

The Right to Work

James R. Morris

Formosa and Freedom

Rodney Gilbert

Instead of Public Power

Thomas P. Swift

Why France Lags Behind

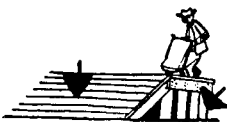
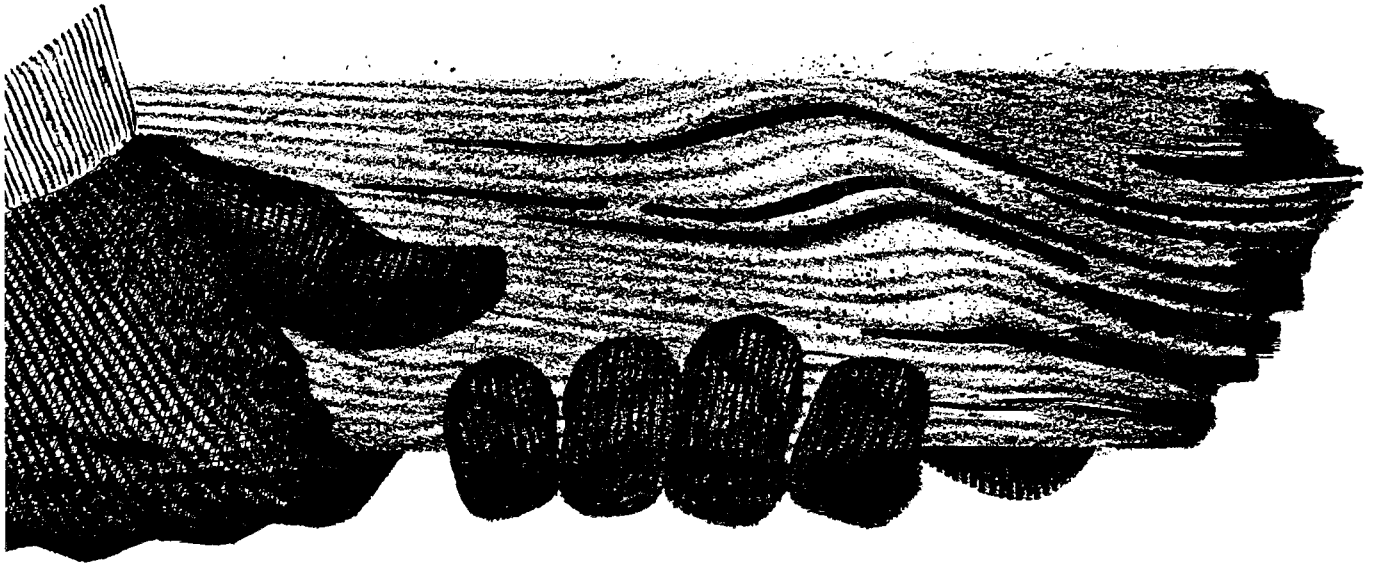
Louis Rougier

Protect Wood

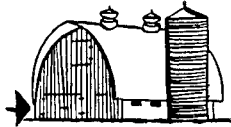
Save Money



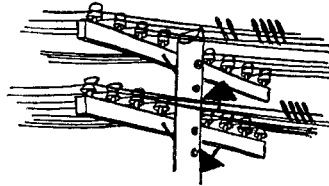
THE bigger your investment in wood, the more you can save by protecting it with Santophen 20—Monsanto's pentachlorophenol. This preservative chemical stops rot and insect attack—its protective value lasts for years—it stays in the wood through all kinds of weather—does not dilute or run off when in contact with water.



It costs so much to replace the wood in large structures that Santophen 20 is used more and more to protect heavy investments in docks, poles, platforms, freight cars, bridges, posts.



Farm buildings—from large barns to small feeding sheds—are given many added years of useful life when wood is treated with solutions of Santophen 20.



Protection of wood at the ground line—for utility poles, residential and other construction—is worth many times the cost of treatment with Santophen 20.



Monsanto will gladly supply information on the formulation and use of Santophen 20.

Santophen: Trade-mark registered.

MONSANTO CHEMICAL COMPANY
1700 South Second Street
St. Louis 4, Missouri

Serving Industry
... Which
Serves Mankind



THE Freeman

A Fortnightly
For
Individualists

Executive Director KURT LASSEN
Managing Editor FLORENCE NORTON

Contents

VOL. 4, NO. 17 MAY 17, 1954

Editorials

The Fortnight	581
No Substitute for Victory	583
"Unearned" Income?	584
The FHA Scandals	584
Alsopian Liberals	585
Oppenheimer Oddities	585
Kremlin Fashions	586

Articles

The Right to Work	JAMES R. MORRIS 587
Press International	M. K. ARGUS 590
Formosa and Freedom	RODNEY GILBERT 591
How I Joined a Red Front	HELEN WOODWARD 594
Hoodlums and the Press	BEN RAY REDMAN 596
Instead of Public Power	THOMAS P. SWIFT 597
Why France Lags Behind	LOUIS ROUGIER 599
Lament for Lost Allies	EUGENE LYONS 601

Books and the Arts

The Dangerous Mr. Davis	FREDA UTLEY 602
War in Our Time	JAMES BURNHAM 603
Charles Beard, Revised	FRANK S. MEYER 604
India: Two Views	WAIDE M. CONDON 605
America's First Total War	ASHER BRYNES 606
And Spiders, Too	KARL HESS 607
Real Men, Real Boats	HELEN WOODWARD 607
Book Marks	608
Let's Be AWARE	SERGE FLIEGERS 609

From Our Readers	580
------------------------	-----

Among Ourselves

The right to work is generally taken for granted by most Americans as inalienable. A number of recent lawsuits indicate that this is far from true. They involve for the most part the objection of employees to compulsory union membership. The decision in the Santa Fe Railway case on February 6 is becoming a classic in this field. In view of its historic importance we asked JAMES R. MORRIS of the University of Chicago, an economist and specialist on labor unions, to tell us about that case and the principle behind it (p. 587).

With delegates of Red China at Geneva and pressure growing to force the United States to recognize Mao's regime, it is imperative that the American people should not forget Chiang Kai-shek's legal government on Formosa, and that they should know the exact facts about how the island is governed. RODNEY GILBERT, having returned only a few months ago from a stay of over three years on Formosa, gives us these facts (p. 591). Previously Mr. Gilbert spent seventeen years (1912-29) in China as a newspaperman, returning there during the last year of World War Two on the staff of OSS.

The question of public vs. private power is one in which the FREEMAN has a special interest. The recent news, therefore, that five power companies in the Pacific Northwest have by sheer courage, enterprise, and energy taken over from government the development of power in the Columbia River Basin seemed to us an event to be heralded. THOMAS P. SWIFT, public utilities writer for the *New York Times*, has outlined (p. 597) the steps leading up to this victory and pointed out how the same technique can be adopted elsewhere in the country.

Everyone is worried about France. Why should this nation, so loved for its culture and charm, so experienced in dealing with life's exigencies, drop behind now so lamentably as one of the leaders in a genuine community of free European nations? LOUIS ROUGIER, sociologist and political scientist, devoted to his country as all Frenchmen are, has sent us from Paris a frank and unapologetic explanation of why his country is the problem child of the Western world.

In this issue we have an able addition to our book reviewers—WAIDE M. CONDON (p. 605), of Salt Lake City, who, in addition to over thirty years service on a number of newspapers, spent four and a half years following World War Two in foreign service.

A short while ago we had a letter from one of our readers renewing his subscription for ten years. It reaffirms our faith that in ten years we will still be living in a free society, still engaged in the fight for a freer one — and, we dare to hope, winning it.

THE FREEMAN is published fortnightly. Publication Office, Orange, Conn. Editorial and General Offices, 240 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. Copyrighted in the United States, 1954, by the Freeman Magazine, Inc. Henry Hazlitt, Chairman of the Board; Leo Wolman, President; Kurt Lassen, Executive Vice President; Claude Robinson, Secretary; Lawrence Fertig, Treasurer.

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

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Manuscripts must be typed double-spaced.

Articles signed with a name, pseudonym, or initials do not necessarily represent the opinion of the editors, either as to substance or style.



FROM OUR READERS

First Choice

If I could afford but one magazine, my unhesitating choice would be the FREEMAN. The issue of April 19 was particularly fine. To the title of Robert Wood Johnson's article "And Now the Big Truth" should have been added "instead of the Big Lie."

Keep up the good work!

Santa Monica, Cal. CLYDE N. WHITE

A Lesson for the N.E.A.

Hooray for the school board of Houston, Texas! (Editorial, "Down Texas Way," March 22). Three cheers for five hundred teachers indignant at the "intrusion" of the National Education Association into local affairs! Let that be a lesson to the N.E.A. "Consent of the governed" is on the upswing.

New Castle, Ind.

H. E. CONN

"Gab Festival"

We have spent untold sums of the taxpayers' money to finance the United Nations, furnished a glass house for their assembly, along with all other accessories for this Gab Festival. Then all the delegates arrived, cup in hand, for the handout. Some had bricks which they freely tossed about. They have all talked and talked, and so far there seems to have been nothing said or accomplished which has added to world betterment.

Harry expected them to join up [for the Korean war] but when he looked back for reinforcements, alas, they were sitting on the bleachers. . . . Some of them even assisted our enemies. We, through this episode, chalked up the first defeat in American history, subscribing to terms dictated by our enemies, allowing the choice of an arbi-

tration board (so to speak) to be composed of members who contributed nothing to the cause, and in some cases were friendly to the other side. . . .

How much longer will we be fools?

Dade City, Fla.

D. D. GIBSON

The "Robin Hood" Lady

This letter is prompted by your editorial "Preachers of Hate" (February 22). With most of the editorial I am in complete agreement. . . . However, I am disturbed by your reference to the "lady in Indiana who saw the Robin Hood legend as a secret weapon of the Kremlin."

I wrote the lady, Mrs. Thomas J. White, for her version of the story. The following is a direct quotation from her answer: "I did not state that 'Books containing Robin Hood stories. . . should not be used in the public schools.' I objected to a story written by a Communist Party liner (California Eleventh Report) and the subject was Robin Hood. . . ."

On the basis of Mrs. White's letter, our local Parents' Council came to her defense with a paragraph of explanation in our monthly bulletin. . . .

Wayne Murphy, research specialist of the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion, wrote me: "Mrs. White has been known to me for a considerable time. It is my belief that she is a serious anti-Communist who has devoted a great deal of time and study to the question of subversive influence in textbooks. To the best of my knowledge, she was the victim of misquotation which has snowballed into world-wide proportions."

Eugene, Ore.

MRS. W. T. WOOD

[For further comment on this subject see "A Second Look," page 601.]

Cred without a Name

Your aid is requested in the search for a word or phrase which may serve to define the political belief of myself and a number of like-minded persons. The only available term in current use is "isolationist," which is not only repugnant but also wholly inappropriate for two reasons. First, it does not express our views, since by definition the word means a shutting oneself apart from other nations and maintaining a state of complete seclusion. Second, because as of today to be labeled an isolationist is almost to be regarded as treasonable, or at best to hold the world outside our national borders in despite.

The credo which we profess and for which we require a name may be expressed about as follows: Our loyalty

and love belong to the United States and our hearts and minds are completely concerned with perpetuating those principles of national honor and virtue which inevitably lead to prosperity and happiness.

We are no Croesus to distribute largesse to all men. We are no Mesiah to teach and direct the spiritual life of the world. We are no Solomon to solve the deep problems which affect mankind.

Therefore we shall stay by our own fireside with good will to all; prepared to give of our abundance to those who are in need, to comfort the troubled hearts of the peoples in so far as it lies within our power to do so, and to share gladly with them such wisdom as we may possess in the solution of the difficulties which possess them.

For this creed, we need a name.

Chalfont, Pa. DR. EDWARD A. SCHUMANN

Mr. Bowles in India

One is inclined to think that James Burnham, in his review of Chester Bowles' *Ambassador's Report* (March 8) was less concerned with executing an objective book review than with imposing on the reader Mr. Burnham's own subjective views on Bowles the man. . . .

The reviewer calls Mr. Bowles' book a "brief for the Indian position" and indignantly queries "whom do these globalist ambassadors think they are hired to represent?" Mr. Bowles' "brief" is for discussion and rational thinking about India. He was hired to represent our government—and not as a bigot or an automaton, but as a man, a man who knows the meaning of the words justice, equality, and individual rights, and who desires these things for all men.

Brentwood, Mo.

MARY IGLEHART

I am grateful to the FREEMAN for exposing the devious antics of the Great Neutralist, Nehru. Your editorial, "The Ever-Candid 'Friend'" (April 19) was a masterpiece. Also Mr. Burnham's review "A Yankee in Nehru's Court" opened my eyes to what a slick publicity job Ambassador Bowles did in selling Nehru to the American public. Mr. Bowles ordered the U.S. Information Service to eliminate all sharp anti-Communist propaganda because it upset his Indian friends. How typical of neutralists, as well as Communists, that the United States was then rewarded, as Mr. Burnham points out, "by more direct and almost contemptuous attacks by Indian spokesmen in the United Nations."

Miami, Fla.

ROBERTA BROWN

SOCONY-VACUUM OIL COMPANY INCORPORATED

Dividend
No. 173



April
27, 1954

The Board of Directors today declared a quarterly dividend of 50¢ per share on the outstanding capital stock of this Company, payable June 10, 1954, to stockholders of record at the close of business May 7, 1954.

W. D. BICKHAM, Secretary

THE Freeman

MONDAY, MAY 17, 1954

The Fortnight

Seldom, if ever, has so much been written and broadcast by so many about so little. This may well be the final verdict of public opinion on the tremendous publicity build-up of the hearings on the dispute between Roy Cohn and Senator McCarthy, on one side, and some officials of the Department of the Army, on the other. Boiled down to essentials, what is at issue in the dispute? The Army charges that the Senator and Cohn were unduly persistent and aggressive in trying to obtain a commission, or preferred treatment after his induction as a private, for G. David Schine. The McCarthy-Cohn charge in rebuttal is that the Army tried to butter up the committee into going easy on investigations into some of its activities.

It is not unheard of, or even unusual, for Congressmen to go to some effort in trying to obtain commissions for their friends. And it is more or less established practice for officials in the executive branches of the government to try to keep on the right side of members of influential House and Senate committees. Of course, neither practice is in line with the highest ethical standards, and perhaps the current investigation will show that one side, or both, went beyond what might be considered normal bounds. Yet no great visible harm resulted. Schine remains a private; indeed he may well have suffered, rather than benefited from intervention on his behalf. And the Senate committee refused to be sidetracked from its investigations.

The present hearings are getting publicity out of all proportion to their intrinsic importance. Public attention is being diverted from far more important concerns. The distinguished Army officers in continual attendance at the sessions could be more profitably employed studying maps of Indo-China and southeast Asia. And the committee might better be pursuing its proper business of inquiring into the matter of internal security.

The Petrov and Kolkhov affairs serve to remind us brutally of one of the most unfortunate results of

the "McCarthy controversy" as it has been conducted during the past several months. The shouting, heat, and furore have gradually managed to push Communism almost out of public sight and mind. Listening to disputants tearing each other to verbal shreds over questions of who lied when about what has become rather like hearing arguments about the Civil War that never mention slavery.

In refusing to permit American airplanes with French paratroopers to fly over India, Prime Minister Nehru was being as helpful and cooperative as usual. In the light of this and many similar actions it is not surprising that some senators are taking a long second look at the \$104,000,000 subsidy for India in the current budget. If Nehru wants to be a neutralist with a pro-Communist slant, that is his affair. But the United States is under no obligation, moral or political, to subsidize unfriendly neutralist governments.

For economic charlatanism it would be hard to beat a measure that was recently introduced in the House of Representatives under the title of the Anti-Recession Act of 1954. It proposes increased personal tax exemptions along with a number of measures that would call for higher government spending: high price supports for farmers, more public housing, more for the unemployed, more social security, etc. The author of the bill is appropriately Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., a true chip off the old political block. This measure is probably not unrelated to the younger Roosevelt's ambition to become Governor of New York. So it seems that the magic, favorable or otherwise, of the Roosevelt memory may be tested at the polls in two states next fall, with Jimmie seeking escape from matrimonial and extra-matrimonial difficulties in California, and Franklin, Jr., dangling the attractive prospect of more handouts and less taxes before the eyes of the voters of New York.

The idea of limiting oil imports from one of our richest Latin American neighbors, Venezuela, is one that seems to appeal to the coal industry and to certain "independent" petroleum producers. Fortunately, a report just prepared for the Venezuelan Chamber of Commerce of the United

States gives the facts to refute the limitation idea. In 1953 Venezuela imported more than \$500,000,000 in manufactured goods and foodstuffs from the United States. In addition, U.S. exports of "invisible" services—banking, insurance, engineering, etc.—to Venezuela have brought in another \$350,000,000. These dollars have filtered down throughout our economy, helping literally thousands of American producers and businessmen. All of the trade was made possible, not by U.S. gifts or loans, but by voluntary imports of Venezuelan oil, upon which rests 95 per cent of that nation's dollar foreign exchange. This highlights an important fact that the advocates of limitation must have overlooked or ignored: that exports require a two-way pipeline, that we cannot build a profitable export trade unless we are willing to import the products of other nations. In the long run, it is the world-wide market created by these actions upon which our expanding economy must heavily depend. And, certainly, a country like Venezuela, willing to stand on its own economic feet without big gifts or loans, deserves better of us than limitations.

