statements regarding its moral philosophy, but there is no word in any Catholic statement enjoining equalitarianism in the possession of property. Protestantism can not make authoritative declarations binding upon all adherents, but if one surveys the generally-held concept among Protestants one finds no prohibition of ownership and use of unequal amounts of material possessions. That is the record.

It was the "father of communism," Karl Marx, who said: "In a higher stage of the communist society . . . society could write on its banners: From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs." There are two things which should be said about this.

First, it rests upon coercion and not upon voluntary decision. The phrase, "in a higher stage of communist society," is important. A study of communism as conceived by Marx makes clear that the whole development rests not upon the consent of the people but upon the coercion of the obstinate many by the determined few. Marx is reported to have said, "I do not advocate the communist revolution; I announce it," and certainly that is the import of the Communist Manifesto. It will come through coercion.

The very wording of the clause is indicative of its theory of compulsion. It does not say "from my ability according to my response to the needs of my neighbor." Instead it says "from each," which means that every member of society is drawn into the plan for the alleviation of want and distress. This necessarily includes the concept of coercion, for there would obviously be many who would not voluntarily give according to their ability. If they were to be allowed to make a personal decision there would be no need to announce this thesis as the basis of socialist society, for it would be a voluntary society. It is to be, therefore, a compulsive society wherein resources are to be taken from each according to his ability and distributed among others in accordance with what the State decides is their need.

There is no possible way of equating this with any Christian admonition, for it is a form of stealing. If one person should take ten dollars out of another person's wallet without his consent, it would be theft. But if five acquaintances should vote that the owner of the wallet should give ten dollars—and then enforce their community decision—is that any less stealing? Nothing has changed because the takers, who have now become voters, have increased from one to five or to five thousand. The Bibles of all religions appeal to the fortunate and the able to extend compassion, sympathy and good will to the unfortunate and the indigent; but in not one Bible can there be found a command that any self-appointed group or majority in Church or State assume the authority to take a share of the goods of one person and give it to another. No matter what other sanction may be said

to exist, there is absolutely no religious sanction. Church members know that there is nothing in the Bible, or in the rule and practices of our churches, which would give either clergy or members power to take our resources by force and distribute them against our will. Why, then, should the State be allowed to do so?

Moral Ends Require Moral Means

It is said that if the ends of our effort are those of benevolence and social righteousness, then it is morally correct to use whatever means are necessary to reach those ends.

It is true that not many people make such a statement before pursuing a course of action, but there are many who do so in taking action. It is probably the greatest temptation men face in the realm of moral decision.

Only the moral man is confronted with the dilemma, for it is obvious that a criminal is not disturbed by the question whether the ways in which he murders or steals are considered moral. The moral man decides that he wishes to give food, shelter and clothing to the needy, and to establish brotherhood among men. Undebatably, those are moral purposes, but their very morality poses the next question: Must not moral means be used to arrive at moral ends?

Are moral means always used to attain the moral ends of human welfare? Consider, for example, the constantly increasing use of taxation in national and international welfare efforts. Americans have practically accepted the idea that the local, state and Federal governments should be used for this purpose, and the concept has now been extended to include the idea that the Federal Government should extend welfare to the whole world through such agencies as the Point Four Program. Anyone who questions the morality of these means is looked upon with astonishment, incredulity, and finally suspicion.

But let us examine the process. It is first decided that voluntary response to human need is too slow, and ends in being inadequate because too few people will respond of their own free will. Therefore it is decided that government—local, state, national, or international—shall be used to provide and distribute the needed resources.

This means that taxes must be collected, and they are collected from all—the good and the bad, the selfish and the unselfish, the religious devotee and the pagan, those who believe in helping others and those who do not. Certainly that is not a moral basis for doing good.

If we believe that a person's money may be taken from him by the State to provide welfare to Americans and people of other nations, then we must also believe that it is right to take his possessions, for that is what his money represents. We must believe that it would be right for the community to

vote that his bed, his dining-room table, his overcoat, could also be taken. Most people will recoil from the implications of that sentence. But why? The amount he paid in taxes might have bought a bed or a coat; therefore the State did in effect take those articles. If the State is authorized to do this, then why should not those who voted to tax their neighbor to pay for Point Four drive up a truck, take his bed, and send it across the world?

That sounds absurd, but it is no more absurd than the tax. Moreover if it is immoral to take a man's bed to give it to another against his will, then it is immoral to take that amount out of his bank account through taxes and with it buy a bed to give away. All the tax does is to befog the reality of our expropriating the possessions of an unwilling man. Whether we take his bank account or his bed it is the same act. Is that not the use of immoral means for a moral end?

But is it not also absurd to believe that a tax can be used to transmit good will? Here we are confronted with an amazing phenomenon. The person who is most appalled by the futile attempt to save a man's soul through coercion will often acquiesce in the use of coercion to save his personal attitudes. He will not only say that force should be used to make a man contribute to human need, but also that it can be used to create in him a brotherly attitude toward others. But was not the purpose of the Inquisition the use of compulsion to save a man's immortal soul from hell—an end of the greatest spiritual value? The fire surrounding Joan of Arc and the police force behind anti-discriminatory decisions are designed to accomplish the same purpose—to change one's attitude or belief by force. The only difference is in the extent of the power and the punishment.

Those who desire to create a new spirit in man, and to save his soul, are right. But they are wrong when they use immoral and unspiritual means to attain this end. Those who would serve mankind in the spirit of Christ are right. But they are wrong when they use coercion, communal theft, and unfair emphasis to accomplish that end. To use these methods is to exploit other people for our own ends; and that is a sin against personality. Both the Bible and human experience teach us that moral ends can be achieved only through moral means.

A Protestant, Whitehead, has said that "religion is what one does with his solitariness." A Catholic, Maritain, has said that "it is a truth of nature, a fact of the ontological order, that created intelligence can only find beatitude in God, and perfect beatitude in God seen face to face." A Jew, Micah, has asked, "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

Each of these interpretations of the essence of religion is that of vocation—and vocation is personal response to a call. That is the creative power of religion, which we have lost. For an act, or a

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life, to be religious there must first be the hearing of a call from beyond and above all that we are, and then a voluntary response. "Behold, I stand at the door and knock," said Christ, and no coercive action of society or the State can ever be substituted for the personal response of the human heart. Religion has interpreted man as a person, known to God; and no religion subordinates the individual to the collective or substitutes response by coercion for response through free will. Such is the essence and the power of the Judaistic-Christian teaching and faith, and only in a return to that faith can man find his salvation.

Community In Bonds

By S. HARCOURT-RIVINGTON

The popular clamor for State planning and control of all economic activities has become so insistent in our time that Mr. Walter Lippmann has called it the dominant dogma of this epoch. It is a growing force, supported by many in high places. If it is not rendered innocuous by constant exposure of its fallacious claims, it will have an influence on national affairs that may conceivably induce civil strife.

This movement for a "planned economy" had its origin, as I reminded readers of this journal in its issue of August 13, with the doctrines of Plato. Its influence ebbed and flowed through the intervening twenty-three centuries. In the early years of this century, under the aegis of Socialist agitators, it had reached the dimensions of a vigorous crusade, although the doctrine made but little impress upon the general public consciousness. However, the revolutionists sowed seeds which germinated in the exigencies of total war.

Public helplessness in the emergency of aggression by the totalitarian powers produced an imperative and justifiable demand that the government take over control of industrial activity and plan the use of the nation's material resources and manpower to insure victory. The Socialists rejoiced in this development which untoward circumstances forced upon the free democratic nations. It was a premature and unexpected fulfillment of part of their aims. Since the end of World War II they have been working with feverish zeal to get the principle developed to its logical conclusion and accepted as an integral and permanent feature of human organization.

Now, what specifically do the revolutionaries demand, and why?

They wish the government to abolish private capital and enterprise by taking over all economic activity—industrial, agricultural and mineral—and organizing it from top to bottom upon some definite preconceived State plan in the interests of the

community. They want the government to have totalitarian powers over the production and distribution of raw materials and the capital and consumer goods into which such products are made.

They want this extension of State control because they believe that such a system is the natural and logical development of present-day conditions: that it is the acme of progress and represents the final step to the millenium in the evolution of industrial communities. Let us examine these claims.

What does the establishment of a "planned economy" mean? It means, first of all, the inauguration of some species of socialist state on communist or fascist lines in which control of all resources would be transferred to the nation, to be administered by whatever government is in power. The owners of private property such as land, mines and factories would either be expropriated or, if allowed to retain ownership, would be able to operate their properties only under official permit in such manner as the state directed.

