

The Great Tax Relief Hoax

An Editorial

Give the House A Treaty Vote

Henry Hazlitt

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THE Freeman

A Fortnightly
For
Individualists

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Contents

VOL. 4, NO. 14 APRIL 5, 1954

Editorials

The Fortnight	473
The Great Tax Relief Hoax	475
Isolationism in Europe	476
New False Whiskers	477
The Tariff on Watches	477
What Geneva Means	478

Articles

Give the House a Treaty Vote	HENRY HAZLITT	479
The Neutralists' Strange Bedfellow	ROBERT DONLEVIN	481
The Soviet Game at Geneva	BORIS SOUVARINE	483
Free Speech: The Legal Balance	GEORGE P. RICE, JR.	485
Frau Lindner's Amazing Factory	NORBERT MUHLEN	487
Bullets, Ballots, and Puerto Rico	ROBERT E. KINGSLEY	489
The New Heroism	EUGENE LYONS	491

Books and the Arts

Trotsky's Place in History	MAX EASTMAN	492
Call for a Third Party	FRANK S. MEYER	494
Patterns of Perspective	ASHER BRYNES	494
A Gem of the Ocean	KARL HESS	495
Myrdal's Economics	LUDWIG VON MISES	496
A Corpse That Lied	HUBERT MARTIN	496
Introduction to South Africa	MAX WHITE	497
Briefer Mention		497
Mr. Lawson's Box Trick	BEN RAY REDMAN	498
Pass the Salt, Comrade	M. K. ARGUS	499
More About the Code		500

From Our Readers

Worth Hearing Again

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.

Printed in U.S.A., by Wilson H. Lee Co., Orange, Connecticut

Among Ourselves

Few domestic issues in recent years have aroused such debate and controversy as the Bricker Amendment, a contest in which the FREEMAN has taken a vivid interest. Now HENRY HAZLITT shows (p. 479) how this drive to amend the treaty law can be carried forward in the House of Representatives and why it is essential this be done during the present session of Congress. Mr. Hazlitt has made a study of the question of amending the Constitution, is author of a book on the subject entitled *A New Constitution Now*.

An odd note has been cropping up here and there in articles on life in the Soviet Union—one of apology for the present regime, an attitude that things are really not so bad any more. ROBERT DONLEVIN ran across a startling example of this in a series of U.P. articles by Henry Shapiro, published widely in the West European press. His analysis (p. 481) points up the pitfall, for reader and writer, in this new way of looking at tyranny. Mr. Donlevin was himself for a number of years in the Paris office of one of the major press services.

A prognostication as to what the Soviet leaders hope to gain at the Geneva conference (p. 483) could not come from a better source than BORIS SOUVARINE, who is widely regarded as one of the most judicious and best informed authorities in the West on the maneuvers and aims of the men in the Kremlin. His biography of Stalin has long been considered the classic work to date on that highly complex subject. Mr. Souvarine spent the war years in America, is now living in Paris, engaged in research and writing.

GEORGE P. RICE, JR., is not content merely to teach speech; he is also concerned about the legal exercise of the subject he is teaching. His presentation (p. 485) of what the U.S. Supreme Court has had to say about freedom of speech is a product of a study in which he is currently engaged on "Speech and Law." Dr. Rice is on the staff of Butler University.

We have published various discussions of Germany's amazing economic recovery. NORBERT MUHLEN's story (p. 487) is a living and very human illustration of that recovery.

ROBERT E. KINGSLEY has been closely connected with the efforts of Puerto Ricans to improve the lot of their island. It is with sympathy as well as knowledge that he has written (p. 489) of the background of the regrettable episode in the House of Representatives.

Our April 19 issue will carry a review article by Max Eastman on a book that, in the light of some recent headlines, is likely to be of more than usual interest—*McCarthy and His Enemies* by William F. Buckley, Jr. and Brent Bozell, to be published by Regnery March 30.

Put this
Question
before
Congress
NOW!



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by returning to the
GOLD COIN STANDARD?

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The government asserted that it was a temporary, emergency measure. It

proved to be an effective tool of bureaucratic control of the people, and has never been abandoned—even though we have two-thirds of the world's gold—an 11% reserve against currency and bank deposits.

American industry, struggling under the handicaps of inflation and depreciating dollars, has achieved remarkable increases in productivity. As an example, Kennametal—as a tool material—has tripled the output of metal-working industries. This productivity has only partially disguised the effects of the dollar's shrinkage.

Fortunately, the new Federal administration is committed to the principle of a Gold Coin Standard.* The President, his most important monetary advisors, and members of the Senate and the House have declared themselves. Then, why delay?

We owe it to ourselves and to our children to restore soundness and stability to our money system. Only on this basis can individuals, and industry—of which Kennametal Inc. is a key enterprise—plan intelligently for the future.

We must resume without devaluation or delay.

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FROM OUR READERS

Re Productivity

Your March 8 number presented, I thought, some of the most interesting and valuable articles that you have published, especially Mr. Brynes' discussion of productivity. I hope you will give us adequate reviews of the books he mentions, Mr. Heron's, Mr. Hutton's, and—if you can find a copy—the 1832 book of Charles Babbage. The data of these writers is impressive and basically constructive.

New York City WILLIAM C. PASKER

More About the Eggheads

Being an assiduous reader of the FREEMAN, I have noted the articles of Louis Bromfield, Henry Hazlitt, and John T. Flynn concerning eggheads with serious attention. Some paragraphs have given me considerable amusement. . . . My observations are in agreement with the composite portrait of the egghead as they delineate him, but with one exception. I have found lacking in their portraits an expression of smugness and contempt for some of us who try to view the ills of today realistically and not through the eyes of Plato, More, and Marx. . . .

Evanston, Ill.

B. J. SPENCE

I applaud Mr. John T. Flynn for braving the miasma of Hyde Park ("Eggheads Through History," March 8), but his remarks on Thomas More might have come from—an egghead.

More is described as "a dreamer"—this man of so many parts: diplomat, lawyer, civil servant, family man; not only a scholar, but a writer who is surely one of the fountainheads of modern English prose. . . . The most casual study of More reveals him as one in whom goodness is complemented by good sense. Therefore, to interpret *Utopia* as More's projection of "a perfect society" is inconsistent with his thought, on two counts. His Christian beliefs as well as his common sense make such an interpretation inadmissible, and it is no credit to More's commentators that this notion ever became current. At any rate, it has been abandoned in favor of a reading that reconciles *Utopia* with More's life and thought; it was a flaying of his age, in the manner of Swift and Orwell. His imaginary society was nothing more than a mirror held up to the faults of contemporary Europe.

Incidentally, it is wildly inaccurate to picture More writing *Utopia* in prison. *Utopia* was published in 1516; More was sent to the Tower in 1534.

Trenton, N.J. NEIL MC CAFFREY, JR.

(Continued on p. 502)

Excerpt from Republican
"Monetary Policy" Plank

"... our aim . . . a dollar on a fully convertible gold basis"

* The right to redeem currency for gold will help keep America free. . . . ask your Senators and Congressman to work and vote to restore the Gold Coin Standard. Write to The Gold Standard League, Latrobe, Pa., for further information. The League is an association of patriotic citizens joined in the common cause of restoring a sound monetary system.



THE Freeman

MONDAY, APRIL 5, 1954

The Fortnight

The imagination is numbed by the potential horror of hydrogen bomb Number 2, 750 times more destructive than the bombs that wiped out Hiroshima and Nagasaki. With weapons of such scope available for aggressive action, what comfort will there be for a burned-out nation even if it can "massively retaliate"? The day and field, it would seem, belong more and more to the hurler of the first blow—or perhaps to the nation strong enough to *prevent* any blow anywhere by anyone at any time. There is, of course, tragedy commensurate with its power in the hydrogen bomb. But the tragedy is not, essentially, the obvious one of so much magnificent energy being consumed on super weapons. It is that one political faith and its militant base in the U.S.S.R. is alone the reason for our generation's preoccupation with death in the midst of so much opportunity for life.

The latest phase of the feud between Senator McCarthy and his staff and the Defense Department obviously calls for a full, searching investigation, in the spirit of President Grant's phrase: "Let no guilty man escape." In this rather unsavory wrangle there should be no whitewash of anyone whose conduct has been improper. Two points are worth bearing in mind amid this turmoil. First, contrary to what one might imagine from reading certain leftist commentators, Communist agents in government continue to represent a clear and present danger. The effort to discover and eliminate them should be pressed vigorously and without regard for the rise or fall of the personal and political stock of any individual.

Second, if the press in general and McCarthy's detractors in particular had responded with more zeal to the alarm signals of the curiously quashed *Amerasia* case; if there had been less defamation of Whittaker Chambers and Elizabeth Bentley and more attention to their testimony; if there had been less stubborn refusal to accept the weight of evidence pointing to the roles of Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White, and others, McCarthy would not have been able to take the center of the stage as the proved fighter against Communism.

Despite Foreign Minister Bidault's excellent performance at the Berlin Conference, there are indications in dispatches from Paris that the United States is the target of a more or less polite and subtle blackmail drive. Prime Minister Laniel hinted broadly in a recent statement in the Chamber of Deputies that the United States is expected to bail France out of its troubles in Indo-China by appeasing Red China. The appeasement is to take the form not only of according diplomatic recognition and admission to the United Nations, but of giving to the unrepentant aggressors in Peiping American business concessions.

If this isn't done, so runs the French argument [as reported by Barrett McGurn in an interesting dispatch in the *New York Herald Tribune* of March 13], the "friendly" Cabinet of Laniel will fall, a Communist-backed neutralist Prime Minister will take over, and all sorts of dire things will happen. To blackmail of this kind there is just one honorable, common-sense reply: a categorical and emphatic No. And M. Laniel might well be reminded, through diplomatic channels, of his own statement, before the meeting in Berlin, that France would have to make up its mind about the E.D.C. "soon" after the end of the Berlin conference. How soon is soon?

Guaranteed annual wage is a phrase that is being heard with increasing frequency in the speeches of union spokesmen. The United Auto Workers (C.I.O.) last December published its "Progress Report of Guaranteed Annual Wage Preparations." Since then the demand for annual wage guarantees in future contracts has grown steadily louder. It is sure to have top priority in the forthcoming steel industry talks. The contract between the C.I.O. steel workers and the United States Steel Corporation expires in June; the new agreement is likely to shape the pattern for the whole steel industry and for many other labor-management agreements. But full annual employment cannot be guaranteed, any more than can full annual demand, full annual production, or full annual profit; there are cycles in the market place which cannot be ruled by contract or legislated by government. A company that guarantees full annual employment may have to tap its financial reserves

and play havoc with its credit rating. Good management will always work to perpetuate prosperity; but, not being omnipotent, it can't guarantee it for fifty-two weeks per year.

Some 20,000 General Electric workers at Schenectady, N. Y., finally managed to vote themselves out of the Communist-led United Electrical Workers, thrown out of the C.I.O. in 1949. Now, after more than four years the rank and file of Local 301 have rejoined C.I.O.'s strongly anti-Communist International Union of Electrical Workers, headed by James Carey. The pity is that it took them so long. But since the Taft-Hartley law lets union officials get away with the statement that they are not Communists at present, almost any Communist union boss can just turn in his membership card and be free of the law's injunctions. The Schenectady electrical workers, following the signals of the C.I.O. strategists, showed stubbornness and determination; a more streamlined Taft-Hartley Law would have made their task of self-determination both easier and speedier.

Georgi M. Malenkov has just been re-elected by the highest majority in Soviet history—99.79 per cent of the total votes cast, an increase of .06 per cent over Stalin at his peak. Our warmest congratulations to the .21 per cent who possessed the hardihood to say No—that is, if they exist at all outside the statistical imagination of the Soviet electoral commission.

In his pronouncements on Soviet Communism Sir Winston Churchill seems more and more akin to that allegorical character in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Mr. Facing-Both-Ways. His Fulton speech in 1946 was a badly needed alarm bell. His speech in Parliament last May, calling for a top-level secret meeting of Soviet and Western leaders, with no advance deeds or even assurances from the Soviet side, had an ominous "Back to Yalta" suggestion. It was enthusiastically welcomed by all the appeasers and defeatists in Great Britain and France and contributed much to the defeat of De Gasperi and the subsequent parliamentary weakness in Italy. There is the same ambivalence in Churchill's speech after Berlin—sense about the necessity of arming Germany in alliance with the West, nonsense about the healing benefits of greater prospective East-West trade. Perhaps Sir Winston has forgotten what every experimental child learns soon enough—that if you try to look in opposite directions at the same time, all you see is a blur.

Communist-controlled international organizations are trying to regain their semi-official status at the United Nations. But the Review Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations has suggested that such outfits as the pretentiously named Women's International Democratic Federation be

permanently excluded from the consultative status they formerly enjoyed. The women's group lost this privilege, back in 1950, when the Soviets for a while did not take part in the Economic and Social Council. Three other global Red fronts suffered the same fate: the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the International Federation of Journalists, and the World Federation of Youth. This "consultative" gimmick gave these outfits a chance to get their people into the United States with impunity. The Review Committee is to be congratulated for saving us the trouble of throwing such Communists out, should they slither into the country, as has happened in the past, through some U.N.-made loophole.

The sale of the Washington Times-Herald to the *Washington Post*, a vigorous spokesman of the more extreme liberals and New Dealers, is more than regrettable. It is hard to imagine what circumstances were so dire as to force such a champion of conservative opinion as the *Times-Herald's* owner to accede to the silencing of that opinion in the press of the nation's capital.

There have been Old Elis who have contended all along that if Conservatism is going to gain a foothold at Yale, it will do so as an underground movement. This, actually and at last, is the case. In January, thanks to the energies of five undergraduates who were perhaps weary of hearing their elders talk about "poor Yale" while doing little, the Independent Library was opened in the basement of Farnum Hall. The idea of the founding sons was that opposition literature is all too readily available above ground around Yale and that, regardless of the geography of the situation, Conservatism should have at least an outpost on the premises for the curious young. The library started with 130 volumes, a slim number that leaves ample opportunity for the alumni (and others) to pitch in. The address is: The Independent Library, 1783 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. The undergraduate chairman is Gridley L. Wright.

One of our editors thinks we are in danger of devoting too much attention to the eggheads and neglecting the bubbleheads, who are more numerous. We have defined an egghead as a person of spurious intellectual pretensions lacking in common sense. He points out that there are bubbleheads who haven't enough substance and stability to qualify as real eggheads. They seldom appeal to the Fifth Amendment, for example, because they never heard of the first four. We promise to take up the issue some time, if it doesn't blow away.

While on the subject, we hear that the new slogan of the fellow-travelers is: "Eggheads of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your yokes."

The Great Tax Relief Hoax

"Observe," say the tax magicians, as they pluck three White Rabbits out of the congressional hat, "observe that we do something for the people. We rap the tax collector over the knuckles. He will take \$7,000,000,000 less out of your pockets. That is like finding money. It will increase the consumer's buying power, it will stimulate business, it will stop the rise of unemployment, and it may save us from a depression."

White Rabbit No. 1 was a 10 per cent cut in personal income taxes, beginning last January—\$3,000,000,000.

White Rabbit No. 2 was a reduction of certain consumption taxes, called excise taxes but really sales taxes—\$900,000,000.

White Rabbit No. 3 was the General Tax Revision Bill of 1954, to ease the burden where it is wearing blisters—\$1,400,000,000.

The total of these three is \$5,300,000,000. To this you add perhaps \$1,700,000,000 to represent the sloughing off of excess profits taxes, and the government's tax take is reduced \$7,000,000,000.

We decline to become involved in a discussion of these measures, and we do so on the ground that one who treats them seriously as measures of tax relief becomes in some sense a party to a cruel political hoax. The other side of the three White Rabbits—the side the magicians hold out of sight—is black; and in vivid red on the black are two words of truth. The words are *more debt*.

In order to fatten the consumers' pockets by \$7,000,000,000 under pretense of tax relief, Congress will have to raise the debt limit and authorize the government to borrow the money. There is no mystery about it. The government is running in the red. That is to say, it is spending beyond its income. The Eisenhower Administration, which had promised to balance the budget, has a very good excuse. When it came to look at the books, intending to make good its campaign promises, it was dismayed to find that the Truman Administration had left behind it in the drawer \$83,000,000,000 of unpaid bills, not included in the national debt, and only \$4,500,000,000 in the general fund of the Treasury. That is to say, it started with an inherited deficit of nearly \$79,000,000,000.

