

THE *Freeman*

AUGUST 1955

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OF MICHIGAN

AUG 15 1955

PERIODICAL
READING ROOM

After Geneva: The Cold War

Eugene Lyons

The Fashion for Fear

Paul Jones

The Right *Not* to Belong

James L. Donnelly

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For
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In This Issue

EUGENE LYONS wrote his commentary on the Geneva conference a few weeks before it took place. There was no need for revision after the event. When you know your characters you can foretell what they will do in any given situation; the details of their behavior may be influenced by special circumstances, but the general direction is always determined by their known motivations, their philosophy. It is fatuous to expect miraculous mutations. Communists are Communists, and will always perform as such because they cannot do otherwise.

"The Fashion for Fear" is the long needed commonsensical antidote for the "civil defense" frenzy which our bureaucrats, for purely bureaucratic reasons, have been trying to whip up. This is the first article contributed to the FREEMAN by PAUL JONES, an editorial writer on the Philadelphia *Bulletin*.

ANTHONY M. REINACH is a member of a New York Stock Exchange firm. He has no pretensions as a writer, but felt impelled to tell all and sundry that Wall Street, far from being the evil institution its socialistic detractors have tried to make of it, is in fact an essential cog in the machinery of a free economy.

We saw a booklet, published by the unions, in which three clerics of different denominations attacked the "right-to-work" laws on moral grounds; somehow they managed to fit the primary doctrine of their respective religions—the dignity of the individual—into the pattern of unionist coercion. Speaking for himself as a practicing Catholic, JAMES L. DONNELLY, Executive Vice President of the Illinois Manufacturers Association, gives the "right-to-work" laws a cleaner bill of health.

The subject of this month's profile of a libertarian, Admiral Ben Moreell, promises us an early article on the work of the Task Force on Water Resources and Power, a subsidiary of the Hoover Commission, which has recently released its controversial report. The Admiral headed this Task Force.

Not all college professors, thank God, are collectivists, although one would think so from the prominence the collectivistic professors have attained. We know quite a few who, despite the inconveniences they suffer from their intransigence, hold to their libertarian views. We wish more of them would learn how to write. ANTHONY T. BOUSCAREN, of Marquette University, is one of our regular contributors.

REGINALD JEBB, new to our roster, is former headmaster of St. Louis Preparatory School, in England; also editor, from 1934-47, of the *Weekly Review*, in succession to Hilaire Belloc.

The anecdote on the U. S. Post Office is contributed by a businessman who, he writes, has been "vegetating in backwoods Vermont for seven years." ROBERT S. GORDON could have been a writer.

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Readers also write

Private Enterprise Parking

The article "Downtown" Socialism" (June) is a darn good one . . .

You will probably be interested in knowing that here in Washington, where the Representatives of the people of the forty-eight states seem to be adopting more and more socialistic ideas, our local people have steadfastly insisted that the government stay out of the parking business. I daresay Washington has done a better job of providing off-street parking facilities than any other large city in the nation, and it has all been done by private enterprise without any financial help from the municipality or without any assistance in the way of acquiring needed land through the exercise of the right of eminent domain. *Washington, D.C.* WILLIAM H. PRESS

College Anti-Mind Assault

Mr. Branden's penetrating article "The Age of Un-Reason" (June) must be welcome to all college students who have been victimized by the same "anti-mind assault" parading today under the name of modern education.

As a graduate student of art history, I have been told that "all art is only the result of environmental factors," that "there are no standards in art because there are no objective values," and that "what the contemporary artist is depicting is a reality of his own—a subjective reality." In my fourth year of college, I was not surprised to see a large class accept without question the professor's comment that "although most modern art is superior to traditional forms, what decadence there is, is a capitalistic disease."

Mr. Branden has shown how the ground for these assertions is being prepared in every field of education, where the student is being fed a concentrated diet consisting of the idea that there is no such thing as reality, no means of knowing it, and no standards by which to judge anything, be it a painting or a political system.

Thank you for printing this excellent article exposing one of the major breeding grounds of today's intellectual and moral chaos.

New York City JOAN MITCHELL

"Political Polio"

Re "Political Polio" (editorial, June), you're so right in saying that the government's business is not medicine. Today's citizen has been brainwashed to the extent that he is too easily a victim of not only government propaganda, and he hasn't inquired too deeply into the mass inoculation of 57 million children. . . .

Philadelphia, Pa. JOHN J. HAUGHEY

[From an open letter to Senator Herbert Lehman]

I read of your recent endorsement of the bill to provide free polio shots to all children throughout the nation, and however noble may be your sentiments, I cannot agree that these shots should be provided at the taxpayers' expense. . . . Since there is nothing free in any plan which some or all of us will be compelled to pay for in the end, if it's really "free" vaccine you want, there is a way. Why not sponsor a drive, nationwide if necessary, to solicit funds for "free" vaccine, or better yet, start the ball rolling by making a contribution to an already existing fund for that purpose. . . .

Ridgewood, N. Y. EDWARD P. SCHARFENBERGER

Attend the Vineyard

My husband and I are making a hobby of attending as many discussion groups as possible to keep track of and refute the "commu" and "gulliberal" line. It has been very revealing! The dissemination of a set of so-called "facts" would amaze you if you haven't personally experienced it. For example, discussion of the Declaration of Independence seems invariably to evoke the bitter comment, usually from a University student, that the American Revolution was fought *only* for the benefit of the "vested interests."

The poisoned propaganda promoters are always present and always very articulate, but it requires only a few well-informed people with convictions and common sense to nullify their effect on the impressionable. We are convinced that participation in a discussion group gives the anti-Communist, the libertarian, or the Christopher at the grass roots level one of his best opportunities to shed some light on confused thinking. That is the reason, I am sure, that both Catholic and Protestant churches in this area are sponsoring Great Books Groups.

Have you thought of encouraging

your readers to participate in these groups throughout the country and thus make their contribution in the battle of ideas? It isn't enough to merely read the truth; one must learn how to tell the truth and make it convincing and persuasive if one hopes ever to win this cold war.

Alameda, Cal.

ALICE AINSLOW

Cooperatives and Voluntarism

In your May issue Leonard E. Read, Jr. attacks the "privileged" position of cooperatives that do not pay federal corporation income taxes.

In a nutshell, the position of the cooperative people is that a nonprofit corporation cannot be expected to pay a profits tax. Over the years the Treasury, Congress and the courts have substantially agreed that this is true.

Mr. Read I take to be a libertarian, writing in a libertarian periodical. Surely he approves voluntary association. Whether cooperatives pay a certain tax or not is insignificant beside the fact that they represent voluntarism in business organization and thus are a potential influence for freedom.

More to be criticized than their tax status is the fact that American cooperatives have to some extent strayed from voluntarism. For example, they have accepted easy credit from government agencies such as the Banks for Cooperatives and Rural Electrification Administration. Self-help does not mix with government help. To the extent that government help is proffered, self-help is discouraged.

Indianapolis, Ind. OSCAR W. COOLEY

Fighting Fire

Edward A. Tenney's article, "The Education of King Jerk," (July) practically blew up in my face, when, in trying to show that "the end never justifies the means nor the means the end," he asserted, "The McCarthyites threw this primary guide to accurate ethical thought out of the window with 'We must fight fire with fire.'"

That there was something evil in McCarthy's investigative methods is the consensus of opinion among some jerks, but I was made disconsolate by seeing it in the FREEMAN. As a McCarthyite who feels the Senator conducted his investigations on an unusually high plane of ethics. . . I wonder why Tenney did it.

Delta, Utah

RICHARD S. MORRISON

THE Freeman

AUGUST 1955

Midsummer Madness

ONCE, ONLY ONCE, I went to a political rally. It was the kick-off of Teddy Roosevelt's abortive Bull Moose career. The memory of that emotional orgy is still alive. Yet I never went to another. Perhaps I was disillusioned by the banalities of the speech—which I had cheered the night before—when I saw them in print; perhaps the later realization that my idol had feet of political clay gave me some sort of "complex." At any rate, I have never since listened to a political speech, either in person or on the air. I sometimes do glance at the printed speech, and it always occurs to me that I could have anticipated what the "distinguished" person had said; never a new idea. Besides, the slithery verbosity of ghost-written speeches makes dull reading.

On this hot, humid and dreamy day, after I had tuned out a political speech in favor of a sports broadcast, a rather bizarre thought came to me: namely, that American politics could be "cleaned up," even behind its ears, if my fellow-citizens were similarly to immunize themselves against political orations. Suppose, I mused, the politicians were regularly confronted with empty chairs, or were reduced to filling them up, as they often are, with captive audiences; that is, with jobseekers and others who expect compensation for their loyalty. Suppose, too, the radio and television ratings indicated a widespread habit of dial-switching whenever a politician goes on the air. This would amount to social ostracism, and since politicians are, in the final analysis, as human as the rest of us, the humiliation would not be without effect. It is interesting to speculate on the possible results; would they shut up completely, or would they take to the rostrum only when they had something a critical audience might listen to?

We get a hint of how the pressure of personal opinion can keep political behavior above par in a village or small town. There the mayor or overseer is under the constant surveillance of neighbors, and does not dare to risk their bad opinion of his official acts; not so much because of the votes

he would lose, but because he could not bear being slighted on the street. Besides, he might be the town butcher and a bad reputation would hardly be good for business. The fear of social ostracism acts as a disinfectant of politics, but it can be applied only when the government consists of neighbors, where everybody knows everybody.

Suppose the same personal pressure could be brought to bear on the politician when he becomes an "honorable," not a neighbor; say a Senator or, worse, an appointive Administrator. (The elected official is, in inverse ratio to the size of his constituency, partially sensitive to public opinion; but the bureaucrat, who is now the residual legatee of all political power, is simply impervious to what people outside his immediate circle think of him.) Suppose we all assumed, as axiomatic and not subject to dispute, that a man who enters political life is somewhat deficient in integrity and needs watching. Suppose a decent girl would hesitate to date a young man whose father is in the political business. Suppose we downgraded the political appointee, clerk or ambassador, even as we look upon a relative of the boss who is taken into the business—disdaining him for his incompetence and pitying him for lack of self-reliance.

What I am speculating on is the probable effect on the course of public affairs of a complete reversal in our general attitude toward political personages. I know it is only a fanciful idea, never realizable, for since the beginning of time people have acclaimed the virtues of the imbecile who became king. In like manner, we are prone to endow an obvious mediocrity with superior abilities as soon as he achieves office; the political hack becomes a paragon of judicial wisdom merely by donning a black robe, and the mountebank who was a complete failure in private life is invested with infallibility by the verdict of the ballot box. Public opinion forces him to play a part for which he has no competence. Naturally, he is reduced to strutting and cackling and otherwise playing up to the

adulation of the gallery; what else can he do?

If, on the other hand, the fellow who took up politics were conscious of a generally held low opinion of his instincts and capacities, he might try to overcome it by his behavior. Like any other hired hand, he would strive to win his spurs. His native lack of ability which, as everybody knew, impelled him to enter the field of politics, would work against his accomplishing anything worth while, but at least he could gain the good will and respect of the neighbors by a display of those virtues which everybody deems admirable: scrupulous honesty and above average integrity. His need for social approval, which he forfeited by his choice of occupation, would compel him to be "clean"—and politics as a whole would be correspondingly scrubbed up; for the character of a business is only the reflection of its practitioners.

My idea is, of course, thoroughly impractical and highly unrealistic, and I would be the last one to advocate a mass movement to put it into effect. There are many reasons why such a movement would fail, the principal one being the ineradicable yearning of the mass-mind for a miraculous "medicine man," a yearning that finds expression in an undying faith in political panaceas. It would be sheer madness to propose the use of social ostracism as a deodorant of politics, even though—on a hot, humid and dreamy midsummer day—the idea seems so logical.

Central Park

IN THE center of Manhattan Island, in the City of New York, there is an 840-acre spot of green known as Central Park. After dark, the area is infested with thieves and thugs, and as a consequence the police have declared it off limits for law-abiding citizens; any one who ventures into the park does so at his own risk.

In this instance, a government admits its inability to perform the one function which every shade of political thought—except philosophic anarchism—holds to be a basic function of government: the protection of life and property. The collectivists may hedge on the protection of property, except when it is owned by government, but they at least give lip-service to the protection of a citizen from physical harm. The libertarian, of course, would limit government to that one function.

But is Central Park so unusual in this respect? Where in the country can one be sure that one is absolutely secure against attack, assault or robbery? Judging by the newspapers, the country as a whole is a Central Park, day and night, though not all spots are equally dangerous. Nowhere does government provide absolute security. The best it can do, or even tries to do, is to apprehend the

offender and punish him; the theory is that punishment will act as a discouragement to other offenders. The theory is not borne out by experience, for despite the police armies, courts and legal apparatus the taxpayer is forced to support, to say nothing of the bulging penal institutions, there seems to be no lessening of crimes against persons and property in this country.

Which brings up this provocative thought: if government is unable to perform the one function which it is generally agreed is the prime reason for government, by what logic can one hold that it can competently perform functions that require far more skill, far more technical knowledge, far more ingenuity—such as running a post office?

Reverberations of GAW

LONG AGO the union bosses gave notice that they intended to demand something called the "guaranteed annual wage," but industrialists as a class paid little attention to the warning. It was only after Mr. Reuther got Mr. Ford to sign on the dotted line that viewing with alarm became general in the industrial world. We are now getting some rather hysterical reactions to GAW. A few are worth analysis.

The bogeyman of socialism is being invoked. This is somewhat far-fetched, since the government has not as yet taken any hand in GAW, and until it does (as it may some time) there is nothing socialistic in this scheme. It is a singular fact that industrialists will label whatever they don't like socialistic, but will give their blessing to government intervention, particularly if the intervention is good for their particular business. Agricultural controls, fair trade laws, subsidies, protective tariffs, government power plants are in the line of socialism—but not GAW.

It is being said that GAW will destroy the small operator, that only vast accumulations of capital can withstand that strain. However, GAW is not a charge against capital—it is simply an increase in labor costs, just like any raise in wages. GAW is, in fact, nothing but an increase in hourly pay, even though the workers do not get it in the envelope; payment is deferred until the workers are laid off. All wages are paid by the consumer, and if Ford can pass on the cost of GAW in its prices so can the smaller manufacturer. It is possible, of course, that some labor-saving device ("automation") may so increase production per man-hour that the prices of cars may not be raised to meet the GAW payments, and it is possible that the smaller manufacturer may not be able to make the necessary investment; in that case it is competition, not GAW, that puts him out of business.

Some say that Ford will go into the parts producing business in a slow season rather than pay

out the accumulated wages to laid-off workers. This is silly. If Ford can make parts as cheaply as its suppliers, it would be in that business now; why wait for a slow-down? On the other hand, GAW might be an inducement to depend more upon small operators who are not burdened with this added labor cost. The unions will find, if they attempt it, that it is more difficult to impose their will on a large number of small operators than on one large concern. Unions would have to pull off a strike in every little tool shop in the country, separately, to make GAW generally applicable, and that is a costly operation; besides, where a business requires relatively little capital investment, a new firm will spring up for every one closed down, if there is a demand for the product. It might even pay a GAW-laden corporation to farm out as much of its work as possible to small, efficient, owner-managed plants that have lower labor costs.

And that brings up the fear that GAW will be imposed on every industry in the country. Well, let us suppose that the unions tackle the large food chains and bring them to foot. That would be a tremendous boon to the independent grocery store, run by the owner, his family and maybe a couple of clerks; this little fellow would have a price advantage over the GAW-laden chain. In highly competitive fields, where the capital investment is small, GAW could actually give rise to many small units at the expense of the large corporations.

The cry that GAW will bring on another round of inflation is evidence of ignorance of what inflation is—or perhaps a reluctance to face the facts. A rise in prices due to increased labor costs is not inflation. These prices can be brought down or overcome, either by increased production or competition from substitute products. Inflation is a general rise of prices due to the presence in the market place of more money competing for goods—and only the government can manufacture money. Even as the charge of inflation is being hurled at GAW, the Administration is asking Congress to extend the authorized national debt limit from \$281 to \$290 billions and is continuing to spend more money than it collects in taxes. That is, the Administration wants authority to print more bonds and promissory notes, instruments which in time become money; that is inflation. GAW has nothing to do with it.

The objections to GAW are moral, not economic. The scheme will have the tendency to "freeze" the worker on his job, to impair his freedom of movement. Since part of his wages are tied up in this unemployment fund, he will be reluctant to quit his job for something better, or simply to quit it. He will be like the serf who was attached to the land he worked. Since GAW is applicable only in a union shop, it further copper-rivets the hold

the union leaders have on their vassals. It enhances their power. One can speculate on their use of this power for political purposes, perhaps to make GAW a national issue and thus introduce the dole; but such speculation is a little previous and rests on the larger issue of ultimate union aims. As of now, the only principle involved in GAW is the right of the worker to enjoy the product of his labor, his wages, as he sees fit.

Minimum Wage— Maximum Meanness

THE BEST you can say for the politicians agitating for a minimum wage law is that they are economic ignoramuses. If they knew anything about how the law works you would have to put them down as mean, unconscionably mean. For a compulsory wage fixed above what the market will pay for marginal jobs has the effect of throwing out of gainful employment those least able to earn some sort of a living—the physically handicapped, the mentally deficient, the aged and the part-time worker. It does not raise their incomes, as the politicians would lead us to believe; it deprives them of a chance at any income.

In most establishments there is at least one repetitive operation that calls for the absolute minimum of intelligence, or none at all, and an equal amount of physical stamina. A self-respecting worker or a sound one would not do that kind of work unless starvation were the alternative. Yet the operation is necessary to the finished product, and it is performed by those who could not be entrusted with anything else and who are glad to get the work. The pay? The article sells for a dime; that's all the consumer will pay for it, and the cost sheet does not allow much for this marginal operation.

The Republican Administration says that the job should pay no less than a dollar an hour; the equally vote-hungry Democrats say the minimum should be twenty-five cents more. Whichever figure becomes law, the marginal job, which cannot pay the stipulated wage, is immediately endangered. Ways and means must be found to stay within the law and yet hold down the cost of the miserable but necessary operation. Sometimes it is eliminated altogether by the introduction of machinery. Sometimes it is put on a piecework basis at a rate which will yield the minimum wage only to the swift. In either case the maimed and the halt and the moronic are thrown out of work, maybe to become public charges and thus lose the self-respect which the pay envelope gave them.

And so, the question now being debated by the wise men of Washington is: how many of the

least productive members of society shall be deprived of their jobs? The higher the minimum rate the more will be *disemployed*. How mean can a politician get? (How stupid, we know.)

Just for the record, we might point out that a minimum wage law is unenforceable except in plants working on government contracts. But in such plants all the wages come out of taxes and the management can have no objection to complying with the law, especially when the contract is on a cost-plus basis.

The higher the minimum wage, the greater the profit. Why not ten dollars an hour?