Dr. Daniel Poling, famous veteran Baptist minister, has rendered a service to Protestantism, Americanism, and common sense. In a hard-hitting article in a recent issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*, Dr. Poling makes short work of the myth that religious liberty is infringed or endangered when congressional committees try to learn the facts about Communist efforts to exploit and infiltrate churches. Admitting that he himself was a "dupe" on one or two occasions, he makes the useful and important point that a clergyman does not carry the sanctity of his religious office with him when he chooses as a citizen to take a stand on some controversial issue in politics and economics. Least of all is this true when a clergyman is so wrongheaded, or misguided, or naive as to be a champion of, or apologist for, atheistic Communism, which is entirely amoral in theory and in practice violates every moral law laid down by the world's great religions.

There is a standard comic-opera quality about the belated charges of train-window espionage published in the Soviet newspaper *Trud* against four members of the American military attaché's office. The trip to Khabarovsk in eastern Siberia occurred in August and September of last year. According to *Trud's* story, vigilant Soviet railway employees picked up damaging espionage notes in the compartment occupied by the Americans and turned them over to a teacher of English, who "happened" to be on the train. How serious the alleged espionage was may be guessed from the fact that all these train-window "discoveries" were freely published in *Trud*. The one convincing note in the story is that the traveling Americans were sub-

jected to high-powered surveillance from the moment when they boarded the train. One possible motive for publishing this spy tale is to provide an excuse for canceling some of the relaxations in rules governing travel by foreigners. Another could be diversion of attention from the many cases of exposed Soviet espionage (not of the train-window type) in foreign countries.

An "I" for Ingenuity might be awarded to the man who was recently convicted of forgery in Memphis, although he was unable to write. No long apprenticeship in the imitation of handwriting for him. He simply made an X on a government check which belonged to someone else and cashed it. This might deserve a place in a Sherlock Holmes Case Book of unusual crimes. It might also contain a moral for the commissions that laboriously work on abortive schemes of arms limitation. Vast armaments are a symptom, rather than a cause of international tension. Inability to use a particular weapon, even if it could be insured, would no more prevent war than illiteracy could prevent the man in Memphis from resorting to a simplified form of forgery.

Guatemala's President calls the local Communists "progressive democratic forces." If this recalls the "agrarian reformers" of another decade on another continent, you're on the right track.

How's your aberration? If you are in any doubt on this subject, consult the *Encyclopedia of Aberrations*, a "psychiatric handbook" prepared by "over fifty eminent psychologists and psychiatrists." If you don't recognize your problem under such headings as "mind of murder," "Crime, neurotic," or addiction to hashish, you can have your choice of the following magnificent "A" aberrations: abasia, ablutomania, abulia, acalculia, and acataphasia. If these don't seem to fit your needs you may be practicing "head banging," which would seem to provide its own cure. Or you may have succumbed to "cacodaemonomania." Anyway, if you are so unfortunate, in this modern world, as to be a more or less normal human being there is an easy remedy. See a psychiatrist. He will be a poor and unimaginative creature indeed if, with several score polysyllabic aberrations to choose from, he cannot find one, and more likely several, in the steadiest patient.

In the tentative budget for India's new Five Year Plan, the sum of 475,000,000 rupees has been tentatively allocated to provide rest homes for aged and chronically ill cows. (This is more than three times the amount proposed for the development of dairy products.) It gives us a warm, happy feeling to think that part of the diet for the dear old things will doubtless come from "unconditioned" gifts of American grain.

No Substitute for Victory

The Communists arrived in Geneva with two victories in their pocket: the presence of Red China at a high-level international conference, and the separation of the problems of Indo-China and Korea both on the agenda and in the minds of too many Western diplomats. The real problem, the expanding aggressive might of Communist China, will not even be discussed. Meanwhile, the rapidly deteriorating military situation of the Franco-Vietnamese forces in Northern Vietnam has placed the Western nations in the weakest possible position. The "Asia-for-the-Communists" theme in the first speeches of Chou En-lai and Molotov showed that the Red leaders knew they had the free world squirming.

Actually, there is no reason why they should agree to a democratic, united Korea or to a free, peaceful Indo-China. While the war they are waging in Indo-China is a burden, the advantages reaped therefrom are tremendous. The fact that the French and Vietnamese, with massive U. S. aid in matériel, cannot defeat the Communists and are at present suffering a military setback reinforces the preference of the prudent for the winning side.

In Korea when the Communists first asked for cease-fire negotiations, they had been very badly mauled by our Eighth Army. They knew, as did General Van Fleet, that they could have been cut to ribbons in the field. No such situation exists in Indo-China today.

As a colonial war the struggle in Indo-China has been a flop. The war has become increasingly unpopular in France; the weak French Cabinets dare not authorize offensive operations which might involve heavy casualties; the method of covering the country with forts and blockhouses has kept main lines of communication open between the principal towns, but gives no promise of ultimate victory.

On the other hand, if the French should evacuate, declaring the complete immediate independence of the three Indo-Chinese states, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, the Communists, in all probability, would soon be in control of the country. There is not in Indo-China, as there was in Korea, a native government strong enough to assume full political and military responsibility. The truth is that the French and the anti-Communist Indo-Chinese need each other; but neither side is willing to recognize all the implications of this fact.

The British government is reported to favor partition as the best available solution in Indo-China. But there is no clear military line of demarcation, as there was in Korea. It would be a pretty safe prediction that if French and native anti-Communist troops would evacuate an important area like the Red River delta, as part of a parti-

tion scheme, a process of crumbling would set in that would not stop until the whole country was under Communist rule.

What then can we do? In the first place we must give up the policy of co-existence implicit in Secretary Dulles' famous "instant retaliation" pronouncement. In the second place we must create real situations of strength. We have two made-to-order outposts in the Far East. One is the Republic of South Korea, the other Formosa. (See Rodney Gilbert's article, page 591.) At present the average ROK division has only about one third the fire power of a U. S. division. We should make Syngman Rhee's 600,000-man military establishment a first-rate, well-equipped fighting force with tanks, artillery, a jet air force, a navy, and all the necessary communications and maintenance units. The Communists have continuously broken the truce by not permitting the North Korean ports of entry to be inspected—while arms pour in to rebuild the North Korean Army. If we want to maintain some check on Syngman Rhee, we could control the supply of fuel for his planes and tanks and the ammunition for his heavy artillery. We could do exactly the same thing with Chiang's 500,000-man force on Formosa. In these circumstances further aggression by the Chinese Communists would be impossible without starting an armed conflict of Asiatic powers.

Would the Soviet Union throw her manpower into such a conflict in Asia if it should occur? It is very doubtful. The Pacific Ocean is an American lake. We could supply Chiang and Rhee and the Franco-Vietnamese forces in Indo-China with comparative ease. But the lines of communication between the industrial centers of the Soviet Union and the Far East are long and tenuous—easy to cut and keep cut.

Instead of engaging in endless futile discussions at Geneva, we should be planning and working effectively not toward a half-free Korea or Indo-China, but toward an entirely free Asia. To do that, it is first necessary to assure that further Communist aggression should be checked by some such program as outlined above. That would be a big step toward the larger goal—the ultimate defeat of the Communist regime in China. Furthermore, with such a goal, we would stiffen the backs of those in the free world who know that the Kremlin is playing for keeps, but who don't think that the United States means business with its anti-Communism. Once we show them that we are dedicated to the major defeat of the Communists in Asia and that it is possible, they would come to our support from Nehru on up. For tragic as it may be, there is no substitute for victory.

“Unearned” Income?

Is there such a thing as “unearned income?” If there is, what types of earnings properly fall within this definition?

Income from interest and dividends is habitually referred to as “unearned.” This fits in well with the underlying New Deal philosophy of disparaging and discouraging individual thrift, self-reliance, and risk-taking, on the assumption that the individual should become a ward and charge of a Big Brother government, operating through an ever-expanding bureaucracy. But is there any justification for making this invidious discrimination between “earned” and “unearned” income, often accompanied by substantial tax discrimination?

Someone certainly originally earned the money which was saved, not spent, and which yields a return in the form of interest or dividends. Is it really reprehensible if some persons prefer to provide for their own years of retirement in old age by saving and investing part of their earnings? It would seem so, if one were to judge from the treatment meted out to investors by state and national legislatures.

In the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, for instance, interest and dividends are taxed at a rate about three times higher than ordinary income. No exemption is granted for that part of one’s income derived from interest and dividends. No deduction is allowed for that part of the federal income tax paid on receipts from interest and dividends. This is class fiscal policy with a vengeance, and it is not surprising that there is an increasing tendency on the part of substantial citizens of Massachusetts to establish residence in Maine, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, states which contrive to keep the wolf from the door without imposing a state income tax.

The investor, even more than the ordinary taxpayer, has also been taking it on the chin from the federal tax collector. Sums paid out by corporations as dividends are taxed twice. There is first the corporation income tax, now at the hefty rate of 52 per cent. Then the recipient of the dividend must pay his individual income tax on this money, which has already been subjected to one heavy tax bite.

It is not surprising that statist-minded New Dealers have been resorting to demagogic denunciation of the Administration proposal, in the tax law now before Congress, not to rectify, but to alleviate slightly this injustice of double taxation. But it is a sad commentary on the general state of financial knowledge when a radio commentator well known for his sturdily conservative views recently criticized this feature of the Administration tax bill without even mentioning the heart of the issue, the fact that the same income is subject to double taxation.

If this expression “unearned income” must be used, let it apply to several categories of earnings where the term really fits. In communities where administration of relief payments is lax, “collecting security” is a recognized form of occupation, preferable to more productive work. Payments to individuals for *not* planting certain crops could fairly be called unearned income and so could various forms of government subsidies. But there is no reason, moral, economic, or fiscal, why earnings from interest and dividends should be considered “unearned” or treated on a discriminatory basis in state and federal taxation.

The FHA Scandals

There is a good deal to be learned from the current investigations into federal housing agencies. It is heartening to have this proof that the cost of government can be reduced by a policy of vigilant economy and that the Eisenhower Administration is pursuing such a policy. On the other hand, it is discouraging to the taxpayer to learn that in addition to bearing the high operating costs of these public agencies, he has also helped put a hundred million dollars or more into the bank accounts of private entrepreneurs.

We naturally assume the right of the entrepreneur to make a legitimate profit on anything he undertakes. If he is above bribe, persuasion, inducement, or corruption, he will not take his profit out of the pockets of his fellow-citizens. But such absolute integrity and honesty cannot be wholly relied upon, especially when the profit presents itself in a roundabout way as merely the largesse of a vast, impersonal, rich government that will throw away the money anyhow. Thus a number of contractors in the business of building large housing projects asked for and received FHA-insured loans for construction costs far in excess of the costs. In addition to pocketing the difference—which was generally in the millions—some of these gentlemen based the rental rates for these dwellings on the blown-up figure rather than the actual cost of construction. The taxpaying tenants, therefore, for whose benefit the whole thing was presumably undertaken, were rooked all around.

Prosecutions will undoubtedly follow. There have been and will be resignations, dismissals, replacements. Regulations will be tightened. One ex-FHA official suggested that if his agency had been given more money in the first place, it could have checked the figures more carefully! All of which would solve nothing and is beside the point. So long as the government continues to take over a role that belongs to private business, these periodic scandals will recur. Corruption is a function (in the mathematical sense) of state ownership and

will no doubt increase as the latter increases. No one can permanently clean up the "mess" in a government which is usurping the place of competitive business.

Alsopian Liberals

The savage hatred for anti-Communists manifested by certain liberals who themselves profess to be (and sometimes really are) hostile to Communism provides a problem for psychologists. Take the brothers Alsop, Joseph and Stewart. By dint of hard work and a flexible conscience, these two are emerging as prototypes of what Sidney Hook calls "ritual liberals," whose hallmark is a frenetic anti-anti-Communism. No doubt the brothers dislike Communism. But what they hate with a flaming hatred is the dedicated anti-Communist.

The cream of their righteous wrath the Alsops save for *ex*-Communists who have become actively *anti*-Communist, and in particular those among them who have fallen so despicably low as to cooperate with the government in exposing the Kremlin's agents and operations. There is an apoplectic flush in their prose when the embattled brethren go mud-gunning after this their favorite quarry.

For years they pursued Louis Francis Budenz. More recently they have picked up the spoor of one Paul Crouch, a former Communist who apparently is employed by the Department of Justice as an investigator. In Crouch the Alsops see a horrifying exemplar of "the new professional of *ex*-Communist informer," a "hired informer," a "paid informer." Such a man, they imply, is in no wise moved by a sense of obligation—he is merely "cashing in" big, at the staggering rate (if the Alsop figure is correct) of twenty-five bucks a day when working. It is, of course, only a coincidence that the very epithets they hurl—"professional *ex*-Communist," "hired informer," etc.—are straight from the lexicon of the *Daily Worker*.

The turnover in party membership is enormous. There must be tens of thousands of former Communists around. With few exceptions they are content to forget the whole thing. For these passive, silent "exes" the Alsops and their kind have no hard feelings. The exceptions are few indeed: Whittaker Chambers, Elizabeth Bentley, Joe Zack, Bella Dodd, Budenz, Crouch, for instance—people under inner pressures to atone for past error, compelled by the same social zeal that took them into the Communist movement to fight the evil they knew so intimately. It is for these truly repentant ones, amazingly, that the Alsopian liberals reserve their most merciless hatred.

And that's the psychological puzzle posed by the Alsops. Why, one wonders, do they want *all*

ex-Communists to conceal their secret knowledge of the conspiracy and its personnel? Do they think that to give information in matters affecting national security is dishonorable per se, or only dishonorable for former Communists? Do they regard everyone who works for the Department of Justice as very nearly a criminal, or only the occasional *ex*-Communist on its payroll?

We do not know how reliable Paul Crouch may be. Evidently the Justice people closest to the picture consider him sufficiently useful to enlist his help. We assume that they know at least as much about the man as the duo of columnists does. When the Alsops call him a liar informing for pay, they are in fact accusing the Department of Justice of knowingly hiring a man to inform falsely. This is an extremely serious charge, perhaps the most serious made in the current gang-up on the FBI. We would think better of their courage and candor if they made that charge forthrightly, instead of smearing Crouch.

Oppenheimer Oddities

Two elements in the Oppenheimer case have been insufficiently stressed. One is the fact that thousands of citizens have been denied, or have lost, security clearances on grounds far more meager than those which are admitted by all parties to hold for J. Robert Oppenheimer. That Dr. Oppenheimer was associated in most intimate ways with Communists and pro-Communists, with Communist fronts and the Communist Party itself, is not in dispute. His wife and his brother were Communists. His Communist friends were not just "idealists" and "innocents." They included, the record shows, leading officials of the powerful West Coast party organization, and such a Moscow trained N.K.V.D. operative as the infamous Steve Nelson.

It is also part of the undisputed record that, as Director of Los Alamos, Dr. Oppenheimer accepted or even sponsored the appointment of persons like David Hawkins and Robert R. Davis who, at least up to a few weeks before their appointment, were members of the Communist Party. A physicist like Philip Morrison, whose admitted past Communist membership is linked to an active collaboration with Communist fronts that has not ceased to this day, roamed through the upper branches of the Manhattan District without, so far as the record goes, the least interference from his friend, J. Robert Oppenheimer.

It is also of legitimate interest that Dr. Oppenheimer's friendliness toward Communist causes, like that of his friends and associates, is shown by the public record to have extended well into the period of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, which proved too spicy a dish for the ordinary run of innocent idealists. Moreover, it is not on public record

that Dr. Oppenheimer's repudiation of Communism, whenever it may have occurred, was accompanied or followed by a sharp, clear break with specific Communist policies and with all of the pro-Communists among his acquaintance.

Suppose we ask: given the facts that are not in dispute, and substituting the name Tom Smith for J. Robert Oppenheimer, what would be the decision of any Review Board? Who can doubt the answer? The subjective and most difficult problem of "loyalty" is not finally settled by these facts, but it is self-evident that Tom Smith would not be "cleared." To clear Dr. Oppenheimer would therefore be (as it has been in the past) an act of gross favoritism.

It is suggested that Dr. Oppenheimer is so exceptional an individual that favoritism is justified in his case. If he as a single individual were really essential to the nation's defense program, it would presumably be legitimate to cut a few corners. But however good he may be, neither he nor any other single scientist (among the thousands of very competent scientists) is that good. Actually, Dr. Oppenheimer has become famous, at Los Alamos and now at the Institute of Advanced Studies, more as an administrator than as a creative scientist. He is the best publicized American physicist, which is not equivalent to saying that he is the best.

He is the best publicized in part because he has been the white-haired boy of the organized lobby of physicists that took shape twelve years ago, and has played so active and so questionable a role in the politics of the atom. The chief voice of this lobby is the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, edited by Eugene Rabinowitch. A study of the past issues of the *Bulletin* is an instructive lesson. Nowhere has the slogan of "freedom of science" been more aggressively used to attack anti-Communist persons and measures. Fellow-traveling scientists of all countries can rely on the *Bulletin's* sympathy. It sees no impropriety when Albert Einstein urges all intellectuals to refuse to testify before congressional committees, or when Einstein and Harold Urey attack the Rosenberg trial and conviction.

