

The Christian Left

Lawrence R. Brown

Is Latin America Next?

Eudocio Ravines

The Politics of Depression

William H. Peterson

Austria's Economic Victory

Joseph Meiseder

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THE Freeman

A Fortnightly
For
Individualists

Executive Director KURT LASSEN
Managing Editor FLORENCE NORTON

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VOL. 4, No. 13 MARCH 22, 1954

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Among Ourselves

LAWRENCE R. BROWN's discussion of the leftward trend in Christian thinking (p. 443) has for our readers, of whatever faith or none, exceptional importance. Removed from a concern with personalities or denominations, it explains why many people today who can truly be numbered among the faithful are promoting, consciously or unwittingly, the spread of the Communist conspiracy.

With the failure at the Berlin Conference of any settlement of a treaty for Austria, that sorely beset country had to abandon once again the hope for an early end of Soviet occupation. For a close view of current conditions, we cabled JOSEPH MEISEDER in Vienna to send a report. His description (p. 448) is far from the gloomy picture we expected, indeed is an affirmation once again of the "miracle" that inevitably occurs when common sense and the principle of freedom are applied to a nation's economy.

Admittedly disturbed by continual cries of "Recession" and "Depression," we asked WILLIAM H. PETERSON, one of our contributors who happened by as we were discussing the subject, whether this alarm was justified by statistics or economic law. His answer (p. 451) is No, but he goes farther and says why there is cause for alarm—of a different kind.

We have interrupted our series of articles on the individual countries of Latin America to give a round-up report (p. 453) on a subject of grave concern to the Tenth Inter-American Conference in Caracas—Communist infiltration in the Western Hemisphere. Until his break with the Communist Party in 1940 EUDOCIO RAVINES was himself a successful leader in that program of infiltration, and is therefore well equipped to tell us how the techniques used by the Communists in the Americas differ from those with which we are familiar elsewhere, and to what extent they are being employed.

J. DONALD ADAMS, well-known critic, editor, and writer, does not confine his activities to the world of books. At the age of twenty-two he joined a geological team in a trip to map the foothills of Mount Rainier. His scientific interest in nature has continued, and he still spends as much time as he can spare in the mountains and forests of the West.

MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES A. WILLOUGHBY's experiences in the Far East and his intimate knowledge of intelligence operations and military tactics give him a special voice in any discussion of the Korean "impasse." He served as Chief of Intelligence on General Douglas MacArthur's staff, is completing a book based on the records of his former commanding officer to be published in the spring.

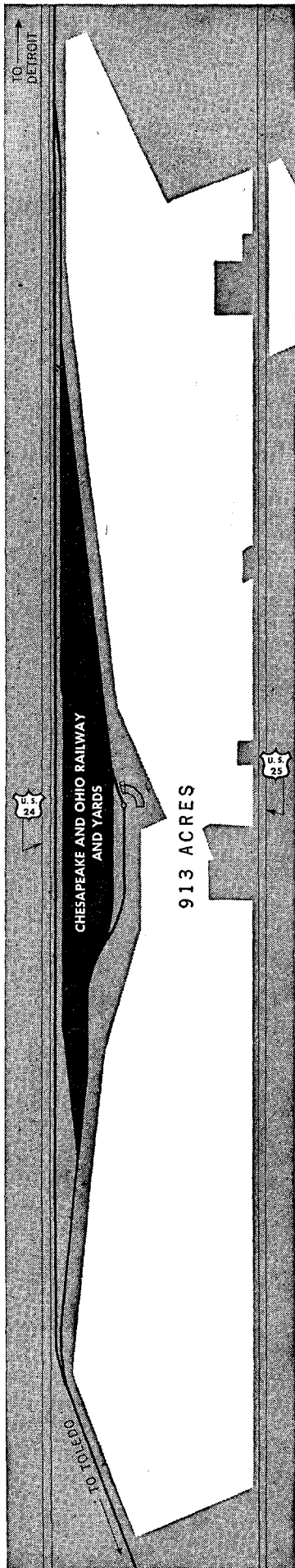
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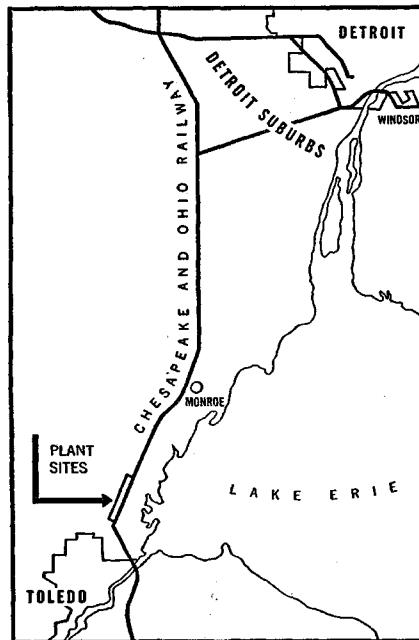
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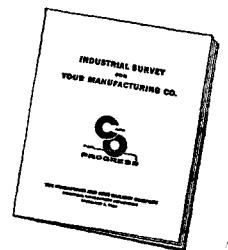
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THE Freeman

MONDAY, MARCH 22, 1954

The Fortnight

It is hard to take a 100 per cent "pro" or "anti" position in the running fire of controversy between Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and members of the Eisenhower Administration. On one side of the argument there is the indisputable right, often upheld in the courts, of congressional committees to carry on investigations and cite witnesses under pain of contempt. One did not hear any left-wing outcries of "inquisition" when financier J. P. Morgan and oil magnate Harry F. Sinclair were questioned by these committees and treated in a way to put them in the worst possible light. Senator McCarthy has overwhelming popular support in his demand that the last vestiges of subversive infiltration be cleaned out of government and the army. In his campaign he has focused attention on the seriousness of the question, built fires under bureaucratic complacency, and turned up useful leads.

On the other hand, such intemperate language as the Senator used in questioning Brigadier General Ralph W. Zwicker tends to discredit the investigative process. It is regrettable that the other members of his committee have not been more active in its proceedings. And a serious issue of usurpation of authority arises when McCarthy steps outside the normal functions of an investigator and gives the impression of trying to dictate or influence personnel appointments and issue orders to subordinate officials. The subordinate official's responsibility is to the head of the department in which he works; the cabinet secretary's responsibility is to the President. Some of McCarthy's tactics interfere seriously with orderly administration and even pose a threat to the constitutional allocation of powers. For the effective pursuit in the future of the important cause with which he has allied himself, it is earnestly hoped he will abandon them.

All the publicly expressed concern about morale in the State Department, recently emphasized by the appointment of an eight-man committee to study the problem, recalls that there is another side of the coin. In the war years anyone with

a realistic view of Soviet purposes and intentions was a candidate for the diplomatic doghouse. State Department officials were reluctant to be seen in the company of persons of strong anti-Communist views. And how did loyal, competent Far Eastern experts in the Department feel when John Carter Vincent was running a non-stop campaign against nationalist China under the signatures of Truman and Byrnes or when Angus Ward, with his specialized knowledge of Russia and China, was shunted off to an obscure post in Africa after his release from Chinese Communist imprisonment? Without condoning any act of injustice to a foreign service officer of proved positive loyalty, we suspect that most of those stricken with the disease of low morale are people who cannot adjust themselves to a vigorous, militant anti-Communist American foreign policy.

Prime Minister Nehru of India is always in character, when it is a question of lending an assist to the Communist side while posing as a friend of the West. His latest proposal for a cease-fire in Indo-China, nicely timed to appeal to French defeatist opinion, would work out one-sidedly for the benefit of Ho Chi Minh's Communist forces. For, in contrast to Korea, there is no fixed military line of demarcation in Indo-China. A cease-fire would end all effective resistance to the Communist tactics of hit-and-run infiltration.

Nehru continued to run true to form when he rejected an offer of American arms aid, berated American policies in Asia before the Indian Parliament, and demanded the withdrawal of Americans from the U.N. Kashmir armistice commission. In Kashmir, incidentally, Nehru is holding in subjection by Indian military force a predominantly Moslem population to whom he denies an honest plebiscite. In the light of the Indian Prime Minister's record, it is hard to understand why former Ambassador Chester Bowles and others believe America can derive any advantage from trying to appease him.

In retrospect one of the most pathetic aspects of General William Dean's story of his captivity in subhuman conditions was his firm faith that the

war would be fought through to victory. "The United States never starts wars," he told one of his captors, "but when we do fight them we fight to win." In view of the Korean aftermath General Dean and others who suffered as much or more than he did have some reason to feel let down. Quite inexcusable is the letting down of hundreds of American prisoners who are still being held in Manchuria. There is a heavy responsibility somewhere for the failure to insist on the release of these men as a condition of the armistice. It is still not too late for an aroused public opinion to demand that these men be freed before we sit down with representatives of Red China at Geneva.

March 5 marked the first anniversary of the death of one of the most formidable tyrants and mass murderers of history, Joseph Stalin. The career of Stalin was a sinister illumination of the profound truth of Lord Acton's dictum: "All power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely." An imperfect list of his crimes includes the deliberate starvation, torture and killing, slow extermination, or outright murder of millions under his rule. It is a sad commentary on the civilization of the twentieth century that Stalin's crime story was also a political success story.

The aftermath of Stalin's death has confounded the prophets who foresaw a sweeping immediate change in the Kremlin. Stalin's near-deification was dropped with surprising speed—an indication that terror, not devotion, was the main prop of his power. Molotov's intransigence at Berlin furnished the final answer to the wishful thinkers, among whom Sir Winston Churchill must unfortunately be numbered, who believed that the Kremlin under new leadership would abate its schemes of imperialist domination. And the apparatus of absolute power still grinds on. But the liquidation of Beria, Number Two figure after Stalin's death, reveals the Achilles heel of the Soviet system: the absence of any element of legality. It is unlikely that Moscow has seen its last palace revolution.

The Fabian Society, which had much to do with converting British public opinion from individualism to collectivism, recently celebrated the seventieth anniversary of its organization. "The Fabian Method," one of its reports noted, "is to make use of organizations formed by others, to 'capture' the political clubs and associations: to write the newspapers which non-Socialists will read." In a word, infiltration, which is not a Communist monopoly. Similar organizations are at work in this country. The only effective way to combat this infiltration is for those Americans who believe that liberty, individualism, and private property are inseparably connected, that statism is poison to the free human being and the free society, to band together and promote their views just as energet-

ically as the Fabians and their American imitators push their collectivist crusades.

On the first of January 1791, the national debt was \$75,463,476. This had been worked down by 1812 to \$45,209,737. As a result of the war of 1812, the debt went up again to \$127,334,933 in 1816. It was then steadily worked down year by year over the next twenty years (except for a small rise in the single year 1821) until in 1835 there was no national debt whatever. The only importance of this little historical record is to show that it is not inevitable for the national debt to go up and up and up, but that it is possible to move in the other direction.

The latest in Moscow's long series of "first invention" claims is a machine built to generate "a faint rhythmic current" and guaranteed to produce deep slumber within a minute. Before producers of barbiturates and other sleeping pills become alarmed at this suggestion of foreign competition, two facts should be noted. The home demand for such a "sleep machine" would certainly be enormous, in view of the number of Soviet citizens who spend wakeful nights wondering whether a 3 A.M. knock on the door will announce the arrival of the secret police. Second, there is a wide gap between Soviet radio claims and actual Soviet scientific and industrial achievements. More conducive to quiet slumber for citizens of the U.S.S.R. than pills or machines would be a good dose of freedom.

Adlai Stevenson may have acquired a nickname that will stick as a result of retired Admiral Adolphus Staton's recent testimony before Senator Jenner's Internal Security subcommittee. The Admiral told of his futile effort to get Communist radio operators barred from American Merchant Marine ships and testified that Stevenson, an aide to Navy Secretary Frank Knox, had said to him: "I don't think we should be too hard on the Commies." Adlai ("Don't be too hard on the Commies") Stevenson. It fits in with the general pattern of Stevenson's speaking and writing, again exemplified by his March 6 attack on "McCarthyism"—incidentally, a major point in the "new" Communist party line announced the same day.

Time and again the West has said that it would agree to negotiate with the Communists only if they showed their good faith by deed. As soon as the Communists had demonstrated by deed their bad faith in Panmunjom, the West agreed to a meeting in Berlin. As soon as the Communists had demonstrated by deed their bad faith in Berlin, the West promptly agreed to a meeting in Geneva. There is hope that if the Communists continue to demonstrate their bad faith in Geneva, the West, with its usual consistency, will agree to another meeting—perhaps in Yalta.