A Bargain Is a Bargain

THIS IS a modern version of the Faust story . . . The Federal Public Housing law requires heads of families living in a federally subsidized housing project to take an oath to the effect that neither he nor any member of his family belongs to any organization listed as subversive by the U.S. Attorney General. In pursuance of this law, 241 tenants in New York City projects who refused to take the oath were given eviction notices.

Communists and their friends, the "liberals," are railing against this turn of events. The non-oath takers are being deprived of their rights, they say. But this is a perversion of the facts. When a citizen accepts a subsidy, he automatically forfeits his claim to that independence of thought that is the essence of rights. Implied in the subsidy is a bargain by which the State acquires a lien on the soul of the beneficiary. It is a valid sale, a legal *quid pro quo*. What's wrong with it?

We Want It

STATISM—which includes socialism, New Dealism, communism and what goes by the name of "liberalism"—is not merely an agglomeration of laws and institutions. It is, rather, an accommodation of the public mind toward these laws and institutions.

For instance, when Congress a few weeks ago passed a four-year extension of the draft law, a law which is statist to the core, there was no evidence of a general repugnance to the idea. We have come to accept conscription as the regular order of things, as part and parcel of the "American way of life." We are statist without even knowing it.

And yet, only a few years ago, such a law would have been unthinkable, and anyone who suggested it would have been put down as a bit "teched in the haid." You, or at least your father, associated conscription with Tsarism, which was

then, before communism, the lowest and most detestable form of government.

My own case comes to mind. I am an American because my folks fled from Russia, and one of the reasons for the flight was the imminent drafting of an older brother, who was born in Russia, into the Tsar's army. I daresay that a goodly portion of our present population can be similarly traced to this abhorrence of being "called to the colors," a practice that has been general in Europe since Napoleon introduced it. America was a magnet because it was free, and one of the principal indicia of its freedom was the absence of conscription.

And now we accept this form of involuntary servitude even as we accept public handouts. It is no longer called Tsarism, it is called "democracy." Every boy knows as soon as he knows anything that some day he will be taken by the scruff of the neck and shoved into the army; the idea that this is an invasion of his freedom never occurs to him. In fact, he looks forward to his spell of army life as a necessary part of his schooling (without recognizing it as schooling for statism), and labels as "crackpot" any suggestion to drop conscription.

The vote in the House for the draft bill was 388 to 5.

A Problem in Morals

I SEE by the papers that Pat Ward, a confessed prostitute, is being sued by the State of New York for nonpayment of income taxes. The item called to mind the well-advertised trial of her procurer, a fellow named Jelke, in which she had her day as the star witness against him. Why she cooperated with the authorities in sending him to the penitentiary I do not know; perhaps it was because her court appearances flattered her vanity or served as a "public relations" stunt, or perhaps because she resented Jelke's "cut."

However, the sequel to the affair—that is, the bill for income taxes—presents a problem in morals. Jelke was sent to jail because the law declares participation in the returns from prostitution to be contrary to something called public morality, and it is therefore adjudged a crime. But, if it is immoral and criminal for an individual to profit from the oldest profession in the world, by what code does the State justify its claim to part of the returns? Jelke at least rendered the prostitute the services of a salesman, which, taking into account the amount of her income demanded by the State, was not inconsiderable. What, however, did the State do for Pat that warrants its lien on prostitutional profits?

The question, I submit, deserves the serious consideration of our doctors in ethics.

After Geneva: The Cold War

By EUGENE LYONS

Hoping for a genuine truce, Western leaders fail to realize the dual nature of the Kremlin. They are dealing not merely with a conventional State, but with a world-wide conspiracy bent on total victory.

The Four-Power meeting at the summit will have come and gone before these words see print. Those who expected miracles from this meeting will be satisfied that miracles have been performed; they are incurable. Yet the record of the last dozen years suggests that the immediate popular verdict on the meeting will be based on extravagant hopes, rather than on facts, and that these hopes will in time be well punctured.

The most disastrous of our conferences with the Moscow mob in the past—such as Yalta and Potsdam—were precisely the ones hailed as great successes in their day. The mischief they compounded, evident to some at the time, became manifest to nearly everyone as the years passed. Even the Austrian peace treaty already begins to look less magnanimous, as the extortionist features of the Soviet terms become better known.

The Soviet concept of diplomacy remains what it has been: horse-trading with other people's horses. When Secretary Dulles after the signing of the Austrian treaty alluded to the "joy of freedom" that might spread from Austria to Czechoslovakia, then to other satellites, the reaction of Moscow was abusively violent. Every suggestion in the months before the ascent to the sacred summit that the fate of the Soviet-held nations of eastern Europe be discussed touched off howls of anguish in the communist capitals.

Clearly, the Soviets had no intention of talking about, let alone bargaining about, "their own" sphere of dominion. They have always been guilt-ridden and terrified by the prospect of any public examination of their postwar grabs. A less timid Western diplomacy would act on this tip-off on Red vulnerability; it would exploit communist imperialism to the limit, if only to offset Red propaganda on the score of Western imperialism.

Did Eisenhower, Eden and Faure raise the satellite issue notwithstanding the Kremlin's hands-off warnings? Did they risk embarrassing the Bulganin crowd by championing the captive peoples and denouncing the violations of wartime agreements which sealed that captivity? Did they dare speak up, as the foremost temporal rulers of Christendom, for the tortured and humiliated victims of a godless despotism?

These are fair tests of the political and moral courage of the West. Failure, at the Geneva meeting, to give the oppressed humanity behind the

Iron Curtain indubitable assurances that the free world has not forgotten them and does not consider them expendable, cannot be compensated by success in other areas.

Of the delusions fostered by the current round of negotiations, the most dangerous, I believe, is that it can lead to a genuine truce or even peace in the so-called cold war. Should it prevail in popular opinion and in policy-making circles, we shall assuredly find ourselves politically disarmed, inert and ultimately licked by default.

"There is in the international scene today," said Rab Butler, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, "a feeling of spring after a long winter of discontent." That soporific weather may explain ex-President Truman's airy assertion on a television program that the cold war was about to end. Harold E. Stassen quickly echoed this daydream: the cold war, he declared, was giving way to a "competitive coexistence" as a substitute for cold war. Finally, in a rose-tinted mood at a press conference, President Eisenhower exclaimed, "Let's stop talking about the cold war. We are trying to wage a war for peace."

Pollyanna vs. Politburo

But while this Coué therapy was being applied, Red-fomented violence was erupting in Singapore. Red guerrillas were on the move in Laos. A U. S. plane was downed by MIGs. Communists were tightening their grip on government and schools in Indonesia. South Vietnam was being softened and demoralized for easy communist conquest in the 1956 elections. Mobs from East Germany were staging riots in West Berlin. Before congressional committees here at home the Fifth Amendment was being invoked as per usual to shield Moscow's conspiratorial setup. Everywhere the familiar anti-Western and anti-American propaganda was being poured out as copiously as ever.

In short, the cold war was under way unabated throughout the world, in mockery of the game of semantic consolations being played in the United States and other non-Soviet countries. And the one certainty, regardless of Geneva and little Genevas to come, is that the cold war will continue. Conceivably, communist tactics may be readjusted here and there in deference to the temporary needs of Soviet national policy; some slogans may be

edited to lull and disorient our statesmen and foreign policy experts. But no vital positions of Red strength and advantage will be surrendered. The fundamental menace to freedom will remain and may, indeed, be intensified in critical areas under cover of Mr. Butler's "feeling of spring."

The key to reality in our epoch is a clear-headed understanding of the dual nature of the Kremlin. It is at once a conventional government of a geographic state and the spearhead of a world revolutionary movement without boundaries. The two functions are intermeshed, of course, but the fiction that the Soviet State is not responsible for the world-wide communist drive gives Moscow incalculable advantages.

Non-Soviet nations can carry on diplomatic intercourse with the Kremlin only by ignoring its twofold character, by accepting the fantastic premise that it is "just another nation" concerned solely with national purposes. The moment this hypothesis is challenged, the moment Moscow is called upon impolitely to account for the activities of world communism, the foundations of ordinary diplomacy begin to crumble.

Moscow's Hidden Power

It should never be forgotten that at the summit the Western powers negotiated with Moscow in its functions as a State; the same will hold true in all negotiations to follow. The cold war—though it is the primary threat to our survival—is never on the agenda.

No understandings, promises or agreements entered into by the Soviet government, even if strictly observed, can be binding on our real adversary—which is not a nation but an inter-nation, with a thousand prongs of power boring into the living flesh of every other country. A soft approach on the part of Soviet Russia, even if genuine on its own level, is not necessarily inconsistent with stepped-up militancy and accelerated campaigns of confusion and of conquest on the level of world communism.

This does not mean that negotiations with the Soviet State are always undesirable; sometimes, as at present, they are unavoidable. There are issues as between governments—limitations on conventional armaments, for instance, or problems of international trade, or the status of a particular country like Germany—that can be usefully considered in that context. But there is no excuse at this late date for confusing such issues with the larger challenge of the cold war.

Consider disarmament. The only Kremlin forces that can be dealt with in official conferences are armies, navies, air power, nuclear and other weapons. Suppose, to be fanciful for argument's sake, that a measure of disarmament is agreed upon. Armed forces would be reduced across the board. Approximate military parity having been

fixed between the Soviet and non-Soviet worlds, we would proceed to celebrate a victory for peace.

With conventional forces thus balanced and stalemated, the free world will cease to be a military menace to Soviet Russia. But the Soviet empire, by contrast, would still have at its command all over the world its guerrilla formations, armed volunteers, undergrounds, open and covert Communist Parties, fifth columns, false-front organizations, communist-controlled labor movements, the vast machinery of propaganda, agitation and subversion.

The Kremlin can well afford to scale down purely official armaments in the knowledge that it possesses huge political and paramilitary strength which did not even figure in the bargaining between governments. In those dimensions, indeed, its strength will be relatively multiplied once the danger of possible Western superiority in ordinary military power has been eliminated by mutual agreement.

Suppose, then, that the seeming moderation of the Soviets as a government turns out to be merely a cover for increased "revolutionary" action. What does the free world, and the United States particularly, have to counterpose Moscow's immense political-psychological cold-war forces? Can it ever generate counterposing strength if it swallows the fairy tale that the cold war has "ended" and takes the Eisenhower advice to "stop talking" about the cold war?

It is altogether conceivable that Moscow's emphasis on reducing tensions between governments may be a maneuver to clear the road for intensified nongovernmental actions. It may have decided to stabilize the situation in Europe—where NATO and the arrested growth of Communist Party vitality have made further cold-war efforts unrewarding at this time anyhow—in order to concentrate on profitable targets in Asia and Africa. After all, the tensions created by world communism, as distinct from those imposed by the Soviet State, do not enter into the equations being worked out with the Soviets.

No Retreat from World Revolution

An on-the-spot Mideast report to *Newsweek* a few weeks ago declared: "Seldom has communism in the Middle East been more aggressive—or more subtle. The hand of Russia is rarely shown. The tactics are those of subversion, infiltration and exploitation of the differences between the Arab States and the West."

How can any decisions made in Geneva or after Geneva limit that sort of menace? The same question applies to every other active cold-war front. Whatever may have taken place at the summit, Malaya and Burma, Indochina and Indonesia, North Africa and other theaters of communist operations will be no safer and, in fact, may be less safe.

What has come to be called the cold war did not start in 1947. It began on the day the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky hijacked the Russian Revolution from its makers and turned it into an instrumentality of world revolution. It cannot be "settled" or "called off" as long as world communism, with the Soviet empire as its base, retains any fighting vitality.

Short of committing suicide, the Soviet hierarchy itself could not end that war. It is irrevocably committed by its innermost nature, nearly forty years of ideological conditioning, its global extensions of power and involvements, to remain the high command of a dynamic drive for world dominion. In the final analysis, as Soviet history has demonstrated repeatedly, even purely national Russian needs and preferences are expendable for the world revolution.

On occasions, Lenin continually explained, temporary armistices with capitalist nations become necessary. These are not retreats from world revolutionary objectives but tactical moves necessary to support the fixed strategy and immutable goals.

"To carry on a war for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie," Stalin wrote, "a war which is a hundred times more difficult, longer and more complicated than the most tenacious of wars between States, and to refrain in advance from maneuvering, from using the conflicts of interests (however temporary) among the enemies, from collusions and compromises with possible (however temporary, unreliable and unstable) allies, is this not an utterly ridiculous thing?" (from his *Problems of Leninism*, published in Moscow, 1947 edition, page 62.)

The Kremlin is now engaged in another of these maneuvers in the "war for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie." That is what Molotov meant when he told his comrades, earlier this year: "Soviet foreign policy cannot help taking into account the contradictions between capitalist countries *and within those countries*. . . . It is our task to exploit these contradictions." Or when Lazar Kaganovich, speaking in Prague this May, said: "We know as Marxists that sooner or later the peoples suffering under capitalism will tread our revolutionary path."

How that path will be followed has been spelled out with full candor a thousand times in the Kremlin's sacred texts. "The scientific concept, dictatorship," Stalin explained, "means nothing more or less than power directly resting on violence, which is not limited by any laws or restricted by any absolute rules. . . . Dictatorship means unlimited power, resting on violence and not on law."

Anyone who can make such statements—from Lenin and Stalin to Molotov and Kaganovich—jibe with an honest conviction that the cold war is coming to an end deserves a gold medal for innocence of mind.

Have our congenitally optimistic leaders for-

gotten the balmy weather of the mid-1930's? There was the Stalin Constitution, filled with democratic verbiage, at home. There were the People's Fronts and United Fronts and reconciliations with yesterday's "social fascists" abroad. The Soviet Union entered the League of Nations, and Litvinov posed as the angel of peace.

Only "obsessed Red-baiters" dared dispute the notion that the cold war (though the phrase had not yet been invented) wasn't over. Soviet trade would rescue us from the depression, some of our most conservative industrialists—the Ernest Weirs of the period—assured us. We were solemnly lectured on the obvious fact that Russia was moving to the Right, that America and the capitalist world generally were moving to the Left, and that soon the two would meet somewhere in the middle and coexist happily ever after.

The fantasy foundered with the blood purges, the Moscow-Berlin pact of friendship, the Soviet attacks on Poland, Finland and the Baltic republics. More to the point, we now know that those years of demonstrative softness were years of large-scale systematic subversion, infiltration, preparation of cadres and deployment of forces to weaken the non-Soviet world and set it up for bigger and better cold-war operations. Our political catastrophes of the forties and fifties were designed in the era of Soviet moderation in the thirties.

Common Cold War

The closest we ever came, not to peace but to a truce in the cold war was, of course, during World War Two, when the Kremlin became perforce our ally in the struggle against Nazi Germany. But we know today what our government concealed from us more or less effectively at the time: that it was largely a one-sided alliance, in which we did the giving and Moscow the taking. We were to learn in due time, and again this is more pertinent to our current dilemma, that despite the dissolution of the Comintern our Soviet ally was carefully preparing the betrayals and conquests of the post-war period.

Today we are in another period of grand maneuver and once more, it appears, the Kremlin has not overestimated our political naiveté. If Bulganin, Khrushchev, Mao Tse-tung and their associates give us half a chance, we will again convince ourselves that the Soviet offensive against what remains of the free world has been called off.

A writer in the *Progressive*, July issue, declares: "It is going to be hard for the news analysts and the commentators to get used to a world without cold war, if by some odd chance the Russians permit us to have one." His progressive solicitude is wasted. There is no cure for the common cold war—except a definitive victory for one side or the other.



WASHINGTON, D.C.

by Frank C. Hanighen

Congress, as everyone knows, is run by the Senators and Representatives. That, like a lot of other things everyone knows, is actually not the truth.

In this sophisticated Capital, it is a commonplace that the Executive arm of the government is really run by the "middle bureaucracy," and not by the President and Cabinet members—by the permanent civil servants who sift the information and facts, write the reports and sway the decisions of their superiors. Similarly, a lot of "faceless men," "people with a passion for anonymity," wield a tremendous influence on the words and actions of the Legislative branch. The powerful "middle bureaucrats" in the Executive "downtown" have their counterparts among the "administrative assistants" in the Senate and House office buildings.

Men who live here and earn their living watching the governmental drama scan their morning papers conscious of many things which never occur to the ordinary reader. The latter sees the statement by some member of Congress as a personalized, dramatic step with a meaning literally the same as the words thus oratorically uttered. The expert, on the other hand, immediately asks himself: "Who told him to say that?" If he knows Congress well, he probably traces the source behind the statement of Senator This or Representative That to the little-known administrative assistant of the Congressman, or to some lobbying organization, or some friendly newspaperman, or the legislative liaison man of some Executive branch.

To the sophisticated Washingtonian, "lobbyist" no longer connotes a sly, well-paid fellow, representing large business corporations. Such men are much less active and effective than the "lobbyist" sent to the Hill by this or that Department of the Executive, or by the powerful labor unions, or farmers' organizations, or the "Committee to Bring About Universal Peace" backed by God-knows-what altruistic schemers. What should be said in justice to members of Congress is that more individual members run their own shows than in the Executive, and the "stooge" process is not nearly so widespread or blatant. But scarcely a week passes without a keen observer noting such capers as this:

1. A newspaperman sitting in the press gallery becomes discontented—as well he might—with Senator X's rambling colloquy with Senator Y.

He's in sympathy with X, but most of all he wants to wire a good story to his editor. He goes to the anteroom of the Senate, gets "X" off the floor, gives him an idea and/or a punch line, then returns to the gallery to hear "X" utter his own material.

2. A step further: Representative Z in a morning paper is quoted as saying such-and-such. He never said it or indeed heard of it before. A correspondent worked up the yarn, knew that Representative Z would like it, and did not even take the trouble to clear it with him. This impudent business happens occasionally when a news bureau has a submissive "pet" on the floor of Congress.

3. The Administrative Secretary hands his composition (over which he has worked for several days) to his boss, Congressman A. The latter, without reading it, walks out on the floor of Congress and delivers it, oratorically, as if every word came after mature consideration and study. (This is no worse than dozens of "ghosted" speeches delivered every week by Executive officials, from the President and Cabinet members down.)

Whatever may be said of such practices, they do present a picture of the inner workings of Congress quite different from the simple "Senator vs. Senator," in toe-to-toe debate, version accepted by the public. It is a picture quite undreamed of by the writers of the *Federalist*.

The role of the press in Washington—the best realistic exposure of which extant is Walter Trohan's "The Decline of the Fourth Estate," *Human Events*, December 5, 1951—offers a subject big enough for a full volume. For the present space, it is more convenient to deal only with the anonymous "little men" who work for the Congress and run it. They include the administrative assistants and lesser secretaries of the members of Congress and the whole tribe—from investigators to general counsel—who staff the committees of both Houses and their subcommittees, the special committees (like the House Committee on Un-American Activities), the joint committees of Senate and House, and the policy committees of both major parties in the two Houses.

