

THE
Freeman

JUNE 28, 1954

25¢

The Union Member:


America's Laziest Man

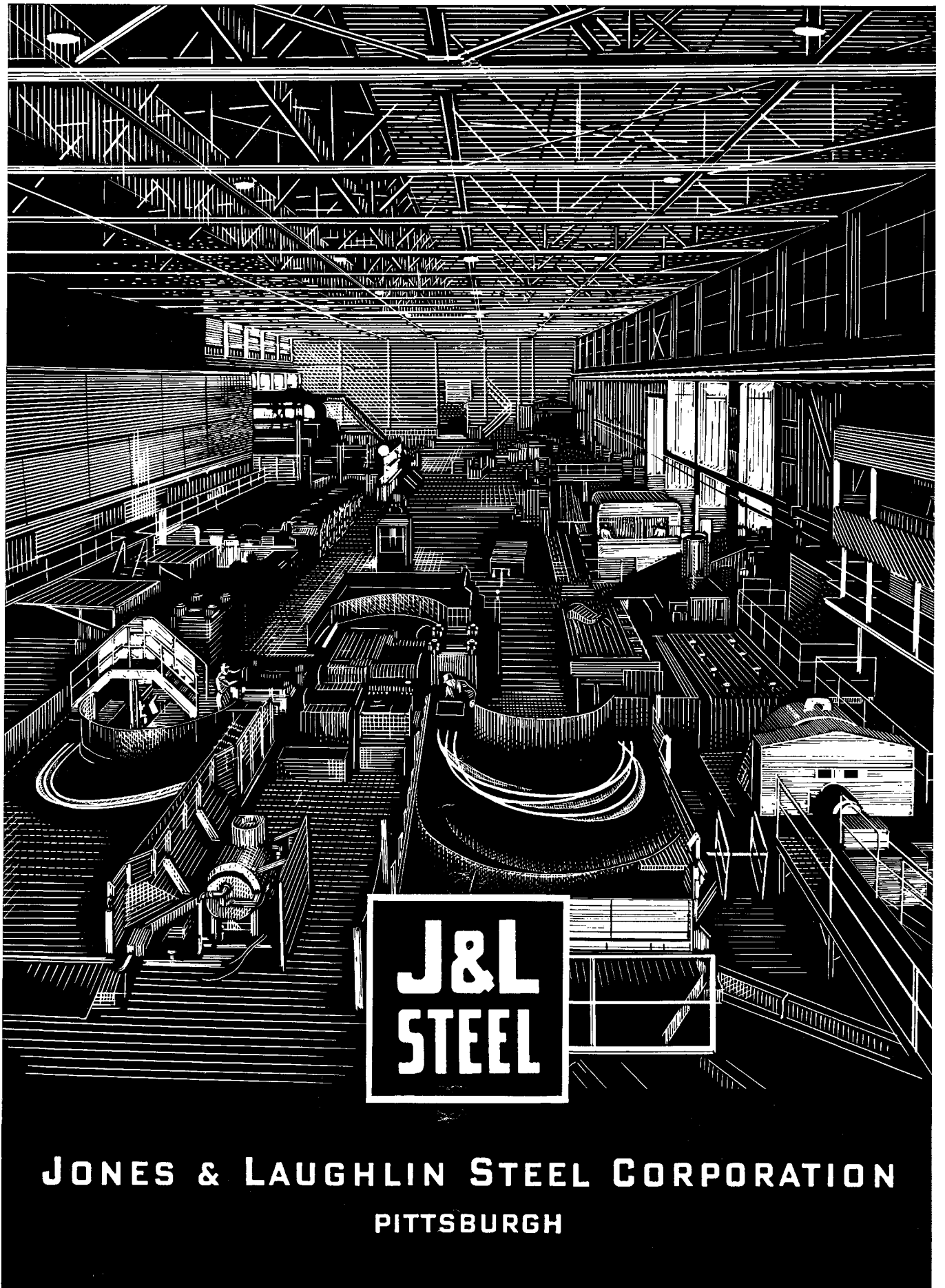
By Victor Riesel

The Debacle of the Fabians

By Russell Kirk

Articles and Book Reviews by Max Eastman, Norbert Muhlen,
James Burnham, Joseph Wood Krutch, Robert Cantwell,
Eugene Lyons, Argus, William F. Buckley, Jr.





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THE Freeman

A Fortnightly
For
Individualists

Executive Director KURT LASSEN
Managing Editor FLORENCE NORTON

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Among Ourselves

With the publication in 1953 of *The Conservative Mind*, RUSSELL KIRK became nationally recognized as one of the foremost young leaders of conservative thought in the country. He enjoys an equal reputation in England, having contributed frequently to British journals and taken his doctor's degree at Scotland's famous old St. Andrews University. Because of his personal acquaintance with the British political and intellectual scene, Mr. Kirk has a more than academic interest in the New Fabianism, which he analyzes in this issue (p. 695). At present Mr. Kirk is finishing a new book, *A Program for Conservatives*, to be published by the Henry Regnery Company.

At luncheon not long ago we asked VICTOR RIESEL for his explanation of the general apathy we had noticed among most of the members of labor unions with whom we had any acquaintance. His answer (p. 699) is as startling as it is honest. Mr. Riesel's labor column is nationally syndicated.

What reasons lie behind the postponement by the Congress of a showdown at this session on the President's proposal for a liberal trade program? PATRICK E. NIEBURG, a journalist and specialist on politico-economic affairs now located in Washington, refutes the arguments against such a program (p. 701).

In this issue (p. 703) JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH steps aside briefly as a drama and book critic to make some cogent comments on a currently favorite horror word being bandied about by the "liberals."

NORBERT MUHLEN has chosen for his present report on Germany (p. 705) the potentially most important segment of its population, its youth of recently acquired voting age. He knows them well, having spent considerable time among them since the war. Mr. Muhlen had just become launched on his career in Germany as a political scientist and journalist when the Nazis seized power and made his departure advisable.

On the subject of "audio-visual communication," FLORA RHETA SCHREIBER is both a teacher of university standing and a practical technician. It is therefore as a two-way authority that she reports on the future of educational television. Her comprehensive handbook-textbook on radio and television—an outgrowth, incidentally, of a FREEMAN article ("The Battle Against Print," issue of April 20, 1953)—is scheduled for early publication.

Beginning with the next issue the FREEMAN will be published monthly under the editorship of Frank Chodorov by the Irvington Press, Irvington-on-Hudson, of which Leonard E. Read is president. A complete explanatory announcement will appear in the July issue.

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FROM OUR READERS

Polemics of Freedom

Your issue of June 14 was a superb example of the sort of thoughtful journalism which today stands alone as representing the point of view of free men in this Republic. In a time grown weak with fears of speaking out in defense of liberty and in assault against its enemies, your magazine has sounded the sure, strong polemics of freedom. Without it, freedom would be mute in our land, and the voices of the petty hagglers would drone alone.
Temple City, Cal. RAY CAHOON

Swedish-Soviet Trade Agreement

Although not a professional apologist for Scandinavian social policy, I feel compelled to take exception to the characterization by Patrick Nieburg (May 31) of the Swedish-Soviet Trade Agreement as an example of "economic opportunism." As a student at the University of Stockholm, I had occasion to speak to several members of the Riksdag and to Einar Torvaldson of the Riksbank at the time that the treaty was being negotiated. Public as well as official sentiment was opposed to any economic alliance with the Soviets even in 1946. This sentiment had its basis partially in the traditional hostility toward the Russians which dated back to Charles XII and which even the Grand Alliance of World War Two did not dispel.

The fact of the matter is that the Swedes, as they saw it, had no other alternative available to them. Notwithstanding their efforts to compensate for their lack of domestic coal and oil through hydroelectric development, Swedish industry is wholly dependent upon the importation of these essential raw materials. Coal and oil accounted for more than 50 per cent of Sweden's imports prior to World War Two. Increased industrialization which grew out of the establishment of new lines of production made necessary by the wartime blockade made the need for these raw materials even more acute.

Germany had previously constituted almost the sole supplier of these raw materials while Great Britain was by far the greatest consumer of Swedish pulpwood and manufactured products. Germany as a consumer and as a supplier of raw materials was out of the world market. Swedish economists shared the view then prevalent in Europe that an economic depression in the United States and Great Britain was inevitable. With Germany and Great Britain, to whom Swedish trade had been tied, out of the market,

Swedish economists sought to insure access to essential raw materials and provide a stable market for manufactured products by broadening the base of trade through the extension of five billion kroners credit to countries with whom Sweden had little or no trade prior to World War Two. Actually, the much publicized Russian loan of one billion kroners represented only a portion of the total credit extended under this plan.

This action by the Swedish government may have been motivated by self-interest. It certainly was not opportunistic in the sense that it was unprincipled. But even if policies established solely on the basis of national self-interest are to be subject to the criticism of being opportunistic, I think that there are several areas in our own foreign and domestic policies where we might well establish a basis for such criticism.

Chicago, Ill.

CARL E. BAGGE

[We would be curious to know on what basis Swedish economists assumed in 1946 that an economic depression was inevitable in the United States. To us it's news. EDITORS]

A Misnomer

Your article on Gross National Product by Lewis Haney (May 31) is timely and important. However, it is so burdened with the technical terms and point of view of the professional economist that many laymen may miss the real point at issue. To me, that point is this: Gross National Product is actually a misnomer. It does not represent national production, as most people have been led to believe. What it does represent is Gross National Expenditure, and it is so described in the *Federal Reserve Bulletin*.

For the purpose of getting themselves re-elected our politicians have in the past referred to a constantly rising G.N.P. as a sound and reliable measure of national welfare. This has been done in the belief that they could sell us the idea that the more we can spend, give away, throw away, or shoot away, the better off we are regardless of a crushing tax burden and a constantly increasing debt piled up to mortgage the future of our children. . . . We should be shocked and alarmed to realize that, including the amounts to be voted this year, we will have spent on foreign economic and military aid since the war the astounding sum of close to \$67 billion.

To base our national policies and course of action on the voracious need of a rising G.N.P. can lead to nothing but more war and ultimate disaster. . . .

Pasadena, Cal.

HERBERT SPENCER

Break Relations with Malenkov

Our government should sever all diplomatic relations within the very near future with the Soviet government and all Communist governments in alliance with it. Some of the reasons for this necessary action are that the Soviet government:

1. Has never become the legitimate representative of the population under its control. This government, if it can be so labeled, came into power as the result of a coup d'état and has maintained its internal control by force of arms ever since. It actually represents only its immediate membership, the Russian Communist Party, and the armed forces under its control.

2. Has never kept any of the agreements it has made from time to time with the United States.

3. Has caused death and torture to our citizens both directly and indirectly and has refused to accept its clear responsibility therefor.

4. Consistently practices mass murder of, and mass slavery upon Russians and other nationalities under its military control.

These general facts must lead us to conclude that the Soviet government is not a responsible government at all, but is really a military machine in occupation of the territories of various nationalities. During the last fifteen years this aggressive cancer has spread itself over . . . more than twenty formerly independent political sovereignties. . . .

Granite City, Ill. LUTHER R. DU NARD

Prefers "Conservative"

We have enjoyed the magazine very much and are deeply grateful that someone is doing this much needed work. I have a few suggestions. We do not like the word "libertarian" . . . we prefer the good old-fashioned "conservative" and think no one should object to being considered that, in the light of all the good that has been done under this banner. . . .

DOROTHY L. THOMPSON

East Berlin, Conn.

Voluntary Social Security

It was most gratifying to read Paul L. Poirot's article "The Price of Security" in the *FREEMAN* (May 31). For several years I've tried to convince my security-minded friends that if we can't abolish social security forthwith, then at least we should place it on a voluntary basis. Their argument has always been: "But then it wouldn't be effective"—thereby inadvertently giving the perfect reason for immediate abolition.

Bayside, N.Y.

GERTRUDE J. BUCK

THE Freeman

MONDAY, JUNE 28, 1954

The Fortnight

By refusing Joseph Laniel's demand for a vote of confidence, the French National Assembly has pushed one more jerry-built cabinet into the discard pile that has been accumulating over the past seven years. The action would be too routine for comment except for its almost incredible irresponsibility in leaving France without a government in the midst of a major international meeting, a crisis in a bitter war, and a turning point in the development of western European defense. The final proof is given, if any is needed, that nothing serious can be expected of France under its prevailing regime and mood. If French governments collapse by the dozen at the whim of a handful of minor domestic politicians, what would happen if Soviet tanks start to roll westward?

There seems to be one accidental gift for which we shall be able to thank the French assembly. Laniel's downfall is bringing to a shabby close the dismal career of the Geneva Conference. From its first announcement the FREEMAN has insisted that the United States was wrong to consent to the Geneva Conference and that nothing constructive could result from it. At Berlin we let ourselves be talked into it by the British and by a French government that has vanished in smoke while the delegates were still sitting around the table. Isn't it time that we began making our national decisions in terms of our own capabilities and interests? Do we need British instruction in order to decide whether we should and can stand by our obligations to the Republic of Korea? In determining whether to intervene in Indo-China, and if so, under what conditions, are we to be guided by humpty-dumpty French politicians or by an objective estimate of our own available force and long-range needs.

In an address before the National Citizens for Eisenhower Congressional Committee, the President renewed his plea for enactment of the Administration's full legislative program. The text was a summary of last January's State of the Union message. With much of what the President

said it would be hard to disagree, but we are again struck by an ambiguity to which we referred in our editorial on the January message, "A Free Economy, But—." The President's general statements of belief stress economic freedom, boldness, opportunity, and the reward of personal effort. When dealing with specific proposals, however, in such fields as housing, unemployment, medicine, and social insurance, he reverses his conception, speaks of the "responsibility of government," and calls for paternalistic legislation. We cannot escape the impression that President Eisenhower believes in his own heart in an economy of free enterprise and individual initiative, but allows himself to be persuaded by pseudo-expert advisers that he must make collectivist and welfare-state "concessions" in order to seduce coy and corrupted voters.

Whatever the explanation of its origin, the contradictory domestic program of the Administration is quite probably inexpedient as well as questionable in principle. The President might do worse than ponder the recent bitterly fought Australian elections. In a country with a large, fully organized labor movement and a relatively small middle class, Prime Minister Robert G. Menzies and his Liberal Party, running on an open free enterprise platform, defeated the avowedly Socialist Labor Party. The Socialists promised the book in the way of high benefits, low taxes, free medical care. The voters were not taken in. They saw inflation back of the promises. Because of the Labor Party's performance in the Petrov affair and the Labor opposition to strengthened measures against the Australian Communist Party, they suspected Socialist softness to Communism. Voters are not so dumb as egg-heads and publicity men like to think.

During the past month the Guatemalan crisis has been growing steadily more insistent. The landing of two thousand tons of Iron Curtain arms has been followed by nightly arrests of anti-Communists, preliminary steps toward the arming of a "peoples' militia," and the suspension of constitutional guarantees of civil rights. There can no longer be any doubt that world Communism intends to transform Guatemala into an American "Yenan," an armed redoubt inside the American

citadel. From the Guatemalan sanctuary, the succeeding phases in the envelopment and conquest of the Americas can be directed and supplied.

Although disguised in the subversive forms of twentieth century totalitarianism, the Communist advance in Guatemala is in substance an invasion of the New World by an alien power, and thus a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, which for a century and a third has been upheld and enforced by the United States. At the same time, it means from a military standpoint an enemy conquest of a bridgehead within our strategic frontier. In the face of so direct and dire a challenge, the Administration seems to be gripped by the same paralysis that during recent months has affected every limb of our foreign policy. Counteraction has so far been confined to a few rather mild words of protest, small arms shipments to Costa Rica and Honduras, and the call for a general meeting of the American states.

Our leaders seem unable to get it through their heads that the Communists mean business. However hard it is to deal with the Guatemalan crisis today, it will be twice as hard a year from now, and ten times harder and bloodier—if still possible—in a decade. Nor will the Guatemalan Communists be intimidated by notes from the State Department or watered-down resolutions such as could be adopted by a general Pan American conference. It requires serious and resolute actions, among which the obvious and immediate steps include: breaking off of diplomatic relations, and withdrawal of diplomatic, commercial, military, and air missions; economic boycott, and a blockade at least sufficient to prevent entry of further military supplies; full aid to Guatemalan anti-Communists, and to the neighboring anti-Communist nations of Central America.

The government of Pakistan has acted wisely and well in ousting the Communist-supported "united front" regime which came into power in East Pakistan as a result of a recent election. The East Pakistan regime had proved unable or unwilling to repress outbursts of bloody violence in some of the factories, and its leader, the veteran politician Fazlul Huk, was talking in terms of secession. There are political and economic problems in East Pakistan, united by ties of the Moslem religion with the western part of that new state and separated from it by a thousand miles of Indian territory, that call for long-term solutions. But the first duties of a government are to govern and to assure the independence of its territory and safety of life and property. It looks as if our military aid to Pakistan was not misdirected.