Only three solutions were possible, two of them heroic: (1) to slaughter the costly social and economic function that had been added to government during twenty years of Welfare State building, if the Congress and the people would consent, which was doubtful; (2) to raise taxes, which might have greatly distressed the economy, or (3) to postpone tax relief and a balancing of the budget and work it out gradually with a deficit of \$3,000,000,000 to \$5,000,000,000 a year until the old bills were paid.

The third solution was the one adopted, naturally, because it was the least painful. But after that, how was the government going to meet the impatient demand for immediate tax relief?

The Administration might have been more downright. It might have said to the people: "If you demand immediate tax relief, the government will have to buy it for you with borrowed money. If taxes are reduced, the deficit will be increased, and to meet its deficits your government will have to resort to inflation, thereby impairing further the value of your dollar. Do you want that?"

But the Administration could not be so downright. It was stultified by the fact that it had already begun to play with inflation. With signs of recession on the horizon, it was willing to increase the deficit \$3,000,000,000 in order to permit income taxes to be cut 10 per cent—this to be regarded as an economic stimulus.

There the magicians took over. If permitting the deficit to be increased \$3,000,000,000 was a vitamin for the economy, why not \$5,000,000,000 or \$7,000,000,000? Thus the quarrel that developed between the Administration and the Congress was not as to whether the government should borrow money to provide tax relief, but how much.

Did the people really care? We wonder.

By long habit the people, the Congress, the government of course, and now even business are all addicted to that wonderful drug labeled A.L.M.I., a little more inflation. Pain is postponed through today and tomorrow, in accordance with the Keynes dictum that in the long run we are all dead.

One of the quaint survivals among us is the notion that Congress, if it only would, could provide tax relief by simply refusing to appropriate the money. The government cannot spend a dollar of the taxpayer's money until Congress has authorized it to be taken out of the Treasury and spent. Therefore it is necessary only for the Congress to say no and the government will be cut off at the pocket. As simple as that. But the political realities are very different.

What every member of Congress knows is that economy is a desert where votes do not grow. Money flowing from the Treasury to his constituents is the life-bearing water. During the debate on the White Rabbit bills, Senator George, who was for cutting taxes in a drastic manner on the ground that if the money was not there the government could not spend it nor could the Congress appropriate it, made this curious confession:

In Congress considerable time is wasted each year in discussing economy. I have reached the very definite conclusion that there will not be any real economy in government—whose fault it is makes no difference, it may be the fault of all of us and

I think it is—until we cut off the water. When we cut off the water, Congress will reduce the cost of government, but not before . . . The government should operate on an annual budget of no more than \$40,000,000,000; but I do not think that will ever happen so long as the Congress continues to obtain \$60,000,000,000 from the pockets of the taxpayers.

Perhaps. And yet for twenty years neither want of income nor a debt ceiling has stopped the government from extending its functions.

The pressure upon Congress to appropriate the money, and to authorize it to be borrowed if it is not there, comes not only from the people, who will not believe that the government cannot give them anything that it does not first take out of their own pockets, but from government itself; and when Congress is reluctant, the government appeals from its no to the people's yes, and almost never fails. In his first campaign Franklin Delano Roosevelt sold the people the idea of less government. Nevertheless, they embraced the New Deal. In the last campaign the Republicans sold the idea of economy, a balanced budget, and lower taxes. Nevertheless they turn up with a program, called the Eisenhower program, which calls for more government, a higher debt ceiling, unlimited federal responsibility for the stability of the economy, and moral liability for the welfare of every individual citizen. In his Economic Report to Congress, the President said: "The demands of modern life and the unsettled status of the world require a more important role for government than it played in earlier and quieter times."

There must some time be an end to inflation. But so long as people are willing, on credit, to buy more government than they can afford, and now begin to buy it on the instalment plan, there is very little you can do about taxes.

Isolationism in Europe

Americans are used to being lectured by visiting Europeans and by some of their fellow-citizens on what is supposed to be the American mortal sin of isolationism. Ever since the First World War it has been an article of faith with certain American organizations concerned with international affairs that America alone is out of step with foreign nations, which, were they not handicapped by this dreadful shortsighted American isolationism, would set up a foolproof system of world collective security.

Some well-meaning Americans have become so convinced of this, have acquired such a guilt complex about it, that it will probably require a considerable stretching of the mental muscles to bring about a change in their point of view. And yet even a cursory look at the course of events since the end of World War Two indicates very

clearly that the home of isolationism today is not in the United States. It is on the other side of the Atlantic.

It is arguable that there might have been a happier aftermath of World War One if the United States had not intervened. It is arguable, especially in the light of the sorry betrayal of the principles of the Atlantic Charter at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam, that the wise strategy for the free countries might have been to let Hitler and Stalin fight it out to their hearts' content.

But any serious case for American isolationism has been ruled out by two factors. One is the enormous increase in the power of the Soviet Communist empire. The other is the multiplication of weapons which mock at space and make ocean barriers illusory.

The American people have readjusted their thinking to these facts. Every measure designed to block the further spread of Communist power has been approved by an overwhelming bipartisan majority in Congress. America's record since 1945 shows how completely any trace of isolationism has been left behind.

The United States was the only power which made a serious effort to stop aggression in Korea. The U.S. Navy is a tremendous stabilizing force in the Mediterranean. America took the lead in going to the aid of Greece and Turkey. It was a predominantly American airlift that saved Berlin. American air and ground forces, plus the tremendous threat of American atomic retaliation, have held the line in Europe.

By contrast, what has been the showing of the European powers, which, according to the old legend, should be the staunch champions of collective security? One could hardly imagine worse backseat driving than Generals MacArthur, Ridgway, and Van Fleet were subjected to in Korea. British public opinion, keenly alive to the necessity for a balance of power when Napoleon, the Kaiser, and Hitler successively threatened Europe, is curiously apathetic to the threat of an empire bigger, more populous, and richer in raw materials than Hitler possessed at the height of his success.

France, so keen on being "defended, not liberated," has been delaying and sabotaging the defense of Europe through the necessary step of including German contingents in a European army. Italy has been dragging its heels on the same issue since the disastrous election of last June, apparently with the idea that approval of a necessary measure of self-defense for Italy itself, as for western Europe, can be used as a pressure instrument in the Trieste issue.

It is Europe, not America, that has gone in for isolationism. And this in spite of the obvious fact that there is no future, except the miserable one of Soviet satellites, for European nations which remain weak and divided.

New False Whiskers

The *Daily Worker* of March 7 spelled out the latest Communist fifth column maneuver for deceiving the American people. This time the disguise is at once so ludicrous and transparent as to be positively funny. In the face of a long, unbroken record of advocacy of violent overthrow of the government, the Muscovite agents try to put on the traditional whiskers of Uncle Sam.

They have the impudence to decorate their program, humorously entitled "The American Way," with pictures of the Statue of Liberty and the Liberty Bell. This new Communist Manifesto first strikes the notes of gloom and doom that have not been absent in some pronouncements by left-wing Democrats: "Our country and its people rapidly are approaching a crisis. . . Our traditional liberties are vanishing, being replaced with the ugly menace of McCarthyism. . . There is a gnawing fear of impending economic ruin."

The Communist Party indignantly denies that Communism is the issue "at the present time." The issue is—guess what—"McCarthyism." The master plan is to elect an "anti-McCarthy Congress." The next stage is to elect "a new type of government, a farmer-labor government." In this new government the "working class" (presumably represented and led by the Communist Party) will play "a leading role." So you get the dictatorship of the proletariat without using the phrase.

What the Communists are trying on is an American brand of the "popular front" strategy which led to such disastrous results for free institutions when it won a considerable number of converts, in France and Spain, in the thirties. The Communist program beats all records in demagoguery by demanding simultaneously 100 per cent price parity for farmers, "a militant struggle by labor to raise wages on all levels," and, along with such surefire means of increasing the cost of living, "lowering of consumer prices and a shifting of the tax burden to the rich."

In foreign policy these sturdy Liberty Bell, Statue of Liberty patriots by some strange coincidence want exactly what Molotov wants: an end to the arms race (by the United States), an end to the policy of remilitarizing Germany and Japan, etc. In their self-assumed role as guardians of American interests they urge "our country" (from the context it may be assumed that they are referring to the United States) to "take advantage of the immense markets for American goods available in the Soviet Union, China, and eastern Europe." These markets, we are told, can provide "millions of jobs for American workmen for years to come," although all the trade America ever carried on with the Soviet Union and China between the two world wars hardly represented the equivalent of even a few hundred thousand jobs.

The same issue of the *New York Times* that published a summary of the new Communist maneuver also published a speech by Adlai Stevenson of which the following part might well have found a place in the gloomy Communist view of the state of the Republic:

Our State Department has been assailed and demoralized. . . Our educational system has been attacked; our press threatened; our servants of God impugned; a former President maligned; the executive departments invaded; our foreign policy confused. . . The end result, in short, is a malign and fatal totalitarianism.

Has the Communist popular front bid found a taker?

The Tariff on Watches

The popular Swiss watches and Swiss watch mechanisms, which are used by many American watch firms, are the target of a new protectionist drive. The three American firms that make their own movements (the interior parts of a watch)—Elgin, Hamilton, and Waltham—have filed an application with the Tariff Commission for a 50 per cent rise in the existing 37 per cent tariff rate.

Their claim is that they have been injured, or threatened with injury, by the Swiss competition. Swiss exporters and American importers of Swiss watches and movements are concerned about two other developments. The Treasury is considering changing the definition of what is technically known as an "adjustment." Such a change could drastically increase duties on some imported movements. And the Department of Justice is considering an anti-cartel action against American watch companies with factories in Switzerland and assemblers of Swiss movements in this country.

This is not a straight issue between American and Swiss watchmakers. Some American firms, such as Bulova and Gruen, have their own manufacturing plants in Switzerland. Other firms, ranging from very small companies to the large Benrus and Longines-Wittnauer, import Swiss movements and insert them into finished watches here. It is only the Elgin, Hamilton, and Waltham firms that are calling for protection with the familiar arguments about protecting American labor and American defense capacity.

The firms that want protection maintain that national defense demands a strong domestic watch industry to employ skilled workers who may be needed in the event of war. However, the National Security Resources Board reported on January 16, 1953, that the present annual level of domestic production of jeweled movements is above the minimum required to maintain the desired base of skilled workers.

The ascertainable facts in the case are over-

whelmingly against raising the existing tariff wall still higher. Under the Swiss-American trade agreement of 1936, and during the years 1936-1952, which lowered the duty on watches to 37 per cent, the United States bought \$541,000,000 worth of Swiss watches, and Switzerland bought \$1,600,000-000 worth of American manufactures and farm products.

Watchmaking is a traditional Swiss skill. There is no valid reason why American consumers should be excluded from its benefits or why we should make it difficult for a good customer to acquire dollars which will be spent in the purchase of American goods. Both on the merits of the case and because its decision will go a long way toward indicating whether we believe in the doctrine of free competition which we like to preach, the Swiss watches should continue to tick freely.

If the American firms cannot hold their own with a tariff bonus of 37 per cent, plus the cost of transportation from Switzerland, they should seek a remedy in lowering their costs and improving their quality, not in higher tariffs.

What Geneva Means

Judging by the public statements of its officials, we don't know whether the State Department is fooling itself about the scheduled Geneva Conference, or merely trying to fool the rest of us. On details there may be some ground for differing interpretations. On what is really the central point there is no excuse for confusion.

Attendance at the Geneva Conference under the arrangements made at Berlin constitutes *de facto* recognition of the Chinese Communist government. Geneva is not merely a "step toward" recognition. Attendance and participation in such a conference *are de facto* recognition. True enough, they would not in themselves define "*de jure*" recognition: that requires a formal declaration, in explicit words. Granted a continuation of the Berlin-Geneva policy, the *de jure* recognition will come.

In a military campaign you must inevitably deal with the actual enemy who is in the field against you, whether it is a question of fighting or of negotiating a truce or surrender. This implies nothing with respect to the status of the enemy: he may be a nation, a guerrilla force, or merely a band of outlaws. Thus, the military negotiations conducted between the soldiers at Panmunjom, however unwise they may have been, did not necessarily have any bearing on the issue of recognizing Peiping.

But the Geneva meeting is not to be a military negotiation. It is planned as a "round table" political conference. At the Geneva table, the political representatives of the Chinese Communists are to take their place as peers among peers.

They will be heard as the effective spokesmen of a sovereign power, entitled to propose and counter-propose as equals, to make or refuse agreements, accords, and treaties such as are the ordinary instruments of relations among sovereign nations. What *de facto* recognition means is simply the grant of the right to function in such a manner.

This is the fact, and the fact will not be altered by any formal words of disavowal, whether written into the text of the Berlin agreement or uttered subsequently by the Secretary of State. If the words of disavowal are to be regarded as anything more than camouflage, then they apply only to "*de jure*" recognition, and assert no more than the self-evident truth that the attendance of Peiping representatives at Geneva does not imply *de jure* recognition by any nation that has not otherwise granted it. This truth is self-evident because *de jure* recognition is always an explicit formal action by each government concerned.

We believe that it is necessary to labor these distinctions. In our opinion, the American people are overwhelmingly against recognition of the Chinese Communists. This is made unmistakably clear whenever and wherever the issue of recognition is squarely raised. In defiance of this sentiment, the State Department has now set a course the first step of which is *de facto* recognition. If the same course continues to be pursued, this in turn must inevitably lead to formal recognition of the Communists as the legitimate government of China, and to their admission into the United Nations.

The politicians and diplomats of the rest of the world know very well that this is the meaning of the Geneva Conference. That, of course, is why Molotov fought for it so steadfastly through the Berlin weeks. That is why the British and Nehru, who long ago recognized Peiping and now wish to speed moves toward Peiping's further appeasement, are so pleased. That is also why the Chinese Nationalists, who see the fatal path toward abandonment opening wide before them, are so disheartened.

In accepting the Geneva perspective, the State Department is reverting to the Acheson-Lattimore tradition. It is once more yielding to the fears of London and Paris, and the pressures of Moscow. If the Geneva Conference takes place as now envisaged, it will probably be too late to stop the process that was begun at Berlin. The protest of the American people and their representatives in Congress must be heard beforehand, and loudly enough to compel a reversal of direction. The best solution, by far, would be to withdraw from the Conference altogether. If that is too much to hope, we can at least insist that our spokesmen at Geneva treat the men of Peiping not as fellow diplomats and honored colleagues, but strictly as what they are: the treacherous, lying servants of a lawless gang of armed conspirators.

Give the House a Treaty Vote

By HENRY HAZLITT

The House now has the opportunity to introduce a broader amendment that would require ratification of treaties by a majority vote in both Houses, not by a two-thirds majority in the Senate alone.

The defeat of the Bricker Amendment (which finally became the George Amendment) by the margin of a single vote in the Senate on February 26, was surely not an outcome to cause the friends of the amendment despair. On the contrary, whether or not the amendment is passed during this session in the Senate itself, the outcome of February 26 indicates that it is almost certain to be adopted by Congress, and probably within a year.

Consider the circumstances in which the vote took place. The amendment was approved by 60 senators, and disapproved by only 31. This left it just one vote short of the required two-thirds majority, in spite of the open and determined opposition of the President and Secretary of State. Some of the "Administration leaders" themselves felt obliged at the last moment to vote for it. The favorable votes, in the end, were not cast on any partisan basis. The Senate Republicans supported the amendment by more than a two-thirds majority—32 to 14. The Senate Democrats supported it by nearly such a majority—28 to 16. If it had not been for the President's opposition (not to speak of the vehement campaign against it conducted by some of the Eastern newspapers), the proposed amendment apparently would have been passed by a majority of at least five to one.

No Real Presidential Victory

Whether or not the amendment is revived in this session, the President and his Secretary of State will probably begin to make some discoveries. And one of these is that their defeat of the Bricker-George amendment was a Pyrrhic victory which they can hardly afford.

Consider what it did to Mr. Eisenhower's prestige and leadership to have more than two-thirds of his own party desert him on the issue in the Senate. His "victory" was achieved by the very lowest vote by which it could be achieved—by one-third of the Senate plus one. And to achieve this "victory" he had to interfere in a matter—a constitutional amendment—in which the Constitution gives the President no role to play whatever, while his Secretary of State had to descend to the indignity and loss of prestige involved in reversing completely his previous position on the issue.