A Question of Sovereignty

When the bell had presumably tolled for the Bricker Amendment, the talk went round that the country had survived a constitutional crisis. The cheers were premature, for the amendment has been revived and will come up again in the form of the George proposal. Whether or not it will be put to sleep will again depend on a single vote. Whatever its fate, however, the underlying issues cannot be dismissed or killed.

Seldom has a great debate, running to hundreds of pages in the *Congressional Record*, been so badly reported in the press; seldom have vital questions been so obscured by legalisms and semantics. For purposes of news the drama was how skilfully the Administration and its supporters moved toward the kill; but the meaning of the debate, touching the future of American sovereignty, was something you could not squeeze into headlines.

The history of this oblique situation is simple. There was always a weak and ambiguous spot in the Constitution, namely, the phrase saying that a treaty signed by the President and ratified by two-thirds of the Senate becomes the supreme law of the land. That was not serious so long as a treaty was confined to the sphere of foreign relations, and so long as nobody got the idea of acting upon the social and economic life of the country through treaty law, superseding domestic law.

After we had adopted the United Nations Charter as a treaty the idea of changing the American way of life by treaty-made law grew very fast. It is still undetermined how much of the United Nations Charter is automatically the supreme law of the land, with no further legislation by Congress.

Meanwhile the power of the President on his own initiative to make international agreements, without the consent or knowledge of Congress, had become established. Franklin D. Roosevelt did more than any other President to establish it. The international agreement, effective as law upon the signature of the President alone, is an extra-constitutional thing. The Constitution does not forbid it; neither does it authorize it. Simply, the Constitution never thought of it. Recently the Supreme Court has ruled that such an agreement has in fact the status of a treaty and, like a treaty, becomes the supreme law of the land. Under that decision a New York State law was struck down, notwithstanding the fact that it was perfectly constitutional and that it was not within the jurisdiction of the Congress.

Thus, as things stand now, the President or the State Department can enter into an international agreement which may and sometimes does actually

alter domestic law—and this without the knowledge or consent of Congress.

During the debate on the Bricker Amendment Senator Knowland requested of the State Department a list of the international agreements made during the past ten years without authorization of Congress, indicating which of them had “the effect of internal law.” The State Department replied it would do its best, but the task was onerous and might take six months.

What you see is that a weak spot in the text of the Constitution has been torn wide open, and through that hole American sovereignty is beginning to drain away. The purpose of the Bricker Amendment was to sew up the hole. Senator Bricker said:

Most of the opposition comes from those who yearn for the domination of a supranational government. Some of them would surrender national sovereignty immediately; others would destroy it gradually by means of United Nations treaties and by less formal agreements. Some would organize a suprastate on a global scale, while others would first establish a regional government. Many opponents of the amendment are inspired by an overweening zeal to transfer legislative authority from the states and from the Congress to some international body.

One very active opponent of the Bricker Amendment was Owen J. Roberts, formerly a Justice of the Supreme Court, whose thesis is: “. . . we must not stand on the silly shibboleth of national sovereignty. . . Sovereignty must be surrendered to some higher authority—call it what you will.” One of his colleagues is Will Clayton, a member of the Atlantic Union Committee, who testified against the Bricker Amendment, saying: “It is an unlimited expression of slavish dedication to the fetish of national sovereignty, at a time when the free world must pool its sovereignty if it is to avoid annihilation.”

Against this background it is clear that the true struggle over the Bricker Amendment lay between those who believe in American sovereignty and would not surrender it and those who would exchange it for minority membership in a world government, where we might well be outvoted by the beneficiaries of Point Four.

But in its bitter fight against the Bricker Amendment fighting for? Was it for world government? That cannot be asserted. You may say it was fighting to defend the great new eminence of executive power. Well, any Administration would do that. Never was there a government that would not resist shearing. Perhaps it would be more to the point to say it was defending its freedom of action.

There is, for us at least, a new political locution—freedom of action. The argument is this: the old-fashioned ways of our free, constitutional, representative, limited government were all right when we were standing on the periphery. But now that our power has carried us to the very center of the world we cannot play a proper role of leadership without great freedom of action in the hands of the President. Freedom from what? Well, freedom from the slow and meddlesome restraints of Congress, freedom from the bickerings of partisanship, freedom from a too narrow interpretation of the Constitution, and, above all, freedom from the anti-cries of the people, who have had the responsibilities of great power thrust upon them, who do not understand what world leadership requires of them.

However the argument is worded, in the final analysis it is clear that the opponents of the Bricker Amendment—or any substitute related to it—are not really fighting *against* but *for* something. And that something is world government.

Four C's of Caracas

Four C's figure prominently in the relations which have been under discussion in the Tenth Inter-American Conference at Caracas. These are Communism, commerce, colonialism, and coffee.

At a time when the United States is helping to hold an international front against Soviet imperialist Communism from Norway to Indo-China, an attitude of indifference toward the development of Communism in our own backyard is scarcely possible. The Central American republic of Guatemala, once a tourist land beloved of artists, has become a serious problem child in this connection.

Guatemala's slide toward Communist domination has been described in detail in articles published in the *FREEMAN*. Almost everything that could be expected to happen on the eve of a Communist take-over has happened. Communists have a free hand in running labor and peasant organizations and in broadcasting the Moscow line on the state radio. Anti-Communism is treated as subversion. The seizure of German coffee plantations during the war served as a useful precedent for onslaughts on such American enterprises as the United Fruit Company, the American Foreign Power subsidiary that provides electricity, and the International Railways of Central America. Guatemala has become a hospitable asylum for Communist agents. (The situation elsewhere in Latin America is described in detail by Eudocio Ravines, p. 453.)

However, the desire of the United States for a strong anti-Communist front in this hemisphere runs counter to another of the "C's," colonialism. Our relations with the countries south of the Rio Grande have vastly improved since the days when

we landed Marines to deal with outbursts of local disorder. But some elements of the fear and suspicion which the poor and the weak feel for the rich and the strong still survive. That is why the United States will probably have to make haste slowly with concerted anti-Communist action.

Representatives of the American Republics went to Caracas eager to discuss commerce and, in some cases, with a feeling that the United States has neglected them while it has been pouring money into Europe and, to a smaller extent, into Asia. Anxious to take advantage of free market windfalls like the rise in the price of coffee, they would like to see some form of price stabilization, at not too low a level, for such exports as tin and copper. Except when stockpiling is in our national interest, we can scarcely, under a free economy, give any such price assurances. Experience shows that artificial arrangements to hold up commodity prices almost invariably break down ultimately, with results worse than if they had not been made.

Despite roadblocks in the shape of currency controls and financial instability, despite the unfortunate consequences of sacrificing agriculture to industry in Argentina, despite the tradition of sometimes settling disputes by bullets rather than ballots, Latin America represents a large and growing market and source of supply for the United States. Our exports to our southern neighbors in 1952 were over \$3,300,000,000, almost a sevenfold increase over 1938.

While no big decisions are expected at Caracas there are always advantages in a frank exchange of views among the friendly member states of an interdependent hemisphere.

How Many Unemployed?

This country is beset by enough troubles without having them added to by the statisticians. In an era in which so much appears to depend on figures, the least one can expect of government statisticians is that they do their work with some sense of responsibility and tell the interested public what they are doing and why.

These remarks stem from the unexpected announcement, by the office of the Bureau of the Census which makes such estimates, of a new estimate of the volume of unemployment in the month of January 1954. The old estimate put unemployment in January at 2,360,000; the new estimate raises it by 700,000 to about 3,100,000. Professionals, as well as laymen, must have been puzzled by this sudden change in our economic situation.

The fact is that the old estimates have been made without important modification since 1943, and no one seemed to find anything radically wrong with them, least of all the statisticians who were re-

sponsible for them. They, indeed, keep reiterating how good the figures are. It is in this spirit that they have been accepted and generally used as a reliable and meaningful measure of the level and movement of unemployment.

Now, without notice or adequate explanation, the Census casts upon an unsuspecting public a figure of unemployment which raises by 30 per cent the one we have hitherto accepted with confidence. The public, of course, does not know that both estimates are derived from a sample of 25,000 families out of a total population of 160,000,000 and a labor force of 62,000,000. The difference is that the earlier estimate is based on 25,000 families located in some sixty regions, and the later on another sample of 25,000 families domiciled in some 300 regions. This being the case, and with the information now available, there is no way of telling which of the two estimates is the more reliable, useful, or consistent. Deciding on this crucial question is made still more difficult by the failure of the Census to run the new series back a fair number of months so that the student could compare the behavior of the old and the new in circumstances with which he is reasonably familiar.

Nor does the difficulty end here. There are still other estimates of unemployment, and of employment. The state unemployment compensation systems report the number of initial claims for unemployment benefits and the total number receiving such benefits at frequent intervals. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics publishes estimates of the volume of employment which, for some obvious and some obscure reasons, differ from the estimates of employment made by the Census. These various direct and indirect measures of unemployment are frequently hard to reconcile, and it would seem a task of the utmost urgency for the government statistical agencies to begin working at their reconciliation.

However successful a reconciliation may be, there will always be differences of opinion about the amount of unemployment and about the meaning of whatever amount of unemployment is reported at any given time. For unemployment is in part a matter of definition. Under unemployment insurance laws a man fails or ceases to be unemployed if he refuses suitable employment, and defining suitable employment is obviously no simple matter. Even what seem to be purely statistical decisions involve definition, as is seen from the debate over who is and who is not in the labor force.

Unemployment estimates being what they are, it is only natural that they will become on occasion the subject of political debate by our more erudite congressmen and senators. Thus Senator Paul Douglas, who is running for re-election in Illinois next fall, professes to be terribly upset by the

avalanche of unemployment that has recently descended upon us. But thirty years ago, when the learned Senator was himself making unemployment estimates, he believed that estimates as far apart as 45 and 33 per cent were really in close agreement and, hence, nothing to worry about.

Mr. Douglas was probably more correct then than he is today. Whichever of the Census figures he elects to use will show a relatively low rate of unemployment in the United States in January 1954. Either figure will show, also, that unemployment now is no greater than in 1948-49. Both figures, finally, would require unusual manipulation to raise them to the heights to which unemployment was brought in the 1930s by the policies of that era.

The Soviet Trade Hoax

The Soviet government is shouting "trade" today almost as loudly as it is shouting "peace." Economic salvation for capitalist countries, it is suggested, lies in developing the "enormous" markets of the Soviet Union and its satellites, just as political salvation lies in throwing those nasty Americans with their aggressive bases out of Europe and concluding some nice cozy pacts of non-aggression with the Soviet government—well-known for its faithful observance of such pacts with Poland, Finland, and the Baltic republics.

The picture of the Soviet Union and its satellite empire becoming a major factor in world trade is just as phony as the image of Molotov wearing the wings of a dove of peace. Because a number of individuals, including some who ought to know better, are regularly taken in by the mirage of vast markets behind the Iron Curtain, the Soviet record in international trade up to the present time is worth examining.

Tsarist Russia accounted for about 3 per cent of the volume of world trade. At no time has the Soviet Union reached this modest figure. And Soviet trade with non-Communist countries since the end of World War Two has been much less than it was before the war.

The U.N. Economic Commission for Europe, an organization which has been doing everything in its power to promote East-West trade, is authority for the fact that between 1938 and 1952 West European exports to the Soviet Union and its satellites dropped from 7.3 per cent to 2.7 per cent of all exports; there was a corresponding decline in imports from 8.1 per cent to 2.9 per cent. Grain shipments from the satellite countries to western Europe averaged 2,600,000 tons in the period 1934-38. This declined to 300,000 tons in 1951-52. The highest percentage of British imports ever furnished by the Soviet Union was 3.75 per cent in 1931; the average for 1935-38 was 2.2 per cent,

and this fell to .9 per cent in 1949 and has not varied much since that time.

The only "trade" of any consequence that ever developed between the United States and the Soviet Union (despite much ballyhoo by advocates of diplomatic recognition about great Soviet commercial opportunities) was one-way American lend-lease shipments during the war. The Soviet Foreign Trade Minister Kabanov dangled the prospect of 400,000,000 pounds (\$1,120,000,000) worth of orders, to be placed in Britain in 1955-57. But Soviet purchases in Britain in 1953 amounted to the modest figure of \$34,500,000; and there has been no economic explanation from Moscow as to how a tenfold increase would be possible.

The explanation for the failure of the Soviet Union at any time to play an important part in international exchange of goods is very simple. The Communist economic system automatically blights trade and confines it within very narrow limits. Since the currencies of Communist countries are worthless for purposes of exchange, trade is necessarily on a barter basis. Because Communism excludes the investment of foreign capital, this important form of commercial intercourse is ruled out.