No one can be quite so obtusely unintelligent as the ultra-sophisticated intellectual. Take the fol-

lowing pronouncement from the lion of the Paris Left Bank cafés, the prophet of existentialism, Jean-Paul Sartre: "Do you imagine that the Americans could ever have manufactured that marvelous instrument of propaganda called anti-Communism if there were any Communists in the United States? If, as in France, you meet members of the Communist Party every day or even every month, how can you believe that they eat babies? If, on the other hand, you have never seen a Communist, how can one prove to you that Communists *don't* eat babies?" This is on the five-year-old mental level of the gullible tourist in Soviet Russia or Nazi Germany who will not believe in the reality of any atrocity he has not seen himself, or of the American left-winger who can't believe that such a nice, gentlemanly looking person as Alger Hiss could have belonged to a spy ring.

Following, in precise line, the old precept that it takes one to catch one, the *New York Times* was quick to spot the most soft-headed proposition advanced by Adlai Stevenson during his recent speech at Columbia University. To normal listeners it sounded as though the pride of Pragmatic Falls was telling the scholars simply that they had every right to quake in their boots because of the onslaughts of the junior Senator from etc. But to the *Times* he said something even more important. It was that "if the universities are free we may be pretty sure the rest of the nation will be; and if we seek freedom as a positive good we can probably handle Communism and similar problems in our spare time and without anxiety." It has been pretty clear of late that when it comes to thinking both the *Times* and Mr. Stevenson are skillful spare-timers. And as for an understanding of Communism and "similar problems," they seem to have *no* time at all.

Representative Richard H. Poff of Virginia is a legislator with a yen for statistics. He has come up with the conclusion that during the last eight years 120,000,000 words have been exchanged in 3,802 meetings between United States representatives and spokesmen for Communist countries. According to Mr. Poff, this took 11,400 hours of talking time. It would require 600 volumes, at 400 pages a book, to reprint all these words and it would take one year, three months, and nine days to play them all back on a tape recorder, operating day and night. These statistics should be commended to the attention of the simple Simons on both sides of the Atlantic who think that a cause of international tension is unwillingness of the United States to talk things over with Soviet and other Communist representatives at the conference table. Representative Poff did not note what is pretty obvious anyway: that the 120,000,000 words add up to precisely nothing, in terms of positive results.

How Not to Run a Party

As the curtain is being drawn on the long spring run of the world's most publicized spectacle, there is one conclusion concerning which there will be no disagreement: the Eisenhower Administration and the Republican Party have been the big losers. About this or that individual—McCarthy and Stevens themselves, Cohn, Mundt, Welch, Symington, Adams, Jenkins, and the others—the judgment of the audience will continue to differ. Unlikely as it seemed at the start, there may have been a net benefit to the nation from the prolonged if rough education in issues and men that the hearings provided. The Democratic Party stayed in the wings, and had little to lose if no honor to gain. But the Republican Party and the Administration were fixed mercilessly in the spotlight.

The original occasion for this monstrous show should not be forgotten. The Army, through Secretary Stevens, formally charged that Senator McCarthy, Roy Cohn, and Francis Carr sought, in the formulation given by the *New York Times*, "separately and collectively, by improper means, to obtain special treatment for Pvt. G. David Schine, former subcommittee consultant." Senator McCarthy countercharged that Secretary Stevens and the Army counsel, John Adams, had tried to stop the subcommittee's exposure of Communists at Fort Monmouth, and had used Schine as a "hostage" to this end.

The hearings have ranged far afield, in every direction, from the original charge and countercharge. They have jumped from trivial personal irrelevancies to the most serious constitutional issues. However, in the last act the original charge returned to the center of the stage.

Let us put entirely to one side the general question of McCarthyism and McCarthy, of the Senator's morals, manners, methods, and aims. Let us grant that his countercharge against the Army got lost in the shuffle. Thus confining our attention to the original charge that launched the whole performance, we must note that what little was left of it after the testimony of Messrs. Stevens and Adams was blown sky-high by the transcript of telephone calls that was introduced during the final sessions. When Secretary Stevens was revealed as having said, two days before it was made public, that the Army's statement of complaints against McCarthy was "much exaggerated," that was the end of "the Army's case," as well as of the pathetic pretense that Stevens himself had initiated the action.

What emerged from the transcripts was something much more fantastic, and in part more ugly. What many have for some time suspected can no longer be doubted. Early this year, a cabal made up of certain Administration officials, several Demo-

cratic Senators, the New Deal adviser Clark Clifford, and other associates, apparently decided that the time was ripe to "get McCarthy." It would seem that either by explicit agreement or unconscious political osmosis they worked closely with a number of influential publishers and journalists—among whom the Alsops and Walter Lippmann, and the Luce and *New York Times* organizations may be prominently cited.

It seems probable that one individual must have directed the operation, but, though there are cogent rumors, the evidence does not permit us to say who this may have been. In any case, the cabal selected "the Army issue" as its battlefield, possibly because it was only on this issue that the members of the cabal could get the tacit agreement of the President to launch the attack.

The cabal charged into the field with all guns roaring in world-wide salvos. But the shells, it has now been proved, were blanks. The cabal is shown by the record to have been not far from a conspiracy; the charge is perilously close to being an attempt at a frame-up.

There are, of course, many honest and ardent anti-McCarthyites whose long standing opinions are not affected by this hearing. Their aversion to the junior Senator from Wisconsin is based usually on what they believe to be his wrong and dangerous methods; and we share the concern over some at least of his methods and acts. Is the answer by the anti-McCarthyite leadership to be counter-methods that ethically if not legally are on the verge of conspiracy and frame-up? We await with interest and even anxiety the considered comments that will be made by the accepted prophets of anti-McCarthy morality. Surely they will not suggest to us, by what they say and do not say, that "the end" of destroying McCarthy justifies the use of "any means."

With no less anxiety we await signs of what lessons will be drawn by the Republican Party, and in particular by its "liberal wing," from this sorry debacle. We believe that the welfare and safety of the United States call for a continuing Republican Administration and an increased Republican majority in the Congress. Adlai Stevenson's soft and defeatist address to the final ceremonies of the Columbia University Bicentennial celebration serves once more to remind us how disastrous the Democratic alternative might prove to be in these decisive years just ahead.

But the Republican Party will neither keep nor deserve the confidence of the citizens if Republican leaders treat each other as their main enemies, and if one faction is ready to ally itself even with the hatchetmen of the Democrats in order to try

to crush an intra-party rival. The President has of late been frequently called upon to assert his leadership. Nowhere is clear-sighted, responsible leadership more needed at this moment than in the conduct of the affairs of his own party—the entire party, not a favored tendency or clique. If the President will not or cannot furnish it, then it is up to those among the Republican Governors, Senators, and Congressmen who put the broad interests of their party above narrow personal rivalry precisely because they put the interests of their country above both.

The Real Hysteria

No one can be quite so hysterical as the professional deplorer of hysteria. Consider Justice William O. Douglas, for instance, with his “black silence of fear” as a description of the state of America at a time when the air is shrill with outcries of protest and alarm, voiced without let or hindrance in numerous books, magazine articles, radio broadcasts, and commencement addresses.

Or the Synod of the Presbyterian Church comparing procedures of congressional investigations with the methods of the Spanish Inquisition. One looks around, in vain, to see the flames of an auto-da-fe.

In this crusade of anti-hysteria hysterics one can recognize the constant iteration of shopworn clichés. How often are we told that we are living through a “witch-hunt.” Then there is also the somewhat curious idea that a profession of allegiance to America makes teachers “second-class citizens.” As Professor Henry Steele Commager wrote in the *New York Times Magazine*: “By these oaths we put a premium on conformity. This results in a society of second-class citizens unable to voice their real opinions, although the only kind of advice a society needs is unpalatable advice.”

Robert M. Hutchins echoes this idea in a recent article in *Look*: “Teachers are becoming second-class citizens. In many states they are required to take special oaths that they have not been disloyal. Why not ask them to take oaths that they have not been robbers or prostitutes?”

One wonders whether Commager and Hutchins regard the President of the United States and the highest officers of our armed forces as “second-class citizens” because they are required to take oaths of affirmative loyalty.

The following three outbursts sound as if they were all cut from the same piece of intellectual cloth, or fustian:

In the lunacy of the “red scare” and the “spy” hysterics, it is now possible to be “loyal and discreet” and still be an untouchable “security risk” . . . We are sure that the country will vigorously protest this thought-control verdict against Dr. Oppenheimer. . . .

Our illness goes deeper than any one man. It is a malady of the soul that summons all the evil forces of the Inquisition, of the Cheka, of Hitlerism, of Stalinism, of the Ku Klux Klan, and all those nauseous forces which claim dominion over the conduct and souls of other men.

The nation is being weakened by the excesses of our investigating committees, fantastic charges of treason against our most honored statesmen, the obscene spectacle of distorted denunciation, the hysterical fear of Communist subversion, the erosion of civil liberties, the daily affront to human dignity.

As it happens, the first of these citations is from the *Daily Worker*, official Communist organ; the second is from an article by Mark Ethridge in the *Nation*, the third is from a speech by Averell Harriman at Albany. No fair-minded person would for a moment suspect Ethridge and Harriman of being pro-Communist; and yet in the current din of anti-anti-Communism it is a little hard to distinguish voices and accents.

The Oppenheimer Finding

The report on “the Oppenheimer case” by the special Security Board of the Atomic Energy Commission is a triumphant refutation of the favorite themes of anti-American propaganda. It would be hard to imagine an atmosphere further removed from “hysteria” and “witch-hunting.” Indeed, the only hysteria exhibited over the whole affair has come from certain of the scientists and New Dealers who have been deceived into providing copy for the world Communist press by interpreting this inquiry as an attack on personal rights and scientific freedom. The Board has ample reason to conclude that its proceedings proved “that loyalty and security can be examined within the frameworks of the traditional and inviolable principles of American justice.”

Apart from lawyers’ quibbles, Dr. Oppenheimer can have no genuine complaint against the treatment accorded him. All relevant documents, except secret FBI reports, were made available to him. All of his witnesses were abundantly heard. He “has been represented by counsel, usually four in number, at all times in the course of the proceedings. He has confronted every witness appearing before the board, with the privilege of cross examination.”

Deviations of the Board from an attitude of strict impartiality were uniformly in Dr. Oppenheimer’s favor. The Board commended Dr. Oppenheimer’s “discretion” in general, after citing two dozen specific examples of his indiscretions. In a curious wording, the Board “would prefer to have found” that Dr. Oppenheimer had broken with the Citizens’ Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions “earlier” than he in fact did (1946),

and would "prefer" not to have made an explicit ruling on the question of his clearance. One would think that a Board of this kind "would prefer" merely to discover the facts, and to weigh their relation to the security of the United States.

In the report there is thoughtful discussion of many psychological, moral, and social problems at stake in the Oppenheimer and similar cases. Unfortunately, there is not much sign of any real comprehension of the nature, meaning, and history of Communist politics, a comprehension which, in this particular instance, would have reinforced the majority's negative finding on security clearance.

In his March letter of self-defense, Dr. Oppenheimer had traced his Communist fellow-traveling to the influence of Hitler's treatment of the Jews, the depression, and the Spanish Civil War. From the report (as Max Eastman observes in his comments elsewhere in this issue on Dr. Oppenheimer's recent book), we now know that his active support of pro-Communist organizations—including the Communist Party—continued at least through 1942, and his more passive support for some years thereafter. His pro-Communism thus spread over the period of the Moscow Purge Trials, and was unchecked by two major reversals in the Communist line (1939 and 1941), one of which made the Communists the allies of Hitler. The key significance of these and the other major "turns" in Communist policy for a political estimate of an organization or an individual is obvious to all who have made a serious study of Communism. There is no hint of this understanding in the Gray report.

The reaction of an individual (or organization) to successive turns may show the slightness as well as the depth of a one-time attachment to Communism. We thoroughly agree with the defenders of Dr. Oppenheimer that it is wrong to "pillory" a man for "youthful indiscretions" or "mistakes" due to "generous ideals." It is not only wrong but foolish: this too frequent practice has deprived the government of services that it badly needs. The trouble is that Dr. Oppenheimer's indiscretions were not a youthful or fleeting episode—his dubious associations, the report shows, had not ceased even in December 1953. And why is it that those who call so loudly for the forgiveness of Dr. Oppenheimer (and Philip Jessup, Owen Lattimore, James Wechsler, or John Fairbank) have such hard hearts when judging the past "indiscretions" of Louis Budenz, Elizabeth Bentley, Paul Crouch, or Joseph Kornfeder?

This question of the criteria by which we may conclude that a man has erased an earlier subversive taint deserves careful and informed re-examination. Potentially it affects both the public weal and several million individual citizens. Let us hope that the Oppenheimer case, whatever its specific merits, will force the problem into public attention and official action.

In Freedom's Calendar

June 17, 1953, is an important date in freedom's calendar. Up to the memorable day when the whole apparatus of puppet tyranny in the Soviet zone of Germany collapsed before the spontaneous storm of mass strikes and popular demonstrations we could believe, on the basis of much circumstantial evidence, that Communist regimes were hated and despised by the peoples over which they tyrannized.

There was the testimony of fugitives of the most varied political and social backgrounds. There was the silent but impressive plebiscite represented by the million and more Europeans from Iron Curtain countries (including many Russians and Ukrainians) who would not go home after the war, of the million and more Germans who abandoned all their possessions to flee from the Soviet zone to the overcrowded West. There was Hong Kong bursting at the seams with Chinese fleeing from Red terror. There was Korea, where the tide of fugitives always followed the U.N. forces, never the Communist forces. There were the Chinese and North Korean prisoners (some fifty thousand altogether, as against little more than a score of American renegades who stayed with the Communists) who steadfastly resisted the suggestion of repatriation.

But it was the Germans of the Soviet zone who furnished final clinching proof of the inner rotteness of Communist regimes and thereby rendered an inestimable service to their countrymen on the other side of the zonal boundary and to the whole of free Europe. Of course their unarmed revolt was put down. But it was not put down by Germans. The whole machinery of the police and para-military formations which had been built up in the Soviet zone proved completely unreliable.

There were wider repercussions of the superbly brave June 17 demonstrations. Polish military units, ordered to cross the Oder-Neisse border and suppress the demonstrations in the town of Goerlitz, refused to obey.

June 17 will live long in the hearts of the German people as a testimonial of the indomitable will of the Germans in the Soviet zone for national union in freedom. It should also be a day of mobilization for every diplomatic and information agency of the United States government. It would be an unpardonable moral and psychological blunder if there were any failure to salute this anniversary of heroic defeat and to hold out hope and promise that some day the ideals for which the men of June 17 risked life and liberty will be realized, that the last German Red Quislings will be running for their lives. And as soon as the Soviet empire cracks in what could become its weakest spot—the Soviet zone of Germany—the knell of doom will sound for the puppet regimes in Warsaw, Prague, Budapest, and Bucharest.

Conservatives for Liberty

It is high time to discard the obsolete idea that there is an inherent antagonism between conservatism and liberty. The precise reverse of this proposition is true. The supreme threat to human liberty, now as always, comes from the excessive arbitrary power of a centralized state. This threat is greater now than at any time in history because of the tendency of the state to reach out into fields of economic and social control on a scale unmatched by any tyrants of the past.

Lord Acton, one of the most authentic voices of nineteenth-century liberalism, summed up perhaps the most important conclusion of his vast learning in history and political science in one immortal phrase: "All power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely." The brilliant and eloquent Russian historian, V. O. Kluchevsky, pronounced the epitaph of seventeenth-century Tsarist absolutism and an unconscious forecast of the nature of Soviet absolutism when he wrote: "The state swelled, and the people shrank."

Consider the shifting attitudes of what might be called the Left and Right in American politics toward the role of the state. Thomas Jefferson would certainly have been considered a man of the Left, if the expression had been known in his time. Yet a typical excerpt from Jefferson's anti-statist writings suggests the ideology of Robert A. Taft, rather than of Franklin D. Roosevelt:

The way to have good and safe government is not to trust it all to one, but to divide it among the many, distributing to everyone exactly the functions he is competent to. Let the national government be entrusted with the defense of the nation, and its foreign and federal relations; the state governments with the civil rights, laws, police, and administration of what concerns the state generally; the counties with the local concerns of the counties. . .

What has destroyed liberty and the rights of man under every government which has ever existed under the sun? The generalizing and concentrating all cares and powers into one body, no matter whether of the autocrats of Russia or France or of the aristocrats of a Venetian senate.

Now the extension of the power of the centralized state, which Jefferson feared, against which many provisions of the American Constitution are clearly directed, has become the ideal of the Left. In its extreme form this leads to Communist totalitarianism. In the milder forms of West European socialism and American New Dealism it leads to a slower, but steady atrophy of individual liberty and self-reliance under the pressure of a state that becomes a more and more universal provider, controller, and regulator.

On both sides of the Atlantic it is the conservative forces, with their philosophy of a free market economy, respect for private property, the rule of law and decentralization of government, that offer

the best prospect of conserving individual liberty. For, as Max Eastman showed cogently in the *FREEMAN* some time ago, the once honorable word liberal has become horribly perverted, especially in the United States. A "liberal" in America may now be anyone from a believer in low tariffs and honest municipal government to a joiner of fifty-seven assorted Communist fronts and an advocate of all-out state controls.