What will this mean for the future? Mr. Eisen-

hower, in order to maintain leadership of Congress, will have to command on most issues majority votes in both Houses. This will mean, in practice, that he will need an almost solid Republican vote. And if there is any treaty that he wishes to have ratified, he will find that he needs a *two-thirds majority* in the Senate to do it. But by opposing the wishes of some two-thirds of the Senate on the Bricker-George amendment, he will find that he has enormously increased his difficulties in assuring even a plain majority on foreign policy issues, not to speak of a two-thirds majority for treaty ratification.

Perhaps the main result he will have accomplished by opposing the amendment is that when it is finally passed by Congress (as it almost surely will be within a year or two) it will be under Democratic (George) rather than Republican (Bricker) sponsorship. He will thus have deprived his own party of the credit. And the record will show that the Presidential treaty powers were explicitly held within traditional constitutional limits only against his active opposition, and not with his encouragement and consent.

Yet the temporary hold-up of the Bricker-George amendment is not wholly to be deplored. The very introduction of the measure, and the subsequent debate and vote on it, have already accomplished part of the measure's purpose. They have fixed the nation's attention on the fact that the treaty power has been used, and under existing Supreme Court decisions could increasingly be used, as a device for amending the Constitution, as a method of further eroding states' rights and bypassing the House of Representatives, without the necessity of going through the amendment process as prescribed by the Constitution itself.

And the last-ditch opponents of the measure have been compelled to make clear that *this is the very reason they oppose the Bricker-George amendment*. They have constantly emphasized, in their horror, that such an amendment would make it possible to challenge the constitutionality of past or future treaties in the courts in the same way in which it has always been possible to challenge the constitutionality of any past or future law in the courts. They have even emphasized that such an amendment might open to challenge the validity for the United States of some of the hundreds of

agreements and decisions constantly pouring forth from the bewildering maze of United Nations agencies and sub-agencies, not to speak of such independent international agencies as the International Labor Office. And they have not hesitated to point out how dreadful it would be if the people's representatives in Congress were allowed to mess everything up by having a say in the matter.

So much for the educational value of the debate on the Bricker Amendment. But the temporary delay of the amendment may also have a positive value. It will give the country an opportunity to decide whether, while it is considering an amendment to clarify and delimit the treaty-making powers, it should not go on to a broader amendment of the treaty-making process.

"Implementation" Without a Voice

The specific amendment I should like to propose for consideration is a simple one. It is that treaties should be subject to ratification by a plain majority of both the House and Senate, instead of by a two-thirds majority of the Senate alone.

The reasons for this change are almost too obvious to call for prolonged discussion. This is the procedure that applies to every other piece of federal legislation whatever, with the sole exception of treaties. And that exception is thoroughly illogical. Why should it require a majority of the House, plus a mere majority of the Senate, to make war, but two-thirds of the Senate alone to make peace? On what ground should the House be deprived of a voice in the treaty-making process? It is constantly called upon to "implement" treaties in the adoption of which it has had no say. It must vote any funds needed to put a treaty into effect. It must initiate any taxation which this involves. It must participate in the passage of any internal legislation required to make a treaty effective. (It is true that it has sometimes been bypassed in this respect, on the argument that a treaty itself can change internal law without the House's consent; but this is one of the very evils that the original Bricker Amendment sought to remedy.)

The requirements of constitutional consistency are certainly no different from the requirements of sound democratic practice. Certainly the body that most directly represents the people, and is much more responsive to public opinion because it must be re-elected in full every two years, should have an equal say in the vital question of foreign relations with a body more remote from the popular will as measured by either a time or a population standard. (The two senators from New York, for example, represent almost a hundred times as many people as the two senators from Nevada.)

The attempt to compensate for the Senate's

monopoly of treaty ratification by requiring a two-thirds majority actually makes the situation worse, because it places excessive power in the hands of a minority.

This has been the very reason, in fact, why many Presidents have deplored the existing constitutional arrangement. The outbursts of John Hay on the subject have become memorable. "The irreparable mistake of our Constitution," he wrote in a letter in 1899, when he was Secretary of State under McKinley, "puts it into the power of one-third plus one of the Senate to meet with a categorical veto any treaty negotiated by the President, even though it may have the approval of nine-tenths of the people of the nation."

In the original Constitutional Convention, indeed, there were men who thought the two-thirds provision wholly objectionable. James Wilson of Pennsylvania pointed out that it would place it "in the power of a minority to control the will of a majority." If two-thirds were required to make treaties, he declared, "the minority may perpetuate war against the sense of the majority." He urged that a simple majority be required, but that the House of Representatives also join in the power of approval, because "as treaties are to have the operation of laws, they ought to have the sanction of laws also."

Original Arguments Not Valid Today

Why, in the face of such sound arguments, was the present provision adopted? The main reason lay in the concept that the framers of the Constitution had of the Senate for which they were providing. With the thirteen original states, the Senate would have consisted at most of twenty-six men—a small body that could, the framers thought, act as a privy council. Replying to Wilson, Roger Sherman of Connecticut contended that only the Senate could safely be trusted with the power of approval, because the necessity of preserving secrecy in the consideration of treaties would forbid referring them to the whole membership of Congress. This reasoning prevailed, and Wilson's proposal was defeated.

In favor of requiring approval by *two-thirds* of the Senate there was one acknowledged reason and one less frankly disclosed reason. The open argument was put by Hugh Williamson of North Carolina: "Treaties are to be made in the branch of the government where there may be a majority of the states without a majority of the people; eight men may be a majority of a quorum, and should not have the power to decide the conditions of peace." The less frankly disclosed argument was the fear of some of the Western delegates that the Northern and Eastern states might be willing to relinquish the right that this country had long upheld against Spain to the free navigation of the Mississippi River.

None of these arguments, of course, has any present validity. A Senate of ninety-six members cannot and does not act as a privy council. The Senate has not even attempted to preserve secrecy in its consideration of treaties. The argument for a two-thirds vote based on the territorial rather than the popular representation of the Senate disappears in any case if the House also votes. And the other reasons have faded into history.

It is therefore fervently to be hoped that someone in the House of Representatives will take advantage of the present opportunity, which may never come again, to introduce an amendment to have the House share in the treaty-making process through a simple majority ratification in both Houses, and to tack the text of the Bricker-George amendment onto it. This would bring the Bricker-George amendment back to life in this session of Congress.

This proposal ought to meet with heavy House approval, because it would give that body a participation in foreign policy of which it has been unjustly, unwisely, and inconsistently deprived. The proposal ought to meet with Presidential approval, and mollify Presidential opposition to the Bricker-George amendment if that were made a part of it, because Presidents for years have been concerned about the veto power on treaties possessed by one-third plus one of the Senate, and because the President in any case always needs the positive help of the House in carrying out his foreign policy. And finally, the proposal ought to meet with Senate approval, not only because it will help to carry through the Bricker-George amendment now blocked by a single vote, but because most of the very senators who want the Bricker-George amendment also want House participation at least in the internal legislation that a treaty may require.

The bringing of the House into the treaty-making process might also be made the occasion for one further amendment of that process. The Constitution today does not explicitly recognize even the existence of executive agreements. Yet these have been used by Presidents and Secretaries of State increasingly in recent years as a subterfuge for achieving ends that could not be achieved by treaties, because treaties seeking such ends could not be ratified.

An amendment that could put a termination to the use of executive agreements as a mere subterfuge would be one requiring treaties, as here suggested, to be ratified by a positive vote of a majority in both Houses of Congress, but requiring that all executive agreements also be submitted to Congress, and that any such agreement be considered legally in force only if neither House of Congress, in a period of thirty days from the day of submission, voted to reject it.

In this way all executive agreements could be brought out in the open, brought to the knowl-

edge of the people, and brought under the control of Congress, without hampering or delaying the Administration in making such agreements, or consuming the time of Congress in matters of merely minor or routine importance.

The Neutralists' Strange Bedfellow

By ROBERT DONLEVIN

When *Le Monde* of Paris, appeasement-minded newspaper Number One of the Continent, finds ammunition for its neutralist sorties on the wires of an American news service, it's an odd world indeed. But on January 8 of this year *Le Monde* carried on page one "A Revolution Within a Revolution," the first of a series of thirteen United Press articles, which did a superb job of selling the current Soviet-inspired neutralist line. The articles were by Henry Shapiro, former chief of U.P.'s Moscow bureau. They were carried also in Germany and other European countries.

The tone for the whole series is set in Mr. Shapiro's lead sentence, wherein he reports that the Soviet Union under Malenkov is entering "a new revolutionary period." Since the death of Stalin, he writes, "The Malenkov regime has gone so far in its program of internal reforms that any backtracking would spell disaster." These reforms have been so successful, he points out, that "if a really free referendum could take place in the Soviet Union, Malenkov would now obtain a vote of confidence with a comfortable majority." No explanation is given of the methods used to sample public opinion in a country that has neither free speech, a free press, nor free elections. But if Malenkov is as sure of this as Mr. Shapiro, we can only wonder what keeps him from holding such a referendum.

In any case, for Mr. Shapiro, "the legend of Malenkov is already established." He informs his readers that, "Like Haroun-al-Raschid, the Oriental monarch who wandered incognito among his subjects, Malenkov, it is said, often mixes with the people, listens to their complaints and then takes the necessary steps. 'Georgi Maximilianovitch often thinks about us,' one often hears when Muscovites gather to discuss the new regime." As if Russians foregather with foreigners to talk politics and really speak their minds.

Under the aegis of a wire service which certainly does not have a reputation for being pro-Soviet, Mr. Shapiro's articles have bolstered the post-Stalin neutralist line in Europe. All the evils of the Soviet regime, according to this line, may now be blamed on erroneous policies followed under Stalin. These evils will shortly become a thing

of the past once Comrade Malenkov and his harmonious committee rule accomplish their peaceful "revolution within a revolution." This is supposed to mean that the new team in the Kremlin is too busy raising the standard of living of Soviet citizens to undertake aggression. So why worry about ratifying the European Army treaty, about giving the West German Republic a role in the defense of the free world, about continuing the war against the Vietminh in Indo-China, or even about remaining in NATO?

Some Odd Observations

Mr. Shapiro has spent twenty-one years as a reporter in the Soviet Union, which should surely qualify even a less than acute observer to speak with some authority on his subject. Yet he identifies Lazar Kaganovitch as the man who "made order out of chaos on the collective farms in the Ukraine," without mentioning that the chaos was generated by Stalin's forced collectivization program which "blotted out or displaced forever" 10,000,000 peasants, according to Stalin's own admission cited in Churchill's memoirs.

What weight are we to give to the opinion of a correspondent who has spent twenty-one years in the Soviet Union, yet finds significance in the following remark of a priest of the Russian Orthodox Church, now completely under the regime's thumb?

Stalin, like Moses, led a whole generation of his people across the desert. He died in sight of the Promised Land, where Joshua was to take the survivors. Comrade Malenkov, like Joshua, promises to take us to the land of milk and honey. Perhaps.

In passing, let it be noted that Mr. Shapiro thinks "there is good reason to believe that the collective heirs of Stalin intend to keep their promises."

What are we to think of a reporter with Mr. Shapiro's "unequaled experience" (as *Le Monde* put it), who announces that a decrease in the population of the slave labor camps is due in part to the death of many older prisoners serving long sentences—without mentioning the 12 per cent per annum death rate in those camps reported by such objective independent investigations as that of the Free Trade Union Committee of the American Federation of Labor?

The series of articles abounds not only in distortions but also in contradictions. In discussing the alleged drive to increase agricultural and consumer goods production, Mr. Shapiro coyly calls Anastasi Mikoyan the Soviet "housewife's best friend" but later on admits that national defense and heavy industry still get the lion's share of the budget. Again, when he reviews the history of this policy, he blames the lack of consumer goods on Stalin's desire to "change the course of rivers, move mountains" and accomplish other industrial feats—this time without mentioning that

the huge Soviet military machine and vast political police organizations have also been a heavy drain on the national income.

By the time Mr. Shapiro gets to the vital question of war or peace, his neutralist readers have probably forgotten that ten articles back he said that Soviet foreign policy, which he did not describe, would remain fundamentally unchanged, or that the chances of any positive outcome of the Berlin Conference were dim. He predicts: "If Malenkov's regime proves to be as able in foreign policy as in internal policy, it will cooperate with the West in all undertakings aimed at reducing world tensions." Mr. Shapiro finds that Moscow rejects war, not because the Soviet Union might lose it, but for the unselfish reason that it would mean world suicide. "The only war in the offing," he suggests, is a war of "well-being," in which the Communist and free worlds will try to outdo each other in giving their citizens a good life. The Soviet objective in such a "war" would be to gain by "economic attraction" not only the "backward populations of Asia and Africa, which have never enjoyed much freedom in the past," but "perhaps also certain countries having known prosperity and democratic tradition."

Not a word here about subversion, about such Kremlin projects as the wars in Indo-China and Malaya, about united front tactics, espionage, and the activities of the Cominform.

No one disputes the right of Mr. Shapiro to write as he pleases on the U.S.S.R. But because both he and the United Press owe it to their readers to present as honest a picture as possible, obvious distortions in his stories should be noted. These distortions are all the less excusable because this copy did not have to pass the Soviet censors. At a time when the Kremlin has barred within the U.S.S.R. the policy of building up around Malenkov a cult of personal leadership, Mr. Shapiro has attempted to create the impression abroad that the Soviet dictator is a humanitarian, peace-loving leader wearing a Stalin-type halo.

Eastward, Ho!

About guilt by association: if you are on friendly terms with a Communist, that, naturally, does not make you one. The trouble, however, is that a Communist will never be on friendly terms with you unless you are one, too.

Denying that his government is Communist-controlled, Guatemalan Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello said: "For the moment, at least, the aims of the Communists and the government run parallel." In the Communist geometry all parallel lines meet in the Kremlin.

ARGUS

The Soviet Game at Geneva

By **BORIS SOUVARINE**

The forthcoming conference will end in disaster if our delegates fail to realize and are unprepared to combat the fixed purpose of the Soviet leaders to introduce Communist China into the United Nations.

During this year since the death of Stalin (March 5, 1953), Soviet foreign policy, while slightly modified in form, has remained at bottom unchanged. It consists of a vigilant, active, and tireless hostility toward the countries of the free world, expressed in every way except such as might make a general war inevitable, while awaiting opportunities to intervene with armed force wherever the influence or domination of the totalitarian empire may be extended without major risk. This policy is the same as Stalin's but enacted in a manner less brutal, less provoking, therefore more efficacious.

After some weeks of hesitation—betraying an uncertainty among the leaders, occupied as they were with domestic affairs—the Soviet press resumed its slander and vituperation against all the non-Communist countries, raging especially against the United States. One can discern in these lie-campaigns various nuances corresponding to the diplomatic maneuvers of the moment, as for example the present flirtation with France in the hope of separating her from her Allies. But on the whole the tone and style remain malevolent, spiteful, serving the same immutable purposes.

In official relations, to be sure, more tolerant and tolerable attitudes have been adopted. The Soviet leaders now pretend to respect certain usages. They show more regard for foreign diplomats and correspondents of foreign newspapers. They have moderated a little the restrictions of Westerners having missions in Moscow. They authorize travel within less narrow limits. (It doesn't matter much, for nobody in the U.S.S.R. dares speak sincerely to these infrequent travelers.) They imitate good manners externally, and instead of maintaining a perpetual arrogance, they disguise their hostility under the semblance of courtesy: for example, the visit of a Soviet battleship to British waters during the Coronation of the English Queen.

Russian women married to foreigners have at last, after years of shameful persecution, been permitted to leave the U.S.S.R. (Only a few, to be sure, the others having been unable to resist indefinitely the police pressure impelling them to get a divorce.) The wives of diplomats residing in Moscow even took tea on one occasion with the wives of Soviet ministers. Soviet musicians,

dancers, athletes, some scholars and students, sequestered until now, have made the acquaintance of the external world (their families in the U.S.S.R. serving as hostages).

All this hardly influences the real relations of the powers, or the international perspectives. On the plane of serious affairs, no single question in litigation has evolved toward a satisfactory solution. At the U.N., Vishinsky and his acolytes have orders to stop barking, but without yielding an inch on any subject under discussion. The Soviet embassies make a generous use of caviar and champagne, but bad faith and felony keep up with them. Under aspects slightly less shocking than yesterday, the same irreducible subversive principles prevail today.

The Illusion of Peace

The "cease fire" in Korea, neither peace nor armistice, is not necessarily a consequence of Stalin's death. It reflects a mutual desire to reduce expenses and a common incapacity to reach a conclusion. The dickering about repatriation of war prisoners had no other meaning. The Americans, having adopted the false postulate that to pursue the enemy to his bases and defeat him would be to risk a general conflagration, forbade themselves to win even a restricted war. They made a too limited use of their arms and deprived their generals of a necessary freedom of action. They permitted the Congress at Washington, the United Nations at Lake Success, the Commons at London, the politicians at Paris, and the neutralists everywhere, to meddle in military operations. In these conditions the only desirable solution became impossible.