Some of these men have had wide experience in law, journalism or the academic field. Some possess M.A.'s or Ph.D.'s; occasionally a former

Congressman, after his defeat, takes such a job. Sometimes an assistant files in an election, wins and comes back as an equal colleague of his former boss. (Such a one is Representative Frank T. Bow of the Sixteenth District of Ohio.) Some of these assistants are simply technicians: they write speeches, attend to constituents, draft bills, help their bosses in the various steps of the legislative process. But many are zealots, or advocates of some cause or policy, desirous of advancing their ideas by working for a member of Congress. Satisfaction in such endeavors long compensated for modest salaries and obscure positions.

George H. E. Smith, many years Clerk of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, now retired, was a good example of a "dedicated" man. A friend of the late Professor Charles A. Beard and co-author with that great historian of one book, Smith was of invaluable assistance to the late Senator Taft in his handling of foreign policy matters. George Leighton, before he joined the same committee as a staff member, had been associate editor of *Harper's* and in that post developed a critical attitude toward the social security ideas of Sir William Beveridge, author of "cradle-to-grave" legislation. He got a contributor to write a rebuttal to Beveridge in *Harper's*, and later became the Senate Committee's specialist on social security matters. His labors found vent in resolutions and speeches on that subject by the former Senator Harry Cain and the late Senator Hugh Butler, who took up the matter at Leighton's urging and with his assistance.

Most people think of the late Senator Pat McCarran and Representative Francis E. Walter as the sole authors of the famous Immigration Act, now heavily under fire by "liberals." In the corridors of the two Houses, however, they say the two men who laid the groundwork and shaped the policy of the Act were the respective clerks of the Senate and House Immigration subcommittees—Richard Arens, clerk for McCarran for many years, and Walter Besterman, clerk for Walter. Certainly no two men on the Hill have ever acquired such encyclopedic knowledge of the complicated measure. Arens, a former lawyer and teacher of law, is no longer with the Senate Immigration subcommittee; Besterman remains with the House committee. Although "liberals" stamp the Act as a "know-nothing" bill, they little know that Besterman is a Polish émigré, once the press attaché of the Polish Government-in-Exile Embassy in Washington, now an American citizen.

Since these people wield such power, it is not surprising the Communists should infiltrate this field. The writer recalls how, one day in 1946, he was walking down a corridor of the Senate Office Building with the late Senator La Follette, and how the Wisconsin man pointed out an individual whom he described as a "Communist" and identified as an assistant to a Democratic Senator

noted for his pro-Red proclivities. The following year La Follette was to publish an article in *Collier's*, exposing the Red infiltration of Senate staffs, including one committee of which he had been chairman and as such the innocent victim of the Reds. Even today, observers of Capitol Hill recognize certain members who are frequently used as mouthpieces of leftist propagandists.

Naturally, also, Communists and the "liberals" realize that such men, if conservatives, are the exposed front ranks of their adversaries, and should be "picked off" if possible. The celebrated case of J. B. Matthews is an example. Matthews earned his spurs in the fight against communism as assistant to Congressman Martin Dies in the late thirties and early forties, then left Congress. He was re-appointed by Senator McCarthy in the summer of 1953 to head the staff of the Wisconsin Senator's investigations. Before he could take his post, the "liberal" chorus of commentators attacked him for an article he had written in the *American Mercury* exposing the communist infiltration of the Protestant clergy. McCarthy cancelled the appointment.

The "men behind the members" not only write speeches; they also plan strategy. They did not actually start the McCarthy anti-Communist battle, but they almost did so. The story goes that in January 1950 some of the more far-sighted staff people felt sure that the "Communists-in-government" scandal could not be bottled up much longer, and they interviewed a number of prominent Republican Senators, whose experience with investigations suggested that they could effectively launch an exposé. They found little enthusiasm for the job among those Senators, who doubtless had no desire to undergo the ordeal suffered by Martin Dies, not to mention Whittaker Chambers. The staffers never approached Senator McCarthy, as he had established no prominence in the corps of legislators at the time.

These staffers now conclude that their initiative was stolen from them by their leftist counterparts, who designed what reasonably seemed a good counter-strategy. They believe that the latter, in effect, "selected" McCarthy, calculating that he would prove timid and unpracticed; that a barrage of fierce attacks on his now famous speech in West Virginia in February 1950 (which actually, the day after, got scant notice in the daily press) would effectively smear him out of public existence and easily put a stop to inquiry into Communists-in-government. The leftists, of course, misjudged McCarthy's temperament, and a much longer and involved strategy was necessary to drive him off the front pages. But the above version—to which many observers give much credence—illustrates how the tides of legislative conflict are moved from behind the scenes by cadres of unknown technicians.

The Fashion for Fear

By PAUL JONES

The problem of civil defense requires a sensible, courageous approach instead of the current propaganda for catastrophe.

Spreading alarm and despondency among an enemy people is an ancient device of warfare. It breaks down morale and, like the biologist's broth, offers a hospitable environment to the germs of defeatism and surrender.

This is perhaps the first epoch in history when apparently vigorous countries, like those of the non-communist West, have gone to great pains to broadcast fear and confusion in their own ranks.

When the German army was bearing down on Paris in 1940, the French official radio, controlled by the Ministry of Information, sent out programs to the people in the frontier areas. For reasons that defy understanding, the inhabitants of places in the theater of operations were advised to evacuate their homes and flee before the advancing enemy. Sisley Huddleston, who was there, estimated that nearly ten million people encumbered the roads of northern France in early June 1940. Many thousands perished miserably; very few were any better off than if they had stayed in their houses or on their farms. The torrent of wretched humanity blocked any possible redeployment of the French forces. The refugees made a desperate situation hopeless by communicating their panic to their own soldiers, trapped with them on impassable highways. If a German fifth column had inspired that exodus, it would have counted as a master-stroke. There seems to be no real evidence that it was anything but an imbecilic blunder, the inspired lunacy of some psychological warrior of the phony war.

It is easy now to see what a crazy catastrophe sprang fifteen years ago in France from fear propaganda promoted to the level of an official policy. But bureaucrats learn nothing from experience. This country at present is busy building its civilian defense against atomic bombing on the disastrous foundation of a sedulously cultivated terror.

For reasons best known to themselves, the officials in charge have adopted the theory of mass evacuation of our cities as the approved answer to enemy A-bombs. Think what this would mean. Take a compass and describe a circle with a radius of 100 miles and its center in Times Square. The circumference would pass beyond Philadelphia, Albany and New Haven. Now imagine the roads of this area flooded solidly with cars, buses, trucks, and its railroads choked with outgoing refugee

trains. Thirty million people in flight. Where will they go? How will they be lodged and fed? What will be the state of their morale?

Remember that the authorities have given the public no complete, sober, sensible information about the actual results of a nuclear fission explosion. We hear only the apocalyptic predictions of government press agents who outdo the science-fiction writers. They have made their own myth, so that quite respectable journalists now refer to the "annihilation" of Hiroshima in 1945, although the technical survey showed that the Japanese had the trolley cars running again within two weeks.

Mass Evacuation Would Destroy Defense

The accepted line seems to be that we must lay a firm foundation for resolute resistance by instilling a deep fear of unknown horrors. Megatons are piled on megatons, and, while security prevents us from knowing any facts, security gives the widest latitude to terrifying forecasts of the sort that used to be routine in Sunday-supplement science.

If you wished to outline a method of inducing the complete collapse of industrial defense in this country, how could you do better than to arrange for thirty million panic-stricken refugees to rush away from key centers of production, supply and transportation? The chief air-raid defenses we have set up consist of ground-to-air missile or Nike sites, arranged in rings around important cities. How would they be supplied, repaired or reinforced, if the roads were blocked? How would Army, Navy and Air Force personnel get back to their bases, under the same conditions, in case of a Red Alert?

Philadelphia, for example, has two million inhabitants. Officials talk glibly of evacuating the city on anything from one to six hours warning. No staff officer in his right mind would undertake to move two million disciplined soldiers any considerable distance in under three days. How will things go in the case of a heterogeneous crowd in haphazard vehicles, bearing the lame, the halt, the sick, infants and children and aged pensioners, in addition to all the able-bodied? What happens on the roads when cars break down or run out of gas? Isn't mass evacuation an infallible prescription for a colossal catastrophe, three or four times bigger than that in France?

What purpose could it serve? By any sober reckoning it might mean defeat within the first week. The only object of a bombing raid on any city is to put it out of action, cripple its facilities and neutralize its population. Isn't that exactly what mass evacuation would do? Does anybody seriously suppose that thirty million terrified refugees could be induced to return to a bombed area or one they have been persuaded to abandon because it might be bombed?

Panic is the best ally an enemy can have. The strange part of the mass evacuation scheme is that we ourselves are encouraging our own panic. A kind of fashion for fear rules public policy, as though the organization of civil defense had to be sold like a mouth wash or a deodorant. One might suppose, against common sense, that the mass of humanity is possessed, in crowds, of such foolhardy, supernal courage that their valor must be diminished to make it manageable. Traditional military training is based on the opposite and correct theory, that the worst of all dangers, even for crack regulars, is the contagion of fear.

There are signs that a great many ordinary sensible people among civilian defense volunteers regard mass evacuation as disastrous folly. Some of the areas around New York City, like Westchester County, have talked about putting up roadblocks to shut off any unmanageable rabble of refugees. Only recently the Civilian Defense Director of Philadelphia complained that neighboring suburban districts are refusing to cooperate in the plan to dump two million city dwellers in their laps, with no feasible way to feed or lodge them. He spoke, naturally, of an urgent need for compulsive legislation to force them to do the impossible and commit the ultimate lunacy.

At the core of the mass evacuation policy lies a refusal to face ugly facts. The people in charge tell the public that an air raid on any large city with nuclear fission bombs will inevitably cost many thousands of dead and wounded, unless their plan is adopted. As a corollary, they encourage the illusion that everybody can just go out into the country and be safe, although it is more than likely that eventual casualties would be very heavy, not to mention the complete dislocation of our intricate industrial system.

Officials apparently lack the courage to explain, or perhaps do not themselves understand, that civil defense does not mean saving as many lives as possible, at any cost. It means training a beleaguered population to take maximum cover, while standing by its machines and workshops, its communications and transportation networks, its system of supply.

The duty of civilians in modern war, as in past wars, is to keep things going somehow, no matter what danger may threaten them. To carry out that mission calls for extraordinary courage, steadiness and devotion. That men can summon those qualities, when they are defending their homes, we

know from the lessons taught us by the people of London and Leningrad, Berlin and Tokyo.

What they need from official sources is elementary instruction in rescue work, fire control and precautionary measures which may mean the difference between death and survival. Certainly they must be taught to go under cover, inadequate though it may be, while the bombers are overhead. But, when the danger has passed for a little while, they must be prepared to come out of their holes and go back to work. Civilian population in heavily bombed areas will face in any new war a terrible ordeal, as they did in the past war. What is the point of trying to conceal that fact, by pretending that mass evacuation can save their lives without disrupting the whole of industrial society?

The danger of the present policy is even more serious when you consider that it must be founded on a constant overemphasis on the imminence of war. If the people are to be frightened into acceptance of flight as the only solution, it is necessary to heighten every possible danger and paint every peril in the most lurid colors.

Nothing else could justify some of the proposals we hear. Under any other circumstances a national leader who suggested laying miles of concrete culvert along our highways, into which people would crawl for shelter, might be certified as a dangerous lunatic.

Overcharged Propaganda

Seven or eight years ago, when a new civilian defense was first considered, officials in charge retained some balance. The emphasis was on training people to take shelter in their own cellars or in homemade shelters, provided with a small stock of food and water, a battery radio and elementary fire-fighting equipment. Teams of volunteers were to carry out the same duties as block wardens in England in the last war. Some attempt was made to coordinate the activities of doctors and nurses, hospitals, fire companies and police departments.

The central idea was sound, since it was based on a courageous policy of sticking it out, and seeing it through, just as men in the armed forces are expected to do. Only in the past year or so has this sensible notion been exchanged for the promotion of mass evacuation, based on a public relations campaign of inspired panic.

The results are already evident in 1) a grossly overcharged picture of what might happen, always assuming that a potential enemy could drop H-bombs with pinpoint accuracy; 2) a consistent effort to present total and disastrous war as just around the corner. In all the propaganda, facts are conspicuously ignored, and simple measures of protection forgotten in an apocalyptic vision.

It would seem to be something near treachery to tell anything like the truth. A radioactive fallout, for example, might be dangerous for 48 hours,

after which it would mean only a negligible risk. But even if a human being is exposed to radioactive dust, prompt and thorough washing with soap and water will remove it without difficulty. Who would be in a better position to take this simple precaution? The family trained to make the best of the shelter of its own cellar, prepared in advance? Or the family huddled by a roadside, in the open, caught in a jam of hopeless refugees?

For many families, it is true, there would be no problem, in any case, after the first blinding flash. But their chances, if they survived, would be far better in familiar surroundings than in any mass exodus.

Grand Emergency Test

The nation-wide test of mass evacuation held in mid-June of this year bore no relation to reality. All over the country, perhaps one tenth of one per cent of the population supposed to be affected was moved out of the cities. A Deputy Director of Civil Defense in Washington was summarily fired for saying the whole thing was nonsensical. Yet he was only saying aloud what everybody else was thinking, except for the boy scouts in charge.

Oddly enough, while the grand emergency test held the headlines, five Navy doctors reported to the AMA on the clinical picture presented by actual victims of the fallout at the Eniwetok H-bomb "island-destroying" explosion. Early loss of hair and ugly skin lesions disappeared completely within six months, with no permanent deterioration of the blood. The American doctors were inclined to believe that the one Japanese fisherman who died (they saw 175 cases) lost his life as a result of complications arising during treatment.

The medical report, therefore, was reassuring. It got very little attention at a time when it is the fashion to paint large pictures of appalling destruction over immense areas, with no escape possible for victims of "lethal" fallout.

Obviously, a sober and sensible approach to a problem which demands the utmost in cool courage would be infinitely better than this perpetual promotion of panic. We could do with far fewer speeches by public figures in which every other sentence begins with "I fear." The effect can only be to inject the slow poison of despair in repeated doses, until we are all convinced that there is no hope except we take to the hills. Or, worse still, until they persuade many of us that a "preventive" war is morally justified.

Mankind has gone through many hard moments, and will go through more. It may be flattering to our conceit to believe that no generation ever faced anything worse than what we face. But it is hardly probable. Whatever befalls, it is better to meet it with courage than with fear. And for those who seek a consoling word, it may be well to state that

many of us will survive any conceivable war, for the simple reason that, to the cold eye of the bombing expert, we are not lucrative targets.

In any event, let us have done with panic as a prescription for safety. Ajax defying the lightning was punished for his presumption. But he expressed human dignity better than an Ajax running for the coat closet at the first rumble of a summer thunderstorm.

Pre-Draftees Are Concerned

An Open Letter to the President
of the United States:

We who have signed this letter are all high school students. Some of us are eligible for the draft, the rest of us will be in a very short time. We have decided to write you as there are two matters on which we are concerned and wish to bring to your attention. . . .

Each of us being proud of our country, we have no complaints about serving in the armed forces to protect our country from aggressors. We are ready to fight for the United States, Sir, but we can find no enthusiasm for fighting under the flag of the United Nations.

We cannot understand why we should be proud of a United Nations that graciously allowed us to supply 90 per cent of the UN troops in Korea, and then forced the resignation of one of our greatest generals and pressured us into accepting a cease-fire.

We feel that either you win a war or lose it, and that therefore, for the first time in American history, we had lost a major war.

We can't help but wonder about the plight of our soldiers in Red China. Will we be the next to serve time in Chinese dungeons while Washington is talking of another Big Four conference?

We are waiting for the day when you tell Russia, "Advance no farther. . ."

Our second concern is the Bricker Amendment. We wonder how some of our legislators in Washington can sleep . . . how their consciences can rest while American soldiers are imprisoned in French dungeons, thanks to the NATO Status of Forces Treaty . . . how they can rest while any day might bring a Supreme Court decision that the United Nations Charter supersedes the American Constitution.

We urge you, therefore, to reconsider your position on the Bricker Amendment in the hope that you will change your views. We feel that with your support it could easily pass, and that once again we could be assured the protection of our Constitution.

Signed by fourteen students of Spring
Branch Senior High School, Houston, Texas

Wall Street: American Symbol

By ANTHONY M. REINACH

Wall Street is a narrow road slicing across the foot of Manhattan Island. It begins at a graveyard and ends ingloriously at the brink of the East River. In between, towering buildings hedge an austere and sunless land.

On Wall Street, on nearby Pine, Broadway and Rector (and in financial institutions all over the United States), thousands of men and women ply their trade. It is a trade no more or less important than the many others that comprise our complicated exchange economy. Yet Wall Street is significant in that it symbolizes the basic freedom most Americans take for granted—the freedom of an individual to seek opportunity and expand his own well-being through the ownership and exchange of property.

Were there no Wall Street, there would be no U. S. Steel Corporation, nor a Socony Mobil Oil Company, nor an International Harvester, as they now exist. Therefore, there would be no cheap oil, no cheap steel and no tractor a farmer could afford to buy. Nor would television sets and frozen foods make home life easier and more pleasant. Without Wall Street, our smoothly meshed market system would never have developed as it has—and our standard of living would not have risen so far above that of the Indians who foraged for bare subsistence just a couple of centuries ago.

Capitalism Replaces Barter

The existence of capital is one of the main distinctions between primitive life and today's comparatively luxurious living. Capital is nothing more than the excess of what is produced over what is consumed. A capitalist is a man who has consumed less than he has produced and uses the surplus to aid in further production.

The Indian was no capitalist. His living was bare and precarious. All the territory that became the United States never supported more than a million of his kind. He might occasionally exchange an extra breechclout for a pair of new moccasins, but he lacked the basic opportunity that Wall Street provides routinely—the chance to put his surplus production to work for him. Without this oppor-

tunity to utilize or exchange surplus production, he had little incentive to create it.

In our society we may exchange the product of our labor (represented by money) for shoes produced by someone else. We do this in the market place for shoes—namely, a shoe store. If such a market place did not exist, we should have to make our own shoes, unless we happened across a neighbor who made shoes and was willing to trade a pair for, say, a table that we could build.

The development of capitalism has lifted trade far above such crude and uncertain barter. Every day, quite automatically, we trade the product of our labors for entertainment, medicines, food, clothing and an endless number of items.

But trading an accumulation of property is not so easy because buyers are not so numerous. One restaurant is harder to sell than a few pieces of equipment, and a restaurant chain is harder to sell than a single restaurant. That is where Wall Street serves; it is the market place for big buyers and big sellers. If one buyer for a large piece of property isn't available, then a group of smaller buyers, unknown to each other, automatically comes together as corporate partners to take over its ownership.

Every business day more than 20,000 companies are in the process of changing hands. They are constantly "up for sale" in the form of paper known as shares of common stock.