Theoretically, one could imagine large barter operations of the surplus commodities of Communist states for the surplus goods of the non-Communist world. But there is one fatal catch. The surpluses in Communist countries just are not there, because of certain economic trends which tend to turn the Communist state into an isolated, shut-in organism. Intensive industrialization means that there is an overwhelming internal demand for Russia's standard exports before World War One—wheat, timber, oil. The same process, combined with persecution of the more capable and efficient peasants, has dried up the prewar surplus of food-stuffs and raw materials in the states under Soviet domination.

The idea, so dear to the doctrinaires of the British Labor Party, that the Soviet Union could replace the dollar area as an alternative market and source of supply is not supported by any development of the past or by anything that is known about Soviet and satellite surplus supplies today. Why, then, all the ballyhoo about Soviet trade?

Moscow's motives are strictly political. The design is to play on the commercial rivalries of non-Communist countries, to persuade British, German, French, Italian, if possible American, manufacturers that competitors are getting in ahead of them. The hope of the Kremlin is to sell the idea of nonexistent huge markets in Soviet Russia, Communist China, and the satellite states for some solid political benefits, such as the recognition of Red China and a general feeling that, in some vague way, international tension is

being relaxed. Prime Minister Churchill seems already to have swallowed this bait.

There have been politically motivated Soviet trade promotion campaigns before. They have always ended with a maximum of propaganda publicity and a minimum of solid commercial deals. The best means of debunking the Soviet trade hoax is to keep a sharp lookout for actual figures of Soviet exports and imports, not for hazy forecasts from Moscow of what may develop over a period of years.

Down Texas Way

At a time when there are seemingly numberless professional "issue mongers" waiting to turn every incident into a national cause célèbre, it is refreshing to find a case in which local citizens have taken the position that they can handle their own affairs without the aid and shoves of suddenly interested strangers. This has happened most recently, but not strangely, in Texas, a state now being criticized for such other anti-collectivist heresies as having too many millionaires, too many Democrats who vote across party lines, and wanting to hang on to its own natural resources.

The school board of Houston, duly installed to administer the affairs of the schools, started it all by voting not to renew the contract of Dr. George W. Ebey, deputy superintendent of schools. Inasmuch as they were in the position of being Dr. Ebey's employers, the action did not seem entirely beyond the scope of their responsibilities. Their mistake, however, was that they apparently let him go because they didn't like: 1) Ebey's professional position, which showed him profoundly dedicated to so-called "progressive education," a doctrine generally rejected in Houston; 2) Ebey's political position, which showed him to have a long background of tolerance for, if not actual alliance with Communist groups, statements, and efforts; 3) Ebey's social position, from which in earlier jobs he had preached "an extremely controversial intercultural program"; and 4) Ebey himself, generally described as a person of extremely arrogant nature.

These reasons, it soon became apparent, were scarcely sufficient and, in fact, were even suspect. The National Education Association in Washington heard about the action and promptly dispatched a task force to investigate. And then, wonderful to behold, 500 Houston teachers showed up to protest this intrusion upon the prerogatives of the local school board. Ebey was sent packing—but to another job, this time in Palo Alto, California—and the N.E.A. was given a nifty bit of implied advice to ponder back in the privacy of its ivy-covered walls.

The Christian Left

By LAWRENCE R. BROWN

By trying to apply on earth the ideals of a heaven they no longer believe in, the left-liberal clergy are furthering the aims of the enemies of freedom.

Everyone, I suppose, would agree that there are some conscious members of the Communist apparatus who masquerade as clergymen. Again it is generally conceded that among the clergy there have been some dupes temporarily taken in by the Communists. The usual controversy about Communism and the churches thus turns on what is essentially a statistical point: how many conscious Communists, how many dupes? No one apparently is concerned with whether there may also be a religious problem here. No man is a dupe out of a clear sky. Some interest or value dear to him must seem—if only for a time—to be in harmony with his understanding of Communist purposes. Within either the ecclesiastical tradition or the objective history of Christianity are there ethical standards harmonious with any aspect of either theoretical Communism or practical Soviet imperialism? Is there in fact a Christian left-wing? Is there a group that with some degree of apparent validity professes to be Christian, yet assists, wilfully or not, the Soviet conspiracy?

The more noted clerical liberals, while precise in their expressed disapproval of the atheism of the Communists and the tyranny of the Soviet government, are for the most part sternly critical of the West's—particularly America's—hostility to Soviet imperialism and Soviet espionage. They grant that we must resist Soviet military ambition, but we must do so in a Christian and democratic way. The permissible means, as they define these terms, are never those usual in conflicts of worldly powers. And yet it is against just such means, refined beyond anything in the historical experience of the Western states, that we are forced to contend. Is there Christian warrant for such a dangerous position? What is the intellectual and moral authority by which lofty virtue is attributed to the churchmen who insist that their countrymen assume such grave practical risks?

Last fall the General Council of the Presbyterian Church issued a general letter whose purpose can be known only to the consciences of the members of the Council, but whose effect was to give subtle but valuable help to the Soviet conspiracy. The letter represents more than the transitory opinion of the men who at the moment happen to dominate the Presbyterian Council. It represents, perhaps in an extreme form, the vague thoughts

and hope of a much larger group. What it says today, the leaders of this group will sincerely believe tomorrow.

The moral considerations which in the Council's view justify offering help in concealing the Communist conspiracy in the United States and promoting Soviet military ambition throughout the world (such was the sense, not the text of the letter) are the following: "Social disorder and false political philosophies cannot be adequately met by police measures, but only by a sincere attempt to organize society in accordance with the everlasting principles of God's moral government of the world." And again: ". . . any human attempt to establish a form of world order which does no more than exalt the interest of a class, a culture, a race, or a nation, above God and the interest of the whole human family, is predoomed to disaster. . . ."

"Ideas are on the march, forces are abroad whose time has come. They cannot be repressed and they will bring unjust orders to an end. In the world of today all forms of feudalism, for example, are foredoomed. So, too, are all types of imperialism. The real problem is how to solve the problems presented by these two forms of outmoded society in such a way that the transition to a better order will be gradual and constructive."

Perilous Recommendations

The authors nowhere define what they mean by feudalism and imperialism, but since they condemn all forms of the one and all types of the other as contrary to God's moral order, whatever their private definition, their public meaning is wide. It is wide enough for Soviet propaganda, which invariably describes as "feudalism" every form of property outside the Soviet border, and as "imperialism" all military planning and construction other than those of the Soviet empire. The question here is not whether there are Soviet agents in a position to influence the Presbyterian Council. The question is why, whether under such influence or not, professing Christians sincerely accept this letter as justified and even necessary under a religious view of modern world society. What is the source of the conviction that these perilous recommendations are required by a Christian ethic? What is the Christian warrant, doctrinal

or historical, for requiring such an abnegation of temporal power in the face of a dangerous, determined, and anti-Christian imperialism? It is here that religion enters the discussion, and therefore here that many opponents of the Council's views suffer from faintness of heart and begin to compromise their opposition.

The modern intellectual, left or right, rarely takes religion seriously. Either he is irreligious and dismisses the matter as antiquated superstition, or he is a conformist, even pious perhaps, but avoids the too precise analysis of any religious question. Christian leftism thrives on this indifference. Without a religious analysis it cannot be critically examined. So long as it can publicly employ the Christian name and present itself as in harmony with some aspects of genuine Christianity, half the opposition to it is disarmed before the first encounter.

I think that one of the great elements of Soviet strength is the moral paralysis of the well-intentioned and ill-informed who derive unconsciously from Christian leftism the conviction that if not the means, at least the proclaimed ends, of Soviet ambitions are good, and that accordingly these ambitions may be modified by Christian persuasion but must never be put down by force. There is also derived from Christian leftism the notion of a vague, virtuous international egalitarianism which certifies to the believer the Christian virtue of enterprises like the United Nations and forbids as un-Christian the use by the United States of its own wealth and power for its own safety and survival. We moderns have a less vivid faith than our ancestors in the historical religion of the West, but it is still the highest source of public moral authority. Self-destructive enterprises in particular would be impossible except under its supposed sanction.

Early Christian Leftists

This is a point of grave consequence and one about which we are rarely quite frank. The less we are willing to accept the transcendental claims of Christianity, its concern for the fate of man after death, the more we feel compelled to evaluate by these ancient images of the hereafter the tangled difficulties of earthly life. In fact, is it not almost the whole tenor of present-day clerical argument that we should judge earthly life by these standards? This was not always so. There was a time when the valuation of earthly life by religious standards led the believer to despise and abandon it. Today he seeks to reform it.

This secularization of the moral images of Christianity is modern only in its completeness. The tendency is old, and its consequences in every age have been almost identical. For nearly a thousand years, since the days of Abbot Joachim and the spiritual Franciscans through the Lollards and

Anabaptists, rising and falling in power and numbers, there have always been Christian leftists. Their various views were necessarily those appropriate to each age, but all had in common the conviction that Christianity required the reconstruction of the temporal order. All preached the same principles, nonresistance and social and economic equality. All asserted Christian warrant for their views. Essentially, present-day Christian leftism differs from its spiritual ancestors only in the different environment in which it is preached. The Joachimites and the Lollards could be of no help to an alien and anti-Christian imperialism only because in their time there was none. Its existence in ours increases the danger of such a movement, but has no bearing on the degree to which it is or is not Christian.

The Heavenly Kingdom: Changing Views

Back of all these movements, modern as well as medieval, lies—sometimes admitted but more often not—the image of the Heavenly Kingdom. That image we can readily reproduce from Jewish apocalyptic writings and from the New Testament, since it was the hope and immediate expectation of the early Church. Its arrival was to mark the end of sorrow and pain. All men were to be equal before the majesty of God immediately present among them. Toil and danger and all forms of sin were to vanish, nor could future troubles ever arise. The Prince of this World, the power of evil, was to be forever overthrown and all the cares and risks of worldly life forever set aside.

This picture has been modified. The ancient belief that it would arrive by a sudden, magical transformation of the historical earth (Matt. 10,23; 16,28; Mark 9,1; 14,25; I Cor. 15,51; I Thes. 4,15; explicitly described in Rev. 21 and 22) withered as from generation to generation the return of the Messiah failed to occur. Eventually in the Eastern Church it receded into the unreachable future that no man should expect to live to see. But the image of this hope and expectancy remained in text and tradition. Long after it had shriveled to mere ecclesiastical formality in Byzantine lands, the beginnings of the Christian West in France and Lombardy raised it anew and it became, in a significantly different way, part of the heritage of Western Christianity. In the East the Kingdom had been pictured as the reward of the elect, both the living and the dead, who were resurrected from the grave on that last day at the end of time. In the West the Kingdom of Heaven was the abode of the redeemed, which was entered immediately upon each one's death. In the West the "last judgment" became only a phrase. The Kingdom was not to replace the physical earth at the end of time. Instead the Kingdom existed, and would always exist, currently with the physical earth.

This is the image of the Old West. It has been largely replaced by a modern interpretation, which regards the old transcendental idea as faintly childish. The phrase, Kingdom of Heaven, is replaced by the less physical equivalent, Kingdom of God, which is seen not so much as a place but a state of mind—a slow growth of approved attitudes within the hearts of men. This is surely a more comfortable image to most moderns, and those who hold it are probably convinced that it is at least symbolically true to the teachings of Jesus. But its historical warrant—primarily a mistranslation and misunderstanding of Luke 17, 21—seems dubious. In any event, it is so intellectually flabby by comparison with the fierce eschatology of the texts, that it is not a real alternative to the leftist view but blends vaguely into it.

From the beginning of Western Christianity the view of the Kingdom as an ideal life beyond the grave was not accepted without challenge. The Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, St. Paul and St. John in Revelation are eloquently clear that this good life of sinless and painless equality is promised here on this earth. The promise has been delayed, but the Church cannot deny that it was made. There was a difference of opinion, however, as to the means set forth for its accomplishment.

In the old Eastern eschatology, not man as a spiritual being, but the temporal order, the whole world of history and nature was to be changed.

Man as a creature of God was to be cleansed, but physical nature also as the domain of Satan was to be magically transformed. This the West, even the Medieval West, could not accept. To Westerners nature is possessed of a mechanistic quality. Even in the most religious times it was felt that God had designed the universe to operate automatically without His constant personal intervention. To envisage so radical a change of nature as the promised coming of the Kingdom was impossible. To the West it was therefore not nature but society that must undergo the magical change necessary to produce the Kingdom. This was the conclusion of the followers of the Abbot Joachim early in the thirteenth century, and Christian leftism has never departed from it. It was indeed the only method by which eschatology could be secularized in the West. Christian leftism is a reaction of the Western mind to eschatology, a reaction by minds steeped in spite of themselves in the cold, mechanical sense of reality which has always marked the

West, yet longing to accept and welcome the haunting magic of the sacred text. Today this reaction is almost unconscious and responds to images and considerations whose details have been long forgotten, but it is the product of an ancient tradition.