The war in Indo-China continues, and neither the speeches, the sermons, the good will of the one side, nor the good offices of the other, will put an end to it if Moscow does not so decide. It is neither Ho Chi Minh nor Mao Tse-tung who will say the last word, but the Politburo in the Kremlin. If this were not so, Vietminh and Communist China would no longer be satellites, a possibility that, short of the establishment of a new order, we have no reason to believe in. Here again there is no use cherishing illusions. The conference in Geneva next April and May will continue that of February

in Berlin in a manner to cherish vague hopes throughout the world, but to reach no conclusion and normalize nothing.

The fixed purpose of the Soviet leaders is to introduce Communist China into the U.N. and then into the Security Council, in order at least to paralyze the organization, and, if possible, utilize it for their own ends. The thing is quite possible in view of the coalition of interests already visible, and the means of pressure, seduction, and corruption which two giant states like the Soviet Union and China have at their disposal. The nations called Arabo-Asiatic or those of Latin America, represented by governments which it would be extreme to regard as democratic, can quite possibly tip the balance, at a price agreed to by Moscow and Peiping, in any vote which might determine the future. When a state can buy all the output of the herring fisheries of Norway, all the fruit harvest of Israel, all the cotton of Egypt, is it certain that these small countries with their precarious finances will remain free in their decisions in the U.N., and in diplomatic transactions? Enormous India offers another example of unpredictable behavior, but for different reasons. Yugoslavia has an interest in tacking back and forth from one camp to the other in order to draw the maximum profit from an intermediary position. France and Italy, softened up by the enemy's advance guard escorted by a multitude of auxiliaries, seem relatively easy to neutralize, if not to conquer, by the method of "co-existence" and *detente* upon which the successors of Stalin have entered.

To paraphrase Clausewitz, this policy of the epigones is the continuation of the cold war by other means. Commerce between the totalitarian bloc and the free world, which is developing under ineluctable imperatives since the West has been unable to organize its economic circuits, its convertible currency, and its exchanges, plays more and more into the hands of Moscow where unity of direction, and thus of initiative and maneuver, is concentrated, and is served by no small material power. It is enough to consider the more-than-equivocal attitude of England, inspired by reasons of trade, in her relations with China, the U.S.S.R., and the United States. Labor men and Conservatives vie with each other blindly to gain the favor of Mao Tse-tung and Malenkov.

Why U.N. Membership Is Sought

Geneva will hold plenty of foreseeable dangers. By all evidence, a good many signs and portents put in doubt the continued existence of the United Nations. Already the participation of the U.S.S.R. and several satellites in this institution condemn it to impotence, make of it a closed field of sterile and demoralizing dispute, a lobby of fateful intrigues where the democracies have lost the game

in advance, or a tribune of demagogic propaganda for unscrupulous totalitarianism and irresponsible nationalisms. The admission of Communist China should give it the coup-de-grace. It is necessary to anticipate this and calculate the consequences.

The chiefs of international Communism know what they are doing when they subordinate every agreement or compromise upon secondary points to the entry of the Chinese satellite into the U.N., and then to the official recognition of the Peiping government by the principal powers. They will thus have conceded very little, in case they succeed, while assuring themselves of a major victory and a guarantee of decisive victories in the future. They will have thenceforth a controlling hand upon the central organs of the United Nations, under the sole condition of neutralizing France—unless they prefer to destroy the institution in their own time, and to their own advantage according to the needs of their foreign policy. The conference at Geneva must serve essentially, through the blackmail of a truce in Indo-China, to circumvent the French delegates.

It seems easy to understand this perfidious game. Nevertheless, the Socialist International, in its resolution adopted March 1 at Brussels, foresees "a general settlement in the Far East, permitting the admission of the Peiping government into the United Nations." Thus the Soviet maneuver is developing with many favorable chances, which it is not too soon to counteract if we want to ward off the worst possible dangers. Unfortunately, the cold war is waged always in one direction, and the information services, like the "psychological warfare" of Washington, are conspicuous everywhere by their absence.

Four Criteria for Recognition

In a Bulletin of the State Department (last January 11) Mr. Walter McConaughy, Director of the Office of Chinese Affairs, answers the question: "Since recognition doesn't signify approval, why don't we 'accept reality' and recognize the Chinese Communist regime which is in full control of the country?" He recalls the four criteria which according to tradition legitimize the admission of a government into the concert of nations. They are: (1) effective control over the given country; (2) sovereign independence; (3) a character truly representative, by mandate of the people governed, or at least by their consent without coercion; (4) acceptance of international treaties and obligations, together with adhesion to the established rules of decency in the treatment of foreigners and their interests.

Of these four criteria, the author observes, the Peiping regime satisfies only the first, and that is the least important, for governments-in-exile without effective authority in their countries have been recognized. But the Chinese Communists do

not fulfill the other three conditions. Their dependence upon Moscow is notorious. They impose themselves by violence upon a population terrorized, isolated from the external world. They openly violate treaties, the charter of the United Nations, and the human rights of foreigners.

These remarks are irrefutable. But they apply also to the European satellites of Soviet Russia, and indeed the third and fourth criteria apply to the U.S.S.R. itself.

If the conference at Geneva takes a Munich turn, and satisfies the Communist demand for recognition of a regime which has not even the appearance of legality and does not even pretend to govern by mandate of the people, the United Nations will share

the sad fate of the late League of Nations. Neither the one nor the other, founded as they were upon illusions springing from the same source, is viable.

Winston Churchill said to the Commons on February 23 that since its beginning the United Nations has failed to meet his wishes. He had wanted it built upon regional bases with a superior assembly at the top, but was unable to make his views prevail. Without going deeply into this subject, would it not be wiser to give some attention to the criticism of the British Prime Minister and take up seriously the questions it implies, before we are caught napping by the enterprising foreign policy of Stalin's successors?

Free Speech: The Legal Balance

By GEORGE P. RICE, JR.

Free men, always, are concerned with the problems of free speech. These problems are both in consideration of how to preserve the freedom and how to protect against its abuse. Today there are those who say rash men would solve one of the problems simply by eliminating the other.

Actually, the Supreme Court of the United States has deliberated often, and decided often the question of the balance of freedom in the right of the people to speak. The decisions are a guide to the fundamental propositions of free speech in America. They answer the question "who may speak?" And they answer the questions of "when, and what, may he speak?"

The right to free speech is not absolute. "Words which ordinarily and in many places would be within the freedom of speech protected by the First Amendment, may become subject to prohibition when of such nature and used in such circumstances as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils which Congress has a right to prevent." *Schenck v. United States*, 249 U.S. 47 (1919).

The states cannot invade freedom of speech without due process. "Freedom of speech and of the press are among the personal rights and liberties protected by the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment from impairment by the States." *Gitlow v. New York*, 268 U.S. 652 (1925).

Statutes to restrain speech and assembly must be clearly and definitely drawn. "A statute which upon its face, and authoritatively construed, is

so vague and indefinite as to permit the punishment of the fair use of this opportunity [speech] is repugnant to the guaranty of liberty contained in the Fourteenth Amendment." *Stromberg v. California*, 283 U.S. 359 (1931).

Prior restraint upon publication is unconstitutional, but speakers and publishers will be held liable for the consequences of their action. "The liberty deemed to be established was thus described by Blackstone: 'The liberty of the press is indeed essential to the nature of a free state; but this consists in laying no *previous* restraints upon publications, and not in freedom from censure for criminal matter when published. Every freeman has an undoubted right to lay what sentiment he pleases before the public; to forbid this, is to destroy the freedom of the press; but if he publishes what is improper, mischievous, or illegal, he must take the consequences of his own temerity.'" *Near v. Minnesota*, 283 U.S. 697 (1931).

Speakers have a right to the use of public streets and parks as *loci* for talk, but the public peace, safety, and convenience will also be protected. "Wherever the title of streets and parks may rest, they have immemorially been held in trust for the use of the public, and time out of mind, have been used for the purposes of assembly, communicating thoughts between citizens, and discussing public questions. . . The privilege of a citizen of the United States to use the streets and parks for communication of views on national questions may be regulated in the interest of all. . ." *Hague v. C.I.O.*, 307 U.S. 496 (1939).

Use of threatening, profane, obscene, or offensive words in public places may be legally restrained. "The word 'offensive' is not to be defined in terms of what a particular addressee thinks. . . The test is what men of common intelligence would understand would be words likely to cause an average addressee to fight. . . The English language has a number of words and expressions which by general consent are 'fighting words' when said without a disarming smile. . . Such words, as ordinary men know, are likely to cause a fight. So are threatening, profane, or obscene revilings. Derisive and annoying words can be taken as coming within the purview of the statute as heretofore interpreted only when they have this characteristic of plainly tending to excite the addressee to a breach of the peace." *Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire*, 315 U.S. 568 (1942).

Both sides in labor-management disputes have the right to use speech to publicize their causes. "Free speech on both sides and for every faction of any side of the labor relation is . . . a constitutional and useful right. Labor is free to turn its publicity on any labor oppression, substandard wages, employer unfairness, or objectionable working conditions. The employer, too, should be free to answer, and to turn publicity on the records of the leaders of the unions which seek the confidence of his men. And if the employees or organizers associate violence or other offenses against the law with labor's free speech, or if the employer's speech is associated with discriminatory charges or intimidation, the constitutional remedy would be to stop the evil, but permit the speech, if the two are separable; and only rarely and when they are inseparable to stop or punish speech or publication." *Thomas v. Collins*, 323 U.S. 516 (1944).

Proper use of sound amplifying devices may not be legally restrained. "A city ordinance forbidding the use of sound amplification devices in public places except with the permission of the Chief of Police and prescribing no standards for the exercise of his discretion is unconstitutional on its face, since it establishes a previous restraint on the right of free speech. . ." *Saia v. New York*, 334 U.S. 558 (1948). "We think it is a permissible exercise of legislative discretion to bar sound trucks with broadcasts of public interest, amplified to a loud and raucous volume, from the public ways of municipalities." *Kovacs v. Cooper*, 336 U.S. 77 (1949).

Speakers will not be restrained because their remarks arouse unrest or stir people to anger, except when breach of the peace can be prevented in no other way. ". . . a function of free speech under our system of government is to

invite dispute. It may indeed best serve its high purpose when it induces a condition of unrest, creates dissatisfaction with conditions as they are, or even stirs people to anger. Speech is often provocative and challenging. It may strike at prejudices and preconceptions and have profound unsettling effects as it presses for acceptance of an idea. That is why freedom of speech, though not absolute . . . is nevertheless protected against censorship or punishment, unless shown likely to produce a clear and present danger." *Terminiello v. Chicago*, 337 U.S. 1 (1949).

Liberty of speech is not unduly invaded by a requirement that union leaders who are members of the Communist Party register that fact with appropriate authority. "Section 9 (h) [of the Taft-Hartley Act] is designed to protect the public, not against what Communists and others identified therein advocate or believe, but against what Congress has concluded they have done and are likely to do again; and the probable effects of the statute upon the free exercise of the right of speech and assembly must be weighed against the congressional determination that political strikes are evils of conduct which cause substantial harm to interstate commerce and that Communists and others identified by Section 9 (h) pose continuing threats to that public interest when in positions of union leadership." *American Communication Association v. Douds*, 339 U.S. 382 (1950).

Freedom of speech may be legally restrained where its exercise constitutes a clear and present danger to national security. "The obvious purpose of the statute [Smith Act] is to protect existing Government, not from change by peaceable, lawful, and constitutional means, but from change by violence, revolution and terrorism. . . . The very language of the Smith Act negates the interpretation which petitioners would have us impose on that Act. It is directed at advocacy, not discussion. . . . speech can rebut speech, propaganda will answer propaganda, free debate of ideas will result in the wisest governmental policies. It is for this reason that this Court has recognized the inherent value of free discourse." *Dennis et al. v. United States*, 341 U.S. 494 (1951).

A municipality may legally prohibit canvassers from soliciting subscriptions at private residences without prior consent. "The First and Fourteenth Amendments have never been treated as absolutes. Freedom of speech or press does not mean that one can talk or distribute where, when, and how one chooses. Rights other than those of the advocates are involved. By adjustment of rights we can have both full liberty of expression and an orderly life." *Breard v. Alexandria*, 341 U.S. 622 (1951).

Frau Lindner's Amazing Factory

By NORBERT MUHLEN

The story of a city's heroism is not an abstract matter. It involves real courage and real people. Here is an incredible and moving example of both.

When I met Frau Erna Lindner in Berlin a short while ago, she seemed a typical elderly German housewife rather than the personification of two things which have been called—quite precisely, I think—miracles of our time. The first is the survival of Berlin as an island of freedom in a sea of Soviet slavery. The second is the rise of free Germany from ruins to prosperous productivity within five years. In fact, Frau Lindner's story not only incarnates the two miracles; it does a great deal to explain how they came to pass.

I met her in Wittenau, an industrial suburb of West Berlin. Surprisingly, I came upon well-kept greenery amid the rather decrepit tenement houses and run-down factories of the district. But the lovely park was there merely for practical purposes; its shrubbery, trees, lawns serve to keep dust from the busy machine factory half-hidden on the grounds, which Frau Lindner runs.

Her office as the owner, president, and manager of the company is separated only by a glass partition from the other offices, and also from the wide-spaced workshops and halls of the factory itself. "When my workers can see that their boss is working as hard as they do, and that everybody is equally busy, whatever his job in the organization," she explained to me, "everybody feels happier."

In her goldfish-bowl office, Frau Lindner can be seen working for ten and sometimes twelve hours a day. She holds herself very erect, which makes her appear taller than she is. She is seventy years old. "People often ask me why I work so hard at my age, when I could afford to live on my income," she told me. "Seems people don't understand how much fun there is in doing something everybody told you could not be done—that is, creating something out of nothing." With a smile, she added: "If more people understood this, the world would be better off today."

Erna Lindner set out on her career as an industrialist at an age when most persons think of retiring. She was sixty, and without business experience. Her capital consisted of somewhat less than four dollars in cash. The location of her enterprise was postwar Berlin, a city which did not seem to hold the slightest promise of success for any industrial venture. Many left the city, considering it doomed. Almost entirely cut

off from the Western world to which it belonged, seemingly at the mercy of the Soviet forces which surrounded it on all sides, West Berlin seemed unable to sell its products, and hardly able to produce them.

Though Frau Lindner had witnessed Berlin's previous prosperity for half a century, she had had no active part in it. "A woman's place is in the kitchen," had been the German custom in her girlhood and throughout the almost thirty years of her marriage to Herbert Lindner, a struggling young engineer when she became his wife, later a wealthy manufacturer in Berlin. But the tool-box had always interested her considerably more than the kitchen stove. Even as a little girl, she had more fun repairing household gadgets than playing with her dolls. Books on technology were her favorite reading matter, and her informal education in engineering was completed by talking with her husband every evening about the problems of his daily work.

The Red Army Moves In

The factory, started with a crew of thirty workers, a number that grew in time to more than 1,000, produced thread grinding and jig boring machines used in the mass production of modern high precision tools. Each of these machines consists of 3,000 to 4,000 different single parts. To assure their precision, jig boring machines are equipped with micro-optical devices which, being more accurate than normal microscopes, control the accuracy of production within a range of one hundred-thousandth of a millimeter.

When Herr Lindner died in 1945, he named his wife as "my sole heir and true successor." A few weeks later, the factory was blacklisted by the Nazis because Frau Lindner refused to adopt the greeting "Heil Hitler," and because only a small number of its workers belonged to the party. A month later, the war ended—and Soviet troops swarmed into Berlin. A detachment of two hundred mounted Red Army soldiers led by a lieutenant colonel rode through the Lindner factory's gate. For several days the soldiers entertained themselves by firing at the glass windows, or by pulverizing microscopic lenses with their gun butts, and tearing levers and handles off

the machines. The factory became a heap of scrap.

Hardly had they completed their playful destruction job when their colonel ordered Frau Lindner to appear at *her* office which was now *his* headquarters. He commanded her to restore immediately everything that had been ruined by his men. He was under orders, he said, to ship the valuable finished machines to the Soviet Union where they were badly needed. Furthermore, he explained, the whole factory—lock, stock, and barrel—had to be dismantled to be sent eastward where it could produce more machines “made in the Soviet Union.” If Frau Lindner couldn’t deliver the machines in good working order within a week, he admonished her, he would be obliged to send her to Russia in their place. Her failure would mark her as a war criminal. She complied with his orders.

