

HOW TO HOLD SOUTHEAST ASIA

Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby

Let's Stop Strikes!

Donald R. Richberg

A Message for Stockholders:

Does Just Any College Qualify?

William F. Buckley, Jr.

SAFEWAY STORES, INCORPORATED

1953 Business Record

Safeway, the world's second largest retail food concern, set a new record for sales and nearly doubled 1952 earnings in this first post-war year of normal competitive business conditions.

- Safeway's 2,037 retail stores are located in 23 States of the U.S.A. and 5 Canadian Provinces.
- Thirty-one new stores were under construction at year end and specifications were completed or in process of completion for 121 additional stores.
- In 1953, Safeway contributed \$6,700,619 in the form of city, county, school and local district taxes toward the cost of local government. In addition, it paid \$21,231,592 as income, sales, excise, franchise and social security taxes to the state and federal governments.
- Excellent employee relations were maintained all year. Liberal group insurance, retirement and profit-sharing programs are available to all employees.

NET SALES TOP 1952

Topping the record year of 1952, net sales for 1953 of Safeway Stores, Incorporated and all subsidiaries reached \$1,751,819,708, the greatest in the Company's history. This was an increase of \$112,724,496 or 6.88% over the previous high set in 1952.

NET PROFITS CONTINUE UP

1953 net profits before income taxes were \$29,620,074 or nearly double 1952's net profit of \$17,094,348. After allowing for a refund of \$470,122 of excess profits taxes and after providing for United States Federal Normal Income Tax and Surtax of \$12,026,000 and Canadian taxes on income of \$3,185,000, the net profit after income taxes was \$14,544,732 for 1953 as compared with \$7,331,943 for 1952.

EARNINGS AND DIVIDENDS

Net earnings on the common stock, after payment of preferred dividends of \$1,914,418, were \$4.31 per share on the 2,928,159 average number of common shares outstanding during 1953. This compares with \$2.01 per share earned in 1952 on the 2,831,207 shares outstanding. Dividends on the 291,886 shares of 4% cumulative preferred and 120,177 shares of 4½% cumulative convertible preferred stock outstanding at the end of the year were earned 8.51 times. Cash dividends of \$2.40 per share were paid on the common stock. The Company's record of uninterrupted dividends was maintained by the payment of the 109th consecutive dividend on its common stock in December, 1953.

ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

Total net assets on December 31, 1953 of Safeway and all subsidiaries were \$138,196,700. Total current assets of the same date were \$233,101,905 and total current liabilities were \$141,721,275. The ratio of current assets to current liabilities was 1.64 to 1.

SAFEWAY STORES, INCORPORATED

Here's How Each \$100 of Safeway's Income Was Used

in 1953		in 1952
\$84.70	Paid out to Farmers and other Suppliers of Goods and Expended for Manufacturing and Warehousing	\$85.85
7.41	Paid out in Salaries, Wages and Bonuses	7.44
4.88	Paid out for Operating Supplies and other Expenses	4.41
1.41	Paid out for Local, State and Federal Taxes	1.12
.71	Set aside to cover Depreciation	.69
.83	Profit for Stockholders and Surplus	.45
.06	Paid out as Compensation to Elected Officers	.04
\$100.00		\$100.00

10 Year Comparative Record of Safeway Stores, Incorporated and all Subsidiaries Consolidated

Year	Capital and Surplus	Net Assets Per Share of Preferred Stock	Book value Per Share of Common Stock*	Dividends Pd. Per Share of Common Stock*	Net Earnings Per Share of Common Stock*
1944 . . .	\$ 62,564,498	\$299	\$16.40	\$1.00	\$1.63
1945 . . .	63,604,685	311	16.97	1.00	1.59
1946 . . .	71,901,081	359	20.18	1.00	4.29
1947 . . .	76,039,946	388	21.96	1.00	2.75
1948 . . .	81,972,829	428	24.44	1.00	3.50
1949 . . .	91,236,990	488	28.22	1.25	5.04
1950 . . .	115,215,274	371	29.76	2.40	5.20
1951 . . .	113,821,747	377	29.58	2.40	2.26
1952 . . .	132,273,480	266	29.03	2.40	2.01
1953 . . .	138,196,700	335	31.23	2.40	4.31

*Number of shares adjusted to reflect April 12, 1945 3-for-1 split.

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P. O. Box 660, Oakland 4, California

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THE Freeman

A Fortnightly
For
Individualists

Executive Director KURT LASSEN
Managing Editor FLORENCE NORTON

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Among Ourselves

Few people realize that it is not only the fate of Asia that is at stake in the Far East but that of the whole free world. This is the considered opinion of MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES A. WILLOUGHBY (Ret.), who had ample opportunity during World War Two to examine totalitarian aggression in the Pacific area in his post as Chief of Intelligence on General MacArthur's staff. In view of this background we asked him if Secretary Dulles' proposal for a Southeast Asian defense pact is militarily feasible. His detailed reply (p. 659) is the first blueprint, so far as we know, to be published in a national magazine, by diplomat or soldier, setting forth a point-by-point military strategy to be adopted in the organization of a Pacific alliance.

DONALD R. RICHBURG's call to stop strikes (p. 663) gives the forthright advice of a seasoned observer of the labor scene. In addition, he is the author of such important labor legislation as the Railway Labor Act of 1926 and the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933. We refer our readers to Mr. Richberg's article, "The Rights and Wrongs of Labor," in our issue of November 2, 1953.

MAX WHITE, world-traveling correspondent, whose last long stop (of several years) was Mexico, tells us (p. 665) how the policy of that country's president fosters a veritable haven for Reds from all over the Americas to conspire and plan just such actions as were recently undertaken by the Guatemalan government (see editorial, "Red-Handed Aggression," p. 657).

The name of WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR. has been appearing steadily for some weeks now in the list of best-sellers as author, with Brent Bozell, of *McCarthy and His Enemies*, published by the Henry Regnery Company this spring. On the subject of colleges and what they teach, with which he is concerned in his uniquely presented Message for Stockholders (p. 667), Mr. Buckley won his laurels a few years back with his much-lauded and highly debated *God and Man at Yale*.

WILLIAM H. PETERSON of New York University has some cogent comments on the problems of economic depression (p. 671). His present article will be included in a book now in preparation, *Age of Intervention*.

Both EUGENE LYONS in his column, "A Second Look," (p. 675) and FRANK S. MEYER in our lead book review (p. 677) have each, in quite different ways, replied to Granville Hicks, who in his recent book, *Where We Came Out*, expresses disfavor not only with just about all ex-Communists but also with those anti-Communists (some of them FREEMAN writers) who have swung so far "right" as not to pause with him at Station New Deal.

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FROM OUR READERS

"Fills a Void"

... Although I'm but one small voice, I have encouraged my husband and friends to read the FREEMAN, and I sincerely feel that it fills a terrible void which prevailed in the magazine field for years. . . . Keep up the good work, because now more than ever before we need as a nation to be encouraged to do a little logical thinking again.

Brooklyn, N.Y. ALICE VANDENBERG

The Tariff Question

I have been an enthusiastic cover-to-cover reader of and subscriber to the FREEMAN from the beginning, and am in complete agreement with almost everything I find in your pages. But I do object to the two paragraphs on the tariff in "The Fortnight" for April 19. It seems to me you are guilty of Charles Taft deviationism! . . .

I don't think that anyone of today is suggesting "an old-fashioned protectionism." Does your editorial writer realize that our tariffs have been cut 68 per cent since 1937, 50 per cent of the cut since 1945, and that they are now at the lowest point in our history? Our percentage ratio of duties collected to total value of imports is eighth lowest of forty-five nations of the free world.

Moline, Ill. H. W. GETZ

A Mystery

As a Californian, I wish to agree with the lady from Florida ("From Our Readers," May 3, p. 544), on "The New Heroism" by Eugene Lyons. It has long been a mystery to me why private enterprise sponsors radical commentators, writers, magazines, and newspapers. Do we need a new school for these busy business people so that they can see the handwriting on the wall? Do they not realize . . . that the ulterior motive of these radicals is to destroy private enterprise and the products they worked so hard to perfect?

Yucaipa, Cal. BERENICE M. LEHMAN

The Washington Circus

We are witnessing a disgraceful and disgusting spectacle in Washington in this investigation of the controversy between the McCarthy committee and the Secretary of the Army. We are wasting thousands of dollars and many days on the part of the witnesses on both sides and by the various officers and Congressmen at this hearing. . . . In the end nothing will have been

gained and much valuable time will have been lost.

The entire nation is watching this "Greatest Show on Earth" and wasting their time and energy. . . . Yes, this investigation is a circus, which will be paid for by the American taxpayer. . .

Fond du Lac, Wis. J. S. RICE

Public Miseducation

Your magazine is doing a noble work to put the truth before the people. So much of our press today is miseducating the public—education for retrogression rather than for progress. The propaganda machine of the Great Bureaucracy has overcome the sane thinking of our many editors, ministers, and educators. Today's Democracy is far from the government of the people which makes a solid Republic.

Greenwood, Ind. J. C. CUTRELL

Mr. Lattimore at Harvard

The United Nations Council of Harvard would like to draw your attention to an item on page 513 of your April 19 issue, concerning which we believe you have been misinformed. Though it is correct that Owen Lattimore and M. S. Sundaram spoke under the auspices of the Council, it is incorrect to imply, as you have, that we of the United Nations Council are in any way "academic conformists."

In the past six months, the following have been among our speakers: Colonel Lawrence Bunker, General MacArthur's former aide-de-camp; Dr. Tingfu Tsiang, Nationalist China's delegate to the United Nations, and Dr. You Chan Yang, Korean Ambassador to the United States. These are the most notable speakers who have expressed the views which you insinuate are lacking on our programs. . . .

THE UNITED NATIONS
Cambridge, Mass. COUNCIL OF HARVARD

[It is gratifying to know that the Council, in the course of activity stretching over an academic year, found a place in its forums for the Chinese and Korean Ambassadors and for Colonel Bunker. However, the editorial "Academic Conformists," against which the letter is a protest, neither stated nor implied that all meetings held under the Council's auspices were stacked in a leftward direction.

Criticism was specifically limited to one meeting in which Mr. Owen Lattimore and the cultural attaché of the Indian Embassy, Mr. M. S. Sundaram, were the speakers. Mr. Lattimore's views are too well-known to require comment. Mr. Sundaram is the representative of a government which has differed sharply with the United States

on most issues of Far Eastern policy. In failing to provide any speaker on that occasion who would have voiced the viewpoint of the United States government, and of the overwhelming majority of the American people, in regard to recognition of Red China and other Far Eastern issues, the United Nations Council was, we believe, guilty of bias and of "academic conformity."

EDITORS]

Non-Communicative Art

There are lots of things I don't see eye to eye with Max Eastman about, but my heart and head rejoiced at his article in the FREEMAN of May 3 on the subject of "Non-Communicative Art." It is a worthy follow-up to his earlier "Cult of Unintelligibility." When intellectuals go crazy about the meanings of the unintelligible, no wonder politicians flourish with double-talk.

New York City NORMAN THOMAS

Much of *Finnegan's Wake* is direct factual description of the actual operations and working of industrial and electronic instruments. Picasso's "Girl Before a Mirror" (discussed in Max Eastman's "Non-Communicative Art") is similarly direct visual description of normal physiological workings we make visible and use by means of the electroencephalograph, the Navy's whirling mast and whirling chair experiments, etc. . . .

Contra Eastman (in "Showing up Semantics," May 31), Ogden and Bridgman are indifferently interchangeable with each other, or with Picasso, Joyce, or Korzybzki, or with modern industrial procedures, or Aristotle, or who.

Speaking as a charter subscriber, I may say that the FREEMAN appears to me to be technically excellent, but visually eyeless in an industrial Gaza, which is about the sum and substance of Frank Lloyd Wright's comment on architecture, and the Pius XII Christmas 1953 address on the spirit of technology, and the George Washington Farewell Address on the spirit of party.

Wanaque, N.J. DAVID LYLE

Thanks to you and Max Eastman for "Non-Communicative Art." It clarifies in the field of painting what I have long suspected but could not have expressed. Now won't you have a musician—preferably old-school, it seems to me—analyze in a similar vein what has been taking place in the field of music? Education has already been at least briefly treated. . . .

REV. P. H. CLEARY, M.M.
Maryknoll, N.Y.

THE Freeman

MONDAY, JUNE 14, 1954

The Fortnight

As a picture of democracy in action the televised Army-McCarthy bout is scarcely edifying. In a time of deepening peril for humankind, under the shadow of nuclear annihilation, the concentration of military and legislative brains upon the issue of how many passes were given to an Army private sets a record for pettiness and futility. But the shameful show is now history and the record should be kept straight.

Hostile reporting and editorializing have subtly put over the lie that the proceedings were initiated by the Wisconsin Senator and that they have been kept rolling at his behest. In truth the spectacle was deliberately precipitated by the Administration and the Pentagon, which prepared the bill of charges against McCarthy, presented it to Senator Potter and others, and leaked it to the press. McCarthy, on the professed ground that he was eager to get back to his job of investigating Communist infiltration, repeatedly showed himself ready to call off or condense the circus but has been overruled. Those chiefly responsible for bringing about the hearing, for the frank purpose of "killing off McCarthy," add hypocrisy to the mischief when they weep over the harm it does at home and abroad.

A news item that deserved more attention than it received was the recent public protest of the Swiss and Swedish members of the Neutral Nations Armistice Commission in Korea, Generals Ernst Gross and Paul Mohn. Switzerland and Sweden are countries of unimpeachable neutrality. Their representatives, one may be sure, would lean over backward in an effort to avoid making questionable or exaggerated allegations. All the more impressive is their testimony that they have been unable to investigate numerous charges of violations of the armistice because of the obstructive attitude of the Polish and Czechoslovak members of the Commission. They declare that the North Korean and Chinese Communist troops have not carried out satisfactorily "the spirit and code of the armistice agreement."

This statement possesses an importance that goes far beyond the immediate issue of the Korean armistice. If the Communists are clearly and brazenly thwarting neutral inspection of the observance of the relatively minor Korean armistice agreement, what possible confidence could be placed in Soviet or Chinese Communist pledges to abide by some system of U.N. inspection and control of atomic armaments? The obvious answer is: None at all. And this lights up the political naiveté of a recent resolution of the British Association of Scientific Workers, calling for "effective inspection and control of atomic weapons" and a declaration of all nations that no one among them will be the first to use atomic weapons. It is high time to realize that effective international inspection and control in a country ruled by totalitarian terror is a sheer impossibility. And scientists, not only in Britain, would be well advised to take a little time out from their specialized studies to learn the facts of international political life before they offer recommendations on political subjects. J. Robert Oppenheimer was not the only scientific Babe in the Woods in the political field.

There are dangers of an intense and basic nature in the continuing efforts to lower the national voting age to eighteen years. This action now is moving through its various congressional considerations with a strange sort of ineluctability that indicates many legislators are either afraid of debating the point, for fear of offending a nascent minority group (the teen-agers), or are simply unaware of the implications of this matter.

The broadest effect the lowering of the age limit would have, possibly, would be to mold another bloc of voters easily influenced in the mass and cynically "deliverable." No other bloc, as shown by the prairie fires of fadism that sweep young people each year, could be so easily delivered by a skilled huckster. And the fact that this age group is still a heavy buyer of comic books and an inevitable victim of any Hollywood "rage" or whim does not speak well for the possibility of presenting solid political issues to them. If we are to consider a change in voting age,

the direction might well be just the opposite—upward. Maturity in the political arena, from voting on up, never before was so sorely needed.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's firm and courageous words on the occasion of his inauguration for a second six-year term as President of China are a welcome reminder that we have a dedicated anti-Communist ally off the coast of Red China. Chiang pointed out that the loss of mainland China to the Communists is the root of the continuous troubles and threats to peace in the Orient. It is unlikely that the Nationalists single-handed could launch a successful attack on the mainland. The odds in manpower and Soviet-supplied munitions are too great. But the Nationalist army on Formosa is an invaluable asset, from a defensive point of view, and should be included in any realistic calculation for Far Eastern defense. As Chiang was speaking Nationalist airplanes were sinking Communist gunboats off the Tachen Islands. To throw over a fighting ally like Chiang Kai-shek in an effort to win favor in the eyes of spineless neutralists like Nehru would be equally stupid and dishonorable.

It is a familiar trick of a criminal bully to try to divert attention from his own actions by making false charges against his victims. So it is probably no mere coincidence that a recent crime wave, including cases of murder and assault, by drunken and disorderly Red Army soldiers in Vienna and the Soviet zone of Austria should be accompanied by threats to the Austrian government by Soviet High Commissioner Ivan Ilyitchev. With truculent arrogance the Soviet representative declared the Soviet military authorities would take separate action if the Austrian government did not stop alleged "hostile and subversive propaganda against the Soviet occupation forces." It is a safe assumption that propaganda of this kind, if it were carried on, would be superfluous. The behavior of the Soviet troops and the extortions of the Soviet government are quite sufficient to determine Austrian sympathies in the cold war.