A share of common stock represents part ownership in a company. If a company has issued 100,000



shares of common stock, and you own one hundred of these shares, you own one one-thousandth of that company. Thus, by investing relatively small amounts in several stocks, you can use your capital for rubber production, steel production, chemical production, or whatever other enterprise you think is worth backing. Wall Street is a place where a man can go into the coal business one day and the next day switch to electronics.

Shares of most of these 20,000 companies are traded by dealers all over the country in what is known as the over-the-counter market. Only 1,086 companies are now listed on the New York Stock Exchange, and a few more than 700 on the American Stock Exchange.

Tools and Employment

Wall Street does more than help build companies. Wall Street helps provide jobs. Each person employed today in United States industry has behind him an average of \$14,000 worth of tools. These tools may be in the form of machinery in an automobile factory, typewriters in an

office, or equipment in a laboratory—but it takes \$14,000 worth to create one job. Bear in mind that these tools represent the excess of production over consumption of your fellow-citizens, past and present. Bear in mind also that if this excess were only able to provide \$7,000 worth of facilities behind each job, the country's production, and therefore our standard of living, would be cut approximately in half.

When you create capital (save money), you start a chain reaction. Even if you yourself don't go to Wall Street, the savings bank and insurance company you use will. Additional production facilities will be financed, which will produce more jobs, which will help create additional capital, and so on in an ascending spiral of prosperity.

Although 36 per cent of our property rights are denied us (through taxation), most Americans still harbor the concept that man is born with the right to acquire and own property, and to exchange it or put it to work whenever and however he wishes. Wall Street is simply the agency that enables us to enjoy that right.

The Pilgrims Tried Communism

Most of us have forgotten that when the Pilgrim Fathers landed on the shores of Massachusetts they established a communist system. Out of their common product and storehouse they set up a system of rationing, though it came to "but a quarter of a pound of bread a day to each person." Even when harvest came, "it arose to but a little." A vicious circle seemed to set in. The people complained that they were too weak from want of food to tend the crops as they should. Deeply religious though they were, they took to stealing from each other. "So as it well appeared," writes Governor Bradford in his history of the Plymouth Bay Colony, "that famine must still insue the next year allso, if not some way prevented."

So the colonists, he continues, "begane to thinke how they might raise as much corne as they could, and obtaine a beter crope than they had done, that they might not still thus languish in miserie. At length [in 1623] after much debate of things, the Gov. (with the advise of the cheefest amongst them) gave way that they should set corne every man for his owne perticuler, and in that regard trust to them selves. . . . And so assigned to every family a parcell of land. . . .

"This had very good success; for it made all hands very industrious, so as much more corne was planted than other waise would have bene by any means the Gov. or any other could use . . . and gave farr better contente.

"The women now wente willingly into feild, and tooke their litle-ons with them to set corne, which

before would aledg weakness, and inability; whom to have compelled would have bene thought great tiranie and oppression.

"The experience that was had in this commone course and condition, tried sundrie years, and that amongst godly and sober men, may well evince the vanitie of that conceite of Plato and other ancients, applauded by some of later times;—that the taking away of propertie, and bringing in communitie into a comone wealth, would make them happy and flourishing; as if they were wiser than God. For this communitie (so farr as it was) was found to breed much confusion and discontent, and retard much employment. . .

"For the yong-men that were most able and fitte for labour and service did repine that they should spend their time and streingth to worke for other mens wives and children, with out any recompense. The strong, or man of parts, had no more in devisiion of victails and cloaths, than he that was weake and not able to doe a quarter the other could; this was thought injustestice. . .

"By this time harvest was come, and instead of famine, now God gave them plentie. . . And the effect of their particuler [private] planting was well seene, for all had, one way and other, pretty well to bring the year aboute, and some of the abler sorte and more industrious had to spare, and sell to others, so as any generall wante or famine hath not been amongst them to this day."

The moral is too obvious to need elaboration.

HENRY HAZLITT, *Newsweek*, June 27, 1949

Why the President Said No

[Grover Cleveland, February 16, 1887]

I RETURN WITHOUT MY APPROVAL House bill No. 10203, entitled "An act to enable the Commissioner of Agriculture to make a special distribution of seeds in the drought-stricken counties of Texas, and making an appropriation [of \$10,000] therefor."

It is represented that a long-continued and extensive drought has existed in certain portions of the State of Texas, resulting in a failure of crops and consequent distress and destitution.

Though there has been some difference in statements concerning the extent of the people's needs in the localities thus affected, there seems to be no doubt that there has existed a condition calling for relief; and I am willing to believe that, notwithstanding the aid already furnished, a donation of seed grain to the farmers located in this region, to enable them to put in new crops, would serve to avert a continuance or return of an unfortunate blight.

And yet I feel obliged to withhold my approval of the plan, as proposed by this bill, to indulge a benevolent and charitable sentiment through the appropriation of public funds for that purpose.

I can find no warrant for such an appropriation in the Constitution, and I do not believe that the power and duty of the General Government ought to be extended to the relief of individual suffering which is in no manner properly related to the public service or benefit. A prevalent tendency to disregard the limited mission of this power and duty should, I think, be steadfastly resisted, to the end that the lesson should be constantly enforced that **though the people support the Government the Government should not support the people.** [Emphasis added.]

The friendliness and charity of our countrymen can always be relied upon to relieve their fellow-citizens in misfortune. This has been repeatedly and quite lately demonstrated. Federal aid in such cases encourages the expectation of paternal care on the part of the Government and weakens the sturdiness of our national character, while it prevents the indulgence among our people of that kindly sentiment and conduct which strengthens the bonds of a common brotherhood.

(Reprints of this statement are available from the Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y. Single copy free, one dollar per hundred.)

The Right *Not* to Belong

By JAMES L. DONNELLY

Recently a small industry in the Chicago area, after bargaining at some length with the representatives of a certain trade union, reached an accord on wage increases, changed working conditions, etc., which represented substantial economic gains for the members of the union. When in the course of their negotiations the question of a union shop agreement was reached, the labor spokesman offered to surrender all the economic gains that had been secured at the bargaining table up until that time if the firm would sign a union shop agreement. In other words, he offered to take bread and butter off the tables of the workers and their families in trade for what the professional union spokesman called union security.

What he was really looking for was security for himself and the other union officials because, under the union security agreement, the workers are all obliged to belong to the union. Generally, the agreement calls for a check-off arrangement under which all the dues are collected from the employees by the employer and turned over to the unions. The result of the failure of the employer to agree to this union demand was a ten-months' strike in the small industry. When the strike was over, the number of employees had been reduced from two hundred to sixty. All concerned had lost extensive income. The workers and the employer had been seriously damaged, and the community had been hurt by reduced payrolls.

Campaign against State Laws

To help prevent such situations, eighteen states have now enacted "right-to-work" laws which, in effect, provide that it is not necessary for an individual to join a labor union in order to hold a job. Labor union spokesmen are engaged in an aggressive campaign to have these laws repealed and to prevent the enactment of similar legislation in other states. They maintain that these laws interfere with the operation of the so-called union maintenance or union security agreements which, in effect, mean that a person must belong to a union in order to work. These agreements are, for all practical purposes, the same as the closed shop.

Some labor spokesmen who are also Catholic laymen have made statements in which they have quoted extensively from the Pope's Encyclical Letters on Labor and from the pronouncements of

A prominent Catholic layman analyzes compulsory unionism and the position of his Church on right-to-work laws.

individual clergymen upon the right-to-work laws issue, and then reached the conclusion that the Catholic Church is in opposition to these laws.

His Eminence Samuel Cardinal Stritch spoke of the misapplication of the Papal Encyclical Letters in a recent address before the Council of Business and Professional Men of Chicago. He said: "Unfortunately, some have distorted the meaning of these Encyclicals by quoting certain parts of them and passing over in silence other parts. To know these Encyclicals you must study them as a whole, and then you will see the grandeur of the Christian Social Order which they describe."

In the first place, the Church has never formally expressed itself in opposition to right-to-work laws, according to my understanding. On the other hand, Rev. Edward A. Keller in his work entitled *Christianity and American Capitalism*, on page 68, reproduces the following excerpt from the Encyclical Letters of Pope Pius XII:

... Pope Pius XII criticizes labor monopoly and apparently also the closed shop, as dangerous to the individual worker's personal rights, liberty and conscience:

"Consciences are today also afflicted by other oppressions. . . . Again, access to employment or to places of labor is made to depend upon registration in certain parties or in certain organizations which trace their origin to the labor market.

"Such discriminations are indicative of a wrong concept of the proper function of labor unions and of their essential purpose, which is the protection of the interests of the wage earner within modern society, which has become more and more anonymous and collectivist."

In the second place, while some Catholic clergymen have criticized these right-to-work laws, other Catholic clergymen have expressed approval of them.

A statement criticizing right-to-work legislation, which has been given wide circulation by labor spokesmen, was made by Rev. William J. Kelley, O.M.I., L.L.D., a lecturer at Catholic University, Washington, D. C. It appeared in the *Machinist*, official publication of the International Association of Machinists. Father Kelley reaches the conclusion that these laws are "immoral according to Catholic Social teachings." His reasoning is substantially as follows:

That a workman has the natural right of association which includes specifically the right to belong

to a labor union; that so-called union maintenance or union security agreements are essential to the fulfillment of that natural right and that, therefore, right-to-work laws are "immoral" since they prevent the workman from utilizing the necessary means to accomplish a natural right.

Only a brief review of the realities of labor union practice is necessary to show the weakness in Reverend Kelley's conclusions. In the first place, his statement that union agreements are necessary in order for the workman to make secure his natural right to join a labor union is not supported by the facts. There are innumerable instances where men and women are members of unions which have had successful relations with their employers and which do not have so-called maintenance or security arrangements or closed-shop agreements.

In the second place, the right of a workman to belong to a labor union necessarily entails the right *not* to belong to a union. If he did not have such right *not* to belong, then the right to belong is not a right, but a *duty*. I do not believe that even Reverend Kelley would maintain that the workingman has a moral *duty* to belong to a union.

Other Issues: Communism, Politics

There are many sound considerations why a workingman should not be obliged to join and support a union against his will. For instance, some labor unions have been known to be dominated by Communists.

The Most Reverend Sidney Mattheu Metzger, S.T.D., J.C.D., Bishop of the El Paso, Texas Diocese, forbade Catholic workingmen in his district to belong to a certain trade union because it was dominated by Communists. There is a right-to-work law in Texas. If that state had no such law, this mandate by Bishop Metzger would, in effect, be urging the workingmen who were employed in a plant where a union maintenance agreement existed to violate such agreement.

Moreover, it is a matter of common knowledge that most, if not all, labor organizations are engaged in political activities. Many of these unions spend huge sums of money in political activities which has been collected in the form of dues or special assessments from their members. These groups are usually outspoken and aggressive in their advocacy of certain candidates or of certain parties. They are highly partisan in their activities. Would Father Kelley maintain, for instance, that a man who happened to have certain political views should be obliged through a union maintenance contract to support a union which was using his dues to finance the advocacy of contrary political views?

Many unions engage in violence and other unlawful activities in order to gain their objectives. Should a Catholic workman be obliged to belong to and give financial aid to such unions? Of course not! Right-to-work laws, in fact, frequently serve as an effective means to protect the conscience of the Catholic workman—to protect him against membership in a union which is engaged in activities that are legally and morally wrong. The occurrence in the Chicago area, cited at the beginning of this article, is pertinent.

When the article by Father Kelley in the *Machinist* was circulated extensively throughout the country, I received a number of inquiries from friends, both Catholic and non-Catholic, expressing surprise that the Catholic Church had gone on record formally or officially on an issue of this kind. According to my understanding, the Church had not done so, as indicated above. However, the reaction of many persons, Catholic and non-Catholic, to Father Kelley's article does suggest the propriety of members of the clergy, when they undertake to express themselves on economic questions, making it clear that they are speaking their own individual views and not necessarily those of the Church—unless, of course, the announced policy of the Church upon the economic question involved is unequivocally clear.

Ready-Made Labor Party

The history of the past two Democratic conventions would seem to indicate that there is as much possibility that it will be the reactionary elements, and not the northern liberal-labor bloc, that will be forced out of the Democratic Party. If this becomes the case, there will be little need for the trade unions to establish a new political party, for the Democratic Party would then be based predominantly upon the strength of the organized labor movement.

ROY HELFGOTT, "Labor and the Democratic Party—Which Will Absorb the Other?" the *Socialist Call*, April 1955

Admiral Moreell: Recommissioned

By REV. EDMUND A. OPITZ

The first time I met Admiral Ben Moreell he was wearing the regulation Class IV uniform—slacks, lumberjacket and cap. We were fellow-participants in a weekend retreat held at a Y camp in Iowa, and I had a good opportunity to see the man in action. Along with about two billion other people, I had heard about the incredible exploits of the Admiral and his Navy Construction Battalions, the Seabees, during World War Two. For five years he bossed the largest and most fabulous construction program the world has ever seen. After the war I encountered various speeches delivered by Admiral Moreell, in which he dealt with such subjects as overextended government, the moral law, freedom and religion. I got the impression that he must be quite a fellow, with talent spreading out in several directions. He can construct an argument just as solid and seaworthy as anything he built during the war.

The Admiral is a big, burly man, built like the proverbial brick shipyard. He played fullback in college more than a generation ago, and captained the track team. The years may have slowed down his speed somewhat, but he looks as though he'd still be a formidable man on the defense if a ball carrier came anywhere within reach. He is somewhat above average height, with broad shoulders, square jaw and a way of carrying himself that conveys the impression that he is bigger than he actually is. As the old saying has it, he's rigged square.

Engineer and Writer

What's more important, his interior lines of communication are in excellent shape. From his early school days, he has always been a voracious reader, and studies came easy to him. He took his degree in engineering at Washington University, St. Louis, and found time to work on the outside and also to star in athletics. After his graduation in 1913, Moreell was employed as Designing Engineer, and as Resident Engineer on construction projects, by the City of St. Louis. In 1917 he took a competitive examination for a commission in the regular Navy, received a brief indoctrination course at Annapolis, and was in. His first assignment in the Civil Engineer Corps was as Assistant



Admiral Ben Moreell

to the Public Works Officer at the New York Navy Yard.

He rose to become Chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks, a position which he held from December 1, 1937, and throughout World War Two until November 30, 1945, when he was appointed Chief of the Material Division of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, to coordinate all material procurement of the Navy.

In 1944, at the age of 51, he became the Navy's youngest Vice Admiral. Two and a half years later, after twenty-nine years in the Navy, he became the first officer not a graduate of Annapolis to hold the four-star rank of Admiral. In 1947 he became Chairman of the Board of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation, a position which he still holds.

Moreell has always put heavy demands on his energy, and he has the physique to respond to these demands. "If you can't find enough work to keep you busy," he once told a friend, "you can always write a book." In 1929 he wrote *Standards of Design for Concrete*, called one of the most outstanding and most widely accepted treatises on concrete both in this country and abroad. It is definitely not a book for a "do it yourself" fanatic who wants to pour himself a new garage floor. During the nineteen twenties and thirties he prepared many technical papers on various phases of engineering and construction which were so complicated, he says now, that not even he understood them!

This is part of the background which Ben Moreell brings to his present business, intellectual and social activities. He is a naval engineer who is now one of the nation's top-flight industrialists. Among industrialists, he is one of the most vigorous and articulate spokesmen for free capitalistic enterprise. In addition, Ben Moreell is a prominent Christian Layman in Pittsburgh's Calvary Church,

and a prime mover in the well-known "Pittsburgh Experiment" which brings religion into the market places and social clubs of that city. Montesquieu remarked that the English had progressed furthest of all people in "piety, commerce and freedom." Each of these themes has a facet in the Admiral's character, and they are comprehended in a philosophy which views them in proper perspective.

A number of the Admiral's recent speeches have been reprinted in pamphlet form. Their titles reveal some of the issues which are uppermost in his mind: "Government and the Moral Law," "To Communism . . . via Majority Vote," "Engineers . . . Scientific and Social," and "Religion in American Life." These are essays in political, ethical and religious theory, and with them the Admiral invades a domain customarily staked out by the intellectuals for themselves. In one sense he is but an amateur in these fields, but from another and more important angle he has a real advantage over the professionals, the self-styled intellectuals.

An engineer and builder, or for that matter, an artist or a craftsman, works in material that is only partly malleable to his mind and will. His experience is with refractory substances. In order to carry out his design he must make some degree of accommodation to the nature of the material. He has to learn that there are some things he cannot do with concrete, for instance, which he can do with wood, and that steel is indicated in other situations. Thus, the builder and the artist is limited by the nature of his medium; it keeps him within the norms of realism and physical law.

There are no such natural and inevitable inhibitors to help the intellectual keep his feet on the ground and his head on his shoulders. That is why so many productions in such realms as philosophy and political theory are pure moonshine. The cloistered word artist time and again has spun a gossamer fantasy which, while it may charm thousands for a time, has only the remotest relation to any verifiable reality. The only point of reference is that of the dreamer, the unconscious mind. Thought is a relatively nonresistant medium, which is why the lucubrations of the court philosopher are often so difficult to distinguish from the vaporings of the court jester.

Difficulties of this sort have always beset intellectuals, and the profounder minds have found ways of coping with them. One important way is full, free and constant debate over real issues. But in this respect, the intellectual life of our time is virtually dead. The watchword among intellectuals in nearly all realms is "bi-partisanship," which means in practice, "let's all go along with the consensus." No fires have been started lately by rubbing two intellectuals together, a favored method of warming things up among the scholastics of the Middle Ages. From time to time a virile intellectual ferment has come to the surface of American life, especially in political affairs. But there

is little of it in evidence today. The present crop of intellectuals who are entrenched in most of our opinion-forming media—in our educational system, in editorial offices, in the pulpit, on the polite lecture platform and elsewhere—regard dissent as *lese majesté*. Laboring under this self-imposed handicap, the self-anointed intellectuals must appear as bigger fools than they actually are.

Encounter with Ed Murrow

So much for the background and stance. The important question is: where does the Admiral come out? An encounter between Ben Moreell and Ed Murrow, the well-known entertainer, furnishes part of the answer. Mr. Murrow has a radio program which features the personal credos of various people currently in the public eye. Admiral Moreell was asked to contribute a statement of his personal beliefs. He complied, and the highlights of his credo run like this:

"I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and earth.

"I believe that God made each of us after His image, but each of us different from every other one . . . that He had a purpose in designing us so . . . that each person is a distinct individual who was intended to be free to find his place in the scheme of things as determined by his own God-given abilities and his own freedom of choice . . . that any effort to equalize the social and economic status of all individuals by the coercive power of government is a contradiction of Nature's laws and can be achieved only by destroying individual freedom.

"I believe that . . . human behavior is vitally affected by our understanding of God's moral code . . . Therefore, no study of economics is adequate unless it takes into account the effects of moral forces.