A "planned economy" means, secondly, that no man (or woman, for that matter) in the future would be free, at any time, to choose his own occupation or to start or continue any enterprise on his own account. He would have to do the work which the government set him to do. Obviously, if the government is to plan the whole national economy then it must, as a first essential, have the entire manpower of the nation always at its command. It would be imperative that the State be able to order labor to go wherever it might be required to carry out the "plan"—otherwise the plan would have to be modified to fit the labor, which would make nonsense of the plan.

A "planned economy" means therefore, thirdly, that a man must work wherever the government decides he must work, regardless of his wishes or domestic circumstances. If the exigencies of the plan require that he be separated from his family for years, then he must suffer the disability or the plan will break down. Under any scheme of "national planning" every man must, for all time, submit himself and his desires to government dictation, just as in the national emergency of world war, every soldier was temporarily obliged to do.

Fourth, in a "planned economy" no man will be able to change his occupation. He will not be free to better his position, for there will be no alternative employer to whom he can offer his services. Moreover, however great the injustice he may have to suffer, there will be no escape or appeal. The decision of his employer will be backed with all the coercive powers of the State.

Fifth, in a state-directed economy, there can be no argument about wages. They will be decided by the government, laid down in the "plan" and must be accepted. There will be no question of trade disputes or of striking for better pay or working conditions. Refusal to obey government orders will be treason to the State.

Sixth, a "planned economy" means that no one would be free in future to purchase whatever he needed or desired, even supposing that he had the money with which to buy. There would have to be a continuous system of rationing for all kinds of products. Obviously if the constantly varying wants of individuals were to be allowed to determine production—that is to say, if popular demand were to decide how many loaves of bread, gallons of milk, packets of cigarettes, pairs of shoes, sets of saucepans, motor-cars, radio sets, etc. were to be produced—then there could be no over-all planning. If the government is to control production (as the system assumes) then the government, and not the people's desires or fancies, must decide what shall be created. If volume of production were left to be decided by a free market, then the state would lose control and the whole planned system would fall to pieces. Hence, if the State rules volume of production as it must in any planned economy, one will be able to buy only a certain share of what the government in its wisdom dictates shall be available for distribution. Freedom to buy unlimited quantities will be abolished. All shops will be rationed in their supplies, which they will be able to sell or distribute only to those who possess the necessary "coupons."

Under such a system everything would be organized and controlled by a central authority which necessarily would have despotic powers. To carry out the government's decisions, and to deal with recalcitrant elements, there would have to be some form of secret police who would have power under Ministerial decrees to enter private homes and larders and make sure that official regulations were not being flouted. The zeal of such officials armed with plenary powers might conceivably have very unpleasant consequences, as was the case in Nazi Germany with the ill-famed Gestapo and is still the case in Soviet Russia where the feared and hated NKVD insures compliance with the central authority's decrees. Under such a system, personal liberty of necessity disappears.

It will be obvious that under conditions which a planned economy inevitably creates, the greatest virtue (and the one which will insure the highest rewards) is implicit obedience to the official will. Private initiative and enterprise are denied their natural outlet, scope and fruits. The system robs man of his birthright of individual freedom.

From the above facts and deductions it will be seen that a planned economy is not the acme of progress, as it is claimed to be. Neither is it even one step forward in the evolution of human affairs. In truth, it is retrogressive. It raises the age-old issue of freedom versus political and economic servitude. The inauguration of a planned economy gives rebirth to a doctrine from which the world struggled for centuries to emancipate itself.

A planned economy reestablishes the ancient despotic thesis of the Divine Right of the Ruler.

It was the basis of Hitler's National Socialism, just as it was the plinth on which Mussolini built his Fascist State. It is the quintessence of Stalin's Communism. The socialists paint socialism in the glowing colors of public welfare, but it should never be forgotten that a planned economy is the alpha and omega of the socialist doctrine and that, conversely, socialism can prevail only through the medium and method of such a State-controlled economic system.

Those who doubt this should remember the warning words of David Lloyd George, Britain's Prime Minister during the First World War. He was the first democratic statesman to apply over-all control of production for war purposes, and he knew how it impinged upon personal liberty. Speaking at a mass meeting at the Royal Albert Hall, London, on January 30, 1925, when the Socialists in Britain were becoming aggressive in their demands for a planned economy, he said:

Socialism means the community in bonds. It means the most comprehensive, universal and persuasive tyranny that this country has ever seen. It is like the sand of the desert. It gets into your food, your clothes, your machinery, the very air you breathe. They become all gritty with regulations, orders, decrees, rules.

That is what socialism with its "planned economy" means.

The Grammar of Dissent

By JEROME MELLQUIST

Possibly the last "book" that Europeans ever study about the United States is what might be described as the Grammar of Dissent. Admiring Sinclair Lewis, that sharp-tongued mimic of the city Babbitt or the Middle-Western Emma Bovary, they do not realize that Edgar Lee Masters, a more penetrating and acid intelligence, had poured fury upon small-town complacency considerably before the Minnesota satirist.

Again, while Edgar Allan Poe or Whitman may long have been quoted in the schools of Amsterdam or Paris, it may safely be wagered that the same institutions seldom offer like instruction on Wallace Stevens, who today almost rivals T. S. Eliot as an influence upon the younger poets, or Hart Crane, whose ambitious epic, "The Bridge," reached its last span with the author's plunge to suicide. And while almost every European has hailed the fantastic skyline of Manhattan, how often does he apprehend that the real birth of American architecture has been hard and slow—and even contrary to the predilections of the more accepted architects?

Such reflections inevitably arose when, recently, Zurich welcomed an exhibition of the 82-year old

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American architect Frank Lloyd Wright. Not that Holland has been unaware of this adamant figure who has resisted all attempts to wear him down. Wright's principle, which might be summarized as "Form Follows Function," early captured the admiration of original Dutch architects such as Mies van der Rohe. Amsterdam's and Rotterdam's vast housing enterprises from the 1920's often reflected at least a tincture of Wright in their fresh admission of materials like cement or wood, their rejection of coquettish adornment, and their adherence to predominantly horizontal lines of construction. Nevertheless, until Wright's show (which is also slated for Rotterdam) the seminal negative of this man could hardly have been familiar to most Europeans. For this prairie personality does not accept the skyscraper as the only, or even the best, solution for American architecture. Like his compeers in the novel or poetry, he has stood for smaller, almost separatistic, forms. Like William James, indeed, he might proclaim that he opposes all manifestations of bigness, and thus begets the highly personal idiom of his work.

What is this idiom? Wright, who was born west of Milwaukee in 1869, has never forgotten the gentle dips and undulations of the prairieland. Nor has he sought Carrara marble when the stone of his own state might be obtained. Furthermore, having initially been apprenticed to Louis Sullivan, an architectural innovator whom he has never ceased to term his "*lieber Meister*," he acquired from him, early in the 1890's, his fundamental tenet that form is begotten of function. Sullivan, one of whose Chicago skyscrapers furnished historical background to the large Zurich show of 152 items, employed the metal cage already made feasible through invention and engineering by the late eighties. He actually fathered the skyscraper as well as producing many a small residence, particularly in the villages of Minnesota and Illinois.

Having assimilated both the ideas and the work of this predecessor, Wright went on to create his own inimitable structures. The Winslow House, the Willets House, the Hickox House—all dating from the first dozen years of his activity—incorporated not only his typical horizontals, but invariably wedded the building to the natural habitat. Wright would have it that a structure must belong no less to its own background than a native stone or tree—a point in which, by the way, he decidedly parts with an architect like Corbusier, who regards a house as a "machine for living," while virtually neglecting its fitness to a setting.

Still, underscoring as he did this *rapprochement* with nature, Frank Lloyd Wright did not abandon the industrial world. His Larkin Soap Factory, constructed in 1904, broke with the prevalent prettiness in such structures. Discarding Ionic pillars for bank-fronts, or classical façades for industrial establishments, he so boldly affiliated himself with new forms and materials that he was dubbed the

"affirmative protestant." Nor did he remain a prairie provincial. He traveled to England and the Continent and even to Japan, where, somewhat later, he built the famous Imperial Hotel in Tokyo. Architects still recall how, when this hotel was under construction, the American was criticized because he settled it upon floating foundations—that is, upon separate pylons driven deep into the volcanic mould. Years later, of course, when much of the Japanese capital collapsed in an earthquake, Wright's structure vibrated sympathetically with the tremors, and still stands today.

Even so, other architects and many clients spurned him. Americans said he was too advanced. Nor did he ever flinch in his criticism of what he regarded as the megalopolitan madness in building all the great cities heavenwards. Rather, he sought to decentralize cities, to surround dwellings with greenery. He even planned an ideal community, Broadacre City. He did design a skyscraper model, as any Zurich visitor might see by looking at his St. Mark's Apartments, but it never advanced beyond a *maquette*.