A reasonable conclusion from the survey of U.S. and U.N. technical aid programs recently undertaken by the *New York Times* is that sharing industrial and commercial "know how" is a better means of raising the standard of living in underdeveloped countries than indiscriminate dollar handouts. A press survey of seventy-nine nations in which technical aid programs have been operating indicates that these programs are "one of the largest and most successful enterprises on which the world has ever engaged." Showing people how to help themselves is a far more effective method of fighting hunger and poverty than a billion global soup kitchens. One of the best examples of this is the striking results achieved in Latin

American countries by the hard-headed enterprise of U.S. business firms. Modern stores, set up in many cities south of the Rio Grande, have been a revelation in merchandising methods and a stimulus to local industries. Free capital investment, easy conditions for foreign visitors, the sending to the United States of substantial numbers of students: these are the most sensible and effective devices for improving living standards in "underdeveloped" countries.

It is not surprising to learn from a survey published by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that former Nazi generals and officers are turning up in the para-military units and huge police force of Germany's Soviet zone. Pointing out that the puppet "government" in the Soviet zone employs Nazi methods in disciplining labor and regimenting youth, the survey observes: "One is particularly struck by the similarity and often the identity of today's Communist methods and yesterday's Nazi methods." This is quite natural, since Communism and nazism are opposite sides of the same coin, and no one who lived under both could fail to be impressed by the many profound similarities. Because Communism was imposed by a brutal foreign conqueror and was accompanied by extreme physical misery, there is reason, especially after last year's June uprising, to believe that the inner resistance of the people in the Soviet zone remains strong.

Governor J. Bracken Lee of Utah deserves congratulations on several counts. He has consistently, to the limit of his ability, put into practice ideals to which many politicians pay only lip service: economy, elimination of waste, pay-as-you-go finance. Incidentally, he wrote an excellent introduction to Frank Chodorov's *The Income Tax: Root of All Evil* (Devin-Adair), recently reviewed by John T. Flynn in the FREEMAN. Now Governor Lee has rendered another meritorious service. He has refused to proclaim United Nations Day for the state of Utah. A good many Americans by this time are convinced that the United Nations is a fraud and a deception. But it is a rather rare event when a man in public office gives expression to this feeling. Governor Lee's action will be greeted far beyond the boundaries of his own state of Utah.

Molotov, with a straight face, accuses the West of "colonialism" because it wants free Korean elections. That's also an admission that a free choice by the Koreans would put an end to the Red "colony" north of the 38th Parallel.

Could the FHA scandals, coming on top of the RFC disclosures, mean that the federal government has no business in the loan business? Well, yes—also that it has no business in business.

“All Men Are Created Equal”

Ideas do have consequences, good and bad. When Thomas Jefferson wrote into the Declaration of Independence, as “a self-evident truth” a doctrine of human equality, he pronounced an ultimate sentence of death on slavery, even though many signers of the Declaration, including Jefferson himself, came from slave-owning states.

There is a direct chain reaction from this explosive idea of the equality of man, on which the young American Republic was founded, to the bloody battlefield of Gettysburg and Lincoln’s apostrophe to “a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.”

And the Emancipation Proclamation was certain, in time, to lead to fuller implementation of this ideal of equality of opportunity for all American citizens, of which the Supreme Court decision against segregated schools is the latest and most dramatic expression. In the nineteen hundred and fifty-fourth year of the Christian era and the one hundred and sixty-fifth year of the American Republic, the moral pressure on the highest tribunal to rule, as it did, unanimously against segregation was overwhelming.

It has been said that the Supreme Court follows the election returns. This rule would not always work out very well, from the standpoint of abstract justice. The principle that educational facilities could be “separate but equal” was probably the best attainable ideal in 1896, when a decision embodying this expression was adopted by the Court. But since 1896 American Negroes have advanced tremendously in education, in the arts, in industrial skills, and property ownership.

The Negro population has spread out more evenly in the country. The South has undergone spectacular transformation, during the last two decades, in the direction of a more even balance between industry and agriculture and greater modernization and diversification of agriculture. All this has altered the status of the Negro and weakened the arguments for rigid segregation.

The Supreme Court ruling is unmistakably in line with a trend of the times away from this kind of segregation. Predictions of violence and bloodshed as a result of freer association of the races have been false alarms. Integration in the armed forces has been carried out with little friction and no serious incidents. This is also true as regards the admission of Negro students to many Southern universities and graduate schools.

The whole trend of world development also is away from color-line distinctions in the rights, privileges, and obligations of citizenship. The age

when a few white nations in Europe ruled, benevolently or otherwise, what Kipling referred to as “lesser breeds without the law,” has passed forever in Asia. There are new stirrings and new adjustments in Africa. The Supreme Court decision holding that “separate educational facilities are inherently unequal” and that “such segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the law” is a shot in the arm to American prestige abroad. It blunts one of the favorite weapons of Communist propaganda.

This would not, in itself, be a sufficient reason for the decision. There are issues on which the United States is fully justified in disregarding foreign judgments that are confused and mistaken and based on false appraisals and inaccurate information. The ultimate validation of the Court decision, which undoubtedly ranks among the most important in American history, lies in the fact that it is in line with what is deepest and strongest and most generous in our historical tradition.

Opposition to the change in some parts of the South will be strong and in some cases bitter. And this opposition cannot be brushed off as merely an expression of obsolete race prejudice. There is a very genuine feeling that education is a matter reserved for the states. Some Southerners with long and honorable records of combatting racist demagoguery and promoting Negro well-being are doubtful about the possible setbacks to good race relations which may come from a sudden letting down of long-established bars on an issue of explosive emotional potentialities.

The Court has been wise in recognizing that “problems of considerable complexity” are raised by the decision and in allowing time for tempers to cool and for calm consideration by local leaders of both races as to how the new principle may be put into practice with a minimum of friction.

This is very definitely a change in which there is a strong case for making haste slowly, for preferring persuasion to force. It would not be amiss to remember the negative lessons of the Reconstruction period in the South.

One of the problems to be faced is what will become of the Negro teachers if the present separate educational systems in the Southern states are consolidated. That they may find themselves suddenly without teaching opportunity is a new problem rising out of an old one.

In the nature of the circumstances the shift will come slowly, and this should make gradual adjustment easier. The Court has granted a stay until autumn, when hearings will begin on how to rectify the specific complaints about segregation

which were the basis of its ruling. It is unlikely that the general pattern of residential segregation will change; and this means that in many cities and towns the present system of all-white and all-Negro schools will be little affected because of simple geography.

Opposition to the change will probably be strongest in some of the states of the Deep South, such as South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. Governor Byrnes of South Carolina has suggested that the public school system should be abandoned, as a means of avoiding the legal ban on segregation. Schools would be leased to individual groups of citizens and operated on a private basis.

No doubt this practice would be an occasion for further litigation; but the idea has interesting possibilities altogether separate from segregation. It would be a good thing for American education if parents who wish to send their children to private schools were given more opportunity to do this by means of rebates on the taxes which they pay for the upkeep of the public schools. In education, as in other fields, competition is highly desirable and American children would be better taught today if there were a larger network of private schools, denominational and non-denominational, side by side with the general public school system. Thus what began as an attempt to evade an unavoidable change in an obsolete system of racial segregation might turn into an interesting educational experiment.

Embattled Farm Prices

The federal government is supporting prices of basic farm commodities at 90 per cent of parity to help win the war. What war? Why, World War Two against the Axis Powers, of course—Germany, Japan, Italy. The idea is—to use a phrase popular when hostilities started—that “food will win the war and write the peace.” Therefore, we must have lots of food; to do that, we must guarantee high government price supports in order to encourage production.

Do you think World War Two is over? Do you think Soviet Russia is no longer an ally and Japan, Italy, and West Germany no longer enemies? Have the soldiers of that war come home, gone to school, married, had children? Well, maybe so. But the war goes on for the congressional Farm Bloc. It is fought in every little Washington fox-hole; legalistic blood flows copiously as the heroes march relentlessly out of the cloak rooms. It is an endless war, a desired war, a war which holds up the price of food.

This is no exaggeration. It is part of the historical record. We did not get government price supports at 90 per cent of parity until we entered

the war, and those supports were expected to go off soon after the war ended.

The parity concept was first employed in the Second Agricultural Act (1938) as an aid to agriculture somewhat similar to the unemployment insurance device used for urban workers. But the support, varying with different crops, was well under 90 per cent. Then came World War Two and the Anti-Inflation Act of 1942.

A bitter battle developed in Congress over this act. Farm Bloc representatives wanted to get the cost of farm labor included in the computation of parity prices, a move which would have meant higher price ceilings. The Roosevelt Administration fought this agrarian drive. At the showdown a compromise was effected—the Farm Bloc withdrew its cost of labor agitation and the Administration agreed to boost the price support level to 90 per cent. The bill pointedly stated such rigid high supports were to continue until only two years after the end of the war.

High, rigid support levels should have expired December 31, 1948. But they didn't. Instead, Congress passed the Agricultural Act of 1948 which continued the 90 per cent support level on basic crops until June 30, 1950. After that, said Congress, we'll put in a sliding scale of supports—when our supplies are small, we'll raise the supports; when our supplies are excessive, we'll lower the supports. The scale was from 60 to 90 per cent of parity.

Next came the Agricultural Act of 1949. That kept the 90 per cent of support level but provided that, in 1952, the sliding scale would go into effect—from 75 to 90 per cent of parity, not 60 to 90 per cent as in the 1948 act. This 1949 measure included the cost of labor in computing parity—that precise point on which the Farm Bloc had compromised in order to get 90 per cent of parity supports back in the early World War Two days.

At the start of 1952 former President Truman, who knew an election year when he was in one, came out for repeal of the sliding scale provision. And, in July, he received and signed a bill which again pushed back the year for introduction of the sliding support scale—until 1955. He rejoiced over the maintenance of the 90 per cent support level, saying it “should help greatly to assure high farm production.” It did, devastatingly!

The results are appalling. Raw materials pile up, unconverted into finished goods. Storage costs to the government mount daily. Prices remain high. There is enough wheat piled up under government price supports to provide the average American family with 1,000 loaves of bread; there is enough corn to provide four months' supply of pork and pork products; there is enough cotton to make 88 shirts or 72 house dresses for each family. And, in order to maintain the program, the farmer is restricted in the amount of land he can plant to such crops as wheat and corn.

Throughout this sorry history one fact is clear: Congress has acknowledged the principle of sliding scale support prices, but invariably put off the day they should go into effect—first to 1950, then to 1952, and finally to 1955. Thus there has been a kind of academic recognition of the fact that World War Two is over, but a resolute reluctance to take off the uniform.

The Right to Manage

The right of a company to manage its business was reaffirmed in the settlement of the strike of the United Hatters against the Norwalk, Conn., plants of the Hat Corporation of America. This period of industrial warfare, which lasted for more than ten months, from July 9, 1953, to the end of May 1954, could have been avoided if the union had recognized its responsibilities to its members and to the firm which employed them. As it was, more than 1,000 employees were out of work the better part of a year and the wages lost exceeded four million dollars.

During negotiations for a new contract in 1953, the company informed the union that, in order to protect and strengthen its competitive position, it proposed to move the balance of its straw hat production to Tennessee and to open a new shop for finishing low-price felt hats somewhere west of the Mississippi. In making this proposal, the company offered to protect the jobs of all felt hat workers for the life of the new agreement and to provide severance pay for some sixty straw hat workers who could not be absorbed in felt hat production. The union demanded that the company agree not to manufacture any hats outside of Norwalk. The company stood by what it considered to be proper and essential rights of management. On this issue, the union struck. Now the strike is ended and the company retains its right to operate plants in and out of Norwalk.

The meaning of this strike and its resolution has significance far beyond this episode in the hat industry. For the hatters' union, like all other labor unions, directs its policy toward limiting the authority and prerogatives of management. This aspect of union policy is of much greater importance than the push for higher wages and other monetary concessions. Allowed to run its course, it is bound in time seriously to impair the capacity of a business to manage itself efficiently in a competitive society. When this happens, both management and employees are the losers, however highly the union prizes its right to interfere with normal managerial decisions. The history of labor relations in the United States and other countries is full of examples of what happens when a firm surrenders the right to make the business decisions on which the economic health and pros-

perity of a company, as of its employees, necessarily depend.

This Norwalk strike illustrates another fundamental feature of the policies and actions of American labor unions. There is a formidable array of evidence that many of the major decisions of unions are made without the full knowledge and free consent of the unions' members. Certainly a decision to call 1,400 employees out on strike and to keep the majority of them out of work for nearly a year is such a decision. It was the belief that strikes were initiated and prolonged in this way that caused President Eisenhower to propose amending the Taft-Hartley Act by requiring secret ballots of members to decide whether a strike should be continued or settled. In the course of the frequent negotiations that attended the Norwalk strike the company proposed submitting a plan of settlement to a secret vote of the union's members. This proposal for putting a vital decision up to the employees themselves was rejected by the union in February and the strike ran on for three months longer.

It is too much to expect that the lessons of this strike will be absorbed by the leaders of American organized labor. Both President Meany of the A.F.L. and David Dubinsky of the Garment Workers used their influence to prolong the walk-out. They would have better served the interest of the striking hatters if they had brought to the officers of the United Hatters counsel of moderation and reason.

Red-Handed Aggression

The State Department's decision to make immediate air shipments of arms to Honduras and Nicaragua, in accordance with military assistance pacts concluded with those small nations, bespeaks a renewed determination to halt alarming Communist inroads in Central America. More importantly, it demonstrates that many of Guatemala's neighbors are beginning to recognize that the danger of Communist infiltration is not a figment of the U.S. imagination, but a genuine threat to stability and economic progress in Middle America. [See Max White's article, "Danger Signs in Mexico," on page 665.]

At the recent Inter-American Conference in Caracas, Secretary Dulles asked the delegates for a vigorous anti-Communist resolution in order "to identify the peril [and] to develop the will to meet it unitedly if ever united action should be required." Most of the foreign ministers assembled there were content to approve the resolution, while dodging the issue of its effective implementation which alone could stamp out Communist infiltration in this hemisphere.

But the course of events is fashioning new atti-

tudes south of the Rio Grande. The pattern is becoming visible:

Nicaragua discovered an arms cache of Soviet origin after an unsuccessful attempt on the life of President Somoza; diplomatic relations with Guatemala were broken.

British Honduras found that Guatemalans were financing and in other ways interfering with local elections on behalf of the People's United Party, an apparently Communist-dominated group.

The Atlantic coast ports of Honduras were paralyzed by a sudden, well-organized action that began as a strike against one fruit company; two Guatemalan consular officials were ordered out of the country, and the Army was needed to restore order.

Within Guatemala itself, no repressive measures have been taken to strangle the country's few remaining anti-Communist voices. The Guatemalan press and radio news broadcasters have both been brought into the Communist fold. This in a country of almost three million people which has a Communist Party membership of probably not more than two thousand.

Latin American nations, even those bordering Guatemala, have until recently preferred to pooh-pooh the U.S. claim that the government of President Jacobo Arbenz constitutes a threat to hemisphere solidarity and space. However, the attitudes of many Latin nations have changed with the revelation that some two thousand tons of arms were secretly shipped from Communist Poland to a Guatemalan port. What, they are beginning to inquire, does Guatemala need with such a large supply of arms if it has no aggressive intent? And why does Guatemala need an army of 22,000 men, against some 2,500 in Honduras and slightly more than 3,000 on active duty in Nicaragua?

The obvious answer has caused considerable uneasiness among Guatemala's neighbors. Moreover, with the Panama Canal only 750 air miles away, the United States can find little reason for complacency. Obviously, the time has come to implement the Caracas resolution, to identify the aggressor, and to draw a *cordon sanitaire* around this breeding growth of Communism before it infects the rest of the Americas.

Besides bolstering the armed forces of our allies in Central America, the United States should utilize the existing machinery of the Organization of American States. By a two-thirds vote of the American foreign ministers called into consultation, economic sanctions can be applied against an aggressor (armed force requires a unanimous vote, excluding the accused nation). If Guatemala were to lose its markets for such export crops as bananas and coffee, it would soon be forced to accept a peaceful place in the community of American nations and to restore democratic government to its sorely oppressed peoples.

Columbia's Little Film

The scene is a public library "somewhere near New York City." The library board is in plenary session. An irate citizen, "a father," demands angrily that the works of Voltaire, "an exposed Communist," and John Milton, "a well-known fellow-traveler," be forthwith banned, lest they infect young minds with "the spreading disease of Communism." But the librarian, "a mother," pleads against the suppression of these classics as violating America's "freedom heritage."

Now where in the world, outside a booby hatch, did they dig up an American so "hysterical" on the Communist issue that he would protect his little ones against Comrades Milton and Voltaire? No trouble at all, since the whole grotesque debate, mocking the common sense of all Americans, is fiction: a motion picture produced—no, not by the Kremlin as part of its anti-American campaign—by Columbia University in connection with its current bicentennial celebration and financed by the Ford Foundation.