The suspension of Dr. Oppenheimer's security clearance was the first public challenge ever issued to the nuclear lobby—which speaks in truth for only a small proportion of the nation's physical scientists. That is a chief reason why such a howl has been raised over the Oppenheimer case. The aim of the nuclear lobby is to dictate American *policy* in the nuclear field. The time seems to us overripe for teaching these demagogues of science that, whatever may be their eminence in mathematical physics, when it comes to *policy*, democracy plays no favorites. In the American system, Tom Smith and J. Robert Oppenheimer are politically equal, with the same rights—and the same duties.

Kremlin Fashions

The *New York Times* correspondent in Moscow, Mr. Harrison E. Salisbury, ever alert to significant social-political developments in the socialist fatherland, reported that Comrade Gromyko "has been wearing a dinner jacket to Western diplomatic black-tie functions." The news understandably rated a three-column display in his paper, on April 16, with pictures of the solemn Gromyko in black tie, in a long-tailed morning coat, and in the diplomatic uniform of "black with gold embossed velvet or velour lapels . . ."

A supplementary United Press story from London played variations on the happy theme. A British male fashion magazine, it appears, has "hailed Soviet Premier Malenkov for appearing with a new look in men's clothes." The enthusiastic editors of the *Tailor and Cutter* added: "If we lived in Russia, we would unhesitatingly give our vote to Mr. Malenkov." That is easy to believe—they either would do so or cease to live.

The very day before, on April 15, Mr. Salisbury's paper carried a dispatch of another kind, from Berlin: the story of another shocking Soviet kidnapping. Dr. Alexander Truchnovich, head of the Russian Rescue Committee in West Berlin and one of the most intrepid anti-Soviet leaders in the Russian emigration, had been decoyed by a German agent of the M.V.D., either drugged or beaten unconscious, and dragged into a waiting automobile for torture behind the Curtain.

And several days later, in Australia, Kremlin diplomats tried to kidnap the wife of Vladimir Petrov, a Soviet espionage official who, like Igor Gouzenko in Canada in 1945, fled the Embassy with a stack of documents and sought asylum in Australia. A candid news photograph of the two "diplomats" dragging Mrs. Petrov aboard a plane in Sydney deserves a prominent spot in any pictorial history of our times. The weeping woman, the brutal faces of the beefy goons gripping her arms, add up to a horrifying symbol of the criminal gang today holding the world at bay. The strong-arm diplomats on this Western occasion did not wear black ties; they wore .32-caliber revolvers in shoulder holsters.

Under that "new look" in Moscow being celebrated by stupid and cynical experts on foreign affairs is the grim reality. Against the background of bloody abductions abroad and continuing butcheries at home, the cutely trivial "news" being filed these days by Moscow correspondents—news of fashions and perfumes and flowers—has a macabre and ghoulish quality. We recommend that the enterprising London *Tailor and Cutter* devote itself to designing appropriate clothes for Red kidnapers and torture-chamber operatives. The world of style is anxious to know what well-dressed Kremlin criminals are wearing.

The Right to Work

By JAMES R. MORRIS

A long, troubled history of labor legislation has won for workers the right to join unions. Now the Santa Fe case brings new hope for an inseparable freedom—the right not to join.

In the United States today about sixteen million workers are members of labor unions. Not an inconsiderable number of them have no wish to be. They were forced into union membership against their will as a condition of employment, that is, as a condition of earning a living for themselves and their families.

This statement may seem incredible in the face of a traditionally held view of labor unions as ardent defenders of democratic rights. The fact is, however, that for some years the right of the individual to work has been seriously impaired by labor unions wherever and whenever they have held monopoly control of a labor market. Since the passage of the Wagner Act in 1935 the scope and the power of labor unions have been greatly extended. At the same time the problems growing out of union restrictions on the right to work have likewise been extended to a steadily increasing proportion of the labor force. Some idea of this is conveyed by the phenomenal rise in union membership from less than four million in 1935 to sixteen million or more in 1952.

Under a union shop agreement an employer may hire a non-union worker, but the worker must join the union within a stipulated time to keep his job. In short, all workers must become union members as a condition of employment. It has not been uncommon for some to assert that if workers do not want to join the union, they can go work elsewhere. This suggestion is certainly far from a valid expression of what the alternatives *ought* to be in a free society—a society, that is, in which individual freedom is important and freedom of contract both traditional and a requisite of individual freedom of action. Prior, however, to the great growth of unions the ill-effects of such restrictions were rather limited, since a great many alternatives remained open to the worker. But now the scope of labor unions is so vast that the employment alternatives open to workers who wish to retain their individualism are sharply limited. The would-be non-union worker finds that in occupation after occupation, in industry after industry, he must become a union member if he wishes to remain employed.

In many states citizens and legislators alike have become so concerned over the growing infringement on civil liberties by powerful labor

unions that they have taken positive, constructive action to protect the rights of workers. At the present time fifteen states have constitutional provisions or statutes under which it is illegal to make membership or nonmembership in a labor union a condition of employment. The United States Supreme Court has upheld the validity of these right-to-work laws.

A Significant Case

Notwithstanding the long history of labor union organizations in this country and of union membership compelled as the price of employment, the Supreme Court never has ruled on the constitutionality of compulsory union membership as a condition of employment. There now is hope that the issue may reach the Court and lead to a straightforward decision as to whether or not, as a condition of employment, a citizen may be forced to join, and tender financial support to, a private organization—a labor union. There are several cases relative to the railroad industry which may reach the Supreme Court. One of the most significant of these is *Sandsberry v. Santa Fe*.

The Railway Labor Act of 1934 prohibited compulsory union membership in any form. It provided that neither membership nor nonmembership in a labor union might be a condition of employment on the nation's railroads. In 1951, at the urging of many of the railway labor unions, Congress amended the Railway Labor Act, "permitting" the union shop—compulsory union membership—regardless of any state laws to the contrary. Even after the passage of the amendment most of the railroads opposed the demands of the unions for union shop agreements, but after extended resistance many of them capitulated under the threat of strikes. The Santa Fe Railway was among the carriers which held out, refusing to submit to the demand even in the face of a probable strike. In 1953 thirteen employees of the Santa Fe sought relief in the 108th District Court of Texas, at Amarillo, asking for a permanent injunction prohibiting a union shop agreement between the Santa Fe and the defendant unions. Thus, there were three groups which were parties in the lawsuit—the thirteen employees of the Santa Fe, the Santa Fe System, and a group of non-

operating railway unions. The plaintiff employees contended, among other things, that the execution of a union shop agreement would deprive them of fundamental rights guaranteed them under the federal and Texas Constitutions. While they were not opposed to labor unions as such, they were opposed to *compulsory* union membership: they did not want to be forced into a union against their will, nor did they want to lose their jobs. The execution of a union shop agreement would leave them only those alternatives. Nor did the Santa Fe want to sign an agreement that would compel them to discharge these employees if they did not join the union.

Verdict Against Closed Shop

It is noteworthy that the verdict of the jury was sweepingly favorable to the plaintiff employees and to the Santa Fe and unfavorable to the defendant unions. Among other things the jury found that the execution of a union shop agreement would cause irreparable injury both to the plaintiff employees and to the Santa Fe System. The jury further found on the preponderance of the evidence that a union shop agreement is "not necessary to the continued existence and well-being" of the defendant labor unions. This latter finding is especially significant because of the repeated efforts of labor union officials to equate compulsory union membership with the continued existence of labor unions. It was brought out during the trial that membership in the nonoperating railway unions approximately tripled during the period 1934-1951. This was a period, it should be remembered, during which compulsory union membership was prohibited on the railroads. An economist, appearing as the expert witness for the unions, testified that he believed the union shop was "desirable," but he then went on to say it was "not necessary." It should be recognized that what may be desirable to union officials may be undesirable and even detrimental to individual workers.

On February 6, 1954, in the Amarillo District Court, Judge E. C. Nelson in *Sandsberry v. Santa Fe* granted a permanent injunction against the execution of a union shop agreement as well as against any strike to coerce the Santa Fe into the execution of such an agreement. The decision was based upon the jury's findings of fact as well as upon the Court's conclusions of law. The Court held that Section 2, Eleventh of the Railway Labor Act (45 U.S.C.A. Section 152), which purported to legalize the union shop, is beyond the power of Congress under the Commerce Clause and is a violation of the First, Fifth, Ninth, Tenth, and Thirteenth Amendments of the federal Constitution. The Court also held that the Texas Right-to-Work Law is applicable and that it forbids the execution of a union shop agreement—an agreement, the Court noted, which would have the effect of

depriving the plaintiff employees of protections guaranteed to them under the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the State of Texas.

The memorandum decision and the judgment handed down by Judge Nelson in the *Sandsberry* case ought to be read in their entirety by every student of labor relations. The Court in this case has gone directly to the heart of the issues involved, namely, the constitutionality of legislation purporting to legalize compulsory union membership, and in its carefully reasoned decision has found such legislation unconstitutional and void.

Among the reasons for this decision the Court found that Section 2, Eleventh "on its face. . . permits," and "in its natural operation" and "in its inevitable operation. . . brings about," a union shop agreement which:

. . . forces employees in each craft or class against their will to become and remain members of a private organization, to pay initiation fees, dues and assessments thereto, and to be subjected to the discipline, control and government of such private organization, or in the alternative, to suffer loss of their jobs. [italics added]

Constitutional Amendments Violated

The Court held also that Section 2, Eleventh, is unconstitutional and void because of the following violations of the federal Constitution:

1. It violates the First Amendment "because it abridges the freedom of speech, the right to assemble, the right to petition the Government for a redress of grievances, and the free exercise of religion."

2. It violates the Fifth Amendment because "it is arbitrary, unreasonable and capricious" and would therefore involve a deprivation of the "rights of contract, property rights, and personal liberties without due process of law."

3. It violates the Ninth Amendment because it "denies. . . rights retained by the people."

4. It violates the Tenth Amendment because it "constitutes an attempted exercise of powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, but reserved to the States and to the people thereof."

5. It violates the Thirteenth Amendment in that it "imposes upon plaintiffs and those similarly situated involuntary servitude."

6. The "requirement of union membership has no real or substantial relationship to interstate commerce under the provisions of Clause 3 of Section 8 of Article I of the Constitution of the United States."

With regard to the applicability of the Commerce Clause of the Constitution as justification for legislation which would legalize compulsory union membership, the Court faced the matter directly and said in its decision:

Congress undoubtedly does have the right to regulate commerce between the States, but that does

not mean that Congress has the right to regulate matters that have no essential relation to interstate commerce. . . . Whether employees of the Santa Fe are union members or not, is not a matter vital to the carrying on of commerce between the several States. *Whether the employees of the Santa Fe are members of unions or not, is not a test of their ability to discharge their duties as employees and has no essential relation to their duties in connection with interstate commerce.* Hence, we are of the opinion that under the Commerce Clause of the Constitution, *Congress has no right to enact legislation making union membership a test of the right to work for a carrier engaged in interstate commerce.* [italics added]

The only conceivable relationship between promoting the free flow of interstate commerce and the requirement of union membership as a condition of employment is that in the absence of such a requirement labor unions may exercise their powers of economic coercion to disrupt the flow of commerce. But it is one thing to tolerate the disruption of the economy in order that unions may pursue lawful and proper objectives; it is quite another to acquiesce to union demands that violate fundamental constitutional guarantees in order to avoid economic coercion by unions. And the proper action is not only to proscribe unions from depriving citizens of civil rights guaranteed them under the Constitution but also to proscribe any disruption of the economy the purpose of which is to deprive citizens of their civil rights. To promote the free flow of interstate commerce is a desirable way to advance the national welfare, but we cannot by mere assertion make union membership a condition of the free flow of commerce, nor can we subordinate the national welfare, which includes individual freedom, to an alleged means of promoting it.

Individual Rights Safeguarded

One of the arguments advanced by the unions was that the issue involved was a matter of policy and that Congress has the power to establish national policy. This is a view which, if sufficiently qualified, has validity but which, if taken literally would mean the elimination of Constitutional government in the United States. Indeed our highest policy is that which is set forth in the federal Constitution, and Congress may make other policy only within the limits established therein. In its decision, the Court said: "Congress has no power to establish any policy the effect of which is to bring about a violation of Constitutional guarantees."

This is a heartening reaffirmation of the protective role of the federal Constitution as the safeguard of individual rights, and the Court strengthened the point by continuing: "And this is true regardless of the majority in Congress by which the legislation may have been enacted. Otherwise, Congress would have the power to re-

peal the Constitution, if an act were passed by a sufficient majority."

The Court, in its decision and in the injunction it issued, was careful not to impinge upon the lawful and proper exercise of powers by labor unions. The following passage is illustrative of the philosophy and attitude expressed in this carefully reasoned decision:

This must not be in any manner considered as an assault on labor unions. Regardless of how they may have been considered in the past, they are now a recognized part of our industrial and economic life. *They are recognized as necessary and proper in our present-day economy.* The purpose and effect of this injunction will be only to prevent the unions from doing what, in the opinion of the Court, they have no legal right to do. *It is not directed at unionism, but only at compulsory unionism.* It is a part of our American heritage that, so long as an individual does not violate the law or infringe upon the rights of others, he has the right to do as he pleases. *The principle of compulsion in matters that rightfully lie in the field of human volition, is repugnant to the idea of individual human worth and to man's freedom of choice. . . . Man must be free to exercise his own choice as to whether he will or will not belong to a private organization, and to require his membership as a condition of his right to work is repugnant to American concepts of individual freedom.* [italics added]

For many years labor union officials condemned the old "yellow dog" contract and even though it has long been unlawful they frequently advert to it as though its revival were imminent. But today the old "yellow dog" contract has its union counterpart—compulsory union membership. Under a union shop agreement a worker, as a condition of employment, must make a "union yellow dog" contract, as some have characterized the agreement, to join, support, and give allegiance to the union as a necessary condition of employment. The Court in its decision recognized the analogy between the "yellow dog" contract and the union shop contract:

The evidence indicates there was a period of union busting and head busting and of "yellow dog" contracts. That was wrong, but that time, thank God, has passed. And it is just as wrong now that the unions should endeavor to compel men and women to join a union at the price of holding their jobs. The right answer is that they must be free to join or not to join, as they as individual persons choose to do.

It is a fresh breeze that blows from the courts when we find the worth and dignity of the individual stressed. Freedom to join a labor union—the underlying principle of our basic labor union legislation—necessarily means the freedom *not* to join a union. Unless the worker is free not to join a labor union, "freedom to join" becomes a shabby mockery and really means compulsion to join a union. Compulsory union membership strengthens the power and security of labor unions, but it does so at the expense of the freedom and security of the individual worker.

Press International

By M. K. ARGUS

UNESCO has come up with a typically devastating plan concerning the global dissemination of news. The master minds of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization are concerned over the fact that there is no truly international news agency in the world. All the existing great agencies are too national in character, and the wise men of UNESCO propose to create a world cooperative news agency (with the active participation of Soviet Russia, naturally) that would be able to collect and distribute the news "as free as possible from national influence."

We suggest that the proposed news agency be called "Brotherly United News Coordinating Organization," or BUNCO for short. We can just picture a meeting of its editorial board to determine what news is fit to print, or, to be exact, what is to be printed to fit. The members of the board are Comrade Ivan Pogrom of TASS, M. Pierre Bouyabez of Agence France Presse, Mr. Alistair Cheff of Reuters, and Mr. John Whoopy of AP and UP. Mr. Cheff is absent, having been stricken some time ago with a new malady known as *Virus Aneurinitis*. Comrade Pogrom is in the chair; the chairmanship of the editorial board changes monthly by rotation but Comrade Pogrom has been presiding for the past three months—first as a representative of the Byelorussian TASS, then as a representative of the Ukrainian TASS, and now as a representative of the Moscow TASS. He intends to occupy the chair for at least another six months, there being no shortage in Soviet-sponsored Tasses and demi-Tasses.

Pogrom (opening the meeting). Capitalist Comrades of BUNCO, we have very important news today. We send it out right away. We send it to all countries — peoples' democracies, capitalist countries, and India. Then we discuss it a little. *Bouyabez*. What is ze news?

Pogrom. About American warmongers. The atomists. I tell you I weep when I see headlines in today's papers. Your own papers. I say to myself: "Pogrom, this must be stopped. Americans want to destroy everybody and everything. But this is limit. They overjump the jump."

Whoopy. Will you please tell us what this is all about?

Pogrom. Of course I tell you. Soviet Union has no secrets. Here is first headline: "Bombers Triumph." What kind of bombers? With hydrogen bombs, maybe? I already make report to Comrade Molotov. He is also very much upset.

Whoopy. Now, wait a second. Are you sure you've got it straight? Isn't there any reference to the Bombers as the Yankees?

Pogrom: Sure, the Yankees. The imperialist Yankees who make bombers to attack peace-loving peoples.

Whoopy. My dear man, you're talking about baseball.

Bouyabez. Oo-la-la!

Pogrom. I do not speak about beizbol. Peace-loving nations are not interested in American beizbol. Beizbol is weapon of American imperialism. Beizbol and Coca Cola.

Bouyabez. Coca Cola . . . Brr . . . (*He shudders.*)

Pogrom. Here is more. American reactionaries, they go wild. "Reds Beaten in Cincinnati." What does it mean, Comrades? It means that poor innocent people are beaten in Cincinnati. Old men, mothers, orphans without parents, parents without orphans, everybody. In America everybody who is progressive, you call him Red. We make up long telegram and send it out from BUNCO headquarters. We make headlines: "Terror in Cincinnati."