Comforting Conventions

To disclose this origin of Christian leftism discloses also the chief difficulty in fighting it. It cannot be opposed in its essential religious principle without at the same time destroying the comforting conventions necessary to modern popular Christianity. The modern world wants to concern itself with the welfare of the body, not with the fate of the soul. It wants also, however, an assurance that such a worldly interest is virtuous. This it seeks in the proclamation of what it calls Christian ideals of terrestrial life, though these ideals are derived from ethical propositions

designed not for those who are to go on living, but for those who are soon to be dead.

But today the focus of ethical thought in the churches as elsewhere has become political, above all world-political, and no longer personal. The old transcendental purpose of Christianity is still affirmed officially but hardly taken too seriously. The salvation of the soul is felt to be either a meaningless phrase or an old-fashioned way of talking about making people healthy and happy in this life—

Mr. Brown's profound analysis of the basic issue confronting Christians today is of special interest in view of the assembly in August of the World Council of Churches, an ecumenical body constituted in Amsterdam in 1948. Ministers and laymen from all parts of the world will gather on the campus of Northwestern University not only to further church unity, but to examine such topics as the proper position of Christianity in relation to social and international problems. We believe Mr. Brown's article is of unparalleled significance to such a discussion—of vital importance to those who attend the assembly and to all who are interested in the destiny of Christian civilization.

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for this, as everyone knows, would eliminate vice and crime. Since vice and crime are known to be the result of bad environment, it is obvious that the best route to individual salvation (if it is really of importance) is slum clearance and minimum wage laws. On the world political scale the process, although similar, is more complex and introduces elements of practical danger not to be found in the demands for domestic reform. Since what is being secularized is the vision of a universal Kingdom, the secularized version must be universal also. Derived from an eschatology that foresaw a change so complete that it took account neither of men, nor nations, the earthly version must also be universal. It must carry with it some far flavor of apocalypse, of the *final* successful conclusion of history, as the central doctrine of international leftism so plainly does. The Christian image of the hereafter furnishes the essential elements of a picture of what must be attained on earth: peace and universal

equality. There is no terrestrial logic that connects domestic socialist welfare schemes with international humanitarianism. Their invariable historical connection has come from this religious source.

"Modernist Christianity," the "broad" church, the "social gospel"—from these positions it is thus very difficult to make a successful attack against Christian leftism. It can be asserted that the Christian leftists are hypocrites or dupes of the Communist empire, and that this empire has no interest in the ethical goals of which it talks but merely issues propaganda to snare the thoughtless. But even if this is true, it offers no defense of Western civilization but concedes in principle its essentially un-Christian character. Our civilization is indeed doomed if we can find no better reason to defend it than that, wicked though it is, the politics of its mortal enemy are just as bad.

A Powerful Defense

But there is a defense. It consists in a flat denial of the ethical validity of even the most pure theoretical Communism—and therewith of secularized Christianity also—and in the sure, calm assertion of the morality in earthly life of the ancient institutions of Western civilization. It is a powerful defense, for it is based on the ethic of the kind of living *appropriate to the problems of this world*. It does not have and does not need transposed eschatology to justify it. It stands openly on that determination which is the ethics of all the living: to survive, to flower, and to prosper.

To put the matter brutally, the world which in pure idealistic theory Communism would bring about is an image of evil because it *is* the Christian image. But it is that image foreseen as an actuality on the historical earth, whereas the image of Christianity was foreseen as the Kingdom of Heaven. Does this seem a little difference? It is far more than a difference of emphasis or of changing fashions. It is a difference in the deepest human or divine purpose in the flow of life and history. And it is a difference which brings with it the bitter admission, which the average pious modern cannot make, that those institutions of political irresponsibility and human equality which would be virtue in Heaven under God's direct rule, are the organization of a dreadful evil upon earth.

Consider in connection with good and evil the problem of equality. Is it a Christian doctrine that all men are equal? Seemingly so, but in fact not at all. Christian doctrine is the equality of all *souls*, the teaching that men are equal before God, not one toward another in earthly matters. Are these two kinds of equality the same? The usual modern opinion would be that equality before God either means nothing or is merely an old-fashioned way of talking about "real" equality.

The only conceivable equality in the semi-atheism of modern times is earthly equality, and talk of anything else is merely silly. But what modernism overlooks is the disappearance of any power external to men and therefore capable of compelling them to accept so unnatural a state as mutual equality. In the old Christian picture souls could be equal precisely *because* a reign of equality did not exist on earth and was not foreseen. All souls were weak and infinitely inferior before the power of God.

In the secularized image what is this awesome power, or who can fill its function? The state? The United Nations? Or more "realistically," the totalitarian hierarchy of the Soviet empire? Could there be a more eloquent example of triumphant evil attained by secularizing a Christian virtue?

Although in the Gospel of St. John we are explicitly told that the Christian Kingdom is not of this world, few moderns who think of themselves as Christians accept this restriction. Notwithstanding our doubts about the existence of another world, or at least our doubts that it is really as important as this one, we still wish to remain attached to our historical religious faith. From our very doubt we feel the more impelled to apply Christian standards to this world. We bitterly resent being reminded that this ethical pattern that commands our verbal approval—for we never live by it and have no intention of doing so—was instituted not as an ideal toward which earthly life should strive, but as a sudden and complete substitute for all earthly values. And because this is so, all the transferred Christian ideas and imagery, liberal and leftist alike, carry an essential flaw. They ignore the unworkableness and irresponsibility that must inevitably wreck all such Christian schemes when applied to life on this earth. That is the essential deceit in Christian leftism.

The Old Magic Remains

In moving from a heavenly to an earthly frame, there is no way to get rid of the magic inherent in the original eschatology. Disguised as it may be, it reappears in the essential irresponsibility of the earthly versions. In the old doctrines, both Eastern and Western, God is the power that accomplishes what no other power can, and He does this by means that need not—and cannot—be explained. Who takes His place in the modern secularized versions? Of course, the Christian leftists use the word God, but all they mean by it is whatever political development they regard with approval. "God working through the hearts of men," might be a kindlier way to phrase what they mean. But this is simply a pious man's way of talking about earthly politics. It is now purely the temporal order with which he is concerned, and this "God" is limited to natural—in this case, ordinary political—means. When the egalitarian Kingdom of

Heaven is presented to us in an earthly disguise called "world peace" or "international cooperation," the question who is to fill the role of God, who is to see that the sins of ambition and discord do not destroy the universal concord, is never raised. Who is so powerful and so aloof from worldly affairs that the greatest and smallest of men and of states are equally powerless before him? Who is so invincible that he can afford to be just, since his own welfare is never involved in the conflicts brought before him for decision?

No one really argues that there is, or could be, such a power. Indeed, we are given to understand that there is no need for such a power, that names, international meetings, declarations written on paper, will suffice for these purposes. But they will not. And therein lies the irresponsibility of such schemes. From them we wish to derive the psychological comfort of adhering to Heavenly ethics while still secure in our terrestrial wealth. We wish to be virtuous and at the same time freed of the risk and responsibility of having to defend our well-being against the greed and ambition of others.

The World Struggle in Miniature

We cannot have it both ways. We cannot combine the psychological comfort of following Heavenly ethics with the physical comfort derived from earthly strength and welfare. Practically, it is impossible; morally, it is unsound. But it is the position, the only public position, of the Christian leftists.

We have here in this one problem of the Christian left a miniature of what has happened on a gigantic scale in a whole generation of struggle between the West and the Soviet empire. In every case that empire has grown not through its own unusual skill, foresight, or courage, but through the intellectual and moral disintegration of the West. Christian leftism thrives and promotes the welfare of the Soviet empire because Christianity as a religion has largely died among the liberal clergy of the West.

Whether the liberal clergy are numerous or few is a statistical item of little consequence, for it is they who command the public attention. It is they who on all political matters are accepted as representatives of religious thought. On these matters they presume to give religious advice, although they lack the moral courage to adhere to the religion of their fathers, the religion that was concerned with our souls. Led by them, we feel ourselves too religious to conduct our affairs by the practical principles of success on earth. But at the same time, we are too worldly to seek or accept faith in religion as a guide for heaven. And so, as in all such weak compromises, we eat and drink our own damnation—obviously so in this world and, by good authority, in the next.

THIS IS WHAT THEY SAID

The Big Sleep

Words must have no relation to action—otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, actions another. Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron.

JOSEPH STALIN, on "bourgeois diplomacy," 1913

I may say that I "got along fine" with Marshal Stalin. . . . I believe he is truly representative of the heart and soul of Russia: and I believe we are going to get along very well with him and the Russian people—very well indeed.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, report on the Teheran Conference, December 24, 1943

The existence of Franklin Roosevelt relieved American liberals for a dozen years of the responsibility of thinking for themselves.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR., co-chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, *Life*, April 7, 1947

The Socialist Honeycomb

All capitalistic society is "honeycombed" with highly educated, intelligent people who believe that capitalism will eventually be displaced by socialism, and are arranging their affairs so that the "inevitable" change will not affect them adversely. Many of these people are public officials and they use their positions to assist a smooth orderly change from capitalism to socialism. They see nothing disloyal, unethical, immoral. . . in this activity, but on the contrary consider it. . . a patriotic duty. . . For political, economic, and social reasons, however, practically all of these people avoid public endorsement of socialism, and when circumstances force them to state their position on ideologies they usually insist that they are believers in capitalism.

CHARLES S. SEELY, *Philosophy and the Ideological Conflict*, 1953

The President [of the United States] assured me he has no doubts of Socialists' loyalty. . . He was categorical that the Civil Service should not exclude Socialists.

NORMAN THOMAS, as quoted in the *New York Times*, October 28, 1953

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THE EDITORS

Austria's Economic Victory

By JOSEPH MEISER

In spite of the Soviet exploitation and internal disunity, Austria has achieved economic stability through a firm program of deflationary measures.

Vienna

Not often in history has a small country had to cope with such economic difficulties as has Austria since the end of World War Two, nor done so with such success. It is therefore not surprising that the word "miracle," so often applied to Germany's recovery, has been rapidly gaining currency with regard to Austria.

When Chancellor Julius Raab, the leading figure in Austria's anti-Marxist camp, demanded in 1943 the withdrawal of all occupation forces, he touched upon a complex international problem. It had been ten years since the Big Four had solemnly promised in the Moscow Declaration to restore Austria's sovereignty. Raab's purpose in making his demand on the tenth anniversary of that promise was no doubt to call international attention to the continuing drain on the economic substance of Austria by the Soviet occupation of the eastern part of the country.

Soviet occupation and exploitation has been roughly estimated to have cost Austria about \$1,000,000,000—the total amount of aid granted by the United States from 1948 to 1953, when it was discontinued on the assumption that Austria had regained sufficient economic stability. And this includes only the direct, the fixed and measurable burden on Austria's economy. It does not include the many indirect losses, the products withheld, the depreciation of Soviet-operated Austrian industries, the loss in tax revenue, etc. Nor does it consider the damage done the economy by goods entering Austria via the open frontier in the East and dumped on the market at cut-rate prices, creating disorder and cheating Austria of customs duties as well as tax revenue. Thus, during the past year several million cigarettes were illegally imported into Austria and sold at prices far below those of domestically manufactured cigarettes. With the tobacco tax one of Austria's most important sources of revenue, the loss of several million schillings had to be made up by other forms of taxation.

Access to about two hundred important industrial enterprises and perhaps the most important oil fields in present-day Europe (the annual output of the Soviet-administered fields is estimated at 3,000,000 tons of crude oil) is barred to the Austrian economy. A country deprived of an essential part of its raw materials and vital

industrial enterprises has great difficulty in supplying its domestic market as well as dealing with its foreign trade. Besides, as a consequence of the unsettled political situation and Soviet exploitation, the entire Soviet-occupied zone of Austria is lagging behind the rest of the country economically and still represents a depressed area in many respects. For a while it was doubtful whether this section of Austria would receive Marshall aid. It was finally granted only because it was felt such discrimination might facilitate a complete division of the country into two parts, as happened in Germany.