The next time she left the colonel’s office—after reporting that his command had been obeyed—she saw that his soldiers were back at their old game, shooting and smashing the newly-repaired machines to a shambles. Again she was called before the Soviet colonel, who repeated his old orders, this time with marked sternness and urgency. Frau Lindner obeyed again, and again the soldiers began to destroy the machines, now with the excuse of “dismantling” for shipment to the Soviet Union. They pulled the delicate machines from their supports and hurled them through the windows onto the street where they crashed into pieces, shattered and useless. But in obedience to their strict orders, they packed the sorry remnants carefully onto the horsedrawn carts that were waiting outside. The boiler-pots, steampipes, and typewriters were next to be thrown out. After two months, the plant was stripped down to the last pencil and paper clip.

To celebrate the occasion, the Soviet colonel had a slogan painted on the factory walls: “Death and Destruction to the Capitalists.” For the next two months, the Soviet cavalymen and their horses bivouacked in the empty factory halls. When they moved out, all that remained of the one-time factory was windowless walls enclosing mounds of refuse.

She Ransacked the Ruins

When Frau Lindner set out to rebuild the factory, she had to start from scratch or, as she laughingly put it, from dirt. Possessing only fifteen marks (the price of a package of cigarettes at the time), she sold her wardrobe, her furniture, and two rings she had succeeded in hiding to pay forty men to clean the factory grounds. The hardest-working member of that dirt-removing crew was Frau Lindner herself.

In the next months, the white-haired woman, clad in a ragged great-coat, with a sack slung over her shoulders, rummaged through the city

for abandoned, seemingly worthless materials, scrap iron, and machine parts buried under the rubble. Climbing through the skeletons of bombed houses, and ransacking the ruins of burned-out factories which might cave in at any moment, she more than once came close to death. But almost every day she returned with her sack full of nails, screws, and a few complicated machine parts some of which were not available on the open market even if she had had the money to buy them.

With the help of a dozen men who had worked in her husband’s factory, she converted the grounds of the plant into vegetable gardens. The crop served to feed her, her helpers, and also a number of other workers who got busy fitting together new tools for producing machines.

Three months after the Soviet soldiers moved out of the factory, Frau Lindner could inform her Berlin fellow-industrialists that she had opened shop again, and would be able to repair *their* damaged tools and machines. More orders arrived than she could possibly fill in years to come. From the profits of these emergency repair jobs she bought or manufactured all of the three thousand parts needed for one of the machines which her husband had produced and which she longed to produce again, as his “true successor.” It took her one year until the first thread grinding machine was again assembled. When tests proved its accuracy, the crew of forty workers broke into tears. So did Frau Lindner.

But before production could get under way, the Soviets frustrated Frau Lindner’s work a second time. In 1948, they decreed their blockade against West Berlin, expecting the free city—completely cut off from the West, starving, freezing, darkened—to surrender its freedom. Deprived of electric power, the Lindner factory had to stop work. Frau Lindner and ten of the men looked after the tools in the shops, and once again cultivated the vegetable gardens on the grounds.

The Berliners, who are, like Frau Lindner, freedom-loving folks, tough and sentimental at the same time, surprised the Soviets and the rest of the world by holding out. Supported by the Allied air-lift, they forced the Soviets to call off the blockade after fourteen months. “Today I feel deeply thankful for what then seemed like an ordeal,” Frau Lindner told me. “Now we have learned to survive in freedom, there is nothing that can alarm or frighten us any more.”

As soon as the blockade ended, the Lindner factory started up once more. An avalanche of orders arrived from West Germany as well as from foreign countries. Alas, Frau Lindner could not even attempt to fill more than a small number of them because of lack of immediate capital with which to expand the factory. With her small-scale production, profits accumulated very slowly.

She could deliver only one machine per month.

Aid came from America, through the credits which this country offered to help free people remain free. West Berlin became the show-window of the free world. To the oppressed, hungry masses behind the Iron Curtain it offered a close look at the freedoms, opportunities, and achievements of the West. But the island-like situation of West Berlin also deprived it of most of the natural opportunities of the Western world, lamed the initiative of its industry and trade, and condemned it to a pitifully poor existence.

Part of U. S. Loan Declined

American credit experts found that of all Berlin enterprises, the Lindner plant was most likely to put a substantial loan to good use in terms of employment-creating productivity. In fact, it was the first Berlin enterprise chosen as a recipient of American economic aid. Frau Lindner was offered a loan of 5,000,000 marks, somewhat more than \$1,000,000. She thought it over for a day or two. Then she declined the offer. She had, as she explained to the flabbergasted Americans, carefully calculated how much she would be able to earn, and pay back, within the next ten years. She did not see any possibility of repaying more than 2,700,000 marks within ten years. "I probably haven't more than ten years left to live and to work," she said cheerfully, "and I want to die without debts on my factory. That's how my husband left it."

She accepted the 2,700,000 marks. That proved to be "the shot in the arm we needed," she told me. Her working force grew from 40 to 380. Among them were many refugees from East Germany. The factory's output increased almost ten times. When she took me around through the busy workshops, I saw several large crates ready for shipment to United States aircraft plants that are using her machines for our own defense production. "I wish I could send them the machines without charge, as a token of my gratitude for American help, and as my contribution to a free world," she said.

We sat down on one of the crates marked with a New Jersey address. "Yes," she said, "without American aid we could never have done so well. But if we had waited for that help, we could not have made such good use of it. To want to build something out of nothing—I guess that's what brings success." For a minute she seemed to think it over. Then she added: "Of course, that holds true only for young people."

She was going to celebrate her seventieth birthday before long, and I asked her: "Up to what age, Frau Lindner, would you say people stay young?" She did not hesitate a second with her answer: "Exactly as long as they *can* and *do* rely on themselves."

Bullets, Ballots, and Puerto Rico

By ROBERT E. KINGSLEY

The strength of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, members of which were responsible for the shocking assault on our Congress, would be laughable if it were not for the fanaticism, strict party discipline, and utterly irrational behavior of its members. Their percentage of the total Puerto Rican population is microscopic: an estimated 1,000 Nationalist party members out of 2,250,000 people on the island and some 700,000 on the U.S. mainland. In 1932, the last election in which the party chose to present itself on the ballot, it won only about 5,000 votes for its major candidate.

Power through the popular will, as expressed at the ballot box, has therefore been abandoned by these Nationalist messiahs. A small but well-trained militia was organized and drilled in the hills of Puerto Rico, arms collected and distributed, and adherents indoctrinated with the idea that their lives were to be gladly sacrificed for the "cause." With this program, it is not surprising that the Communists immediately took a behind-the-scenes role in abetting their efforts.

To understand the Nationalist movement, one must fathom the personality of its leader and guiding spirit, Pedro Albizu Campos. He is a living example of the way in which blind hatred can destroy the soul and finally the mind of its victim. This once brilliant student, who made an outstanding record at Harvard University and has a string of degrees after his name, retrogressed so far that a competent psychiatrist once declared him insane.

The accepted story is that Albizu Campos had the whole course of his life changed while serving as an officer in the U.S. Army during World War One. Born of a white father and a Negro mother, he resented being classified as black and assigned to a Negro regiment. For this indignity, it is said, Campos vowed revenge against the American government and has dedicated his life to freeing the island from its rule.

Bloody proof of Campos' determination to "even the score" can be found in terrorist action and mob violence stretching over more than twenty years, affecting both the U.S. mainland and Puerto Rico. In a series of terrorist clashes with Puerto Rican authorities in 1936, for example, a score of people were killed or wounded, and the chief of San Juan's police murdered. The attempt on the life of President Truman in 1950 and the recent shooting in the House are merely two more instances of the measures which Campos and his followers will take to achieve power, or at least to reduce American prestige abroad.

Twice Albizu Campos has been sentenced to prison terms for subversive activities, the last time receiving a maximum penalty of fifty-four years. On each occasion there were strong pressures exerted to obtain his release, with the Communist press leading the fight. After his second release, in 1943, Campos went to New York and repaid some of the Communist aid by appearing at street meetings with Earl Browder and later William Z. Foster. Back in San Juan after 1947, Campos still could keep in touch with the party through the many Communist leaders who visited him.

The 1943 release from prison was granted on the condition that Campos refrain from violence, although his and his followers' right to work for independence through democratic means was scrupulously guaranteed. With that condition now broken, Campos has been re-arrested and awaits trial in San Juan.

Actually, independence is the last luxury which Puerto Rico can afford at this time. Its very national existence requires the continued sympathetic understanding and help of the United States, Puerto Rico is small, overpopulated, and poor. It depends on the U.S. market for the sale of its most important product, sugar; for its privileged trade position as part of the United States, and for the substantial economic assistance of the U.S. Treasury. The tremendous strides which the island is making to build its industrial strength—and consequently employment—by attracting manufacturers from the mainland would come to a grinding halt if Puerto Rico were to cut its ties with this country.

New York's "Little Puerto Rico"

Perhaps of greater importance, Puerto Rico would close the safety valve of unlimited migration to the continental United States. As American citizens, its people are free to settle here in as great number as can find employment and a reasonable opportunity to make a better life. That hundreds of thousands of them have chosen this course is a fact of which few people, especially New Yorkers, are unaware. For Spanish is almost as frequently heard in New York streets today as English, and whole colonies of Puerto Ricans have intensified existing problems of slum housing and inadequate schools.

As late as 1930 there were only an estimated 52,000 first and second generation Puerto Ricans on the mainland. That number now has passed the 570,000-mark, with about three-quarters of them settled in New York City.

The course which Puerto Rico has elected to follow is that of an equal partner. Under a constitution approved by Congress and the President in 1952, Puerto Rico occupies the status of a self-governing Commonwealth, making its own internal laws and electing its own governor. This choice,

incidentally, was overwhelmingly approved by the Puerto Rican electorate in a popular referendum.

The latest act of violence and sedition of Puerto Rican Nationalists—for which they can be convicted under the Smith Act—has backfired. The U.S. has proved before the world that the charge of imperialism and exploitation of "colonial" peoples is ridiculous. Press coverage of the shooting has been level-headed and unhysterical, with the blame being placed where it belongs—on a small group of terrorists, rather than the thousands of innocent people who have nothing in common with them except nationality. And it is a tribute to American common sense that in New York, which has more Puerto Ricans than San Juan, not one incident of mob violence or recrimination has been reported. No doubt the Communists are sorely disappointed that justice and fair play have triumphed over prejudice and blind emotion.

Worth Hearing Again

The History of Inflation

Unless the various Houses of the Diet at the present session take steps to secure the return of the paper currency to the bank, and the issue of coin possessing an intrinsic value in its place, there is danger that the dearness of everything will continue to increase more and more, until the country at last will become utterly exhausted and ready to perish; which it assuredly will, unless another remedy for its restoration be found than a general bankruptcy on all the paper currency. This bankruptcy, however, stares every man willing to reflect upon the subject in the face, when he considers that six dalers in paper are now equivalent to three dalers in "plates" in our foreign commerce and two dalers in "plates" in our inland traffic; and if the dearness increases they may finally be equivalent to a single daler in "plates." What could then save the country from ruin?

This fearful and terrible consequence can only be avoided by restoring specie payments. Many proposals may be devised and mentioned for forcing down the high course of exchange, and arresting the dearness, but they are of little value except the one proposal, the purpose of which is to restore a specie currency, such as has existed in Sweden heretofore, and as exists in all other countries in the world, for in coined specie itself lies the real value of exchange, and consequently that of all merchandise. If any country could exist by means of a paper currency, which is in the place of money, but which is not money, it would be a country without a parallel.

EMMANUEL SWEDENBORG, Swedish writer and philosopher, in an appeal to the Houses of the Diet for the restoration of a metallic currency, 1760.

A Second Look

By EUGENE LYONS

The New Heroism

The caption over the March 12 column by John Crosby, *New York Herald Tribune* radio and television critic, read: "Salute to a Brave Man." The brave man in question was Edward R. Murrow, and the particular act of shining heroism that won the accolade was an Alcoa TV program in which he did mayhem on Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

The assumption that it calls for exceptional courage these days to snarl and sneer and spit at the junior Wisconsin Senator is plainly funny. Nearly everyone with access to a mike or newsprint has been laying into McCarthy with joyous abandon. Especially in the days when Murrow struck at him, it was close to impossible to open an editorial page or turn on a program on the air without meeting another attack on McCarthy. It would have required real courage *not* to join the frenetic mob. But the attackers saluted one another and themselves for valor beyond call of duty, in line with the fairy tale of a nation trembling in fear of that man.

What was it about the Alcoa show which, more than anything else, moved Crosby to ecstasy? It was the fact that his friend Murrow, in tackling the enemy, "did it without even a pretense of impartiality." These were Crosby's own words, and he continued: "If the Senator thinks we do violence to him, he can come on this program and answer," said Murrow—and then proceeded to do great violence to him." And to demonstrate that he, too, was a brave man worthy of a 21-gun salute, Crosby likewise did great violence without any weak-kneed pretense of impartiality.

This kind of proud renunciation of ethical conduct is by no means exceptional among the embattled heroes on the side of the angels. Most of them imply it in their writing and ranting, and some do not hesitate to assert it explicitly. I happen to have a sample at hand, provided by another member of that self-righteous majority, one of the Alsop brothers. When I called an outrageous misstatement of fact to his attention, he not only wouldn't bother to correct it but served notice that he would continue to disdain mere accuracy where his favorite enemies were concerned.

The occasion was the great smear of Dr. J. B. Matthews last summer, with those who habitually cry "Smear!" wielding the brushes. The ordeal by slander, you will recall, was his punishment for publishing the self-evident fact, often before mentioned by others, that thousands of American churchmen have, wittingly or witlessly, backed

Communist causes. In that gallant gang-up the Joseph half of the Alsop team naturally joined lustily. Dr. Matthews, he wrote in wrath on July 13, has "charged that 7,000 Protestant clergymen were secret agents of Moscow."

Now a more fantastic distortion was hardly imaginable. Dr. Matthews had not accused the ministers of being "secret agents." On the contrary, his whole point was that they had given their names and energies *openly*, thus making Moscow a gift of the prestige deriving from their calling. I protested politely to the Alsops' paper in New York, which sent my letter on to Joseph. Simple fair play, I said, demanded accurate reporting of what a man under heavy fire had actually written.

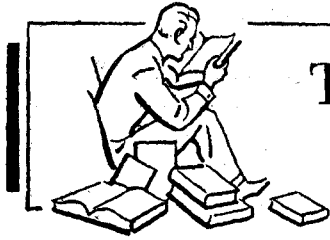
My protest drew an incredibly cynical reply. It was all "a distinction without a difference," Alsop informed me, then added: "I do not feel obliged to quote a man of the character of J. B. Matthews in extenso." In other words, he did not feel himself bound by the old-fashioned rules of truthful reporting when sailing into anyone whose character he happened to disapprove!

In the face of this extraordinary innovation in forensic journalism, I could only recommend that Mr. Alsop provide his editors and readers with a check-list of persons whom he disliked and whose words he consequently considered himself privileged to misrepresent. It still seems to me an eminently logical and practical proposal.

This amoral stance is of a piece with the Crosby-Murrow disclaimer of old notions of impartiality in dealing with certain people. The implicit theory, of course, is not new. It is that the end—in this case the demolition of McCarthy—justifies even the most reprehensible means, not excepting slanted selection of data. Its public acceptance by men who call themselves "liberals" can be explained only in terms of the hysteria they endlessly impute to the country as a whole and particularly to those whom they accuse of "unfair methods."

Suppose someone they label a "McCarthyite" were to proclaim, in the Alsop manner, that he does not regard himself bound to quote accurately; or, in the Crosby manner, that he makes no pretense of impartiality. What a field day of righteous anger these gentlemen would make of it!

If and when they return to normal, the Crosbys, Murrows, Alsops *et al* will rue their excited candor. One hopes, at any rate, that these boasts of bias, this rejection of decent journalistic restraints, will haunt them in calmer, more reasonable times. The power of radio and the press is too great to be misused so cavalierly, regardless of the provocations. In the perspective of time some of these men, surely, will feel ashamed of their current boasts of great violence without benefit of elementary fairness.