Whoopy. Take it easy, Mr. Pogrom. Now I know you're all wet. All the headlines you've been quoting are about our recent baseball games.

Pogrom. Pfui on beizbol. You do not fool me.

Bouyabez. I do not comprehend. Sometimes you beat ze Reds, no?

Whoopy. Sometimes the Reds get beaten and sometimes the Yankees get beaten. It's all in the game.

Bouyabez. Whether ze Yankees beat ze Reds or whether ze Reds beat ze Yankees, La France, she suffers.

Pogrom. Don't worry, Comrade Bouyabez. We will soon liberate your country from American occupation. But this is not all the news we have today to send out through BUNCO. Just listen: "Pirates Score in Pittsburgh: Plan to Sell Friend."

Bouyabez. Friend? *Ami?* Who sells ze friend of whom to whom? I do not comprehend.

Whoopy. You're nuts . . .

Pogrom. Order, please. I am chairman. Is very simple everything. Imperialist Yankees mobilize Bombers for atomic attack on peace-loving nations. Maybe on Soviet Union, too. Progressives in Cincinnati make protest. Reactionary gangsters beat up progressives. Friend in Pittsburgh also makes protest. Capitalist pirates catch him, pitch him, then sell him as slave.

Whoopy. Wait a minute . . .

Pogrom. *Nyet, nyet*, we send out telegram immediately. Let whole world know about American slave-owners. We do not have bourgeois nationalism in BUNCO. We are international agency.

Bouyabez. We have grand responsibility. Perhaps we vote?

Whoopy. I refuse to have anything to do with it. It's a comedy. (*He leaves the room.*)

Pogrom. Sabotaging BUNCO! But we carry on without him. If you leave too, Comrade Bouyabez, we have vote and approve telegram unanimously.

Formosa and Freedom

By RODNEY GILBERT

From behind the incredible smokescreen around Formosa, this startling fact emerges: Modern China, free and well-governed, actually has been born on the island. Will we betray it?

Foreign reporting, as it relates to China, has achieved a singular distinction. It has managed to obscure and even to deny one of the most important facts in all the latter years of China's history. The fact is the simple one that on Formosa, that incubator of a great people's future freedom, the "modern China," for which the country's friends have been hoping for some decades, is finally and strongly emerging. An inspection of Formosa today reveals that the eight or nine million Chinese now on the island are getting the best government that any part of China has had for many generations—the freest, most efficient and, yes, most honest.

The reason that this is not common knowledge in this country, despite the testimony of a great many pleasantly surprised American official observers, is as easily explained as it is discreditable to a fairly large and very industrious group of this nation's "liberal" misinformants. There are still many who have a vested interest in one of the most incredibly successful propaganda canards of all time: that Chiang Kai-shek is an evil creature and that he was rejected by the people of China.

The facts with which to refute this are to be found on Formosa. They are easily available there to all free men. And they are not wholly unavailable to the wretched masses in Red China who are living in state serfdom. What they know of Taiwan gives them hope. What we do to obscure the facts denies them hope. . . Here, then, is a sketchy and inadequate account of conditions on the island of Formosa, as this writer, who has been nosing into Chinese affairs for more than forty years, found them during a residence of more than three and a half years.

A few years ago there was no evidence of wealth on Formosa, and even now there is no evidence of official luxury. Merchants who arrived in their shirt tails are prospering, because that is what the Chinese make of private enterprise everywhere. If the socialistically inclined deplore this spectacle of successful enterprise, they must take a look at other evidences of Taiwan's well-being. There are virtually no beggars. During four summers and three winters this writer encountered just three mendicants, two of them blind. Although 75 per cent of the island is mountainous

and heavily forested, and although bamboo groves, which would afford excellent cover to outlaws, extend down into the suburbs of all the towns, there is no outlawry. There is not a bandit organization on the island.

Crime in general is at a minimum. Taipei is a city of 600,000 population but, so far as one can see, the police go to bed when other people do. No one has heard of a woman being molested on the streets at night. But the one thing that will hit the former resident on the mainland hardest as he watches the country folk swarming into the markets and out again, is that there is not a patched garment on any of them. Not so long ago I saw an enterprising little smuggler from the mainland push his small craft up on the beach of an island off the coast. He had come from the mainland with a cargo of firewood and a litter of small pigs. His garments were nothing but patches—patches on patches, indeed. And there would be no sense in attributing that wholly to Communism, for one could see such evidences of poverty anywhere in China at any time during the past forty years. The point is that it is not to be seen *anywhere* on Taiwan.

Local Self-Government

Now about democracy. Taiwan has been getting that in bigger and bigger doses. When the Japanese moved out in December 1945, there were precisely seven Taiwanese in official jobs in the government of Taiwan; and those were, of course, appointive. Now 70 per cent of all official posts on the island, big or little, are held by Taiwanese. In the provincial government the proportion grows to the point of exclusion of outsiders. A report on the governor's council says that seventeen out of twenty-one are Taiwanese.

Those offices, however, are not elective. The offices that have been elective for two years past are those of membership in the councils of sixteen counties (*hsien*), those of magistrates in such counties, those of council members and mayors in half a dozen independent municipalities, and those of members of the provincial assembly. And if one might think that two and a half millenniums of Confucianism, plus half a century of Japanese colonial absolutism, have unfitted these people to

take part in local self-government, one should get out into the country during a hot electoral campaign. And what government interference is there? Absolutely none.

Next comes the question of freedom of speech and press. When the Japanese turned over everything they had on Taiwan in 1945, they surrendered two officially operated newspaper plants. One of these has become the official organ of the Kuomintang, the overwhelmingly powerful government party. The other has somehow become the organ of the provincial government. Both had to be subsidized at the outset, because there was no business and therefore no advertising. Then there is a subsidized government news service, the Central News Agency, with agents abroad who send back such news of particular interest to China as the regular news services might not see fit to handle.

Freedom of Expression

That is all there is in the way of officially subsidized news. Apart from that there is a great variety of dissemination of news and comment on it over which the government makes no effort to assert any control at all. There are several smaller dailies and a number of weekly, bi-weekly, and monthly magazines. Then there are two daily English language publications, *China News* and *China Post*, neither of which has a penny of government support, and neither of which hesitates to take the government apart politely but thoroughly as occasion demands.

As for common ordinary freedom of speech—unthinkable in any Communist country—nobody on Taiwan who has a critical word to say about this or that government person or policy ever has to give a thought to possible eavesdroppers. You can talk yourself hoarse about the shortcomings of the municipal, provincial, or national authorities and there will be no comeback. But start preaching Communism—and look out.

There is no censorship of news, incoming or outgoing. The government news agency subscribes to United Press, supplies the Chinese language papers with a very full fare of foreign news, and gets out a mimeographed daily bulletin in English, running from twelve to eighteen legal-size pages, single spaced, of which fully half is well-chosen foreign news in no way doctored or censored. Correspondents of all nationalities come and go without let or hindrance, and the resident correspondents of the Associated Press, United Press, Reuters, and the French Press Agency send out exactly what they please. Individual newspapers, that cannot afford to subscribe to the services of these agencies (unduly expensive, by the way), simply pirate them, employing expert monitors to pick them off the air. No effort is made to jam Communist news broadcasters. These are monitored around the clock by the Ministry of Defense and

are put out daily in mimeographed bulletins—not available to the general public, but readily enough available to almost anyone who has good reason to be interested in current lines of Red mendacity.

There is no censorship of personal correspondence—surprising enough when one considers how many persons on Taiwan correspond with relatives in Red China through other relatives or friends in Hong Kong. A crackdown on this correspondence would stop the flow of quite a little American currency from Formosa (where it is badly needed) to Red China, where it is hungrily sought. A little businessman in Taipei gets a letter from his mother in Tientsin, forwarded by a cousin in Hong Kong (in a fresh envelope of course), telling of the hideous state of destitution in which she and his younger sisters and brothers are living. The businessman scrapes together enough to buy an American five-dollar bill from a “yellow ox” (a black marketeer). This he tucks into a letter to his mother and a note to the cousin, and mails it to the latter. Cousin mails it to mother in Tientsin in a new envelope. Even a spot check censorship would stop this. But that would be inhumane. The inclination on “Ilha Formosa” is rather to be humane.

American magazines come into Formosa by air freight in great variety and in numbers. So far the sale of none has been banned or even questioned. But there is a closer check by an organization known as the Peace Preservation Office on publications coming in from Hong Kong and Tokyo simply because a vast amount of pro-Communist literature is ground out in both. No one would object to the sifting of such material if it were intelligent. It is not. Decisions on what to admit and what to ban have to be arbitrary; but they do not have to be stupid. The exclusion of a number of Hong Kong and Japanese publications is too stupid to enjoy popular support. The very fact that there is public objection, and chance of change, is part of Formosa’s pattern of freedom.

Economic Miracles

Other freedoms, which do not survive in Red China, but which are taken for granted in Free China, are those of freedom of movement and freedom of choice of employment. It is no longer easy to get into Taiwan. A refugee from Red China must have two highly respectable sponsors; and no one can now make a business of sponsoring refugees, as some once did at so much per capita, because no one is now permitted to sponsor more than two refugees. So the influx, which was by the tightly packed boatload in 1949, is now a trickle. But once a person is legally on Taiwan, and has a police card showing that he resides there, he can ride the railroads, the busses, the planes, or wander about by car, pedicab, or on foot, as freely as though he were in Vermont, Kansas, or Oregon.

What is more, he can work at any job he can find, or just sit on a rock, looking out to sea, reciting poetry and reveling in *dolce far niente*.

Economically, small miracles have been worked on Taiwan since 1945, and mostly since 1949. American bombing of the island during the war did the people little damage, but it did knock out power plants, bridges, heavy industries, and port installations. What was worse for the Japanese there, however, was the destruction of their merchant marine which cut them off from the supply from home of all the replacements and repair parts that Formosa had not been encouraged to produce. It has been somewhere published that when the Japanese chief engineers of the railroads were turning over their job to their Chinese successors, they gave friendly warning that unless extensive repairs were made to the lines, buildings, and rolling stock within six months, there just wouldn't be any railroads on the island. The Japanese estimated that more than 80 per cent of all kinds of railroad property was in dangerously bad condition. But the repairs were made. Within a few years the railroads were hauling more freight and passengers than they ever had under Japanese management, and with an internationally recognized minimum of accidents.

The pace set by the railroads has been equalled or exceeded in all lines of production. Taiwan's big food crop is rice; its big export crop is sugar. Both exhaust the soil quickly unless it is fertilized; but both respond in a spectacular way to the use of fertilizer. During the last two years of the war almost no fertilizer was available on Taiwan. The year after the Japanese surrendered, about 25 per cent of the rice eaten on the island had to be imported. Even under the best conditions, Japanese-ruled Taiwan never produced more than 200,000 metric tons of rice. But in 1952 the island produced 1,570,114 metric tons of rice, and production in 1953, on which final figures are not yet available, was probably better than 1,700,000 metric tons, which is eight and a half times the best Formosa could do under the Japanese. That much rice just cannot be eaten on the island; so there is a big surplus for export.

Sugar production shows the same phenomenal increase. It is a two-season crop. Just after the war, Taiwan's exhausted fields were producing no more than 30,000 metric tons of sugar per crop. But the 1952-53 crop yielded 882,000 metric tons. Now in enlarging upon the phenomenal achievements that the government of Free China has registered, I am not trying to overlook the important part that American aid and advice have played in this rehabilitation of the island. They have played a very big part; but the point to be made is that advice as well as material aid was accepted cheerfully and gracefully and applied wisely, which is unusual in the Orient, and particularly unusual in China's previous use of advisers.

The one and only explanation of this is that intelligent rehabilitation has had the patronage of the leadership. Chiang Kai-shek, Generalissimo and President of the recognized Republic of China, who is also the Ts'ung-tsai, or chairman of the Kuomintang—the revolutionary party founded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen—cannot, as President, purge the government of highbinders, deadheads, and political hyenas except by due process of law. But, as supreme boss of the Kuomintang, within which all such seek sanctuary, and outside of which nothing but great merit wins access to the big appointive jobs, he has great disciplinary power and occasionally uses it to startling effect. Now what about Chiang Kai-shek?

Chiang's Real Ambition

One night late in 1944, I found myself in a corner, at a bigger function than Chungking usually afforded, with two of Chiang Kai-shek's oldest and most intimate cronies. They were mellow and talkative. In due course, they were asked to what place in Chinese history the Generalissimo aspired. They were very quick to come back with the same answer. Chiang's devotion to Dr. Sun Yat-sen's prescription for the regeneration of China was absolute and unswerving. Chiang's ambition is to be the man to whom Chinese history will give credit for having established constitutional democracy in China.

This, I believe, is an absolutely correct appraisal of what is in a seemingly tough and forbidding man's heart. No charge of personal corruption against him has ever been made to stick. No charge against a member of his intimate entourage has ever been established and brought to him without moving him to drastic action. The great number of times during the past thirty years that he has been deceived and his confidence betrayed by trusted lieutenants has made him aloof, cold, and stern in his relations with Chinese officialdom. But behind this necessary shield is a kind person who would very evidently like to have friendly relations with everyone. Even at the time, late in 1944, when the pro-Communist correspondents and State Department boys who had been prodding the small-caliber and ill-tempered General Joseph Stilwell into a megalomania which made him an intolerable nuisance to the Generalissimo, and when they were giving Chiang the reputation in this country of being a corrupt and incompetent ogre, the well-balanced, and able General Albert C. Wedemeyer was finding Chiang Kai-shek a high-minded patriot and also a fine person. His testimony to this effect has been frequently printed.

The characteristic ascribed to the Dutch, "magnificent obstinacy," is also Chiang's outstanding quality. Throughout the eight years of China's war with Japan, the Communists testified reg-

ularly that Chiang Kai-shek was the only man in China who could hold what was left of China in unified resistance to the Japanese. Hong Kong, the Philippines, Indo-China, Siam, Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, and British Burma collapsed, but Chiang carried on. The Japanese offered him terms at least five times. He rejected them. Under Japanese pressure the British closed the Burma Road supply line. Chiang carried on. We wished the intolerable Stilwell on him. If the price of American aid was putting up with Stilwell, he said, he would do without American aid.

During the last four years of his war with Japan, the entire four years of our war, Chiang Kai-shek "contained" in China well over a million Japanese soldiers who might otherwise have been used against us elsewhere. During that time, as Mao Tse-tung later admitted, the Communists were putting 10 per cent of their strength into resistance to the Japanese and the rest into the exploitation of

Chiang Kai-shek's difficulties. Pulling China through such a situation took "magnificent obstinacy."

Maintaining his dignity, and the freedom of China, through the racking insults of the hate-Chiang heyday of the Marshall-Acheson era also took "magnificent obstinacy."

Today, of course, the need of that quality is bitterly apparent. The fabrications about Formosa and Chiang persist. Geneva's clouds bode no good for Chiang. He was rejected in Korea. He is rejected again in the time of Indo-China's agony. And there is the most tragic truth of all: No one—allies, neutrals, or Communists—can still wholly believe that we may not, sooner or later, be coaxed, cajoled, or bullied into taking the altogether criminal Red Chinese regime to our bosom. They will not believe it until we say, through our topmost spokesmen, that the destruction of that regime is a piece of business to which this nation is pledged.

How I Joined a Red Front

By HELEN WOODWARD

It all seemed so sociable and high-minded that an anti-Communist was drawn into a party-line group. She soon saw danger signals, which she lists here.

The Communist lures which catch big and even medium-sized fish are well known to readers of the FREEMAN. But, it seems to me, not enough has been told about how they net the sardines. These little fish usually get away after a while. But even after they find out that they have been hooked by Red bait, many of them still think the propaganda high-minded and cling to it. As individuals they play no important role in the Communist conspiracy, but as part of large groups they can be dangerous.

I was drawn into one such Communist front in the mid-thirties. How I got in, and the danger signs that I saw, may serve as a stop-look-and-listen to someone else. The League of Women Shoppers, which found a place on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations, is no longer functioning. But while it lasted, it helped spread the party line over the country.

The friend who got me to join is now dead, and I have never known whether she was a member of the party, a sympathizer, or an innocent. So I shall call her Margaret Jameson. Margaret was really kind; people clung to her strength and warmth; she was also charming and elegant. My husband and I had dined in her town house and had weekended in her country house.

I thought I knew my way around in the Red

political world. But at that time there was a half-world, where red, pink, and white opalesced into a rosy worship of F.D.R. I had been cured of that during his first term. And I was known as an anti-Communist because I had signed the petition for a fair trial for Trotsky and was opposed to the League of American Writers.

Margaret Jameson's plan sounded gilt-edged; as it turned out the gilt *was* all on the edges. In the depths of the depression, labor unions were going through a tough time. The new League of Women Shoppers would use consumer pressure to force employers to deal fairly with unions. I had grown up in a labor union world; my father had been blacklisted for a strike he had won for the cigarmakers' union. I had always wanted to "do something" for union labor. Now here perhaps was my chance.

Over the Teacups

Margaret asked me to come to a small tea to meet a few women who wanted to talk over the idea. So we met in a roomy, shabby, comfortable apartment, made for friendship. I did not know the hostess; she seemed good-natured and I think now was easily carried away on emotional seas. Also, perhaps, flattered by the company she was keeping.