Conservative Socialist Coalition

This is but one part, however, of Austria's troubles today. Another is based on the political structure of the country and its adverse effects on Austria's economic policy. Since 1945 the country has been administered by a coalition government of conservatives and Socialists whose decisions have been nearly always compromises of two diametrically opposed principles. Such compromises, however, have been based not on a desire to cooperate but on expediency. Since the conservative and the Socialist camps are almost equal in strength, and since they together control about 85 per cent of the total vote, the opposition to the government of one of them—at present the Socialist bloc—seriously endangers Austria's internal political situation, already aggravated by the presence of Soviet troops on Austrian soil. Thus, the liaison between the Socialists—the advocates of a planned economy—and the conservatives—the partisans of free enterprise—has been maintained over a period of eight years. This strange cooperation, however, has led to compromises, especially in the field of economic policy, which have had detrimental effects on the reconstruction of the country's economy.

First of all, the Socialists had to be rewarded for their willingness to cooperate in the government by the nationalization of important basic industries (mining, iron and steel, power), most of which had been left without a proprietor after the collapse of the Third Reich. This measure was followed by the decision to put this whole group of industries under a common administration which was entrusted to Minister Waldbrunner, a radical

advocate of Marxism. Thus, like the Austrian government, the Austrian economy consists of two diametrically opposed sections: one nationalized and based on Socialist principles, the other private, with naturally conservative leanings.

To the detriment of the country, the United States Embassy as well as the Economic Mission of the United States, in an effort to maintain friendly relations with both elements in government, have contributed to the further development of this unfortunate split. Thus the Marshall Plan, contrary to its original intentions, instead of strengthening free enterprise in Austria, has led to a restriction of private initiative by promoting the expansion of the nationalized industries. The Socialists proved their skill in convincing the United States Mission charged with the administration of Marshall aid that the hundreds of millions of dollars invested for the extension of the nationalized iron and steel industry would provide cheaper raw materials for the Austrian economy. Consequently, the capacity of Austrian steel production was increased far beyond domestic requirements and is now burdening the economy, especially since the export of steel is becoming more and more difficult for a country which, for political reasons, is barred from joining the European Coal and Steel Community. The loss of this capital invested in an overproducing steel industry is most acutely felt by private enterprise, which, in view of the increasing liberalization of imports, finds it difficult to remain competitive on the bigger European market.

The Extraordinary Dr. Kamitz

The tug-of-war between the two major political groups would probably have continued to the detriment of the Austrian economy, and the various controls and restrictions imposed on economic activities have been maintained, if Chancellor Raab had not appointed Dr. Reinhardt Kamitz Minister of Finance. This appointment placed an expert at the head of the Ministry, a man familiar with the arguments of the various conflicting groups. As Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, which participated in all decisions regarding economic policy, Dr. Kamitz was well acquainted with the ideas of the representatives of agriculture and labor. And it soon became apparent that he was not only the author of a vigorous new economic program, but a man of extraordinary political abilities.

Kamitz' program—which brought about the radical change in Austria's economic situation—was to balance the national budget. This, he recognized, was the only way to check continuing inflationary trends, to keep taxes from going up, and to save the currency. This was necessary not only for economic but also for political reasons. For the Socialist demands on the national budget were

quite clearly made in accordance with long-term party policy.

Their purpose was to keep Austria in a state of permanent inflation under the guise of full employment. For as long as inflation was combated by measures of merely temporary effectiveness, the Socialists felt certain that state intervention in the economic sphere and their own political control in fields which formerly had been outside their range of influence was guaranteed. It was Dr. Kamitz' political achievement to recognize the intimate connection between a policy of inflation and the aims of the Socialist Party. His great economic achievement was the balancing of the Austrian budget in the course of only two years.

Today the budget is balanced, the currency stabilized (the Austrian schilling is considered one of the hardest currencies in Europe and is quoted at the same rate in Vienna, Zurich, and New York). The establishment of genuine rates of exchange led to an enormous increase of exports, while big investments in industry and agriculture made the country less dependent on imports from abroad. Thus, by the end of 1953, Austria had reached an active balance of trade and payments for the first time since 1918. With a surplus of about \$100,000,000 she occupies a prominent position among the creditor countries with the European Payments Union. On January 1, 1954, a further venture of Dr. Kamitz' went into effect: an average reduction of the income tax by 25 per cent, in order to increase the purchasing power of the consumer and strengthen the free enterprise system. This measure, too, had to be carried out against the opposition of the Socialists, who were afraid that Austria might experience a political development in favor of the conservatives such as had happened in Germany, and that Dr. Kamitz might become another Ludwig Erhard.

In view of this situation, it is not surprising that the international press, insofar as it is concerned with Austria at all, speaks of an economic "miracle" there. However, Minister Kamitz, whose international reputation is steadily increasing, recently dispelled the mystery. What is happening in Austria is no miracle, he said. It is *only* the result of applying the principles and lessons of classical economics.

Pride Is Least Precious

The least precious of possessions and so known,
Save to its possessor, to everyone
Under the sun
Is pride.
After all circumstance, in the long run
What shall a man more proudly or impressively
have done
Than died?

WITTER BYNNER

Now It's Interplanetary Imperialism

By M. K. ARGUS

Moscow has come out with a strong indictment of our space boys—Captain Video, Buck Rogers, Flash Gordon, and all other American travelers in the interplanetary regions. They are “the vanguard of American imperialism,” according to Radio Moscow, which claims that the “atomists” Bernard Baruch and the late Secretary of Defense James V. Forrestal ordered the space campaign when the United States thought it had a monopoly of the atom bomb.

Our science fiction, Moscow says, “incites hatred against the Soviet Union and the peoples’ democracies”; it preaches “the futility of the struggle for peace and progress in the face of the approaching universal catastrophe”; it “propagandizes reactionary racial and hate theories.”

Moscow also has a few unpleasant words to say about Superman. Although, strictly speaking, Superman is not a space boy, he nevertheless does so much flying around that he can be easily classified as one.

The attack, when I read it, made a profound impression on me. Why, I asked myself, did the Soviet government come out so strongly against our science fiction? Was it because all Soviet science has become fiction? I decided to do a bit of investigation on my own, and went to see my nephew Jackie, who is as good an authority on space travel as any to be found in the capitalist world. Jackie is eleven, and what he does not know about the moon, Venus, Jupiter, Mars, and other planets, large or small, isn't really worth knowing. He has a scientifically constructed outfit that will enable him to travel through space as soon as our “atomists” establish proper communications with the planets they intend to conquer. Jackie is also a profound authority on Superman—without, I may add, the benefit of Herr Friedrich Nietzsche.

I dropped in on him last Sunday. He was immersed in the newspaper comics—another vicious concoction of the American ruling classes tending to imbue the youth of this country with a defeatist attitude toward the impending cataclysm and a hatred toward all peace-loving forces of the democratic world.

“Jackie,” I said to my nephew. “I'd like to get some information from you. May I ask you a few questions?”

“Shoot,” the little warmonger said. It gave me the creeps. Could it be that Moscow was right? I am sure that no Russian boy, or, for that matter,

no Russian adult, would say “Shoot” when someone approached him with a few questions.

“Now, Jackie,” I asked, “what would you do if you found yourself on the moon with Buck Rogers?”

“Who wants to go to the moon?” Jackie replied. “There ain't nothing there. Not even Brick Bradford wants to go there.

“Where would you like to go?”

“To Solaria.”

“What's Solaria?”

“It's a planet. Millions of miles from here.”

“Why do you want to go to Solaria?”

“There are big uranium mines in Solaria,” my imperialist nephew explained.

“Who told you they have uranium mines there? Perhaps Bernard Baruch? Or the late James V. Forrestal?”

“Nope,” Jackie replied. “Nobody told me. I just know. But before we get to the mines we'd have to fight the Solarians. They're a mean people. They have tiny heads, big legs, and they think with their toes.”

I shuddered. Already this reactionary young monster was filled with such abominable racial prejudices that he was obsessed with hatred toward a people he did not even know! Anyway, what's wrong with people who have tiny heads, large legs, and who think with their toes? I know a number of such people. It was fortunate, I thought, that Vishinsky was nowhere around to overhear our conversation. He would surely have something to say about it when the question of disarmament came up again before the United Nations General Assembly.

“What do you need the Solarian uranium mines for?” I asked.

“If we get those mines,” Jackie said, “we'll be able to conquer the whole world.”

“Why do you want to conquer the whole world? Isn't the earth big enough for you?”

“You betcha life it ain't. We want to establish the United States of the Universe.”

So that's it, I said to myself, dismayed. Then to Jackie: “When I was your age I also traveled in space. As a matter of fact, I took a nice little trip to the moon.”

“You did not! Did you, really?”

“Of course I did. With a fellow named H. G. Wells. But it was an entirely different trip. Wells was a progressive man, and he went to the moon not to annoy the U.S.S.R. or the peoples' democracies, but to explore the possibilities of peaceful coexistence between the moon and the earth.”

“I don't know what you're talking about,” Jackie said. “But that Wells guy sure sounds goofy to me.”

“He was not goofy at all,” I remonstrated. “And I wish you would drop those fantastic plans of expansionist aggrandizement.”

“Gee whiz, Unc,” said the little imperialist, “I think you're nuts, too.”

The Politics of Depression

By WILLIAM H. PETERSON

Forecasts of economic doom are a favorite maneuver of the "out-party," but are unreliable at any time on the basis of existing statistics or past records.

Pessimism about our economic future, although a specialty just now of the Democratic Party, has its bipartisan aspects. Senator Milton R. Young (R., N.D.) warns that "the farmers haven't forgotten the thirties" and that the President's flexible support farm policy "means lower farm income and that's not happy news for anyone." Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers (R., Mass.) says that she finds "people more interested in jobs than in a balanced budget." Democratic Senators Paul H. Douglas and Hubert H. Humphrey, both up for re-election this November, have taken to quibbling with the Bureau of Labor Statistics on its reported unemployment figures, each inclining to raise them by from 500,000 to a million. "Clearly, a recession has set in," said Walter Reuther of the C.I.O. and Americans for Democratic Action in a letter to the White House calling for New Deal-like pump-priming.

On the other hand, a sunny optimism (if hazy now and then) radiates from the White House, where one spokesman said that "a psychological attack" has been launched against "talk of gloom and doom." After getting optimistic off-the-record talks by President Eisenhower and part of his Cabinet, the National Advertising Council went on record to wage an advertising campaign to "sell prosperity." Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey admits to a "rolling readjustment" but takes the line that the economy is sound and future bright.

Underneath this rhetorical skirmishing, there is a growing recognition of a hard political fact: *depression favors the out-party, prosperity favors the in-*. Hence, the bleating across the aisles in both Houses of "Depression!" from the outs, countered by "Prosperity!" from the ins. As 1954 is an election year, our lawmakers can be counted on to be supersensitive to any legislation that would have a pronounced economic effect on their constituencies. Such politics would thus seem to command the canceling of the tariff cuts recommended by the Randall Commission, the shelving of the committee-approved postal-rate rise, the increasing of personal tax exemptions, and, most certainly, more liberal government spending, especially at the grass roots level where "it will do the most good."

Not surprisingly, the politics of depression were perhaps first discovered by Karl Marx and

Friedrich Engels. Marx hailed the depression of 1847 as creating conditions "ripe" for the breakthrough of socialism. The Revolution of 1848 and the *Communist Manifesto* came shortly afterward. That Revolution did little for socialism but, like the French Revolution, it saddled Europe with another Napoleon. Ten years later another economic setback occurred, and glee prevailed in the Marx-Engels camp. "I feel in magnificent form amidst this general breakdown," wrote Engels in a letter to Marx, to which Marx replied: "I am working like mad, day and night, at putting my economic studies together so that I may at least have the outlines clear before the deluge comes." Marx rushed in vain, for he was soon to complain of "the favorable turn of world trade at this moment."

Of more recent vintage, depression politics can be seen in the election campaign year of 1932. At one stage of the campaign, for example, Herbert Hoover charged: "A circular . . . issued by the Democratic National Committee says this depression was man-made, and that the man who made it was myself personally." Such charges and counter-charges reveal a proclivity to make political capital out of economic disturbances. The ironical thing about this tendency is that political re-creations are increasingly being followed by economic "cure-all" actions.

New Deal "Recovery"

Thus, despite the gains registered by private economy in 1932, the politics of depression moved from the talk stage to the action stage in 1933—with such disastrous repercussions that it is difficult even now to calculate the damage. In the name of Recovery, the New Deal confiscated the citizens' gold and broke its contractual promise to pay gold to millions of holders of Liberty Bonds—with a consequent spiraling of inflation that has engulfed us ever since. In the name of Recovery, the New Deal gave birth to an "ever-normal" granary which has turned out to be an ever-surplus, ever-subsidized abnormal granary. In the name of Recovery, the New Deal "soaked the rich" and redistributed the wealth, which dwindled for eight long years. In the name of Recovery, the New Deal legalized cartel-like business "associations" through the NRA and labor monopolies through the Wagner Act, anti-trust laws notwith-

standing. In the name of Recovery, the New Deal recognized the Soviet Union, "to encourage East-West trade."