Trotsky's Place in History

By MAX EASTMAN

In the first volume of his life of Leon Trotsky (*The Prophet Armed: Trotsky, 1879-1921*, 540 pp., Oxford University Press, \$6.00) Isaac Deutscher shows himself to be a thoughtful, ingenious, and eloquent historian. In a previous book, the life of Stalin, a large share of his ingenuity was employed in thinking up apologies for the brutal and retrograde behavior of his hero. Like his friend E. H. Carr, whom he thanks for "expert critical comment," he is a fellow-traveler of the Harold Laski, the split libido, school. He thinks he can denounce Soviet Communism *politically*, calling it by such accurate names as "inhuman despotism," while recruiting our support for it on the ground of its economic, or as he says more sweepingly, "progressive social performance."

As Soviet Communism revived the outmoded institutions of slavery, torture, and massacre—to mention but three of its typical accomplishments—it was not easy for Mr. Deutscher to demonstrate this "progressive social performance." He had tricky ways of doing it. One was to adopt as a premise the fantastic assertion that "the nation over which Stalin took power might, apart from small groups of educated and advanced workers, rightly be called a nation of savages."

I am not reviewing Deutscher's life of Stalin—it was published in 1949—but I want to give one more brief example of the way his mind worked when writing past history with an eye on present politics. He was telling how Stalin as a youth was arrested and jailed in Batum, and how comparatively comfortable the jail was. The revealing sentence is this: "The Tsarist prisons, ill-famed as they were, seem mild, almost humanitarian to a generation that knows the cruelties of a Himmler or a Yezhov."

That is certainly true, and is somewhat remarkable—isn't it?—in a "nation of savages." But that is not what makes the sentence revealing—it is the surreptitious creeping in there of the incidental name of Yezhov. Yezhov was a tool merely, and but one of the three such pliant tools of cruelty in Stalin's hands—one who presumably served his own time in Stalin's prisons and was there done to death. Do you think Deutscher has himself so well trained that the contrast between the jail Stalin was condemned to in youth and the jails he condemned millions to in adult life did not occur to his mind at all? Did he *automatically* slip in the name of Yezhov instead of Stalin?

Perhaps so, for his mind is exceedingly well trained, and trained from the inside. He is not a press agent—not a paid apologist—but just another Delinquent Liberal, bribed by the baby emotions of his own heart to play down or conceal from himself the too painful truth.

Having finished his apology for Stalin, Deutscher turned—I believe with a sigh of relief—to the more congenial task of writing this life of Trotsky. I call it more congenial because I feel sure that Deutscher is happier when he is free to exercise his rare historical talents in delving to the very truth of a tangled and bewildering situation or sequence of events. He could not do it so well if it were not his true nature to do it. This volume stops at the point where Trotsky clashed politically with Stalin, and it was not published until after Stalin died; therefore his freedom from the demands of pro-Stalinist propaganda is complete. And he avails himself of it with an extraordinary combination of scholarly poise and good judgment with enthusiasm and imaginative gusto. Since I myself wrote one-half of a life of Trotsky, taking down the story of his youth from his own lips, and was on terms of friendship with him for a good many years, I have a special background from which to appraise this biography. To do it well, I thought I would make, as I read, a list of the points on which I flatly disagreed with, or disapproved of, the author. I put down one such point at page 12, as follows:

Being of Polish origin, Mr. Deutscher has apparently not caught on to the fact that in English, in order to make sure that the letter "s" between two vowels has its own sound, and not that of "z," it is necessary to double it. Nekrassov, Krassin, etc., not Nekrasov, Krasin.

That was the end of my list! I forgot all about it. There were points, of course, where my emphasis would have been different, or where I would have added or subtracted or altered some remark. I wished in particular that Deutscher understood the determining role played in the whole story by Dialectic Materialism, the disguised religious faith in which Trotsky was an orthodox and fanatical believer. Aside from that, however, his book is penetrating, true, judicious, perceptive, needing no correction from the standpoint of a more intimate knowledge of its hero.

And Trotsky is a hero—the greatest revolu-

tionary leader in history, one feels, as Deutscher describes his thoughts and deeds. Robespierre and Danton, Spartacus, the Gracchi, all the rest of them, except only Lenin, seem half-equipped amateurs by comparison with Leon Trotsky.

Deutscher professes to be primarily a political, not a personal, biographer, yet he tells with lively sympathy the story of Trotsky's boyhood on a farm near Odessa, his schooling in that city, his political education in a little group of revolutionists who lived together in a suburban garden, and how he met both love and Marxism there and put up a violent resistance to them both. His arrest, his deportation to Siberia, his rise to literary fame in the Siberian newspapers, his escape in a reindeer sled over the snowfields, and his swift journey across Europe to Lenin and his life work—all this is told with psychological insight and a sense for personal drama. Deutscher's special and extraordinary historical skill, however, appears in his tracing from that point of Trotsky's path through the mazes of Bolshevik-Menshevik political conflict and theological disputation, up to the year 1905 when he took charge of and led the first Russian revolution.

That he also led the revolution of October 1917 has been obscured, and in some minds even cast in doubt, by Stalin's internationally organized lies about it. In the original Russian edition of Lenin's Collected Works published during Lenin's life, it is stated: "When the Bolsheviks obtained the majority in the Petrograd Soviet. . . Trotsky became its president, and in that position organized and led the October revolution." In a subsequent edition, prepared under Stalin and issued in translations throughout the world, the same sentence reads: "When the Bolsheviks obtained the majority in the Petrograd soviet, Trotsky became its president." Full stop. When Trotsky's attention was called to this, he remarked: "Only a limited mind like Stalin's could imagine that these pitiful secretarial manipulations will make men forget the gigantic events of modern history."

My thoughts went back to that as I read Deutscher's account of the truly phenomenal manner in which Trotsky planned and inspired and guided and organized the seizure of the city of Petrograd and the overthrow of Kerensky's government.

I feel some doubt whether, if I had carried my own portrait forward and studied Trotsky's adult political history, I would have ascribed to him quite so superlative a role in either revolution as Deutscher does. Knowing him privately, I am perhaps overconscious of certain failings of his which did not, in fact, greatly affect his public career until after 1921—until he was a "prophet disarmed," to adopt the phrase that Deutscher borrows from Machiavelli—but which nevertheless seemed incongruous with that career. I am also, and was always, handicapped in my admiration of Trotsky's

brilliant gifts and heroic character by a prior and more profound admiration for Lenin's crystal-pure practicality of mind and will. There is a Russian word which Trotsky, and indeed everybody who valued him, applied to Lenin: *tselestremlyenny*. Its meaning, as well as you can say it in English, is streamlined-to-the-goal. It is the opposite of the meaning I give to the word poetic, and for that reason had almost a poetic fascination for me. Lenin ran in a deep channel straight to the seizure of power by his party. Trotsky flowed out—or rather flashed out—in many directions with all kinds of actions and reactions, emotional and temperamental in a degree more befitting an artist or virtuoso than a political leader.

It is certain, however, and Deutscher makes it doubly so, that without Trotsky's collaboration—his torrential pouring out of gifts, literary, oratorical, inspirational, theoretic, executive, military—Lenin's party could never have seized the power in October, nor held it afterward against the White Guards backed by an Allied invasion. The six years' collaboration of these two giants of will and intellect was a fateful thing in mankind's history.

To me it now appears to have been a tragic thing. I wish they had failed. But I confess to having been swept back into my past feelings by Deutscher's true and pure-hearted and vivid account of the great sweep of ideas and events and personalities that led up to the founding of the Soviet state. Perhaps if he had not continued to delude himself about its nature and prospects, he could not have written this contagiously excited account of its coming-to-be. I cannot help thinking, however, what Trotsky himself, or Lenin, would do to that false dichotomy, *political versus economic or "social,"* with which he keeps up his self-deception about the dreadful results of their labors. They would crash through it like a cannon ball through a doll's house.

Instead of deceiving himself that Trotsky's millennial life-effort was wise and its results anything less than disastrous, Deutscher's admiration for his bold-minded hero should lead him in the opposite direction. It should make him renounce mollycoddle self-deceptions altogether, confront with lucid and brave logic the fact that the seizure of power by the Bolshevik party in October 1917 was the beginning of a world tragedy—political, economic, social, cultural—and draw the conclusion that the theoretical principles upon which the operation was conducted must have been flatly and absolutely wrong. He should give his loyalty to the moral force and mental clarity of his hero, not to his disproven beliefs. Nothing on earth is farther removed from the inspiring story of lucid thought and audacious action which Deutscher recites with so much admiration in this book than that Laski-born, two-faced, cerebro-spineless fellow-travelerism which he himself exemplifies.

Call for a Third Party

The Twenty-Year Revolution: From Roosevelt to Eisenhower, by Chesly Manly. 272 pp. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. \$4.00

The degree and depth of the collectivist transformation in the United States in the past twenty years is not always clearly grasped even by those who are most disturbed by the present state of affairs. When so revolutionary a change takes place step by step, each step justified by some reason of expediency, realization is blunted. What would have shocked any thoughtful American twenty years ago is the commonplace of a Republican Administration today.

It is the virtue of Chesly Manly's book to have assembled in short compass so many aspects of the developments of these last two decades that what has occurred stands out in all its immensity. One can disagree with him on many detailed questions and on some of his interpretations of his material, but when all is said and done the basic picture he presents is unchallengeable.

One might object, for example, that the interconnection between the conscious Communist conspiracy and the bemused socialist-minded liberals has been rather more complex in its operation than Mr. Manly would indicate. In practice there is no doubt that matters have worked out largely as he suggests; but since the two forces have to be fought in rather different ways, a sharper differentiation of their character would strengthen Mr. Manly's thesis. In this respect, the further development of his idea of "thought perversion" would be most useful. It is along this line that light can best be thrown on the obscure processes of the past twenty years.

As with his analyses, so with his positive proposals. While the details can be questioned, the basic position is unassailable. He amply demonstrates—and the 1952 Republican Convention was forewarning of this to all but the most sanguine—that the Eisenhower Administration has made no principled break with the past. The only possible hope for a return to constitutional principles lies in a realignment of parties. So far one can agree enthusiastically. The tally of sixty senators who voted for the modified Bricker Amendment, is an index of the possible strength of the party of the Constitution in such a realignment. The history of American politics and the realities of the contemporary political scene, however, would seem to indicate that the bringing about of that realignment cannot be forced, that the form of its development must wait upon coming events. Mr. Manly's call for the immediate establishment of a third party, urgent though the need may be in terms of principle, would seem from the practical point of view to court failure as things stand today.

But on this issue, as throughout the book, he is fundamentally right. Until the American people are given the opportunity to vote on the real issues, the collectivist revolution will continue to advance, whether under a Democratic or Republican label.

FRANK S. MEYER

Patterns of Perspective

The American Revolution, by John Richard Alden. 294 pp. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$5.00

Methods of writing American history have changed with the times. When George Bancroft's ponderous *History of the United States* appeared in half a dozen volumes sixty years ago, it was the fashion to interpret the American Revolution as a political conflict in which the citizen-soldiers of this country were compelled, by the tyranny of King George, to vote with bullets instead of ballots. In the light of such a dramatic conception our history became the American chapter of mankind's endless struggle for freedom. Later works, such as Edward Channing's *A History of the United States* (1925), made it out to be more of a conflict between peoples of the same stock and substantially the same outlook; the issue that divided them, in an age of mercantilism aggravated by inept colonial administration, was home rule. This somewhat revisionist point of view was oddly confirmed by Thomas Jefferson's repeatedly expressed claim that the Americans were merely fighting for their ancient liberties—the liberties of the Saxon folk moot and Magna Carta and the Glorious (English) Revolution of 1688, as interpreted by that very loyal political philosopher, John Locke.

The absurdity of such an interpretation when it was pushed to an extreme two decades ago, as popularized by Kenneth Roberts in *Oliver Wiswell*, set a reverse tendency in motion. Shortly afterward World War Two arrived. It is a peculiar thing, but no people can fight an all-out war, a total war, without a set of principles to justify such action. The principles may be wrong; they may be pernicious and inhuman, as were those of the Nazis and the Communists, but principles must be found and used to wage that kind of war. The need to arm ourselves with a set of principles before we entered the last war led to a third interpretation of the critical era of our history as a nation.

This latest historical gospel said that we did not fight a revolution to establish American principles, nor to re-establish ancient English principles, but to hammer out by fire and sword certain universal principles. By the light of these transcendental concepts of freedom from all the evils that afflict man (freedom from fear, want, etc.) we could fight everywhere and govern everywhere. We could involve ourselves in a global war and

after we won it set up a world state. Of course all that sounds quite absurd today. However, it has not been canceled out by any widespread effort to devise a fourth and a different interpretation of the meaning of American history. It still hangs over us like a cloud. The one freedom we have not managed to achieve, apparently, is freedom from that exploded conception. Professor Alden, like so many other competent historians, labors under the shadow of it.

He seeks to avoid controversy by devoting some attention to each of these points of view. Basically his book is a military history, which makes it fundamentally akin to the oldest type of narrative of this sort, that of Bancroft. He does not, however, draw the black-and-white conclusions of the Bancroft school; quite the contrary. The Loyalists are not represented as villains. There were too many of them to be that bad, he points out. They may have amounted to as much as a third of the colonials. Nor were the rebels everywhere in a majority, for there was also a large neutral element. Still, the struggle developed in such a way that this neutral group tended to join the rebels, and we are delighted to learn that before the fight was over most Americans certainly wanted to be independent of Great Britain. George Washington is restored to greatness as a leader of men, if not as a great soldier; the services of Steuben, on the other hand, are gently debunked, and the treachery of Benedict Arnold is deflated. The British would not have won the war even if he had been able to hand West Point over to them, says Professor Alden.

It is more difficult to agree with his admiring comment on the generalship of James Wolfe, the British commander who died at the taking of Quebec in a previous war. "Had [he] held the supreme command in America during the early years of the war, the resistance of the patriots might have been beaten down by swift and daring strokes. . ." Surely this is questionable, at the very least. Wolfe was not, in some ways, a conventional soldier of the eighteenth century type. He used to crack a book once in a while; he liked to read and think about his profession. On one occasion he actually put into practice, and quite successfully, a maneuver he learned from the *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon. However, he did have the most complete contempt for the Americans who served under him, the kind of contempt that might have proved as disastrous to him as to the other British regulars.

On the other hand, Professor Alden's defense of the Continental Congress is well done indeed. It has been long overdue and deserves all praise. He says:

The failures of the delegates have doubtless been overpublicized. They did not succeed in creating a stable currency; they made serious mistakes in military promotions; on occasion they gave Wash-

ington bad military advice; and they exhibited naïveté in the conduct of foreign affairs. But their record, when the difficulties to be faced are taken into account, is splendid rather than dismal. They did about all that could be done toward solving the problem of finances. They chose Washington as commander in chief and . . . generally permitted him freedom of action. If they displayed crudity . . . nevertheless they and their representatives in Europe achieved the greatest diplomatic victories ever won by the United States.

This is, as the reader will have guessed, a *balanced* rather than an *integrated* history of the American Revolution. There is something in it to satisfy almost everybody's idea of what is important about that event, from Bancroft to Van Doren. It is somewhat dull, as a consequence. But it is also a thoroughly sound volume and the well-considered bibliography makes it an ideal textbook for earnest beginners in the study of American history.

ASHER BRYNES

A Gem of the Ocean

Westward Ho with the Albatross, by Hans Pettersson. 218 pp. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. \$4.00

For fifteen months in 1947-1948 a huskily beamed Swedish motor schooner named the Albatross beat its way around the world, stopping often while the conscientious men aboard her dropped bombs on and shoved instruments into the ocean floor. From the soundings and sinkings, the men assembled data on that mysterious ground which still is being assayed in laboratories around the world and which may yield information on everything from uranium to the age of the Pacific (which may not be as great as that of the Atlantic after all). The leader of this very productive cruise was the Swedish oceanographer Hans Pettersson. His account is a small treasure of scientific tourism. His excitement with the new bottom probing techniques worked out on the voyage is altogether contagious. His enthusiastic reports of the odd fish and even muddy oozes brought up from the deep are equally so. And when the good oceanographer steps ashore for a look around he is just as delightful: whether he is discovering that "it is not without reason that the Dutch [in Java] are much annoyed with the United Nations for interfering as mediators in a crisis which the Dutch forces might have settled in a few weeks," or musing before the temple of the Sun God in Egypt "that during the thirty-odd centuries which have passed since this stupendous temple . . . was built, the red clay in the Central Pacific Ocean has not increased in thickness by more than about one-tenth of an inch." It is a real pleasure to look around the world and under the ocean with the preoccupied and preoccupying Professor Pettersson.