Margaret said, "We'll talk things over. But we must keep this non-political. It's all just a dream now, and I'd certainly like your practical mind on it."

I went to the tea with a pleasant sense of confidence. I know that the Communists did not like my doings, so I thought if these people wanted me in this thing, they must be all right. One of their chocolate-coated cherries, that was.

The dozen or so women at the tea were Republicans, Socialists, Democrats. The atmosphere was casual. But before we left, the League had been organized, and like lightning I was a member of the Board of Directors and in charge of publicity.

Our first Board meetings were at little lunches at the Vassar Club. The plan we worked out was this: When a union wanted help from consumers it would appeal to the League. The League would investigate and if the union was in the right (it always was), the League would pitch in. Many of the members were well-to-do, and as customers and stockholders they could do a lot. As customers they went to see store executives and sales managers; as stockholders they attended meetings and kicked up a fuss. The League—and this sounded so safe—would never interfere unless invited by a union, and it would keep hands off if the union was in the wrong (it never was).

Members came in rather quickly. Everyone felt that the League was fun in an earnest kind of way. Teas and cocktail parties played their part as usual. Celebrities were around, acting just like plain people. There was little argument and no name calling.

Our first Good Deed came out of a strike in a Brooklyn department store whose low wages and long hours made it a good target. The union, then new, called on us for help. Our members picketed proudly; the police pushed them around stupidly and sent some of them to a quite disgusting jail. Results: indignant newspapers, lots of noise, new members for the League. For the individual strikers: jobs lost, pay lost because the store could hold out. But for the Communists and the union, a practice shot.

The League members picketed, contributed money, went to benefits, gave parties. But the Board was the boss. Our meetings were always nice, with a lot of jokes and gossip. But certain mechanisms began to pop into view. Sometimes I was asked to a lunch with one or two before a meeting. Dutch, of course, so it looked all right. But also, of course, a really wise woman like me would see their point of view, wouldn't I? My objections were taken with friendly good humor. Several times I defeated schemes I did not like, and no one fought for them. Were these ducks set up to be knocked down?

A small group began to stand together on every motion and to wander away from the League's field. There was the motion to boycott retail

butchers because the price of meat was too high. One of our groups in Wisconsin was already going ahead with that. Everybody on the Board knew that retail butchers had little to say about the price of meat. I said: "We have neither the money nor the power to go brawling over the landscape"; the proposal was so blatant that it was voted down. Still not quite bright, I thought, "How amateurish!" Later I knew that the group pushing the plan didn't give a rap about saving money for the housewife. Such a boycott would merely upset a lot of people, which would be fine.

Mink-Coated Pickets

Then the Board came through with a lulu. We would help to organize a union of domestic servants. There had to be a union first to ask for our help. There was; it had about three members. There was provocation, at that time: maids and cleaning women gathered each morning at certain street corners, where women looking for help picked them up at bargain prices. But can a union dicker with or picket thousands of housewives employing part-time help? As for servants in households with large staffs, they sneered at the idea of a union. Before the motion died, a few servants had lost their jobs.

Once the Board asked me to talk to an office workers' union that was trying to win over people in the advertising business, which I knew well. I left a saddened group when I told them that advertising agency employees, from errand boys up, would howl with derision if you called them workers.

A lot of this nonsense got publicity because the League had friends in the right places. Sometimes, in looking for publicity, they got carried away pretty far. There was the strike at Ohrbach's department store. Someone had the notion that we could get a front-page story if members of the League would put on evening clothes (mink coats preferred) and, thus panoplied, picket the store with the usual placards. But this stunt was too much. The little publicity it got was cynical.

Then the League got down to brass tacks and proposed to support a strike of Horn and Hardart restaurant employees, which labor men said would be a sure loser. So I told Margaret Jameson that I was getting out, that the Board was playing a Communist game. "But," she said earnestly, "that's why you should stay. You are anti and our members know it. You and I can defeat the Communists. We've got to stand by."

I wavered. Then along came a tricky bit. In a front like this one, the most important person is the Secretary. She and her stenographer were our only paid employees. Everything came to the Secretary's desk. On some matters she was supposed to consult the Board, but there wasn't always time. It was plain to everyone that our Secretary

was too friendly toward the Communists. When something came along that would fall on the Red line, she did not bring it before a Board meeting. She had to have the okay of a quorum, however, and she got it by telephoning selected Board members. I saw that these quorums made up the group I now was sure was Communist. Then, to my surprise, that very group came through with a proposal that we should fire the Secretary. She was known to be a Communist sympathizer, they said, and we must be non-political. That's a gimmick to look out for in a Red front.

A new Secretary was put up to the Board. A subcommittee "investigated" her and gave her a clean record. I was disarmed and stayed on. The new girl was hard-working and put on a good show. She said little but did much. She, too, called only the Red group when she wanted an okay from the Board; she did not argue or fight, she maneuvered; she got approval for the disastrous Horn and Hardart strike; she did everything that had marked the former Secretary as a Red but, unlike her, did not appear at Communist meetings. Since then she and her husband have been named by the Department of Justice as outright members of the Communist Party.

Red Stop Signals

I had been in the League about a year. I felt silly at having been duped. But I had learned a few Red stop signals. No group of consumers can be of help to a labor union. Nearly all the unions which asked us for help have been charged since with Communist domination. Some have been expelled from the C.I.O. and A.F.L. If a group is organized for a specific purpose and starts playing the field, it's time to look out. That's when the real Communist plans take hold—often plans that can't succeed, but can cause misery, disorder, and anger.

In the course of months several directors dropped out, giving as their reasons "too busy." Their places were taken by women who were colder in manner and less patient with discussion. Several have since been cited for Red activities by U. S. government agencies. As a rule I found the Communists and fellow-travelers smug and pleased with themselves; they condescended to the poor outsider. But they were outwardly pleasant and played at being "reasonable" and "tolerant."

That was about seventeen years ago. In spite of all the hullabaloo, the exposés, the new laws and investigations, the same tactics are still being used. The Communists hide behind the same high-sounding phrases, fool the same kind of people—people who, frustrated in efforts to "do something," are often eager to be deluded.

And what happened when I finally got out? They were delighted to be rid of me. I had thrown too many monkey wrenches into the works.

Hoodlums and the Press

By BEN RAY REDMAN

Not long ago, in Los Angeles, there were several cases of helpless pedestrians being beaten up by young thugs. The reporters identified the criminals as members of certain gangs. Well-known gangs, apparently. Gangs that had been permitted to flourish under the noses and nightsticks of the police. Gangs that were proud of their records in internecine warfare. Gangs that should never be allowed to exist in any civilized city. Then came the publicity.

In article after article, dozens of newspaper columns were devoted to these gangs—to their picturesque, mock-heroic names, the territories they dominated, their fighting strength, their racial composition, their history, their recent exploits.

Can you imagine how the hoodlums lapped it all up? How they proudly compared notes? How they flashed their newspaper clippings in one another's faces? How the kids who were still too young to handle blackjacks, knives, and tire-irons, listened enviously to the boasts of their elder brothers and dreamed of the day when they, too, could sally forth to do battle with their own kind and bash in the brains of innocent citizens?

The climax to this journalistic folly came when headlines announced that two of the most vicious gangs had been persuaded to sign a non-aggression pact. Just like Stalin and Hitler. And Los Angeles newspaper readers were treated to photographs of two miserable punks shaking hands in ratification of their noble accord, while flash-bulbs exploded, while juvenile police officers and probation officers looked happily on. What a victory for law and order!

And those photographs of the two great chieftains? How many of them, I wonder, were cut from the papers? How many of them have grown dirty and torn with handling, as countless young hoodlums have stared at them reverently, murmuring to themselves: "If Joe could make it, if Lopez could make it—I can make it some day, too."

The trouble is that hoodlums, like actors and actresses and motion picture producers, believe their own publicity. But, unlike these other more admirable members of society, the hoodlums don't even have to pay for it. Publicity is meat and drink to them. They love it, and it makes them love themselves. It makes them proud of what they have done, and encourages other potential hoodlums to go and do likewise.

There are many opinions as to what should be done about juvenile delinquency, and there is much uncertainty. But there is one thing that should not be done, I am sure. The delinquents should not be given publicity.

Instead of Public Power

By THOMAS P. SWIFT

What private industry can do to supply power quickly and efficiently is being demonstrated by the joint effort of five companies in the Pacific Northwest.

Through twenty years of strident propagandizing public power advocates have managed to convince a lot of people that "investor-owned power companies cannot and will not build multi-purpose hydroelectric projects on a scale necessary for the full development of major river basins." Among the unconvinced are the power companies themselves. Despite the determined effort on the part of two "deals"—the New and the Fair—to strangle them by socializing their industry, five private power companies in the Pacific Northwest have retained sufficient stamina and conviction to challenge their opponents with startling success.

They did so by announcing to the federal government that they were prepared to spend over a billion dollars in the next twenty years on the gigantic job of extensive power development in the Columbia River Basin. It so happens that they had been forced to stand back while the federal dam building programs endeavored to produce new power at a rate to keep pace with the fast-growing region. The federal government simply did not do the job it had insisted on taking unto itself.

In one sense the public ownership advocates were correct when they said the private companies were unable to undertake the building of the huge multi-purpose dams. The federal government saw to that. Harold Ickes, and his successor Oscar Chapman, did everything in their power and a few things not clearly in their power to prevent anyone from competing with the government in the electric business.

The companies were discouraged from building even those dams they could handle. Coulee Dam was built with public funds having little or no interest costs and it produced large blocks of tax-free power to be distributed in the Northwest. By 1938, new blocks of federal power were available and the companies were asked not to build dams but to buy federal power instead. Perhaps the utilities, with utility responsibility taken from them by the federal government, would have adjusted, eventually, to this necessity. But the socializers were not content with this. They put up discriminatory sales policies and gave broad interpretations to preference clauses which favored public agencies and cooperatives. This competitive advantage was used in an attempt to crowd out the private companies.

In the forties power shortages came to the

Pacific Northwest, necessitating "brown-out" campaigns for reduced usage of electricity during the peak periods of winter. This occurred in a region which has the highest percentage of the nation's hydroelectric potential. The government which had usurped utility responsibility was unable to do anything about it fast enough to keep pace with ever-increasing needs for new power. The processes of government were just too slow. In 1950 the government quietly admitted its inability when five members of the Northwest Power Pool were told to go ahead and develop whatever power they could.

Private Industry's Record

They lost little time—there was indeed little time to lose! Washington Water Power found a site on the Clark Fork River of Idaho and petitioned the Federal Power Commission for license to build "the dam that couldn't wait," Cabinet Gorge, 230,000 kilowatts. The FPC gave Washington Water Power one of the quickest approvals on record in January 1951. Twenty-one months later, the first generator was operating at Cabinet Gorge.

Pacific Power and Light, another of the members, built a 108,000 kilowatt dam on the Lewis River of Oregon in just seventeen months. Montana Power, Mountain States Power Company, and Portland General Electric all looked for ways to increase their power production. Washington Water Power has been making preliminary surveys of another Clark Fork site—Noxon Rapids—and Pacific has more plans for construction on the Lewis. Every private utility, as well as municipal and public utility districts, examined every possibility.

Increased construction activity on the part of companies and agencies was not enough. The few choice, small, and medium-sized dam sites were becoming scarcer and more remote.

No company, no municipality, no public utility district was big enough to take on the largest sites alone, partly because of their size and partly because the big dams demand, by sheer economic logic, that there be nonrevenue producing benefits as well as a power producing structure.

It was a serious dilemma. The federal government could not keep up. The Fair Dealers knew it

but refused to announce withdrawal, or to offer an alternative. The Eisenhower Administration promptly placed part of the problem in the laps of the region, states, companies, and public agencies. At first there was a vacuum into which the never-die statisticians shouted their old refrain: "They cannot and will not build the big dams."

The Combination Plan

It was at a meeting of the governors and their power experts at Seattle, on the anniversary of the Pearl Harbor attack, December 7, that the five companies dropped their bombshell. They told the governors their combined need for new generation would be from 150,000 to 200,000 kilowatts a year. The regional need is for about 500,000 new kilowatts a year. If the federal government would provide merely for flood controls, irrigation, and such, the companies would combine in a program calling for the expenditure of \$50,000,000 a year to produce the needed kilowatts.

Combination was the key to the plan. Some months earlier Washington Water Power had been voicing that principle in support of its application to merge with Puget Sound Power and Light in a hearing before the Washington Public Service Commission. "Let us merge," it said, "so that we can become large enough to build the large dams necessary for us to meet the power needs of our customers."

While the word "combination" may take some back to the days of holding companies, a distinction must be made between the kinds of combinations. The holding companies owned the operating companies. The combination which the five companies of the Northwest and others propose is different in that the operating companies will own the generating company. Corporate structures will not be changed. The participating companies, and whatever generating company might be formed, would still be subject to regulation by state commissions and the Federal Power Commission.

The five members of the proposed combination serve 800,000 electric customers, nearly 50 per cent of all power users in Washington, Oregon, northern Idaho, and Montana. Together they have an installed generating capacity of 1,400,000 kilowatts. Comparatively, their proposed expansion is substantial. Kinsey M. Robinson, one of the toughest fighters against public power in the industry, heads up the five-company enterprise, which has been incorporated under the name of Pacific Northwest Power Company.

There is plenty of material for precedent in the courses taken by similar combinations of companies elsewhere in the country. One is a five company group known as Electric Energy, Inc., which is supplying power for the atomic plant at Paducah, Kentucky. Another is the Ohio Valley Electric Corporation, comprised of fifteen com-

panies, which will supply power for an atomic bomb plant at Portsmouth, Ohio. In both cases, the companies formed a generating company and issued bonds. Ohio Valley Electric borrowed \$420,000,000 from fifty-two institutional investors.

The Northwest five-company plan differs from these in that Electric Energy, Inc., and the Ohio company were "hurry up" creations called upon to supply steam generated power to atomic plants and there were no nonrevenue bearing features as with large hydroelectric plants. But, similarly, the Northwest has an emergency in the threat of a serious power shortage.

Another plan similar in some respects to that proposed by the Northwest's five companies is expected to cause a dramatic legislative battle in Congress. The outcome could have a far-reaching effect upon the future of the companies. Should the Senate follow the pattern of the House and approve the bid of five companies in New York State to develop more than a million kilowatts of power on the United States side of the Falls, a valuable precedent will have been set. Should New York Governor Thomas Dewey's rather surprising public power plan to develop the site with a state power authority be approved (see the *FREEMAN* November 16, 1953, "Why Socialize Niagara?" by Robert S. Byfield), the Northwest companies will not be thwarted, but they will not have been helped. Only public ownership will have been served.

Though much remains to be worked out, the five-company group already has a number of valuable things which may bring a new era to the Pacific Northwest. They have an agreement among themselves in this development effort. And any agreement about power development is refreshing in the Northwest. They have a plan which is simple in principle, in accord with United States statutes and with precedents. They have a proposal in step with the Administration's partnership policy. They have a way to avoid a power shortage—at least in the companies' territory.

If investor-owned companies are allowed to play the game with the same rules as public agencies, and are allowed to generate their own power, the companies will show up the proponents of nationalization. But, most important, the power industry will be returned to first-class citizenship in an industrial community based on the principles of free American enterprise.

Adlai Stevenson says the Republicans "charge, try, condemn, and convict in a single action" in some instances. While this is a real accomplishment, Republicans are inclined to be modest about it, merely pointing out that they had awfully good material to work on. MARTIN JOHNSTON

Why France Lags Behind

By LOUIS ROUGIER

To take her place with confidence in a community of free European nations, France must reverse her present socialized economy and crippling soft money policy.

The Atlantic Pact members are wondering if France is still a valid ally. Her behavior, which seems incoherent to them, is for that reason incomprehensible.

In an effort to retain a position of leadership in Europe, France's postwar governments have taken noble-minded initiatives. The "Europe of Six," which is supposed to be a preliminary step in forming the "Europe of Fifteen," was their idea. In order to solve the age-old problem of Franco-German antagonism, they proposed the European Defense Community (E.D.C.), to be placed under a supranational High Political Authority whose various organs were established by the special assembly in Strasbourg in 1952. They proposed, further, a common market to be brought about by the gradual integration of various sectors of the economy, starting with a coal and steel pool (E.C.S.C.), and continuing with a green, or agricultural, pool, a white pool, etc. They proposed also a return to the free exchange of goods and conceived the idea of the European Payments Union (E.P.U.) within the framework of the Organization of European Economic Cooperation (O.E.E.C.). [For a detailed discussion of this subject see "Exchange Controls Must Go," by Wilhelm Roepke, the *FREEMAN*, May 3, 1954.]

A review of these noble initiatives recalls the well-known saying: "The road to Hell is paved with good intentions." The governments that followed France's liberation, dominated as they were by three Marxist parties (the Communist Party or P.C.F., the United Socialist Party or S.F.I.O., and the Popular Republican Movement or M.R.P.), pursued an economic policy inspired no doubt by the best of motives. Its results, however, are to say the least thoroughly incompatible with any attempt at European integration.