As statism has become the banner of the Left, individual liberty has become the banner of conservatism, which, in its true form, is as anti-pathetic to fascism as to Communism. Most of the martyrs in the struggle against Hitler were Christian conservatives.

Indian Elephant Surplus

While keeping our fingers firmly on the pulse of world economy, we've recently felt a vibration that had its origin in faraway Calcutta. Seems that the bottom has fallen out of the market in Indian elephants. Whereas a neat specimen, in full possession of its tusks, used to fetch anywhere from \$1,000 to \$1,500, you can now get an average-sized elephant for around \$630.

The law of supply and demand is, as usual, behind this item of economic intelligence from strategic southern Asia. Although the supply remained more or less level, the demand for elephants has slumped since the Indian government broke up the princely states. These Indian princes used to commute by riding atop one of these huge beasts, while their retinue followed behind on slightly smaller ones. However, no princes, no market.

We are, frankly, surprised that the government of India has permitted the elephant market to come to this point. From experience here at home, we would have at least expected the government to support the price of elephants close to 90 per cent of parity. And while we can't expect stockpiles of pachyderms to be kept in government warehouses, it would not have been surprising to hear of the establishment of an All-India Elephant Maintenance and Marketing Authority. The final step, as we see it, would be a government-subsidized effort to sell elephants abroad at bargain prices. Aggressive salesmanship might open up vast markets in such exotic places as the United States of America.

We realize that the Indian government is not very keen, these days, on advice offered by U.S. experts. Nevertheless, our extensive observations in the field of bureaucratic surplus management suggest that the Indian government might go ahead and buy up some excess elephants anyway. This would bring prices up. Breeders would encourage increased output of baby elephants, which in turn could soon become full-grown surpluses.

The Debacle of the Fabians

By RUSSELL KIRK

The recent writing of the New Fabians gives ample proof of the final failure of British Socialism and shows up the Laborites as dispirited and devoid of serious thought.

Nearly two and a half years ago, the Attlee government gave way to the Conservatives. The British Socialists had seemed sick of office a good while before that, anxious enough to forget Aneurin Bevan's vaunt, before their postwar triumph over Mr. Churchill, that "we shall do such things that never again will there be a Tory government." The more reflective men among the Socialists, indeed, had anticipated the defeat of Labor in 1951 and begun to search their consciences. Much was said, in 1950 and 1951, about the necessity for reviewing socialist thought; something has been said on this topic since the Labor government fell; but remarkably little thinking has been done.

It must strike any close observer of Parliament how curiously ineffectual the Labor opposition has been since the return of Churchill. The fire is gone out of the Labor members, and they are a good deal more interested in squabbling among themselves than in attempting to criticize the Conservatives intelligently. Not that they have formed a truly loyal opposition. The eagerness of the left wing of the Labor leadership to encourage the impossible demand of the engineering unions for a pay increase of 15 per cent (which they knew could not be granted), and the embarrassment these same people recently caused Mr. Attlee when he supported the military appropriations of the government, are only the two most conspicuous examples of the irresponsibility of at least half the Labor members. But they have offered no real substitute for any Conservative measure, and they have shown neither the ability to win by-elections nor, indeed, any convincing wish to take office.

Their vague talk of returning to power once the blunders of the Tories have brought on a depression is no more than the grumbling, without real hope, of all broken factions. It is almost impossible to resist the inference that they have no idea what they would try to do if they should suddenly be asked to assume authority. Mr. Bevan, some months ago, hesitantly spoke up for nationalizing the land, confessing simultaneously that he had no idea of just how this could be accomplished; his proposal was so unmistakably old-fashioned that it met with an awkward silence from most of his personal adherents.

In the light of the present confusion of the

Socialists, it is of some interest to turn back to certain books which appeared during 1951 and 1952—the work of eminent radical thinkers concerned for the mind and heart of their party. Their prophecy of the intellectual bankruptcy of Labor has been amply fulfilled; and yet the various counsels of these well-wishers seem to have made next to no impression upon the men who control the Labor Party, or, indeed, upon the rank and file.

Mr. Carr's Perplexity

Among the earlier of these voices of foreboding was E. H. Carr's. Mr. Carr is not a member of the Fabian Society; it is difficult to say he is a member of any body, for he veers in his allegiance according to the fortunes of particular ideologies, constant only to *pleonexia*, the search after power. But Mr. Carr, historian of Soviet Russia, is a collectivist, unmistakably, and devoted to the total state. His little book, *The New Society* (1951), is significant of the present perplexity of British radicalism. The old motives to integrity and diligence, Mr. Carr confesses, are being destroyed by the Welfare State, or have already been destroyed; more and more, most men see no reason why they should work or even obey the established rules of society; therefore planners must find a new sanction to replace the old sanction of fear of want: "The donkey needs to see the stick as well as the carrot. . . I confess that I am less horror-struck than some people at the prospect, which seems to me unavoidable, of an ultimate power of what is called direction of labor resting in some arm of society, whether in an organ of state or of trade unions."

Here is the first step toward the forced labor camp. More significant still, perhaps, is Mr. Carr's confession that though he thinks "progress" the only goal of life, he cannot define progress: "Progress is just what it says, a moving on—a conscious moving on toward purposes which are felt to be worthy of human faith and human endeavour." If the early Socialists of England had been so vague as this, they would be as insignificant today as the American Socialist Party.

A book more truly in the Fabian tradition, *Restatement of Liberty* (1951), by P. C. Gordon

Walker, former Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations in the Attlee government, is no less startling. Mr. Gordon Walker, too, is aware that somehow thrift, honesty, and simple obedience to law have diminished alarmingly under the Welfare State; and his remedy is increased compulsion. "The new State will also directly augment authority and social pressure by new powers of punishment and compulsion. So far from withering away, as in theory both the individualist and the total State should, the new State, if it is to bring into being and serve the better society, must create new offenses and punish them."

Most Socialist writers are not so logical as Mr. Gordon Walker. A. J. P. Taylor, one of the most industrious of Socialist journalists and scholars, contents himself with denunciations of the upper classes—*any* upper classes, conservative or socialist—and threats against the farmers. Marx, Mr. Taylor observes, knew that the towns, in a socialist state, must crush the peasantry; and a good thing it would be, too: "He wanted to finish the struggle for good and all by liquidating the peasantry; but, failing this Utopian solution, the towns have to practice the doctrine which is the basis of all civilized life: 'We have the Maxim gun, and they have not.'" When such unprovoked ravings as this fill the columns of the *New Statesman and Nation*, surely the talents of the Socialists are at a low ebb; ranting is substituted for confident planning, the mark of a profound frustration.

Even such an elder statesman of Fabianism as G. D. H. Cole is at sea. Dismayed at the inefficiency of nationalized industry and the general lack of drive in the Welfare State, he turns back to guild socialism and syndicalism, fumblingly, for remedies; and he says, ominously: "Socialism is an unworkable system without a new social drive such as the Communists have managed to give it." Familiar as even the Fabians now are with the sanctions and methods of the Soviets, few of Mr. Cole's colleagues ventured to applaud this candor.

Revisionism Redoubled

The most sober and interesting endeavor of the British Socialists to look into their own hearts appeared two years ago: *New Fabian Essays*, edited by Mr. R. H. S. Crossman, who contributes the most interesting essay. The authors of these articles are the young lions of the Fabian Society: C. A. R. Crosland¹, Roy Jenkins, Margaret Cole, Austen Albu, Ian Mikardo, Denis Healey, John Strachey—not all of them, perhaps, *very* young lions. Mr. Attlee has contributed a preface, but several of the authors are conspicuous among the devotees of Mr. Bevan. Now Mr. Bevan, the middle-aged *enfant terrible* of his party, is the most

1. I can advance no theory as to why Fabians manifest such an affection for three initials.

old-fashioned of all Laborites. His world of oratory and of polemic is the world of 1918, or 1926, and he rejoices in all the clichés of the radical agitator; he is still talking of class warfare and capital levies when every practical Socialist politician put such fancies out of his head years ago. On the face of things, then, it is surprising that these younger Fabians, full of revisionist schemes, should profess such an attachment to the most die-hard of old-school Labor leaders.

Whatever their principles of loyalty, most of the contributors to *New Fabian Essays* have turned their backs, or at least their shoulders, upon the original *Fabian Essays*, and their authors. This new book is revisionism redoubled. Not all these New Fabians are going in the same direction.

Mr. Crosland Defines "Statism"

Mr. Crosland almost justifies the *Spectator's* jocular reference to "Socialist Conservatism." The trouble with the socialist Welfare State, he says in substance, is that everything has been made so jolly that we don't know which way to turn next; we have accomplished everything, and find ourselves bewildered. Marx was wrong, Mr. Crosland observes, when he predicted the progressive impoverishment of the worker, ending in a proletarian revolution; instead, the working classes have grown steadily more prosperous, in spite of war and depression, so that their real income in Britain, by 1938, was three and a half times that of 1870. Capitalism is not going to be overthrown by revolution; instead, a post-capitalist society is taking shape, characterized by a diminished influence of individual property rights upon economic and social power, the transfer of economic management to a new class of administrative employees, a great increase in economic controls by the state, a high level of social services, a permanently high level of employment, a steady increase of production, a lessening of the class struggle by the growth of buffer intermediate classes between the top and the bottom strata of society, and the tendency to substitute "the virtues of cooperative action" for private initiative and competition. All this, Mr. Crosland says, constitutes "The Transition from Capitalism," the subject of his essay; and he calls the new society Statism.

What is the difference between this and Socialism? Chiefly, Mr. Crosland writes, in that the soul of Socialism is equality, and this new Statism is not really egalitarian. "The purpose of socialism is quite simply to eradicate this sense of class, and to create in its place a sense of common interest and equal status." To this task of creating greater equality of "living standards and opportunities," but even more, of "measures on the socio-psychological plane" for making men feel equal, Mr. Crosland advises sincere Fabians to address themselves henceforward. Correspondingly,

intelligent Socialists ought now to dismiss certain "lines of policy which are sometimes put forward as constituting the essence of good socialism." These obsolete socialistic objectives are the continued extension of free social services, more nationalization of whole industries, the continued proliferation of controls, and further redistribution of income by direct taxation.

In short, Mr. Crosland is so bold as to declare that nearly the whole of the socialist program is antiquated, and he implies that it is becoming positively dangerous if Britain wants to retain the benefits of Statism. His only strong ambition is to realize "a society which is not bedeviled by the consciousness of class."

This is moderation; but it is also smugness. Mr. Crosland's complacency with the present insipidity of British life would have driven idealistic Socialists like William Morris into a Viking rage. In some sense, Mr. Crosland's England is simply the triumph of that lower-middle-class life which Morris and Ruskin detested. Except for his appetite for a psychological equality, Mr. Crosland's interests seem to be wholly utilitarian, and he rejoices in the increasing mechanization of everything in life, on Benthamite principles. What attracted great numbers of people to socialism at the turn of the century was its promise to wipe away the grubby industrial world and substitute something beautiful. The Socialist Party is come down, instead, to Mr. Crosland's world, which is very like a rather shabby imitation of *Looking Backward*.

One Town's Experience

If Mr. Crosland's generalities are reduced to particular cases, just how much good has this moral undermining of old classes, together with certain of the features of Statism, done the English people? I happen to know something, for instance, of what has occurred in the old weaving town of Huddersfield in Yorkshire. The established pattern of industry there was the family business, operated with great pride of workmanship and high efficiency, with excellent relations between the owners and their mill-hands. During the past twenty years, however, most of this has been changing. The decay of the old certitudes among the families of the mill owners has made many of the younger generation reckless and profligate—the end, perhaps, of two centuries of integrity. Yet, after all, what have they to look forward to? One or two deaths in the family will result in virtual confiscation because of the enormous death duties, and the mill will have to be sold to a company of outsiders, commonly absentee owners, who all too often manufacture shoddy goods. The reputation of English textiles declines in consequence, and so does true efficiency; the working people lose their accustomed pride and reliability;

and the class which furnished the leadership for the town sinks into apathy. How long can this particular aspect of Statism continue? Not more than a generation, at most, I think; and then will come, not the placid psychological equality that is Mr. Crosland's dream, but the grim stick to replace the carrot, the authoritarian state—unless there is a restoration of the old motives to integrity.

Advice from Mr. Crossman

When we turn to Mr. R. H. S. Crossman's essay, we find that interesting mixture of sound sense and doctrinaire egalitarianism which occurs in the whole body of Mr. Crossman's writings. Like Mr. Crosland, Mr. Crossman is willing to concede that most of the Socialist program is obsolete; what is more, he confesses that from the first the Fabians went wrong on a great many philosophical postulates. The present dreary intellectual state of the Labor Party alarms him: "Our socialism may degenerate into Laborism. If this happens, politics will become a matter of 'ins' and 'outs.' Soon there will be no deep difference between the two parties, and the dynamic of social change will be taken over by new and dangerous political movements." The Fabians must repudiate many of their most cherished fancies, if they are to survive, he continues. They must realize that the notion of automatic progress is a delusion, for "the evolutionary and the revolutionary philosophies of progress have both proved false." They must face the fact that the managerial state, as beheld in Soviet Russia, destroys the true equality and respect for individual personality which Socialists desire. Fabians must admit that mere democracy, applied abstractly to Asia or Africa, does not bring either freedom or equality—it simply gives the old dominant classes, or new oligarchs, a new instrument of power. Fabians should abjure ideology, indeed, and crusading ideals, adopting instead a policy of urbane criticism.

At home, intelligent Socialists ought to turn their attention to three problems: the surviving concentration of capital in private hands, despite the redistribution of income through taxation; the surviving influence of laissez-faire concepts in the allocation of profits, wages, and salaries; and the survival, despite nationalization, of "effective power . . . in the hands of a small managerial and Civil Service elite."

Mr. Crossman decidedly has thrown overboard the swaggering optimism of the earlier Fabians:

In these conditions it is self-deception to believe that the living standards and security enjoyed by the British people after 1945 were a *stable* achievement of socialism. Living in an age not of steady progress towards a world welfare capitalism, but of world revolution, it is folly for us to assume that the Socialist's task is to assist in the gradual improvement of the material lot of the human race

and the gradual enlargement of the area of human freedom. The forces of history are all pressing towards totalitarianism: in the Russian bloc, owing to the conscious policy of the Kremlin; in the free world, owing to the growth of the managerial society, the effects of total rearmament, and the repressing of colonial aspirations. The task of socialism is neither to accelerate this Political Revolution, nor to oppose it (this would be as futile as opposition to the Industrial Revolution a hundred years ago), but to civilize it.

This, too, certainly is moderation. True, Mr. Crossman retains some vestige of tenderness for the Soviet experiment, so that he does not really inquire whether Soviet totalitarianism is simply the consequence of having Bad Men in the Kremlin, or whether it may possibly be the consequence of abolishing the traditional motives to integrity, and so having to rule by force. True, he still turns up his nose at "capitalism," going so far as to try to convince himself that the divorce of ownership and management in certain great American corporations (a problem which disturbs many American industrialists even more than it disturbs Mr. Crossman) is a kind of counterpart to Soviet totalitarianism. But he has come a great way toward confessing that the traditional ends and methods of Western society are worth preserving.

For what, according to Mr. Crossman, is the object of socialism? Why, human freedom. Not democracy, not equality, not a planned economy, not even prosperity, but freedom. Mr. Crossman is vague about his definition of freedom, which sometimes he seems to blend indistinguishably with equality; but it is reasonably clear that he likes old-fashioned liberty, private liberty, and not the sophisticated new definitions of freedom as "opportunity for creative activity" or "an activity, an arduous pursuit of a goal that is never reached" offered by Mr. Carr and Mr. Gordon Walker. It will be interesting to see whether Mr. Crossman, holding his present opinions, can continue to be any sort of Socialist, or can continue to make himself think that socialism is the way to freedom.

A Note of Disillusion

There are other interesting contributions to *New Fabian Essays*. Through them all, however, runs a note of disillusion and baffled hope. The world, these people have discovered, is not governed by little pamphlets, or much altered by tidy little plans. They dread the future, where their predecessors rejoiced in the day that was dawning; they are mightily anxious to consolidate the present gains of socialism, rather than to experiment; they suffer, indeed, from that ancient malady called the conservatism of fear. And they have good reason for alarm. Their party and principles have so weakened the old order of things, deliberately boring from within, injuring the hearts and minds

of the old governing classes, that the moral and material capital of traditional British society is perilously close to exhaustion. Yet they shudder at the thought of proceeding onward to a regime of compulsion and the total state, the only logical alternative to a conservative order and a free economy.

They are beginning to realize that their own moral convictions were derived from traditional British society, but that they have been consuming the vigor of that traditional system, a parasitic sect. They are beginning to realize also that the socialist economy, similarly, may have been no more than a parasite upon the free economy it detested. And now, it occurs to some of them, they are close to the peril of an existence not merely parasitic, but saprophytic.