The incredible nonsense is presented solemnly and no less solemnly reported in the news columns of the *New York Times*. A learned commentary on current reality under the imprimatur of a great university! The viewer is assumed to accept without question the premise that an important segment of American public opinion—important enough to rate a filmed reproof—is hell bent upon banishing Milton, Voltaire, and their kind from library shelves.

The "book burning" issue, it is worth recalling, was raised by a controversy, maliciously churned up by anti-anti-Communists, around the removal of certain books from official U.S. libraries abroad. Whatever the rights and wrongs of that tempest in a samovar, it referred to writers like Howard Fast, Earl Browder, and Edgar Snow, which is a bit removed from Voltaire and Milton. It referred, moreover, not to "freedom to read" here at home but to the political wisdom of making pro-Soviet books available, at the taxpayer's expense, in foreign lands in an enterprise intended to combat Communist influences abroad.

When the Columbia-Ford propaganda reaches Europe, as assuredly it will, we may count on further editorial outcries on the degradation of American culture. The classic libertarians of France and England, it will be pointed out on the authority of an American university, have joined poor Robin Hood in our national doghouse.

The film, incidentally, does not disclose whether the crackpot anti-Communist or the decent American librarian prevailed. Perhaps there will be a sequel, as learning and philanthropy, hand in hand, labor tirelessly to contain the forces of intellectual darkness in our unfortunate land.

How to Hold Southeast Asia

By MAJ. GEN. CHARLES A. WILLOUGHBY

A realistic blueprint for the defense of the Pacific area, by a great intelligence officer who knows it well; a challenge that may force Soviet aggression to a halt.

Every year, on April 30, the French Foreign Legion commemorates the defense of the Hacienda de Camerone, which a detachment of sixty-two Legionnaires held to the last man against 2,000 Mexicans back in 1863. *Faire Camerone* has become a slogan in the Legion to denote a fight that was hopeless from the beginning—with only one possible ending! Dienbienphu, the “Camerone” of Indo-China, cannot fail to become a similar tragic legend.

From a purely military viewpoint, the entry into action of two or three first-class French divisions, had it occurred in time, would have tipped the scales in Indo-China. But the French effort was a familiar one of “too little, too late.” The spectacular last-minute air transport of reinforcements raises the cold professional question as to why it should have been last-minute. The military situation in Tonkin was obviously precarious months ago. Moreover, the isolated position of Dienbienphu was an open challenge to the Reds. The failure of the French was due either to poor staff work, or to pessimistic reluctance to do anything decisive, or to a vague desire to pin the United States to a Wilson-Roosevelt-Truman type of surreptitious military commitment, or to a combination of all these things.

The French maneuvered themselves into their present critical position. They pointedly considered Indo-China as an internal French problem. We can understand why this was done. It was done to keep the United Nations out: the naive and disastrous meddling by the U.N. in Indonesia was too recent to be ignored. The French failed to push the war effort against Ho Chi Minh when it would have been easy, and they failed to nationalize the war by remaining lukewarm to local ambitions. Their greatest failure, however, was in their handling of Communists at home, in France.

Here is the story: Comrade Jacques Duclos, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, is also Secretary of the French Communist Party. In the United States we have tried and convicted the local Communist leaders. France has been unable or unwilling to follow suit. Deputy Duclos, a notorious Kremlinist saboteur, sent Ho Chi Minh a “message of congratulations and best wishes for victory.” Against a background of the heroic dead piled around Dienbienphu, this is unvarnished

treason. A move was made to indict the traitor, but a majority of the Parliament absolved Duclos and other Communist members. Many parties combined on a technicality of parliamentary immunity to sustain a final vote of 302 to 291, with eighteen abstentions, to protect the Red deputies. With softness toward Communism at home, how could the French be expected to push the war against Communism in Indo-China?

France Not Using Conscripts

While figures are not officially published, it is a good estimate that some 150,000 French troops, plus native auxiliaries, are engaged in Indo-China. At least 80 per cent of the French are *Légion Étrangère*, a majority of which are Germans and Moroccans. About 30,000 are *Armée Métropolitaine*, or volunteers, comprising 7,000 officers and about 23,000 non-coms, primarily technicians. These professionals are said to represent cadres for four to six European divisions, an argument used to explain France's delay in furnishing NATO contingents. Granted, for the sake of argument, that the spiral of living and matériel costs has shot up to three times the prewar level, the failure of the French to maintain army divisions (they had ninety in 1941, 118 in 1914) is hardly explicable. The manpower is still there—and the United States has been willing to supply dollar contributions to arm this manpower. Europeans have always been conscripted as required; they have been socially conditioned to this for a century. The fact that primarily French volunteers have been available for the Asiatic war should make even a suggestion that Americans be drafted for Indo-China abhorrent. Who wants to die for Pnom Penh?

From the standpoint of finances and matériel, Indo-China's cost to Paris has been small. The French have been surprisingly frank—or is cynical a better term?—about their military budget. A French government spokesman admitted coolly that the United States was carrying 78 per cent of the costs of the Indo-China war; United States aid amounted to 490 billion francs, while French provided only 136 billion, mainly for paying the troops. Since American dollar credits are all funneled through French fiscal channels and converted

into francs or piasters, it is obvious that these credits represent a tremendous leverage for currency stabilization. And the Legionnaires have to be paid anyhow, whether they are in Asia or in Africa.

Everywhere throughout Asia the Cominform—the Soviet apparatus for Communist penetration—has sown a network of committees, associations, and front organizations. Universities of subversion flourish in the Soviet Union, and from these Machiavellian centers of sabotage and treason expatriate agitators and organizers creep back into their homelands to build a fifth column with infinite patience and savage fanaticism. Some of these graduates have become famous—Ho Chi Minh of Indo-China, Alimin and Tan Malakka of Indonesia, Sen Katayama and Nozaka Sanzo of Japan. The communization of Asia is in full swing—perhaps it is already a *fait accompli*. This radical evolution is almost entirely Soviet inspired, financed, and armed, though the rise of “nationalism” and a vacillating, fratricidal West have contributed their full share. For example, without lifting a finger to challenge Soviet colonialism, America and the United Nations threw their weight into the scale to knock out the Dutch in Indonesia after three centuries of occupancy. Where 5,000 Dutch police once kept order among millions, the Soekarno Indonesian government now requires an army of 300,000 men.

It is only a short half century since the frantic assaults of the Mahdi were shattered at Omdurman by British Maxim guns. No amount of religious or nationalist frenzy could survive machine guns firing at cyclic rates 300-400 rounds per minute. When the Western nations began to release these wonder weapons—the fruit of their own technical genius, in fact a monopoly!—they sold their birthright. It was the end of colonial supremacy. Successive wars siphoned considerable armaments into phony resistance movements. Armed with British, German, and Soviet weapons, the Asiatic millions are now in a position to suffocate Western armies. Indeed, the West is doomed to defeat unless a weapons balance is reestablished.

Gratitude is not in the dictionary of the Communists. Rescued from Hitler's Panzer divisions by the lend-lease of some 18,000 planes, 140,000 motorized or armored vehicles, and untold millions of tons of ammunition and supplies, the Soviets escaped disaster in 1942. Brazenly denying the decisive character of Allied aid ever since, fattened by subsequent American largesse, the Kremlin has become cynically frank in biting the hand that fed it. It has brutally turned against the West and has treacherously converted political issues into regional wars in Greece, in China, in Korea, in Indo-China—following an old, original pattern: Spain 1936.

Slowly, reluctantly, the West began to move against this pattern. With 300 to 400 Soviet and

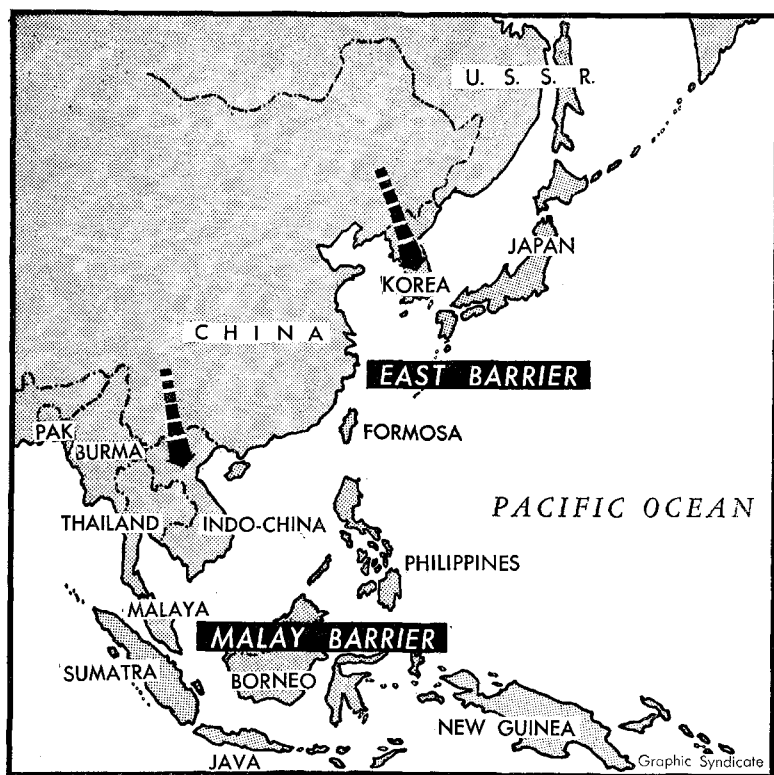
Satellite divisions looking down their throats, it was no longer a matter of retaliation but of self-defense. Thus was born the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The Soviets watched its growth patiently. They need not act as yet. American economic substance was being poured into Europe progressively; carried to conclusion, the United States might be bled white—at least, that was Lenin's and Stalin's forecast. When the economic collapse did not take place fast enough, the Soviet conspirators turned to the East to lance another vein and watch another economic bleeding of Western capitalism. So the West moved again and, as in Europe, the formula must become a regional defense scheme by local powers. It could logically be called Pacific Treaty Organization, *i.e.*, PACTO. However, if NATO had a precarious growth—a sort of *mariage de raison*, with a Soviet shotgun as an element of persuasion—there is no likelihood that its Asiatic counterpart will burst into being full grown; its development will be just as precarious as its European parallel and for much the same reason.

Soviets Follow Japanese War Plans

Fortunately, the Japanese have given us a forecast of things to come in their own strategic conduct of the Pacific war. The Japanese war plans for 1941 stressed a southward move toward Borneo and Indonesia for oil, rubber, manganese, tungsten, and tin, and westward toward Indo-China, Siam, Burma, and Malaya for more rubber and oil—but primarily for rice. First, the Japanese blocked the United States to the East by crippling the American Navy and securing an island chain from the Philippines through Borneo and New Guinea. Then they boxed off the South, from the Moluccas to Malaya, a vital line known as the Malay Barrier. In this South Pacific enclosure, industrial Japan had everything she wanted.

The Soviets will also find everything they want in this enclosure. Now that the Japanese have been forced out, the Soviets have been prompt to take their place. The ultimate objectives remain the same. For the moment, the United States holds the Eastern Barrier, the Japan-Okinawa-Formosa-Philippines line. In the South, the Malay Barrier is nominally in friendly hands—though the point might be disputed with respect to Indonesia. Fortunately, we still control the adjacent fairways of navigation. The American Seventh Fleet moves unchallenged from Formosa to Singapore. This fluid itinerary, however, moves along an insecure perimeter.

The Communists, by contrast, fight on “interior lines.” Faced by controlled seaways, the Soviets, essentially a land power, operate historically from a central position. They have already demonstrated that they can move by land from the Yalu to the Mekong. They have already successfully breached



The Japanese lines of conquest in 1941-45 are a forecast of the lines of conquest of Asiatic Communism. The Japanese war plans moved southward toward the Philippines, Borneo, and Indonesia—for oil, rubber, manganese, tungsten, and tin—and westward toward Indo-China, Siam, Burma, and Malaya, for more rubber and oil but primarily for rice. These are strategic raw materials equally essential to the Soviet Union and her satellites as they were to Japan and the United States. Now that the Japanese are knocked out, the Soviets have taken their place—but the ultimate objectives have remained the same.

the Western encirclement, in Korea and in Indo-China. The collision with the French is only a preliminary skirmish, an attack on the first line of Western defense; when this line falls, the drive will be directed on the Malay Barrier. In 1941 this line fell to the Japanese with the connivance of fifth column collaborators; it will fall to the Soviets when the time comes with the connivance of the same people.

The Soviets are following the Japanese blueprint—with the notable exception that no Soviet troops are openly employed. Somehow, the United States has not been able to achieve this type of remote control. Secretary of State Dulles has made efforts to develop regional defense pacts in areas that should be the prime concern of nations which have enjoyed the fruits of an opulent colonial domain for decades. But somehow when the bill is presented, it always seems to call for American draftees.

The regional powers of southeast Asia constitute a self-evident list: Burma, Malaya, Thailand, Indo-China, Indonesia (the people of the Malay Barrier), Australia, and New Zealand. Nationalist China is in the bloc, too, since the whole Southern area is permeated with millions of expatriate Chinese, in the retail business, constituting a powerful and influential social factor. A beginning at regional defense organization has been made in the recent ANZUS, or Australia-New Zealand-United States, treaty. This group needs augmentation by others in the Pacific area who are more immediately vulnerable.

President Eisenhower recently coined a brilliantly descriptive phrase when he spoke of the *domino theory*, i.e., when one block goes, the next one falls almost immediately. Indo-China is the first domino; Java will be next. We can expect nothing from the Geneva Conference. The fall of Dienbienphu was a foregone conclusion. It is a noble chapter of military endurance—but no more noble than the defense of the Alcazar in Spain, which did not fall. But heroic episodes will not settle the issues; they must be settled along different lines. Certain practical conclusions are almost irresistible:

Fifteen Practical Conclusions

1. The Indo-Chinese situation is a repetition of the world-wide Communist conspiracy, as in Spain, Greece, China, and Korea.

2. The strategic impact is more important than Korea, which was bloodletting without recompense; the stakes in South Asia are bigger, better, higher.

3. The stakes are access to and control of prime strategic raw materials: rubber, manganese, oil, tungsten, tin, and rice.

4. In 1941 the Japanese made a major bid for these stakes. The Communist General Staff is expected to follow the Japanese blueprint.

5. The Japanese master plan did not stop in Indo-China. It moved westward toward Siam, Malaya, and Burma, and southward toward Indonesia and the control of the Malay Barrier. It is

not important which is the first victim. Present trends in Java favor it as the next "domino."

6. In the meantime, there is Indo-China.

7. While the French have assumed a front-line responsibility, the United States had to carry 80 per cent of the costs of the war.

8. The fall of Dienbienphu does not settle the Indo-China or the greater Asiatic problems. They have grown beyond France's ability to meet them, and call for collective action. Since the United Nations is notoriously ineffective, a regional, geographical accord must be developed. It is to the credit of the Eisenhower-Dulles team that steps are being taken to make this possible through some sort of Pacific Treaty Organization expanded from the current Australia-New Zealand-United States Treaty.

9. As political maneuvers are contingent on effective military force, there must be a re-examination of military means in the present global struggle.

10. The West lost its ascendancy when it sold its exclusive modern weapons—rifles, machine guns, and artillery. This armed the inexhaustible cannon fodder of Asia, creating an impossible discrepancy of numbers and ground forces.

11. The expensive Western draftee cannot survive expendable Asiatic coolies, in ratios of ten to one or higher, armed with Soviet or Czech Tommy-guns.

12. It is a corollary that hostile or neutralist Asiatic manpower should be balanced by friendly Asiatic manpower. The Soviets have been more successful than the West in utilizing foreign troops in the guise of "volunteers." We must do likewise. The immediate reservoir for the West is Formosa, the Philippines, and Japan. The Nationalist Chinese Army on Formosa has a right to action against the Chinese mainland.

13. Other vulnerable peoples in the Pacific area can probably be induced to defend themselves under the PACTO formula. They need armies and they need training. American aid must be limited to defense; the American economy cannot stand both defense and socialistic welfare schemes.

14. As a corollary, there must be a sharp break with previous welfare state or socialistic projects within the United States. Taxed to the breaking point of diminishing return, the United States must shift from welfare butter to guns, in a situation that was never more critical for Western civilization.

15. The dangerous impasse of manpower discrepancies can be resolved only by a re-examination of armament balances along the following lines:

(a) Immediate security to prevent further thefts of modern inventions, *i.e.*, airplane design; atomic design; improved weapons design, etc.

(b) The employment of mass-destruction wea-

pons to offset the inexhaustible manpower of Asia, employed as cannon fodder of Communism in the human-wave tactics of the modern Ghengis Khans.

(c) A decision to use these weapons, in whole or in part, imposes no more moral strain than when Truman unleashed the first atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; indeed, the provocation then was far less.

(d) The principle of employment has already been accepted; Washington has announced "massive retaliation" by the Air Force.

(e) The principle was openly planned for eastern Europe, in the twenties, as the *cordon sanitaire*, to block the approach of Communism with weapons then available.

(f) The modern weapons of mass destruction can be similarly applied; older models, now in stock or obsolete, can be used to create a belt of scorched earth across the avenues of Communism to block the Asiatic hordes.