In order to promote their ideal of social justice, these governments replaced a free enterprise market economy with a socialized economy; changed a liberal state, playing the role of arbitrator and guardian, to a welfare state and a series of nationalizations. This welfare state is a producer of coal, gas, electricity, fuel potash, and fertilizer; a builder of ships, airplanes, automobiles; manufacturer of cellulose and chemical products; transporter by land, air, and sea; banker and insurer, merchant, importer, manager, publicity agent. It commands 1,800,000 strongly unionized *parafonc-*

tionnaires (labor and personnel in state-owned enterprises), who are the pillars of the regime. In addition, it employs 1,920,000 full-time and 250,000 part-time civil servants, 490,000 professional soldiers, 250,000 veterans—a total of 4,500,000, or more than one-fifth of France's total working population. This figure should be compared to that of 400,000 in Poincaré's time and 600,000 in Blum's. Not bound by the accounting rules of private business, the nationalized enterprises can run a continually mounting deficit without being compelled to declare bankruptcy. It is not surprising that the national budget has quadrupled since 1913.

By its control over banking and credit, the state can also control investments. These have been taking place by means of forced savings in line with a plan formulated by irresponsible technocrats. Thus there has been overinvestment in certain industrial sectors, to the detriment of much-needed modernization in agriculture and the development of overseas territories.

In addition, demagogical reasons lie behind a strong desire to maintain the existing privileges by protecting them from foreign competition with tariffs and quotas and from domestic competition with forced prices, subsidies, and tax-exemptions—with no regard to the notion of yield. As a result, a host of small business enterprises have sprung up, along with innumerable roundabout ways of distributing goods. Furthermore, there is a tendency among the more highly equipped enterprises to set their prices, by tacit or overt agreement, according to the production costs of the marginal producers. Thus what was once a free enterprise market economy has become a rent economy within the sector which is still regarded as private.

Deficit in the E.P.U.

The consequences of such an economic policy were soon felt. France was the one to propose the abolition of quotas, but when the O.E.E.C. ministers assembled in the Château de la Muette last September, they noted that France was trailing behind all of her European partners: a mere 8 per cent of her foreign trade did not fall under the quota system, compared to a corresponding 90+ per cent in Italy, Germany, and Benelux. It

was France that originated the E.P.U., yet her cumulative deficit within this organization amounted to \$832,000,000 in December 1953, a sum vastly in excess of the legal and authorized debt limit, while Germany had an equivalent amount to her credit.

To have a common economic market, the free exchange of goods must be supplemented by the free exchange of money. As M. Jacques Rueff, distinguished French economist and monetary expert, has repeatedly pointed out, a unified Europe is impossible without a common currency or at least convertible currencies. No currency has deteriorated so much as France's since the war. While the German mark and the British pound-sterling are hard currencies capable of becoming convertible, the French currency is a serious obstacle to the freeing of the money market within the "Europe of Six."

France's lack of monetary stability is due to the systematic deficit in her balance of payments and to the chronic deficit in her national budget. During his speech last June soliciting the premiership, M. Georges Bidault thus summed up the situation: "At the end of each month the state's expenditures exceed its receipts by 50 to 60 billions of francs and we spend 30 to 50 millions of dollars abroad over and above those we receive." The situation has improved slightly since then, but for reasons lying in the short-run rather than in the permanent structure of the economy.

"Social Justice" Not Attained

France's desire to overcome class conflicts has led her to pursue a social policy that she thinks should serve as an example for Europe and the rest of the world. Primary attention has been paid to improving the lot of the working class, to the detriment of the lower middle-class and the farmers. The latter represent 30 per cent of France's population and received only 14.5 per cent of the national income. Hence the great discontent in rural areas. And has the lot of the favored working class really improved? Taking 1938 as the base year and 100 as the hourly wage buying power index, the corresponding index numbers for 1953 are 95 in France, 121 in Belgium, 203 in Great Britain, and 367 in the United States. *The objective of social justice is thus far from being attained.*

It is elementary to point out that to distribute wealth, it must first be created. On this score France presents a sorry picture. Taking 1929 (one of general prosperity) as the base year, the United States has doubled its industrial production, Great Britain has increased hers by 54 per cent, Germany by 53 per cent, the Netherlands by 52 per cent, and France by 5 per cent!

This situation explains France's hesitancy in ratifying the E.D.C. The Netherlands and Belgium

will accept this proposed supranational High Political Authority only if it is to lead to a common market. France lacks the conditions for that.

First of all France does not have a competitive economy. Any abrupt removal of tariffs and quotas would generate a series of bankruptcies, a wave of unemployment, an invasion of foreign goods, and labor and social unrest, all of which would favor a return of the Communists to power. A new popular Front, which would complete the task of socialization undertaken by the post-Liberation tripartite governments, would emerge with the subsequent orientation of French foreign policy toward the U. S. S. R. rather than the West.

Second, France does not have a hard currency. Her private savings have been drained by special levies and lopsided taxation. The little that remains has been absorbed by treasury bonds on the money market and by indexed loans on the capital market to cover the state's expenditures. France greatly fears total absorption in a common market by Germany's fully expanding free economy.

The Solution: A Free Economy

France is thus faced with the dilemma of having to choose between European integration and a socialized economy. The return to a free enterprise market economy would mean running counter to the policy of the post-Liberation governments, which the present government claims to support. To bring about such a reversal in policy, a parliamentary majority is needed that would be able to reduce the unproductive costs and activities of the state, free the economy of the burdens, rules, and controls by which it is bound, give back to private enterprise those operations it is much better equipped to handle than the state, abandon domestic and foreign protectionism, which only generates economic Malthusianism and a high cost of living. Both the eighteen-months plan of M. Edgar Faure, Minister of Finance, and the reshaping-of-industries program of M. Louvel, Minister of Industry, are aimed at such ends. But the National Assembly is far from willing to give up its would-be "social conquests." The same can be said for all nationalized enterprises and for all unions, especially the labor unions, which constitute a real feudal system. Last summer's strikes, organized as a protest against measures of the Laniel government to advance the retirement age of certain state employees, were clear proof of this—if it was needed!

Further steps necessary to effect a genuine reversal in policy would include enforcing the power of the Executive by a constitutional reform and the guarantee of a stable non-Marxist majority by a revision of the electoral law.

Thus could France take her place with confidence in a community of the free European nations and again feel herself master of her own destiny.

A Second Look

By EUGENE LYONS

Lament for Lost Allies

It is widely reported that various presumptive allies of the United States are being turned against us by McCarthyism. Dr. Felix Fuddpuss, cliché liberal and knight-protector of the Bill of Rights (especially its Fifth Amendment) professes to be greatly worried on this score. He just barely hides the glee under his lamentations.

His mournful mien somehow brings to mind a mildewed item in Joe Miller's collection—the one about the fellow who murdered his parents, then pleaded for mercy on the ground that he was an orphan. If the state of American freedoms is brutally misrepresented abroad, it is because the Fuddpusses have succeeded so well in convincing the world that this country is on an hysterical rampage, hunting witches, muzzling teachers, burning books, and otherwise crushing "dissent." Having put over this calculated falsehood, they then make a show of wringing their hands over lost allies.

The European critic, in accusing the United States of incipient or full-blown fascism, merely echoes the *Nation*, the *Washington Post*, the growing pile of books plugging the line of our political and moral degradation. His witnesses are the Eleanor Roosevelts, the Bernard DeVotos, the Henry Steele Commagers, and the rest of the Fuddpuss species.

Should a Briton or a Frenchman or an Italian begin to worry whether the news of American inquisitions and suppressions may be a bit overdrawn, there is always fresh testimony from respectable U.S. sources to reassure him. Dr. Robert M. Hutchins steps forward to attest that "our teachers are afraid to teach." The *New York Sunday Times* finds yet another expert to confirm its famous "black night of fear." Having quoted Jean-Paul Sartre's gracious statement that "America has the rabies," Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr sadly concedes that "the judgment may not be too severe" when dealing with McCarthyism. The American Civil Liberties Union comes through with another of its seasonal post-mortems on our liberties.

Such gibberish is laughed off by most Americans. But what are Europeans, even those who try to be fair, to think in the face of such affirmations, day after day, by eminent writers, professors, divines, and political leaders? How, for instance, can they dismiss the lurid testimony regularly offered by Adlai Stevenson, a man who ran (and is still running) for President? In his Florida speech last December, he said:

The Bill of Rights is besieged, ancient liberties infringed, reckless words uttered, vigilante groups are formed, suspicion, mistrust and fear stalk the land, and political partisanship raises strange and ugly heads, the security of secret files is violated, and the specter of political police emerges.

At home, this sort of fear-mongering is properly discounted as some more egghead double-talk. But beyond our frontiers it is accepted literally and editorialized upon solemnly. Why, Europeans ask themselves, would the leader of a great political party draw such a black picture of his own country? Does it not stand to reason that the truth must be even blacker? They conclude therefore, as Dr. Niebuhr reports, "that we stand on the brink of fascism."

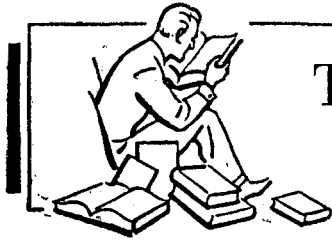
The technique of the hysteria boys is as simple as it is effective. They seek out petty incidents that support their obsession and inflate them to gigantic dimensions, until they block out a view of the real America.

In Indiana, for instance, one concerned mother, protesting against subversive propaganda in public school textbooks, mentioned a Communist-line version of the Robin Hood legend. This chance remark, thoroughly misquoted, was seized upon avidly by every Fuddpuss in the land and blown up into a world-shaking affair. It was relayed to the press abroad, where the incident is now as well known as our H-bomb tests and, indeed, regarded as part of the same pattern.

In a nation as vast as ours there always have been and always will be episodes of excess, injustice, imbecility. Our bandwagon liberals lift these out of context and publicize them as symptoms of the country's nervous breakdown. Americaphobes of every variety then see to it that the lying diagnosis is spread to every corner of the entire globe.

Meanwhile a thousand symptoms of another order are blandly ignored. Dozens of Americans identified as former Soviet agents are free and unmolested by reason of statutes of limitation and other technicalities. A notorious pro-Communist lawyer, expelled by the Bar Association, is restored to federal practice by the Supreme Court. A book by the shrillest of the hysteria-criers, Elmer Davis, rises swiftly to the top of the best-seller lists. [See review in this issue, p. 602.] The Newspaper Guild gives awards for journalistic achievement to attacks on the Minute Women of the U.S.A. and Facts Forum, both vigorously anti-Communist groups. Ed Murrow is showered with awards for attacking Senator McCarthy.

The list could be extended for many pages. It hardly jibes with the portrait of a hysterical, fear-ridden America exhibited to the outside world by Fuddpuss and his brethren. Their tears over lost allies add insult to the injury they do to America abroad and at home.



The Dangerous Mr. Davis

By FRED A UTLEY

The success of Elmer Davis' book, if not as frightening as Soviet Russia's possession of the secret of the hydrogen bomb, is certainly as disturbing as any revelations we have had so far concerning Communists in government. For if the Communists finally succeed in defeating us it will be in large part due to the successful "liberal" publicists who inspire hatred, fear, and contempt for those who endeavor to expose and destroy the Communist conspiracy, and sympathy for the conspirators. *But We Were Born Free* (by Elmer Davis, 229 pp., The Bobbs-Merrill Company, \$2.75) put me in mind of Tom Paine's famous remark about Edmund Burke: "He pities the plumage and forgets the dying bird." Elmer Davis has sympathy only for the victims of "McCarthyism," who lose their jobs or their reputations, and none for the millions of Europeans and Chinese, whom they helped deliver over to Soviet tyranny in the war during the era when the Communists and their dupes had a big hand in shaping policies.

Mr. Davis' book, now at the top of the best-seller list, should have been called "The Credo of an Anti-Anti-Communist," with the subtitle, "Why I Hate Ex-Communists." One wonders whether any Communists in our midst could harm us more than such "liberals" as Elmer Davis. For he makes it abundantly clear in his book that he believes that all ex-Communists who seek to atone for their past errors, or crimes, by telling all they know concerning the Communist conspiracy, are despicable "informers" whose evidence should be disregarded by congressional committees. What could profit the Kremlin more than Elmer Davis' defense of the only ex-Communists he regards as honorable men, namely, those who refuse to become "informers" by "falling back behind the Fifth Amendment," rather than "betray" their former "friends and associates"? Since it is obvious that the chief persons who can give us information about the Communist conspiracy are those who formerly belonged to it, we should have no hope of being able to find out who are the traitors in our midst if we took Mr. Davis' advice to disregard the evidence of those he smears with the term "professional informers." Not that he bothers to explain just what a "professional" informer is. Certainly the small and beleaguered group of ex-Communists so hated by Mr. Davis are never given the opportunity to broadcast their views to the nation that he and his confrères enjoy.

As head of the Office of War Information, Mr. Davis never let any ex-Communists, or other anti-Communists who knew the score, inform Americans that Soviet Russia constituted a menace to freedom even more formidable than Nazi Germany. Instead he and his friends, such as Owen Lattimore (who headed the Far Eastern Division of OWI), employed many obvious Communist fellow-travelers, or sympathizers and friends of the Soviet Union, and continued to retain Chinese and Polish Communists on their staff after they had been informed of the fact. This was brought out in the McCarran Committee hearings and those of the House Committee that investigated the Katyn Forest massacre in 1952.

Not only is Elmer Davis unrepentant. He is continuing today to delude the American people and lull them into a false sense of security. He now admits, of course, that Communism is a danger, but it is so, he says, only "in Russia, and as operated from Russia." The internal Communist danger in this country is merely "a matter of espionage and sabotage" which "the FBI ought to be able to take care of." In fact, Davis claims, the Communist Party serves the purpose of providing "our public men" with a cover for "attacks on liberalism and progressive reforms." According to this reasoning, anti-Communists are per se reactionaries. Moreover, Elmer Davis remains unconvinced, in spite of such notorious cases as those of Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White, that Communists and their sympathizers never played an important part in determining our policies. He also labors under the delusion that if we solve the problem of "passing prosperity around," the internal Communist menace will disappear.

This same Elmer Davis, who even today displays such abysmal ignorance concerning Communism and its operation, has the effrontery to say "McCarthyism" is "a revolt of the primitives against intelligence." Seeking to explain why McCarthy, whom he represents as the mouthpiece of "Texas billionaires" and "reactionaries," enjoys mass support, Elmer Davis employs a good old Bolshevik argument. He tells us that McCarthy's grass-roots support comes from the ignorant "masses," presumably not yet properly instructed by "progressives" such as himself. "The kind of people," he writes, "who, a generation ago, made up the mass membership of the Klu Klux Klan." It seems to escape him

that whatever grass-roots revolt may actually exist is directed not against "intelligence" but against the colossal stupidity and lack of principle of those who caused us to lose the peace.

Pots reproached for calling kettles black may well envy Elmer Davis. Here is the man who, while head of the OWI, suppressed knowledge of the fact that the Soviets, not the Germans, were responsible for the Katyn Forest massacre, now hailed by most reviewers as a courageous champion of "freedom of the mind"; or, to quote the *Saturday Review*, as "a selfless fighter for justice, freedom, fair play, and decency."

This is also the man who, according to the testimony presented to the McCarran Committee by Eugene Dooman (who had been the chairman of the Far Eastern Subcommittee of the State, War, and Navy Coordinating Committee known as SWINK), opposed making any statement to the Japanese people assuring them that their surrender would not entail the treatment of their Emperor as a "war criminal," but would permit him to become a constitutional monarch.

So we know that Elmer Davis, now posing as a liberal who believes that all men have a right to their opinions and therefore, presumably, to the government of their choice, preferred that we annihilate thousands of Japanese civilians rather than modify our unconditional surrender terms ever so slightly to permit the Japanese people to have a constitutional monarchy.

Mr. Davis too frequently gives his readers something less than the whole truth and is also sometimes guilty of distortion or misrepresentation. A prime example is his statement that McCarthy used "propaganda from German Communists to save the lives of Nazi officers who had murdered American prisoners at Malmedy." The fact is that McCarthy used the evidence supplied by American judges and officers and by Protestant and Catholic German bishops that Germans (many of them privates, corporals, and sergeants and not Nazis at all) had been tortured to make them confess to this crime.

Generally, Mr. Davis displays a type of thinking which can best be described as Hitlerism in reverse gear. On page 41 of his book he writes: "At that time the most important thing in the world was to kill Germans, and the Russians were killing more of them than anybody else; there was reason for dedicating a symphony, in 1943, to the Soviet Union." Why then does he not approve of Senator McCarthy, since today, in our not-so-cold war against Soviet Communism, our main objective is unquestionably to destroy Communists, or at least draw their claws? Unfortunately, Mr. Davis and his kind of "liberal" do not reason logically. To them the obliteration bombing of German and Japanese cities, which killed innumerable innocent civilians, was legitimate, but the minor hurt caused

to some possibly innocent individuals by congressional investigations is a crime.

Elmer Davis' concepts are not unlike those of the feudal nobles to whom "freedom" meant privileges for their class. His eloquent pleas for "freedom of teaching" and "freedom of dissent" are only for those whose views concur with his own. The difference between him and those who do not share his "progressive" ideas is that the latter believe some opinions and activities, such as those of the Communists, are so harmful that they should not be propagated or allowed. Mr. Davis, on the contrary, thinks that the Communists and their friends should continue to enjoy full freedom to destroy all our freedoms.

Speaking of the Roman Empire, Davis says: "Its own faults brought it down." But it seems clear from our experience of what Mr. Davis and his kind did and advocated and were responsible for during the war, and today, that his faults and those he fosters in America more than any other factor are those likely to destroy us.