Hammering steadily at his principles, Wright nonetheless won recognition by the later 1930's. He constructed, by means of outspread cantilever control, the Kauffman House-over-a-waterfall; he innovated in the Johnson Wax Factory at Milwaukee; and he even attracted around him a whole school of younger architects who lived on his premises while learning from the master.

Dissent at last won. But if today Zurich, Rotterdam and other cities acclaim this severe, battered, almost Lincolnian figure, they might well remember, too, his struggle. Not all the United States is incorporated in New York, nor do all Americans—despite certain voices to the contrary—entertain identical opinions. However crumpled and torn, the Grammar of Dissent still has its readers!

Footnote to Politics

Inflation has robbed
The pensioners of freedom.
Songless the patriotic thrush;
Which button shall I push
That will dispel
The darkening chill
Out of the East? The throat
Of the Republic's sore, but not
From cheering. It's a prose
War. The public nose
Runs, from Chicago to old
Saigon; Washington feels a draft and the bold
New program sneezes in Urdu. Nothing's bought
Though everything's paid for. Still uncaught
Who baked the cake of treason . . .
So, this dubious Spring
Sweet land of liberty, of thee we sing.

JAMES RORTY

People on Our Side:

1. Frank Chodorov

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Along about 1935, in response to the so-called "challenge" of communism, America was blanketed by a literature of crypto-collectivism. There were neo-technocrats and "planners" by the score; the Keynesians and "middle way" journalists were out like night crawlers after a vesper shower. If numbers and the sort of thing that passes for intellectual journalism in this country were ever definitive, the cultural climate of our nation would have been altered beyond recall in those years. But one of the grand lessons of history is that you can not break the continuity of a culture or a tradition unless you are prepared to liquidate *all* those who have known the *douceur de la vie* of the old regime.

Lenin said it long ago: to make collectivism stick in a land that has known the blessings of individualism, you must catch a whole generation in the cradle and forcibly deprive it of tutors who have learned the bourgeois alphabet at their mothers' knees. In a land of republican law this is impossible; no matter how clever or omnipresent the collectivist propaganda may be, a few culture-carriers of the old tradition will escape. They may be reduced to publishing broadsheets instead of books; they may be compelled to conduct their straggling classes in dingy rooms in old brownstone fronts. Certainly they will have a hard time getting posts on a university faculty. But they will be still hanging around—and still talking—when the tinsel begins to wear off the latest Five-Year Plan or government-sponsored Greenbelt colonization scheme. Their books and pamphlets, ready for the chance encounter that sparks all revolutions or "reactions," will fan the revival of the old tradition that periodically displaces the callow presumptions of the "new."

Carriers of Individualism

A recent preoccupation with my own intellectual autobiography has led me to reflect on the culture-carriers who brought me back to what I had originally soaked up unconsciously in the individualistic New England of my childhood. One of these carriers was Albert Jay Nock, whose "Our Enemy the State" hit me between the eyes when I read it in the thirties. Another potent carrier was Franz Oppenheimer, whose concept of the State-as-racket (see his epochal book on "The State") was too formidably grounded in history to permit of any easy denial. Still another carrier was Garett Garret, the only economist I know who can make a single image or metaphor do the work of a whole

page of statistics. Then there was Henry George, the Single Taxer, and the Thoreau whose doctrine of civil disobedience implied a fealty to a higher—or a Natural—law, and Isabel Paterson, the doughty and perennially embattled woman who wrote "The God of the Machine." Finally, there was a man who sometimes spoke in parables and who always had a special brand of quiet humor, Mr. Frank Chodorov, whose lifetime of broadsheet writing and pamphleteering has been brilliantly raided by Devin A. Garrity of the Devin-Adair Co. to make a forthcoming book.¹

Frank Chodorov is 65 years old, which means that he has been around. But he has the intellectual resilience that one would associate with the age brackets of the twenties and the thirties if the young of 1952 did not seem so frightened, so recessive, so pinched and so antique. The formal biography of Mr. Chodorov says that he once lectured at the Henry George School of Social Science; that he revived and edited the *Freeman* with Albert Jay Nock from 1938 to 1941 (the *Freeman* is a magazine that is always coming up out of its own ashes, like the phoenix); that after one of the intermittent deaths of the *Freeman* he published, wrote and edited his own four-page monthly broadsheet called *analysis*; that he is currently engaged in editing *Human Events* with Frank Hanighen in Washington, D. C.

A craftsman from the ground up, Frank Chodorov has always made his own words pirouette with the grace and fluidity of a Pavlova. Beyond this he is one of the few editors alive who can make individual stylists of others merely by suggesting a shift in emphasis here, an excision there, a bit of structural alteration in the middle. To talk over the luncheon table with Frank Chodorov about the problems of writing and editing is a liberal journalistic education. But this is only the least important part of the education that one can absorb from Mr. Chodorov when he is expanding in his own ruefully humorous way.

Listening to Mr. Chodorov, you won't get any meaningless gabble about "right" and "left," or "progressive" and "reactionary," or liberalism as a philosophy of the "middle of the road." Mr. Chodorov deals in far more fundamental distinctions. There is, for example, the Chodorovian distinction between social power and political power. Social power develops from the creation of wealth by individuals working alone or in voluntary concert. Political power, on the other hand, grows by

¹"One is a Crowd," to be published next Autumn.

the forcible appropriation of the individual's social power. Mr. Chodorov sees history as an eternal struggle between social-power and political-power philosophies. When social power is in the ascendant, men are inclined to be inventive, creative, resourceful, curious, tolerant, loving and good-humored. The standard of well-being rises in such times—vide the histories of Republican Rome, of the Hanseatic cities, of the Italian Renaissance, of nineteenth century Britain and of modern America. But when political power is waxing, men begin to burn books, to suppress thought, and to imprison and kill their dissident brothers. Taxation, which is the important barometer of the political power, robs the individual of the fruits of his energy, and the standard of life declines as men secretly rebel against extending themselves in labor that brings them diminishing returns.

According to the Chodorov rationale, all the great political movements of modern times are slave philosophies. For, no matter whether they speak in the name of communism, socialism, fascism, New Dealism or the Welfare (sometimes called the Positive) State, the modern political philosophers are all alike in advocating the forcible seizure of bigger and bigger proportions of the individual's energy. It matters not a whit whether the coercion is done by club or the tax agent—the coercion of labor is there; and such coercion is a definition of slavery. Nor does it matter that the energy-product of one individual is spent by the government on another: such spending makes beneficiaries into wards, and wards are slaves, too.

The Individual's Rights

Mr. Chodorov is a mystic, but only in the sense that all men of insight are mystics. His mystical assumption is that men are born as individuals possessing inalienable rights. This philosophy of Natural Rights under the Natural Law of the Universe can not be "proved." But neither can the opposite philosophy—that Society has rights—be proved, either. You can say it is demonstrable that a State, as the police agent of Society, has power. But if there is no such thing as natural individual rights, with a correlative superstructure of justice organized to maintain those rights, then the individual has no valid subjective reason for obeying State power. True, the State can arrest the individual and compel his temporary obedience. But it can not compel his inner loyalty; nor can it keep men from cheating, or from the quiet withdrawal of energy. The rebellious individual can always find ways of flouting State power—which makes it dubious that Society (or the collectivity of men organized to compel individual men) has rights in any meaningful sense of the word. A collectivity can not have anything which its constitutive elements refuse to give up.

Since the human animal must make either one

mystical assumption or another about rights, Mr. Chodorov chooses the assumption that accords with the desire of his nature, which is to protect itself against the lawlessness of arbitrary power. He is mystical in the same way that James Madison and Thomas Jefferson and the rest of the Founding Fathers were mystical; and he is religious enough to believe in Nature's God, which is to say that he believes in Natural Law.

The utilitarian argument is that Natural Law does not apply in the field of ethics, since it is not demonstrable that a thief will always be caught and punished, or a murderer apprehended, or a polygamist forced to relinquish his extra wives. But if there is no Natural Law of Ethics, then any system of ethics is as valid as the next—and the choice of fascism or cannibalism is no "worse" than the choice of freedom as defined by John Locke. Mr. Chodorov's answer to the utilitarians is that men are diminished and blighted under certain ethical systems, whereas they flourish under other systems. And it is demonstrably the nature of man to prefer life to death, or to the slow agony of death-in-life that goes with slave systems.