Fabianism Now Rootless

Two years ago, then, the New Fabians exhorted British Socialists to rethink their program. There is very little evidence in Parliament or in the Labor Party organizations that any such rethinking has occurred. And no wonder, for the New Fabians' manifesto was a tissue of negations, not of affirmations; they offered no guidance. British socialism, as a moral and intellectual movement, developed from two sources: the utilitarian principles of Bentham (as Mr. Crossman reminds us) and the equalitarian "social gospel" of the Non-comformists, reinforced by certain Anglican churchmen. As Mr. Crossman himself candidly points out, the great grim events of our time have exposed as so many fallacies the Benthamite assumptions upon which the Webbs, Laski, H. G. Wells, and their friends founded their socialism; and when such people turned to Marxism for a refuge, they embraced a bear. "Christian" Socialism, on the other hand, has tended to disintegrate since the First World War, declining into a mere secular moralism, at best, or giving up the ghost as the true character of socialist states became clear. With both its roots hacked through, how long can British socialism hope to keep clear of the pit into which British Liberalism has fallen?

Fabianism, I am inclined to believe, has fought its last campaign. If the Fabian Society survives as an influence in British politics and the affairs of the mind, it will survive only in a metamorphosed state, with new principles, if not new methods. The old Fabians were strong in irony, statistical learning, and pure rationality. What they lacked was the higher imagination, that faculty which conservatives like Burke and Disraeli possessed so conspicuously. Men do not want to be equal, really, or efficient, or completely rational, or the recipients of a planned happiness. What men want is to be simply themselves. This the Fabians refused to confess; and so they are come to the end of their tether.

America's Laziest Man

By VICTOR RIESEL

The apathy of union members makes them easy dupes of Red agents and gangsters, and involves them in strikes crippling both to our economy and to labor.

Much has been said about Communist and gangster domination of some of the labor unions and about the crippling effect upon our economy of strikes that result from such domination. The blame for these costly troubles rests in large part upon the rank and file of union members. The truth is that most dues-payers of the nation's 75,000 local unions are too indifferent to devote a few hours each month to attending meetings at which their economic fate is decided.

A union having, say, 20,000 members on its books may be run by the mere half-hundred men who are interested enough to turn out for meetings. It is estimated that of this country's 16,000,000 union members, only about 750,000 vote or monitor their officers' financial, industrial and political policies.

As a result of this apathy, some unions have become captives of the criminal underworld or Communists. There is, for example, a notorious pro-Soviet labor union called the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers. It was expelled from the C.I.O. in 1949 after a jury of its peers voted to condemn it as a follower of Soviet policy. Its leaders have been accused before congressional committees of being part of the Soviet undercover apparatus. Its national counsel, Nathan Witt, invoked the Fifth Amendment and refused to deny membership in a specific Communist cell within our federal government. Witt, it is charged, was a member of the same cell as Alger Hiss.

This union controls workers who dig our vital copper, nickel, and uranium. They are in key uranium smelter plants and in the supersecret heavy-water plant at Trail, British Columbia. The pro-Communist leadership of this union's 100,000 members endangers the security of our nation. It can paralyze the production of materials needed for weapons that include the hydrogen bomb. Yet a survey of its local meetings from northern Canada to southern Texas shows that often only thirty to fifty members come to regional headquarters meetings at which union policy is decided upon by vote.

In an election held on November 2, 1953, no one bothered to run against the pro-Soviet clique's candidate for president, and less than one third of the members took the trouble to vote. Further,

the union's incumbent secretary-treasurer was re-elected, even though a year earlier he had refused to answer this question put to him by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee: "Do you feel that you are innocent of any part in a conspiracy to undertake to overthrow the government by force and violence?"

Thus did the 70,000 rank-and-file members who were too lazy to vote deliver their union by default to a man whose loyalty to our country is seriously in doubt.

Policies Decided by a Few

The apathy of union members is underlined by the following case. In March 1953 a strike shut down the big General Electric plant at Evendale, Ohio, which was turning out jet motors to power the aircraft then sweeping Russia's MIGs out of the Korean skies. It was a major test of President Eisenhower's new labor policy to remain neutral in any industrial furor as long as he could. Despite protests from the unions, the Air Force stayed out of the conflict.

The A.F.L. International Association of Machinists, one of two unions involved at this G.E. plant—a clean, incorruptible union—had called a meeting to conduct a strike vote. This union had some 1,100 members in the plant. Only 114 showed up. Of those who attended, eighty-five voted for the walkout. Thus 8 per cent of the affected membership decided union policy.

The other union there, the C.I.O. United Automobile Workers, had 4,800 dues-payers at the plant. At a meeting called to decide its strike policy some 1,200 were present—only one member in four cared enough to come out to vote on major policy. And the strike was voted.

The leadership of the United Electrical Workers (U.E.) is as notoriously pro-Communist as that of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers and as strategically located in the heart of our defense industry. In congressional hearings witnesses have linked U.E. leaders such as Jim Matles, national organizer, and Julius Emspak, national secretary-treasurer, with the Soviet apparatus. Is this the result of rank-and-file laziness? When the 17,000 member electrical union at the G.E.

Schenectady plant was under U.E. control, only fifty to two hundred attended meetings. Yet this plant turns out precision electronic mechanisms which can be the difference between victory and defeat in any future war. At Westinghouse plants near Philadelphia local union policy is often decided by ten to twenty-five members out of a membership of 8,000.

Normal attendance in locals with from 200 to 4,000 members runs from 2 to 8 per cent of the membership, according to a study published by Cornell University, and in large locals attendance sometimes drops to 1 per cent.

Reds and Racketeers Take Over

This disease of apathy respects no skill, no talent, no occupation. Artisan and artist alike suffer from the lazy-bug. The A.F.L. American Federation of Radio and Television Artists, New York Local, has 4,000 members, among them the best-known radio voices and TV faces in the world. Yet at a meeting on April 2 last year only eighty bothered to come and decide on policy. The radio and TV field was at that time the center of a pro-Communist, anti-Communist controversy. The left-wingers had fifty-eight members present, and they passed pro-Communist resolutions. To rescind them, the union's officers had to resort to a mail referendum of all 4,000 members.

For years the Radio Writers' Guild held monthly meetings attended by an average of only thirty of its 500 members, and the left-wingers captured it easily. A few years ago the national executive council of this union rejected a resolution proposed by some of its anti-Communist members that it offer its services and talents "in the national interest" in time of emergency.

In July 1950, a few weeks after the Communists invaded South Korea, the council again rejected a resolution which would have placed the Guild in support of our government. One council member said that he would never vote for such a resolution because he had been informed that the sole purpose of American troops in Korea was to smash Korean labor unions!

Just as Communists have taken over unions, so have crime syndicates. In New Jersey and elsewhere there are local construction unions which almost never hold meetings, and their members never demand them. These unions become the personal property of their officials and are used as fronts for shakedowns and multi-million-dollar gambling rackets.

Edward J. White, president of the E. J. White Company of Newark, New Jersey, recently issued the following appeal: "The card-carrying union man can correct any defect in his leadership if he has the moral courage and intestinal fortitude to attend meetings and vote for a leader who is honest and capable."

So aghast at the apathy of dues-payers was one newcomer to labor leadership that he recently launched a crusade in his union to place the responsibility where it belonged—on the rank-and-file member. This man, who refuses to draw a personal expense account from his union, New York Musicians Local 802, is its president, Al Manuti. Local 802, with 30,000 members, is the world's largest musicians' local. Manuti arrived at a membership meeting last November to find just a few seats occupied. As a result, the entire front page of the next issue of the union's publication, *Allegro*, was devoted to a simulated classified advertisement appealing to members to attend the next meeting.

Al Manuti has many counterparts among the 250,000 union leaders in the United States. These men want the membership to carry some of the responsibility for policies and to help fight off the underworld and undercover vultures who are ready to capture unions run by only a handful of members.

The American Guild of Variety Artists hurled at its members this ironic challenge on "How to Kill a Union" in the January 1954 edition of *AGVA News*: "Don't attend meetings. If you go, go late. Don't accept any office. It's easier to criticize. Insist on official notices being sent you but don't pay any attention to them. Under no circumstances offer constructive suggestions."

Frank Darling, leader of Local 1031, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, in Chicago, whose 33,000 members make most of the radio and TV sets and parts purchased in the United States, found a way to get members to attend meetings. Ten years ago disrupters and propagandists, loud-mouths from the Chicago mobs and Communist Party haranguers, so bored the members that they stopped coming, and the organized few threatened to take over the union. Whereupon Frank Darling hired a vaudeville act and a four-piece band and told members to come back to meetings and enjoy themselves. He holds a business meeting first and then puts on the entertainment. The local today has its own chorus line—eight dancing girls, all union members.

Frank tells me his union meetings now are the world's largest. The hall seats 3,600 and takes 800 standees, yet he must run each session in four consecutive nightly installments to accommodate all the members who are eager to attend. Darling has proved that you *can* get 15,000 members to attend to union business.

But this Chicago local is unique. Neither scandals nor the security of our nation nor pride of organization stirs the vast majority of the nation's 16,000,000 rank-and-filers, and labor leadership continues, for the most part, to go by default. It is time that the public, caught up in feuds and shakedowns and espionage and danger of sabotage, put the blame squarely where it belongs.

Why Trade Must Be Free

By PATRICK E. NIEBURG

To end U.S. giveaways, fight Soviet trade lures, and stabilize cold war economic pressures, the lowering of tariffs and their eventual suspension is a necessary and, in the long view, sound program.

At no time has the problem of free trade played a more vitally important role than today. President Eisenhower summed it up in his trade policy message to Congress when he stated: "If we fail in our trade policy, we may fail in all."

The President's message could not have been better illustrated than by the events immediately preceding it. Secretary of State Dulles was told by Latin American colleagues that hemispheric unity of purpose and action could only be achieved successfully after a clearly defined U. S. foreign trade policy assuring them of future profitable commercial relations with the United States. Harold Stassen found himself in the uncomfortable position of trying to persuade our European allies to go slow on dealing with the Communist bloc, without being able to offer a positive alternative to their immediate need for increased trade.

The clamor of free nations to resume, or expand, trade with the Soviet bloc is a result of a sober appraisal of their domestic economies, which today produce more than they can absorb. They must trade to dispose of their surplus and pay for essential imports. More important still, they must trade to maintain a high level of employment and individual income—two of the principal factors in combatting Communism. Any appreciable increase in unemployment will be exploited by the Communists to swell the ranks of local Communist parties and challenge the very existence of governments friendly to the United States. Hence, trade is not only economically vital, but it is a political necessity for the survival of free governments and the concept of collective security.

The Communist bloc has gone to great pains to advertise the trade opportunities it offers. One of the major problems confronting us, therefore, is what we can do to prevent the Communist bloc from indirectly controlling the economic well-being of other free nations and threatening the existence of their governments. For this reason a positive U.S. foreign trade policy is as essential in the struggle to defeat Communism as military aid to our allies.

Unfortunately, this issue is easily obscured because of an argumentative dust storm that traditionally blows during any consideration of trade policies: the effect on domestic labor of a lowered tariff. And the lowering of tariffs, inevitably,

is the focal change to be considered in any discussion of how to ease the free world's market pressures. One of the more pessimistic estimates of low tariff damage envisages fifteen million Americans out of work because of imports of goods produced by cheap foreign labor. This, the argument continues, would weaken the United States economically and would impair its strength to lead the free world in its fight against Communism. There is little convincing evidence supporting this thesis.

Arguments of the Free Traders

The other side of the coin is presented by a rapidly growing group of free-traders who believe that free trade is or should be an integral part of a free, competitive society. Convinced that tariff reduction would cause only isolated hardships in the United States, they point out that both the American consumer and foreign labor would stand to benefit; the American consumer by reduced prices, and foreign labor not only by steady employment, but by rising wages, which would ultimately eliminate the "cheap labor" argument.

Another powerful argument of the free-traders is that free trade, more than any other measure, can replace American foreign aid. The advantage of enabling the free nations to earn their necessary foreign exchange is twofold. Not only does it save the American taxpayer money but the free nations regain their self-respect by working for their living rather than being dependent on aid grants. This is one of the best incentives for the development of efficient economic units which can compete successfully and which thus are an asset to their national economy and a barrier against the slow encroachment of government on business.

What is true for Europe also applies in large measure to Asia. For years now, Japan has been living on borrowed time and American aid. Despite some two billion dollars in U. S. aid the Japanese economy today is still unable to sustain its rapidly growing population. American aid has enabled Japan to rehabilitate her productive capacity, but unless it can find markets for those products in the Western world, Japan too might easily fall prey to tempting trade offers from the Communist bloc, particularly Red China.

The gloomy specter of cheap foreign goods, dumped on the American market, is born out of fear of competition but does not correspond to reality. Congressman D. Bailey Merrill, of the Eighth District of Indiana, for instance, had his doubts about the effect of foreign trade on his constituents. Rather than rely on preconceived fears, he initiated a thorough study which revealed that his constituents stand to benefit by increased foreign trade.

The Merrill case study is based on eleven typical American counties. A detailed analysis of the total labor force, commodity by commodity, product by product, and company by company reveals that manufacturing, agriculture, and mining, which account for 57 per cent of those employed, benefit by foreign trade, through direct and indirect exports. Imports do not affect adversely any of the six major categories of employment in the area. Only in isolated cases did individual enterprises contend that imports detract from their business, and then indirectly rather than by competition.

If Tariffs Were Suspended

The Randall Commission Report on foreign trade policy points out that suspension of tariffs might result in an annual increase of imports of eight hundred million to eighteen hundred million dollars. Based upon the fact that of a total import in 1951 of \$10.8 billion, some six billion entered the country free of duty, allowing the remainder to enter duty free as well, this would account for a minimum increase of imports of 8 per cent and a maximum of 15 per cent. The estimated maximum increase of imports (\$1.8 billion) would still only constitute less than 1 per cent of the total personal consumption in the U. S., which during 1951 totaled two hundred and eight billion dollars.

The Randall Report adds that the maximum increase in import, after *suspension* of tariffs, might affect employment to the tune of 200,000 man-years. This does not necessarily imply, however, that 200,000 people would be out of work because of imports. While it might displace some workers permanently, others might lose one or two days of their work week, or the benefit of overtime.

The figures mentioned above, essentially, refer to a temporary suspension. Should tariff suspension become a permanent feature, these figures should be revised upward. It stands to reason that permanent tariff elimination would attract more foreign companies to make a bid for the U. S. market. As they become more efficient in merchandising in the United States, their volume of sales to this country would increase.

From an American point of view, however, a low tariff structure would remain only a partial solution until the United States could benefit by it. It seems only reasonable for the United States to expect that tariff concessions be matched by foreign nations with a return to free convertibility of

currencies, which is the prerequisite for free, multilateral trade. The restoration of a free payments system should constitute the forerunner to abolition of discriminatory import quotas which impede the free flow of trade. Foreign nations could do much to help overcome the objections of U. S. protectionists against tariff concessions were they honestly and diligently to dedicate themselves to these goals.

How about our own import quotas? Would their elimination, in addition to tariff suspension, increase the "flood" of imports and seriously affect our own economy? Undoubtedly, it would intensify imports. However, the "threat" to our economy would still remain a minor problem, since only 5 per cent of the gross national product consists of imports.

There are, of course, isolated cases where imports would seriously affect local industries. The impact of foreign competition would be especially severe where a community is dependent upon one local industry. However, this impact would be no greater than that caused by some domestic economic shifts, since it requires a prolonged period to make itself felt, and adjustments could meantime be effected.

Where national security requires that an industry, threatened by imports, be protected, it seems more economical to do so by direct subsidy than by tariffs. The watch industry is a good case in point. It would be far more economical to subsidize this industry than to continue adherence to a tariff policy (which in effect is an indirect subsidy) which penalizes consumers and frequently encourages production of goods for which there is no sound economic justification because they do not face the test of competition.

The Human Element

No discussion of economics, of course, can be complete unless it considers the human element involved. To do justice to this factor it is necessary to approach the problem in terms of the individual affected. Congressman Wayne L. Hays (D.), Eighteenth District of Ohio, has for this reason fought and is presently fighting any tariff concessions. It is not because he does not believe in free trade. It is because his district is heavily populated with pottery workers and glass blowers centered around the East Liverpool area. He is concerned for their jobs. Moreover, he expresses the local sentiment, which it is his duty to do as their representative, when he opposes tariff concessions.

Both Representative Hays and his constituents could probably be swayed to change their position, if, as tariffs are reduced gradually, conditions in their district could be adjusted to provide jobs for those who would lose employment because of imports. However, this requires a period of adjust-

ment, a redirection of efforts, before the impact of reduced tariffs or tariff suspension could be mitigated to a point where it would be less painful.

Translating this into the national level, it seems that, though tariff concessions would have only a minor over-all effect, an evolutionary process would benefit this country more than a sudden revolutionary move. That would mean a rapid reduction of tariffs where it can be accomplished without hardship, followed ultimately by complete suspension of tariffs. This seems more practical than a sudden abolition of all tariffs that would permit no period of adjustment.