Just before World War Two, President Roosevelt surveyed the results of depression politics—11,000,000 persons still totally unemployed, billions added to the public debt, the nation wearying of experiment, still no magic formula to solve the depression. But politics persevered. Jim Farley reports that the President told his Cabinet in late 1938: "I know who's responsible for this situation. Business, particularly the banking industry, has ganged up on me."

Roosevelt's successor quickly caught on to the depression game. This was evident in both the 1948 and 1952 elections, when the Democrats not only campaigned against Dewey and Eisenhower but continued their attacks on Herbert Hoover.

Unknown Factors

All economic clairvoyants, political and otherwise, have to wrestle against almost impossible odds, odds which the economist calls "variables." Among these unknown and uncontrollable future factors are population, technology, weather, politics, wars, and the "human equation." The human equation implies capriciousness but recognizes that people tend to discount predictions. In short, predictions change the very future they predict. For example, were the government to predict high corn prices next year, farmers would expand their corn acreage this year, thus driving next year's corn prices down and reversing the prediction. Again, an effective rumor that the stock market would rise this summer would initiate heavy buying now, the change coming well before the time predicted.

Furthermore, the inevitable delay of economic statistics and the dynamic nature of the American economy make forecasting as a business fraught with many occupational hazards. As the President's Economic Report for 1954 correctly points out:

We must first of all recognize the limitations of attempts at pre-vision. Despite the great improvement of statistical knowledge, *it is impossible to deduce the future from the statistics of the present or to infer it from records of the past.* Only those who adhere to a mechanistic view of history and human behavior or who are enamored of forecasting formulae can entertain such illusions. [Italics added.]

Another depression story now going the Washington rounds concerns the supposed deplorable impact on the economy of the let-up in defense spending. This fallacy is threefold. First, defense spending does not raise living standards, for it denies equivalent consumer production. Secondly, defense spending is not additional spending. Defense spending originates from taxed or borrowed dollars—there is no other source. Such dollars, if untaxed or unborrowed, clearly would bulk in

private spending instead of government spending. Thirdly, as the *Guaranty Survey*, the monthly of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, warns: "Governmentally administered doses of inflation or 'reflation' in an effort to prevent or shorten the inevitable reaction may temporarily alleviate the symptoms but cannot be expected to cure the ailment."

Dr. Ludwig von Mises has warned that all attempts of the government to intervene in the market economy, frequently under the guise of "contracyclical action," to perpetuate prosperity or to end depression can only exacerbate the situation; indeed, the economic extremes of boom and bust are traceable to government intervention in the first place. Evidence in the United States, England, Germany, Italy, and Argentina during the twentieth century seems strongly to confirm this thesis.

The future is uncertain. But this much is certain: Politicians will continue to believe that government sovereignty reigns supreme over economic law as well as political law. Politicians can repeal or suspend the law of supply and demand. Cyclical ups and downs can be "ironed out." Such headiness, compounded by depression politics, can plunge us into another "deal" more deadly than anything previous. Depression politics is the back door to socialism. Too much of it, and the Marxian strategy will have been fulfilled.

Worth Hearing Again

If the Shoe Pinches

The greatest reforms which could now be accomplished would consist in undoing the work of statesmen in the past, and the greatest difficulty in the way of reform is to find out how to undo their work without injury to what is natural and sound. All this mischief has been done by men who sat down to consider the problem (as I heard an apprentice of theirs once express it): What kind of a society do we want to make? When they had settled this question *a priori* to their satisfaction, they set to work to make their ideal society, and today we suffer the consequences.

Human society tries hard to adapt itself to any conditions in which it finds itself, and we have been warped and distorted until we have got used to it, as the foot adapts itself to an ill-made boot. Next, we have come to think that that is the right way for things to be; and it is true that a change to a sound and normal condition would for a time hurt us, as a man whose foot has been distorted would suffer if he tried to wear a well-shaped boot. Finally, we have produced a lot of economists and social philosophers who have invented sophisms for fitting our thinking to the distorted facts.

WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER, *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other*, published 1883

Is Latin America Next?

By EUDOCIO RAVINES

As the Inter-American Conference meets in Caracas, Moscow's blueprint for gaining control of Latin America is well advanced in a number of countries.

Today Latin America occupies the same place in Moscow's blueprint for conquest that China did twenty years ago.

The Soviet press is giving considerable space and analysis to Latin American subjects. For the first time in its history, *Pravda* has reproduced editorials from official Argentine newspapers, and has devoted long and detailed articles to such Bolivian problems as tin mining and the National Revolutionary Movement of Paz Estensoro, as well as to current questions in Chile and Argentina. Such analyses could not have been published without exclusive sources of information in high places.

It is no longer a mystery that in Prague there are special schools with Spanish-speaking professors, and with teachers brought from China to convince the students of the wonders that can be achieved by Communism in backward countries. These schools are continually visited by Latin American delegates who claim that they do not belong to the Communist Party.

The Guatemalan Way

Moscow's basic, immediate task in Latin America is to build a huge national front similar to the one that has gained power in Guatemala. Since the Moscow Congress held in October 1952, the Kremlin has emphasized that "the Communist way in Latin America is the Guatemalan way." In following the "Guatemalan way" there is no need to build mass parties which would only serve to stir up alarm and hence lead to repression. Moscow remembers the case of Chile, where the fact that a strong Communist Party had won control of three Ministries and a Cabinet of eleven members caused panic, and the party was quickly declared illegal.

The long-range Soviet charts for "Operation Latin America" count on a prolonged economic depression there. It is expected that a decline in the demand for raw materials, unemployment, lowered living standards for workers—and as a result, the deepening of discontent, already so explosive a force in Latin America—will stir up ill will toward the United States.

For the essential factor in Communist strategy for Latin America consists in helping and bringing together all the elements hostile—or the least favorable—to the United States. This is seen not as an alliance of the Communist Party with other

parties, but as a broad and variegated movement, a mixture of peoples and groups that are politically diverse, and united only in their antagonism to "Yankee imperialism." Propaganda and activity in Latin America is developing along the lines suggested by Dimitri Manuilsky, former president of the Communist International: "For backward countries, backward politics."

Economic Troubles Blamed on U. S.

All Latin America's ills, according to Moscow's plan, are blamed on the United States. The Communists accuse "the Colossus of the North" of having hindered South America's industrialization in order to avoid competition; of having supported dictatorships; of having caused a rise in the dollar to depreciate national currencies, and thus buy cheap and sell dear. At the same time, the Latin American Communists point out that the remedy for their countries' economic difficulties may well come from trade with the Orient, with Russia, and the satellite countries.

Trade with Soviet Russia has not helped Argentina solve her economic problem to the extent that government economists had hoped. It is far from the amount of \$400,000,000 a year which Moscow and Buenos Aires have loudly announced.

In Brazil, propaganda for establishing trade relations with Russia, following Argentina's lead, has been intensified in recent months. A member of the Brazilian Congress, not a Communist, has stated that he would fight for the re-establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations with the Soviet Union. Even Chancellor Vicente Rao, during a private conference, showed an inclination to yield to pressure—on the grounds that Brazil should not let Argentina monopolize the profit from such trade relations. First steps have been taken toward a trade agreement with Soviet Russia and the satellites.

In Chile, the supporters of the Communist Party are launching intensive propaganda to convince Chileans of the immense benefit which would come from selling to Russia copper the United States cannot buy—a sale estimated at more than \$200,000,000 a year. In Bolivia, the same propaganda is developing in respect to tin, the only important product of the Andes plateau and the axis around which Bolivian life revolves. In Mexico similar

propaganda, carefully cultivated by the followers of Vicente Lombardo Toledano, is less noisy and more subtle and deep-rooted. This kind of propaganda—in view of the countries' poverty, their scanty technical development and hopes for industrialization—is playing an important part in "Operation Latin America."

Numbers No Indication of Red Strength

The high point of militant Communism in Latin America was the decade of the forties, especially after Hitler's attack on Soviet Russia. At that time the number of Communists in all Latin America passed the half million mark. Today this number has dropped by more than 60 per cent. But a considerable contingent has left the Communist Party deliberately and is working for its cause in the parliaments, ministries, and diplomatic posts, in labor organizations, in such groups as the Masons, scouts, law colleges, and on the editorial staffs of publications both radical and conservative. These Communists, apparently detached from Moscow, follow underground orders—some to further their own careers, some because of the threat of blackmail that hangs over them.

In Peru, for example, the Communist Party was outlawed in 1948. Yet in mid-1950, and for two years afterward, seats in the parliament were held by Juan P. Luna, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and by a half dozen other deputies who did not mention their real affiliation. Luna represents the Department of Lima, which requires for election the largest number of votes of any section of Peru. The total number of known Communists in the entire country would not furnish even one-fifth of the votes required to elect him to the Senate.

The country where Communism has the greatest numerical strength is Uruguay. But the fifteen to eighteen thousand Communists there lack influence in a country so effectively democratic. In Bolivia, on the other hand, a Communist nucleus of not more than three thousand members has shown a capacity for dangerous penetration, having infiltrated the government and the army.

"Operation British Guiana," developed by the Jagans and a Communist group so small that all of them could probably be seated in a living room, succeeded very well in carrying out the tactics outlined at the 1952 Moscow Congress.

Thus, party membership is no indication of Communism's strength. In Mexico the Communist Party at its peak did not have more than thirty thousand members. But from this it would be naive to conclude that it did not have powerful influence and friends in places important to the Kremlin's plan. A selected group of Spanish refugee Communists works intimately with Toledano and the leaders of his party in stirring up anti-American feeling. Communism in Mexico controls trade unions and

influential groups in the National University and the Ministry of Education and Labor. Many Mexican leaders who are certainly not Communists are ardent proselytizers for Communism.

A similar phenomenon can be seen in Brazil, where Communist activities have developed through popular parties, liberal organizations, and secret cells, which work primarily in the military training schools and within the armed forces. The project proposed by Manuilsky at the secret conference of the Communist parties of Latin America in 1934—transforming the northeastern part of Brazil, at the mouth of the Amazon, into a kind of Latin-American Vietminh—has by no means been abandoned.

In Chile, though the party has been outlawed, Communists have bored within the movement of President Ibañez, infiltrated the Radical Party, and arranged visits to Iron Curtain countries by politicians who, though not Communists, were used later as propagandists.

The Communists are working hard within the left wing of Peronism in Argentina, and the left sectors of the Acción Democrática of Venezuela and the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria of Peru.

A recent departure in Latin American Communism is political brotherhood between the Stalinists and Trotskyites. Since the deaths of Stalin and Beria, an era of apparent collaboration has begun. For example, the Chilean Stalinists are cooperating with the Partido Obrero Revolucionario of Bolivia, founded by the Trotskyite Tristan Maroff.

Dictatorships Aid Communism

The dictatorial governments have themselves become incubators for Communism. Reaction against their native dictatorships is turning intellectuals toward Communism. Then also, governments by force, lacking a base of popular support, fearful always of uprisings, pay a bribe for the neutrality and hidden complicity of the Communists to help them maintain their rule. Under this protective shield, Communist maneuvers are developing efficiently and without punishment, in spite of legal proscriptions.

On the other hand, the propaganda and activity of the Communists are extremely vulnerable. They rest on half-truths—in which lies their strength, but can also lie their weakness. A movement which works as a fifth column for a foreign country is presenting itself as the champion of nationalism. A party supposedly of the proletariat is not directed by workers in a single Latin American country. Its leaders are drawn from professional groups, intellectuals, and the middle class.

Anti-Communist action is weak and sporadic. Isolated groups fight alone. But Moscow's Operation Latin America is a force which must be combated, a danger to the future of our Hemisphere that cannot be underestimated.

Letter from Spain

By JAMES BURNHAM

A new feeling of good will toward the United States is growing on the Spanish peninsula as a result of the recently concluded agreement on military bases.

On February 8 the Andalusian port of Malaga, ten miles from where we have been staying in a little villa on the Mediterranean shore, celebrated "the Seventeenth Anniversary of the Liberation of the City." Eight hundred or so boys of the official youth organization, dressed in the casual uniform of shorts, dark blue jersey, beret, and red arm band, marched along General Franco Avenue and the palm-lined Paseo del Parque. Their column, brisk but not trim, moved through the north portal of the Renaissance cathedral. Inside, the unit flag bearers formed up alongside the high altar, while the ranks dispersed among the shadows of the vast side naves. Later they would reassemble, and would march to a local theater where a "political action" was scheduled.