KARL HESS

Myrdal's Economics

The Political Element in the Development of Economic Theory, by Gunnar Myrdal. Translated from the German by Paul Streeter. 248 pp. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd. \$5.50

This book originally was published in 1929 in the Swedish language. In 1932 a German-language translation was published. In the quarter of a century that has since passed, the author has turned toward politics, first as Swedish Minister of Trade and then as Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. It was probably these high dignities of the author that prompted the idea of making the book accessible to the British and American public.

Actually, the book was already outdated at the time of its first publication in Sweden. The author passionately attacks economic theory, repeating all the accusations leveled once by Brentano and Schmoller and later, in this country, by Veblen and the Institutionalists. His criticism is, however, in vain. It is not directed against what economists really taught and meant, but as a caricature of their doctrines especially constructed for the purpose of rendering their refutation easy. Most of what the author says is either entirely unfounded or a matter of common knowledge.

Thus, for instance, he declares that the economists assert that human actions are "solely motivated by economic interests" and that they consider as economic interests

... the desire for higher incomes and lower prices and, in addition, perhaps, stability of earnings and employment, reasonable time for leisure and an environment conducive to its satisfactory use, good working conditions, etc.

Yet, Myrdal says emphatically, people's actions are determined not by economic interests, but by attitudes. "Attitude means the emotive disposition of an individual or a group to respond in certain ways to actual or potential situations."

The truth is that the economists did not say what Myrdal ascribes to them. They never contended that men are "solely" driven by the desire to make more money and to enjoy more luxuries. Myrdal himself is forced to admit that "even" Boehm-Bawerk, whom he treats with manifest unfairness, thoroughly rejected the interpretation that he (Myrdal) gives to his theory. In the passage to which Myrdal refers, Boehm emphasizes that the term well-being as he uses it in the exposition of the theory of value does not refer only to concerns commonly called egoistic, but comprehends everything that may appear to an individual as desirable and worthy of being aimed at. But, says Myrdal, this cognition is to be found only in later editions of Boehm's main treatise. In this Myrdal is entirely wrong. In fact, the words concerned are a quotation from the first

essay Boehm wrote—in 1886—about value and are clearly marked as such in the final edition of the book on Interest, on the very page to which Myrdal refers. The least one can say about Myrdal's procedure is that it is reprehensible negligence.

The greater part of the book is filled with vehement tirades against utilitarianism and hedonism. All arguments advanced in these chapters are to no purpose, as the author failed to grasp the purely formal and tautological character of the concepts *utility* and *happiness* as employed by modern philosophers and economists.

But we may freely admit that the policies of Mr. Myrdal and his political friends were certainly neither designed nor fit to make people happy.

LUDWIG VON MISES

A Corpse That Lied

The Man Who Never Was, by Ewen Montagu. 160 pp. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. \$2.75

To readers of Duff Cooper's fictitious *Operation Heartbreak* this story of the genuine "Operation Mincemeat" will be nothing new, though it may surprise them to find how much more exciting bare facts can be than romantic fiction. The book reads like a first-class thriller, technically much above the average, and much more amusing. It is the story of an unscrupulous piece of deception perpetrated by scrupulous, but imaginative, resourceful, and painstaking men.

After our conquest of North Africa, the Germans expected an attack in the obvious spot on the map of Europe: Sicily. But a small group of British intelligence officers suggested that it might be worth while to try to confuse the German High Command by planting on them spurious information about an intended attack in the Balkans.

They got hold of a corpse that might well have passed for that of a staff officer. And instead of burying it under the owner's name—this part of the deception caused them the most painful scruples—they created a new and complete personality around the body. They provided personal letters, bills, photographs, and all the other odds and ends of life, tied a brief case filled with official-looking papers onto the dead man, and cast him adrift near the Spanish coast. Copies of the documents were promptly passed on to the German intelligence by their local agents, examined critically, and accepted as genuine. In spite of evidence to the contrary, the German High Command stopped the reinforcement of Sicily and sent some of their best troops to the Balkans instead. Mr. Montagu and his colleagues have received warm public recognition in England for saving thousands of Allied soldiers' lives by this act.

HUBERT MARTIN

Introduction to South Africa

The People of South Africa, by Sarah Gertrude Millin. 349 pp. New York: Alfred A Knopf. \$4.50

Mrs. Millin, perhaps best known to American readers as the biographer of the late General Smuts, is well aware that Americans know little of her country, South Africa. "If you told people in Kansas that there was a terrible racial problem in Natal," she says, "they would ask: 'Where is Natal?' And though they may have heard where it was at the time the Zulus attacked the Indians of Durban, they have probably forgotten again."

Mrs. Millin is also aware that her country is too important to Americans—and vice versa—for such an ignorance to be healthy or justifiable. The United States relies on South Africa for some of its most priceless possessions: gold, diamonds, and (though Mrs. Millin rather pointedly does not mention this) uranium. South Africa's strategic importance in the global front line of war against Communism is obvious to the Pentagon if not to the man in the street. And, finally, South Africa is a cauldron of peoples and races—English, Boers, Jews, Indians, Africans, and mixed breeds—which threatens to boil over at any moment.

The book attempts to introduce Americans to these three aspects of South Africa. But Mrs. Millin's selection and emphasis are rather personal and not always very happy. She does tell something of the epic of enterprise which has turned the semi-desert veld into one of the world's largest exporters of agricultural products as well as into the largest producer of gold and diamonds. She pays a well-deserved tribute to the men responsible for this development, but she gives little attention to the important economic questions that face this region.

Her treatment of the Communist situation in South Africa is even sketchier. She does, however, have this useful passage:

Of all countries, says Dr. Malan, South Africa, faced by the menace of armed Africans, an Asiatic alliance and an overflow of Asiatics on the African continent, has most to fear from Communism. In a war against Communism, he says, the weakest part in the defense system of the Western powers is the Middle East. For this reason, the Atlantic Pact needs South Africa and South Africa needs the Atlantic Pact.

The largest part of the book is devoted to the problems and the interrelations of the peoples inhabiting South Africa. And Mrs. Millin does full justice to the publisher's claim that her study "is written with passion, in the language of passion." The object of this passion is, of course, the late General Smuts and the book is not likely to please the followers of Dr. Malan, South Africa's controversial premier, whose white-supremacy views on racial questions have been a bone of contention.

Mrs. Millin's book, however, is at its best where it shatters some of the most widespread and erroneous views on South Africa. How many of her readers would have known, for example, that "the calories a native mine worker has are nearly thrice as many daily as the British got in the years after the war."

MAX WHITE

Briefer Mention

Sea in the Forest, by Archie Binns. 256 pp. New York: Doubleday and Company. \$3.50

In the land north of the Columbia River and slightly west of the Cascade Mountains, the Pacific Ocean crashes into an amazing, huge pocket that is a wonder of the world: Puget Sound. Whales disport themselves with ponderous bubbings in the wide strait leading to the Sound. Almost filmy, tiny things safely swim in the inlets beyond. Vast fortunes have been made and vast romances lived on its waters and shores. Timber barons, adventurers, and even the I.W.W. have shed blood and legend there. In short, the Sound has just about everything. But, certainly in comparison with other regions, it has not had anything like a steady tide of chronicles for the general reader. Archie Binns, an English-teaching resident of Seattle, is one of the writers who has been trying to do something about that for a good many years. His latest attempt is a jampacked, if scarcely definitive view of Sound history zooming by as though under full sail, and anecdotes—many of which are as engrossing as tales told by an old skipper. But best of all is the simple fact that the fabulous Sound is getting more of the able attention it so richly deserves.

China Trader, by A. H. Rasmussen. 274 pp. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. \$3.95

Sooner or later every Old China Hand seems to get around to writing a book. Since practically all of them were traders or missionaries, their viewpoints have become familiar. Missionaries like to dwell on personalities and possibilities. The traders, on the other hand, are apt to argue like Mr. Rasmussen. As he sees it, the individual counts for so little in China that there is no point in spending much time on him unless he happens to be either a dignitary or an oddity. The author is himself something of an oddity, for his change from sailor into merchant, a step facilitated by his careful study of the language in his off-duty hours, was certainly not typical. In this episodic account of his adventures in war, hunting, and politics from 1905 to 1937 he says little about trade.

Mr. Rasmussen has a sweeping theory of his own to explain the fantastic political events that he experienced, frequently at the risk of his

life. It is worth quoting in full as the blunt statement of a straightforward man, without either subtlety or soft soap:

That monstrous four hundred million people, left in stagnation and neglect for hundreds of years to fight bitterly for survival, have of necessity developed a character and standards in keeping with life as they have experienced it. The colossal ignorance and superstition among the masses, and corruption and conceit of the officials, have swept such virtues as love and charity away, and the severity of their struggle for existence has given hate and greed a prominent place, along with suspicion.

Maharani, by Brinda, Maharani of Kapurthala, as told to Elaine Williams. 246 pp. New York: Henry Holt and Company. \$3.50

Pity the poor writer of fiction! The Maharani's own story leaves him little. Her flights from purdah were ladylike but stubborn. Her story, like a movie, is studded with jewels and great names. She was engaged as a child to a Sikh but she herself was a different kind of Hindu. The family tears and goings-on about this difference between sects are a clue to the splintered India of today. At eleven she was sent to France to be educated by the Bourbons. . . "The President [of France] and ministers were never invited or even mentioned in their society." At fifteen she fell in love with a blond Frenchman; at fifty-eight, she loves him still. At seventeen she married her Sikh. When her father-in-law forced her husband to take a second wife, she finally broke away. Today, growing old, she feels she belongs to neither the world from which or to which she fled. It's hard going when there are no sacred cows for a Maharani, but fascinating reading.

The Untidy Pilgrim, by Eugene Walter. 253 pp. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. \$3.50

The Pilgrim is a young man of Mobile and the Gulf Coast in Alabama who loves his people with passion, but who laughs at them with acid wit. No molasses here, nor any guffaw, but the book can leave the reader smiling and then make him smile every time he thinks of it. The innards of these people don't matter; you have a good time with their outsides. Our young man starts out curious about women, though rather naive. But after a few enlightening weeks with an extremely energetic young woman, he knows a good deal. The sins of these people are of high caliber, their gossip hilarious, and their record in this book truly memorable.

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THE BOOKMAILER, Box 101, New York 16

C I N E M A

Mr. Lawson's Box Trick

By BEN RAY REDMAN

John Howard Lawson is the most talented member of the notorious "Hollywood Ten"—motion picture directors and writers who in 1947 refused to tell the House Committee on Un-American Activities whether or not they were or had been members of the Communist Party. He is a man of great imagination and keen intelligence; but these powers are not coequal, for the second is the dutiful, cunning slave of the first. With his imagination Mr. Lawson has created a world picture which shows an enlightened, peace-loving, culturally progressive Soviet Union virtuously confronting a United States that is morally corrupt, politically fascistic, and ruthlessly bent upon world conquest. With his intelligence he achieves the feat of making every segment of this picture fit into every larger segment with the precision characteristic of the proverbial nest of Chinese boxes. This performance, which has been going on in public for years, has seldom been more enjoyable than it is within the paper covers of *Film in the Battle of Ideas*, published by the Communist magazine *Masses and Mainstream*.

In this book Mr. Lawson is writing about Hollywood and its product. This means that he knows his subject well. During his successful career as a film writer and president of the Screen Writers' Guild, he was the spiritual adviser, political commissar, and literary censor to a small but important stable of Hollywood hacks who were dedicated to the proposition that every script must have in it scenes and characters, or at least a few lines, calculated to make spectators like the United States less and love Soviet Russia more. Their basic formula was simple: whenever possible, try to make Americans view their past with suspicion and their present with discontent.

In his new book Mr. Lawson tells us that a conspiracy to slip Communist propaganda into motion pictures never existed. His manner is convincing. He almost persuadeth me. Perhaps he would persuade me completely, if I did not remember the party-line lines that I blue-penciled at Universal Pictures between 1936 and 1938, some of them written by a member of the "ten"; if I did not remember that anti-Communist Hollywood writers and executives were often knifed in the back—during the good old days before the "witch-hunting" Committee on Un-American Activities went into action—by knives that should have been stamped Made in Moscow.

Yes, when Mr. Lawson writes about Hollywood he knows whereof he writes. But the small portion

of the world that is Hollywood must be made to fit neatly into his imaginary world picture.

Near the beginning of his book we read:

The ideological difficulties which plague the defenders of Wall Street's program ("world domination by force of arms") reflect the real difficulties in the implementation of that program. The victory over fascism in the Second World War created a new relationship of forces on a world scale. The Soviet Union emerged from the war steeled and strengthened in the anti-fascist struggle, dedicating its vast resources to peaceful reconstruction and the cultural enrichment of its people. In China and the Eastern Democracies, people's governments undertook the task of building free societies, free from private exploitation, devoted to rational progress and human rights. . . The Wall Street monopolists, unwilling to accept the limitations on their power growing out of the breakdown of imperialism and the increasing strength of the camp of socialism and peace, have appointed themselves the "saviors of Western Civilization" which means, in less guarded language, total war against the majority of the world's population. In order to undertake this insane task, all opposition within the United States must be crushed; the rear must be safeguarded by the establishment of fascism at home.

And that is what Hollywood is up to, and has been up to for quite a while, according to Mr. Lawson. "Propaganda for war and conquest, for 'white supremacy' and the oppression of colonial peoples, has characterized the history of the motion picture in the United States, from *Tearing Down the Spanish Flag* in 1898 to the latest Korean war film." The whole cycle of gangster pictures, he says, was designed to glorify the gangster-killer as a hero, so that the youth of America would find the transition from civilian to murderous military life an easy one. The films have practiced Jim Crowism, openly and in disguise, in order to make people of color—yellow, brown, and black—appear despicable and expendable. Both *The Red Badge of Courage* and *Viva Zapata!* were made to drive home the message that any struggle for freedom is futile. Women are degraded in the films "because their degradation is an economic and political necessity of the drive to fascism and war."

It would be hard for me to decide which of Mr. Lawson's arguments I most admire. One of the best pages, surely, is the one on which he explains that Dore Schary was chosen to replace Louis B. Mayer at M-G-M because "Mayer proved incapable of grasping the more complex requirements of propaganda in the present crisis of United States imperialism." Hardly less delightful is Lawson's self-righteous attack on Elia Kazan and other "stool-pigeons." But perhaps most to be cherished are the passages in which Mr. Lawson now discovers fascist propaganda in films that were written by known leftists—some of them Mr. Lawson's own understrappers—and those other passages in which he confesses that he himself was once shamefully unaware of how ubiquitous this wicked propaganda was.

"It would be a mistake to underestimate the effectiveness of *A Streetcar Named Desire* as cold war propaganda," Mr. Lawson points out. (Here, I must confess, I can follow him only at a distance that does not permit of perfect understanding.) "To view *The Well* or *A Streetcar Named Desire*, or even such an apparently innocuous film as *An American in Paris*, without class consciousness, without alertness and partisanship, is an abandonment of struggle on the vital ideological front."

How does Mr. Lawson advise his readers to carry on the struggle? First, "There is much to learn concerning the function of the film, its potentialities as a people's art, from study of the motion pictures produced in the Soviet Union, China and the people's democracies." Having learned, we should go and do likewise. Citizen groups should be organized to boycott Hollywood's fascist product, to insist that Hollywood change its ways; and there should be an increasing number of truly independent productions, for which *Salt of the Earth*—"made by artists who have been supposedly 'silenced forever' by the Un-American Committee—may serve as a model." [See the review of this film which follows.]

Mr. Lawson knows that the struggle will be long and hard, for the dragons of Wall Street are not going to be slain easily; but—may I add my words to his?—we have nothing to lose but our brains.

Pass the Salt, Comrade

By M. K. ARGUS

There would be no point in reviewing *Salt of the Earth* were it not for the notoriety that film gained while being produced. It is sponsored by the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, expelled from the C.I.O. for following the Communist party line. It was produced by Paul Jarrico and directed by Herbert J. Biberman, of "Hollywood Ten" fame.

Messrs. Biberman and Jarrico went to New Mexico to make the picture and, presumably, to show the nation and the world at large what they, having lost their Hollywood jobs for pro-Communism, could do on their own. They have merely succeeded in producing an average film propagandizing a certain union. Other unions have produced better and more interesting films; Hollywood itself—which is, as everybody knows, controlled by Wall Street—has done much better by the American workingman and the class struggle.