Benefits to the U.S.

So far only the negative aspects of foreign trade have been examined. But foreign trade is a two-way street from which the United States benefits as well. Increased imports stimulate increased exports, and thus swell the ranks of those employed, directly or indirectly, by exports while at the same time reducing the effect of displacement by imports. Again, it might be interesting to compare the magnitude of estimated displacement with the number of people dependent upon foreign trade, which totaled 4,376,000, according to Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks. Even if one equates 200,000 man-years with 200,000 jobs, this would still be less than 5 per cent. Compared to a total employment of more than sixty million, the number is insignificant. At the rate of foreign aid spent by the United States since 1947, each of the 200,000 displaced workers could draw \$25,000 annually, were the government to use an equivalent sum for the relief of displaced labor. This would still leave the United States in a better position because of the benefits derived from increased trade, as opposed to aid.

What international trade can mean to individual American companies has well been demonstrated by such examples as Yale & Towne and Burroughs Adding Machines. Yale & Towne has long imported products its subsidiaries manufacture abroad, sometimes in competition with domestic production. The results have been most encouraging. The company has a diversified line of products which is highly competitive and which has insured profits for all concerned—consumers, employees, and stockholders.

When Burroughs moved some of its manufacturing facilities to England and “imported” them to the United States, no one was discharged. Instead, increased domestic sales added to the labor force. While Americans, whether employees, consumers, or stockholders benefited from this trade, foreign countries got their share of profit, too, in the form of wages, taxes, etc., which in turn contributed to their solution of the dollar gap, made them less dependent on U. S. aid, and better prospective customers for American goods.

The validity of the argument for reduction of tariffs and their eventual suspension can be seen from the wide support it has gained from a representative cross-section of the American people. The major trade unions have come out strongly in favor of it. Manufacturers of various kinds of products support it. The International Relations Committee of the National Association of Manufacturers recommended reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers. The U. S. Chamber of Commerce gave its stamp of approval.

The economic well-being and possibly the political independence of the free nations depends to a large measure upon our foreign trade policy. Tariff reductions now and eventual suspension are therefore not a problem to be measured only in terms of economic gain or loss to us, but against the requirements of national security which demand that the free nations remain free and allied with us in the common struggle against Communism.

Let's Be Prejudiced

By JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

“Prejudice” is the dirtiest word in the modern vocabulary. So perhaps it ought to be—if only we were quite sure what it meant. But at least this reader of contemporary discussions is getting bewildered. He doesn't know what the writers mean and he wonders if they do either.

Take the case where the “liberals” protest that we are “prejudiced” in favor of the Western conception of democracy as opposed to the Russian. They seem to imply that a really “unprejudiced” man would necessarily agree that one is just as valid as the other. But just how unprejudiced can you get if you are going to think at all?

To clear the air let us put the word “prejudice” alongside the word “preference” and ask if there is really no difference between them. It can hardly be said that we ought to be completely free of preferences. If we were, then we would be incapable of making what the philosophers call a value judgment. And a society in which nothing seemed preferable to anything else would be more barbarous than any which anthropology has ever discovered. Yet as the word “prejudice” is frequently used it is difficult to see how we could give up what it is taken to mean without giving up preferences too. Is there really anything so shameful about preferring the Western concept of democracy to the Soviet?

Ever since the Renaissance the course of Western civilization has been determined by our preferences—or prejudices, if you insist—in favor, let us say, of investigation as opposed to dogma, health as opposed to disease, liberty as opposed to conformity, kindness as opposed to cruelty. No tech-

nique ever invented to undermine that civilization was ever more subtle than that which seeks to convince us that every preference is a prejudice, that all prejudices are wrong, and that, for example, we are only "prejudiced" in favor of our own mores when we find the Western concept of fair play more attractive than the doctrine that class interest alone determines the meaning of "justice" or that policy, not a respect for truth, should determine what we will promise or say.

Any man so unprejudiced as all that is a monster. If his condemnation is not that he chooses darkness rather than light, it may be something even worse—that he perceives no distinction between them. Yet a reviewer who is pretending to praise a group of recent books about the Soviet Union finds it necessary to interject the remark that "All the writers . . . assume that our way of life is mysteriously right and that the other side is evil." Why that adverb "mysteriously"? What is so mysterious about the assumption that one thing is better than another? How can one possibly indulge in any meaningful comparisons unless one does assume that a choice between them is legitimate? Is it really necessary to invoke a "mystery" to explain the feeling that judicial assassination is "somehow" not right?

The "Intellectual" Pattern

Unfortunately, the "liberal" to whom all preferences except his own are wicked prejudices had the way prepared for him by the so-called "impartiality" of the kind of history and sociology which was written during the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth. When a Lecky popularized the conviction that there is no distinction between mores and morals, the whole disastrous paralysis of judgment as a legitimate function of thinking man set in. Soon the sociologists with their "objective" studies followed, and shortly after them came the anthropologists with their "cultural relativism." The one was soon telling us that the only criterion for what men ought to do is what it has been discovered they are doing; the other that the civilization of the European is not better than that of the plains Indian but only "different." By the premises of either it is only natural to conclude also that Western democracy is only "different" from what the Kremlin has stolen the word to describe.

Such convictions three fourths of the "intellectuals" firmly hold. By now they have also seeped down until they have begun to permeate not only the middle class but almost every stratum of society, until the strongest preferences begin to waver when those who entertain them are reminded that they are "mere prejudices" after all.

It is not likely that "our way of life" can be preserved by those who would like to preserve it unless they believe that it is preferable—whether

"mysteriously" or not. Perhaps the time has come to realize this fact and to re-establish the first line of defense where logically it has to be. In one of his saner moments Nietzsche declared that "All life is a dispute about taste"—and tastes are preferences. To assert their legitimacy is to take a position midway between: "Right is right because God so ordained it" and "Nothing is right or wrong except as custom makes it so." It is to assert that if there are no absolutes in the universe then the only escape from anarchy lies through those "preferences" which man himself asserts when he chooses honor rather than treachery, love rather than hate, beauty rather than ugliness, light rather than darkness. If they are all the same to the universe they are not all the same to him. If to find them not all the same is "nothing but" a taste or a preference arbitrarily chosen, then such arbitrary choices are among the most fateful that a man or a civilization can make, and nothing is more inappropriate than to talk about "mere tastes" and "mere preferences."

A society without what are commonly called prejudices is unthinkable. Obviously the "liberal" is aware of that fact when he defends his own set of preferences and is a relativist in respect to everything except his own. To be prejudiced even within a reasonable meaning of the term is not quite so bad as it would be to have no preferences at all—if such a thing were possible. A prejudiced man may sometimes be a bad man; a man without preferences would not be a man at all. To every human being some things are better than others. To have many preferences and to consider them important is—no matter what some may call them—something to be proud of, not ashamed.

Needling the News

Chiang's navy has sunk a ship belonging to the Chinese Reds. If this were 1950, recalling the infamous blockade against a willing ally, the U.S. Seventh Fleet would now be steaming toward Formosa with open gun-hatches.

John L. Lewis "has found the banking business a money-making proposition," according to a news report. He has also found his end of the coal business productive of profit—in sharp contrast to several thousand investors who have put their money into the industry.

The Soviet Union has reimposed the death penalty for murderers, it having been abolished in 1950 except for traitors, spies, and diversionist agents. Two questions: 1) Name a single Russian who could not be liquidated before the law's coverage was expanded; 2) Are murders by Malenkov included?

MARTIN JOHNSTON

The Young Germans—Today

By NORBERT MUHLEN

It is not the ghosts of Nazism that haunt Germany's youth, but rather the fear of being rejected in their fervent hope to participate in, and even fight for, a European community of free nations.

In a large West German city in the winter of 1953, six thousand boys and girls were invited to a birthday party. The birthday to be celebrated was their own political birthday; they had reached voting age in the past three months. A middle-aged woman interested in political education had hit on the idea of collecting their names, sending invitations to them as well as to a hundred or so local leaders, secretaries, aldermen, Congressmen, and other spokesmen of all political parties, and hiring a festive hall in which they could meet and talk.

The young people, dressed in their Sunday best, sat quietly at long tables while the politicians—most of them bald and with bulging briefcases—arrived and settled down among them. Solemnly everybody ordered a cup of coffee or soft drinks. A few even asked for beer.

For the first half hour only the politicians talked. After they had had their say, they asked the young guests for questions. An eager looking boy in a blue serge suit asked why he could not use a transfer on the tramway to work. A very pretty girl, at another table, asked why her mother was not assigned a new apartment, since she had been promised it for five years and had to live now with four children in two rooms. Another girl asked the *Bundestag* deputy next to her whether she needed a passport for a bicycling trip to Denmark she planned for the summer. I moved from table to table listening in on the discussions. Not one of the young people mentioned politics, either to ask a question or to state an opinion.

After an hour of strained and stolid talk, the tables were removed and dancing began.

This was a representative group of the German youth which, just a few years ago, many Americans were writing off as completely ruined by their indoctrination under Hitler. These young people, it was said, could never be redeemed, would aggressively retain their Nazism forever, and were, in short, the problem children of Europe. After this early harsh view subsided, bias often continued to replace observation.

What kind of people are today's young Germans? Much depends not only on the answer, but on what Europe thinks is the answer. Tomorrow these young Germans will be the people—and probably the army—of Europe's strongest country.

It seems that Germany's youth in the last few years has undergone a change less conspicuous, perhaps, though hardly less impressive than the change which has transformed the destroyed Germany of yesterday into the prospering nation of today. "Ruins are the essence of our time," Werner Heist, a young poet, wrote shortly after the war. That was the mood of his generation. The thing most ruined was their faith. They thought they could never again trust a man, a program, or an idea after their trust in Nazi teachings had let them down so badly. When the Third Reich fell it had "debunked" itself in the eyes of the young who had been taught by these very Nazis to judge political ideas in terms of power and success alone. Surrounded by the wreck of this teaching, they embraced at least tentatively a complete lack of faith in all ideas, programs, men, and communities.

Since then another generation has grown up. The five years of the Adenauer administration has already had a much greater impact on their minds than the few last years of the Hitler era they experienced.

The New Skepticism

At first glance these young Germans seem to have gotten over their past. They seem to have firm ground under their feet again and an urge to enjoy themselves somewhat like young Americans, whose habits, fads, and styles they have adopted—from the way they dress to the obsession of boys with motors, the obsession of girls with movies, a passionate interest in popular music and comic strips, and so on.

Below this surface, the less happy vestiges of the recent past have not been entirely removed. Cynicism has given way to a skepticism which leads to a still deeper distrust, a reluctance to accept new ideas, and to serious difficulties in becoming part of a genuine community.

These impressions, gained in my associations with young Germans over the past few years, were confirmed by an extraordinarily comprehensive and careful survey undertaken at the end of 1953 by teams of German researchers who gauged the moods, opinions, habits, and attitudes of German youth by personal interviews with a stratified sample of 1,498 girls and boys from fifteen to

twenty-four years of age (collected and published in *Jugend zwischen 15 und 24*, by EMNID Institute for Opinion Research, Bielefeld, 1954). Whether its findings are correct within a few percentage points or not, they clearly indicate the new direction in which German youth is moving.

The direct impact of the Nazi past on the young Germans of today is surprisingly faint; few conscious, and even fewer fanatical followers of Hitler and his doctrines survive. To most young Germans, Nazism is today a dim, distant memory, and to the youngest of the war children it is a bygone chapter, somewhat similar to, say, the Great Depression, or Prohibition, in the eyes of young Americans today. When I mentioned the Third Reich, I usually encountered a rather dispassionate and often ignorant image—those were the times when everybody had to wear a swastika and had to salute with “Heil Hitler,” a girl of twelve explained to me. And a boy of fourteen said: “The Nazis were for big parades, and they had a flag of their own.”

One out of two (52 per cent) could not name an essential characteristic of Nazism, and almost as many (46 per cent) were unable to give an essential characteristic of Hitler himself. Where an image of the Nazi past persists it tends to be negative; it does not conjure up good memories. The majority were quick to point out as Nazism’s chief features its lack of personal freedom, the brute force with which it dominated the individual, its single law of “thou must.”

Today’s Government on Trial

This lack of interest in, and even rejection of Nazism by the great majority of young Germans does not imply that they actively support the present form of government. They tend rather to tolerate it with notable reservations and reluctance. Except for a few professional spokesmen of “Youth” connected with political parties, I cannot remember a young German talking to me with warmth and conviction in favor of today’s order. If they accept it for the time being, it is because they are willing to give it a chance.

From the survey cited above it appears that about one third (35 per cent) accept the present state, while about one fifth (19 per cent) do not, and almost one half (46 per cent) have no conscious, clear-cut opinion about it one way or the other, although they tend to be rather for than against it in a vague, half-hearted manner.

It seems, nevertheless, that many young Germans have a rather precise idea of how they want their country to be. This might not be a democratic country in the sense in which most Americans understand it, yet it would be a peaceful, lawful, constitutional republic. In their view, a benevolent, strong, successful government should take care of all public affairs, without interfering in any way

with the citizens’ total privacy, which enables them in full freedom to pursue their profit and pleasure. To a high degree, this is the present German order; it is the traditional society of the *Unpolitische*, the “unpolitical” people, as it existed in German thinking before Hitler, and to which the majority reverted after Hitler’s attempt to “politicize” Germany.

More than one third of the youth (37 per cent) approved of the dictum that “rather than everybody being interested in, and feeling responsible for the politics of our country, politics should be left to the man who holds the state power in his hands.” But 57 per cent said they did not agree with such an opinion—a ratio of free minds certainly considerably better among young Germans than among those of the older generation.

Even those young Germans, however, who want a strong state leadership have no desire for a dictatorship. This was demonstrated by the fact that a large majority (69 per cent) do not want “the state to have the right of interrupting education in the common interest of, say, labor service.” Just as many were against “a single, state-led youth organization” such as existed under the Nazis and exists again today in East Germany.

If there is still a strong sentiment conceding to the state a superior political authority in which the individual citizen has no share of responsibility or participation, one of the reasons is probably that many young Germans are willing to accept superior authority from their elders in private life. Seventy-three per cent of the young Germans said they would educate their own children exactly as they themselves were being educated by their parents.

In contrast with the manner in which they accept authority, their community spirit is rather weak. A third (32 per cent) say they have nobody with whom they can discuss their personal problems; 50 per cent say they have no good friend; 22 per cent, not even a comrade. Some three fifths (62 per cent) do not belong to any organization, and one out of two objects to going to youth camps.

This loneliness extends all the way up from the personal level of family and friends to the nation. Yet their longing for a new community has made them accept the vista of a united Europe. The young Germans who want to participate more actively in public life and who desire personal responsibility rather than orders from above, have taken the lead in what has become the most widespread and also the most promising hope of young Germany. Impressed by Adenauer’s sincere appeals, fed up with nationalist heroics and the lust for conquest and domination, strongly opposed to new wars and desirous to live in friendship with their West European neighbors, they set their hopes on the integration of Germany with the European community. This was the only idea which in my

discussions with young Germans evoked a strikingly warm, and often enthusiastic response.

Sixty-five per cent of the young Germans questioned by the pollsters saw the best solution of the problems of their nation in "Germany's being an equal partner in a united Europe." That this ratio of decidedly pro-European, anti-nationalist feeling is considerably higher among young Germans than among older Germans today, seems a very promising fact.

Their Goal—European Unity

That nationalism is on the wane among young Germans with their almost exaggerated interest in foreign books, foreign movies, and foreign travel, is demonstrated by their conviction that "we Germans can learn a great deal from other peoples." Of the countries considered as teachers, America takes first place. The lessons to be learned from it in the eyes of young Germans are—in addition to economic and technological progress, which plays the largest role—the arts of peaceful living, of democracy, and of tolerance.

For the goal of European unity, rather than of German national interests, young Germans are ready to do their part. Only 28 per cent claimed they would "like to be soldiers." But 70 per cent said they would be willing to serve "under special conditions." What these conditions should be is one of the main topics of discussion. The majority view is that they would volunteer for military service in defense of Europe against an aggressor. Three out of four agree that they would have to defend their homeland against invaders (named, or tacitly understood, as the Soviets). Only 1 per cent mentioned, as a cause for which they would fight, the unification of Germany or the reconquest of the German East.

In the last year, and particularly in the last months, these high hopes have begun to cool off somewhat. The reason is the setbacks to European integration in Western countries and the deep distrust, particularly of Britain and France, toward the new Germany. They begin to fear they might have to fight a war with unwilling allies who will leave them in the lurch after final defeat. Even if the methods, appeals, and goals of Adenauer seem to be the very opposite to those of Hitler, traumatic memories begin to stir up fears of another total letdown.

The rehabilitation of German youth has only begun. The attempt at democratic participation and the preparedness to join the Western community are slowly gaining ground. These may not be able to survive continued discouragement and rejection from the other prospective partners, which threaten to throw the young Germans back into a state of selfish isolation. But today they are still willing to bind themselves to the West if the West will bind itself to Germany, and act accordingly.