Mr. Chodorov never labors his principles in either his writing or his speaking. Nor does he indulge in debater's tricks. He prefers a good parable to formal argument, and he is at his best when he is raiding the Old Testament to make a modern point. His essay on "Joseph, Secretary of Agriculture," which is a simple recapitulation, with Chodorovian "asides," of the Old Testament story of Joseph and the Ever Normal Granary, tells us all we want to know about Henry Wallace and the Brannan Plan. This essay is first-rate entertainment. But it is also good instruction; like all good teachers, Chodorov knows that instruction is always improved when it comes in the form of entertainment. What he offers in his essays as entertainment is, of course, worth ten of the ordinary political science courses that one gets in our modern schools. It is a measure of our educational delinquency that nobody has ever seen fit to endow Mr. Chodorov with a university chair. But his successors will have chairs once Mr. Chodorov has completed his mission in life, which is to swing the newest generations into line against the idiocies of a collectivist epoch that is now coming to an end in foolish disaster and blood.

Lines and Points

Crime doesn't pay unless it's organized.

American leadership of the world seems limited to grabbing the check.

When all is said and done, it may prove to be exactly what General MacArthur suggested.

TACITUS



ARTS AND ENTERTAINMENTS

By WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Mrs. McThing: A Fantasy

Braving the Broadway trend of dullness, pornography and plagiarism, Miss Mary Chase, the forgotten author of "Harvey," has brightened this destitute season with a very enjoyable dramatic prank, "Mrs. McThing." Labeled "a comic fantasy," the play shakes neither earth nor heaven, adds little to the sum total of human wisdom and no more to world literature, but it makes you leave the theater with your taste intact and your intelligence unviolated. And any one who thinks that this is not quite enough reason to celebrate can not possibly have seen the other new Broadway plays of 1952.

Mrs. McThing, who appears just in time for the last curtain, is a witch of easily aroused temper and some enviable powers. Her adopted little girl, Mimi, has been offended by hoity-toity Mrs. Howard V. Larue III whose little boy, Howay, is expected to behave as befits a Howard V. Larue IV and thus must not play with strange little girls. So Mrs. McThing transports mother and son to a grease joint, the hangout of industrious but poor gangsters, where the two have to work hard for a living which turns out to be fun. Mimi, who is pretty fond of Howay, finally helps them to recover their rightful place in society and to burn the two sticks who have in the meantime occupied their sumptuous home—the Larue palace where all three will now happily live for ever after.

Not much of a fairy tale, as can be plainly seen, and even less of a drama. But what saves Miss Chase is her infectious delight in the small wonders of living and the big follies of people. I never had the pleasure of meeting Miss Chase, but I am willing to bet that the word *Weltschmerz* embarrasses her; and I would not be in the least surprised if she did not know its meaning. Judging by "Harvey" and "Mrs. McThing," she is genuinely glad to be alive and, even if she is as young and pretty as I hope her to be, belongs clearly to the vanishing generation which deems Creation a fine idea. That excludes her, of course, from serious consideration by our contemporary criticism, but it helps in writing pleasurable plays. To be perfectly honest, it is very likely the only authentic asset in the balance sheet of an author whose two produced plays can not be called extraordinary on any other ground. But we are passing through a literary period which requires a fairy to be

called Mr. rather than Mrs. McThing, and permits the dramatic use of animals only for the purposes of sodomy; and at such a time it is, at least for one critic, a great joy to count the author of "Mrs. McThing" and "Harvey" among his contemporaries.

Nor would it be fair to overlook the shrewdness of social observation underpinning Miss Chase's fantastic frills. With apologies to a gay teller of fairy tales, who would naturally resent any heavy-fingered exploration of gossamer whims, I should like to point out that "Mrs. McThing" is in part a keen satire on what has become internationally known as American "momism"—that painful possessiveness of poor dehydrated women who are running other peoples' lives mainly because they have none of their own. The protagonists of "Mrs. McThing" are Mimi and Howay, two frail children burdened with the enormous task of bringing up their moms—a problem even Poison Eddie Schellenbach, the tough gangster, still has to face each time old Mrs. Schellenbach, tiny but ferocious, beats him up in front of his gruesome pals. And to complete the astuteness of Miss Chase's satire, the dads are not mentioned once throughout the whole play. For "momism" is indeed a relapse into the one-cellular forms of life when a species propagated itself by sprouting rather than love.

Now I do not want to say that any such heavy thoughts are necessarily engendered in the audience of "Mrs. McThing." On the contrary, this is a singularly unpretentious evening in the theater—two hours of smiles rather than belly laughs, of agreeing rather than reasoning. Helen Hayes, losing her hopeless battle against the witchcraft not so much of Mrs. McThing as of two perfectly normal children, is superb. As to these children, nine-year-old Brandon de Wilde and seven-year-old Lydia Reed, they must grow older and thus, I am afraid, will never be so good again. Nothing in this or any other play can be so supernatural, or so frightening for that matter, as the histrionic prowess of healthy children. Finally Jules Munshin, as mother-hen-pecked Poison Eddie, could light any guy and enchant any doll in Damon Runyon's musical universe around the corner.

To my great sorrow, several readers of this department seem to have formed the impression that I am a sourpuss of a critic, constitutionally unable to enjoy anything Broadway has to give. What makes me additionally grateful for "Mrs. McThing"

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is that it provides me with an opportunity to disprove that suspicion. As you may have gathered, I thoroughly enjoyed play, acting and production; and I am sure you will, too.

Mr. Atkinson: Another Fantasy

This time, it seems, my department is destined to be from beginning to end a study in enthusiasm, because I must now turn to Mr. Brooks Atkinson's passionate response to "The Grass Harp."

When this department started (in the issue of December 31, 1951), it promised, as some of you may recall, to pay attention to "what is indubitably Mr. Atkinson's least developed faculty—his judgment." This clinical service was offered because I have no illusions about his lording influence over the American theater. "So important," I repeat, "are his theatrical pronouncements that they merit (and shall receive in this department) regular and careful reviewing." Fighting off this season's disastrous floods of entertainment, I had to neglect Mr. Atkinson for several months, but I can neglect him no longer. For this is an emergency call.

Mr. Truman Capote, an *avant garde* elf that haunts all the gossip columns, has just crashed Broadway with a fantasy, "The Grass Harp," which I have not yet seen in its dramatic form but knew and acutely disliked when it was still a novel. In its epic shape, "The Grass Harp" sounded like Saroyan frightened by Faulkner, and I was not at all sure that I wanted to encounter the apparition ever again. Now I may have to go and see the play (and, when I do, report to you) just because Mr. Atkinson came down with the hottest case of ecstasy since that fatal affair between Paris and Helen of Troy. For the moment, however, I have to ask for a privilege which is more often invoked by book reviewers—namely, to participate in a critical conversation unbiased by exact knowledge of the opus under scrutiny.

But, as will be seen in a minute, the subject of my worried concern is not at all a play. It is a critic—a critic whose every printed movement I follow as conscientiously as if I had taken a Hippocratic oath. And what makes the present case so particularly urgent is that Mr. Atkinson, at least in one respect, here acts contrary to his firmly established character: far from being his usual self (the avuncular spokesman for the conformist majority of Broadway critics), he embraced "The Grass Harp" in spectacular isolation. Of the eight local stage reviewers, whose findings are registered on the weekly score-board of Mr. Atkinson's own *Times*, five trounced the play without any sign of mercy, two added a few soothing words to their clear sentence of death, and only Mr. Atkinson, as the *Times* put it, "liked it completely."

This, however, was a misleading understatement.

Mr. Atkinson did not just "like it completely"—he erupted. There appeared the morning after "The Grass Harp" opened a 650-word review of his which (by actual count) contained close to 250 words of delirious praise—a feat unparalleled in the history of writing, on technical grounds alone, as even ecstatic theater reviewers must use some neutral "ands" and "ofs," a few definitive articles and several inconspicuous verbs. How Mr. Atkinson ate up in a single review the annual quota of hymnal adjectives which the reserved *Times* allocates to any member of its staff is indicated by this sample excerpt of about 150 words:

... good impulses and sensitive perceptions . . . a beautiful play . . . acted with delicacy and love . . . in full command of the stage, for it has lightness and grace and fills the theater with poetry . . . a curious wisdom in it . . . an original, off-beat humor . . . an idyll about the pure in heart . . . modest and humble . . . great tenderness . . . so much instinctive compassion and generosity . . . so much natural faith . . . so much old-fashioned wisdom . . . nothing artful or coy about his play . . . nothing even self-conscious . . . a delicate, sweet affirmation by a young man of poetic sensibilities . . . sorcery in the production . . . magic in the writing . . . people of taste and imagination . . . amusing and inventive . . . a wide, hospitable, shining idealization . . . entrancing occasional music . . . superb, soft-textured performance . . . crowned with glory by the simple nobility of the spirit . . . vastly entertaining . . . the dainty web of the play . . . guileless performance . . . admirably acted . . . the design of a well-orchestrated performance . . . a serious theme . . . beauty, humor and understanding.