(g) The supremacy of the West at sea and in the air can deliver these weapons without recourse to ground forces.

The fear and implication that this action will bring the Soviet Union into war is always present. In the Far East, however, Soviet Russia happens to be extremely vulnerable. Her troops in the Far East are dependent on a single supply line: the Trans-Baikal Railway. It can be reached by American planes from present positions. A single air mission could isolate Soviet Siberia from its European bases of supply. A single air mission could paralyze every port from Vladivostok to Shanghai, selected at random.

Finally, it is not yet established that a Soviet conscript will fight with greater skill than an American draftee; the greatest mass surrenders in World War Two were made by Soviet soldiers.

It is not yet established that the Soviet conscript will die for Pnom Penh with any greater enthusiasm than his American counterpart when Kali, the Goddess of Death and Destruction, raises her four bloodstained arms and calls for sacrifice on the darkest night of November.

Eastward, Ho!

Soviet Russia wants to buy a large amount of butter abroad. If the Soviet government tried to milk its cows as hard as it milks its citizens, Russia would have no butter shortage.

Some people say that the shortage of butter in Russia has been caused by a shortage of cows. The few cows that Russia still has are busy appearing in motion pictures depicting the happy life of Soviet collective farmers.

ARGUS

Let's Stop Strikes!

By DONALD R. RICHBERG

Class warfare under the guise of labor action calls for a new concept of wage-hour settlements. Here is a national authority's workable, proven suggestions.

Most people deny there is any class warfare in the United States. But it is proved by the hundreds of laws and thousands of rules that have been written for waging economic wars. A strike that stops all milk deliveries in a metropolitan area is not a strike against employers as a class. Nor is a strike against steel or coal or transportation merely a strike against employers. These are warfare by a class against the community. Such strikes make no sense except as moves in a revolution to establish class domination.

Suppose a law is passed making such strikes against the community unlawful? First, how will the law be enforced? Second, how will the economic conflicts which will still inevitably arise be settled?

Senator Taft once asked me, in a discussion about outlawing certain strikes: "How are you going to put ten thousand men in jail?" I answered that that would never be necessary. A large effective strike requires organization and leadership. There are very few spontaneous mass uprisings. Generally, even rioting has organization behind it. To prevent lawless collective action, all that is necessary is to strike at the leadership and centers of organization of any such mass movement. The government anti-strike action against John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers should have settled the question for all time that a vigorous government can, with due process of law, peacefully prevent, or at least make ineffective, any unlawful strike.

The Obligation to Public Welfare

The second question is a more serious one. Certainly a strike against the public health, safety, and welfare should be subject to prevention. On the other hand, those who are engaged in rendering services which are essential to the public health, safety, and welfare should not be left subject to the dictation of private management as to the terms and conditions of their employment.

Here, however, we find a curious inconsistency in public thinking. It has been long accepted that the rates and conditions of public service can be regulated by government tribunals. Why, therefore, should not the wages and conditions of employment be likewise regulated? The stock answer is that "property rights," such as pay-

ments for, and protection of, capital can be submitted to judicial tribunals, but that "human rights" to wages and working conditions should not be subject to any such determination.

In the first place, it should be pointed out that fixing rates and service conditions in a public utility is not merely determining the rights of investors, but also the very important rights, the "human rights" if you will, of thousands of consumers who are absolutely dependent upon public utility services. They are certainly as vitally interested in proper utility rates as wage earners are in proper wages. Furthermore, the standards by which fair wages for labor can be determined are about as easily ascertained and can be as impartially applied as the standards fixing payments for capital and fair rates for utility service.

As a final answer, however, to those who object to any judicial settlement of wages and working conditions in industries of public necessity, I may suggest that anyone who engages as his livelihood in an industry of vital necessity has voluntarily entered an employment upon which his fellow citizens are definitely dependent. He should accept an obligation to give continuous service. In addition, even public utility services are competitive to some extent with other services. Prices should not be forced up indefinitely by increased labor costs. Consumers use more electricity because it is cheap. They use less coal and more oil for fuel partly because John L. Lewis and his followers have used monopoly power so unwisely as to price their product out of many markets.

However, it is not my proposition that any law should require the compulsory arbitration of all labor disputes in essential industries. Representatives of management and labor should not only have the opportunity, but be required to make every reasonable effort to agree upon terms and conditions of employment. But if, because of disagreement and the absence of a contract under which cooperation can continue, the public is threatened with a stoppage in production or distribution of an essential commodity or service, then there should be a recognized public right to intervene and to insure for a brief period, such as six months or one year, a continuation of production either with or without modification of the existing contract.

Such a law would not impose any involuntary

servitude because no worker would be required to continue his employment. But it should be a provision of the law that any worker quitting his work would be acting as an individual, resigning as in any voluntary withdrawal of employment. It would also be unlawful to conduct or maintain any concerted withdrawal of employment or boycott of the business involved. As a practical matter, we may be sure that the vast majority of American workers, unionized or non-unionized, would welcome and live happily under a law which lifted from them the burdens and losses of strikes. I venture the prophecy that those industries in which striking had been practically outlawed would become among the most preferred of employments.

Among believers in the American form of government there should be no argument that strikes to compel political action should be outlawed. The idea of converting an economic organization into a political organization has grown recently, but has still not grown to the point where the American worker desires to find himself hazarding his livelihood from time to time and stopping his earning power in the effort to compel a political action regarding which he may be far from enthusiastic. And the attempt to coerce public officials by concerted attacks on the public welfare is a subversive attack upon our form of government.

As a principle, most persons will agree that strikes without a preceding reasonable effort to avoid a strike are an intolerable wrong on all three parties concerned. First of all, on the worker; second, on the management; and third, on the consuming public. Nevertheless, in recent years there have been plagues of petty strikes throughout industries, which clearly show the need for putting a brake upon the abuse of power by little men vested with a brief authority. Penalizing such strikes should be a matter of easy legislation and prosecution.

What to do about a strike conducted with the aid or toleration of criminal violence is a more complicated problem. It is entirely possible for *agents provocateurs* or outsiders to take advantage of a strike situation and "frame" a law-abiding labor organization with charges of criminality. Nevertheless, it is not unreasonable to require that any organization conducting a strike take every reasonable means of preventing criminal violence.

Under the cloak of unionism, so many vicious, intolerable criminal organizations have flourished that it should be made to the interest of all legitimate labor organizations to dissociate themselves from such criminality. Contrariwise, at the present time there is far too close association and cooperation between organizations of a fundamentally criminal character and those which are primarily law-abiding, but entirely willing to be the beneficiaries of lawlessness.

There is a principle which may be regarded as legal as well as moral: as private power over the

welfare of others increases, public responsibility for the welfare of others also increases as a legal and enforceable obligation. It is now well recognized that the conduct of the great industries in a modern nation involves such great power over the national welfare that the managers of those industries have a public responsibility for the national welfare represented by increasing legal obligations.

In the same way, it must be recognized that the labor organizations in the great industries of the country have such vast power over the welfare of those industries, and hence over the public welfare, that they should likewise be subject to legal obligations to fulfill that public responsibility. In these circumstances, the conduct of labor relations as a form of civil welfare becomes as antiquated as the practice of dueling.

A Community of Interest

Why do we, here in the United States, tolerate the waging of civil warfare as the means of settling industrial disputes, although we have full power to enact and enforce laws forbidding such warfare and providing the means for peaceful settlement of all industrial conflicts?

The answer is that for years we have been fed the mental poison that there is an irreconcilable conflict between the interests of employers and employees. Yet our whole history shows that there is a community of interest between employers and employees which is much more important to both of them than their competitive interest in sharing the rewards of their common effort.

First, they must work together to produce something of value to someone else. If self-interest blinds them to the point where they cannot agree, surely here is the obvious place to bring in the objective judgment of an impartial arbitrator. But a public arbitrator can only decide a simple dispute as a temporary action; he cannot tell employers and employees how to work together and make a success of their joint undertaking. Politicians are not trained or equipped to plan and manage business enterprises.

Yet, strange to say, those who shrink from the idea of calling in a public arbitrator to decide a particular disagreement between experienced management and experienced labor are the very ones who propose as an alternative the socialization of industry. In other words, they propose to substitute for the operation of industry by experienced management and experienced labor an ultimate control by inexperienced, unqualified politicians!

As we see our political economy sliding down from the uplands of a free economy into the morasses of state socialism, we may well ask ourselves why we tolerate the constant disruption of industry by strikes; why we do not try for once in our economic history to insist upon the peaceful cooperation of management and labor.

Danger Signs in Mexico

By MAX WHITE

A rising Red tide at our southern border has split the unity of the Americas, given useful sanctuary to Soviet agents, and demands an end of complacency.

In a country that most Americans tend to view only as a tourists' paradise and a neighbor as inoffensive as Canada, there are definite warning signals today. The steady increase of anti-Americanism in Mexico shows the strength of Communist infiltration below the Rio Grande.

The dollar is spelled *dolor* (pain) in the anti-American campaign waged by Mexican Communists and intensified since the recent devaluation of the peso from 8.65 to the dollar to 12.5. This measure, which has brought hardship to many through a sharp inflationary rise in prices, is described by the Communists as yet another evil caused by "Mexico's submission to American imperialism." The government's official explanation, that devaluation is necessary to stop the flight of Mexican capital to the United States, is the newest indication of the deterioration in Mexican-American relations.

Another danger sign for the United States and all Latin American republics is the organization of the Society of Friends of Guatemala, under the chairmanship of General Cardenas, Mexico's former president who expropriated the foreign oil companies and is still the most influential man in the country. This group includes representatives of the C.T.M., Mexico's largest labor organization, of the powerful peasants' federation, and the civil service workers' union. All these organizations have a semi-official status.

Communists have had more freedom in Mexico since Adolfo Ruiz Cortines became President on December 1, 1952. For Ruiz Cortines has abandoned the positive anti-Communist program of his predecessor, Miguel Aleman. He freed the Communist leaders whom Aleman had jailed, and allowed Communist propaganda to flourish unchecked. He himself is far from being Communist, and the only Red sympathizer in his Cabinet—Gomez Robledo, the Under Secretary for Education—was dismissed in a matter of weeks. But the Cabinet still contains a fair sprinkling of neutralists, led by Secretary of State Luis Padilla Nervo. It was he who took a "neutralist" stand at the Caracas Conference against Mr. Dulles' anti-Red resolution on Guatemala. As chairman of the U.N. Assembly in its 1951-52 session, Padillo Nervo inaugurated what has become known as "Mexico's independent foreign policy." This has meant in practice that, whereas the United States delegation at the U.N.

could previously count on a solid anti-Communist vote from Latin American countries—except for mavericks like Argentina and Guatemala—it is now competing for these votes with the Soviet bloc.

The Mexico of Ruiz Cortines has become a hemispheric clearing house for Communists to an extent unknown since the late 1930s, when Constantine Oumansky was Soviet Ambassador to Mexico. The case of Gus Hall, who jumped bail in New York, is a dramatic revelation of the role that Mexico is playing as a refuge for U.S. Communists. Many have established themselves in the resort city of Cuernavaca, where they were joined at one time by Canada's Communist leader, Sam Carr. The Communists of Cuba are increasingly aware that Mexico City affords a healthier climate than Havana under General Batista. It is no secret that the government of El Salvador is maintaining the republic's leading Communist intellectuals on scholarships which keep them in Mexican colleges and out of Salvadorean politics. And, last but certainly not least, most of the present Communist leaders of Guatemala were living in Mexico until the fall of General Ubico gave them their chance at home.

Left-Wing Strength

Mexico's own 5,000 "official" Communists represent but a fraction of Moscow's real strength in our neighbor country. This figure includes the Trotskyists, who are regarded as a joke but do have some influence among the workers, especially in the printing and electrical trades. The official Communist Party of Mexico is nothing for Malenkov to boast about. It suffers not only from continuous bloodletting through purges, but also from hardening of the arteries. Its leader, Dionisio Encinas, is undistinguished except for an incredibly leechlike capacity for sticking to his office and pushing abler leaders out of the party. He has the support of the Kremlin.

The strength of the Mexican Communist Party is not, however, in Encinas' leadership or in the widely publicized antics of the party's most famous member and ex-member, the painters Diego Rivera and David Alfaro Siqueiros. It lies among the steel and textile workers of the North and among the peasants of the Laguna district, where local

leaders like Alfredo Orona have kept some independence of the Encinas clique. These elements are now jockeying for power and, should the Kremlin decide in their favor, they may inject some new life into the decrepit party machine.

The Workers' and Peasants' Party is composed almost exclusively of purged ex-members of the official Communist Party. It is rather small but has some able leaders. These include the party theoretician, Alberto Lumbreras, the railroad workers' leader Valentin Campa, whom Ruiz Cortines released from an eight-year jail sentence imposed by the Aleman regime, and Carlos Sanchez Cardenas, a young firebrand recently freed from the prison where he had been confined for his share in the 1952 May Day troubles. The party's following is fairly strong among intellectuals and workers in heavy industries. It has just launched a campaign for the unity of all Communists. The official Communist Party has scornfully rejected their advances; but Lumbreras is persevering in his efforts. He publicly stated that his party was willing to make ninety-nine steps toward unity for every one made by the official Communists.

By far the largest in numbers is the People's Party led by Vicente Lombardo Toledano. The last presidential elections gave it a voting strength running well into six figures, and the actual party membership is estimated at around 50,000. Lombardo himself was once hailed as the Mexican Lenin, but Mexicans are now inclined to regard him as an extinct volcano.

This is a most dangerous underestimation of the man. Lombardo is still the head of the Confederation of Latin American Workers and the Number One Communist of Mexico and Central America. It is thanks to this power that he has managed to maintain, even under the Aleman regime, a kind of semi-official status. His travels—including his frequent trips to Moscow and to Guatemala—are made on a diplomatic passport. And his party newspaper, *El Popular*, would fold in a week without the government subsidy it receives.

And now Lombardo has launched a new campaign by the method which has proved so successful in Guatemala: infiltration. He has proclaimed the need of a "United Front of all Democratic and Revolutionary Forces." This front is still far from becoming a reality but the success of Lombardo's campaign may be gauged by two or three recent news items. A prominent industrialist, Domingo Lavín, announced his support of the Communist-led drive for Mexico's economic independence against "Yankee imperialism." The chairman of the official P.R.I. party, general Leiva Velazquez, stated that his party is willing to collaborate with that of Lombardo for the good of Mexico (a few days later he had to issue a denial). And the Sinarquists, a Catholic party which is anti-Communist by definition, expressed disapproval of American "pressure" against Guatemala.

The Mexican Communists miss no chance to stir up hatred and fear of the United States. When the Mexican government confiscated a "peace" mural by Diego Rivera and refused to include it in the traveling exhibition of Mexican art which toured Europe last year, the Communists spread a rumor (quite unfounded) that this was done at the order of the American Embassy. And according to Communist propaganda, American wickedness is the only reason why close on two million "wetbacks" cross the Rio Grande every year.

Economic Relations Deteriorate

In the last year or two there has been a distinct worsening in Mexican-American economic relations. During and immediately after the war, when Mexico's mines, farms, and cattle ranches supplied America's needs and American manufactured goods poured into Mexico, the U.S. share of Mexican foreign trade was 80 per cent and more. The Mexicans were none too happy about putting all their economic eggs into one basket, and the government made efforts, not unsuccessful, to develop trade with Europe and Latin America. This reduced America's share of Mexico's trade to something closer to 70 per cent. Similarly, the Mexican government has become somewhat leery of borrowing from the United States. The Mexican Secretary of the Treasury rather pointedly and publicly denied a report that Mexico was applying for a loan from the Export-Import Bank. The forthcoming Mexico-U.S. conference on devaluation of the peso may result in better accord.

The brighter aspects of Mexican-American relations should not be overlooked. The Mexican economy is now almost as closely integrated with that of the United States as is the Canadian, and there are numerous friendly and profitable contacts, both official and unofficial, between Mexicans and Americans. American enterprise has found many a fruitful field in Mexico. Unfortunately, the successes of our free enterprise in our neighbor country have not received sufficient publicity on either side of the border. Too few Americans and Mexicans are aware of the great work done by Sears, Roebuck & Company in raising the standard of living of its Mexican customers, or of benefits which Mexican peasants reaped from the hybrid corn developed by the Rockefeller Foundation, or of the work of American wildcatters on Mexican oil fields. Among successful official cooperative efforts is the joint struggle to eradicate the hoof and mouth disease from Mexico.

But the danger signals are clear, heightened now by Mexico's having taken sides with Guatemala at the Caracas Conference by refusing to vote for the anti-Communist resolution. U.S. policy toward Mexico should be intelligent and flexible. The greatest peril now is an attitude of complacency.

A Message for Stockholders

Does Just Any College Qualify?

By WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

PROLOGUE (*historical*): About a year ago, New Jersey courts (including the Supreme Court) upheld the right of the A. P. Smith Company of New Jersey to make a gift to Princeton University, and dismissed a suit brought against that company by dissenting stockholders. This important decision has become a legal bulwark for universities seeking corporate contributions. The New Jersey courts cited two statutes, one passed in 1930, the other in 1950, authorizing such gifts. The first statute permits directors of corporations to grant to educational institutions such sums "as in their judgment will contribute to the protection of corporate interests." The 1950 law allows grants made for the "creation and maintenance of institutions or organizations engaged in . . . educational . . . activities conducive to the betterment of social and economic conditions."

ISSUE (*hypothetical*) The Smith Decision is not enough, says another group of stockholders who are now asking the same courts to enjoin their company, Amalgamated Motors, Inc., from donating \$5,000 to Yale University. You can't just cite the Smith Decision and go on and make your gift, they contend. In the first place, the New Jersey statutes cited in the Smith case are equivocal. . .

PLAINTIFF: We are aware, Your Honor, that there are many points of view as to just what is conducive to the "betterment of social and economic conditions." Many insist that socialism, or state paternalism, or even Communism is conducive to the betterment of social and economic conditions. The point here, however, is that those who authorized the Smith grant—the members of the Board of Directors of the Smith Company—were of one mind as to what constitutes desirable social and economic conditions—namely, a society based on the free market place. It was on the basis of their desire to subsidize an educational institution bent upon inculcating the values of the free market place in its students that the Smith Company justified its grant not only to its own stockholders, but to the courts of New Jersey.

Allow me, Your Honor, to prove my point. Here are extracts from the resolution passed by the Board of Directors, making the controversial grant to Princeton. These extracts, by the way, were introduced in the Smith Company's legal brief with the remarks: "The following is the text of that

part of the resolution which sets forth the finding that Princeton should be supported as a step in maintaining an understanding of the benefits of free enterprise, without which [the Smith Company] . . . and other corporations cannot do business for profit."

"Whereas it appears," the resolution itself read, "that in order to maintain over a period of time the conditions under which corporations in general and this corporation in particular can exist and do business for profit, it is necessary that understanding of the benefits to the nation flowing from private enterprise and corporate organization be continued and if possible broadened and strengthened; and

"Whereas it appears that Princeton University is one of the most, if not the most, important centers of such teaching in the State of New Jersey . . ." therefore, etc., etc., the directors voted \$1,500 to Princeton University.

DEFENDANT (Amalgamated Motors, Inc.): Your Honor, the foregoing resolution perhaps explains the reasons why the Smith Company gave money to Princeton, but it does not in itself demonstrate that the *legality* of the gift rested on the assumption that Princeton grinds out little Adam Smiths. . .

PLAINTIFF: Defendant is quite correct, Your Honor; the resolution does not in itself define the legal issue. However, the Smith Company's brief reiterated, time and time again, its motives for giving money to Princeton. And the company's lawyers appealed to the efficacy of the grant in promoting an atmosphere conducive to the profitable operation of the Smith Company in the future as motivating and *legally justifying* the grant.

For example: An entire section in the Smith brief was entitled, "Importance to corporations of the privately endowed universities and colleges in teaching the value to the country of the American free enterprise system"—as unambiguous a rationale for the gift as, I submit, one can make.

Brief further stated that "the Smith Company turned to philanthropy *not for the sake of philanthropy, but for the sake of selling more valves and hydrants.*" (The Smith Company is engaged in making valves and hydrants, and related products.) The brief goes on to quote from the President of the Smith Company, who said: "By making [such] . . . gifts . . . the corporation creates a favorable climate in which it can operate."

At this point, Your Honor, allow me to invite your attention to a fundamental assumption of the Smith Company on which it relied heavily and which is logically and empirically indefensible. That is the bland assumption that the more education, the firmer one's allegiance to the free enterprise system. Allow me to quote a statement from an "expert" witness who appeared in behalf of the Smith Company to urge the legalization of the gift. Note the reliance on this assumption in the following words of Mr. Irving Olds, former Chairman of the Board of United States Steel:

Capitalism and free enterprise owe their survival in no small degree to the existence of our private independent universities. . . . Our American institutions of higher learning can and do perform a service of tremendous importance to the corporations of this and other states, *through acquainting their students with the facts about different economic theories and ideologies. . . . With the good educational facilities provided by these institutions, the courses of instruction will and do lead the student body to recognize the virtues and achievements of our well-proven economic system; and, on the other hand, to discover the faults and weaknesses of an arbitrary, government-directed and controlled system of production and distribution . . .*

Your Honor, if we reflect on the meaning of Mr. Olds' words, we recognize that he is saying one simple thing: The more we are educated, the more we will believe in the merits of the free enterprise system. My client's case rests in part on the fallacy of this assumption. He believes that while one cannot be an able champion of free enterprise without being well educated, neither can one be an able champion of economic statism without being well educated. We contend that it is not education per se that generates allegiance to the free enterprise system; it is the *kind* of education one receives that conditions a student to accept or reject paternalism. We contend that Harold Laski, Beatrice and Sidney Webb, Karl Marx, George Bernard Shaw, Clement Attlee, Norman Thomas, all these and thousands of other persons who spent and are spending their time urging the superiority of the socialist system are and were well educated.

Facts vs. Values

It is, unfortunately, a fatuous error to suppose that a mere knowledge of facts will cause people to pay homage to the free market place. What makes the difference is whether there is a genuine effort on the part of the educational institution to urge the merits of the free enterprise system in the sense that, for example, the average American college urges the merits of political democracy. The point is not *whether* economics is taught, but *how* it is taught, by *whom* it is taught, and, most important, with reference to *what values* it is taught. The dissenting stock-

holders in the A. P. Smith case never questioned the impact of Princeton education; and we surely will not go into the question whether their faith in the ideological stamp of Princeton education was justified. We simply point out that it was assumed by all parties to that dispute—the Smith Company, the minority stockholders, and the Court—that Princeton University did and does address itself to educating its students in the merits of the free market place system.

The question before the Court, Your Honor, is whether Yale education is of this character, and if not, whether the A. P. Smith decision is relevant to this lawsuit.

DEFENSE: Your Honor, plaintiff has failed to forge two missing—and indispensable—links in his argument against the legality of Amalgamated Motors' gift: He has not shown that the New Jersey courts relied on the assumption that Princeton was advancing the free enterprise system; nor has he shown that Yale University is advocating collectivism, or any such thing.

PLAINTIFF: Counsel for the defense is absolutely correct, and I acknowledge that the burden is on me to treat the two points in question, to "forge the two missing links," as he puts it. To take the first point: Did the New Jersey Courts, in affirming the action of the Smith Company, rely on the assumption that Princeton University, in turn, was coming through for the stockholders of the Smith Company? Allow me to quote from the Superior Court's opinion, upholding the Company:

It is the youth of today which also furnishes tomorrow's leaders in economics and in government, *thereby erecting a strong breastwork against any onslaught from hostile forces which would change our way of life either in respect of private enterprise or democratic self-government. The proofs before me are abundant that Princeton emphasizes by precept and indoctrination the principles which are very vital to the preservation of our own democratic system of business and government, particularly vital at this time when alien ideologies seek to impose themselves upon our habits and our dreams for the future. I cannot conceive of any greater benefit to corporations in this country than to build, and continue to build, respect for and adherence to a system of free enterprise and democratic government, the serious impairment of either of which may well spell the destruction of all corporate enterprise.* Nothing that aids or promotes the growth and service of the American university or college in respect of the matters here discussed can possibly be anything short of direct benefit to every corporation in the land.

Note, Your Honor, the unequivocal reliance of the Court in the Smith case on the predictable attitude of Princeton graduates, "tomorrow's leaders in economics and in government." Thanks to their Princeton education, the Court is telling us, they will provide the stockholders of the Smith Company with a "strong breastwork" against those who would "change our way of life . . . in respect of private enterprise." Note that in the Smith case

the "proofs" were apparently "abundant" that "Princeton emphasizes by precept and indoctrination the principles which are vital" to building "respect for and adherence to a system of free enterprise." Note, finally, the Court's isolation and identification of that slippery but indispensable quid pro quo—that which the stockholders of A. P. Smith Company are to receive in return for their gift to Princeton: "Nothing that aids or promotes the growth and service of the American university or college in respect of the matters here discussed can possibly be anything short of direct benefit to every corporation in the land."

The Supreme Court of New Jersey, in affirming the Superior Court, was almost as unambiguous. The Supreme Court reminded "the objecting stockholders" that they had "not disputed any of the foregoing testimony" reflecting the service Princeton is allegedly performing in behalf of a free market economy, and further reminded them that "more and more they [private corporations] have come to recognize that *their salvation rests upon a sound economic and social environment which in turn rests in no insignificant part upon free and vigorous nongovernmental institutions of learning.*"

In short, Your Honor, there cannot be any dispute about the area in which the New Jersey dispute was waged. It is true that other matters impertinent to the issues in hand were simultaneously adjudicated. Various questions were raised by the dissenting stockholders in the New Jersey case, and these we are specifically *not* raising in our suit against Amalgamated Motors. We insist only that, given the wording of the New Jersey statutes, given the language used by the directors of the Smith Company in adopting the resolution to give money to Princeton, given the arguments in defense of that gift advanced by the donors and by witnesses summoned in their behalf, and given the opinions handed down by the Superior and Supreme Courts of New Jersey, it is unthinkable that the gift would have been authorized except on the assumption that Princeton University is, in the words of the Superior Court, emphasizing "by precept and indoctrination the principles . . . vital to the preservation of our own democratic system of business and government."

Now, the final question: Is Yale University emphasizing "by precept and indoctrination" the merits of the free enterprise system?

Let me assure you, Your Honor, that it is by no means our contention that the impact of Yale education is akin to that of, say, the Jefferson School of Social Science. We do believe, however, that there is a stage short of doctrinaire Communism when the life and certainly the prosperity of private corporations are genuinely imperiled. Such a stage as, for example, the one at which England has arrived—where many private corporations have been taken over by the state, and many others are

harassed by restrictions so binding as to make it all but impossible for them to operate profitably. It would certainly not be contended by, say, the directors of the Smith Company that the system that exists in England is "conducive to the welfare of private corporations."

Allow us to quote, Your Honor, a few phrases from one of the witnesses summoned by the Smith Company to testify in its behalf. They will serve to explain to the Court the standard by which we tend to measure Yale education for purposes of getting insights into the legality of the gift. Mr. Frank W. Abrams, Chairman of the Board of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, testified that "*each time government takes over a new function from the citizens and increases the share which it must absorb out of the citizens' income, the free enterprise system shrinks by that much and a step has been taken toward statism, a system which surely holds great dangers for stockholders' investments in corporations.*"

Attitudes at Yale

The question, Your Honor, is whether in the dominant classes in economics and political science at Yale it is urged that the government shoulder such "new functions."

Obviously there is not time here to describe in detail the attitudes of Yale's professors, or the attitudes of the authors of Yale textbooks. Let me, however, present to the Court a few indices of those attitudes:

1. At Yale only one course is offered in Comparative Economic Systems. It is taught by a man who enthusiastically supports the Labor Party in Great Britain and recommends that the United States follow its lead in almost every particular. (Bear in mind the insistence by Mr. Olds that "courses of instruction will and do lead the student body to recognize the virtues and achievements of our well proven economic system" and the reliance on this assumption shown in the Court's opinion.)

2. The basic textbooks in economics endorse the New Deal-Fair Deal Keynesian view of things, and at a dozen points encourage increased government responsibilities. One of the books in use—not a representative one, simply *one* of the books students in the basic course must read, states: "The conclusion which the argument of this book suggests is the entirely unoriginal one that democratic socialism, properly understood, is the best cure for poverty and the best method of furthering the happiness of the human race . . ." Socialism is "both practicable and necessary . . ." The "assumptions [of free enterprise] are false. As realistic arguments they have today evaporated; and with them has evaporated the only serious case for *laissez faire*. Their unreality is demonstrated in the chapters . . . below."

3. It is generally conceded, Your Honor, that

although the differences between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party may be slight, one symbolizes an advance in the general direction of, let us say, the English Labor Party, while the other mildly resists those advances. It is perhaps relevant, therefore, to quote some figures from a poll conducted at Yale in the fall of 1952. This poll revealed that the undergraduate body was about 2-1 for the Republican Party. The faculty, however, was 2-1 in favor of the Democratic Party. The Law School was 14-1 Democratic; the Divinity School 13-2. Now note that while the undergraduate body was Republican, the Graduate School was, in the words of the *Yale Daily News* (October 15, 1952) "solidly Democratic." This would indicate that Mr. Olds' thesis that the more education you get the more conservative you get, is far from realistic; that it is more nearly the other way around, since we must assume that professors are better educated than students. It would have been interesting to study the results of a poll of each undergraduate class at Yale. Harvard did virtually this, with highly relevant results, Your Honor: Harvard freshmen were 3-2 pro-Republican; upper classmen were 5-4 pro-Democratic; graduate students (Law) were 2-1 pro-Democratic!

The evidence, then, presented here only in fragments, is that Yale is by no means concerned to discourage government pre-emption of more and more "citizens' functions." In the circumstances, we contend that a gift to Yale University is *not* in the best interests of "erecting a strong breast-work against any onslaught from hostile forces which would change our way of life . . . in respect of private enterprise."

Testimony from the University

However, my clients are willing to suppose that things got that way at Yale by accident, that a real effort will be made to reorient Yale education. In this connection, I should appreciate interrogating the representative of Yale, Mr. Goddard. THE COURT: Will you take the stand and be sworn, Mr. Goddard?

PLAINTIFF: Mr. Goddard, is it your understanding that Yale "emphasizes by precept and indoctrination the principles which are very vital to the preservation of our . . . system of business," that is, the free enterprise system?

MR. GODDARD: Well, Mr. Counsel, Yale is dedicated to furthering freedom of the mind, to pushing back the frontiers of knowledge, to encouraging individual responsibility and intellectual excitement.

PLAINTIFF: Mr. Goddard, the question is, I repeat, is it your understanding that Yale "emphasizes by precept and indoctrination the principles which are very vital to the preservation of our . . . system of business," that is, free enterprise?

MR. GODDARD: Well, Mr. Counsel, like Thomas Jefferson, we are unalterably opposed to any form

of tyranny over the mind. Like Oliver Wendell Holmes we believe that in the free market of ideas, truth will smite down error, like Voltaire. . .

THE COURT: Mr. Goddard, neither counsel for the defense, nor counsel for the plaintiff is an alumnus of Yale, nor am I. Would you therefore be good enough to answer plaintiff's question?

MR. GODDARD: I shall have to consult with the President.

THE COURT: Of Yale?

MR. GODDARD: Of Yale; yes, sir.

PLAINTIFF: Your Honor, my client would like to make his position perfectly clear. He is prepared to overlook all the evidences of collectivism at Yale University in return for a simple statement of intent by the President of Yale. If the President of Yale assures the Court that Yale is "by precept and indoctrination" prepared to promote the free enterprise system, then we are in turn prepared to waive our objections to the gift of Amalgamated Motors. That is to say, if the President of Yale tells us that Yale is, corporately speaking, prepared to take sides in behalf of a market place economy, to oppose government pre-emption of "new functions," then we will be satisfied that the stockholders of Amalgamated Motors are indeed destined to profit from the consignment of their money to Yale.

But I remind the Court that in the spring of 1952 a committee of Yale alumni implicitly disqualified Yale from receiving corporate gifts under the rationale that operated in the A. P. Smith case. For the committee members proclaimed that "A university does not take sides in the questions that are discussed in its halls. The business of a university," they said, "is to educate, not to indoctrinate its students . . . In the ideal university *all* sides of *any* issue are presented as impartially and [in fact] as *forcefully* as possible . . . This," they concluded, "*is Yale's policy.*"

This means, Your Honor, that at Yale socialism is advanced every bit as vigorously as individualism. As we have seen, this was by no means the Court's understanding of how Princeton went about things. Far from it. In short, Your Honor, the President of Yale must either relinquish his eligibility to receive a gift from Amalgamated Motors, or he must abandon the so-called doctrine of academic freedom.

THE COURT: Counsel for the defense will approach the President of Yale University. If the President of Yale and the Board of Trustees will write a statement committing the University to advancing the free economy, the Court will hold that the gift by Amalgamated Motors is legal. If the President and the Board refuse to so commit the university, there are clearly no grounds on which to justify a raid on stockholders' money for purposes inimical to the future welfare of their company. The Court will adjourn to await an answer from Yale University.

Our Economic Maginot Line

By WILLIAM H. PETERSON

Government-imposed "stabilizers" designed to make our economy depression-proof only distort the cycle of peak and trough to the extremes of boom and bust.

A growing opinion in Washington, New York, and points academic holds an economic millennium has been reached. Never again another 1929. Never a 1921. Nor a 1907, and so on. Our "built-in" stabilizers will prevent the current dip from worsening beyond a recession. "These stabilizers," says a usually conservative economic journal, "have already indicated what they can do; they helped to prevent the dip in 1949 from becoming serious." The implication is left that 1949 and 1954 are harbingers of a stable economic future.

In France during the 1930's the politicians and the military had a similar sedative for national jitters. Never again another 1914 when the Huns lunged across the French border. The Maginot Line—the steel and concrete wall between France and Germany—was "impregnable."