The film is static, pedestrian, with little suspense or excitement. The plot branches out into a series of tributary plots that rob the film of its effectiveness. There is the strike; there is the undercurrent of a conflict between the Mexican-American and the "Anglo" workers; there is also, thrown in

for good measure, the struggle between the miners' wives and their husbands for equal rights for women, including, naturally, the right to participate in the picketing of the mines.

I don't know what role the miners' wives play in John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers Union, but, I am glad to be informed, they have gained full equality with their husbands in the International Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers. The husbands are even seen hanging out diapers.

The characters, and, that is the fault of both Michael Wilson, the scenarist, and Mr. Biberman, are hackneyed. The bosses are heartless and rude; the policemen (except, strangely, the Sheriff) are mean and cruel; the workers, especially the leaders, organizers, and members of the union, are noble, valiant, honest, and they have sensitive and poetic souls such as are not possessed, of course, by the bosses or by members of other unions that have remained in the C.I.O.

Needless—or is it needless?—to say, the strike, after a series of trials and tribulations, including a Taft-Hartley anti-picketing injunction and several fights against the police and the scabs, is won by the workers and their spouses. The bosses are compelled to capitulate.

This is where the film defeats its own political purpose. The victory of the strikers is one more proof that the workers do not fare so badly in this hysteria-ridden country of ours, and are still able to beat the bosses. Messrs. Biberman, Jarrico, and Wilson have obviously fallen down on their job in this respect. They have proved the opposite of what they intended to prove. I, for one, don't mind it, although I would prefer to see the point brought home in a better picture.

The acting, on the whole, is good. Rosaura Revueltas, a well-known Mexican actress, is quite impressive in the principal role of a miner's wife who compels her husband to recognize her right to emancipation. Juan Chacon, who in real life is President of Local 890 of the union, delivers an accomplished and quite professional performance as a Mexican-American leader of the strike. Most of the other players have been recruited from among the workers and their families in Bayard, New Mexico. Their performances, too, are far superior to those of the three guiding spirits of the picture.

Biberman, Jarrico, and Wilson displayed their gifts to better advantage while working for the capitalists in Hollywood. There is one interesting point about the picture: the propaganda it contains is fairly well subdued, due no doubt to its makers' long habit of injecting this sort of propaganda sub rosa into their Hollywood-made films.

It has been reported that the producers of the picture encountered difficulties on location in New Mexico and when trying to lease a New York theater. This, if true, was unnecessary; the product does not merit such additional publicity.

More About the Code

The following statement has come to us from the Motion Picture Production Code Administration as their reaction to Serge Fliegers' recent discussion in these pages on "Codes and Morals" (see the FREEMAN, February 22). The office of the director of the Code Administration, Joseph I. Breen, requested space to reply to Mr. Fliegers, and we are more than glad to grant it.

Out of the welter of myths about Hollywood's Production Code, there is one that appears all too frequently, like an idiotic jack-in-the-box bounding to the surface for aid. This is the notion that one of the main concerns of the Code is to see to it that all sins and crimes in pictures receive their due punishment.

The Code is not an instrument of nemesis. What the Code is interested in is only the *recognition* of right and wrong. In its original draft it contained the admonition: "Sins and crimes *need not* always be punished, so long as the audience is made to know that they are wrong."

The Code has always been administered in the spirit of this directive, even though, for some mysterious historic reason, it has disappeared from the public printings of the document. In its present draft, the Code clearly distinguishes between "repellent" sins, and "sins which often attract."

Consequently, those who give currency to the idea that the Code is constantly swooping down like an avenging angel on every pécadillo that crops forth on the screen, either have not read the Code, or have skimmed through it in so purblind a manner as to make them incompetent witnesses. Furthermore, they obviously have not seen pictures.

What, for instance, was the "punishment" for *any* of the sinners in the current smash hit *From Here to Eternity*? Outside of the corrupt army officer, who was hauled up before a board of his military peers, *none* of the characters in this film are subjected to the supposed Code "treatment." The chastisement of the overambitious captain was introduced by the studio of its own spontaneous volition, without any suggestions from the Code office. Do critics of the Code imagine that the reason that Pruitt dies at the end of this story is because the Administrators of the Code insisted on it? If they do, they simply do not know their source material.

The same can be said of Anatole Litvak's excellent current picture *Act of Love*. Anybody, including the producer, who says that the Code mauled a work of art in insisting that the girl die at the end of this story, can hardly have read the original novel from which this work was taken. In Alfred Hayes' book *The Girl on the Via Flaminia*, the girl comes to a tragic end, even as in the film.

What of *David and Bathsheba*, to take another picture? Here is a story of murder and gross adultery, in which the principals end up happily united to each other. The protest against their sin comes from God himself, who puts a curse on the king's people, and withers the land. This is what the Code is interested in; an assessment of wrongdoing for what it is—wrongdoing. Where-soever comes the assessment is not important, so long as it is effective. *David and Bathsheba* is a story of sin and *regeneration*, for which there is ample room under the Code scheme of things.

Not to pile up instances uselessly, it is still necessary to ask what the punishment for the adulterer was in the outstanding Hal Wallis picture *September Affair*. Here again is a story of sin and *regeneration*, in which the lead returns to the bosom of his family, to try to make things right once again. Add to this the Academy Award picture, *African Queen*. This is a story of fornication, in which the two principals gain each other in the end. The reason for this is that the body of the picture contains, with clarity and persuasiveness, a recognition of their sin by the sinners. Examples could be multiplied further, but the point should be sufficiently established for anyone who sees pictures, and approaches this question with an open mind.

It is a mistake to try to prove too much. As a result, it must be candidly admitted that the more usual procedure for taking recognition of wrongdoing is by visiting on sinners and criminals the consequences of their misdeeds. This is not because the Code is an impossibly idealistic instrument, which imagines that wrong is always compensated for in this world (thus eliminating the necessity for hell), but for the practical reason that there is not always time in pictures to properly treat sins in any other manner. In addition, there is the inescapable consideration that punishment for crime is frequently dramatic, and thus fits the requirements of picture-makers perfectly. And lastly, it aids in putting an end to the story. This is why it is generally seized on by picture-makers as the run-of-the-mill way of treating lawlessness, be it a case of the Civil law or of the Natural law.

The notion that the motion picture industry is at the mercy of a group of Code "interpreters," who have a fixed idea that, at least on the screen, there will be no human frailties which have not been accounted for this side of death, is naive in the extreme. Anyone who carries this notion around in his head, is merely ignorant of the structure of the Code office, and of the system of checks and balances to which it is subjected. The Code is a creature of the motion picture industry itself. If the Code Administrators were conducting themselves in an irrational or arbitrary manner, they could be abolished by simple fiat, by those in whose

hands rests the entire responsibility for the Code, namely, the Presidents of the film companies. To suggest that these men are the dupes of a wily gang of perfectionists is to display a stupidity that is so profound as to be positively heroic.

Mr. Fliegers Replies

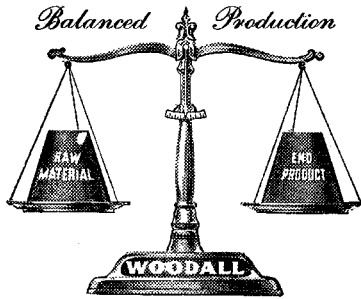
Mr. Breen's office rashly accuses others of not reading the Production Code, which, they admit, has mysterious gaps. It seems to me that the preoccupation of the Breen organization with the subject of sin is not balanced by an equal amount of time spent watching the pictures they censor. They display an amazing ignorance, for example, when they ask: "What was the 'punishment' for *any* of the sinners in *From Here to Eternity*?" The answer is evident, since the entire story of the book and film is concerned with the avalanche of retribution that engulfs the principals. It is true that most of this punishment comes in the form of divine retribution rather than through court martial or the police courts. But certainly the Breen office would agree that divine retribution is a valid punishment.

Mr. Breen's office chooses to contradict flatly the statement made by Anatole Litvak in an interview with me that the ending of the motion picture *Act of Love* had to be materially changed because of the Code. Since Mr. Litvak is both producer and director of the film, and since the original book and the play by Alfred Hayes bear him out, I tend to follow Mr. Litvak on this point rather than the Breen office.

When it comes to *David and Bathsheba*, I am glad that Mr. Breen's acolytes have not yet attempted to censor or change the stories of the Bible. I shudder to think, however, what might happen if the *Song of Songs*, for example, should ever come within the purlieus of their pencils.

On the whole, I find the Breen office's clinical analysis of pictures an affront. Their search to determine whether a production under their jurisdiction contains "regeneration" (*September Affair*) or "fornication" (*African Queen*) reminds me of a schoolboy trying to read lewd meanings into passages from the *Aeneid*. Like millions of others, I saw *African Queen* and never worried for a moment whether there was regeneration or fornication. I just enjoyed the picture. The Code Administrators say it is a mistake to try to prove too much. But it is they who make that mistake, I'm afraid.

Their letter again brings up the whole question of whether there should be censorship of moving pictures, and, if so, what kind of censorship and who should administer it. I stated my own position in the article under discussion. I do not think the Breen office has adequately faced or answered the question in their comment on that article.



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FROM OUR READERS

(Continued from p. 472)

The Rosenberg Trial

I am unable to follow the reasoning of Eugene Lyons, who in his review of Fineberg's *The Rosenberg Case* (February 22) says: "The implied admission that they [the Rosenbergs] could betray 'their friends' by talking is vital to the whole controversy," and then goes on to assume that this is evidence of their guilt.

Surely it does not require anyone to reach down to the profundities of Bentham's *Rationale of Judicial Evidence* . . . to know that this is a *non sequitur*. I have not read the transcript of the Rosenberg case. But this I can say with some assurance: if the trial judge admitted evidence, even on cross-examination of the Rosenbergs, that they did know and would not reveal the guilt of persons not on trial, this should have been good ground for the grant of a new trial for the obvious reason that such testimony or question was prejudicial.

Berkeley, Cal. CHARLES B. COLLINS

Mr. Lyons Replies

Either my review at this point or Mr. Collins' reading of it must have been confused. I did not say that the item "proved guilt." I said that whether or not the Rosenbergs had information about accomplices to reveal was "central to the controversy" which developed after their conviction. Whether the virtual admission that they did have such information would have been acceptable in a court of law is quite beside the point. I was referring to the court of common sense.

Before their execution it was widely reported that the Rosenbergs could save their lives by talking: by telling the full truth. But, they responded, they would never become "informers." Their devoted spokesmen, Mrs. Sobell and others, boasted that Julius and Ethel "would never betray their friends." This, it seemed to Dr. Fineberg, and to his reviewer, came impressively close to an admission that the convicted pair were in a position to "inform" and "betray" but had chosen instead to shield their associates.

Mr. Collins will find this item spelled out more clearly on pages 44-45 of the book under review. The author, too, did not claim that this in itself proved guilt, but only that, taken together with all the other facts, it helped erase any margin of doubt in his mind.

Chappaqua, N. Y. EUGENE LYONS

General Zwicker's Testimony

I have read a great deal about the McCarthy-Zwicker affair, but nowhere have I seen an explanation of the reason for allowing General Zwicker to go on the witness stand while he was under orders not to testify. . . . I am one admirer of Senator McCarthy who would rather have seen him attack General Ridgway or Secretary Stevens, one or both of whom must have known in advance that General Zwicker would go on the stand and that he would be unable to explain his refusal to answer questions. It is hardly fair to a good officer to put him up to be shot at, in order to save some politician's hide.

Wheeling, W. Va. F. H. JOHNSON

Our Soviet "Allies"

Samuel B. Pettengill made an excellent point in "The 'Any' in Espionage" (March 8) when he wrote that it was in violation of our law for government officials to take it upon themselves to transmit state secrets to *any* foreign power, enemy or ally, in extra-official capacity.

But there is, I think, another, if secondary, point which may be made in connection with the assertions of New Deal apologists these days that such conduct was permissible because Russia was our ally and we were "in it together." All during, as well as after, the war the Russians showed every indication of regarding the association with us as a matter of cold expediency, to be exploited for all it was worth. They treated us with utter contempt. They even refused to cooperate in matters which should have been of mutual advantage to wartime allies, as, for example, when they refused to permit American flyers engaged in the bombing of Germany to land on Russian soil. . . .

Delta, Utah RICHARD S. MORRISON

For Better Balance

I like the FREEMAN very much and think it is doing a fine job in getting the country back on an even keel.

Peoria, Ill. E. H. GILBERT

Credit Unions Needed

I have just finished reading the *Reader's Digest* condensation of your article "A New Kind of Saving" (January 25). The Henry Street Settlement Credit Union evidently have something that few loan banks have: Faith in their fellow-men. I wonder why there are not more loan companies such as this one in business through our country. Would they not be a boon to the average workingman?

Rogers, Ark. EARLE L. CARY

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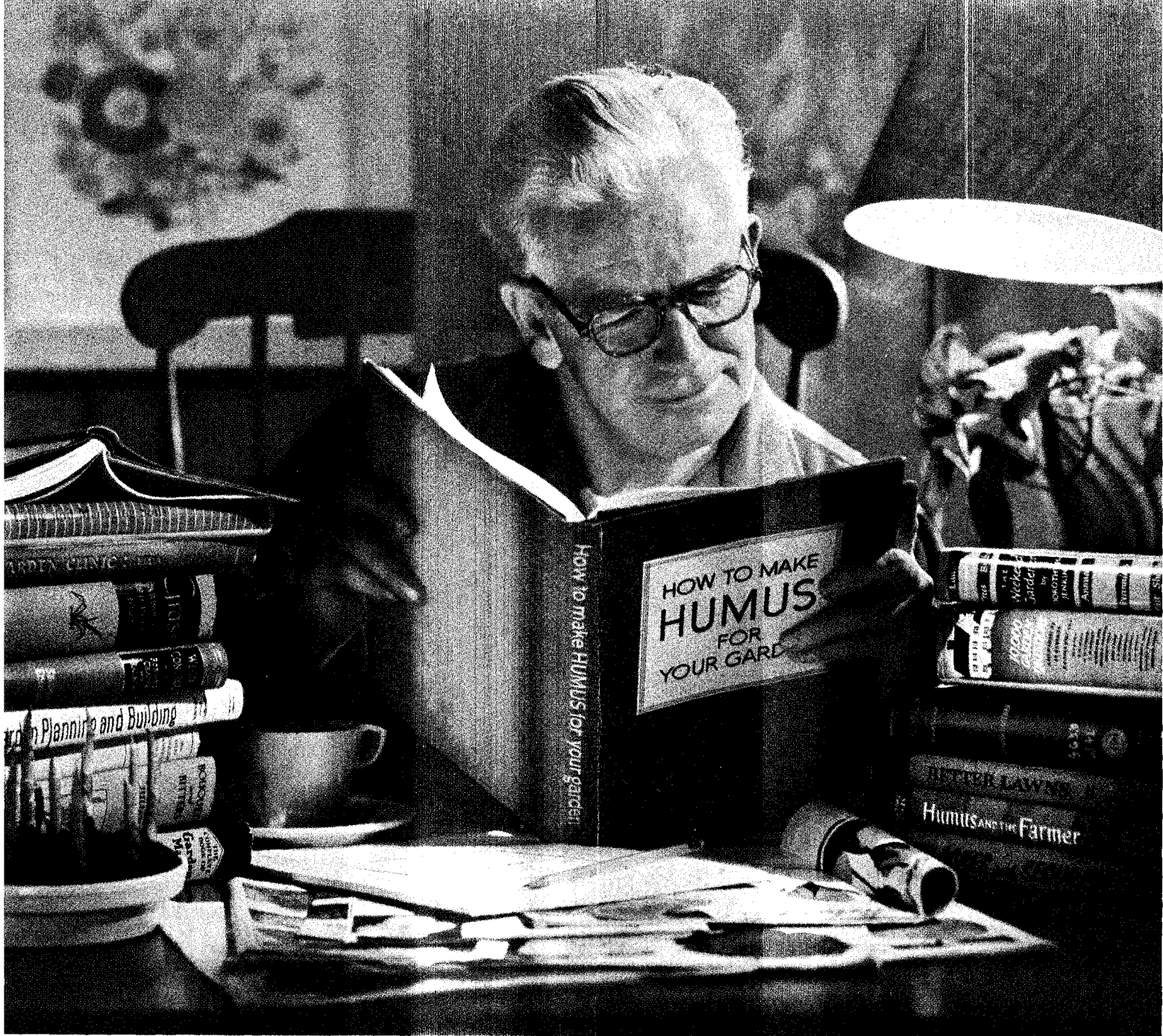
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Photograph by Viles

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