In short, a flop. Never before in the history of the theater has a turkey been carried to the grave by a more intoxicated pall-bearer. So scandalized were his colleagues that some of them, notably Walter F. Kerr in the *Herald Tribune*, tried to sober him up with a patiently reiterated coroner's verdict. But Mr. Atkinson, in truly Dionysiac abandonment, was beyond the reach of human voices. Ten days after the opening, he himself wrote a second review which, if anything, was even more ecstatic than the first. "Spiritual beauty . . . integrity . . . uplifting." This time, you see, Mr. Atkinson was writing for the Sunday edition and so he pulled a few organ registers. But no clinically experienced observer could be fooled: the man had it worse than ten days before.

As I said, I may have to go and see the play (if it is still around) to locate the virus that floored Mr. Atkinson; for some powerful stuff must have been added to the dramatic version, something that, on my word, was not in the epic bottling of "The Grass Harp." Or so I hope. Because the only alternate diagnosis of Mr. Atkinson's delirium would be even more embarrassing than the theory of accidental intoxication. Here it is, in duly tentative shape.

There comes in every Broadway reviewer's life a moment when he recognizes the emptiness of it

all. Here he is, having spent the best years of his life in pursuit of his own worth and a decisive influence on the medium—and now he can no longer deny that he is living in a pit. In that tremendous moment of recognition, only two attitudes are possible. The critic may feel honest remorse, withdraw from a now insufferable position of "trade leadership" and atone for his sins with deeds such as honest critical writing about the contemporary drama. Or he can not bear facing the truth (and his concomitant responsibility for the outrage), insists on his preferred seats on the aisle and, thus, must persuade himself once a year or so that he has at last discovered a real genius. You see, in the commercial theater playwrights and critics live in a mutual parasitic symbiosis: there can be no influential critics without influential playwrights, and *vice versa*.

This is what I had in mind when I held Mr. Atkinson responsible for Clifford Odets, whose artistic talent is running out fast: "Had Mr. Atkinson told him so in the first place, instead of transporting him right away to the American division of Shakespeareship, the young man might have improved." This year, Mr. Atkinson's chronic need for discovering a current Shakespeare (i.e. his need for self-justification as a critic) settled on Truman Capote—a not imprudent choice under the rules of the trade. Young Capote was known to behave badly in public, to cultivate atrocious table manners, an offensive sartorial taste and all the other "personality" characteristics the trade considers surefire signs of real genius. As long as a Shakespeare *had* to be discovered this year, too, the wise money might as well bet on Capote. So Mr. Atkinson took the odds—and wuz robbed. The other reviewers noticed right after the starting gun was fired that the handicapped Pegasus was limping badly—but nobody told Mr. Atkinson. He left the track still convinced that he had picked the winner; and when the other scratch sheets came out he had already committed himself in indelible print. From then on, nothing could be done but to stick it out.

Now, however, Mr. Atkinson needs rest and, above all, he must not torture himself with incessant brooding over this ghastly incident. In a few years, nobody will recall the scandal, because in a few years not a soul will remember the name of Mr. Truman Capote.

Ring Around The Rosy

Here's to the merry
literary
life:
no back
shall lack
a critic's knife!

SJANNA SOLUM

THIS IS WHAT THEY SAID

The Armed Forces know how to waste money better than any other organization I have ever had anything to do with. . . . Tremendous sums are simply being thrown away with a scoop shovel.

HARRY S. TRUMAN, when Chairman of the Committee Investigating the Defense Program, 1943

Syria accepts no help from the Point Four program. The reason is that they don't want to be beholden to any one country. Last night at dinner, for example, the Minister of Foreign Affairs said to me: "When you go to Israel they will show you wonderful things, but these will have been done with American money. We are going more slowly, but doing everything ourselves." I felt a little sad, because that is the attitude of distrust which one sometimes feels in one's contact with delegates in the UN and which I personally deeply regret.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, "My Day," February 19, 1952

We must abandon the lingering delusion that we can somehow maintain footholds by supporting the rump territories, south of the Yangtze, or on the coast, or in Formosa.

OWEN LATTIMORE, "Solution in Asia," 1945

I said the other day to Madame Litvinov: "The object of this war is to make sure that everybody in the world has the privilege of drinking a quart of milk a day."

HENRY A. WALLACE, speech before the Free World Association, May 8, 1942

Waltz Me Around Again

One thing that makes it difficult to gauge the sentiment about McCarthy is the prevailing atmosphere of hysteria and intimidation, which is not conducive to the free expression of opinion against him.

THE NATION, April 5, 1952, p. 316

One such freshman wrote a letter immediately to the *Princetonian* complaining that he was 'sick and tired of hearing [Senator McCarthy] slandered.' . . . The club president, a sophomore, announced that the offending pro-McCarthy freshman was being dropped from its membership.

THE NATION, same issue, p. 318

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

THE EDITORS

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Socialism Must Lose

By HAROLD LOEB

Avoiding the laudatory cliché of the usual obituary, eighteen social scientists have contributed an exciting commentary on Joseph Alois Schumpeter and his work.¹ It seems too bad that the subject of the study could not have had the pleasure of scrutinizing it. He might even have had some interesting points to make. Perhaps memorials of this kind should be pushed forward a bit, to the sixtieth or fifty-fifth year of a man's life, so that those who influence current thinking could get in a definitive penultimate word.

Like Marx, Schumpeter envisioned the destruction of the capitalist system from internal causes. But where Marx maintained that capitalism would perish because of its failure, Schumpeter believed it would die because of its success. He prefaced his analysis² by calling attention to the unprecedented abundance which capitalism has made available: production has been increasing in the United States by over 2 per cent a year, doubling per capita income about twice each century. And not only has wealth been augmented, it has also been distributed over wider and wider areas. The new products and processes raise the living standard, not so much of the rich (who tend to substitute mechanical devices for servants) as of the poor, who work less and consume more. Furthermore, should this rate of progress be maintained, poverty could shortly be eliminated, and even the incompetent and the disabled could easily be taken care of, thereby realizing the central aspiration of the socialists.

However, in Schumpeter's view capitalist performance has little bearing on the persistence of capitalism: the more impressive the performance, the sooner the end will come. For Schumpeter believed that "things economic and social move by their own momentum," and that the forces undermining the economic structure grow stronger as capitalism evolves.

Of these forces he stressed the following:

(1) "Capitalism fosters a critical attitude of mind, an attitude which spurns allegiance to extra-rational values." It is this attitude which has enabled enterprisers to cut through traditional working procedures and to substitute more efficient methods. But a critical attitude, once acquired, does not stop. As Dr. Schumpeter puts it, "having de-

stroyed the moral authority of so many other institutions, in the end [it] turns against its own." This results eventually "in an atmosphere of hostility to capitalism, in a belief in the inadequacy of capitalist achievement, in an aversion to capitalism which even undermines, in time, the faith of the businessman in himself. . . ."

(2) The "capitalist process unavoidably attacks the economic standing ground of the small producer and trader." As the production units grow, progress itself may be "mechanized," thereby decreasing the scope of the entrepreneurs. Thus:

The very success of the business class in developing the productive process of the country has paradoxically undermined the social and political position of the same business class whose economic function, though not obsolete, tends to become obsolescent, and amenable to bureaucratization.

(3) Concentration of businessmen on the work

. . . of the factory and the office was instrumental in creating a political system and an intellectual class, the structure and interests of which developed an attitude of independence from, and eventually of hostility to, the interests of large scale business.

Much could be said about the above observations. For one, I do not believe that Dr. Schumpeter's second point has any validity in the United States. Certainly the big corporations have grown bigger, but many of them control a smaller percentage of their industry than used to be the case. In the early century, enterprisers often sought to dominate their field of effort. Thwarted by the anti-trust laws, they gradually learned that a fringe of competitors not only protected them from public hostility, but also served them well by trying out new methods, inventing new products, and cushioning the big fellows from the full impact of bad times. Gradually big business came to look with favor on a degree of dispersion. When it did not exist, as in the aluminum industry, the dominant corporation sometimes made it possible for competitors to enter the field. Consequently the increase in the number of businesses, contrary to popular belief, has about kept up with the increase of the population.

The other half of Schumpeter's second proposition is also open to question. It is true that work in technology has been systematized in many fields. But a fringe area remains in which it is feasible for lone wolves to range. Except for the partial "systematization of invention." I do not know to

¹"Schumpeter," edited by Seymour E. Harris. Cambridge: Harvard. \$4.00.

²Quotations are taken from "Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy," Harper & Bros.

what Dr. Schumpeter refers by "progress being mechanized." Surely the entrepreneurial function per se is not mechanized, since it still consists of exploiting openings not previously seen.