In 1940 France fell in eighteen days.

Are we in for like disillusionment with our "economic defenses" against depression? It is maintained the economic stabilizers produce, among other things, a more constructive national psychology—a feeling of security against economic fluctuations, a tendency to spend more and save less, a faith that government devices will ward off economic shock. Dwight Eisenhower has said: "Never again shall we allow a depression in the United States." In 1928 Herbert Hoover suggested we were in sight of the day when poverty would be banished from America. Another Republican proclaimed: "We have reached a plateau of permanent prosperity."

Then came 1929.

The student of economic history takes issue with the claim that our economy is now "depression-proof." Professor James Washington Bell of Northwestern University recalls his being chided by his friends for continuing to give courses on Business Cycles during the latter twenties. "Don't you know that we have learned to lick business cycles?" they told him.

The American people are being given substantially the same line. In a recent handsome pamphlet, "Defense against Recession," the Committee for Economic Development says "our economy can achieve its high potential without violent fluctuations," providing, however, the government carries out eighteen generally interventionistic steps.

The cycle of peak and trough, prosperity and depression has been checked, it must be admitted, but never denied. Government "contracyclical"

action has prolonged depressions, as in the thirties when business confidence was shaken by government experimentation. It has also extended prosperity into a boom, as in the late twenties when the Federal Reserve depressed the interest rate in the 1926-29 period and thereby contributed to inflation, over-investment, and speculation. Now the economic stabilizers of today: do they work and, if so, how well?

1. **The farm price support program.** Through this government intervention, described as a "formidable weapon" against depression by President Eisenhower in his Economic Report for 1954, farmers have a practically guaranteed income called "parity." But propping the income of farmers is in no sense a guarantee or even a contribution to *national* spending. The added income of farmers is taken from consumers in the form of higher grocery bills and taxes and "redistributed" to farmers. The farmers' gain is the consumers' loss. Worse, high government-induced farm prices work like a magnet for vast uneconomic over-production. National resources are wasted, and the nation's living standards are sapped. Farm price legislation is class legislation. It is a long step to socialism.

2. **The unemployment compensation system.** This system, backed by a trust fund of \$9 billion, provides payments up to twenty-six weeks to the unemployed. "This helps to maintain sales," says an economic journal for businessmen. But here again is no magical manufacture of purchasing power. The employed carry the unemployed. What the employed are denied in purchasing power through unemployment compensation taxes and through higher prices from employers' "contributions" is shifted over to the unemployed. Since total income is less, retail sales can hardly be "maintained."

In the case of widespread unemployment, what about the trust fund of \$9 billion? Is the fund in cash or invested in productive enterprise? Neither. The trustee of the fund—the U.S. government—has emptied the fund and left behind its I.O.U.'s, collateral-less U.S. bonds. In other words, the trust is not "savings" at all; it has been completely spent. The fund's government bonds are not supported by productive capital investment but by the taxing power of the government.

Compensation to widespread unemployment will thus have to be met by further taxing or further borrowing. Since heavier taxation in recession or depression is politically unwise, compensation will be met by resort to manufactured dollars through sales of U.S. bonds to the banks. This is inflation. Moreover, the existence of an unemployment compensation scheme is a temptation to the idle and the corrupt. A scandal involving an estimated \$23 million loss in unemployment compensation funds has already been disclosed in recent months. Again, an economic stabilizer provides dubious stability while it furnishes another road to socialism.

3. The social security program. Spokesmen for this economic stabilizer say it aids in maintaining national spending "regardless of economic conditions." It is true that spending by the aged is sustained by payments out of the Old Age and Survivors Fund to beneficiaries. But is *national* spending sustained if the group under sixty-five has its income reduced by social security taxes and by higher prices from employers' "contributions"? The young carry the old. Advocates of this stabilizer seem addicted to the purchasing power theory—*i.e.*, spending, regardless of its origin, is a stimulant to prosperity. Demand for goods can be created with paper dollars. But inflation is disregarded, as is the more meaningful national *production* as opposed to national spending.

What is more, past taxes and "contributions" to social security have gone solely to support a more burdensome government. For as in the case of the unemployment compensation fund, the trustee has emptied the Old Age and Survivors Fund leaving \$18 billion in certificates of indebtedness. To meet the far greater load of future beneficiaries the government must either raise taxes or borrow at the banks. It will probably choose the politically easier of the two, borrowing, and so travel the road to inflation and socialism.

4. Tax reduction. Also mentioned by the President as a "formidable weapon" to fight off depression is tax reduction. Apparently the theory of tax reduction is that in times of falling purchasing power the government can reduce taxes and thereby restore consumer purchasing power. The theory is apparently held by Senator Walter F. George (D., Ga.), who would go beyond the Administration's excise tax reduction by increasing personal exemptions up to \$1,000. Ignored in the theory, however, is the lack of the sought-after effect of more purchasing power. Tax reduction is merely a transfer of purchasing power. The purchasing power restored to the taxpayers is exactly offset by the purchasing power taken from government spending agencies.

The rub to the theory, however, is that the government does not and has not cut down its spending. Governments are not fettered by getting their purchasing power from others through taxes

or borrowing. They can and do literally create purchasing power by forcing their bonds on the banks. Tax reduction in this modern "liberal" version merely results in more inflation and eventually socialism.

5. The presence of strong labor unions. The rationale accorded this economic stabilizer argues that unions stabilize wage rates and sustain purchasing power during declines by resisting wage cuts or even increasing wage rates. But high wage rates, unless offset by higher productivity, involve high labor costs which are reflected in high rigid market prices. In effect, this means the unorganized consumer must pay higher prices for the benefit of the organized worker. The over-all effect on national purchasing power is nil. Moreover, high wage rates prevent price reductions necessary to hold business. When this occurs—as in the example of the miners union and the bituminous coal industry—unions contribute to unemployment and the worsening of the economic situation.

6. Public works. The President's Economic Report stresses public construction as a deterrent to depression. The government is ready to start giant public projects, now at the blueprint stage, to soak up unemployment as it occurs. This stabilizer is already initiated with the Upper Colorado River Project and the projected St. Lawrence Seaway. Yet to pay for public works the government must tax or borrow. Either of these alternatives reduces private purchasing power, which could have similarly soaked up unemployment. When, as is likely the case, the government borrows at the Federal Reserve, the result is another dose of inflation. Public works, moreover, are located not so much as to need but as to politics. Many public works involve open competition with private enterprise—*e.g.*, hydro-electric facilities. Here the march to socialism is unmistakable.

7. Credit controls. Another of the "formidable weapons" listed in the President's Economic Report is government control of credit. The President refers to "credit controls administered by the Federal Reserve" and the "authority of the President to vary the terms of mortgages carrying federal insurance." Advocates of this stabilizer hold that by making money "cheap" the wheels of production will be speeded up when the market slows down. The record of this theory in practice is unsatisfactory. When it "works" it creates over-borrowing, speculation, and a disturbance of the cost-price relationship, as in the late twenties. It does not "work" when either businessmen have already borrowed up to the hilt or they are pessimistic about the outlook for profits. Cheap money policies flood the country with weakened dollars and tend to destroy the confidence of creditors and investors. Professors Ludwig von Mises of New York University and F. A. Hayek of the University of Chicago pin-

point credit manipulation as the primary cause of business instability. Credit inflation is a double-edged sword.

8. **Bank deposit insurance.** This economic stabilizer operates under the theory that banking panics can be prevented by the preclusion of runs on banks. To an extent this is true, although the theory confuses cause with effect. The cause of bank failures is only partially explained by runs. It reaches into unsound loan portfolios and an over-invested business situation (largely resulting from government credit manipulation), which in turn prevent the banks from making good to their depositors. Federal insurance of bank deposits is not insurance at all, for the risk is not subject to natural phenomena and cannot be actuarially determined. It is rather the socialization of bank insolvencies, and has yet to face the critical test of a depression.

The late Senator Carter Glass, a co-author of the Federal Reserve Act, saw the socialistic nature of the insurance scheme and through an impassioned speech got the delegates to the 1932 Democratic Convention to vote down a proposal to insure bank deposits. Their nominee, after his election, overrode that decision. There is no doubt that the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation will meet its obligations in a depression. But to do so, the government will probably yield to vast political pressure and pump inflated dollars into the FDIC's reserves to save the depositors from financial ruin. The nationalization of the nation's banks would strongly tend to follow.

Dubious "Solutions"

Advocates of the foregoing devices optimistically view other factors which would supposedly see us through the threat of depression. Our growing population, for example, is touted as a guarantee of high consumer spending. "But population growth," as Lewis H. Haney pointed out in his syndicated column, "doesn't bring proportionate increase in production in China and India." The population enthusiasts find assurance in the family formation rate and omit the necessity for capital. Capital cannot be assumed. It must be provided for, something we are not doing. Largely because of confiscatory taxation, capital accumulation is falling behind the growth of population. The next generation may have to share want instead of abundance.

Spokesmen for stabilizers also find assurance in some \$200 billion in "liquid savings" in the country, which will act as a "cushion" to any decline. But the \$200 billion has been already largely loaned in the more than \$640 billion national public and private debt. If the individual and corporate depositors wish to spend their "savings" they must get it from the banks. The banks in turn must get it from their debtors, public and private. In the words of Henry Hazlitt: "One man's quick asset is usually

somebody else's quick liability. Considered individually, people have savings. But *collectively* they cannot spend their savings—for the simple reason that these have already been spent."

On balance, where are the economic stabilizers taking us? All of them represent some variation of the dubious purchasing power theory and, with the exception of unions, involve public spending, usually deficit spending. An old "solution." Public spending did not work in the Great Depression, however convincing the pump-priming arguments of Keynes (the multiplier effect and the acceleration principle) to many economists. Today a Neo-Keynesian, Professor Colin Clark of Manchester University, advises the U. S. government to engage in deficit spending at the rate of \$2 billion a month until the threat of depression is over. Heavy public spending diminishes the role of private action in the economy, and it cannot be devoid of politics. It accelerates the centralization of the state. It is inflation.

Inflation, in turn, may temporarily hide the symptoms but it never cures the disorder. The correctives wrought by economic declines are stymied by inflation. Such correctives as the elimination of inefficient producers, the return of worker productivity, the reduction of corporate and consumer and public debt, the return of equilibrium between production costs and market prices, cannot come into play. Inflation is a dangerous game. Once started, it is exceedingly difficult to control. Inflation robs creditors. It steals from the pensions of the aged and from the wages of the fixed-income groups. It puts enormous corruptible power in the hands of politicians.

The business cycle is unhappily not extinct. But its extremes of boom and bust can be avoided if the government ceases its intervention into the economy. Let the government encourage thrift and investment. Let the government permit the interest rate to find its natural level and thereby automatically balance production with consumption, savings with investment. Let the government honor the 1952 Republican platform pledge to return to the gold standard and thereby give us the greatest guarantee of sound money known to man. Let the government protect competition instead of monopoly as it does in its exemption of unions from anti-monopoly laws. Let the government cease its unfair competition with private business by dropping its socialized industries and socialistic subsidies. Let the government lift its confiscatory tax burden from the backs of American firms and workers so that capital investment can make jobs and prosperity.

The President says: "The arsenal of weapons at the disposal of Government for maintaining economic stability is formidable. . . . We shall not hesitate to use any or all of these weapons as the situation may require." But these weapons involve inflation and socialism. Their fire power is deadly. Their backfire is deadlier.

The Plague of Conferences

By BORIS SOUVARINE

Before the Geneva Conference opened, the press recognized that it would turn out badly. It is proving to be only a continuation of the Berlin Conference, itself the outgrowth of previous conferences, most of them initiated by Britain. The principle behind all such conferences should be frankly appraised, reconsidered, and rejected for all time.

All these conferences were inspired by an utterly false idea, that world antagonisms are due to misunderstandings, to prejudices, or to stubbornness—in short, to mistakes on both sides—and that it will be possible for the two sides to arrive finally at an exchange of views. As long as this senseless attitude persists in the West, there will be conferences, each more harmful than the last, from which only Soviet imperialism can gain.

Indeed, there is no misunderstanding between the totalitarian empire and the rest of the world. The fact is that the Soviet state and its vassals are carrying on a war against the free world. The men in Moscow believe that the U.S.S.R. is but the vanguard of imminent world revolution and has an historic mission to speed this revolution all over the earth. They fear only what might threaten their own power. So they are not accessible to the sort of arguments exchanged by like-thinking people.

A conference in which some participate merely to take better advantage of the others at the opportune moment serves only the subversive designs of the apostles of world revolution. Their notion of revolution has changed its meaning since Lenin. Lenin thought that Communism would come spontaneously in the most advanced industrial countries, an idea which would have relegated Russia to a secondary rank. His successors, on the contrary, have undertaken to conquer backward agrarian and colonial countries, while waiting for the large modern states, undermined from within, to go from crisis to crisis under the harassing pressure exerted from without by totalitarianism in action.

The Communist leaders have a definite idea of where their interests lie, and no amount of discussions at conferences will make them change their views. Furthermore, everything has been said, written, and printed on this subject, and repetitions serve only to underscore the weakness of the debaters.

In their long or short-term maneuvers, the Communists pay heed to nothing but deeds. One conference more or less will not convince them of their mistakes. But each conference offers them an opportunity to sow the seeds of trouble and foster the discord that inevitably arises among every coalition that opposes their schemes.

It is no longer a question of prejudices, or stub-

bornness, which can be dissolved in the pure air of academic controversy. The masters of the Kremlin are sure they are on the road to success, since during the thirty-six years of their rule, they have never ceased to extend their power over an immense empire by various combinations of cunning and of force. In their dealings with the Western democracies up to the present, they have had to contend only with weak-kneed opponents incapable of understanding them, of containing them, of driving them back; who have helped turn the game against themselves by their stalling, skirmishing, and fears. The Kremlin leaders respected Mustapha Kemal and Pilsudski, heads of small states who forced their respect; later they respected Mussolini and Hitler, who showed open enmity toward them, just as they respect Tito today. In the face of outright opposition, they stay on the defensive. But they despise the phrasemongers who preach to them of morality and never pass from words to action, who have weapons but do not use them.

If Stalin's successors consider it advantageous to stop military operations in Indo-China, as they did in Korea, if they fear the possibility of the United States being drawn into a South Asiatic war, they will not change their point of view at Geneva. They see nothing in the humanitarian rhetoric of their Western adversaries, or in the declamatory verbiage of Nehru, except further gains for totalitarian "realism." Every conference helps them advance toward this end.

Giving Totalitarianism the Initiative

The Western powers are equally at fault in lending themselves to maneuvers in which the enemy always has the initiative. But the principal responsibility for the blunders committed may be laid at the door of England, which has been an originator of these futile and harmful conferences with the Bolsheviks as enemy-partners since the Genoa Conference met in 1922 upon the initiative of Lloyd-George. Meantime, how many similar conferences have met, sterile at best, profitable in general only to the fishers in troubled waters? Even during the war, the conferences of Teheran and Yalta, intended to coordinate efforts against the enemy, had as their principal result the irremediable deception of the leaders of the democracies. The Potsdam Conference could only suffer from the negative inheritance left by Roosevelt. Since then, all similar meetings have served no purpose but to divert or demoralize public opinion in the free countries and to confirm the Communists in their certainty of defeating the "decadent West" without resorting to war. The organization of the so-called United Nations, a kind of permanent

and intermittent conference, with its parasitic and submissive bureaucracy, did nothing to alter this deception.

Only the representatives of the United States seem finally to have realized with what perfidious and implacable enemies they have been dealing in the person of the rulers of the U.S.S.R. and of China. They have understood at last what the Turks knew long ago, what the Yugoslavs and Koreans learned from experience. But the Americans themselves admit their "ineptitude" in political and psychological warfare, and in replying to enemy propaganda in such a way that their views will have weight among friendly peoples. Also, they are not entirely master of their own decisions when they comprehend the dangers of a conference sought by the enemy, and in which their allies England and France are disposed to participate, maintaining that public opinion is restless, but actually leaving the public defenseless before the direct or indirect influences of Soviet power.

Psychological Warfare

The Geneva Conference, where the delegates of the United States are present half-heartedly, where the spokesmen of France want to obtain something, if only to save face, without being able to offer anything in exchange, and where the English believe themselves destined to exert their overrated art of compromise, will end like all the others without having settled any of the problems that are troubling humanity. The men of the Kremlin will furnish in their own good time a final demand that they are holding in reserve, since they alone have long-range plans and the means to put them into practice. In any case, they know how to persuade the masses that their "peace policy" will prevail in one way or another, since a hundred thousand applauders are at the service of their propaganda, and the democracies, proud of their theoretical superiority, let them say practically anything without answering (the French Radio-Diffusion even turned itself into a docile echo of the totalitarian lie, at the expense of the taxpayers).

What the Communists want is well known: to get China into the United Nations in order to make of that organization their instrument of foreign policy; to obtain France's agreement to this in exchange for a deal on Indo-China which, under the guise of conciliation, will do nothing to change the final outcome for Vietnam, marked for Communist conquest.