"I believe that if a person uses his freedom in such a manner as to restrict or destroy the freedom of others, that person's freedom should be restrained to the extent necessary to prevent such abuse.

"I believe that the function of government is to exercise restraint on persons who would do bodily harm to any other person, or cheat him, or defame him, or use force against him in any manner. I believe we must have adequate laws against fraud, coercion and monopoly, because those laws are aimed solely at the person who wants to destroy the freedom of others. But such laws are far different from laws which confer upon government dictatorial powers to force people to 'do good'—as defined by political administrators.

"I believe that the greatest error of our times is that we have given to political rulers the coercive power to make us conform to *their* idea of what is good for *us*.

"I believe that unless each one of us rekindles

his faith in individual freedom and in individual moral responsibility to his God and to his neighbor, we will surely lose all that is precious in our way of living."

This credo did not appear on the Ed Murrow program because, as the Murrow office informed Admiral Moreell, it was more a philosophy of government than a statement of personal philosophy. The Admiral replied: "To me, the greatest issue of our times is the restriction of individual liberty by means of coercive force. This issue permeates all fields of human activity and effects our moral, social and economic structure." The Murrow office did not see it this way, ruling that the Admiral's statement was too heretical to appear on Ed's program.

During his twenty-nine years of naval service, Admiral Moreell saw government from a vantage point ordinarily denied the political theorist. Out of his experiences he has framed a rule of political action which is probably one of the few axioms available to the political scientist. Moreell's Law is as follows: "*The morality of political action is in inverse ratio to the square of the distance between the place where the money is collected and the place where it is spent.*" The only point of debate about this axiom is whether it might not be more accurate to say "the cube of the distance."

On Freedom and Religion

It is evident that the Admiral's concern for individual freedom and limited government is inseparable from his religious beliefs. Addressing the Layman's Committee on Religion in American Life he said, "The American revolutionary idea was founded on a new application of certain concepts which were part of the religion of Christendom. Basic to all others was the concept that God rules the universe, with its corollary, that all men are creatures of God. It follows that if men are creatures of God, each man is sovereign in his relations with his fellow-men, and, therefore, has worth and dignity. The concept of individual sovereignty gave birth to the idea of limited government. That is, the concept of limited government may be likened to the bottom rung of a ladder, the rung above is the concept of individual sovereignty and above all is the God concept."

In a recent speech at the Carnegie Institute of Technology, he pictured the religious problem in engineering terms. "Here, then, is the problem in engineering terms: There is a reservoir of Power, infinite in extent, the Power which we call God. How can man tap this reservoir, in order to develop his own God-like qualities, that is to say, to build his individual character. For it is only by building his character, by learning God's laws and conforming to them, that man can fulfill his destiny."

A public figure who openly commits himself

along these lines sets himself a hard standard to live by. If his integrity is less than complete, if the pious statements are largely for public consumption—or even only appear to be so—the fact cannot escape the man's associates and be reflected in their morale. Ben Moreell passes this test with ease. The morale of his wartime outfit, the Seabees, is generally agreed to have been the highest of any branch of the service. The Seabee definition of morale is a classic: "Morale is when your hands and feet keep on working when your head says it can't be done."

Morale in Business

Since coming into industry he has applied his proven genius for human relations to the problems of morale facing business. "I have always held," he says, "that the desirable traits of any organization—loyalty, devotion, energy, persistence and high morale permeate downward from the top. They do not rise from the bottom. By that I mean that the 'tempo' of an organization is established at the top and all others take their cue from that source."

Admiral Moreell has received many coveted decorations from our own and other governments, numerous honorary degrees, is a member of many honorary societies, and currently is the Chairman of the Task Force on Water Resources and Power of the Hoover Commission. But many honors have not affected him, and he remains a humble, sincere person, with a gift of humor and an interest in people.

There is a rising tide in the religious life of our time. It is not always firmly grounded theologically, as many theologians have been overeager to point out, but it is an index of spiritual hunger. One manifestation of it is the Pittsburgh Experiment already mentioned. "This city of ours," says Moreell in connection with this operation, "could be such a leader as other cities might follow. It could set a moral tone in industry which corporations, cities and even the whole nation would have to heed. If we were to find [in faith] the clue to an answer to today's problems, the whole world would listen."

This renewed interest in religion has not yet assumed definite shape. It needs to be informed by a leadership which understands the need for personal fulfillment by orientation toward God, a relationship which then issues in true communion between the individual and his fellows; a leadership which can then translate these terms into the language of political liberty, limited government, and freedom of enterprise in the market place, classroom, editorial office and pulpit. Perhaps by the time the professionals in religion get around to establishing a beachhead along these lines they will find, as the Marines discovered during the war, that a certain ex-Seabee had got there first.

The UN Congratulates Itself

By ANTHONY T. BOUSCAREN

The UN's tenth birthday party was all sweetness and light—though a few realistic speakers had to be curbed to spare sensitive Soviet feelings.

The "peace is bustin' out all over" fraternity had itself quite a time in San Francisco during the month of June. The United Nations, on its tenth anniversary, was patting itself on the back for "keeping the peace" and "easing world tensions." The *Daily Worker* correspondent cooed, "How festive San Francisco is with the evidence that the ice of the cold war is cracking." Molotov was the genial host at cocktail and luncheon parties in suburban Hillsborough; Harry Bridges led a delegation of three accredited "columnists" from the organ of the ILWU, the *Dispatcher*; party-liners Linus Pauling and Frank Weymouth organized a caravan of one hundred persons to San Francisco, called "Everybody's Committee to Outlaw War."

Everyone began to feel more peaceful in direct ratio to the quarts of champagne consumed. Nehru sent his best wishes, just after he had "left part of my heart behind" in Moscow and praised Krushchev as a "champion of peace." The only flies in the UN ointment were some refugees from Baltic countries (who formed a picket line to harass the peaceful Molotov), and some peaceful Soviet MIGs which shot down an American flying boat in the Bering Strait area.

Inasmuch as the UN is open only to "peace-loving nations," South Korea, Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Japan, Austria, Germany and some others were not represented. One shudders to think what Syngman Rhee would have said, even with Eelco van Kleffens trying to gavel him down.

Dr. van Kleffens was the presiding officer, in the absence of Alger Hiss, who presided in 1945. It was the general consensus, however, that van Kleffens deported himself in such a way as to make Hiss feel proud of his successor. He had decided that things would be more harmonious at the UN jamboree if everybody refrained from criticizing everybody else (it has often been said that the League of Nations would have succeeded if Abyssinia had not said such awful things about Italy, and China the same about Japan). What van Kleffens failed to explain, however, was that preserving harmony meant that nobody should

(or could) criticize the Soviet Union. This lesson was learned somewhat painfully by the Syrian and Cuban delegates, who had the temerity to mention slave labor camps and aggression. Molotov, on the other hand, repeatedly insulted the representatives of the Republic of China (George Yeh and T. F. Tsiang) while the presiding officer watched impassively.

Ruled out of Order

The following interchange between Dr. Portuondo, who spoke for Cuba, Carlos Romulo of the Philippines and Dr. van Kleffens rather typifies the way the UN operates to safeguard the prestige of the USSR, while making it impossible for anti-communism to get a hearing:

Portuondo: "... The Soviet Union has occupied and enslaved Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia against all right and reason—unless might is right. Against their peoples' will and with the assistance of resolute minorities well trained for the purpose, it has subjected to its rule many States . . ."

Van Kleffens: "May I request the honorable representative kindly refrain from what amounts to passing judgments on the acts of any individual member State."

Portuondo: "I am not in agreement that the president tell me what I have to say here."

Van Kleffens: "To do that is not the purpose for which we are meeting here."

Romulo: "Mr. Chairman, yesterday you stopped the delegate from Syria. He took up only one controversial issue—colonialism. The delegate of Soviet Russia took up several controversial issues, and you . . ."

Van Kleffens: "That is something completely different from what the honorable representative of Cuba is trying to do when he passes judgment on acts of one State he singles out and on developments within other individual States."

Romulo: "The Philippine delegation protests against . . ."

Van Kleffens: "It is profoundly disagreeable to me . . . but I must tell the honorable speaker, with



every respect, that I must rule him out of order."

Portuondo: "Mr. President, when the delegation of Cuba received the invitation to speak to this assembly, in no way were we told that there were going to be later rules set down by the president telling us delegates representing sovereign States how to speak and what to say. Mr. Molotov spoke of all the problems, present, future, and past. He has referred specifically to one member of this assembly—to the Republic of China—saying that it had no right to be seated with us here, and, Mr. President, you did not call him out of order. He painted a picture for us where he appeared with Picasso's dove of peace in one hand and the other nations as the aggressors, and that is not true to the facts. That is why I felt that I had a right to state the truth here, because the voice of those subjected and enslaved people should be raised here by someone. . . . But sir, I shall bow to the ruling of the chair . . ."

As usually is the case at UN get-togethers, the most realistic and hard-hitting address was made by the Chinese Nationalist delegation, but its pleas against appeasement fell on the same deaf ears as did those of the courageous Cuban. The Nationalists, the Philippines, Thailand, Greece, Turkey, and many of the Latin American delegations (not to mention the non-UN world) must have joined large numbers of Americans in registering amazement at the usually amazing Harry S. Truman, of Independence, Missouri, who was invited to say a few words. After pleading for all and sundry to return to the "spirit of 1945," Mr. Truman informed the assemblage that, if it were not for the UN, "anarchy would reign." This profound observation caused historians to perk up their ears and revise earlier theories of non-UN periods of history.

It is now clear to all that from the time of the cave man to the year 1945 there was anarchy. But since 1945 we have had peace, harmony and world order (except for war in Greece, 1947-1949; China, 1945-1949; southeast Asia, 1945 to the present time; Korea, 1950-1953; Tibet, 1951; and the shooting down of fifteen American planes by communist planes at times other than the Korean War). All that has happened in this blissful period since

1945 has been a gain of seven million square miles of territory by the Soviet empire, together with 600 millions in population. There have been only 150,000 American casualties, and a ridiculously small number of American POWs were murdered by the Communists in Korea—six thousand.

Still Islands to Give Away

Most important of all, the UN is still a going concern, and we still have the communist nations at the conference table where we can give them the northern halves of countries (complete with neutral nation commissions) and some of the innumerable small islands that dot the Pacific, Atlantic and Arctic. As one observer put it: "So long as there are islands to give away, we can keep the peace."

Far more important to the cause of human freedom than the UN celebration in San Francisco was the much less publicized Assembly of Captive Nations, which convened in Carnegie Hall, New York City, June 19. The Most Reverend Cuthbert O'Gara, exiled Bishop of Yuanling, China, told representatives of fourteen nations: "During my imprisonment [in Communist China] I was told of the inevitable struggle between atheistic communism and Christian belief, and that the primary goal of the Communists was the liberation of America. I shall believe in coexistence only when missionaries are invited to return to China and re-engage in the work of religion and culture as friends of the Chinese people and not as slandered enemies; only when all Americans are released from prison, when our fliers are taken out of bondage, when the prison gates of Europe open."

None of the high-pressure public relations and official approbation attendant on the UN meeting in San Francisco can derogate from the fact that freedom is fast dying on this earth, while the leading Western powers vainly pursue the will o' the wisp of coexistence at a Big Four Conference where "success" can only mean the dismemberment of another free people, so that we may have the continued luxury of membership in an organization whose obsession seems to be to assuage hurt sensibilities in the communist world.

This Is What They Said

I have told many correspondents who have written me on this subject that I doubt very much if anyone serving in the UN ever goes to a meeting without a prayer in his heart.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, "My Day," July 29, 1952

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

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

British Labor Tries a New Tack

By REGINALD JEBB

The industrial economy and the trade unions of England are endangered by a small but powerful group now testing its Marxian strike tactics.

London

In the last few months, experimental strikes pointing to a new trend in British labor union tactics have made their appearance. These strikes suggest strongly that the methods of communism, which the leaders belatedly tried to eradicate from unionism, have left their mark on the rank and file of labor.

The recent strike of the Electrical Trades Union and the Amalgamated Engineering Union, which resulted in the closing down of all London newspapers for nearly a month, gave a clear indication of what is in the wind. The particular characteristic of this strike was that it was engineered by two small unions with a total membership of not over 800, but they were in position to put over 20,000 workers out of jobs. The advertised purpose of the strike was, of course, to secure higher wages. But, as the Newspaper Proprietors Association pointed out, these strikers were already being paid higher wages than many others doing similar work.

What was the object of this maneuver on the part of the engineers and electricians? The answer to that question can almost certainly be found in the fact that these groups were controlled by Communists. Communists in British industry are not numerous. It is their energy and perseverance—not their numbers—that get them into positions of control in the unions. This experiment was undertaken to find out whether a minute minority could—trusting to the solidarity of trade-unionism—bring an industry to a standstill, and so pave the way to more extensive slowing down of production, and, in the end, to political chaos.

In this instance the main plot failed. Support from the printers was short-lived, and they brought pressure to bear on the strikers to return to work. But there had been an appearance of success—no London newspapers for a month and, at the end, a promise to negotiate a new wage scheme. This was enough to encourage others to follow the example. But here it is important to make clear that the new experimenters were not necessarily Communist-led nor their objectives those of the Communist Party. The trouble is that so often in perfectly legitimate disputes a communist element insinuates itself into the leadership and influences action for its own ends.

But whatever their leadership and intentions, groups of workers showed a readiness to take ad-

vantage of the new tactics. The tugboat men on the Mersey (a section of the big Transport and General Workers Union) struck for seven days on the question of a shorter working week and higher overtime payments, thus putting out of work about a third of the Liverpool dockers. Then there was the Yorkshire coal-pit strike. This was a more complicated dispute than those of the tugboat men and the newspapermen. It was concerned with the rates of allowances paid to "fillers," that is to say, the men loading coal onto the conveyor belt. But the pattern of the strike was the same as that of the other two. Some 2,500 at Markham Main Colliery struck with the object of regularizing and in some cases increasing the allowances. They persuaded the Doncaster, and then the majority of the other Yorkshire, pits to come out in sympathy, with the result that over 60,000 miners were soon idle. In other words, they depended on the "loyalty" of their fellow-miners to win their battle for them. This was a particularly interesting example of the



—Time and Tide, London, June 4, 1955

new tactic, because the causes of the grievance were already being dealt with by the Coal Board when the strike began, so that the whole maneuver of the Markham miners looks more like the testing of a plan than a genuine struggle for fairer conditions of pay. It was not supported by the National Union of Miners.

Dock and Railway Strikes

The dockers' latest strike was also somewhat complicated. In this instance the basic quarrel was between two unions, the National Amalgamated Stevedores' and Dockers' Union (NASD) and the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU). In the fall of last year the former union had "poached" a number of the latter's members, and on this account had been suspended from membership of the Trades Union Congress (TUC). The general secretary of the TGWU summed up the strike as one not against working conditions or rates of pay but for the purpose of compelling the employers and the other unions on the national joint council for the port transport industry to accord the NASD recognition, so that they could negotiate on behalf of their members. It was a challenge to the trade union movement as a whole.

Then came the railway strike, the most formidable attempt yet made by a minority to get its way. This was confined to members of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engine Drivers and Firemen. Both the TUC and the National Union of Railwaymen (NUR) opposed it. The grievance was that the differential in pay between the engine drivers and railwaymen doing less responsible work was too small. The answer to this by the NUR was that there were men in their union holding just as responsible jobs—the signalmen, for example—and that if the engine drivers had a raise, there ought to be a raise for all the more responsible grades. So some seven-eighths of the railway traffic in Great Britain ceased, with the usual far-reaching consequences. At the time of writing, it is too soon to see what the final results of the strike will be; but it is a perfect example of the new tactic. A few thousand men in the transport industry have succeeded in disorganizing the life of a nation.

It would be a mistake to discount the importance of these experiments. They constitute a dangerous weapon which may be used in several ways, all subversive of the present conduct of industry. In its most dangerous form it might paralyze the whole industrial production of the country by being applied to one branch of it after another; even if this action were only temporarily successful, the over-all damage done both to production and the machinery of organized labor might be disastrous. For in almost every business there exists a small proportion of specialized workers, the removal of whose labor would bring the whole concern to a standstill.

Trade Unionism Endangered

Another danger is that it may set up such inter-union antagonism that the entire trade-unionist organization might be ruined. A third is that the loyalty of men working together in the same trade may be strained to the breaking point, and thus one of the strongest features of trade unionism would disappear. Any or all of these results would play into the hands of communism.

What is likely to happen? The TUC and many of the leaders of individual unions have seen the red light and are disposed to take action to prevent the rot spreading. But they are beset with difficulties. To oppose a strike because it is organized by a small section of workers would be to endanger the principle that underlies all strikes—the right of a man to withdraw his labor if he so chooses. On the other hand, to allow such strikes to wreck contracts entered into and to throw others out of work against their will would be to make an end of bargaining. Then, too, there is the difficulty of avoiding open conflict between rival unions. "Poaching" members, if it became common, might cause something like a civil war. But who is to decide who has been "poaching"?

There are many such problems to be solved, and it is not easy to see what the solution of them will be. Perhaps for a time an uneasy truce will be patched up, and an attempt made to keep the trade union machine running on the old lines. But will the Communists keep the truce?

Socialism via "Defense"

"The total number of government commercial and industrial-type facilities within the Department of Defense is impossible to estimate accurately; the total number probably exceeds 2,500. The government capital invested in these enterprises probably exceeds \$15,000,000,000." This is from the Hoover Commission's report on Business Enterprises, which goes on to list 47 categories of business activity in which the United States Defense Department is in direct competition with tax-paying private business.

My Retreat from Moscow

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

A well-known anti-Communist writer tells how twelve years in Russia changed him from a believer in the "great experiment" to a supporter of authentic liberalism.

I first went to Russia with my Russian-born wife in the summer of 1922 a convinced sympathizer with the Soviet regime, a devout fellow-traveler. Moscow was to me in prospect what Mecca is to the Moslem believer. At that time my wife shared my views and enthusiasms.

Twelve years later we left Moscow with completely changed views of Soviet communism in practice, with undying memories of cruelties inflicted on many Russians whom we knew and on uncounted millions whom we did not know. Instead of liberation we had found a tyranny far worse than that of the Tsars, measured by any such reasonable standard as numbers of executions and persons in concentration camps.

Instead of our original vision of workers liberated from "capitalist exploitation" and progressing to ever higher standards of living, we took with us memories of robots of an all-powerful State, a good deal more "ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed" than the "underprivileged" of the New Deal conception. Our original idea of the Communist Party as a dedicated elite had given way to what this party, in power, had degenerated into: a group of hard-faced men who had done exceedingly well out of the Revolution.

I was horrified on finding, when I returned to America in 1934, that a considerable number of American intellectuals looked on the Soviet Union as a progressive and humane society, a bulwark against war and fascism. My own earlier illusions should perhaps have given me more understanding and humility. Yet I could not help feeling that a good deal more evidence was available about the nature of Soviet rule than one could get in the first years of revolution and civil war. And the distant admirers of Stalin's empire in the thirties did seem most uncommonly resistant to this evidence.