Letter from France

Food, Sports, Tourists

By JAMES BURNHAM

Imagine a sausage of delicate young pork seasoned with herbs from a garden continuously tended since the thirteenth century. Think of that sausage as surrounded with a rich dough the recipe for which was handed down for generations among the secret treasures of a famous Priory of Provence. Imagine the compound baked to the moment of airy perfection, and covered with a sauce that raises every taste bud to an exact harmonious pitch. And note that this end product of so much art and thought and craft is but the first and least of the six courses that compose the lesser of the two *prix fixe* meals that appear on the menu of a comparatively modest provincial French restaurant.

It is too much, you say? Too much skill, feeling, and time to spend on such an object? Yes, or so at any rate it seems to me. Entering France from the bare and austere dignities of Spain, the spirit is smothered in food and drink. Everywhere the eye is assailed by posters, signs, and advertisements of eating and wine. The new *Guide Michelin* has deleted the descriptions of "artistic monuments" and spots of "scenic interest," but on its every page are the restaurants of the locality, ordered according to culinary rank, with the specialties of each notable house painstakingly listed: *Coq au Riesling, Truite au bleu, Terrine de foies de volaille truffée au porto, Rognons de veau au Xères, Feuilleté de homard Nantua, Queuelles de brochet, Filet de marcassin grand veneur garni crème de marrons. . .*

Do not think that all this is just for the tourist or the very rich. Throughout France there are thousands of restaurants serving fantastic meals. Walking down the street in small towns where few tourists ever come, you will pass a dozen little shops that feature in their windows a precisely staged display of succulent, luxurious foodstuff. The other day we were the only Americans at lunch in a restaurant of no more than middle rank. Around us the tables of French customers were being served with course after elaborate course: cold meats and jellied eggs; baked pigs' feet; garnished filets; fresh salmon, sole, and trout; asparagus and salads; and, for standard ending, heaped plates of tiny wild strawberries covered with sugar and iced whipped sour cream.

Food and sports. All Europe is wild about sports. Sports occupy half the space of most newspapers. "Football" (our soccer), first of all and for all countries; but everything else also, from tennis to pigeon shooting. Road races for autos, motorcycles, motor scooters, and bicycles are being constantly staged. At every village crowds line

the road for hours before the passing of the cluster of bicycle racers, helmeted, muddy, and straining each muscle, preceded by police and carloads of officials, and paced by handlers who pass the riders flasks of water, brandy, or coffee. The cafés buzz with gossip over the most recent bribery scandal or Italy's latest *coup* in buying up a Scandinavian football forward.

Food, sports, and tourists. Long before the great summer wave rolls in from America, tourists are flooding over France and Italy from Finland, Sweden, England, Belgium, Switzerland, and Germany, and the French are themselves spreading over Spain, Italy, and the Swiss mountains. On the great double-spiral staircase leading to the Vatican museums we were nearly crushed by the jamming regiments of German students who were being led into cultural battle by black-coated young priests with thick guide book instead of breviary in hand. The American or German cars of the Swiss tourists, as if released by a spring from the cramping limits of their own country, hurl down the French and Italian roads. Each French town and village now has at its entrance a neat new sign that lists its prime tourist attractions.

Over the monuments and fields the tribes of tourists swarm as once swarmed the Goths and Franks and Vandals. Is this the form, then, taken in our time by the Wandering of the Peoples which Toynbee has told us characterizes the break-up of a civilization?

Economic Improvement

Although dark spots remain, the improvement in Europe's material conditions over the past eight years leaps from every quarter to the eye. The billions of the Marshall Plan, though they have not alone been responsible, have had their palpable effect. They speak from the fittings of the railway cars, the new electric gasoline pumps that have replaced the creaking hand cranks of even five years ago, the mechanical ice boxes, the plumbing, the Cadillacs and Oldsmobiles and Chryslers for which, despite high duties and excellent local cars, thousands of Europeans have managed to find sufficient dollar credits.

Those who conceived the Marshall Plan have by now, it would seem, almost all they asked for. Europe is fed and clothed and sleeps in beds. With the partial exception of Italy, there is little unemployment. Europe's industries advance monthly to new records in production, the railroads run often and on time, gold and exchange reserves are in general greatly strengthened. European economic recovery, however incomplete, exceeds in scale what anyone eight years ago had any rational right to expect.

Why, then, Geneva?

Can it be that there was a flaw in the easy theory that Communism is a product of adverse

economic conditions, to be cured by economic improvement, a disease for which dollars are sufficient remedy?

In all France there is not a single newspaper that is unambiguously anti-Communist and anti-Soviet, and only two or three that even publish single articles that are clearly so. Throughout April, during the long agony of the garrison of Dienbienphu, the company of the Comédie Française (a governmental institution) played nightly in Moscow. I was not able to find a single editorial of protest. Each day, on the front pages next to the news from Indo-China, the papers featured pictures of the troupe visiting Red Square or model factory, and printed their speeches of compliment to their Soviet confrères. On May 19, hardly a week after the fall of Dienbienphu, Edouard Herriot, President of the French Assembly, joined Aragon, Duclos, and Joliot-Curie to congratulate Pierre Cot on receiving the Stalin Prize from the hand of Ilya Ehrenburg. "Old man as I am," wrote Herriot, "I hand the torch over to you." In June the Strasbourg Music Festival will hear the world première of Shostakovitch's Tenth Symphony directed by Stalin Prize conductor Mravinsky.

Red Propaganda Is Routine

Over the principal newsstand of Ravenna, hard by the tomb of Dante, a hundred meters from the mosaic splendors of San Vitale and the gold and dark blue mosaics glowing in the marble-filtered light of the Mausoleum of Galla Placida, the enlarged masthead of *L'Unità*, official Communist daily, has the top billing. Across the streets of Venice and Padua in the first week of May, flags and streamers announced the Provincial Conference of the Communist Party, and posters called on Catholics to unite with Communists to outlaw nuclear weapons and lead Italy toward a new foreign policy. On the corner of the Piazza San Marco, not fifty feet from the porch of the Cathedral, the windows of a Communist bookstore display a stock nicely adjusted to almost any passing taste. The President of the French Republic receives the Communist parliamentary leaders to discuss the cabinet crisis as Moscow's mouthpiece in Paris, *L'Humanité*, publishes its rejoicing over the "victory" of Dienbienphu.

All these things are hardly noticeable. That is why, of course, they are so terrible. It is all routine, normal. There is no disturbance, and not the mildest sign of "hysteria." No one is surprised or shocked or alarmed—no one, at any rate, whose voice can be loudly or widely heard. This was the mood, perhaps, in which Athens, after the harsh times with Sparta and Thebes and Macedon and the marauding legions, transformed itself into a passive museum and pleasure-house for the tourists, bureaucrats, and idlers of all-conquering imperial Rome.

Television Steps In

By FLORA RHETA SCHREIBER

Twenty-eight mothers laboriously monitored their local commercial television station in Wilmette, Illinois, for four days last winter. In the programs they saw, they recorded seventy-seven murders, fifty-three shootings, seven kidnappings, and thirty gunfights. Then through a door-to-door campaign they formed the Wilmette Council for Channel 11 and set up their own local educational television station.

Two years earlier the women's campaign would have failed. There was then just no way of obtaining a station the policy of which they could influence directly. In April 1952, however, the Federal Communications Commission, in a decision unprecedented in American broadcasting, allocated 242 stations—and since that time eight additional channels—to non-commercial, educational television. This means that somewhat more than 12 per cent of the television stations in the country will be operated by non-commercial broadcasters. And these stations will raise a new and different voice.

"You are now the inheritors of a highly valuable portion of that ethereal public domain—the radio spectrum," said Paul A. Walker, then chairman of the FCC, before the Institute for Education by Radio and Television at its convention that April. "What you do this year may determine for a long, long time—perhaps for generations—the role of education in television."

Community Support Widens

The new stations will take their place as part of the total educational pattern, which includes programs such as CBS' *The Search*, NBC's *Crusade in Europe*, the Ford Foundation's *Omnibus*, the Sloan Foundation's *The American Inventory*, and the instructional programs of the University of Michigan, Western Reserve University, and Johns Hopkins University. Commercial broadcasters will continue to give programs of this nature. The FCC's report expressly states that commercial licensees are not relieved "from their duty to carry programs which fulfill educational needs and serve the educational interests of the community in which they operate."

How are the educators taking advantage of their new "inheritance"? Nearly fifty educational TV organizations have gained support in about 120 communities. As might be expected, larger urban

communities are ahead of smaller rural ones. The conspicuous exception is New York City, which has no hope of its own educational television station in the immediate future.

The first educational television station to go on the air was the University of Houston's KUHT. The second was the Allan Hancock Foundation's KTHE in Los Angeles. Then came WKAR in East Lansing, Michigan, followed by stations in Pittsburgh, St. Louis, San Francisco, and Madison, Wisconsin. The end of 1954 will see at least twenty and perhaps as many as thirty educational and community TV stations in operation. Within range of these stations will be some thirty to forty-five million people.

The average station reaches an area of forty to fifty miles, but its influence may extend farther. There are plans to link the stations first into regional networks and ultimately into a national network. Alabama, Oklahoma, New Jersey, and Wisconsin already have plans for state networks. Until a national network is formed, the Educational Television and Radio Center at Ann Arbor, Michigan, will act as a national clearing house for program ideas and as an exchange center for servicing local stations with kinescopes, films, and scripts. On May 16 the center first assumed another role—that of producer—when it telecast a one-hour program called *Vision*, a composite of programs previously produced by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, the University of Iowa, and New York City's municipal radio station and Board of Higher Education. And so, for the first time, educational television declared its network status.

Support has not come from the state legislatures, the source originally thought most likely. It has come instead from private subscription, following the pattern set by KPFA, a non-profit FM station in Berkeley, California, which consistently broadcasts programs of high quality and supports itself entirely by ten-dollar subscriptions from its audience. Foundations have provided backing. And industry itself, which as a whole fought the FCC's decision, has also lent a helping hand. One Middle-Western university, for example, has the support of ten industries which jointly contribute \$25,000 a year for its television support.

Support has even come from commercial telecasters. In Seattle the local commercial TV station

had no mean record of "telecourses" in primitive art, house design, eighteenth-century music, and in the production of plays like Chekhov's *Marriage Proposal*. Yet it was Mrs. A. Scott Bullitt, the owner of this station, who initiated the local movement for educational television. "There are natural limits," she announced unequivocally, "to the ability of a commercial station to serve fully and adequately the educational requirements of a community." In San Antonio, commercial station WOAI has donated studios, towers, transmitters, and \$50,000 to the local educational station. In Birmingham, Alabama, the Storer Broadcasting Company has offered the educational station a five-kilowatt transmitter, the use of its tower, and studio space.

Culture "Pays Off"

Even more important than towers and transmitters is the new note in programming sounded by educational broadcasters. In St. Louis they have said: "There is no need to appeal to the lowest common denominator. If we broadcast over people's heads, then let them lift up their heads." And the University of Houston's KUHT began with the self-committing announcement that it was not interested in a mass audience. By all commercial standards this is rank heresy. Yet, to borrow the commercial idiom, heresy "paid off." For these programs—dramas written, directed, and acted by local people; courses ranging from dairy herd management to the humanities—have regularly drawn an audience as large as that of Houston's second largest commercial station.

Many of the new programs will be as utilitarian as the one in dairy herd management. There will be programs for housewives on how to glamorize housework; programs in speech correction, and how the spending or saving of money contributes to the total economy. In Cincinnati, problems of rent control are televised to the community each week in *Landlord vs. Tenant* through an actual hearing of a tenant-landlord dispute. In Columbus, *Picture of Health* familiarizes viewers with the services of the Ohio State University Health Center. And there will be the usual catering to the how-to-fix-it complex with which our broadcasting and magazines are obsessed.

But there will also be programs of an entirely cultural nature. In Rochester, New York, for instance, a gifted artist does his own painting before the cameras and tries to persuade viewers that this activity can have meaning for them, too. The need for such programs is shown by the very size of the audience that listens to the current university programs. The average adult audience for a single Western Reserve University lecture on psychology at 9 A.M. is 58,000. The University of Michigan's Sunday afternoon television hour reaches from 80,000 to 100,000. The *Johns Hopkins*

Science Review is seen in 280,000 homes. And the audience for the Museum of Natural History's *Adventure* is five million.

Pittsburgh's educational television leaders believe that their station can provide a bridge to the neglected cultural opportunities of the city. After discovering that less than 5 per cent of the residents of Allegheny County visited Carnegie Institute last year and that less than 1 per cent ever attended a concert by the Pittsburgh Symphony, they plan to make such facilities better appreciated through TV programs.

Educational programs are planned not only for improving the cultural interests of the audience as a whole, but also for in-school viewing and the formal instruction of adults. In-school viewing is as old as television itself. And it is, of course, an extension of what radio (notably through New York's municipal station, WNYC) has been doing successfully for a long time.

In-school viewing has made progress. At first the experimenters had a grandiose vision of a master teacher whose image on classroom screens would one day replace the flesh-and-blood teacher. Happily, this vision has disappeared, and television teaching has become a supplement to, not a substitute for, direct teaching. To teach Shakespeare exclusively through television would be superficial. But to supplement the teaching of Shakespeare with a television program of one of his plays at the moment that the student is already excited about it makes Shakespeare more meaningful and vivid.

The glamor that television has for the student became very clear to me when, at the offices of the Joint Committee for Educational Television in Washington, D.C., I viewed a kinescope of a lecture on Greek drama given by a North Carolina University professor in his classroom. There were no production devices whatever. Yet the student who saw it with me said he found this exciting, whereas he would not listen willingly to the same lecture in class. Illogical as it seems, that is how he felt.

In colleges the emerging pattern of instruction through television is to introduce a subject on the screen and later require the student to attend seminars on the campus. This is, of course, designed to counteract the dangers of superficiality inherent in teaching by television.

Perhaps the outstanding beneficiary of in-school television will be the rural child. He has been deprived of the range of subject matter and the quality of teaching given the average city child. The television teacher obviously cannot give him the personal attention he should have, but can provide information he would otherwise be denied.

In-school viewing will mean that not infrequently a mother, at home, can tune in on her child's classroom. When he comes home she can comment on the lesson which she herself saw and which

unites her in a new intimacy with her child.

The very hero-worshipping admiration that commercial television engenders—the adulation, for instance, of the space pilot or the flight nurse—is frequently the means of arousing interest in a school subject. The appeal reduces itself most simply to this: Learn your multiplication table and then you, too, can some day become a space pilot or a flight nurse. Students thus motivated may continue this new-found habit when watching commercial programs. They will, perhaps, eventually come to expect more serious values from the commercial programs, too.

The record shows again and again that students taught by television get as good grades in examinations as do regular classroom students. The U.S. Navy's experience at Port Washington, L.I., in fact, is that television students—incidentally, they are pretty generally called "viewdents"—scored higher than classroom students in the same subject. This is due partly to the student's response to the novelty of the television-learning experience and partly to the fact that teachers themselves, aware that they are working in a new medium, exert special effort in preparation and presentation.

Possible Dangers

Despite the proved strengths of educational television, there are also serious potential dangers. Education today is torn with controversy from within and without. There are conflicts of fundamental philosophy and of method. Educational television can help to clarify these conflicts. But it cannot fail to mirror this discord as well, and to reflect the weaknesses of education itself.

In certain instances educational television will run the risk of becoming the mouthpiece of particular cults and of that appalling educational pattern that has a way of destroying language and true communication. It may also fall heir to the stereotypes of thinking and feeling which for many educators have become an occupational hazard. An always present danger is oversimplification of programs, which, according to President Millis of Western Reserve, would mean that "we miss a large part of our opportunity." "The thing that has been most thrilling to me . . .," he points out, "has been to discover huge audiences so motivated, so desirous of information and knowledge and the opportunity to learn, that members will take difficult material right out of the classroom and love it."

The most serious danger of all is that of thought control and of partisan propaganda. Educational television, if it is to advance securely, must avoid the innocuousness of saying nothing and the opposite danger of allowing irresponsible elements to use it to say too much. Only thus can education itself and the country as a whole reap the harvest of this precious "inheritance."

Peace Prize Rules

By M. K. ARGUS

The Communist-dominated World Peace Congress has awarded its 1953 Peace Prize to Charlie Chaplin. It may appear rather puzzling why Mr. Chaplin, of all his fellow-actors, should receive such a prize. A prize for his contribution to the footlights and limelight—yes. Perhaps even a prize for marital multiplicity. But why a peace prize?

The answer is simple. Anyone can become eligible for a Red peace prize if he is fortunate enough to get the State Department on his side and have it cancel his exit permit, if he wants to leave this country, or his entry permit, if he wants to get in. Thus, through the good offices of our considerate Department of State, Mr. Chaplin has become eminently fit to win the award.

The State Department's aid is one of the main prerequisites for eligibility. It is also of incalculable help to get yourself investigated. Without an investigation, you are simply a progressive fighter for peace, which is not bad but not good enough. With an investigation, you become a courageous fighter for peace, and that is much better. In order to maintain your prestige as a courageous fighter for peace you must from time to time come out with the strongest possible blasts against the witch-hunters—a task not at all dangerous to either life or limb.