Schumpeter's big mistake, I suspect, is due to his preoccupation with the terms of European capitalism, with a cartel system which long ago delimited the scope of competition by allocating markets. This practice, which has been effectively inhibited in America, reduces the scope of businessmen by removing their prime economic function.

In the United States, despite Schumpeter, business has become increasingly competitive as the procedures of what E. H. Chamberlin has called "monopolistic competition" have been improved. In the steel industry, with its fringe of small concerns, competition is actually very keen. New processes, developed by no matter how insignificant a rival, are subjected to continuous scrutiny and adopted rapidly when their utility is proven. Likewise in the automobile industry (a nearly perfect example of "monopolistic competition"), rivalry and product differentiation could hardly be fiercer. Though each big manufacturer designs his product, sets his price and gears production to the demand evoked at that price, the ranking of the several big firms has repeatedly shifted. In view of these conditions, it is difficult to suppose that the function of the enterpriser is becoming obsolete. At any rate, Schumpeter's second point is not proved in respect to conditions in the United States.

Points one and three are not so vulnerable. Few will deny that "hostility to capitalism" has increased in recent decades, or that "an intellectual class, largely independent of and hostile to capitalist procedures" has multiplied. The events are connected. At all times, in the nature of things, there is hostility to an existing order. Some individuals are disappointed, some are thwarted, some by disposition or upbringing are "agin" whatever is. But it is only when such feelings are centered about a thesis and translated into unifying slogans that they are likely to become potent enough to affect events. In the United States, as elsewhere, intellectuals have devoted themselves to the task of rationalizing their hostility to the existing order.

Schumpeter defines "intellectuals" as people who wield the power of the spoken and the written word without possessing "direct responsibility for practical affairs." As capitalism develops, leisure is increased by productivity. Individuals are thereby released from utilitarian functioning to talk or write—or fish. The intellectuals no longer depend on rich or influential patrons but get by more or less handsomely by catering to the general public, which also possesses more leisure and spending power as time goes on. Says Schumpeter, "as higher education increases the supply of services in professional, quasi professional, and in the end all white collar lines beyond the point determined

by cost return considerations, it may create a particularly important case of sectional unemployment . . . of a particularly disconcerting type." Psychologically unfit for manual labor and unable to make a go of it in business or the professions, some of the unemployed intellectuals devote themselves to translating current objections to the existing order into dreams and slogans which appeal not only to the discontented of all classes but also to the minority faction in labor unions, to hard-pressed farmers, even to businessmen themselves when the competitive struggle seems too much for them. In any case, intellectuals, whatever their origin, can seldom help nibbling away at the capitalist order because "they live on criticism and their success depends on criticism which stings."

All this constitutes a plausible thesis. It is even stronger than Dr. Schumpeter makes it out to be, for the argument could validly be extended to include teachers, newspaper correspondents, editors, ministers and government bureaucrats, who are not intellectuals according to his definition. It is not only the writing people "without direct responsibility for practical affairs" who tend to look hard for defects in capitalism and to turn their eyes away from its virtues, but also a large proportion of those who live with ideas rather than facts.

Nevertheless, in spite of the plausibility of the thesis, I am not convinced by Schumpeter's argument. He fails to give due weight to the "pendular" nature of popular sentiment, although his basic economic thesis is concerned with the pendular nature of entrepreneurial activity. Hostility to capitalism rises and falls just like other sentiments. In fact, sentiments, since they are but loosely connected with events, may be more regular in their wavelike motion than the Kondratiev, Juglar and Kitchin business cycles which Schumpeter makes so much of in another volume.³

Thus it is possible that the hostility to capitalism, which has been rising in the United States since the days of the muckrakers, may be about to turn downward, if it has not already done so. This reversal is the more probable because of a new feature. Ever since production and prices were released from medieval controls (and the Golden Age moved thereby from past to future), critics have contrasted actual business procedures with those of imaginary Utopias whose every detail was perfect. My parents compared the battling of the late century "robber barons" to the serene proceedings described in "Looking Backward." I read H. G. Wells's "New Machiavelli" while Theodore Roosevelt's belaboring of "malefactors of great wealth" was still ringing in my ears. In general, young people tended to contrast the imperfect "what is" to the perfection of what might be. It was therefore not surprising that many of the literate were

³"Business Cycles," McGraw-Hill

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seduced by a synthetic image of a totalitarian regimen garbed by the Marxians in the bright robes of pseudo-science.

Recently, however, this condition has changed. The Marxians took over Russia. Though for years it was possible to hide the harsh reality of totalitarian rule because it was "too soon to judge," or because the Russians were "backward," it has recently become evident that total control, "the dictatorship of the proletariat," means just what it says: only the control is over the proletariat, not by it. Little room is left for freedom, and neither security nor plenty has been achieved by the sacrifice of liberty.

Finally, England, which became great by adopting free enterprise, elected a Socialist government. It is possible at last to compare the actuality of capitalism with the actuality of socialism in a technically proficient community.

There have been other events disturbing to those who confuse the backwash toward totalitarianism with the wave of the future: the testimony at the Rousset trial of those who survived a spell in forced labor camps, the stories of refugees from behind the curtain, the books of those who have "gone to Capua," the comparative statistics of productivity in the socialist and capitalist societies. Today there is no lack of data for those who wish to judge between two types of system.

As a result, young people, in their eternal search for a better way of life, are tending to base their thinking not on Utopian projections, but on actual working procedures. Should this continue, capitalism will not be superseded because of its success. Instead socialism, transformed from insubstantial dream to tangible nightmare, will be weakened by its "victories" until it is no longer a threat to progress, freedom and the standard of living.

Great Conservative

Randolph of Roanoke: A Study in Conservative Thought, by Russell Kirk. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. \$3.00

What had the great Virginia conservative thinker of the early days of the American Republic to say to his times? What has he to say to our own turbulent epoch? These are the two major questions confronting any modern writer on Randolph. They were much in the mind of Mr. Kirk as he developed this systematic, superbly documented and immensely valuable study.

The book has appeared at the proper time. In these days of tribulation, when the surviving republican elements in the structure of the nation have been so much under fire, it is well that John Randolph of Roanoke should take a place of prominence in the minds of patriots. For this most eccentric of Virginians, whom Mr. Kirk calls "the

American Burke," exemplifies the great Anglo-American tradition of personal and political liberty.

Randolph's position was clear-cut and simple. At the Virginia Convention of 1829 he proclaimed proudly: "I would not live under King Numbers. I would not be his steward, nor make him my taskmaster." In Mr. Kirk's words, Randolph "... dreaded the power of positive law, controlled by democracies, to sweep away the variety and liberty of life." It is a position vindicated by the political developments in modern America. Randolph's aim was not to supplant government by free men with government by an elite; it was to see that the conditions for liberty continued to exist. In addressing the Congress in 1813, Randolph said "... if ever they [the people] lose their liberties, [they] will do it by sacrificing some great principle of free government to temporary passion. There are certain great principles, which if they be not held inviolate, at all seasons, our liberty is gone."

This great Virginian, who Gerald Johnson says "has come down in history with one of the most terrible reputations ever attached to an American politician," was the arch-advocate of traditional ways and customs. In Jefferson's so-called reforms Randolph saw destroyed "... those artifices which, in Burke's phrase, enable 'generation to link generation' and distinguish men from 'the flies of the summer.'" Randolph was, as Mr. Kirk makes clear, among the greatest of the planter-statesmen, the aristocratic libertarians of the American Republic in its finest hour.

Mr. Kirk says that "John Randolph's struggle for a proper division of the powers of government entitles him to a position almost unique among American statesmen." Curiously, Randolph took a determined stand against the doctrine of natural rights. In Mr. Kirk's words, "Paine and the French radicals and the American doctrinaires confused strong inclinations with abstract rights. *Wanting* prerogatives is not the same thing as possessing a right to them."

Despite the angry denunciations of Randolph in his day and the neglect of his theories in modern times, John Randolph gave the best summary of the principles of true believers in the republican form of government. Addressing the House of Representatives, early in 1813, he enumerated the fundamental principles: "Love of peace, hatred of offensive war, jealousy of the State Governments toward the General Government; a dread of standing armies; a loathing of public debt, taxes, and excises; tenderness for the liberty of the citizen; jealousy, Argus-eyed jealousy, of the patronage of the President." Randolph wrote to Nicholson: "To me the tendency of the power of appointment (no matter to what individual it may be trusted) to debauch the nation and to create a low, dirty, time-serving spirit is a ... serious evil." Again, he said, "The principles of free government in this country

... have more to fear from armies of legislators, and armies of Judges, than from . . . all other causes."