The free countries will be worthy of their liberties only when they repudiate the principle of conferences like that at Geneva, when they learn to keep their silence before the enemy and break it only for good purpose, when they finally take the necessary measures effectively to oppose truth to falsehood.

A Second Look

By EUGENE LYONS

How Red the Decade? In 1941 I published a history of Communist penetration of American life. Casting about for a title, I settled on *The Red Decade*, since the emphasis was on the ten-year period, more or less, ending with the Stalin-Hitler pact. The label has stuck.

It was a time, just to recall the flavor of the period and the book, when the Communist Party "became the magnetic center for a large and fast-growing mass of near-Communists, sympathizers, fellow-travelers, part-time insurgents, scared liberals, and masochistic capitalists"; when there arose "a mushrooming universe of interlocking causes, unions, committees, leagues, centers" inhabited by "admirers of the Soviet 'experiment,' innocent trailers of fashionable phobias, mobs of intellectuals without intelligence, half-literate proletarian *litterateurs*, and unassorted proletarian social climbers." Artists and writers, "frightened by gathering social storms the world over, huddled together like scared sheep and bleated slogans; sheep-critics hailed the baa-ing as a renaissance."

Comes now one of the literary lambs of that time, Granville Hicks, and deposes in *Where We Came Out* that those years were not as Red as they're painted. He even scents danger in the fact that *The Red Decade* is, as he thinks, "the bible of all those who are hot and bothered about the thirties." Though he is himself hot and bothered enough to write a book primarily about Communism in the thirties, it is decidedly not *his* bible.

Alarmed by his strictures, I have reread my book. I find that in a polemic mood I allowed myself rhetorical flourishes which to a too literal-minded reader today might seem exaggerations, but that on balance that history stands up impressively well in the perspective of time. The decade was assuredly saturated with Communist influences, mischievously polluted by Stalinist infiltrations, and in all conscience Red enough to warrant the label.

But Hicks is merely battling straw men in any case. For nowhere did I claim, as he suggests, that the Communists were "on the verge of taking over this country," or "had things their own way," or exercised "unlimited" power. The America of the 1930s was still a long way from going Red, but that color did stain nearly every department of national life, with especially large and disfiguring splotches in government, in trade unions, in Hollywood and on Broadway, in arts and letters.

Statistics showing that there are more law-abiding citizens than criminals hardly prove that

there is no crime wave. In his eagerness to demonstrate that the period was not all Red, Hicks tends to overlook, or perhaps he never really knew, how Red it was. It is scarcely remarkable that in a capitalist country Communists did not "have things their own way." What is remarkable, what made it a Red Decade, is that they had their own way in so many things and so many places. A more expert witness than Hicks, Earl Browder, recently attested in a letter to the *New York Times* that "a rather free association with Communists in public life was taken for granted by the dominant trend of public opinion" and that "Communists were asked to speak in universities, not despite but because they were Communists."

Certainly there was some opposition to the Communists among intellectuals, or there would have been no need for the "Red terror" against anti-Communists that I described. Of course anti-Communist books were published, and a few were even well reviewed. But "every publishing house in the country had at least one Communist or Communist sympathizer on its staff," as Hicks records; pro-Kremlin critics sat on all the reviewing stands. Supposing that fascists, without actually "dominating" American culture, had been so widely and so well entrenched, would Hicks have hesitated to call it a *Black Decade*?

How little he knew about the realities, or how badly he remembers, is clear from his statement that "there never was a time when anti-Communism wasn't a vastly easier road to success than Communism." The wounded remember. For every outspoken anti-Communist who managed to get ahead, dozens of pro-Communists prospered beyond their talents with the aid of the party and its pressure cookers.

Of his own Communist career Hicks writes: "Whatever my intentions, my judgment couldn't have been worse." Then he unwittingly offers evidence that he emerged from the experience still hypnotized, still the perennial innocent. Speaking of a time nearly ten years later, he admits: "They—I could say we—refused to believe in the existence of Communist espionage on a large and dangerous scale, and such charges as Chambers was making seemed fantastic." It took the first Hiss trial to convince Hicks that the fantastic was true.

Having thus established that his inability to understand the nature of the Communist beast is chronic, Hicks goes on to instruct his readers on political morals and anti-Communist techniques! The blessed naiveté of the man!

His book leaves little doubt that he remains a pushover for totalitarian-liberal clichés. He accepts every canard against McCarthy and J. B. Matthews, for instance, as uncritically as he did the slogans of the Red Decade. His chapter on "Renegades and Informers"—the title itself is symptomatic—exudes contempt and in spots hatred for ex-Communists

who have had the ill grace to become militantly anti-Communist. Those who do not go along with Mr. Hicks' current judgments "have lost their bearings."

Since he is an honest man, we may expect that in another book, a few years hence, he will again acknowledge that, whatever his intentions, his judgment as of 1954 couldn't have been worse.

Wartime Cabal: The death recently of Hjalmar Procope, Finland's wartime Minister to Washington, revives some unpleasant memories. The story of his ordeal at the hands of the Stalinist cabal in our capital could not be told at the time and later, when the war was over, it was buried in the avalanche of events. But those who knew the man cannot think of it, even now, without a twinge of vicarious guilt.

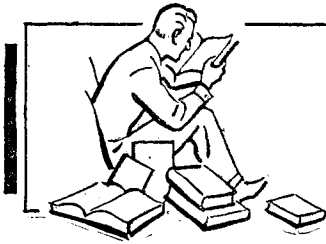
When I first met Procope, in 1940, he was the favorite among diplomats. His country's plucky resistance to Soviet aggression had touched America's heart. Handsome, gracious, a democrat to the core, he seemed superbly fitted for the role of hero in which our press and officialdom cast him. He seemed, as indeed he was, the prototype of the civilized European in dramatic contrast with the barbarians led by Hitler and Stalin.

But a couple of years later—though we were not at war with Finland—he had become an untouchable, his right to travel sharply restricted, almost incommunicado. It had become "dangerous" to meet him. For their own protection, he refrained from contact with some of his closest friends. The U. S. S. R. was at war with Germany. Finland, under renewed Soviet attack, found itself unavoidably and unhappily in the German alignment. His previous popularity and his known personal integrity did not save Procope from ostracism.

He was, of course, the victim of our wartime cult of Stalin worship. There was nothing in the protocol that required us to turn him into an outlaw. His formal position, as representative of a country at war with one of our allies, was exactly parallel to that of the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow, none of whose rights or activities was being curtailed by the Kremlin. But the Finnish Communists here had easy access to the powers that be in Washington, and the Soviet Embassy swung a sharp axe.

Procope's expulsion from the United States in June 1944 was carried out as suddenly and brutally as if he were a particularly rabid criminal. He was given no explanation for the action, and his final days as Minister were calculatedly humiliating. He was spirited on board a train at night under guard, with great secrecy, to head off the calamity of some one waving farewell to the miscreant. . . .

Procope was only an early and symbolic victim of the pro-Soviet cabal in our government whose operations were destined to exact a tragic price from all mankind.



The Unrepentant Left

By FRANK S. MEYER

Once upon a time there was a young man who discovered that there were many injustices in the world. And, it being the early thirties, and the twenties having been what they were and the thirties being what they were, he became a Communist. From 1932 to 1935, as a close associate of the party, he signed manifestoes, worked in front organizations and on the editorial board of the *New Masses*. In 1935 he joined the party openly and until 1939 he was a not unimportant figure in "the struggle on the cultural front." It was all because of the Depression and the threat of fascism, not—Good Heavens, no!—because of revolutionary convictions. In 1939, with the Hitler-Stalin Pact, he left the party.

Now in 1954 he presents the lessons he has learned (*Where We Came Out*, by Granville Hicks, 250 pp. New York: The Viking Press, \$3.50). The open-eyed innocence with which Granville Hicks relates his party career is matched only by his refusal to come to grips with the realities of the world around him today and by the virulence with which he attacks all "hard" anti-Communists.

The Communist Party, in Mr. Hicks' curious view, consists of two kinds of people, existing apparently in watertight compartments. The first are those who joined for idealist reasons, presumably remained idealist throughout, and when they left the party became polite citizens of the contemporary intellectual world. The others are mainly spies and functionaries; their motives for joining the party, although not analyzed, are by implication not idealist; and if they leave the party they become nasty reactionaries, if not worse. This, of course, is a most comforting doctrine for the anti-McCarthyite front. The people whom they don't like had bad motivations for going into the party, were bad while they were in, and remain bad after they are out.

The fact is, however, that while there are different kinds of ex-Communists, this is not the result of so neatly simplified and sentimentally gratifying a picture of human nature and of the Communist Party as that given by Mr. Hicks. I have had some experience in the Communist Party myself, unfortunately. That experience, which covers fifteen years (including the years of Mr. Hicks' association), was in leading positions where I was often called upon to deal with problems of the "cultural front" of which he writes. I do not believe

that there is any such simple division as he makes. Most people join the party for "idealist" reasons, and the process of the creation of "hard-core" Communists, whatever their field of Communist work, is the result of party experience and party training. I find it very hard to believe that anyone, whatever his function, remains in the party very many months without a tremendous transformation of the original attitudes with which he joins. In general, the longer he remains, the more his original motivations become corrupted, the more deeply indoctrinated he becomes in Communist ideology and practice, and the more difficult it becomes to break with the movement. However much the Communist position as presented to the external world may vary from period to period, in any period a member of the party knows that he belongs to a disciplined revolutionary organization, all of whose activities are subordinated to a single goal—not to a liberal association for doing good.

Certainly it is possible, as the years slip by, with the natural human tendency to self-justification, to remember not the reality of the situation but what one said to outsiders. Here can be found the real difference between the two principal kinds of ex-Communists: those who do and those who do not face the full horror of what they worked for; those who do and those who do not force themselves to come to a reckoning with the reasons for their error. For the first group no one has written with more power than Whittaker Chambers; for the second, Granville Hicks, with his amiable insouciance, is likely to become the accredited spokesman.

Such insouciance no doubt is forgivable in the young girl who excused her dereliction because the result was, after all, so small. Mr. Hicks, however, is an intellectual, a man who lives by ideas; and it would seem that the first requirement of an intellectual is to take full responsibility for any ideas he has espoused and for their results. When he discovers that those results have been evil, such responsibility demands that he unremittingly trace his errors to their source. This, the search for truth at whatever personal cost, is the intellectual's reason for being. It is the refusal by a whole generation of liberal intellectuals to live up to this responsibility which has created the present distrust of the very idea of an intellectual in America.

There is a difference, and a profound difference, between the real treason of the Communist and the

figurative treason of the intellectuals, the *trahison des clercs*. But there is also something in common between them; and they have interacted with each other over the past few decades to the great detriment of the Republic. The Communist is a member of a clear and conscious conspiracy, organized to destroy existing American social institutions on behalf of a totalitarian vision, which in fact turns out to be the interest of a totalitarian foreign power. The liberal intellectuals have no conspiratorial organization and no Politburo. But, quite apart from what I would regard as the errors of their position, they have been guilty of a tremendous collective deception—tacit, unorganized, but universal—a fraud upon the American people, first institutionalized in the New Deal and the Fair Deal, and now firmly lodged in large sections of both political parties.

They believe in the supremacy of society over man, of the state over the citizen; they have worked for planning and control “for human welfare” as ends superior to the freedom of the individual. Collectivist and socialist in their convictions, they have seen limited constitutional government and capitalism only as antiquated institutions standing in the way of the march of progress. But they did not, as they would have had every right to do, come before the American people with their views and their program. They brought their program forward piecemeal, each bit a sugared bait to this or that section of the population—all tending toward the strengthening of the powers of government and the weakening of the resistance of the individual and the voluntary association.

In such a situation the Communists, whose basic premises are the same but who have carried them to a fierce and logical conclusion, subordinating every act to a single systematic strategical and tactical direction, have been able to manipulate the liberals who surround them. Mr. Hicks was certainly, by his own statement, fully aware of the manipulation of liberals by Communists. The egregious evils of the Communist Party—the reason, as with all ex-Communists, for his break with the party—he condemns. But those evils seem in his view to be restricted to espionage, sabotage, and Soviet domination. Policy subversion is never even mentioned, and he ignores the total effect of the activity of the party operating in a battle where, in the words of Colonel William R. Kintner, “the front is everywhere.”

Why? The answer is obvious on every page of his book. Mr. Hicks has never even begun to criticize the fundamental assumptions which he held before he entered the party, which he apparently found it unnecessary to change while he was in the party, and which he still holds.

It is these assumptions which make it possible for a small number of Communists to wield the enormous influence they do in the liberal atmos-

phere. The indictment of contemporary intellectuals for betrayal of their duty to truth stands upon their failure to examine these assumptions; upon their failure, despite the evidence of history, to recognize that collectivism in whatever form—Communist, Fascist, or Welfare Statist—destroys, with differing degrees of ruthlessness, the freedom of the individual. To this blindness we have become sadly accustomed.

But when a man blinds himself not merely to reason and historical evidence, but to his own personal experience, what can be said? All his years in the Communist movement have taught him only that he “bet on the wrong horse.” The “revolution of our times” is universal and beneficent; “. . . there is a close relationship between what has been happening in Russia and what has been happening in the United States . . . world change will go on whichever wins [although] it is more likely to develop in humanly advantageous ways . . . in America and under American leadership than it is in Russia and under Russian leadership.” His big mistake was only in not realizing that Roosevelt’s way of getting there was better than Stalin’s.

It is small wonder that a man who assesses social and political realities with such fatuous smugness is upset by writers who dare to point out that the emperor is, after all, naked; or that one who slid so easily from liberalism to Communism and back to liberalism is outraged by the seriousness with which a Whittaker Chambers takes his responsibilities to himself and to truth. When he comes to deal with such people—with the “Panicky Conservatives” who write for the *FREEMAN* and with “renegades and informers”—the folksy affability which characterizes the rest of his book disappears and is replaced by a shrill series of personal attacks. The list of names is long, and none of them—Whittaker Chambers or Louis Budenz, John Dos Passos or John Chamberlain, James Burnham or Max Eastman, or any of the others—needs defense from me. Nor does the *FREEMAN*. That they and it provokes Mr. Hicks is to be expected. The true principle of liberty, the primacy of the individual, remains a scandal to the collectivist liberal hardly less than to the collectivist Communist.

One can only regret, however, that the *New Leader*, by publishing this section of the book, has lent its weight to the ever-widening smear campaign against those who do not conform to the norms of “liberal” thought. One reads that Burnham’s writing is “full of misstatements” (unspecified), that Dos Passos is “suffering from shell shock,” that Chamberlain “has managed to give himself the jitters,” that Chambers in one way, and Eastman in another, are unstable. It is depressing that a journal which has generally maintained a high standard of controversy and discrimination—however much one may disagree with its collectivist position—should countenance such diatribe, devoid of idea and argument.

Tolstoy Revisited

The Hedgehog and the Fox: An Essay on Tolstoy's View of History, by Isaiah Berlin. 86 pp. New York: Simon and Schuster. \$2.50

Readers of *War and Peace* are often impatient with the sections in which Tolstoy sets forth his theories of history. Isaiah Berlin has now taken these off-key fragments and, much as Rachmaninoff did with a little exercise by Paganini, woven around them a majestic rhapsody of ideas. He has thus elevated one of the most neglected aspects of Tolstoy's thought to serious consideration; philosophers will find fuel for controversy on every page, but they will be quarreling with Tolstoy, not with Mr. Berlin. His is a brilliant achievement of translucent exposition.

Berlin does this by introducing the literary conceit indicated by his title. By the time the book is finished, you realize that the device is irrelevant except as an opening wedge. He divides creative men into hedgehogs who "relate everything to a single central vision" (Dante, Plato, Dostoevsky), and foxes "who pursue many ends, often unrelated and even contradictory . . . without seeking to fit them into . . . a unitary inner vision" (Shakespeare, Aristotle, Pushkin). Tolstoy, he says, "was by nature a fox, but believed in being a hedgehog." In other words, Tolstoy's strength was his ability to perceive the omnipresent subtleties, paradoxes, and contradictions of day-to-day life; his tragedy lay in his endless search for what was once called "a unified world view."

Berlin shows how this irony occurs again and again in *War and Peace*. (Indeed, Prince Andrey states it plainly enough on the battlefield at Austerlitz: "Nothing, nothing is certain but the insignificance of all that which is comprehensible to me, and the grandeur of something incomprehensible, but very important!" Yet a bit of Tolstoyan mockery appears to linger even in this.)

In his novels, Tolstoy affirms, as no other writer of Western civilization, the primacy of personal, "private" experience; this has more meaning, he seems to say, than all of the great decisions made by great men and the great thoughts thought by great thinkers. Yet Tolstoy's theory of history is that (to quote Berlin) "there is a natural law whereby the lives of human beings . . . are determined," and that men are deceiving themselves when they "seek to represent it as a succession of free choices." Thus, precious "private" experience turns out to be largely the determined product of a myriad of historical influences. This conflict, Berlin believes, helped to drive Tolstoy to his final despairing withdrawal.