You must always fight for the cause of peace—for example, in your grocery store, collecting signatures on a plea for international amity. Or in your Parent-Teachers Association, campaigning only for the election of officials who stand for peace.

Whenever you read about an atomic blast in the Soviet Union, shout with glee: "The cause of peace has been strengthened! Hurrah!" Whenever you read about an atomic explosion in the United States, cry in dismay: "This is the end of our civilization!" Regard any war waged by the Communists as a war of national liberation in the struggle for peace. On the other hand, consider any peace move by the United States a vicious provocation for the purpose of unleashing a third world war.

Whatever happens, blame the United States—whether it is an epidemic in China, an assassination in East Berlin, or a Soviet veto in the United Nations. And always keep alive the slogan "Americans, go away," even if you are an American and live in this country: let the Americans get out of here too.

You see how simple it is to aspire to a World Peace Congress prize. No trouble whatsoever. That is, if you are this side of the Iron Curtain. If you are behind it you'll get a more lasting award—the prize of Eternal Peace.

A Second Look

By EUGENE LYONS

The Angry Bishop

I have just read *I Protest* by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, recounting his "ten-hour ordeal" before the Velde Committee. The little book rumbles with righteous wrath through pagefuls of the clichés of ritualistic liberalism, and is most un-Christian in its unforgiving hatred of the Congressmen involved.

In an eloquent prayer quoted in the book the Bishop says, "May we even love those who despitefully use us." One wishes he had added, "Do as I say, brethren, not as I do." For his spite against Messrs. Velde, Scherer, Jackson, and the rest is like a running sore. Not once does he find it in his heart to attribute to them any but malicious motives, even in cases where error or zeal is a far more reasonable explanation of some action.

"What are the real forces behind Mr. Velde?" he asks ominously. "Who is back of Mr. Scherer?" The questions are not answered, darkly suggesting plots—the kind of innuendo which enrages the Bishop when directed against himself. Mr. Jackson's behavior he sees as just "a personal grudge," because of "the embarrassment he faced the day we engaged in debate" on the air.

The Bishop stands four-score and no nonsense in the ranks of the "hysteria" boys. His voice rises above the din to proclaim that "A proud people is becoming a silent people. The American is holding his tongue." He, too, strikes the mock-heroic pose of one who dares speak for the silenced and terrorized. As for those who doubt the hysteria, he crushes them with the most question-begging formula of many a year: "Their denial of the presence of fear is as false as the presence of fear is a fact."

All the same, the book leaves little doubt, in my mind at least, that the Bishop is opposed to Communism and has not knowingly been a fellow-traveler. This is disturbing. For a great many years I have regarded him as a witting tool of what he rightly calls the Communist "conspiracy." How did that unfair impression take shape?

I do not, in all conscience, feel myself wholly to blame. Nor can I blame the congressional committee, since I have read none of its "releases" about the Bishop and had no occasion to consult its suppressed Appendix. Exploring the enigma, I am forced to suggest that the fault, if fault it be, is largely his own. We form our mental images of men in public life on the basis of what they say or do. And it happens that Bishop Oxnam's words and acts, as reflected in the press, helped build the picture of a fellow-traveler.

In this sense he has misled some of us grievously. Repeatedly, he voiced opinions which, blameless *per se*, fell in nicely with those currently pushed by the fellow-traveling community. Repeatedly, his name cropped up in connection with outfits and publications we knew to be under Red control. Repeatedly, his signature was appended to statements which, however nobly intended, in effect supported the "line" for anti-anti-Communists.

Nearly all of this, he shows convincingly, was coincidental. But we have in consequence been led into the sin of misjudging him. Even in this book, in the very process of disowning Red sympathies, the Bishop unconsciously follows the line laid down by and for conscious stooges on some matters. I have space only for two examples:

1. The thesis, first developed by the Communists and increasingly taken over by their peripheral friends, is that a disillusioned Communist who cooperates with the FBI and Congress in exposing the conspiracy is a villainous "informer" to be shunned by decent people. This thesis the Bishop accepts uncritically and promotes with vehemence.

The tone of the book is set in its opening sentences: "The informer is infiltrating American life. . . . He is a man of the shadows . . . etc." He heaps contempt on "the ex-Communist turned informer" and berates the committee for relying "too largely upon the help of former Communists." Clearly America should thank God that Whittaker Chambers, Bella Dodd, Elizabeth Bentley, Louis Budenz, and the rest did not seek this Bishop's guidance before following the dictates of their conscience. For the effect of his book is to dissuade any Communist possessing information of value to our country from testifying, on pain of foul abuse.

2. To discredit congressional inquiries, the comrades have made the most of an old and ever-effective trick. Whenever the role of individual suspects is examined, they raise the cry that some large group is under attack. Thus an attempt to uncover spies in atomic projects becomes an "assault on science." The exposure of concealed Kremlin agents among teachers becomes "an attack on academic freedom."

The Bishop is aware that clergymen have given aid and comfort to Communist enterprises and would hardly insist that they be immune to investigation. Yet he pictures the interrogation of men of the cloth as an attack on "religion"! He inveighs against anyone who "questions the loyalty of the Protestant Churches," though no one has done so. Despite the Congressman's clear disavowals, he writes of Mr. Velde's "alleged intention to investigate the churches."

Thus, on issue after issue, he follows the fellow-traveling line: innocently, angrily, and mischievously. A touch of humility and of charity might therefore help him understand that those who misjudge him are not all necessarily scoundrels.



Oppenheimer's Mind

By MAX EASTMAN

The special providence which watches over Simon & Schuster, history's greatest book salesmen, has seen to it that they bring out a book by J. Robert Oppenheimer at the very crux of the dispute over his security clearance as counselor to the Atomic Energy Commission. (*Science and the Common Understanding*, by J. Robert Oppenheimer. 120 pp. New York: Simon & Schuster. \$2.75.) The book, which is full of pious platitudes and banalities about brotherhood and harmony and equality and progress, the growth of knowledge, the community of man, man's frailty and splendor, his "undying deeds," and all sorts of nice things, and even a casual-seeming slap at Communism, will doubtless be seized upon by Oppenheimer's friends to defend his right, while hobnobbing in close friendship with such notorious servitors of the Communist conspiracy as Haakon Chevalier, to sit in on the most vital secrets of America's military defense.

To my mind its message, although somewhat obscured by a remarkable mismanagement of language, is opposite to that. I think it demonstrates, so far as that could be done by a theoretical treatise, that Dr. Oppenheimer, although undoubtedly a whiz in mathematics, is not to be trusted for clear-motived or clearly reasoned confrontation of fact in social, political, moral, or any other human problems. I think it proves him to be what we call, in the disrespectfully anti-Communist circles I move in, a constitutional mush-head.

Mathematical, like musical, ability seems capable of residing in a sort of closed chamber of the brain, not infecting the rest of the tissue with any of the attributes of unusual intelligence. This was not true, to be sure, of Isaac Newton, who as Master of the Mint during the time when England called in her clipped and debased coins and replaced them with honest money, gave an example of practical skill and political good judgment that still lives in cultural history. Newton also commanded—unfortunately in Latin—a beautifully spare and lucid prose style. Oppenheimer, by contrast, seems frequently, when carried away by the resonance of some unctuous cliché, to lose a clear sense of the logical implication of his words. "We, like all men, are among those who bring a little light to the vast unending darkness of man's life and the world," is one example which has at least the merit of being brief.

The report of the special Personnel Security Board of the Atomic Energy Commission that in-

vestigated him contains, besides an affirmation of Dr. Oppenheimer's loyalty to the United States, other and more important examples of his unclear thought and motivation. Two brief citations will show what I mean—and will also, in my opinion, justify the board's decision to revoke his security clearance.

1. In 1949, appearing before an executive session of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Dr. Oppenheimer characterized his friend, Dr. Bernard Peters, as "a dangerous Red and former Communist. This testimony soon appeared in the Rochester, New York, newspapers.

"At this time Dr. Peters was on the staff of the University of Rochester. Dr. Oppenheimer, as a result of protestations by Dr. Condon, by Dr. Peters himself, and by other scientists, then wrote a letter for publication to the Rochester newspapers, which in effect repudiated his testimony given in secret session.

"His testimony before the board [when questioned about the incident] indicated that he failed to appreciate the great impropriety of making statements of one character in a secret session and of a different character for publication, and that he believed that the important thing was to protect Dr. Peters' professional status."

2. During 1950 Dr. Oppenheimer testified to the FBI that, although he was in the habit of giving some monthly contributions to the Communist Party, he had a change of mind about the policies of the Soviet Union, and "at the time of the Finnish War and the subsequent break between Germany and Russia in 1941 realized the Communist infiltration tactics into the alleged anti-Fascist groups and became fed up with the whole thing and lost what little interest he had."

The board established, on the other hand, "by testimony and other information," that "Dr. Oppenheimer made periodic contributions through Communist Party functionaries to the Communist Party . . . in amounts aggregating not less than \$500 and not more than \$1,000 a year during a period of approximately four years ending in April 1942," and that "as of April 1942 Dr. Oppenheimer had for several months been participating in government atomic energy research activities."

But now to return to Dr. Oppenheimer's book. It purports, in the first place, to give in popular form a glimpse of the newer developments in

physical science. This, I must warn the reader, is as confusing a glimpse and as badly expressed as any I have read, and that is saying a lot, for most of them, I must confess, leave my head swimming. But that is incidental, and not the main purpose of the book. Its main purpose, or in his own terms its "thesis," is that "the new things we have learned in science, and specifically what we have learned in atomic physics . . . provide us with valid and greatly needed analogies to human problems lying outside the present domain of science or its present borderlands."

Just what a "valid analogy" may be, Dr. Oppenheimer does not explain. But I gather, after a painstaking effort, that it means an analogy which helps the author to believe about these outlying human problems whatever he finds it comforting to believe. The current opinion of physicists that the behavior of individual electrons is not subject to causal law has seemed to some people to justify by analogy their own feeling of independence from causality, their "sense of freedom." This analogy, Dr. Oppenheimer informs us, pretty as it looks to the naked eye, is *not* valid. He does not explain why, he just dismisses it as "light-hearted." But what analogy *is* valid?

Well, here is the principal one: Modern physicists have found it necessary in dealing with such things as light to conceive it in two different, and essentially contradictory ways. In one operation, or calculation, they conceive it as consisting (in Newtonian fashion) of corpuscles, in another (as Huygens asserted) of waves. Instead of calling these opposing concepts contradictory, the physicists call them "complementary." And Dr. Oppenheimer at least—whether or not there may be physicists with a little more intellectual humility—thinks that this is due to "the nature of the world." To my mind—though I may be rushing in where nonmathematical angels fear to tread—it is obviously due to the nature, the very immature and inadequate nature, of our knowledge of the world, our way of conceiving it. To regard this self-contradictory way of conceiving reality as an ultimate scientific achievement instead of a problem for a better science to solve is, in my opinion, to bring science itself to the support of that general Retreat from Reason which will ultimately destroy it.

However, the reader is entitled to dismiss that as the opinion of a brash and cocky amateur, and it doesn't matter to the present discussion. What matters is that Dr. Oppenheimer regards as a "valid analogy" to this self-contradictory manner of conceiving light a self-contradictory approach to "human problems lying outside the present domain of science."

I hope the reader is not expecting me to illustrate this self-contradictory approach by the example of a man who employs one concept to

describe a friend in secret session and another in writing a letter for publication in the newspapers, or who conceives himself in one connection as being "fed up" with Communism by 1941, in another as still so zealous for it that he was contributing money to the party through party functionaries in 1942. That would be too easy a clever trick.

No, the "valid analogy" with self-contradictory conceptions in physics that mainly interests Dr. Oppenheimer is the pleasure of ignoring the contradiction between knowledge and emotional belief, "between the cognitive and the affective sides of our lives." What Dr. Oppenheimer is looking for, and is finding in the present immaturity of physical science, is a justification for traditional beliefs which have no ground except his emotional yearning to believe them. He wants to set these beliefs side by side with reasoned knowledge, and thus avoid the hard, cool confrontation of human problems that a truly scientific attitude demands.

His book, in other words, employs physics itself, the most successfully objective caprice into all knowledge. I think a scientist who spends his time writing a book with that purpose is constitutionally soft. In nonmathematical matters, at least, I would be distrustful both of his thoughts and his motives. I would not expect either of them to be concise and clear. In short, I think Dr. Oppenheimer's book tends to prove—so to speak, *a priori*—what the special Personnel Security Board found out by an exhaustive examination of his actual dealings with "human problems lying outside the present domain of science."

Worker-Priests

Saints in Hell, by Gilbert Cesbron. Translated from the French by John Russell. 312 pp. New York: Doubleday and Company. \$3.75

The writer who would make a contemporary situation live for us must of course bring to it the journalist's eye for detail. If, however, he attempts this in novel form then he must penetrate the facts with creative imagination or run a double risk. Either he will simply make it a report whose only dimension is length, or become a pamphleteer whose work has length and some breadth but no depth. It is in this second category that I would place M. Cesbron's attempt to novelize the French worker-priest.

The author has taken great pains to get the right atmosphere. He has seen the immediate problem of distinguishing the temporal as represented by the class war from the spiritual as represented by the worker-priest. Yet despite authentic details, a sympathetically drawn priest, and the verisimilitude of the dialogue, his work re-

mains a documentary pamphlet (however passionately and compassionately it is written). For the only level of reality envisaged by M. Cesbron is the problem evident to a journalist's eye. The levels of reality that give depth and universal meaning to the bare facts call for a literary imagination that appears in this story but rarely. To point up the spiritual anguish of his protagonist by contrasting him with a complacent curé, a discouraged co-worker, and an unsympathetic archbishop, is a facile technique but hardly the work of a good novelist. Its result is fiction, not literature, or at best a pamphlet not a novel.

What the author has failed to realize is that the real crisis stems not from the situation but from the fact that Father Pierre is not a layman.

A priest is ordained as an instrument of the Church; the primary purpose in life is to be a minister of sacrifice and sacraments, and his own sanctification is ultimately bound up with that activity. Once this central purpose is abandoned, then the temptation is to succumb to his environment. It was the actualization of this danger, not lack of sympathy for the movement, that brought about restrictions on the worker-priest movement. The real root of the crisis is that a number of priests have renounced in whole or in part their priestly function and have begun to subordinate the spiritual to the temporal. By failing to perceive this the author has failed to give reality to his portrait of the worker-priest.

EUGENE M. BURKE

Hemingway's Journalism

By ROBERT CANTWELL

Charles Fenton has made an exhaustive study of Ernest Hemingway's professional writing experience up to the time he published his first books (*The Apprenticeship of Ernest Hemingway*, by Charles A. Fenton. 302 pp. New York: Farrar, Straus and Young. \$5.00). The result is impressive as a piece of research into anybody's newspaper work.

This observation is not meant facetiously. There is not much published about newspaper writing. *The Apprenticeship of Ernest Hemingway* provides only incidental insights into Hemingway's character, but it raises some interesting questions about journalism. Mr. Fenton, an instructor at Yale, has dug through the files of the Oak Park High School publications for Hemingway's contributions; he has gone over the author's early writings in the *Kansas City Star* and the *Toronto Star*, and he has interviewed classmates, staff members, editors, former friends, professional associates, and Hemingway himself to discover what Hemingway actually wrote and published in the days before he became known. Hemingway was average, perhaps a little better than average, but not much, and it is this fact that makes a study of his routine newspaper writing an important addition to the literature on American journalism.

We rarely get, in any such study, any account of what any reporter actually wrote. Mark Twain's humorous pieces have been collected, and Professor Arlin Turner has done a revolutionary job in republishing Hawthorne's contributions to the *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*. But for the most part the biographies and autobiographies of modern newspapermen are a welter of vague references to forgotten scoops and practical jokes played around the office, admiring anecdotes about possessed and implacable editors who, had they been found in any other field

of enterprise, would unquestionably have been locked up as dangerous egomaniacs.

The qualities that make up a great newspaperman are extremely elusive. It might be argued that they are nonexistent. If a journalist becomes famous, like Lincoln Steffens or Walter Lippmann or Vincent Sheean or William Allen White, we are given in his memoirs or biography an abundance, or a surfeit, of the wise and mellow advice that he delivered to perplexed generals, presidents, and religious leaders in the course of his professional career. If he is an ordinary hard-working (or overworked) reporter, as Hemingway was, his run-of-the mill writings are unexamined. As a result Mr. Fenton's critical study of what one newspaperman actually wrote may be revolutionary in the good sense of the word.

Hemingway began writing while he was an unenthusiastic football player at Oak Park High School near Chicago. From the files of the school literary journal, the *Tabula*, and the newspaper, the *Trapeze*, Mr. Fenton has recovered Hemingway's early humorous paragraphs, his imitations of Ring Lardner, and his stories modeled on Kipling and Jack London, an enterprise which, he says, can have offered "little appeal and considerable irritation" to the eminent author.