The Making of a Fellow-Traveler

I became a fellow-traveler (my qualifications in this role may be examined by anyone with sufficient curiosity to look up my contributions, some of them signed with the pseudonym A. C. Freeman, in left-wing publications between 1919 and 1923) for two reasons, one positive, the other negative. The positive reason was the first World War.

This seemed to me at the time and still seems to

me one of the great tragedies of Western civilization. Millions of human beings slaughtered, maimed, gassed. And at the end of the ordeal not a world made safe for democracy, but a world all too receptive to violent totalitarian short cuts.

From my knowledge of history and international politics I could not share the prevalent American viewpoint at that time: that the war was a product of unique German villainy. "Four Minute Men," rushing about and selling Liberty Bonds to an accompaniment of such sentiments as "I'd compare the Huns to snakes; only it would be insulting the snakes," excited more ridicule than conviction in my mind. And I hardly knew whether to laugh or to weep when the city of Pittsburgh acquired the brief notoriety of a newspaper headline: "Pittsburgh Bans Beethoven."

Unable to accept the popular villain in the war picture, I created a villain of my own: capitalism. There was just enough truth in the theory that America's entrance into the war was influenced by munitions profits and war loans to the Allies to make it convincing to a young mind in search of an absolute, black-and-white explanation.

The war became, to me, a conspiracy of capitalists and governments controlled by capitalists against the masses of people in every country. In retrospect I can see that nine tenths of my sympathy for the Bolsheviks was because they took Russia out of the war and called on peoples everywhere to stop fighting and overthrow the governments which wanted to go on with the slaughter. At that time I had only a vague general knowledge of socialist theory, and my first serious study of Marx and Lenin was made in Russia.

The transition from anti-war feeling to political and economic radicalism was easier because most of the opposition to the war came from socialist and other left-wing quarters. In contrast to the second World War, involvement in which was sought by Roosevelt with a chorus of approval from voices of the Left, it was the well-to-do, by and large, who were most enthusiastic over America's first crusade.

It was my negative reaction to the war—confirmed by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, which made a mockery of President Wilson's relatively moderate Fourteen Points—that brought me into the fellow-traveler camp. There was also

another factor: lack of adequate training in political science and economics. In retrospect it seems to me almost incredible that I and others who reacted in the same way should have swallowed so easily the myth that there could be such a thing as a dictatorship of the proletariat or, indeed, that any dictatorship could lead to beneficent ends.

Equally amazing is the readiness with which I accepted the proposition that a socialist or communist economic order would be morally superior and practically more effective than one based on individualistic capitalism. Without wishing to repudiate my own responsibility for airily coming to some very mistaken conclusions, I think part of the explanation can be found in the deficiencies of my training in political science and economics.

Although I went to an excellent preparatory school and to one of the best small liberal arts colleges in the United States, I do not recall a single course that gave me any deep insight into the nature of political power and the necessity of keeping it under constant check and curb, if the freedom of individual was to survive. Nor did my instruction in economics leave me with any strong conviction about the necessity of individual property ownership, not only for the sake of efficient production, but for the sake of avoiding a concentration of State power, through nationalization, that would be a serious threat to political liberty.

In my formative years, 1910-1917, the American political and economic system was pretty much taken for granted. It was not challenged anywhere by any radically different system. And the whole intellectual trend, perhaps naturally, was in the direction of criticism and reform, with little impulse to affirm the fundamental truths of political and economic liberty.

My retreat from Moscow came in two phases, the first gradual and conditional, the second rapid and uncompromising. These attitudes were a response to the two distinct periods of Soviet development which I witnessed. First, from 1922 until 1929, there was the comparatively mild period of the so-called New Economic Policy, when the peasants were left in possession of their small holdings, and freedom of internal trade and small industry was permitted.

There was an atmosphere of recovery from the abyss of stark hunger, cold, disease and misery into which Russia had been plunged by seven years of World War, revolution, civil war and fantastic experiments in doing away with money and trying to provide for the needs of the people by means of an all-embracing system of State production, distribution and requisition—with the bullet of the Chekist secret policeman as the solution for the numerous problems which Marx and Lenin had failed to foresee.

Under the New Economic Policy with its economic liberalism, by Soviet standards, there was



also some freedom of expression. And terrorism, while it never ceased altogether, was much less than in the preceding and succeeding periods. Even under these comparatively favorable circumstances I learned enough about the realities of Soviet life to be cured of any pro-Soviet bias in my thinking.

My wife, because of her fluent Russian, was cured before I was. I recall one meeting at a Soviet office where a purge of employees with any taint of "bourgeois" origin was being carried out. My wife could detect the skulduggery, the persecution of the innocent that was going on and defiantly wrote in her notebook: "I am NOT a Communist" and passed it to me as an implied reproach and a declaration of faith.

There was no single incident that changed my attitude abruptly. What happened was a process of erosion, one comparatively small contact with reality after another shattering the illusions which I had brought with me to Moscow. Long trips to the villages were revealing as to what the Revolution had done to the peasant majority of the population.

In Russia, as in China, communist propaganda played up the role of "agrarian reform." The peasants, it was pointed out, had divided up among themselves the land of the former big estates. This was the truth, but far from the whole truth. During the civil war government requisitioning detachments took from the peasants at the point of the gun all their surplus produce. The natural result was that the peasants restricted output to

the barest minimum. The cities starved and the government, during the years of the New Economic Policy, gave up the requisitions.

But the peasants were swindled in other ways. The State industries set their prices very high; the prices which the State organizations paid the peasants for their grain and other foodstuffs were very low. No one could wander through the dusty roads of the villages or sit around huts for long chats in the evening and get the impression that the Soviet government was regarded by the peasants with any enthusiasm.

A view of a local Soviet "election" in the Kuban Cossack region, where resistance to communism had been strong during the civil war, was illuminating. Four of the toughest looking individuals in the gathering of peasants, each with a revolver strapped to his belt, stalked out and announced themselves as the committee in charge of proceedings. A list of names of candidates was read, and understandably there were no audible objections. But one carried away an unforgettable impression of an alien authority maintained almost literally at the point of the gun.

Another peasant grievance was inability to acquire land as absolute personal property. Under Soviet law the peasant family had the right to use land, the amount depending on the size of the family; but the title remained in the hands of the government. I still remember a peasant in an Ukrainian village who, when I suggested that the Soviet government was more tolerant than the Polish government in permitting the use of the Ukrainian language, promptly retorted:

"Yes, but you can't eat language. In Poland Ukrainian peasants can *buy land*."

Before I went to Russia I knew that the country was economically backward, compared with the United States and western Europe, and that it had taken a terrific beating during the revolution and the subsequent civil war. So I was neither surprised nor dismayed by the low standard of living.

But I took to Russia the romantic idea that the Communist Party consisted of a dedicated elite, a kind of proletarian samurai, which had earned the right to rule by selfless devotion to the ideal of building a classless society. And among the Communists, especially the veterans of the underground movement under the Tsars, there were men and women of this type. Without their fanatical devotion the Soviet regime would never have survived the test of civil war.

But along with these "just men," as impressive and sometimes terrible in their single-minded secular faith as some of the Jacobins of the French Revolution, the Communist Party, as I soon discovered, was overrun with unsavory careerists, who had no interest in party membership except the power and privileges which went with it.

During the years of the New Economic Policy,

Soviet communism observed some bounds and restraints. It was during the last years of my stay in Russia, especially from 1929 until 1933, that I saw unfolding before my eyes dramatic proof of Lord Acton's dictum: "All power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." During this period of the First Five Year Plan, everything was sacrificed to the goals of pushing ahead industrial development and forcing the peasants into collective farms, and the Soviet government systematically committed acts of mass savagery.

Molotov Denies Slave Labor

Slave labor became an accepted institution, a basic element in the Soviet economy. I was present at a Soviet Congress where Molotov, then Prime Minister (Stalin preferred to wield absolute power as General Secretary of the Communist Party) with characteristic mendacity denied the existence of forced labor in the Soviet Union. Foreign correspondents, he suggested, had freedom of movement and could report on the truth of this statement.

At the suggestion of my newspaper I promptly took up Mr. Molotov and set out for Karelia, a heavily wooded area in the northwestern part of Russia where forced labor was notoriously employed both in timber camps and in the building of the Baltic-White Sea Canal. Despite Molotov's assurances of "freedom of movement," I was curtly refused access to the concentration camp on Solovetsky Island, opposite Kem, in Karelia, and to any other place where forced labor might have been expected to be found. However, there was plenty of evidence that Karelia was largely on a slave labor basis.

The old cabman in the capital, Petrozavodsk, remarked that the country should no longer be called Karelia, but *katorga*, the Russian word for imprisonment at hard labor. On many railway sidings one could see freight cars packed with wretched human beings; men, women and children, given less care than cattle would receive in civilized countries and destined for slave labor camps. In the streets of Kem one could see groups of prisoners being marched under armed guard, some of them men of obvious intellectual distinction.

My wife and I made a tour of new Soviet industrial towns in the Urals. In Chelyabinsk, site of a new heavy tractor plant which turned out vast quantities of tanks during the war, I had occasion to rejoice in my wife's happy and unusual combination of an American passport with an idiomatic knowledge of Russian. While I carried on stilted and halting conversations with the managers and engineers, she circulated among the workers and soon discovered that many of them were not there of their own free will.

One worker had accidentally broken an unfamiliar machine. This was considered sabotage and

incurred a sentence of forced labor. A peasant had called out at a collective farm meeting that there was not enough to eat. He was pronounced a counter-revolutionary and sent to Chelyabinsk as a punishment. About this time one of the local communist bosses felt that my wife was learning things which were not on the official visitors' schedule. With a scowl he asked whether she was a Soviet citizen. When she cheerfully answered that she was an American, he had nothing more to say. I realized how little I would have learned if my interpreter *had* been a Soviet citizen.

I can pretty definitely place the time and location of the experience which made my retreat from Moscow final and irrevocable. It was a warm September afternoon in 1933, in an Ukrainian village named Cherkass, one of the worst sufferers in the famine that had taken millions of lives in the Ukraine and the North Caucasus in 1932-33. There had formerly been an ikon of Christ at the entrance to the village. A zealous local Communist had removed the face of the Savior. But the crown of thorns, with terribly appropriate symbolism, remained.

Cherkass had become a ghost village, with one house after another deserted, with weeds choking what had been gardens and fields. The secretary of the local Soviet said that of some two thousand inhabitants, more than six hundred had perished.

This famine of 1932-33 was unmistakably man-made. These millions of deaths could have been avoided, if the Soviet government had relaxed its requisitions and imported food from abroad, two actions which were certainly within its power.

Here, then, were three crimes against humanity so appalling that they seemed to cry out to the whole civilized world for condemnation: the establishment of an enormous slave labor system; the so-called liquidation of the kulaks as a class, which amounted to expropriation and exiling of a considerable group of peasants whose only crime was that they were a little less poor than their neighbors; and, as the climax, deliberate mass starvation. Somehow, for reasons I have never been able to understand, voices that are frequently raised in protest against infinitely smaller acts of inhumanity or injustice were strangely silent in the face of these outrages of a power-intoxicated dictatorship.

For me, however, the memories of my last years in Moscow were decisive in substituting what I consider genuine values for illusions. I went to Russia believing that I should witness the evolution of a great act of revolutionary liberation. I left convinced that the absolutist Soviet State is a power of darkness and evil with few parallels in history. And such subsequent developments as the fantastic purges of the thirties, the mass deportations under most inhuman conditions from Poland, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, the savage record of murder, rape and looting which the Red Army

wrote across eastern and central Europe all fitted in with the pattern with which I had become so familiar.

I put aside with finality the specious arguments with which revolutionary dictatorships are justified: the idea that an elite has the right to coerce the people for its own good, the idea that freedom can emerge from tyranny or that the end justifies the means. It is rather the means that determine the end. Murder is a habit with States even more than with individuals. And the idea of doing a little evil that good may come of it invariably ends in doing a great deal of evil with less and less prospect of any good emerging at the end of the process.

Faith in Conservatism Strengthened

Retreat from Moscow has led various individuals to various positions. Some have become root-and-branch opponents of collectivism in any form. Some have found asylum in the assurance of a dogmatic religious faith.

My own reaction to the profound and tragic experience of watching the development and the human and material results of political dictatorship and monopolistic State economic power has been a tremendously strengthened faith in certain traditional conservative and certain liberal values. Conservatism is sound, I believe, in its profound distrust of change for the sake of change, of doctrinaire utopian blueprints. Liberalism, in its authentic nineteenth-century form, is right in its resentment of State interference with the political, social and economic freedom of the individual.

With the Soviet Union as a background for observation, I believe extreme concentration of power, political and economic, is the supreme evil, from which all other evils flow. And I consider the free development of the individual, best assured by limited government based on checks and balances and on a competitive economic system based on private property, as the supreme social good.

Because communism has conquered a large part of the world and because it is inherently and incurably aggressive, seeking to conquer and dominate the remaining free countries by subversion, force and threat of force, Americans and other Western peoples face a dilemma in seeking to balance the equally valid claims of individual liberty and national security. But dilemmas can usually be resolved by the application of reason and common sense. I could sum up in these few words perhaps the most indelible impression which twelve years of life in the Soviet Union left on me:

"Beware of any man, any group of men who claim that, given absolute power, they can create an earthly paradise. Such fanatics are predestined to create the very close approximation to hell which one finds in totalitarian prisons and slave labor camps."

Your Post Office Department

By ROBERT S. GORDON

Our local post office recently blossomed out with a new sign. The sign refers to the "certified mail" service that was inaugurated on June sixth last. Bold as brass, the sign claims "proof of mailing and of receipt" through this new fifteen-cent service.

If anyone should know, then the Post Office should know that the fifteen-cent fee you pay to certify your letter does not entitle you to a receipt. If you must have a receipt, the price is twenty-two cents, in advance. Plus postage, of course.

And proof of mailing? You've been able to buy a mailing certificate for years. You still can. It costs three cents.

This isn't the first instance of—shall we call them peculiarities?—in our mail rates and charges. Your socialized postal system is honeycombed with similar incongruities. Here are a few from my own experience.

The postage on a nine-ounce parcel going across the country, according to the rate book, is thirty-two cents. But if you want to save both time and money, you can just mark it "first class," attach twenty-seven cents postage, and mail it. Your parcel will get to its destination quicker for less.

The Post Office Department offers a parcel post air service to foreign countries. The minimum weight, wherever the parcel may be going, is four ounces. Ask your postmaster for the rate on a four-ounce air parcel to Siam. He will look in his rate book and come up with a price of \$2.29 postage. That's for a parcel, remember. Parcels are supposed to travel more cheaply than first-class mail. But if you have a letter of that same weight (four ounces), and send it by air to Siam, the price is two dollars even.

A four-ounce package of printed matter, delivered anywhere within this country, costs four cents postage. Address it abroad, however—whether to Abyssinia or to Zululand or to any point between—and our Post Office will send it on its way, fully prepaid, for three and a half cents.

Here to There vs. There to Here

The Post Office plaintively claims it loses money on everything except regular first-class domestic letters. That may be true; but the divergence between the cost of sending a package from here to there, and the cost of sending the same package

Some prize examples of the absurdities of a system which is often held up as a model by advocates of bigger and better bureaucracy.

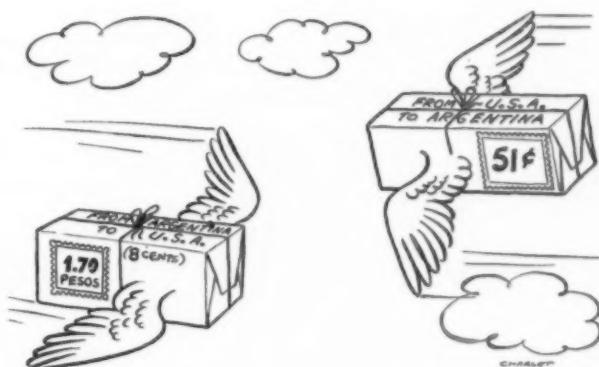
from there to here, is sometimes quite spectacular.

A Canadian can send a one-pound parcel from any office in Canada to any office in the United States for fourteen cents. It costs a U. S. citizen eighteen cents to mail a one-pound parcel from one U. S. post office to another address in the same town. And if you send a one-pound package from here to Canada, the lowest price in the rate book is forty-five cents.

I received some registered papers (printed matter) from Valencia, Spain, last June. The weight was twelve ounces. The Spanish postage, including registry, was 1.90 pesetas; roughly five and a half cents. If I have occasion to send that same identical batch of papers back to Spain, the postage and registration will cost 49.5 cents.

A heavy letter received on May 30 last from England weighed five ounces, and carried $7\frac{1}{2}$ postage (about eight and a half cents). The same letter from here to England, still not registered, requires twenty-four cents postage.

A fourteen-ounce registered parcel of printed matter from Argentina, received on June 17 last, carried postage totaling 1.70 pesos, or around eight cents. The U. S. Post Office will demand fifty-one cents postage for the same registered package going back to Argentina.



The Post Office's rules can be almost as ridiculous as its rates. Did you know that a registered letter must never show on its face the postmark of place of origin? The rules require that the stamps on a registered letter be cancelled by a device that omits both name of town and date of mailing. The town postmark is to be struck only on the back of the envelope, across the flap. The

purpose, I'm told, was to remind the postmaster to "seal" the envelope flap with the postmark, for additional safety.

Because printed matter is not entitled to the speedy service supposedly accorded first-class mail matter, and perhaps to make it difficult for postal patrons to check up on elapsed transit times, it is contrary to our postal regulations to show the date in the postmark on such mail. No other country in the world is so similarly self-conscious about its slow mail service.

According to the rules, if you absent-mindedly drop an unstamped letter in the mailbox, it will be returned to you for postage if your name and address appear on the envelope. If not, the postmaster must sit down and fill out and mail a form to the addressee, demanding the amount of postage due, before he is permitted to forward that letter. Presumably the addressee is not to be trusted to pay the amount due upon delivery of the letter. There is one exception to this rule. If your unstamped letter is destined for a foreign country, it will be delivered—unless your return address is on the envelope, in which case it will be returned for postage.

In the case of domestic mail, the addressee must pay postage in advance. But in the case of foreign mail, the addressee is not annoyed; the U. S. Post Office does not collect any postage at all—perhaps to promote international good will.

A Tip to Postmasters

A prize example of socialistic management concerns the salary scale of our fourth-class postmasters. For over a hundred years, those in charge of our smaller post offices were paid a proportion of the office receipts. In later years the proportion

rose to 100 per cent; but at least the offices could be said to pay their own way. All that was changed in 1944.

Beginning on July 1, 1944, various grades of fourth-class post offices were set up, for the purpose of determining fixed salaries for the postmasters. The salaries determined upon were (and are) always *more* than the post office receipts. This is also true of the seven lowest grades of third-class post offices.