The boys gathered together in irregular little blue clusters among the several thousand dark-clad Malagueños who were flowing from the morning sunlight into the dark aisles. The church was moderately filled, but not crowded. Several score dignitaries of the city and region took a place of honor before the altar. The Archbishop with his attendant priests, in their golden vestments, began the ritual of a solemn *Te Deum* against the antiphonal background of song and music that sounded from a gallery placed above the great Choir which, with its forty intricately carved wooden statues of favored saints, rises from the center of the central nave.

As the incense swung from the censer, as the Host in the gold monstrance was raised above them, what were they thinking—these women, almost all in black, these baldheaded older men with black mourning bands on their sleeves, these thin, patched workers, the clerks and sometimes very pretty girls? Their city had been firmly held by the Republicans. Its "liberation" in February 1937 had come hard, after weeks of pounding by Franco's artillery had reduced many blocks to rubble. For whom did they now lament? For what were they giving thanks?

Except for the officials and the members of the youth organization, those who were present were under no coercion. Thousands had walked into the cathedral from the streets, and during the ceremony the streets still held tens of thousands who did not enter. All classes and ages seemed to be there—though weighted a bit, perhaps, toward age. They were not like the shuffling, noisy throngs in a

French or especially an Italian cathedral. The Spaniards are, as they are said to be, devout. Their focus was the altar, and for half or more of the mysterious ritual they dropped on unsupported knees to the hard stone pavement. Not a few among the older men and women, of every class, openly wept.

They wept, I must assume, for brothers and husbands and sons who died in the "liberation" of their city, and their nation. But the tears did not distinguish between liberator and liberated, victor and vanquished. The final graves had been dug not beneath red or red and gold flag, but at the foot of the Cross.

Conflicts Assume New Patterns

In Spain itself the Civil War of the thirties is ended. This seems to me quite certain. It is not forgotten, nor glossed over. The officialdom is at pains to see that it should not be forgotten. Not only are there the formal celebrations, memorials, speeches, and declarations. There are the white crosses along the roads, with a little plaque that reads: "To the memory of so-and-so, who was killed here by the Marxists, such-and-such a date, 1936." Below the official surface this war, like so many others that preceded it, is being fused into the Spanish tradition, art, and folklore.

I do not mean that there is no discontent with the regime, or even opposition. But the tensions and conflicts are now being molded in patterns different from those of the thirties. There may some day be another Spanish civil war—as in the past there so often has been—but it would be a new war, not a continuation. Communism does not exist, except for whatever espionage apparatus the Kremlin may be managing to sustain. Internally, Communism is simply not a problem: it does not have the minimum vitality to make it useful to the government and newspapers as scapegoat. The Republican "Loyalist" coalition remains only as an abstraction of the past.

Spain is delighted with "the Spanish-North American treaty" (as it is usually called), and more generally with the improvement in relations with the United States. The press follows every detail of the mutual assistance program, and North America has a high priority in a barber's conversation. The ship loading the first batch of

supplies in New Orleans was everywhere a front-page photograph. An Andalusian poet, in a special article for S.U.R., singled out the flying of the Spanish flag from the towers of New York's Waldorf and Plaza hotels as among 1953's outstanding events.

Effects of the Treaty

There is no doubt that the treaty strengthens the regime—which was, however, under no imminent threat. The heavy coverage in the press is sufficient proof of that. Care is taken that Franco's own name should be linked with the achievement of the treaty. The military is quite naturally pleased that it will be getting some new and greatly needed equipment. (An Air Force unit at the Malaga airport operates, so far as I can see, with a few DC-3's and handful of hopelessly obsolescent trainers.) The mass of people also seems spontaneously happy about it.

The agreement will aid Spain economically. Perhaps most important from an economic standpoint, it should improve the exchange position, and thus indirectly permit an increase in certain imports from the lack of which Spain greatly suffers. Imported materials, like rubber, for example, must be so sparsely used that the quality of most products into which they enter is ruined. Petroleum derivatives are so inferior that the decay of cars and trucks is speeded. Not all the economic consequences, however, will be favorable. As has happened elsewhere, the swift local injection of American money and technology will cause dislocations in the existing economic structure—so remote from our own—and will stir up inflationary pressures. It is not so easy to fit an operative jet bomber base into a country where five dollars a week is a fairly good wage, and bicycles along with high-wheeled donkey carts are the principal transport vehicles.

The psychological effect of the treaty is, I think, more important than the economic. Although the Spanish seem to be as proud (and as polite) as they are supposed to be, everyone wants to feel needed. If the regime were thought to be not merely inefficient or tyrannical or corrupt, but *alien*, then the people might patiently endure and even welcome official hostility from the governments and nations of the civilization to which Spain inseparably belongs. Perhaps this was the case in the years when the Nazi and Fascist share in Franco's victory was uncomfortably blatant. That, too, has gone. In the more recent past, Spain as a nation, not merely as a government, has felt unjustly spurned and thus righteously indignant. Can she be blamed if she added a little ironic contempt as she observed the anti-totalitarian moralists of London, Paris, and Washington ready to fawn on Stalin, Tito—or Malenkov?

This southern coast is getting ready to receive

more Americans. In its large features, it is not unfamiliar. The bare mountains, sharp in the bright air, are exactly southern Arizona, shifting toward southern California as the eye joins them to the sea. (They are called, like California's coastal range, the Sierra Nevadas.) The prickly pear, agave, Spanish bayonet, yucca, palms, and citrus trees of our Southwest are here. The whitewashed, tile-roofed villas are, in fact, a little too much like a southern California "development." Lately the Andalusian masons, singing off-pitch Flamenco phrases and working without blueprints, are building, of all things, a number of "motels" (called exactly that). Malaga has fewer cars than any city I have ever visited, even in the Middle and Far East. By a charming irrationality, these motels, among the first in the world outside North America, are being built here.

Cheerful Inefficiency

Similarities do not reach down to smaller things. The life of the morning begins before our porch when the children or old women of the fishing village stretched along the beach to our left bring their pet pigs out of doors, on leash, for an airing. Soon donkeys are driven down to the water's edge, where their panniers are filled with sand to be used on the leisurely rising new houses. A gypsy, from a cave in one of the cliffs that jut into the water, stops to beg half-heartedly. Our fire is laid with the knotted prunings of ancient olive trees. A little boy, helped in transit by his older brother, leads brown and black goats across the sand and toward a rocky hill. Servants at the building across the way where we eat, jabber, sing, and scream at each other, while they smilingly start and half finish a dozen chores. Everything mechanical, from doors to plumbing to lamps, cheerfully fails to work.

Americans will be coming here in quickly increasing numbers. The sun is at least as warm and constant as on the French or Italian Riviera. The prices, especially for anything that depends on labor rather than machines, are much cheaper. The political climate is growingly receptive on both sides. Malaga itself is to be a secondary naval base under the mutual aid agreement; Cadiz and Seville, not far away, will have major installations. Quite probably, American money will begin to come in to help build up hotels and resorts, as British money earlier came on a small scale, following the British visitors who until a couple of years ago had this coast pretty much to themselves. The British, whose strictly limited travel funds and pensions remitted from Gibraltar can go so far here, are not enthusiastic over the approaching displacement.

But what will happen to Americans in a region where clocks and watches are hardly ever seen, and where the only activity that is ever on time is a bullfight?

A Second Look

By EUGENE LYONS

Dr. Felix Fuddlpuss, fellow-traveler emeritus and defender of liberal orthodoxy, leads an exciting life these days, a life pitched on the level of drama and danger and derring-do. His unique sensitivity—shared only by hordes of professors, writers, clergymen, and society ladies—makes him tinglingly aware of threats invisible to the rest of us. Stormtroopers lurking in the shadows, anti-Communists under every bed, inquisitors, witch-hunters, and, in the happy phrase of the unhappy R. L. Duffus, congressional “bird dogs yelping in the streets.”

The special America in which Dr. Fuddlpuss dwells in a delicious stage of jitters bristles with perils only the most valiant, which is to say people like himself, dare face. It is a land in the grip of terror, where virtuous Don Quixotes, all left-handed, tilt at McCarthian windmills and the skies are ablaze with the fires set by book burners; a land where the endless shouting of unfrightened dissenters blends into the “dark night of silence.”

No one can lure the good doctor to a humdrum plane of existence by arguing that this private world is all in his imagination. He relishes his habitat, with its febrile alarms and its sense of crowding doom, too much to be dislodged by mere facts and logic. And, given his temperament, who can blame Dr. Fuddlpuss? Where else could he enjoy his feeling of noble isolation in the exalted company of Eleanor Roosevelt and Mrs. Agnes Meyer, Elmer Davis and Bernard De Voto, Senator Lehman and Lord Bertrand Russell, to mention only a few persecuted but unintimidated? Where else could he savor the paradoxical thrills of being gagged and muzzled, with only the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the broadcasting chains, nearly all magazines, the academic podia and clerical pulpits open to his kind? It is good to stand alone with countless millions.

Besides, no day passes without additional testimony that this is truly “the hour of hysteria and fear” and additional tributes to his sublime courage. He, too, is one of the “unscareables”—the title just conferred upon Elmer Davis by a *Times* reviewer. In moments of doubt he can count on the American Civil Liberties Union to come through with a new report proving statistically that American freedoms are at their last gasp. During recent weeks Dr. Fuddlpuss has been clipping confirmations of his private world from the press and they sure make a big and heartening pile.

There was, for instance, the flood of orations in connection with the bicentennial of Columbia University, all freely attesting the decline of

freedom. Many indeed declared, with Rabbi Nathan A. Perilman, that “few indeed are ready to risk” speaking their minds. “Teachers, writers, preachers, the spokesmen and interpreters of the values we count precious,” the Rabbi proclaimed in his tribute to Columbia, “find themselves condemned to silence.” Any number of the condemned have spoken up in support of his verdict.

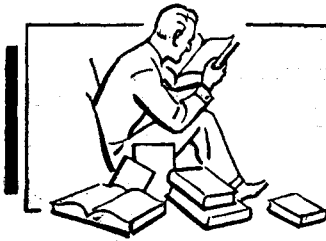
Then there was the eruditely disingenuous article by The Earl Russell, titled “The Corroding Effects of Suspicion,” in which he voiced his wholesale suspicions of the American people. Our fear psychoses, he feared, were in the pattern of England in 1678, when an “outbreak of mad hysteria swept over the country,” and of France in its Reign of Terror, not to mention the obvious parallels with Germany under Hitler and Russia under Stalin. Such is the intolerant temper of suspicion-ridden America that his overwrought sermon was relegated to the front page of Lester Markel’s *New York Times Magazine*.

The Earl, being a reasonable man, did not deny “the reality of the danger that is feared.” But he warned that “dangers are better combated by those who retain calm judgment,” as he does. He was referring, of course, to the sort of judicial calm which shines through his earlier statement that “If by some misfortune you were to quote with approval some remark by Jefferson, you would probably lose your job and find yourself behind bars.” (Only ump-teen new books on Jefferson, all approving, have been published here in the last few terrorized years.) Our British friend again reminded us that “the man in a panic will suspect all kinds of people,” and he should know.

But Dr. Fuddlpuss prizes especially a clipping which less dedicated denizens of his exciting world may have overlooked. Outwardly an innocent-looking literary essay—a review by Professor Irwin Edman of a book of *New Yorker* pieces by E. B. White—it packed a punch in its peroration:

Here is the Thoreau of our day, the play of mind, the uncorrupted seriousness, the dry unquenchable humor, *all in danger now of coming to be regarded as and eventually perhaps coming to be un-American activities.*

Naturally, the inhabitants of Dr. Fuddlpuss’ fabulous world are gratified and titillated every time they learn on high authority that the American reign of terror has gone even farther and faster than they suspected. That the right of dissent, academic freedom, and other such basic liberties have been lost is to them an old story. But now, thanks to the acute insights of Professor Edman, they can add play of mind, seriousness, and unquenchable humor to their list of things being ruthlessly suppressed. “So it has come to that!” Dr. Fuddlpuss wailed in delight, and shuddered in a kind of ecstasy as he underlined the glad news.



Man and the Tree

By J. DONALD ADAMS

Only a few weeks ago the daily papers carried photographs reminiscent of the thirties and the Dust Bowl, raising again the specter of deserts in the making; of a future not too distant when the fat lands we found upon this continent may lie blistering under the sun like those parched expanses of the ancient East. The specter is terribly real, and certain to assume material shape unless we who inhabit the United States take further heed of Nature's warnings and come to terms with her. What those terms are and how inexorable they are has been arrestingly set forth in what seems to me one of the most important books published in recent years. (*The Triumph of the Tree*, by John Stewart Collis, 276 pp., William Sloane Associates, \$3.50.)