From other literary graduates of Oak Park, notably Janet Lewis and Edward Wagenknecht, Mr. Fenton has reconstructed the intellectual atmosphere of the school. He seems to have overlooked the poet, Kenneth Fearing, who was also a student there, and who found when he went on to college that he had already been taught the substance of his college freshman year.

In what appears to be an unblushing bid for readers among secondary school teachers, Mr. Fenton lavishes high praise on Hemingway's English teachers, Miss Dixon and Miss Biggs. "American

high schools have been blessed with many Miss Dixons," he says. American high schools have also been blessed, if that is the right word, with many thousands of students who write the way Hemingway wrote in those days. The unmistakable impression arises that Hemingway's English classes were among the aspects of his high school experience that meant very little to him. His high school prose was fresh and unhackneyed. His writing was a part of ordinary high school life, like football or the senior play. Writing then had none of the self-conscious sophistication of a provincial newspaper office, or the equally self-conscious artiness of Gertrude Stein's expatriate circle. It was an ordinary aspect of everyday doings, creating no psychological strains in the author or reader, with no intellectual standard of living to be maintained, and no routine drudgeries or creative inspirations to be invested with heroic glamor.

Hemingway's contributions to the *Kansas City Star*, during his seven months as a reporter there, were like any other newspaper stories. You can read comparable works in almost any issue of any metropolitan daily. After Hemingway's war experiences there followed another period of daily journalism, largely feature writing, in Toronto. After a brief job in Chicago, editing the house organ of a phony cooperative society, Hemingway became a foreign correspondent, and in this field his graphic sense unquestionably made him outstanding. He was creating a distinctive and unusual style, or even an original kind of reporting, in the period before his first books of fiction appeared.

Fenton is lavish with his praise of the *Kansas City Star* as a great newspaper. His standard is entirely literary; there is not a line to suggest the other qualities that make great newspapers, or that once made them. He is likewise full of praise for the *Star's* style sheet, with its elementary instructions (*Use short sentences. Don't use old slang.*) of which all that can be said is that they should never have been necessary. Hemingway's contributions to the *Star* included a story of "a well-dressed young woman" who redeemed her pawned wedding ring, now that her husband was drafted. One of his features was a Negro dialect story, just a shade above minstrel-show dialect in its artificiality. One story that won high praise from his hard-bitten editor dealt with a shabbily dressed girl who walked back and forth, weeping, outside a dance given for soldiers by an organization of socially prominent women. Her boy friend was inside, dancing with the social elite of Kansas City. As observation of a primitive piece of psychological warfare, the story is not bad, but that is not why it was written, published, or praised. It was praised for its watered-down, O. Henry-like pathos. Mr. Fenton speaks of the "unstated, ironic implications" of such paragraphs.

In fact, from the examples he gives, they were rubbish.

Mr. Fenton has worked for all it is worth the paradox that Hemingway's war fiction was based on his seven days in the front lines before he was wounded. Hemingway's combat fiction (and his postwar feature stories razzing noncombatant soldiers) came out of his experience in the trenches as a Red Cross lieutenant, handing out coffee and doughnuts. It was a dangerous and honorable military duty, as Hemingway's 227 trench-mortar and machine-gun wounds (and this book) adequately testify. But it was not the sort of combat experience that figured in his fiction, and still less was it the kind of duty that would be recognized as combat by the melodramatic standards of the newspapers where Hemingway worked. The necessity of living up to claims which were essentially justified, though technically open to challenge, placed a curious strain on Hemingway's writing. Part of the importance of *The Apprenticeship of Ernest Hemingway* is the revelation of the gradual thickening of his perceptions, the growth of a sense of disgust and resentment that showed through his stories, and his adoption of a stylized pose that helped him to hold his own in a field where phonies and blowhards abounded.

One reason why they abounded there was the lack of any public scrutiny of what any newspaperman actually wrote. Fenton's study of Hemingway's newspaper work is entirely convincing until one turns to the fiction that Hemingway wrote as soon as he got away from journalism. Rereading *In Our Time* in the light of Mr. Fenton's researches into the journalism that preceded it is startling because there is so little connection between the two. Hemingway's first stories read like the accounts of someone rescued from a desert island, or saved at the last minute from execution, exulting in the flowing stream and the fresh air with unearthly abandon. They have something of the same quality found in his early high school stories, though their freshness was now combined with the extraordinary sensuous warmth of his prose. The lasting elements in Hemingway's fiction had nothing to do with journalism. They came from his acceptance of all the qualities that had been suppressed in his newspaper writing, and even more from the sense of liberation that came with his escape from journalism. The weaknesses of his stories, the false toughness, or the tricks and mannerisms of his brief episodes, were results of his newspaper experience, or efforts to make some artistic use of material gathered in his newspaper days. If any moral should be drawn from this examination of one newspaperman's daily writings, it is that people with literary abilities should not work on newspapers. American literature would unquestionably gain, but it is disquieting to think of what would happen to journalism.

Hysteria for Henry

Freedom, Loyalty, Dissent, by Henry Steele Commager. 155 pp. New York: Oxford University Press. \$2.50

The only significant feature of Professor Commager's latest book is political, and even that is not to be found in the text alone, but in the union of text and flyleaf. For the flyleaf parades a throbbing endorsement of Commager's thesis—by a real live statesman, the man with the viable political future, Adlai Stevenson. Intellectually—even forensically—there is nothing new in this small volume. It is merely the latest entry in the diction-contest going the rounds of the Liberal intelligentsia: who can sound off best, in 150,000 words or less, about the glories of dissent, the dignity of man, the undefinability of loyalty, and the demise of American freedom. Alan Barth, Bert Andrews, Walter Gellhorn, Eleanor Bontecou, Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Alexander Meiklejohn, Merle Miller, Roger Baldwin, Norman Thomas and countless others have had a go at it. I am not on the judges' committee (and anyway, the contest has no closing date), but I think it is safe to say that Mr. Commager's offering raises the median eloquence of the literature. He writes well, and he is adroit in quoting apposite epigrams, phrases, and paragraphs to strengthen and clarify his points.

Mr. Commager is a 32nd degree pragmatist. One of the five chapters in his book is devoted to a demonstration of the value of pragmatism, a tribute to the benefits this philosophy has extended to our Republic, and a horror-story account of what lies before us should we indulge contemporary cravings for absolutism. Yet Mr. Commager's faith in the validity of future ideas is nothing short of mystical—and positively unpragmatical. He has no particular notions as to what these new ideas are, but he does know they are being stifled, and he is quite certain they are better than existing ideas (which are in turn, needless to say, an improvement over old ideas). His fascination with relativism (this is what Mr. Commager's brand of pragmatism comes down to) is so obsessive that he reverentially quotes even so hoary a chestnut as Holmes' cynical and childish "I prefer champagne to ditch-water, but there is no reason to suppose that the cosmos does."

Here are some of the questions Mr. Commager (and his fraternity) obstinately refuse to answer even in their catch-all books about our reign of terror: 1) Is it not inherent in the free market idea that new ideas, upon examination, may be emphatically rejected? In other words, isn't society entitled to go back and trade with the same old butcher? Isn't this what the United States is in effect up to in its new-found attitude toward Communism? 2) How does a society go about re-

jecting uncongenial commodities? Can't the people—primarily through the use of social sanctions, but, in the case of war or national emergency, through the use of state sanctions too—express their disapproval of hawkers of commodities highly offensive to them? As they have done and are doing, for example, with nudism, prostitution, union-busting, racism and, yes, fellow-traveling? 3) Has the society ever existed where there have not been conformities with certain ideas, with all that this means in terms of social attitudes toward the dissident? And is it not inevitable (we are not speaking here of whether it is desirable) that at the point where society definitively identifies the dissident who holds intolerable and unassimilable ideas—of the type that threaten those institutions the society is bent upon preserving—it is likely to enlist the aid of the policeman or soldier in enforcing the majority view (as when it disciplined the polygamist Mormons, and the slave-owning Southerners)? These are a very few of the questions highly relevant to a discussion of dissent and conformity that Mr. Commager simply doesn't talk about.

On the subject of security programs, the reader must regretfully conclude that Mr. Commager is a hopeless case. He fails to make the most elementary—and in this case, the most fundamental—distinctions, much less the more subtle ones. If he is even aware that security organizations are set up not to adjudicate guilt or innocence but to do something quite different, he doesn't say so. Certainly he is *not* aware that a security program based on the "reasonable doubt" standard is the only defensive weapon at the disposal of a society whose strength—whose survival, perhaps—depends in part on its outwitting men and women whose profession requires that they be skilled in persuading us that they are patriotic citizens. And this means that security officials must interest themselves in an employee's associations and associates, and that if these are of such nature as to call forth a reasonable doubt as to the reliability of the employee in question, then he must be removed from a sensitive agency. What Mr. Commager calls "guilt by association" (actually, security-risk by association) is the cornerstone of the structure of the federal security program.

There is no significant voice in this country urging that those particular principles on which the federal security program is based carry over into the courts. Nor, I believe, are there any signs that the security program itself has degenerated

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to the point where an *un*-reasonable doubt is sufficient to deprive a man of government employment. In spite of this, Mr. Commager gets so carried away that, before he is through, he ends us up branding Adams, Paine, Emerson, Jefferson, Seward, and Lincoln as loyalty risks!

So: let those who insist that controversy over whether we need a vigorous security program is behind us, with both sides finally agreeing that we do, read this book bearing constantly in mind its endorsement by a determined Presidential aspirant. Then let them ask themselves whether the Republicans are entitled to make a campaign issue out of the views on internal security presumably held by the nominal leader of the Democratic Party.

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

The Thought Flounder

The Phrase Finder, compiled by J. I. Rodale with the collaboration of Edward J. Fluck. 1,325 pp. Emmaus, Penna.: Rodale Press. \$6.95

Certainly since the time when Dr. Charles William Elliot decided that wisdom was roughly five feet long on the shelf, and undoubtedly before, there has been a frantic attempt to reduce human thinking to the state of the vitamin. That is, to the state of something synthetically duplicable and capable of being administered in ever-smaller capsules. The works on "self-improvement," vocabulary building, "success," and the other shop clerk panaceas, whether cynically slick or fatuously sincere, are manifestations of this abuse of mind.

Now we have *this* description-defying achievement in ersatz thought processing. It almost has to be seen to be believed. Its avowed and incredible, if not downright terrifying, purpose is to "think up' for you not just a word but a clause or even a sentence."

The first section is devoted to an Index of Key-Words. One looks, for instance, under the word "forgetful" and finds such an entry as *stultorum feriae*. Very useful. Presumably it is to remind the forgetful reader that come the *Quirinalia* anyone who neglected his rites to Fornax may get them in on this day instead.

Then there is a dictionary of names. This is where you learn that Tamerlane had "a fierce countenance and eyes which expressed fiendish cruelty and struck terror into lookers-on."

Then comes the Metaphor Finder. That is where you learn that a metaphor for "poetry" is: "Jingle a few coins in the ragged garment of life."

But then comes the pinnacle of this Everest of tin, the Sophisticated Synonyms. As a synonym, sophisticated, for "enjoyment" we find such suggestions as "high-jinks," or "to read back numbers of the National Geographic." One then polishes one's monocle and moves on to such sophistications as "transformed the place into a sham-

bles," for "wreck," and "she had the oo-la-la" for "woman (kept)." On the last page of this section there is a synonym for "you" that goes "Hey, you, with the double-breasted ears."

As *The Phrase Finder* itself would say (page 1,132), the whole thing leaves one "staring in pop-eyed wonder."
KARL HESS

Book Marks

We Chose to Stay, by Lali Horstmann. 207 pp. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.00

Mrs. Horstmann is the widow of a well-to-do German gentleman-farmer and former diplomat whose great pleasure in life was the collection of objets d'art and the highly refined cult of elaborate and gracious entertaining. He clung to this pleasure even after Hitler came to power. Thus, Mrs. Horstmann remained up to the bitter end at the core of what once was Germany's "high society." From this vantage point she has now written the grim story of the end of Berlin and the occupation of eastern Germany. Her dramatized, yet always sober personal account of disintegration, panic, and finally resignation to the inevitable, oppressive horror of Soviet occupation is, in a way, the swan song of the traditional landowning class east of the Elbe. And the solitary figure of her husband, who stubbornly refused to forsake his house and the little village he "owned" and went about rearranging the Chinese vases on his mantelpiece while the raping and plundering hordes of the Red Army were battering at the doors, suddenly gains stature as he is led away by members of the N.K.V.D. to an interrogation from which he never returned.

Confederate Agent, by James D. Horan. 326 pp. New York: Crown Publishers. \$5.00

In addition to fighting from the familiar earthenworks of the heroic pictures, combatants in the War Between the States also fought in the dark world of cloak-and-dagger intrigue. This book, about an almost incredible Confederate effort to set off Fifth Column explosions that would have blasted Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio away from the Union, is perhaps the greatest proof of this fact that has been or could be adduced. Certainly it is one of the very greatest historical prizes of America's great, tragic, personal war.

Primarily it is the story (from recently uncovered records) of the properly dashing Captain Thomas B. Hines. Beyond that, however, Mr. Horan proves himself a first-rate historical researcher in giving the full picture of behind-the-lines plotting, the counterespionage that dampened it, and the final, fatal indecision of the Northerners who were to bear the actual arms in this massive Confederate plot.

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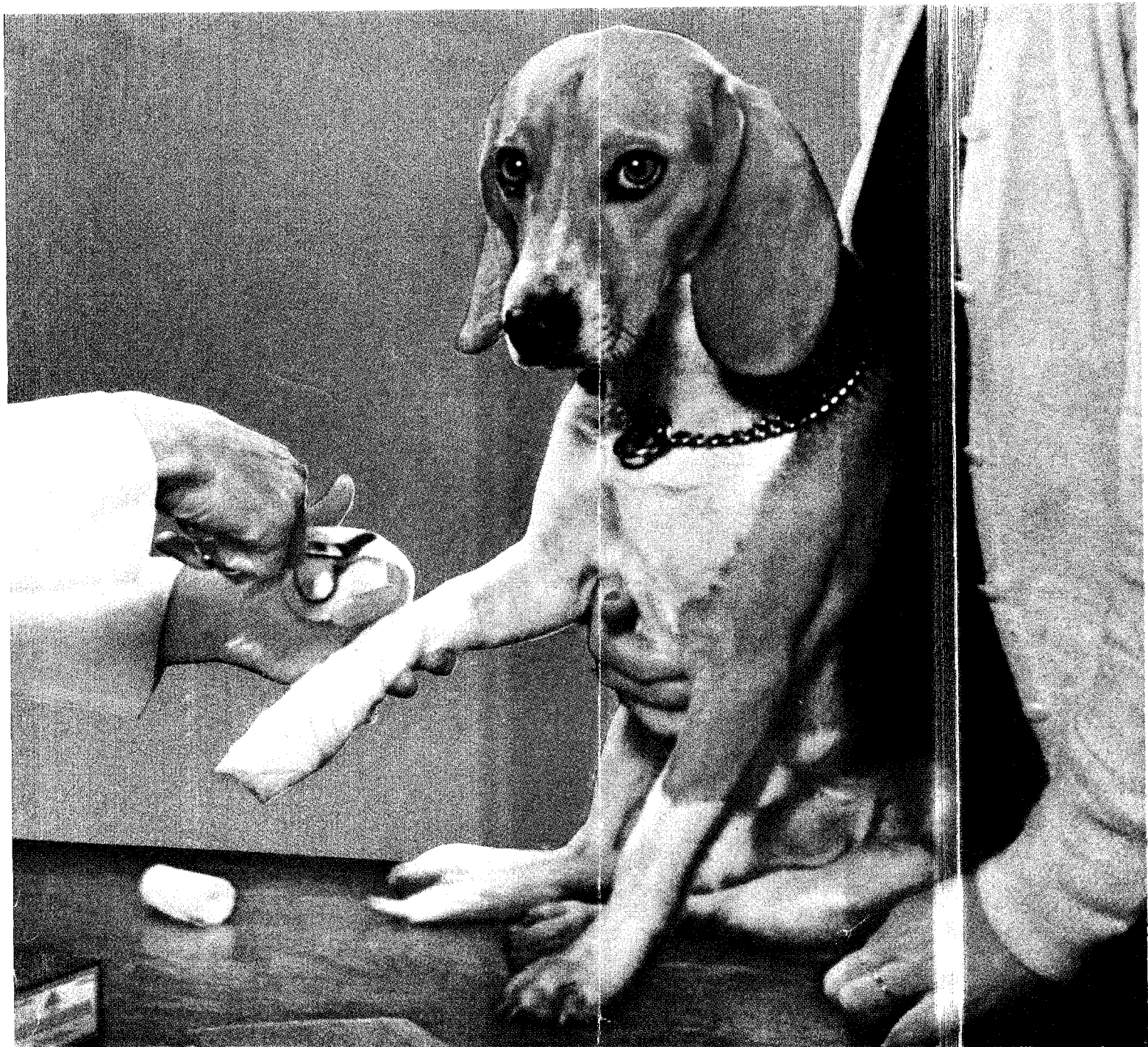
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