To attempt to summarize here the many angles from which Berlin examines this conflict, or the parallels he draws to the thought of various

contemporaries, would be to deprive the reader of a priceless intellectual experience. Let me close simply by noting that Mr. Berlin's book passed the highest test for a work of criticism: It forced me to reread *War and Peace*—with new interest and understanding. ANATOLE SHUB

Away From Defeat

Guideposts to the Future: A New American Foreign Policy, by William H. Wilbur. 176 pp. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. \$2.50

This book reflects unimpeachable honesty in its purest form. To one who has known William H. Wilbur for nearly forty years, his approach comes as no surprise. It is the essence of his uncompromising character.

Guideposts to the Future traces our foreign policy since World War Two. With utter fearlessness its successes and failures are listed and foreign reactions are reported. And the findings disclose that, more often than not, our postwar leadership has been presumptuous, naive, and dishonest.

Our worst sin, General Wilbur holds, has been that in conference after conference the United States "bartered away the rights and liberties of others" when "they are not ours to trade."

He finds that we succeeded in our undertakings when we acted alone, when we displayed courageous, honest American leadership, and when we firmly opposed the Kremlin. International agreements which betrayed the rights and freedom of others, or permitted the United Nations or other powers to dominate, resulted in failure.

The author examines the much-vaunted principle of collective security and finds it inadequate. Despite the fact that "no nation will act in any major situation except in accordance with its own enlightened self-interest," he is convinced that we must have allies. But his evaluation of potential allies is not encouraging. Britain will stand by us, but is weak internally. Germany is essential. Japan has only one resource—the great vitality and stamina of her people. France is weak. The author fails to mention the friendly Philippines—a godsend to us in the Pacific! General Wilbur does not explain, however, that in World War Three the side that wins the battle of the air will be in a position to win the war. At present, Britain is our only ally able to lend airpower assistance. Other allies whose principal contribution is manpower are not a major asset in the initial battle of the air. As a matter of fact, *collective security ceases to have meaning unless we possess overwhelming air supremacy*. Unless this air supremacy is achieved, allied manpower is not of paramount importance. With air supremacy small professional forces can do whatever they like.

Perhaps the most significant line in the book is: "The atomic bomb speaks to Russia in a language which Russia can understand." To the magnificent chapter on Atomic Power should have been added a paragraph stressing that the atomic bomb—like collective security—has no meaning unless we have undisputed airpower, in being, to deliver it instantly.

The evaluation of Korea is poignantly sharpened. General Wilbur has dedicated his book

To
William H. Wilbur, Jr.,
2nd Lieutenant of Infantry
1926-1950

(killed in action in Korea).

The State Department gets a well deserved rap for the way it set up the South Korean government. It had been stipulated that there would be ninety members in the new Assembly—forty-five to be elected and forty-five to be appointed by the State Department.

Of the forty-five selected by the South Koreans, forty-three were decidedly anti-Communist; two were Communists. In keeping with its performance in China, our State Department promptly appointed forty-three Communists and two non-Communists, to give what it considered a *nice* balance to the new Assembly. Thus Syngman Rhee was off to a bad start. But to his eternal credit he mastered the situation.

When victory was well within our grasp, we finally yielded to the Communist request for a cease fire. In evaluating this armistice General Wilbur says it is futile and "only an interlude between wars."

As a wave of left-wing internationalism sweeps over the United States, making light of nationalism and even the singing of patriotic hymns, Wilbur's chapter on World Trends finds a sharp rise in nationalism elsewhere. These trends strengthen the resistance against European colonialism. It is something which Americans understand, but somehow our government does not.

Nationalism "is stirring in Germany, Greece, Iran, Korea, India, Pakistan, the Arab states, Morocco, Israel, and a long list of other countries. It is even evident behind the Iron Curtain." Nevertheless the United States has disregarded many of these trends and "either alone or in conjunction with other great powers" overridden the freedom and interests of other nations. Poland, Libya, China, Morocco, Indo-China, and Korea are listed as examples. General Wilbur urges, in complete accord with American interest and tradition, that the United States support these nationalist world trends.

Every American should ponder the Epilogue in *Guideposts to the Future*. The lead sentence holds a mirror before us. We will do well to study the image: "Our country will survive only if it deserves to survive."

BONNER FELLERS

Twain in Hollywood

The Adventures of Mark Twain, by Jerry Allen.
359 pp. Boston: Little, Brown and Co. \$4.50

Jerry Allen is a former Paris correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune* who served during the war with the OWI. She has had the brilliant idea of writing Mark Twain's life in terms of the adventures of which he made such good use in his novels, and the best result of her book is a salutary reminder of how adventurous and active Mark Twain really was. Leaving aside the famous street-shootings in Hannibal that he witnessed as a boy, there was enough action in Twain's life to qualify him as one of the typical literary soldiers of fortune of his day, an aspect of his career that the subtlety of Van Wyck Brooks' criticism, and the vehemence of Bernard De Voto's argumentative works, has obscured.

Twain was a seventeen-year-old runaway printer, leaving town after the burning to death of the drunkard in the jail. He got a job in a Cliff Street print shop in New York, worked on three Philadelphia papers, became a river pilot, a Confederate soldier very briefly, a gold miner in the West when his brother was appointed secretary of Nevada Territory during Lincoln's first administration. With all this and his trips to the Hawaiian Islands and the Holy Land, Twain very nearly conformed to the tradition of the heroic travelers of his time, like John Lloyd Stephens or Bayard Taylor or the young Herman Melville.

Miss Allen's recapitulation of Twain's own accounts of his adventures tends to flatten them out, and she has forgotten her purpose in the latter half of her book. In this she concentrates on Twain as a reformer, and pictures his personal tragedies, financial problems, success, and sorrows, against the age of the "robber barons." Everything is included to show the horrors of that age, from Bradley Martin's ball to atrocities in the Belgian Congo, all written in that mixture of sob-story prose, soap-opera banality, and vigorous left-wing philosophizing that was perfected by the newspaper *PM*. Nevertheless, Mark Twain as an adventurer is a provocative thought, and even Miss Allen's injections of social significance cannot spoil the heady mountain experiences of *Roughing It*, or the voyages and travels that almost made Mark Twain like any one of the other solemnly self-important travelers of his time. He was almost a typical adventurer; that is what principally stands out when his life is approached in this way. He was almost on the steamboat whose explosion killed his brother Henry. He almost fought in the War Between the States that was the great adventure of millions of boys his age. He almost struck gold. But he never quite fully participated in either the rare or the routine adventures of his time,

and he made of his failure to do so a mixture of ironic and whole-hearted humor, cheerful exaggerations and broad slapstick that still overlay an element of genuine excitement and hazard.

As a professional lecturer and humorist, lecturing often to audiences of old soldiers who had known the real thing, Twain varied his accounts of his adventures with the utmost freedom, crediting nine different people with saving him from drowning, for example, and apparently growing genuinely emotional about each boyhood crony who had saved him from a watery grave, a different boy each time he told the story. The late Dixon Wecter, before his death in 1950, meticulously researched these accounts in *Sam Clemens of Hannibal*. He came out with a Chinese puzzle of mixed truth and genial falsehood, inspired by nostalgia and varying according to Twain's moods—a monumental piece of scholarship, though more than a little humorless.

Miss Allen has avoided all such complexities. She takes whatever account Twain gives as the literal truth. Conversations are taken directly from the novels and credited to real people. So the book is filled with folksy family talk—"Laws-a-me, how you *have* grown, Sam!"—and Norman Rockwell vignettes of Sam jumping into swimming holes, eating watermelon, and stirring restlessly in church during the long sermons. The characters are movie types, like Sam's mother—"Gay, with a heart so big there was room in it for everything under the sun"—and the adventures of Mark Twain turn into a perfect movie script, hoopskirts and crinoline, the Wild West, little old New York, in which he gradually changes from a James Stewart tenderfoot in the mining camps to Lionel Barrymore uttering crusty wisdom in Hartford, Connecticut. Still, the original concept of Mark Twain as an adventurer is an arresting one, and throughout the book there are odd illuminations, highly sophisticated, that stand out strikingly against the unabashed sentimentality of the account as a whole.

ROBERT CANTWELL

Portrait by a Friend

Syngman Rhee: The Man Behind the Myth, by Robert T. Oliver. 380 pp. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. \$5.00

A few months ago while breakfasting at the Eighth Army correspondents' billets in Seoul, I heard a unique solution to Asia's problems. "What the Far East needs," said a U. P. reporter, "is three good heart attacks; one for Syngman Rhee, one each for Chiang and Madame Chiang." Without commenting on the astuteness of this solution, I might remark that my fellow-correspondent wisely linked the leaders of Korea and Free China. In many ways their careers are similar. Both have

been characterized by no less an authority than Winston Churchill as "awkward characters." And against both there has been directed an insidious and often effective smear campaign.

Dr. Robert Oliver answers many of the attacks against Rhee by presenting a vivid portrait of the man himself. However Dr. Oliver's book is more than a story of Syngman Rhee. It is the best history yet written on modern Korea. Indeed, it would be impossible, as some of our leaders try to do, to separate Rhee from Korea. For over half a century he has been Korea's most vocal and oft-times its only spokesman. With literary skill and with an intimate knowledge of Rhee (Dr. Oliver has been personally associated with Rhee for ten years, is presently an adviser to the Republic of Korea), the author develops a life story which cannot be matched by that of any other modern political leader. In prison at the age of twenty-two, Syngman Rhee suffered months of medieval torture. He was editor and founder of the first daily newspaper in Korea. He was the first Korean to receive a doctorate from an American institution, the first Korean delegate to a world-wide American church conference, for as Dr. Oliver points out, Rhee is a sincere and practising Christian. He became the first and only president of the world's longest-lived government-in-exile.

For those who picture Syngman Rhee as a bloodthirsty man willing to plunge the world into war to gain his ends, Oliver points out that Rhee constantly opposed revolt against the Japanese, thus antagonizing other Korean leaders-in-exile. For years he pinned his hopes on negotiation, upon American realization of the justice of Korea's cause. And as president of the provisional Korean government-in-exile from 1919 until 1945, Syngman Rhee worked tirelessly and fruitlessly for this cause. For a quarter of a century he traveled to China, to Europe, shuttled back and forth between Korean communities in Honolulu, California, and Washington. He failed to interest Theodore Roosevelt or Woodrow Wilson, a close personal friend, in Korea's cause. Even after Pearl Harbor he was unable to get recognition for his strongly anti-Japanese government. Alger Hiss informed him in 1942 that the United States could not recognize Korea because such action might offend the Soviet leaders. The OWI refused to accept Rhee's offer of assistance because, as one official stated, "Do you honestly believe that anyone in Korea even knows who Syngman Rhee is?"—this when Rhee's name had already been a household

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word in Korea for forty years! Even after the war ended, the State Department made every effort to block Rhee's return to his country, a situation finally remedied by direct action on the part of General MacArthur.

Dr. Oliver points out that it is Syngman Rhee's singleness of purpose that has continually brought him into conflict with others. He broke with the Methodist Church over policies in Honolulu. Antagonisms aroused during the days of the provisional government have been carried over into the personal political vendettas which mark present-day Korean official life. He quarreled frequently with General John R. Hodge and other American and Korean leaders during the American occupation.

For those who claim that Dr. Rhee rules today without popular support, Dr. Oliver describes the popular elections which put him into office and have kept him there. From my own on-the-spot observations I can testify to the fairness and honesty of the elections. Furthermore, Rhee's popular support has increased in

spite of a vociferous minority egged on by some American diplomats.

Readers may take issue with Dr. Oliver in his belief that Rhee is a prophet without peer. But who can say that he has often been wrong? For years he warned of Japanese intentions in Asia. Ten years ago he warned of the danger of Communism in the Far East. In 1949 he insisted that withdrawal of American occupation troops would invite Communist attack. And in the light of the failure at Geneva, who can say now that Syngman Rhee is wrong when he tells us that the Communist problem in Asia cannot be solved by negotiation and appeasement?

JOHN C. CALDWELL

Huie's Schmerzfest

The Execution of Private Slovik, by William Bradford Huie. 247 pp. New York and Boston: Duell, Sloan and Pearce—Little, Brown. \$3.50

For nearly two years after he got out of the state reformatory in 1942, Eddie Slovik's draft board in Detroit considered him morally ineligible to serve his country. This was all right with Eddie. Then, as the war got bigger, the Army needed more men, and Slovik, despite a police record, was mustered into the Infantry. From that time forward, he did his level best to keep out of the front lines. On January 31, 1945, one year and seven days after he had sworn the soldier's oath, one of Slovik's plans worked—but not in the way he had intended. On that day, in St. Marie aux Mines, France, Eddie Slovik was put before a firing squad and shot to death for twice deserting the service of the United States to avoid hazardous duty. That volley of rifle fire conferred something of a distinction on Slovik: it made him the first American to be executed for this crime since 1864.

That is the gist of the Slovik story. Mr. Huie has garnished it liberally with ancillary facts, some of which turn it into a tasty dish for those who are ever hungry for some "evidence" of Prussianism and Draconianism in our armed forces.

There is also something for shedders of Pink tears in Mr. Huie's *schmerzfest*. They will lick their chops over such choice items as

these: Slovik was a member of a minority group; the Depression was responsible for his delinquency and lack of patriotic feelings. For those who believe that the psychiatric kit bag should contain an all-day sucker for any kind of moral weakling, author Huie has included this tidbit: Slovik, he says, "is the only authentic, adjudged, actually executed American coward in the Age of Freud."

Army psychiatrists, however, could find no Freudian excuses for Slovik. His cowardice was of the cool and deliberate variety, for by the time he got overseas Slovik was on to a smart angle: either by choice or by compulsion, the army was being easy with its deserters; that is, nobody was getting shot. This leniency started a virtual mass movement of the reluctant into safe and relatively comfortable prison cells. The ticket to one of these billets was a court-martial and Slovik was determined to get his.

Slovik never once got near enough to the fighting to form a real basis in experience for his fears; he refused even to give fighting a try.

Slovik had his own explanation of why his bet turned out to be a fatally unlucky one. As he was being led out for execution, he declared: "They are shooting me for bread I stole when I was twelve years old." Mr. Huie is fatuously unsure whether his readers should disagree with Slovik. He repeats this Valjeanesque line no less than five times.

Here, however, is the Army view:

... if the death penalty is ever to be imposed for desertion it should be imposed in this case, not as a punitive measure, nor as retribution, but to maintain that discipline upon which alone an army can succeed against the enemy.

By all who ponder the question it should be remembered that the military code which demanded the life of Private Slovik is as universal and as old as warfare itself. War today is every bit as grim as it was on prehistoric battlefields, and thus armies still need the ancient deterrents to moral weakness. Besides, to be lenient with deserters is to cheapen the sacrifice of those who dared and served and died. However, Mr. Huie seems more interested in publishing profits than moral requirements.

RICHARD M. PALMER

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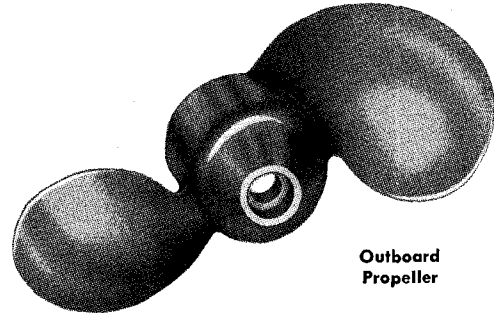
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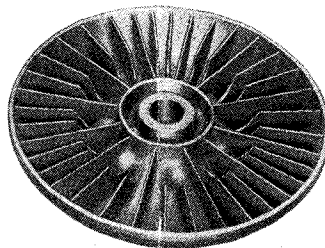
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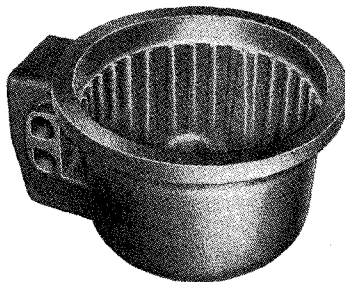
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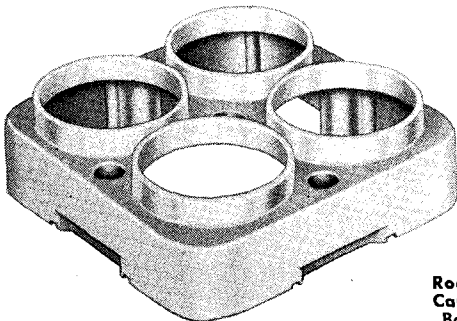
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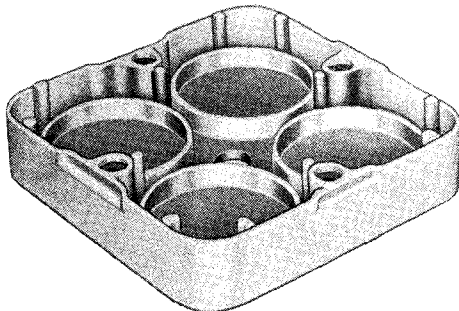
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