War in Our Time

The Century of Total War, by Raymond Aron. 379 pp. New York: Doubleday and Company. \$5.00

Raymond Aron writes about our time from a firm intellectual and moral foundation. Equipped by nature with a brilliant mind in the pure Cartesian tradition, Aron did his graduate study under Max Weber in Germany. The product of this work, which had introduced him also to Pareto, Michels, Mosca, and their neo-Machiavellian sociology, was a profound dissertation on the philosophy of history. Shortly before the war, Aron entered and won the competitive examination for the professorship of philosophy at the École des Hautes Études in Paris. The runner up was Jean-Paul Sartre.

During the war, Aron joined De Gaulle in London, and there had a leading role in the information and propaganda services. He returned to France to become, through his regular articles in *Le Figaro* and his several books, one of the most authoritative French writers on political and economic affairs. He has visited the United States a number of times since the war, but this present book, translated from the French *Les Guerres en Chaîne*, in his first to be published in this country.

Aron is and has always been anti-Communist, anti-Soviet, and more generally anti-Marxist. He has never succumbed to the fashionable demagogues of the left or of neutralism. Although he has candidly stated what he disapproves in American policy, he has steadily rejected that rhetorical "anti-Americanism" which has been so easy a road to popularity in postwar France.

The purpose of *The Century of Total War* is to define our epoch politically and historically, and to

analyze the cold, or limited, war within the frame of this definition. Aron reviews the collapse of the national system, the breakup of the concert of Europe, the change from professional to citizen armies, the growth of the mass state and the great "peripheral" superstates, the new techniques of rule and destruction. He discusses the causes and results of the first two world wars, with judicious distinctions between chance and destiny. He seems to believe that the principal single factor that has led to the chaotic crisis of our time is "a common situation: the development of science, the application of science to industry, and the expansion of industrial civilization."

Aron has a thorough understanding of Soviet facts and philosophy. He knows that the objective dictated by both is total world conquest, and that the conquest of Europe is a stage in the path toward that objective. As exactly as a geometrician, he displays the fallacies in the various forms of European pro-Sovietism and neutralism. He recognizes how far Europe has decayed, not merely in relative material power but in morale, but he thinks that Europe may still have enough historical vitality to recover its will to live. Europe will not do so unless it sets itself unambiguously against Communism and the advance of the Communist Empire.

Aron contends that a continuous limited war (including small "hot" wars, such as the Korean and Indo-Chinese wars) is the most natural form for the present world struggle to take. The limited war is not just a temporary troubling of the peace, nor is it necessarily a transition to total (what Aron, following Pareto, calls "hyperbolic") war. The limited war may go on for decades, without reverting either to genuine peace or to open hyperbolic war. In terms of this conception he makes certain criticisms of American military policy. The Pentagon, he feels, is too much inclined to view the limited war as only transitional, and to prepare for a hyperbolic war that may never come, without paying sufficient attention to the day-by-day battles (military or political) of the limited war that is actually in process.

"The object of the West is and must be to win the limited war in order not to have to wage the total one." This is M. Aron's summary formula. Through it he organizes his admirable book. I agree with so much of the result that I wish only to mention here that the seeming syntactical precision of this sentence, carried over from the French, conceals the one basic ambivalence in Aron's own position. Aron's analysis proves that peace can be restored (the limited war won) only by the defeat of Communism; and that if the defeat of Communism is our goal, then the risk—not the certainty, of course, but the risk—of total war must be accepted. If the avoidance of total war is our essential goal, then the limited war cannot be won. The dilemma can be easily shown: if

Moscow knows that we are irrevocably committed not to initiate total war, then we have granted her, in effect, a free hand to make whatever moves she judges to be expedient. Our refusal to accept the supreme risk removes any fatal risk from her calculations. After all, as Aron also points out so clearly, there is one and only one way to be *sure* of preventing the third world war: by capitulation.

Under the influence of this logical flaw, even Aron's style, ordinarily so severe as to be often dry, degenerates into emotionalism: "This limited war must continue till Stalinism acquires a new soul, either of its own accord or under external pressure." By Aron's own criteria, this is equivalent to saying: "until a miracle occurs." Let us indeed hope for the miracle. But it would be impious as well as rash to count on it. JAMES BURNHAM

Charles Beard, Revised

Charles A. Beard: An Appraisal, edited by Howard K. Beale. 312 pp. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. \$4.50

The thought, the career, and the influence of Charles Beard present a set of paradoxes, a searching analysis of which would contribute greatly to an understanding of the tragic intellectual history of the past half-century in America. But the twelve essayists of this book, with one or two honorable exceptions—outstandingly George R. Leighton—seem to have but one idea in mind: to lay Beard in his grave fifteen years before he died, and thus hush up a monstrous scandal. That an intellectual demigod of the American liberal movement should have become an uncompromising fighter against Franklin D. Roosevelt and his regime is a real skeleton in the liberal closet. Pundit after pundit, Max Lerner and Harold Laski, George Soule and Merle Curti, all describe Beard's career as though the last fifteen years of his life had never been. Then in a shamefaced paragraph or two, they apologetically or obliquely make a glancing reference to those awkward years, and hastily retreat. Never do they grapple straightforwardly with the paradox, or even openly admit its existence.

Charles Beard was a man of penetrating and far-ranging mind, of unquestioned character and integrity, reared in the stalwart tradition of an Indiana family of moderate substance and intellectual vitality. He showed the stuff of which he was made in his last years when, on a matter of principle and principle only, he broke not only with most of the colleagues and friends of a lifetime but—what must have been much harder—with the entire emotional political outlook with which his life had been identified.

While his new position originated with his opposition to Roosevelt's foreign policy, it evolved into

an attack on the whole structure of the Roosevelt regime. But, at least in his published writings, he never came to a full accounting with the underlying ideological causes of that phenomenon nor with his own towering contribution to the growth of that ideology.

In 1948, in *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War 1941*, standing four square on the Constitution, Beard mercilessly castigated the Rooseveltian development as a Caesarean threat to the Republic: "If the precedents set by President Roosevelt . . . are to stand unimpeached . . . the Constitution may be nullified by the President For limited government under supreme law [he] may substitute personal and arbitrary government—the first principle of the totalitarian system . . . while giving lip service to the principle of constitutional government."

Yet, in the weakening of the intellectual and moral sanctions which support the Constitution, without which Roosevelt's encroachments would have been impossible, Beard's historical and political writings over the preceding thirty years had played a decisive part, along with the philosophical and educational ideas of John Dewey and the positivist school of law and jurisprudence. In *The Republic* and elsewhere, he revised the narrow negativity of his early concept of the Constitution. But nowhere does he seem to have brought the one view sharply against the other and probed the underlying contradiction. Nor—and this perhaps is the key—did he seriously criticize his concepts of "frame of reference" and "relativism," his own version of that instrumentalist philosophical outlook which has done so much to break down the moral strength and the political integrity of the Rooseveltian generations.

Undoubtedly, up to the time of his death Beard was struggling with these problems. Had he lived longer, he might well have solved some of them for himself. A man of integrity, in his seventies, facing his past, fighting his way through such complexities, could be the subject of a great book. This collection is not that book. The writers, disciples of the early Beard, have learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

Nevertheless, the book has some value, even apart from its astonishing exposure of the liberal mind busy at the job of rewriting, or editing, history. George R. Leighton's article, the only one that seriously discusses Beard's later years, gives an excellent sketch of Beard's thinking on foreign affairs and makes at least an effort to explain the apparent paradox of his career, not primarily in intellectual terms, but on the basis of a most sympathetic sketch of his character. In some of the other essays there are charming intimate vignettes of Beard as a man, and there is a thorough bibliography of his writings.

FRANK S. MEYER

India: Two Views

Bhowani Junction, by John Masters. 394 pp. New York: The Viking Press. \$3.75

Pattern of the Tiger, by Stanwell Fletcher. 296 pp. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. \$5.00

That two books on India, one fictional and melodramatic, the other true and penetrating, should appear together is indeed fortunate for whatever perspective a reader may hope to retain on this touchy area of Nehru murk, ancient strangeness, and global significance.

Masters' earlier book, *Nightrunners of Bengal*, was not only exciting but also a story in which the writer had caught much of the way of life that is India's. *Bhowani Junction*, being pretty much pure melodrama, is not intriguing nor does it catch with the bare realism it should an India seething in 1946 under the impetus of changes to come.

The story is far too complex to sum up. It is mainly one of railroad people—without picturing the ruggedness of riding in Indian trains, an experience never to be forgotten—and the Anglo-Indian daughter of an engine driver who is neither lackadaisical nor discriminating in her amours. Her romances, which might better be called rendezvous, are plainly offensive.

The writer brings in many shades of political and emotional allegiances as existed in the upsurge of change in those days. Henchmen of the Congress Party in Bhowani Junction, which symbolizes a center from which "the lines spread out to every horizon"; Communist terrorists and terrorism, highly educated Indians, a British major, and Anglo-Indians are all brought into the story in the effort to draw a picture of events leading to independence and partition.

The book contains just about all that melodrama calls for—murders, an attempted, semi-invited rape, train wrecks, riots, mutinies, a kidnapping, rescues, eventual killing of the villain, and plenty of general passion. But it does not dig deeply into the Indian mind or what to many must seem the mysterious thinking of India. It does not impress upon us the color or the very great differences in ordinary living. It gives but a thin veneer of the complicated processes that led to India's freedom.

Far more interesting, entertaining, and certainly far more realistic is *Pattern of the Tiger* which, along with its vivid descriptions of the actualities of life in India and Pakistan in 1951, gives a clear-cut picture of the political scene in this major Asiatic trouble zone.

Stanwell Fletcher, an old India hand, as is Masters, is a naturalist, explorer, and lecturer, but he also proves himself a keen political analyst not to be taken in by the unrealism of India especially, nor by Nehru's purposeful neutrality in the current struggle between Communism and free-

dom. He brings out with pointed accuracy, for example, comparisons between Pakistan's ability to balance the budget while India flounders in financial troubles.

Fletcher's story is simply that of India and Pakistan today after a scant eight years of independence: the millions of sacred cows and monkeys of India which eat or destroy an estimated half of the country's actual or potential food supply while hunger runs rampant in the land; the religious tabus which hamstring progress; the Hindu mind that believes material things are only an illusion; the arrogant air of superiority of former messengers and clerks made heads of government divisions, and the deep-seated resentment and suspicion of the white man.

And then there is Nehru. The author, not being in the diplomatic field and therefore not forced to pull his punches, tells us what we should know about this man instead of feeding us, as does many another reporter, with hope that the Prime Minister may some day quietly change his views and become our fast friend after all. He points out that Nehru was a Communist twenty years ago; he recalls Nehru's "increasing sympathy with Communism and feeling that the Soviet's example 'was a bright and heartening phenomenon in a dark and dismal world,' and that 'the Communist philosophy of life gave me comfort and hope.'" He points out how Nehru, in all his speeches for home consumption, always uses the pronoun "I," never "We." He quotes the Indian leader as saying: "I certainly do not consider free enterprise has anything to do with the concept of democracy. Democracy is for the good of all people. I do not want to give private enterprise a place it has in some countries where it is virtually a demigod. If private enterprise clashes with the interest of the country as a whole it will be put down or will have to go, root, trunk and branch."

In his description of Indian life—the poverty, the smells, the food, in fact all the ugliness and beauty to be found in this long-sleeping giant—Fletcher is all-encompassing and almost literally makes the reader feel and taste. He emphasizes the terrific problems confronting this new nation, the hurdles that must be taken, the material handicaps as well as those of the mind, and the presumptions of eight-year-old democrats to tell the older democracies how to run their affairs. Yet he is not blind to the potential greatness of India as a nation or as a people, provided they are not

led in the wrong direction, which is a danger.

The writer describes Pakistan, fifth largest nation in the world, just as vividly and as accurately. He contrasts Pakistan's realism with India's refusal to face reality, and he draws a sharp distinction between Pakistan's open friendliness to the West and particularly the United States as against India's resentment and suspicion. His account of Pakistan's tremendous strides as a new nation after starting absolutely from scratch makes exceedingly informative reading. His is a vivid explanation of Pakistan's fighting, unscripted army, her financial acumen, her anti-Communist attitude, and all the fundamentals of a democracy which look ahead to sound and progressive government. And while he discusses the burning Kashmir issue at elucidating length, he points out what seems unrecognized by too many, that of even far greater danger to Pakistan's life would be India's deflection of the waters of the Indus and three or four smaller rivers. Such an act on India's part would mean virtual annihilation of Pakistan as a nation and would, more than any other factor, lead to war.

As in the India half of his book, Mr. Fletcher again realistically describes every phase of Pakistanian thinking and living from Karachi on the burning Sind desert to the remotest tribesmen in the lush north. He goes at length into a description of religious thinking. He makes one feel the spell and importance of this largest of the Muslim nations. All in all, his book is highly interesting and informative, more colorful than most fiction.

WAIDE M. CONDON

America's First Total War

A Stillness at Appomatox, by Bruce Catton. 438 pp. New York: Doubleday and Company. \$5.00

After winning a succession of victories in the West during the Civil War, General U. S. Grant was ordered East by President Abraham Lincoln and appointed commander-in-chief. Unlike his predecessors he understood what was expected of him without being told. The war was dragging on this more important front; no one in the North could foresee the end, and in November of that year, 1864, a Presidential election would be held. A few more disasters and the nation might vote the Union out of the war, thus accepting defeat. Time was precious. A vigorous offensive was absolutely essential. After studying the situation for a few weeks Grant announced that he did not intend to maneuver. In the words of a member of his staff, he proposed to use

... all the force of all the armies continually and concurrently, so that there should be no recuperation on the part of the rebels, no rest from attack, no opportunity to reinforce first one and then another

Any book reviewed in this Book Section (or any other current book) supplied by return mail. You pay only the bookstore price. We pay the postage, anywhere in the world. Catalogue on request.

THE BOOKMAILER, Box 101, New York 16

point with the same troops . . . no respite of any sort, anywhere, until absolute submission ended the war.

With this strategic policy Grant began the campaign that was to result in victory about a year later. It is a fascinating story from a military point of view, but that aspect has already been dealt with by many historians. It is even more fascinating from a political viewpoint, but there is no shortage of histories of that kind, either. What Mr. Catton has labored to do, and on the whole very successfully, is to tell the story of the final campaign of our first total war from the private's point of view.

ASHER BRYNES

And Spiders, Too

The Fabulous Insects, edited with an introduction by Charles Neider. 278 pp. New York: Harper and Brothers. \$3.50

Insects, besides leaving an ageless trail of nibblings, welts, itches, and infuriated housewives, have left a notably discernible path of literature. Since before the time of the elder Pliny literate, if not scientific, men have observed the antics of insects and felt impelled to put their observations on paper. Charles Neider hasn't gone very far afield, however, to find his particular collection of writings about insects. The majority of his selections are from contemporary magazine articles. (Neider goes quite a bit farther, as a matter of fact, to find his insects; choosing to include material on spiders which, of course, are of the Arachnida and a different arthropod altogether.)

The "classical" offering in this volume comprises three pieces (about the cicada, emperor moth, and praying mantis) by J. Henri Fabre and a description of ant warfare by one of Fabre's great admirers, Maurice Maeterlinck. The contemporary selections include such able authorities as Alan Devoe, William Beebe, Donald Culross Peattie, and Edwin Way Teale. Theirs is solid fare, unlike the journalistic froth of the final of the book's twenty-four items, a breathless recounting by John W. Vandercook of things he has heard, more than observed, concerning the Driver ant of Africa.

But, actually, Neider gets badly stung only once in his welcome and commendable compilation. This is when he permits a nearly thirty-year-old article by L. R. Cleveland to foist off that outlandish notion that there is something sublimely fine about the social regimentation of the "white ants" (termites).

Observed for what they are, the termites (Isoptera), like their social colleagues the ants (Hymenoptera), certainly are as fascinating as any of the fabulous insects. But as models for human society they are something earnestly to be es-

chewed—unless of course, one agrees with Cleveland's bizarre fancy that the termitic division of labor (one of us works, another fights, and you do nothing but lay eggs) is the best of schemes and that the practice of murdering the surplus citizenry is "far more effective than man's feeble efforts" at regulating population.

KARL HESS

Real Men, Real Boats

Away All Boats, by Kenneth Dodson. 508 pp. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. \$3.95

There is a fine male quality here, welcome after the striving to be men in so many war novels. And, thank the changing globe, the sins and war neuroses are nicely distributed among all ranks; the "dirty little coward" is at the bottom of the ladder and the captain hates all authority, except his own.

Belinda is the name of the attack transport that makes the world in which this novel moves. And she is the only woman in the book. The story is seen from the eyes of Lieutenant Dave MacDougal, who is first Boat Commander, in charge of landing craft, and later commanding officer of the *Belinda*. It's a novel, but it runs right along beside the actual life story of the author. Kenneth Dodson, who had been a seaman—no Annapolis man—went through all this himself. The landing boats look clumsy and their first landings were clumsy. The picture of the beach commander stripped to the waist and black with oil and dirt, maneuvering the boats as a man pulls the strings of puppets on the stage, stays in the mind. So too does Captain Hawks who, in the midst of all this desperation, made his men build him a beautiful sailboat, but who knew his ship and the sea and who dies in delirium.