As the amount of annual business increases in the various grades of post offices, so does the salary of the postmaster. But note this: in fifteen of the seventeen grades of fourth-class post offices, the salary of the postmaster goes up *faster* than the amount of business transacted. This leads to some weird results.

The second lowest grade of post office is the one with an annual business of from \$100 to \$150 annually. That means it takes in less than fifty cents a day, on an average, through sale of stamps, the rental of mail boxes, and all the other potential sources of postal income. The postmaster's salary is around a dollar a day.

Let's suppose that the postmaster buys a dollar's worth of stamps a day, seven days a week. That pushes the amount of annual business at his office up to over \$450. The pay of the postmaster thereupon jumps to around \$4.25 daily. And thus at the cost of one dollar per day, he has boosted his pay by \$3.25 a day, which isn't a bad investment.

And is he then "stuck" with \$365 worth of stamps per year? Not at all. It may be merely a coincidence, but there are concerns that buy quantities of unused stamps at a small discount.

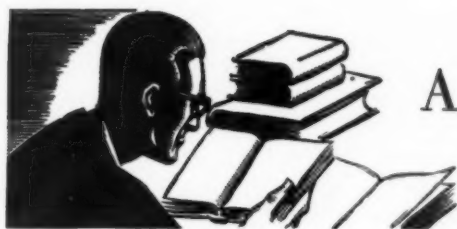
Postscript: the Socialists have long pointed to the United States Post Office as an ideal.

For Whimsical Ends

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

Hence the less government we have the better—the fewer laws, and the less confided power. The antidote to this abuse of formal government is the influence of private character, the growth of the individual; the appearance of the principal to supersede the proxy; the appearance of the wise man; of whom the existing government is, it must be owned, but a shabby imitation.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON, Essay, "Politics"



A Reviewer's Notebook

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The strangest phenomenon of the past year has been the concerted attack on individualism by those who call themselves the "new" conservatives. Dislike of marked individual variation crops up at odd moments in the writings of Russell Kirk, and it runs like a leitmotif through Clinton Rossiter's *Conservatism in America*. Individualists, if not individualism itself, bothered Russell Davenport, who devotes a good part of *The Dignity of Man* (338 pp., New York: Harper, \$4) to worrying about the need for social, as distinct from individual, initiative by private parties. And even so devoted an anti-collectivist as Friedrich A. Hayek, in *Individualism and Economic Order* (272 pp., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, \$5), has some tart things to say about the effect of Goethe's cult of originality on John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*.

For myself, though I instinctively shy away from outlandish dress and would walk a mile to get away from a practical joker in his cups, I think the "new" conservatives are doing their cause a great deal of harm by stressing the "primacy of the community" at every turn. It is not that I don't believe wholeheartedly in community. Every man, every family, has need of community; it is what gives human beings scope to live peaceful and fruitful lives. But the dismaying thing about any community, whether large, middling or small, is that it seldom realizes the huge vested interest it has in individual variation. As Leonard Read points out, only the wide and manifold differences in human talents, opportunities and desires enables any one of us to live decently and well; if we were all alike we would soon revert to caveman level.

Moreover, there is no danger whatsoever that the community, in America, will fall into neglect. When

a foreign-born observer — Peter Drucker is a good example—comes to these shores, what immediately impresses him is the transcendent role of the voluntary association in American life. There are leagues, lodges, clubs, societies and benevolent orders organized to carry out a million-and-one collective purposes. And between the large corporation and the union, the desires of big working communities are in scant danger of being overlooked. Indeed, the most deadening thing about American life at the moment is the overorganization of everything. Women join clubs to have fun or to get intellectual stimulation—and then drive themselves ragged in committee work. Golf becomes a five-hour clubman's ritual that yields less exercise—though considerably more exacerbation—than a half hour of tennis or twenty minutes in a swimming pool. Yet even in spite of the drive toward organization, which stresses the "primacy" of community, individualism, thank Heaven, still persists in America. It will take more than a Clinton Rossiter, more than a whole host of "new" conservatives, to kill it.

It was with the "new" conservatives and their possible effect on contemporary students in mind that I approached the beguiling task of writing a foreword to go with a thirty-year record of the Class of 1925, Yale University. Since it has a *Freeman* "message," I would like to print it here . . .

We were graduated into the middle of the 1920's, which, as I hear tell of it, was quite a decade. I have a theory about the lamented twenties, but before disclosing it—and its possible bearing on the Class of 1925—I want to pay my respects to some other people's theories.

The popular idea of the twenties

is that they were "roaring." It was allegedly a time of "conformity" (yes, they supposedly had it then, even without a big, bad Senator McCarthy to push the 'fraidy-cats into line). According to the notions now propagated in the most advanced intellectual circles, every second undergraduate in the twenties wanted to peddle bonds for a living, play golf to the complete exclusion of all other games, and keep up with a fair amount of what Lucius Beebe called Serious Drinking. Oddly enough, however, the twenties are also supposed to have been a rapscallion period of super-hyper-individualism of the kind that makes no sense. We were wild and irresponsible. We read the Terrible Mencken. We had no Social Conscience, no interest in the General Welfare clause of the Constitution. We were part of the Lost Generation.

As to the "conformity," it was undoubtedly there if you think of such superficialities as dress. It was a time in which the Yalies in the stands rose, as Westbrook Pegler (then a sports writer) put it, "as one raccoon." But beyond the high prevalence of raccoon skins, I can't for the life of me recall the Class of 1925 as fitting any of the stereotypes which are now almost universally invoked to explain our fledgling days. I don't even recall a Stutz Bearcat parked anywhere along Elm Street as we raced into Longley's for breakfast (which might, or might not, have been a toasted bun).

What I remember is a lot of individuals, some quiet, some raucous, who did a lot of different things according to personal bent and idiosyncrasy. Were we of the rah-rah vintage, as has been implied by a recent *Yale Daily News* chairman? Well, what was rah-rah about Eddie Bench, who played football as he

now skis, for the pure enjoyment of exercising his reflexes? Were we committed to the theory that one must die for Dear Old Rutgers, which is another cliché indulged by the same 1954 *Daily News* man? If so, how can the theory be stretched to cover Bill Bissell, who quit being a crewman because he felt more like loafing and writing unorthodox familiar essays? Were we committed to a single theory of literature? Well, I seem to remember a Yale *Lit* which simultaneously printed a spiritual descendant of Matthew Arnold or Alfred Lord Tennyson (Frank Ashburn) and also a devotee of the Celtic Renaissance, from Yeats to James Joyce (Bill Troy). I remember Ollie Judson's joyous antics and the grave concern of Burns Chalmers lest Professor Keller's anthropological approach to religion should encourage skepticism at the expense of faith. I remember lots of things, but mighty few stereotypes.

Usually, when a class reaches the point where a Fifteenth, or a Twenty-fifth, or Thirtieth, summing-up is deemed appropriate, a Gallup Poll statistical analysis is conceived to be in order. A Yale poll of the middle 1930's, for example, discovered it had an average of 2.31 children, each of which it spanked 11.5 times a year. I am glad to report that the Class of 1925 has resisted the temptation to cut living human beings up into fractions. It seems to me significant that a class which was graduated midway in the twenties should prefer to cite the wholly unfractionated brood of classmate Hi Bingham, which now stands at a lusty twelve (or is it thirteen?). As to what the years have done to us, that is hardly a matter for statistics either. If all had gone according to popular expectations, many of us would be spending the years of our middle age cutting up paper dolls in asylums maintained for those who Can't Take it Any More. Some of us were rich in 1929, poor as church mice in 1933, jolted into Total War before getting back on our feet, and hurled into an atomic "peace" at an age when it was theoretically too late to take up something new. But if this chills-and-fever treatment has produced a bunch of nervous wrecks, it is not immediately obvious.

The classmates whose trails I cross every now and again are still doing a lot of things according to personal bent and idiosyncrasy. Ben Spock—now Dr. Benjamin Spock—is America's greatest living authority on the care and feeding of babies. His college roommate, George Dyer, conducts something called the Dyer Institute of Interdisciplinary Studies, whatever they may be. Jack Durant, once a Wall Streeter, now writes zestfully and learnedly on sports for the leading magazines. Granville Whittlesey quit the briny deep (he once sailed as the chosen chronicler of the voyage of an experimental rotor ship) to become a lawyer. Nelson Hayes has become a novelist of repute. Frank Ashburn runs a boys' school. Ollie Judson has taken to the North Woods.

Tom Bergin has parlayed a knowledge of thirteen languages into the Mastership of Timothy Dwight College and has turned out to be an excellent administrator. Al Lindley, probably the healthiest man in North America, brought the sport of skiing to the United States long before he was killed in an airplane crash. Newbold Morris is known to millions as a Liberal politico who rose high but not quite high enough to don the mantle of "Butch" La Guardia as Mayor of New York City. The same Newbold Morris is also known to a few hundreds as a figure skater of incredible grace. (If you want to see something, drop in at the New York Skating Club's Iceland Rink some time and watch Newbold's long, lithe form move counterclockwise over the ice in a spirited *paso doble* with Sheila Muldowney as his partner.)

This list might be spun out beyond anyone's patience. I trust I have set down enough to establish some background for my own theory of the twenties. This theory came to me suddenly when I was once assigned to do an article comparing the novels of the twenties with the novels of the thirties. I started out with the vague idea that the twenties, in literature, would emerge as a rather purposeless period filled with the random activity of a bunch of wasters. The thirties, of course, would prove a purposeful period of socially conscious individuals doing their best to make up for the spiritual laxity of those who had Dug the Pit.

Strangely enough, the signals got completely crossed as I plunged into comparative reading. What impressed me with the novels of the twenties was the quality of dedicated will to be found in most of their heroes. The dedication, in a novel by F. Scott Fitzgerald, might be toward a callow end, but it was there. Willa Cather's protagonists, whether they be prairie mothers, or young singers flocking into Chicago from the cornlands, or humane archbishops, had nothing of a "lost" or apathetic nature about them. As for the great satirist, Sinclair Lewis, the satire tends to recede as the years go by. What remains is a collection of forthright souls who Follow the Gleam—Babbitt toward his City Beautiful of Zenith, Carol Kennicott toward the ideal of bringing cultivation to Gopher Prairie, Doc Arrowsmith toward the Perfection of Science, Dods-worth to the end of making a beautiful as well as a functional automobile. These are in the classic American mold, honorable and decent people even though you may still laugh at them for certain Dickensian absurdities.

But who and what are the heroes of the books of the thirties? They are, by and large, a race of people to be pitied. The Okies of John Steinbeck may not be blameworthy in their defeat, but the quality of individual will is simply not there. The innumerable strike novels of the thirties' "proletarian" literature may illustrate collective action, but the individual contribution to that action rings hollow. The color of the thirties, in the novels, is "Let George Do It."

I do not say that the novels of the thirties give a correct picture of anything at all. But I do say that the twenties, as is shown in more than one good and representative book, were not a "lost" period. Somehow, in those years leading up to the great Crash, we learned how to invoke certain inner resources. No matter what our conscious theory of government today may be (and I haven't the least idea how many of my classmates are Republicans, Democrats, New-and/or-Fair Dealers, Socialists or crypto-Communists), I am certain that none of us, in our bones, expects Society with a capital S to take care of him. This

is why the stereotypes of the twenties seem to me to miss the true inner meaning of the period—and of us.

We came of age in a good time, at a good place. We have lived through some bad times. But the bad times have turned out to be good after all. And the paper dolls and padded cells are not yet on the horizon.

Our Foreign Policy

Modern American Diplomacy, by Edward O. Guerrant. 307 pp., plus index. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. \$6.00

Professor Guerrant has written a readable survey of American diplomatic history since 1900 and has incorporated into his text many important documents illustrative of the development of the foreign policy of the United States. It is a handy volume that may have wide use among students who wish a brief and factual guide for one-semester courses in recent American history.

Professor Guerrant has little use for the viewpoints of the so-called "revisionist" historians. In his treatment of American neutrality during the eventful years from 1914 to 1917 he stresses the sharp impact of German submarine warfare upon the minds of President Wilson and Secretary Lansing. He carefully avoids any mention of the fact that the American protest of February 10, 1915, was based upon the false premise that the American government was privileged to speak not only for American vessels and their crews but also on behalf of American citizens on Allied merchant vessels. No other neutral country made such an obvious mistake, and it is rather remarkable that Secretary Lansing, who had an intimate knowledge of international law, should make a mistake that would eventually lead America into war with Germany.

The questionable verbal antics of Mr. Lansing with reference to the status of Allied armed merchant vessels, and his dubious garbling of American judicial opinions concerning those vessels, receive no comment in a book that is obviously

meant to defend and not criticize the Wilson foreign policy. The President's attempt in February 1916 to push a defiant Congress into a declaration of war against Germany is not considered by the author to be worthy of mention.

In his treatment of the background of the Treaty of Versailles Professor Guerrant fails to emphasize the fact that the Allies had no compunctions about violating the pre-Armistice contract with President Wilson concerning a treaty of peace based upon the famous Fourteen Points. The President's betrayal of his own peace program and his unfortunate compromises relative to the Polish problem, reparations and plebiscites, are topics that receive the barest mention in a book that should clearly indicate the bases of strong German dissatisfaction with the "dictates" of Versailles.

In his discussion of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact the author does not seem to realize that this pact was the answer to the prayers of American internationalists who had warmly supported the Treaty of Versailles. The injustices of that treaty could be corrected only through resort to war. If the nations of the world would sign a pact to outlaw war, it was evident that the status quo established by Versailles would be strengthened in such a significant manner that few statesmen would dream of projecting plans to upset it.

In dealing with the problems of the Far East, Professor Guerrant closes his eyes to the fact that Japanese expansion in Manchuria was regarded by the statesmen of Nippon as a national imperative. Strong dykes would have to be erected in North China to hold back the Red Russian tide that was rapidly rolling over the large Chinese provinces of Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia. Secretary Hull grew hysterical at the very thought of Japanese expansion in North China but he was strangely silent over Russian absorption of vast areas of the Middle Kingdom.

The author makes no effort to treat in detail Soviet-American relations from 1933 to 1941. The real implications of Russian recognition are not disclosed, and no attempt is made to show how Ambassador Bullitt in 1935-1936 was making

strenuous efforts to induce President Roosevelt to inform the American people of Soviet intrigues against the American way of life. Mr. Bullitt's dispatch of August 21, 1935 is typical of the admonitions that he showered upon the White House. He strongly urged the President to make an address that would acquaint Americans with the fact that "the rulers of the Soviet Union under the mask of friendship are directing preparations for the overthrow of our system of government and democratic liberties." The President paid no heed to this warning.

The author seems to have the impression that the tremendous concessions made by Roosevelt to Stalin at Yalta were given "in return for a promise by Russia to enter the war against Japan sixty or ninety days after the surrender of Germany." As a matter of fact, Stalin had already given this pledge during previous conferences at Moscow and Teheran. It is also a matter of record that many months before Yalta Roosevelt had decided to bend every effort to secure for Russia the dominant position she had enjoyed in Manchuria before the Russo-Japanese War. This policy meant a betrayal of all his promises to Chiang Kai-shek at Cairo, and the brazen double-cross he inflicted upon the Generalissimo was probably the reason for his secrecy concerning these concessions to Russia.

CHARLES CALLAN TANSILL

No Peace from the UN

The United Nations: Planned Tyranny, by V. Orval Watts. Foreword by Clarence E. Manion. 160 pp. New York: Devin-Adair Company. \$3.00

Imagine, suggests Dr. Watts, what might have been the results of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 had the delegates from the thirteen states come representing the diversity of organizations which make up the United Nations! Satellite chiefs from a tribe of Communists, military dictators, social levelers, monarchs and a distinct minority of democratic republicans! What kind of a federal government could have emerged from such a gathering, and how long could it have hoped to live? What chance for a Bill of

Rights defining personal and property rights, not to be violated or infringed by any government? What opportunity for the personal practice of freedom? What hope for peace from such a misalliance of conflicting interests?

To raise such questions should be enough to convince most Americans that the United Nations idea is in no way comparable to the idea of a federal government of the United States. But the author has taken no chances. He answers the questions, explaining not only what the points of difference are, but also why the United Nations idea could never be the instrument of peace and progress which the American concept of individual freedom and limited government has been.

Just look at the organizational structure of the United Nations. Government-appointed rather than citizen-elected delegates constitute a General Assembly and Security Council. These with their appointed committees in themselves constitute a vast bureaucracy. Yet this is only the beginning, "only a small and not very important tip of a growing pyramid of councils and commissions, boards and bureaus." And what is the work of this maze of boards and bureaus? To plan and propagandize, draft covenants, propose treaties, designed "to enlist every Member Government in an all-out effort to force mankind into the UN pattern of the World Welfare State." Technical assistance, rehabilitation, foreign aid and outright relief are devices for imposing reforms upon unwitting peoples at the expense of unwilling taxpayers. This attempt at world government is an expensive operation, sapping away the freedom Americans and a few others have known. The safeguards of personal rights painstakingly specified in the Constitution of our own government of the United States are being denied in the covenants and treaties of the UN. And American courts already

upon occasion have declared that our concept of liberty under law must give way to the arbitrariness of men appointed to the administrative agencies of the UN.

Dr. Watts has not written a tract; his book is replete with documented facts which lead to but one conclusion, namely, that the beautiful dream of world peace which inaugurated the United Nations is indeed a nightmare. Liberty-loving Americans who have been seduced by the dulcet tones of UN propagandists will be abruptly awakened by the reading of this book and will be impelled by the danger it exposes to get other Americans to read it. This should be a patriotic service.

PAUL L. POIROT

The Indirect Approach

Strategy, by Captain B. H. Liddell Hart. 420 pp. New York: Frederick A. Praeger. \$5.95

Strategy is erudite and authoritative. Its sweep is world-wide; its scope extends from the Persian wars of 490 B.C. to the recent Arab-Israel conflict. It is military history, masterfully presented. The principles deduced are fundamental. But unfortunately, this profound study deals mostly with the dead past. It throws little or no light on a strategy to meet the present menacing challenge to our survival.

The theme of the book is that the indirect approach in combat—both in battle and in war plans—is essential to success. Ingredients of the indirect approach are: maneuver, deception, surprise, knowledge of when and where to fight, commitment of strength against enemy weakness, defeat of enemy weaker components before risking full-scale battle, psychological warfare to lower enemy morale before crucial combat, and above all else, no frontal attack (direct approach) against enemy strength.

Captain Hart narrates thirty major conflicts prior to World War One, which embraced 280 campaigns. "In only six of these campaigns . . . did a decisive result follow a plan of direct strategic approach." Moreover, he found that "indirectness has usually been physical and always psychological." And "in most campaigns the dislocation of the enemy's

psychological and physical balance has been the vital prelude to a successful attempt at his overthrow."