Mr. Kirk makes it abundantly clear that Randolph would disapprove the economic as well as the political development of the American Republic in modern times. Randolph railed at "planners" of every description and devoted his life to exposing the "double-dealing, secrecy, and pretense in public affairs which come with government meddling in economic concerns."

John Randolph's writings constitute one of the great suppressed texts in present-day American historical studies. Americans suffer from the effectiveness of the cult of Thomas Jefferson, whom Randolph very shrewdly called "that Prince of Projectors, St. Thomas of Cantingbury." Randolph was one of the last great critics of an extreme type of democratic society. His counsel has gone unheeded, and the price we pay for this is the corruption which is so evident. Mr. Kirk has done a real service in resuscitating the ideas of our most profound conservative.

ANTHONY HARRIGAN

A Brilliant History

The Struggle for Europe, by Chester Wilmot. New York: Harper. \$5.00

The main strategic problem of American and British policy since 1945 has been to escape as fast as possible from some of the consequences of the complete victory which was purchased at such cost in blood and treasure. Among the more important of these consequences were the destruction of any semblance of power in Europe and in Asia and the emergence of the Soviet Union, a militarized empire with a mission of world subversion, as overwhelmingly the strongest power on either of these continents.

It is not only that the Atlantic Charter has proved to be a negative, not a blueprint of the world to come after the war. It is not only that one could not find with a microscope any trace of the Four Freedoms in the vastly enlarged area of the world which, during and after the war, fell under Communist rule. Every great war has brought an aftermath of great disillusionment.

But a unique characteristic of the period after the end of the Second World War is that there was not even a short breathing space of security and genuine peace. Such attributes of a war economy as compulsory military service and extremely high taxes have remained. Americans were dying in Korea before peace with Japan had been signed. American cities were holding civil defense exercises before there had been a formal settlement with Germany. Moreover, many of the specific objectives of the late war have proved, in the test of

experience, to be exceedingly bad security risks.

In the comparatively brief retrospect of 1952 does the Morgenthau Plan look like a good idea? Or the decision that Formosa should be handed over to China? Or the Potsdam limitations on the normal functioning of the German economy? Or the ostracizing of Spain under the Franco regime? Or the imposition on the Japanese of a pacifist constitution?

American wrath against the men responsible for the lost peace, for the defeat in victory, would have mounted much higher if the legend of Roosevelt's infallibility in foreign affairs had not been maintained by ruthless private intellectual censorship. Two small commercial publishers, without substantial advertising and distribution facilities, and one university press have been the exceptions that proved the rule. Books critical of the legend have not enjoyed normal publishing facilities. And when such books were published the reception in leading critical organs was automatically and often most violently and unfairly hostile.

It is, therefore, a welcome development when a foreign author lets some fresh air and sunlight into the dark and obscure corners of wartime diplomacy. Mr. Wilmot's extremely solid and well buttressed political and military history of the late war in Europe, from Dunkirk to the German collapse, has enjoyed spectacular success in England. One suspects that this is due in no small measure to the author's courage and insight in saying calmly and temperately, but most vigorously, many things which statesmen, eager to preserve their wartime reputations, and flatterers of these statesmen and conformists in general have refrained from saying.

In his preface Mr. Wilmot poses a fateful question: "What caused the destruction of the European balance of power which Britain went to war to maintain and which she and those associated with her in the North Atlantic Treaty are now making such sacrifices to restore?"

Mr. Wilmot finds the answer to this question mainly in two circumstances. Roosevelt was supremely confident that all would come out for the best if Stalin were only humored and cajoled. And the doctrine of American military leadership, incarnated in Marshall and to a lesser degree in Eisenhower, was victory without the slightest consideration for ultimate political consequences.

"Roosevelt," writes the author, "apparently accepted almost with equanimity the prospect of Russia dominating the continent [of Europe], since he genuinely believed that friendliness and frankness on his part would be met by an equally sympathetic response from Stalin." Instead of forming a close political bloc with Churchill with a view to checkmating future Soviet expansion, Roosevelt, as many records show, envisaged himself as a kind of mediating third force, an inde-

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pendent arbiter whose mission was to compose Anglo-Soviet differences.

During the preliminary meeting at Malta which preceded the Yalta conference of February, 1945, the British delegation "were dismayed to find that their American colleagues were less suspicious of Russia's postwar intentions than they were of Britain's." This is perhaps less surprising if one remembers that a prominent member of the American delegation was Alger Hiss.

Roosevelt's political naïveté, a product of intense personal vanity and profound ignorance of communist philosophy and the nature of the Soviet regime, was supplemented by Marshall's complete political blindness. A superb military administrator and a master of logistics in Mr. Wilmot's opinion, Marshall "had neither the strategic insight nor the operational experience to guide his judgment." His ideas were simple and rigid. It apparently never entered his mind that even during a war American security demanded some consideration for the problem of who would pick up the pieces after Germany and Japan were smashed.

So Marshall blocked every proposal for military action in the Balkans and backed up Eisenhower's refusal to press on to Berlin or capture Prague in the last weeks of the war. As Mr. Wilmot says:

In the summer of 1944 the Western Allies had it in their power, if not to end the war against Germany that year, at least to insure that the great capitals of Central Europe—Berlin, Prague and Vienna—would be liberated from Nazi rule by the West, not the East.

The author properly and severely condemns the Unconditional Surrender slogan and the Morgenthau Plan. And he cuts through the web of apologetic sophistries about Yalta and gets to the heart of the matter when he writes:

The real issue for the world and for the future was not what Stalin would or could have taken, but what he was given the right to take.

In this truly massive history, in which the author has drawn extensively on German as well as Allied sources, there are a few questionable points. While Roosevelt is fairly and vigorously criticized, there is a tendency to gloss over the spots in Churchill's record. Mr. Wilmot credits Churchill with more political foresight than the British Prime Minister claims in his own record of his proposals for action in the eastern Mediterranean area. Churchill's role in the betrayal of Poland was no less disgraceful than Roosevelt's and Great Britain was willing, ahead of America, to concede to Stalin the spoils of his pact with Hitler.

The Supreme Allied Council did not, as the author states, adopt the so-called Curzon Line "as a fair ethnographic boundary" for Poland. And some of the elements that went into the making of Roosevelt's foreign policy are overlooked. There is no mention of Henry Wallace and his "quart of

milk" oratory. The political illiteracy of Harry Hopkins is not emphasized. The name of Alger Hiss does not appear in the index. Nor is there any mention of the curious coincidence that Harry Dexter White, architect of the Morgenthau Plan, has also been designated as a pipeline of information for Communist spy rings.

But these are only spots on the sun of a brilliant achievement of historical descriptive writing and analysis. No chronicle of the war that has yet appeared is at once so thorough and so free from apologetic bias.

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

Renewing The Earth

Soil Development, by Edward H. Faulkner. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. \$3.00

Edward Faulkner has the distinction of being the only human being who has written a world-wide best seller on the highly specialized subject of not plowing the soil. "Plowman's Folly" could scarcely have failed to arouse controversy in agricultural circles, but that it should have become an international sensation is a little mystifying and probably surprised no one more than Mr. Faulkner. No doubt, the title helped; it was inspired. He has given us two other books—"Uneasy Money" and "A Second Look"—and now a fourth has been published, entitled "Soil Development." As far as titles are concerned, inspiration is obviously petering out, which is unfortunate because in some ways his latest book is the most sensational of the four.

It is the report of a seven-year experiment carried out by the author to test the validity of his theories. In "Plowman's Folly" he inveighed against the practice of burying organic matter and bringing subsoil to the surface with the moldboard plow. In "Soil Development" he insists that, by repeatedly covering the surface of the soil with wastes from crops grown on it, even exhausted soil can be brought back to fertility without the addition of any outside material whatsoever, whether that be barnyard manure, compost, lime or commercial fertilizer.

He does not advocate this procedure as a practical program for immediate adoption by farmers. He even states that, for a time at least, chemical fertilizers must be used because most of our soils are in such poor condition that they can not produce crops without them. But he sets out to prove that it is possible (in his own words) to "grow soil while one is growing crops." He agrees with many others that a worn-out soil is one that has lost its organic content. It is not suffering from any mineral deficiency; on the contrary, it is almost 100 per cent mineral. Such a soil is infertile, he maintains, because the vast mineral store is locked up and therefore unavailable to crops. Organic matter

is the key that unlocks the door. Adding mineral fertilizers can never restore the soil and, in the long run, will destroy it.