The machinery in this story is vital. Commander Dodson knows it down to its last screw. Perhaps he knows it too well; the book is too long, there are too many details, there is a feeling of repetition, as no doubt there was in the actual living of the ship. But this is a novel and not a newspaper report, and it should have been cut to about 100,000 words.

The book is dedicated to Carl Sandburg and I see that he has written about it with considerable enthusiasm. Those readers who expect to find in this novel the poet's overemphasis are going to be disappointed. Mr. Dodson has dignity and restraint, and he is careful about facts.

This is not a great novel, but the pictures of people are gems that stand out from the harsh reality of the ships. There are no overtones. There is also, however, no self-pity, no puling insistence that the little men are only just below the angels. These wild waves shout a truer story.

HELEN WOODWARD

*There's No Such Thing
as...*

"GOOD" and "BAD" PEOPLE

just "good" and "bad" governments, and it's high time Americans learned this, says René Wormser in

THE MYTH OF GOOD AND BAD NATIONS

"He sets forth with great clarity the inevitable bankruptcy of world policy today which is founded on the thesis of the unique goodness or evil of particular peoples and nations . . . a real H-bomb explosion in the realm of human and social intelligence."—*Chicago Tribune* \$3.00

GUIDEPOSTS TO THE FUTURE

by *General William H. Wilbur*

"Based on principles which I believe are fundamental, and because it says things, in a clear and understandable way, which we need to know. I know of few men as well qualified to discuss world affairs as General Wilbur."—from the Foreword by General Robert E. Wood \$2.50

THE GREAT POWERS AND EASTERN EUROPE

by *John A. Lukacs*

A diplomatic history of Eastern Europe and its relations to the activities of the great powers.

"It is in a real sense an important achievement."—*Commonweal* \$10.00

HENRY REGNERY COMPANY
Chicago

Book Marks

A History of the Southern Confederacy, by Clement Eaton. 351 pp. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$5.50

Despite the fact that he has been more than amply exposed to the influences of the prevailing "social significance" approach to history (Harvard, Guggenheim Fellowship, Fulbright professorship), Professor Eaton has come up with an outstandingly sound review of the Confederacy. He does not take the egghead view that the South was all silk and sadism, nor does he hold that it was, to a man, in quest of some sort of grail. What he does describe is a human confederation of persons and principles, bound up in an emotional resistance to the North's bayonet pricks, politically harassed, and finally tumbling into an altogether hopeless war in which black and white Southerners fought not as angels or devils but as men. Eaton especially and notably has described the logistics of the war effort in the South. His work, although short, is definitive. Those interested in the period who mistake this for just "another" book should consider again.

The Faulkner Reader: Selections from the works of William Faulkner. 682 pp. New York: Random House. \$5.00

Although oddly arranged (without any apparent effort to serve as a rounded sampler, a guide, or a chronology) this selection of one of this language's most distinguished users should serve at least the useful purpose of getting a few more readers to taste what has been all too often described as forbidding literary fruit. Once they have, of course, they will discover that Faulkner has stories to tell, that he tells them wonderfully well, and that the "cult" view of the man need not keep anyone away.

The Garden to the Sea, by Philip Toynbee. 219 pp. New York: Doubleday and Company. \$3.00

Like many another young man with galloping delusions of literature, Philip Toynbee, whose father is a historian, is at war with the simple, declarative beauties and virtues of

the English language. He has, in this fanciful novel of a man who relives his past in several versions, never failed to write obscurely where clarity is indicated nor has he, to any marked degree, failed to adhere steadfastly to the position that people actually are capable of saying such things as "My blind breast is torn by the Creator," and "He pronged me on his litter spike, and held me up for the Heavenly Host to split their sides at."

The Mau Mau and the Kikuyu, by L. S. B. Leakey. 115 pp. New York: John Day Company. \$2.50

At first glance it might seem unpardonable that the author has altogether neglected in this book to mention the possibilities of Communist usage of the Kenya terror society, the Mau Mau. After reading the book, however, one may be convinced that the problem has an independent depth and demand of understanding that must come long before consideration of such sophisticated matters as Communism. For instance, as this notably precise work shows, the Mau Mau has a long history that runs through native resistance to everything from Christianity to land practices. The terror of which we read in the papers today is part of the entire tangled, human root structure of Africa. These are dark roots that white men either will trace and come to know, or by ignorance will permit to strangle the development of Africa. This book is a prime item toward understanding.

Mountain Bride, by Elizabeth Coatsworth. 154 pp. New York: Pantheon Books. \$2.75

It has long been an open secret down Maine way that a whole generation of children has smuggled the stories of Elizabeth Coatsworth into adulthood for repeated and continual rereading. Fortunately, too, this gifted woman, the wife of the naturalist Henry Beston, has turned her hand to short but full-fledged novels. This book, the third in a series she calls "incredible tales," involves the tumultuous love of a part-Indian girl living at the foot of Mt. Katahdin, and like all of the author's work is a moving and sensitive hymn to nature.

Let's Be AWARE

By SERGE FLIEGERS

With the typical arrogance of apprentice dictators, the Bolsheviks announced early their design for the subversion of culture and entertainment in the world they proposed to conquer. The second issue of *The International Theater Bulletin*, official Moscow-published organ of the International Union of the Revolutionary Theater, gave this directive to comrades everywhere: "The theater, being one of the weapons of cultural and political development of the proletariat, offers us a means for the Communist education of the masses."

In their wildest imagination, the authors of this directive could never have guessed the size of the mass audience of today's theater. If we include the celluloidal and electronic manifestations of dramatic art, it would be difficult to find anyone who has escaped the theater's influence. Because Americans are so frequently exposed to these various forms of theatrical entertainment, and because we are at the same time a prime target of Soviet subversion, the Communists are sparing no effort to control our gigantic entertainment industry.

How they are doing it we are told in detail by AWARE, a nonpartisan group recently formed to combat Communism in the entertainment world. "Communism," says AWARE in its statement of principles, "makes a persistent effort to control the American theater, motion pictures, radio, television, and music. Stars have been acting as spokesmen for pro-Communist propaganda. Created works in all media of entertainment have been and are being used to serve Communist ends. Producing organizations have been and are being turned into patronage machines for Communists and their collaborators. Unions have been and are being distracted by Communist factions. Anti-Communists, beginning years before any attempt was made anywhere to fight back, have been and are being barred from employment."

The average theatergoer, who

meekly pays his admission price and sits back to enjoy the show, never suspects that he may be subjected to a subtle form of Moscow-inspired propaganda. To find out how far such a conspiracy extends, this correspondent asked the staff of AWARE to conduct a preliminary survey. Here are some of the highlights of this survey.

Leftist Theater Groups

"The predominant flavor of the legitimate theater in New York," AWARE reports, "has been leftist, and the responsibility for such a situation can be laid squarely at the door of the three principal groups who make up the theater: the playwrights, the producers, and the actors." To back up this amazing statement, AWARE produces details concerning the activities of persons well known to Broadway. A prime example is Elmer Rice, member of the Playwrights Company, which, with three vigorous hits on Broadway during this current season, is probably the most successful and profitable producing organization in the United States. We do not imply that the Playwrights Company has any political leanings one way or the other, but it still lists Elmer Rice as a member and it produced his latest play—which flopped with a decided thud. Rice has been connected by AWARE with not less than nineteen different Communist fronts and causes, ranging from the American Round Table on India to the Committee to Welcome the Dean of Canterbury, when that Red proselytizer visited the United States in 1948.

A currently more successful playwright is the rotund, jovial, and brilliant Abe Burrows, author of such valuable properties as *Can-Can* and *Guys and Dolls* (recently purchased for film production by Samuel Goldwyn, at a reputed price of \$1,000,000). Burrows, whose wit makes him a fortune on the stage, is almost as amusing on the witness stand. When the House Committee

on Un-American Activities asked him about Red connections, he replied: "I was considered a Communist. In my own heart I did not believe it, but I think I was considered a Communist." As Gertrude Stein might have paraphrased it, Burrows was trying to say that a Communist is a Red is a Communist is not a Communist—or so he thinks. When Mr. Goldwyn was criticized for buying Burrows' book, his office stated: "We have been assured time and again that Mr. Burrows has been cleared by the House Committee on Un-American Activities." But the record says No! In its annual report for 1952, the Committee stated that Mr. Burrows' "testimony was vague, and is still under investigation."

It is easy to find similar records among others who have helped to set the tone of our theater. It is more difficult, on the other hand, to find outstanding Broadway personalities who have produced vigorous anti-Communist material. If one chooses at random, for example, such a Broadway Jupiter as Oscar Hammerstein II—so venerated and honored for his successes that he is almost a living statue of himself—one finds that the gentleman has at various times taken a recognizable anti-Communist stand. But AWARE also finds that the same Oscar Hammerstein II has been associated with the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born (cited by the Attorney General as a subversive organization), with the Committee for the First Amendment, and was among the signers of a letter in the *Nation* defending Paul Robeson's side in the Peekskill riots.

If the situation among Broadway luminaries is, to say the least, equivocal, it becomes less so as one moves toward the out-of-the-way corners inhabited by the off-Broadway theater. This particular movement, which has produced some fine plays at popular prices, has also produced a happy hunting ground for comrades in search of cultural expression. The AWARE investigation points, among other off-Broadway productions, to one of high artistic caliber which has therefore drawn enthusiastic praise from many innocent critics and theatergoers. This is *The World of Sholem Aleichim*, which, according to AWARE, "is a refuge for leftists, with fifteen of the seventeen members of its cast

ranging all the way from identified Communists to inveterate frontiers." (The Chicago company of this production is headed by Anne Revere and Howard da Silva, both named as Communists in sworn testimony.)

The World of Sholem Aleichim consists of three one-act plays based on separate short stories. All three plays were adapted by Arnold Perl. A recent issue of *Counterattack* makes the point that Perl, probably carried away by his sense of artistic creation, introduces an "agit-prop" passage in the last play that cannot be found in Sholem Aleichim's original. According to a recent review in *Commentary*, even the superb quality of Jewish life and folklore that distinguishes the original material has been distorted by Perl.

Next to writers, actors have come most heavily under the fire of Red activists. The actors' union, Equity, has been torn by dissension since 1934, when the Communists tried to take over for political purposes a hassle of the *Sailor Beware* company. Under Lionel Stander and Philip Loeb, the Actors' Forum came into existence and soon was an active Red agitational center within Equity. For years, Stander—an identified Communist—and Loeb, who has denied party membership under oath but, according to AWARE, "has a long history of expressing party goals in the union," have kept Equity in a state of ferment. We are informed that at the moment of this writing, a determined effort is being made by some anti-Communist actors in Equity to eliminate dubious elements from the union's governing body. It will undoubtedly be an uphill effort, since only last year Equity elected a slate which included, according to AWARE, such personalities as Joseph Anthony, John Garth III, Kim Hunter, with records of affiliation with fronts, and Frank Silvera, praised by V. J. Jerome, Communism's cultural commissar, in his directive pamphlet entitled "Grasp the Weapon of Culture."

Hollywood A Fertile Field

In the motion picture field, the pattern of subversion is less clear but equally alarming. It is no longer a secret that during many years Hollywood was an important source of revenue for the Kremlin's world conspiracy. It has been estimated

that anywhere from four to ten million dollars were collected from among the 330,000 employees of the movie industry, dollars used to finance Communist subversion in this country and abroad. During the past few years, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Motion Picture Alliance, and American Legion groups have cooperated to bring the Hollywood situation out into the open. As a result, some Communists were driven from the industry and others publicly recanted their leftist views. However, Hollywood is too fertile a field to be given up this easily by planners in Moscow and in this country. Communists and crypto-Communists are at this moment poised for a comeback to Celuloid City—and unless movie makers are more watchful than they have been in the past, such a comeback may be successful.

Red Influence in Radio

If Communists have been jarred in Hollywood, they have been only slightly shaken in the radio and television field. Today, radio and TV enjoy the greatest single audience in history and have an overwhelming power to influence the opinions of listeners and viewers. That is why Communists have been concentrating lately on these two media, with disturbing results. The Radio Writers Guild, AWARE's study shows, has on its Board a man identified as a Communist seven separate times. He is Sam Moore, who formerly wrote an immensely popular radio show called *The Great Gildersleeve*. Five other members of the board have, AWARE reports, front records covering the political spectrum from a delicate pink to magenta. "This radio writers' union," says AWARE, "has resisted all efforts to expose or repel Communist influence in its ranks." In testimony just released, William M. Alland, a former Communist testifying freely before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Hollywood, stated that the goal of the Communist Party cell in the union was to elect Communists to its board. An organization called Television Writers of America, which is attempting to control TV authors, also has a dubious record: it recently voted to retain on its payroll Joan La Cour, despite her use

of the Fifth Amendment in the face of two identifications as a Communist.

A lesser known but highly sensitive field of Red operations involves the technical communications that bring radio and TV to the audience. Through the time-tested device of controlling bottlenecks and strategic spots in unions or industries, Communists have been trying to subvert the men who handle the mechanics of our radio and TV stations. No one can, of course, doubt the integrity of the overwhelming majority of broadcast engineers. But there has not been so far a systematized effort to protect them against Communist infiltration. Yet a handful of Moscow-influenced men can, at a flick of a switch, disrupt *Conelrad*, our radio-transmitted system of air-raid warning.

What can be done to protect our entertainment-communications industry from this onslaught of Red subversion? AWARE, under the presidency of New York lawyer Godfrey Schmidt, has prepared a program that will (1) attempt to organize the anti-Communist fight in this field, and (2) encourage those who seek to break with their leftist affiliations, and provide them with means to clear themselves. Its first aim AWARE hopes to achieve by publishing reports, organizing membership meetings and discussion groups. It is nearing the achievement of its second purpose with a set of suggested ways for self-clearance, about to be published. These will include a full written confession of former subversive activities, a report to the FBI, a public repudiation of Communism, and active anti-Communist work among professional and non-political groups.

There is, nevertheless, a great element of uncertainty in determining whether a man is a "belly patriot" or a sincere convert to the cause of freedom. It is difficult to vouch for the reliability of an ex-Communist at a time when Communists are following careful plans to station their people "on the other side." In such cases, the best course might be to combine caution with a modicum of Christian charity. For this writer agrees wholeheartedly with AWARE'S conclusion that, in the present fight, we "should destroy the guilty conspiracy, not the innocent individual."

UNCLE SAM: Big Businessman

“Today our national government is, among other things, the largest electric power producer in the country, the largest insurer, the largest lender, the largest landlord, the largest tenant, the largest holder of grazing lands and of timberland, the largest owner of grain, the largest warehouse operator, the largest shipowner, and the largest truck fleet operator. . . . Government competition was reported by airlines, bakeries, cemeteries, coffee roasters, dry cleaners, freight forwarders, motor vehicle repairers, ship builders, ship operators, retail grocers, rope manufacturers, tire retreaders, truckers, tug boat operators, warehouse operators, wooden box manufacturers and many others.”

Government Competition: Problem and Perspective
Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington, D. C.

NEED WE SAY MORE?

It's high time something was done about it . . . and you can start right now. Acquaint your friends and associates with the sound, logical point of view of the **FREEMAN** and its crusade to protect America from the encroachment of Big Government on individual freedom. Send gift subscriptions . . . now! The coupon below is convenient. A year's subscription is \$5; a trial subscription \$1.

Please send the FREEMAN to:			FROM:		
NAME			NAME		
ADDRESS			ADDRESS		
CITY	ZONE	STATE	CITY	ZONE	STATE
<input type="checkbox"/> \$1 trial (six issues)	<input type="checkbox"/> One Year	<input type="checkbox"/> Send Gift Card			
\$..... Enclosed	\$5.00	<input type="checkbox"/> Bill Me Later			

THE FREEMAN, 240 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

Keeping America on the GO...with **TIMKEN**[®] Tapered Roller Bearings



What this Empire Builder did for people, the railroads are now doing for freight

PASSENGERS on the Great Northern's Timken[®] bearing-equipped Empire Builder find an extra half day waiting for them in Chicago or Seattle. This new streamliner beats the old schedule by 13½ hours.

Now freights too are being speeded up by Timken tapered roller bearings. With "Roller Freight", one railroad cuts a desert-mountain livestock run from 60 hours to 27!

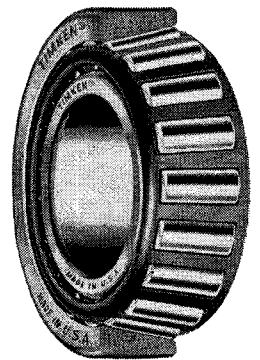
"Roller Freight" ends the

railroads' No. 1 problem and chief cause of freight train delays: overheated friction bearings, or hot boxes. Since Timken bearings *roll* the load, they don't heat up like old-style friction bearings. When all freight cars have roller bearings, the railroads will save over \$55 million a year just by eliminating the hot box problem.

Why do Timken bearings roll with so little friction and have such fine quality? Because, by

geometric law, they have true rolling motion. Because they're made better every step of the way. Most of all because of their steel. The steel is the heart of any bearing, and in this country only the Timken Company makes its own to insure quality in every bearing.

That's why industry uses Timken bearings to keep America on the go. The Timken Roller Bearing Company, Canton 6, O. Cable address: "TIMROSCO".



Only **TIMKEN**[®] bearings roll so true, have such quality thru-&-thru

COPYRIGHT 1954 THE T.R.B. CO.