Despite the Captain's clarity of presentation, this reviewer is puzzled by his space allocations and by certain vital omissions. Of 102 pages devoted to World War Two, of which eighteen are on the war in the Mediterranean, the Pacific war rates only five pages. Being British and European-minded, the author holds that "a complete overthrow of Germany's power of resistance was bound to clear the way for Soviet Russia's domination of the Eurasian continent." Actually, the destruction of Japan's military forces contributed to China's entry into the Red orbit.

There is no doubt that Captain Hart has a clear grasp of the role of the indirect approach for air power in modern war. "The development of air forces offered the possibility of striking at the enemy's economic and moral centers without having first to achieve 'the destruction of the enemy's main forces on the battlefield.'" But once having stated this thesis, the author drops air power like a hot potato. He omits the fact that the Japanese homeland, destroyed by bombing and mellowed by psychological warfare, was surrendered without a surface invasion. He omits the airborne invasion of Crete. These air actions provided the most significant lessons of World War Two.

Captain Hart may have elected to slight the role of air power because, thinking wishfully perhaps, he had introduced an alarming assumption in his preface: "Total war as a method and victory as a war aim are out of date concepts." In support, he quotes Marshal of the RAF Sir John Slessor: "Total war as we have known it in the past forty years is a thing of the past . . . a world war in this day and age would be general suicide and the end of civilization as we know it."

Unfortunately, our potential enemy is known to be totally unpredictable. Are the Western powers naive enough to believe that this enemy will refrain from using the great-bomb, if he develops the capability of delivering a more deadly blow than we? Can we rest our survival on such wishful thinking? Moreover, it would be fatal to await

BEHIND THE U. N. FRONT

by Alice Widener
125 pages—\$2.00

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actual war to learn whether or not the enemy will use the great-bomb and then plan to retaliate in kind. Its use requires much planning and preparation.

BONNER FELLERS

The Slaves Revolt

Vorkuta, by Joseph Scholmer. 304 pp. New York: Henry Holt & Company. \$3.75

George Sokolsky, in one of his recent columns, called attention to the fine art of "book-burning" by the leading New York bookstores. He mentioned, among others, a book called *Vorkuta*, which he found most difficult to obtain in the book shops "because, walking from shop to shop, I found that the clerks do not wish to sell [it]." This made the reading of *Vorkuta* imperative, and the reading was rewarding.

Vorkuta is a slave labor camp in the Soviet Arctic. Joseph Scholmer, the author, gives us a first-hand dramatic report on his imprisonment there for three and a half years. Scholmer was a German who had been kidnapped by the Communists and convicted of "espionage." He was sent to Vorkuta.

The "liberals," who are still more interested in showing up the atrocities of the Nazis, have special reason for disliking this book. Besides detailing the atrocities of the Communists, it points up the incomprehensible lack of any sense of reality in the American attitude toward them.

One of the telling stories in the book is that dealing with the strike on June 17, 1953, in East Germany. News of this uprising got to Vorkuta through the grapevine and it encouraged the prisoners to plan a similar resistance in the camp. The fact that such mass sabotage could be organized and successfully carried out in a slave labor camp is remarkable enough. What annoyed these prisoners was the fact that they received no encouragement, even a kind word, from the outside world, meaning particularly the Americans.

But this was also true of the strike in eastern Germany, which seems to have caught the Communists flat-footed and astounded the world. As Scholmer found out

on his return from Vorkuta, the East Germans were accorded the same treatment by the Americans that the prisoners received in Vorkuta. In either case, some positive action by the Americans could have stepped up further resistance and led to consequences of a far-reaching nature.

The strikes in Vorkuta and in East Germany indicate that the hold of the Soviet masters over their peoples is a tenuous one, and that if the American politicians had the sense they were born with, it would be possible to upset the communist regime by simply encouraging dissidence from within. But that would require a policy of doing business with the people rather than their masters, which the American government, dominated by "liberals," seems unwilling to do.

The weakness of the Soviet regime is further emphasized by an economic footnote. The effect of the strike of the prisoners at Vorkuta, where coal is being mined, was to shut down the industries in Leningrad. It is incredible that an economy so perilously balanced on slave labor should cause us any concern. Given time and a little intelligent handling, the communist regime must fall.

HELEN CARTIER

The Dreamers

The New Science of Politics, by Eric Voegelin. 193 pp. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, \$3.00

Occasionally, all too seldom, there comes a book so monumental that literary savants feel themselves compelled to describe it in dangerous terms. The words *great* and *enduring* cannot be used loosely; it is rash to wax enthusiastic, only to find later that the bloom has worn off a book so described. Time is the measure, and if three years count for anything, *The New Science of Politics* can take the measure of time.

Now that the grandiose United Nations is facing dissolution, now that the magniloquent statements of politicians concerning international brotherhood, world peace and human dignity have been discredited by the hard reality of bullets, we read with increased re-

spect of Voegelin as an analyst of civilization:

Gnostic liberal societies and their leaders will recognize dangers to their existence when they develop, but such dangers will not be met by appropriate actions in the world of reality. They will rather be met by magic operations in the dream world, such as disapproval, moral condemnation, declarations of intention, branding of enemies as aggressors, outlawing of war, propaganda for world peace and world government, etc. The intellectual and moral corruption which expresses itself in the aggregate of such magic operations may pervade a society with the weird, ghostly atmosphere of a lunatic asylum, as we experience it in our time in the Western crisis.

This one paragraph evokes memories of the Atlantic Charter, which did not save Poland, Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia from communist aggrandizement; we remember the futility of State Department protest notes which did not bring back to life American pilots brutally shot down, nor hinder our enemies from inflicting the further outrage of kidnapping eleven citizens. And it may even bring to mind the United Nations resolution branding the Chinese Communists as aggressors, which did not result in a free Korea.

Voegelin accuses the liberal of living in a dream world which has no relation to anything that can be called reality. Noting the bright-eyed innocence with which our modern visionary pursues his utopias, Voegelin says "One can easily imagine how indignant a humanistic liberal will be when he is told that his particular type [of thinking] is one step on the road to Marxism. It will not be superfluous, therefore, to recall the principle that the substance of history is to be found on the level of experiences, not on the level of ideas."

Agnosticism is derived from the term *gnostic*. It began with Joachim's attack on an Augustinian tenant and was finally realized in the Reformation. But in its broader sense, the word accrues to itself more than religious significance. Voegelin applies it to a bent of mind which characterizes man's increasing efforts to do away with God and to create, all shiny and brand-new, a perfect society found-

ed on man alone. To do this, it was necessary for the legend of man's perfectibility to grow. This legend, in turn, was translated into the idea of progress. Along with this idea came the slew of philosophies known as nominalism, humanism and positivism.

Each effort to create the perfect society, however, was met with failure. This political fact of life was ignored by the gnostic (or liberal) elements. They were already out of touch with reality. Driven by disappointments to further efforts, they feverishly improvised newer and grander and more ridiculous philosophies, based more and more upon the belief in man's omnipotence and less and less upon the real political factors. A recent example of this kind of absurdity can be found in the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights, a piece of paper which would impose a diluted form of freedom on peoples who have no idea what the word means.

Every effort of this kind has laid a huge and odoriferous egg. But each catastrophe spurs the liberals on to more political gaucheries. Finally, liberals begin to lay the blame for their boners on the excuse that "people just won't cooperate." What does this lead to? Voegelin makes it clear that the result will be a totalitarian world government.

F. R. BUCKLEY

He Reported Eisler

The Captain Leaves His Ship, by Jan Cwiklinski as told to Hawthorne Daniel. 313 pp. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday. \$4.00

Although the Polish sea captain whose story this is calls this book a footnote to the history of his country, his modest account actually tells the tragedy of modern Poland with more intimate revelation than dozens of scholarly histories. Some may wonder why a man who loved freedom so much, whose every instinct was opposed to communism, waited so long before he jumped ship and sought political asylum in England.

For Cwiklinski, it was no easy matter. A man in middle life, he left his command, his family and his country. His character, as he reveals it in this almost too muted

and quiet a story of dramatic times and events, is the answer. A reserved man of strong religious faith, and more than his share of Polish patriotism, he was almost completely apolitical as sea captains are wont to be. These men are strangers to the petty turmoil of daily strife and struggle in cities. They move always in an orderly regime. Their days and nights are lived between the limitless expanse of sky and sea. In the majesty of their free, open environment they can scarcely comprehend the machinations and intrigue with which communism has so successfully sealed off the freedom of one country after another.

For a year after the *S. S. Batory* began its regular run between Gdynia and New York under his command, no consequential communist activities were apparent aboard, he relates. In 1948, however, a new "entertainment officer" was assigned to the ship and his days were spent dispensing communist propaganda among the passengers and crew. Spying was rife; members of the crew disappeared mysteriously. On each return to the home port of Gdynia the captain saw freedom diminishing among his fellow Poles. His troubled mind accepted the facts he saw with reluctance; even the establishment of the *Urzad Bezpieczenstwa*, the Polish counterpart of Russia's NKVD, was not enough to discourage him utterly.

Then America's No. 1 Communist, Gerhart Eisler, jumped bail in New York, came aboard the *Batory* as a "visitor" and, when the ship was well at sea, reappeared and produced money for a first-class passage. Captain Cwiklinski, in properly reporting Eisler as a stowaway and thus helping make his presence known to the authorities who removed him from the ship in England, incurred the displeasure of his Red bosses and had his eyes fully opened for the first time to the extent of Red domination and Red terror in Poland.

Four more years went by, and although the political obscenities of the communist usurpers of Poland made the captain's life a hell, he kept hoping things would change until an attempt was made on his life and he finally became convinced his number was up. Only then, in June 1953, in sorrow and despair, did he leave the ship he had com-

manded with such pride, and quit the sea which had been his home for more than thirty years.

Although this is a slow-moving book, told in a pedestrian way, especially in the early chapters on the captain's boyhood and youth and his experiences in two world wars, it is well worth reading. The post-war chapters which deal with the captain's experiences with communism in Poland, his necessary dealings and encounters with his Red superiors, his detailed and painfully honest revelation of his own slow awakening to the realities of Red rule, and his carefully thought out conclusions about Poland's future and how Poles can hasten their country's liberation are valuable additions to anti-communist literature.

IRENE CORBALLY KUHN

Literary Toreador

Behind the UN Front, by Alice Widener. 127 pp. New York: The Bookmailer, Box 101, Murray Hill Sta. \$2.00

The United Nations, like the foreign policy of the Roosevelt Administration, is one of the sacred cows of American publishing. It would be an instructive lesson in the not so free market place of ideas to count how many books sharply critical of the United Nations and of the Yalta Agreement, the Morgenthau Plan and other characteristic aspects of Roosevelt's diplomacy have been issued by publishing houses with large promotion and distribution facilities.

All the more credit to the literary toreadors, like Alice Widener, who do not fear to enter the arena with the sacred cows and command attention by the vigor and intensity of their attack. A minority of Americans, unteachable by the hardest lessons of experience, are as unrealistically starry-eyed about the United Nations as they were ten years ago. A larger number, although shocked and disappointed by some pages in the UN record, take the vaguely tolerant and hopeful view that, if the UN does little good, it also does little harm, and maybe something will come of it in the end.

Mrs. Widener's arguments, hard-hitting in the best pamphleteering

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style, are addressed to both these schools of thought. She shows, with names and facts, that the UN and its special agencies have been a happy job-hunting ground for American citizens who are stricken with Fifth Amendment paralysis of the vocal cords when they are asked whether they have been or are engaged in subversive activities. The general climate of opinion in the UN has been very tolerant of such persons.

The author points out that many advocates of socialist planned economy hold key posts in the economic commissions of the UN. Their not very subtle hand may be seen in resolutions and reports which are hostile and unfair to the American philosophy of private enterprise and its accomplishments.

The United Nations includes in its membership the States which make up the communist slave empire, the Soviet Union and its East European dependencies, Poland and Czechoslovakia. The membership also includes neutralist nations like India and Indonesia and the dissident communist State of Yugoslavia. To believe that an international organization so constituted (from which, incidentally, important States like Germany, Japan, Italy and Spain are excluded) could be an effective barrier against communist aggression is to believe nonsense.

Yet some addicts of the UN dream speak as if the impossible were possible. Mrs. Widener cites some very damaging quotations from the writings of Mr. Clark Eichelberger and the American Association for the United Nations, of which he is the master mind. That organization, for instance, on one occasion urged the United States to declare "that it will treat its foreign bases as facilities available to the United Nations." Does this mean that our bases should be open to jet squadrons from that UN member, the Soviet Union? If it doesn't mean this what, if anything, does it mean?

The book has some of the defects of its qualities. There are slips and exaggerations. Stalin was not editor of *Pravda* when he was seventeen years old; *Pravda* did not exist at that time. It is not true that the Soviet Union "liquidated 13 million people by starvation" to finance im-

ports by grain exports in the 20's; the famine of 1921-22 was not accompanied by exports of grain. The author is too inclined to see the hand of Moscow in every manifestation of sappiness and economic wrongheadedness. And she fails to see that, if Stalin wanted a larger common market for communist reasons, many anti-communist Europeans want this common market as the surest means of making a capitalist Europe economically viable.

But on balance the book must be welcomed as a fearless, effective and long overdue job of debunking many myths associated with the United Nations.

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

"Closing with God"

Yankees and God, by Chard Powers Smith. 528 pp. New York: Hermitage House. \$6.50

The first American Puritans, being of the merchant class, often referred to their relations with their Creator in mercantile terms. Thus, after a session of prayer and meditation, one of the early fathers announced that he had been "closing with God." The third generation of Puritans, already tainted with greed, considered the respectability rather than the necessity of religion, and spoke of Christ as "a good investment."

It is with such intimate knowledge of the people he is studying that Chard Powers Smith illustrates the changes in American religious attitudes and their impact upon our culture. The chapter titles of *Yankees and God* tell a story in themselves: from *The World of the Cosmos*, through *The World of Man* and *The World of Men* to, finally, *The World of Me*. They outline very clearly Mr. Smith's thesis of the retrogression of religion from the point of a central idea around which men's thoughts and activities were ordered to the point where religion has been as fragmented as other institutions in the atomic age and has been replaced, even in some pulpits, by the Social Gospel.

Beginning with the first Puritan period, the author measures the various declines and revivals, and the mutations in American life which they have caused or reflected. The

First Decline (1660-1700) was brought on by wealth and complacency, and the Second Decline (1760-1800) resulted from what Smith calls the "intellectual ice" of the Age of Reason. The Third Decline (1860-1900) took place in the period of laissez-faire, when Calvin's economic virtues were transformed into dominant dogma, and when the world of the spirit was attacked by the new priesthood of experimental science. The Fourth Decline (1930-1960) began with the emptiness of the early thirties, and was aggravated by the new consciousness of social humanism devoid of any real religious basis. Alternating with the periods of decline are the periods of First to Fourth Puritanism—the original and the revivals.

Smith's Yankees, who now inhabit most of the northern United States, are subjected to thorough and knowing scrutiny within the framework of philosophy, theology, history and sociology. It is likely that experts in these fields will take issue with some of the author's interpretations and conclusions; the general reader will enjoy tracing the patterns of Yankee culture as they emerge from New England. Mr. Smith's chief faults seem to be a tendency to lose the layman in fine points of theological argument, and the occasional use of elaborate analogy, both of which blunt the sharpness of his message. The treatment of our own period is very brief and is unfortunately marred by vitriolic rather than balanced criticism of groups and individuals; this results in irrelevant distraction instead of appropriate illustration. However, the wide interest of the book predominates over its defects, and is a testament to the solid strands of religious faith in America at a time when a great deal of religion seems to have been reduced to mere faith in faith ("This I Believe") or juke-box jingles ("Have You Talked to the Man Upstairs?").

RAYMOND L. CAROL

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LABOR

Cy Radcliffe is a businessman employing fifteen people in Homedale, Idaho. Three of his men were no good. He and his partner fired them. They complained to the National Labor Relations Board that the reason they were fired was that they had been planning on a union. This was not true. But lies didn't bother the union that hoped to get itself established; nor did they bother officials of the NLRB; nor did lies fluster judges determined to decide the case in such a way that the unions will be pleased. Radcliffe is stubborn. His basic rights have been impaired, and he won't give in. With his back to the wall, his is stout guerrilla action against the totalitarian evils of our government.

This Could Happen to You — Big Government vs. Small Business, by C. W. Radcliffe. 13 pp. Address the author, Homedale, Idaho. Single copy, ten cents; \$7.00 per hundred

The American Newspaper Guild put to death the *Brooklyn Eagle*; strikers picketed the corpse of the plant with the solicitude of professional mourners. Perhaps they mourned their jobs. But the real victim is a free press. If the Guild can destroy a newspaper by legal and quasi-legal means, what publisher or editor is free to voice his criticism of union policies, his opposition to the union-backed candidate, his scorn for Marxism? The Guild, loaded with Commies and pinks, has put other papers out of business—some say for a reason. Without a free press, goodbye Liberty.

The Eagle Shot Down, by Earl Harding. 4 pp. Economic Council Papers, Vol. X, No. 3, 1 April '55. New York: National Economic Council, Inc., Empire State Bldg. 15 cents

FREEDOM

When the sovereignty of the people is so reduced that liberty hangs precariously on the words of a single diplomat at an international treaty conference, then it is time to return

to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. These documents, bound in a handy pamphlet, should be sent to high school students, college students and graduate students who, chances are, have never read the foundations of their political heritage. They may be mildly curious. It's rare when a pamphlet brings to your mind the strains of Yankee Doodle.

The Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence: Historical Facts and Data. 41 pp. Woodstock, Ill.: W. Earle Phinney, Creative Service. 25 cents

ECONOMICS

"Attempts to strengthen the economy by creating more so-called 'purchasing power' offer no real help in the attainment of prosperity and long-term economic growth. In fact, the misunderstandings created by the injection of this false issue can lead to depression and stagnation. The process of production automatically creates the flow of income needed to buy the output. Arbitrary wage rises, far from stimulating the economy, depress it as a result of the rise in cost levels. Use of government fiscal and monetary powers to inject more 'purchasing power' into the economy simply destroys the value of our money and wastes our productive potential."

So People May Prosper. 36 pp. National Association of Manufacturers, 2 East 48 St., New York City. \$1.00

EDUCATION

Secularism in public education gained a foothold when Bishop Hughes lost his fight against the new interpretation that freedom of religion meant freedom from religion. Henceforth the doors were flung open to secularism's sidekick, materialism, and before another century had passed, progressive education had become a communist and collectivist tool. Public education has its roots in the theories of

Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Herbart, Froebel, Hegel and Dewey. Through an analysis of what these educators proposed it can be seen that the disciples generally did their masters dirt, and that even Dewey did not so much wreak evil himself as propose the philosophical anarchy through which evil influences could gain sway.

American Education, the Old, the Modern and the New, by Milo F. McDonald. 53 pp. American Education Association, 545 Fifth Ave., New York City. 75 cents

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