The commercial fertilizer manufacturers certainly will not like his book, nor will his former colleagues, the county agents; nor the teaching staffs of the agricultural colleges. On the other side of the fence, followers of Sir Albert Howard will be dismayed by his coolness towards composts and manures and his partial toleration of chemical fertilizers. There are times when one begins to wonder if he wrote his book for the set purpose of getting rid of his friends. Yet the tone of the book is friendly and good-natured; rarely is the author quarrelsome or even disputatious. Only once does he permit his blood temperature to rise a point or two, but then, it must be admitted, he hits extremely hard:

The United States is almost the newest country in the world in point of civilized development. It had . . . soils that were thought to be inexhaustible. Now, after only from one to three centuries, its soils are literally on the way out to sea because of our mismanagement, and we (turn away, please, while I laugh) talk about Point 4 with straight faces. Such a situation does not seem to justify the extravagant praise we heap on the alleged "scientific know-how" of American agriculture. What we do know how to do is, obviously, to ruin unimaginably fine soil in the shortest time of any country in the world.

Faulkner introduces, as a sort of devil's advocate, an alleged neighbor, Zeb Turner. Whether Zeb is real or fictitious, he never quite takes on flesh and blood, and there will be those who feel that they prefer Edward Faulkner straight. However, Zeb asks a lot of skeptical but convenient questions and out come the right answers, thus giving the author a chance to reply to his critics even before they have read his book. Mr. Faulkner gives the title "Farming by Fear" to one of his chapters, and in it he calls upon the useful Zeb to put forward the thesis that farmers in this country are ruled by fear. According to Zeb, the easiest way to create panic among them would be to announce that no more lime, fertilizers or other chemicals would be available for farm use. He thinks this "would just about annihilate them." They would be overcome by fear of crop failure, plant disease and insect pests.

Zeb tells us that in his young days he knew nothing about such aids to farming and, in any case, had no money with which to buy them, so he just went ahead and farmed and the crops turned out well. Mr. Faulkner adds: "It seems probable that his frequent visits to my farm have had some effect on Zeb's musings." Well, some *slight* effect, perhaps.

Mr. Faulkner complains that the advice given to farmers by scientific experts is always directed to the treatment of symptoms; the years pass, he says, with farmers continuing to treat these ever-recurring symptoms in their efforts "to squeeze another

crop out of their all but dead soil." He tells us how he brought dead soil to life. When he bought his land it was so hard that water ran off it as fast as the rain fell; not until the third season could the discs of a harrow cut into it. Yet, by mixing with the soil the remnants of successive crops, he has brought it to such fertility that the crops he is now producing are selling at premium prices. In one of his most interesting chapters, he offers a detailed explanation of this almost magical result, and the explanation is not implausible.

It is a challenging book by an unusual man. It will assuredly arouse the wrath of some and the scorn of others, but it will make many people think. It is highly readable, it ought to be read and, despite its title, it will be read. But the deadpan title is regrettable; it might so easily have been "Wasteful Wisdom."

LEONARD WICKENDEN

Sophisticated Barrie

Grand Right and Left, by Louis Kronenberger.
New York: Viking. \$3.00

Louis Kronenberger is, to me, an amazing phenomenon: he is an intellectual who completely lacks the herd instinct. He has lived for some twenty-five years in New York City, where "thinkers" run together like sheep, and as a man about town he has known all the best herds. But he has never been a New Humanist, or a Marxist, or a Trotskyite, or even a member of the *New Yorker* stable of licensed individualists, and it would surprise me very much if he were to join with the current herd that is making a career of shaking in their boots lest they be caught by Big Bad Wolf McCarthy. Instead of going along with the general fol de rol of the moment, Mr. Kronenberger has persistently cultivated the virtues of the eighteenth century: poise, elegance, wit, balance, objectivity. The Marx who has influenced him most profoundly has been Beerbohm, not Lerner. And so in 1952 we have his *jeu d'esprit*, "Grand Right and Left," which continues somewhat in the mood of his "The Grand Manner" of the late nineteen-twenties.

"Grand Right and Left" is all about a rich man (the richest in the world) who under the scarcely noticed direction of an understanding wife turned to collecting people when he ran out of ideas about Gutenberg Bibles, milk glass, Aubussons and spas. The matter in "Grand Right and Left" would seem to be nothing and the manner everything. The characters are appropriately frothy, the lines are as light as milkweed fluff (save when Mr. Kronenberger lets go with a particularly outrageous pun). But then we suddenly discover that Mr. Kronenberger has written his own sophisticated version of James M. Barrie's "What Every Woman Knows," which makes it matter enough to go with a manner that is delightful throughout.

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FROM OUR READERS

(Continued from page 484)

Let me congratulate you on the attractive new dress which the *Free-man* has acquired. Good appearance counts. I am also pleased to see the advertisements.

Pass-a-Grille, Fla. S. J. KORNHAUSER

Who Was the Enemy?

Senator Taft has suggested that a number of problems would not now plague us if we had not withdrawn our troops from Pilsen and to the Elbe River to let the Russians in. General Eisenhower argues that we (that is, he) had to do so, because of inability to bring up reinforcements.

This superficially imposing argument, however, itself suggests the simple but devastating question: Reinforcements against whom? The Germans, at that late hour, were offering but token resistance. The Reds, at that time, were our "friends and allies."

New York City H. C. FURSTENWALDE

Candidate of the Left

The recent support given to General Eisenhower by the *New York Times* ("all the news that's fit to print," except pro-McCarthy news) proves once more that "Ike" is the candidate, not of the Republican Party, but of the Left Wing seeking to steal the Republican nomination. Isn't it paradoxical that the *Times* and the *Herald Tribune*, which have consistently followed the Acheson-Lattimore foreign policy, now take it upon themselves to dictate to the Right Wing in America who shall be their candidate for President? Let us hope that principle will not again be sacrificed to political expediency.

New York City RALPH RAICO

Fair or Faro?

By the way, has anybody called the Fair Deal the Faro Deal? In the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* the paragraph descriptive of the game concludes with the sentence: "Owing to the dishonest methods of many gambling 'clubs' the game is in disrepute." Nothing could be more true or more timely.

New York City ALFRED F. LOOMIS



job maker extraordinary

It's often pointed out that it takes a capital investment of well into five figures to build the plant facilities for a single industrial worker.

But that's only the *second* stage in creating a job. The first step is selling . . . *building the demand* that will keep the factory and its workers busy.

Under our free enterprise system, selling is the mainspring that sustains full production and high levels of employment. And these benefits, in turn, help to multiply themselves, aided by still further selling. For as more and more *real* wealth comes off our production lines, each worker's labors are worth more and can buy more goods.

Cut down on selling, and you cut down on jobs. Step up your selling, and employment increases. In direct proportion to how well it's done, selling builds a better standard of living for all.



**Selling is the most important job in America:
for under our system nothing happens until
somebody sells something.**

Remington Rand



At Your Finger Tips in any GM car are automatic controls that make driving safer in any weather.

Key to carefree driving

Just turning the ignition switch of a General Motors car calls to action a score and more of automatic devices that do everything from adjusting spark and choke to equalizing brake pressure. Others, at the push of a button, defrost, wash and wipe the windshield, raise or lower windows, signal turns, dim or brighten headlights.

And today automatic drives that eliminate manual gearshifting are available on GM cars, either as standard or optional equipment — Powerglide on Chevrolet, Dynaflo on Buick, Hydra-Matic on Pontiac, Oldsmobile and Cadillac.

Now comes Power Steering — the latest of all driver aids, optional on all 1952 Cadillacs, Oldsmobiles and Buick Roadmaster models. This automatic "helping hand" allows you to swing the wheel more easily—to get away from a curb—back into a parking space—make a turn. Saves four-fifths of the effort required for ordinary steering, yet you always enjoy the "feel of the wheel" — you always keep command.

In every way GM engineers are constantly striving to make driving safer, easier, less tiring. That's one more reason why the key to a General Motors car is your key to greater value.



Your Key to Greater Value—The Key to a General Motors Car

GENERAL MOTORS

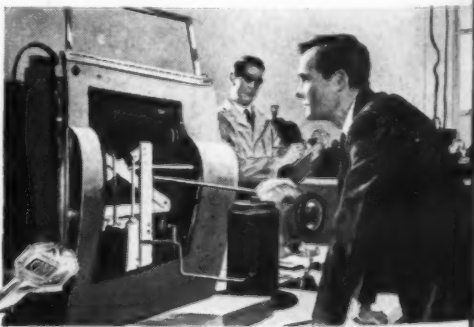
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How GM Research Improved Power Steering. Here you see a test car equipped with a special "steering effort" wheel that measures the force required to steer a car under various road and traffic conditions. From this type of information GM has designed a new hydraulic Power Steering unit that cuts steering effort about 80%.



How GM Engineers Built Push-Button Windows. To lower car windows and raise convertible tops automatically, a small electric motor pumps fluid through tubes similar to those in hydraulic brakes—and liquid pressure operates valves that do the job. Here GM engineers check an hydraulic actuator to make sure it's troubleproof.