Its importance lies not so much in its attention to a phase of conservation of which other writers have already made us increasingly aware; the book's scope is much wider than that. Not only is it a beautifully written book, imaginatively conceived and executed; it offers the most vigorous and convincing argument for an altered conception of man's place in the scheme of nature with which I am acquainted. It succeeds in bringing fresh illumination to the story of man's development on this planet, sharply pointing up his demonstrated capacity both for self-destruction and for destruction of the world which he inhabits. And specifically, it places in sharper perspective the long and close relationship between man and the tree, beginning with its part in his origin and early development, tracing its influence upon him through the mazes of mythology, down through his increasing divorcement from the natural world and his growing disregard of the tree's importance in his scheme of things.

All this is set forth in terms simple enough to engage and hold the attention of that semi-mythical person, the average intelligent reader. It is done with a fine sense of selection in the choice of vivid and significant detail, and in a style which at times achieves genuine distinction. Its subject-matter has for me, at least, all the fascination of such a book as Rachel Carson's *The Sea Around Us*, with the additional value of being even better written and of having an even wider suggestiveness.

The book consists of four parts and a concluding section. Part One, "In the Forests of the Night," briefly sketches in the beginnings of plant life on the earth, the coming of those predecessors

of the tree, the primeval ferns; the sinking of forest after forest and the making of coal; the role of the tree in making of man a creature utterly distinct from and of vastly superior equipment to the rest of animal creation; the influence upon him of the forest, his first home, and the spell it was to cast upon his imagination.

This last is developed further in Part Two, "The Mythology of Trees." These chapters provide an excellent introduction to the vast lore of mythology deriving from the tree: its basis in fear and its creation too of friendly spirits; the evolution of tree worship, which was to become widespread. I think the reader who comes to these chapters without any special knowledge, as I did myself, will derive from them a much heightened sense of the influence which trees have wielded over the minds and the works of men. As Mr. Collis observes, "From the cylinders of Chaldea to the aisles and window-tracery of our cathedrals, that influence is written."

Part Three consists of a brief chapter entitled "The Transition." It concerns one of the great turning points in man's history: the turning away from the conception of many gods to that of one. That change, as we all know, was to alter profoundly the shape and direction of man's thought. Liberating as that change was, laden as it was with powerful potentialities for man's spiritual growth, it had its drawbacks also. Nor were these confined to the unfortunate fact that mankind was unable to agree upon the identity of this single god. There was also the fact that the old gods had been intimately connected with the earth, whereas the new one dwelt distant and apart, unseeable and not prone to intercourse with mortals. That former intimacy, as Mr. Collis reminds us, stimulated veneration for the earth.

It became possible to fear God without fearing Nature—nay, to love God (whatever was meant) and to hate his creations. This attitude reached its climax with what is called Puritanism.

Then, Mr. Collis observes, science came in and began to "conquer" Nature. And let me interject here that if this book did nothing else it greatly intensified for me, at least, the conviction I already held, that of all the silly phrases man has invented to magnify his importance, "the conquest of nature" is by all odds the silliest. But then, man is the greatest self-kidder in all creation,

and this book is essentially a plea, and an impassioned one, for him to speed his growing up and to shed himself still further of those illusions which have for so long clouded his vision.

Part Four, "The Revenges of Nature," contains the core of the book's argument. It is a masterly presentation of the balance which Nature strives to maintain, and with which man in his blind arrogance, his cupidity, his lust for domination, and his infinite capacity for cruelty, has time and again interfered—driven, it would sometimes seem, by a kind of compulsion to upset the planetary apple-cart. Mr. Collis has outlined with exceptional clarity and convincing logic the inter-relations and inter-dependencies of water and soil and tree; the influence of trees upon temperature and rainfall, upon mountains, rivers, floods, wind, and birds.

He has a fine section on agriculture as the first enemy of trees. It must, he observes, have been an "intoxicating discovery" when man found he could make Nature grow things which could then be eaten, and "we still see much sense in it." But do we not delude ourselves if we think that Nature is on the side of the agriculturalists? Mr. Collis quotes Blake, who took that view when he wrote that "the cut worm forgives the plow." But does it? As Mr. Collis remarks:

There is no reason to suppose that Nature is not just as much on the side of trees as of agriculture, and we are not entitled to suppose that the cut worm was particularly gratified when agriculture soon proved to be the enemy not only of all animals who got in the way or who could not be employed, but of the forests.

It is true of course that in the early stages of civilization trees were the enemy of men. "Early man," observes Mr. Collis, "was obliged to conquer forests or be conquered by them." And in later periods, when men were "opening up" new continents, the tree had become fixed in his mind as an enemy; there is something almost savage in the onslaught of the American pioneer upon the forests which confronted him, followed later by the purely selfish assault of the lumbermen.

Time and again the forests took their revenge. The story is written in the Mayan cities swallowed by the jungle, as exhausted soil steadily lengthened the line of supply on which their populations depended. It is written also in many of the deserts created by man, even though all were not of his doing. It is written in the Holy Land, once flowing with milk and honey, and now being reclaimed; in Africa, in Asia, and today in our own West. Disregard of the tree had much to do, as Mr. Collis demonstrates, with the decline of ancient Greece and the fall of the Roman empire. In Australia and New Zealand today the balance which Nature strives to maintain is seriously upset. There is not space to present the details here, but you will find them in Mr. Collis' book.

My own interest obliges me to dwell for a

moment on a chapter in this part of his book which Mr. Collis devotes to the extraordinary story of the American Indians on this continent. They set, as he remarks, "an example in ecology which might well be imitated by other races." It is ironic, and tragic also, that in the conquest of this continent by a people who regarded themselves as a superior breed of men, they should have encountered, subjugated, and both physically and morally destroyed, a people whose oneness with Nature and awareness of their part in her general scheme has, I think, been without parallel in the annals of mankind.

Our debt to the Indian is great and has never to this day been repaid. Aside from the fact that our treatment of him constitutes one of the most shameful chapters in the history of any country, there remains the further fact that if we had had sufficient humility to learn from him more than the little we condescended to learn, we should not now be faced with the necessity of great expenditures if we are to preserve the means of supporting a rapidly growing population.

That increase, a most formidable specter in any scientific view of the world today, haunts the pages of Mr. Collis' concluding chapter. No sane man can read this book without realizing that man is a gone goose, regardless of the power of his bombs, if he does not come to terms with Nature. He will be one more discarded species, this overweening stepson of an inexorable mother, unless in sufficient numbers he acquires the sense to accept a reasonable role in the drama in which, although he has assumed the role of director, he has only a part. In spite of the fact that we Americans have sinned against our mother as much or more than anyone, Mr. Collis pays us this tribute—that we are soil-erosion conscious as no nation has ever been before.

We better had be. As Mr. Collis observes:

Man is a dramatic animal. He leans towards tragedy. He courts disaster. Born finally to obey or perish, he must first defy the laws of earth and usurp the throne of God. . . . When trees were regarded as gods they were not cut down. Hence the mountains also stayed up, and the soil remained steady, and the waters true. When trees came to be regarded simply as "timber" they were ruthlessly slain. We have rehearsed some of Nature's replies with the swollen river and the plague of rodents, with the day of drought and the bowl of dust.

But man does learn. It all began in that far distant day when, evolving among trees which were his first home, he developed the hand which, with its thumb, was to give him physical mastery (though not to the point he has imagined) of his environment: when, too, he acquired the priceless gift of conceptual thought, which he alone among all our animate world possesses.

And was it not, as Mr. Collis reminds us,

... the tree that gave the hand to life. It was the tree that promoted the upright posture. It was the tree that made sight dominant over smell. Thus it was the tree that [in Julian Huxley's words] "laid the foundations both for the fuller definition of objects by conceptual thought and for the fuller control of them by tool and machines."

Must we not say that it was the tree that gave man to life? Anyway, it was under the auspices of those ancient boughs that he appeared. And having appeared, he was destined to interfere with the Order of Nature.

Let him take heed.

Korean Apology

Substitute for Victory, by John Dille. 219 pp. New York: Doubleday and Company. \$3.00

This book has merit within limitations. It is a subjective, highly personalized account—which is its strength. But it also cannot escape a certain partisanship—which is its weakness. The author, a correspondent for *Life* magazine, has made a rather clever title thoroughly descriptive of intent: he is determined to prove a complex point, to give an uncompromising explanation and apology for the Korean impasse, which was neither victory nor defeat. Such a hybrid condition is difficult to defend, though Dille has made it a brilliant tour de force. A little sleight-of-hand, however, is a far cry from the ultimate in historical validity. The author has gone just a shade too far in sugaring what will remain a very bitter pill.

On the other hand, in the series of recent books on Korea which are either calculated anti-MacArthur "smears" or hectic products of the "disaster" school of journalism, Dille has departed refreshingly from perpetuating one of the greatest literary hoaxes of our time, which has been very damaging to American prestige: the legend of the Eighth Army's panicky rout and absolute defeat in November 1950 and, conversely, its miraculous recovery in January 1951. The thesis of magic recovery in a few weeks is of course just as untenable as the thesis of absolute defeat, especially after this same army had just raked in some 130,000 North Korean prisoners of war, in October 1950. Modern armies do not disintegrate or recover as rapidly as that. The Eighth Army in Korea has remained what it was designed to be: an integrated military mechanism that can take blows or trade them, that can advance or retreat. In November 1950, it pursued the North Korean remnants to the Yalu, completely aware of the possibility of Red China's entry into the war, an entry it could anticipate but not prevent, but for which the "high command" in Washington and in the United Nations had failed to make the slightest provisions, in counsel or in means. The re-

at, in the face of new conditions and a fresh foe, was a maneuver of an army intact, with its local rearguards paying a price rearguards always pay. But they paid less of a price than at Okinawa or at Anzio—a fact that was somehow never mentioned. As Dille says:

The war in Korea was a magnificent war. It was fought exceedingly well. There is nothing about the Korean war for which we should feel ashamed.

Having salvaged this important point from the fog of emotional confusion in past reporting, Dille is obviously sincere in developing his major thesis of "substitute for victory," though a more critical viewpoint might put it as a "whitewash of a policy that failed to win." Dille defends his interpretation of history with literary distinction and on-the-spot observations. However, there are certain technical facts which, taken together, add up to a simpler explanation that spells not "substitute for victory" but rather "evasion of victory." These points can easily be made by paralleling some of Dille's major statements.

... In the early days [Walker] tried to wage war by establishing lonely strong points from which to fight back at infiltrating enemy troops. This was an archaic and futile form of warfare. . .

What did Dille expect Walker to do? There is a practical relationship between "frontages" and the "ability to defend." Walker's understrength divisions around Pusan maintained frontages—as the crow flies—that were fantastic. His Korean divisions were assigned frontages from twelve to fifteen miles; his American divisions held sectors of fifteen to thirty miles length. This meant one or two riflemen every ten yards, and nothing behind them. The fact that Walker held his lines at all was a miracle of performance—and it was not done by strongpoints but by shuffling a few weary reserves from one front to the other.

Dille cannot resist the picturesque and the mysterious: he uses several pages to refer to a lone-wolf intelligence operator—"a right man in a right place." But modern intelligence is not furnished by lone-wolves. We maintained a military group of five hundred American officers and men to train the South Koreans before the outbreak of the war. They, and Rhee's fledgling army knew all about North Korea. Ground, Air, Navy, and General Headquarters were in the act too, and they had plenty of experience between 1941 and 1945. A General Headquarters agency (in Korea) filed 1,195 consecutive warning reports in the critical period between June 1949 and June 1950, or an average of three reports every single day. The North Korean build-up was unmistakable.

Dille revives the Wake Island "canard." He reports that "MacArthur assured the President that the Chinese would not interfere." MacArthur could give no such assurance. Washington was informed in minutest detail about the Chinese

build-up along the Yalu. As late as November 2, Tokyo reported the strength and location of fifty-seven Red Chinese divisions in Manchuria. Distributed along the Yalu, poised for invasion, were thirty-three divisions in eleven corps.

And here we come to the real reasons that made for a "substitute for victory" instead of the real thing: relative strength, comparative forces—factors beyond which no victory is possible.

Terrain conditions in Italy in 1944 and in Korea in 1950 were very similar. Italy, however, was a purely secondary theater of war. Nevertheless, the Allies threw two armies, the British Eighth and the U.S. Fifth Army, with thirty-one divisions, against twenty to twenty-seven Italo-German divisions of normally half strength. One need not strain one's imagination to guess what would have happened in Korea if thirty-one divisions had been thrown against the Chinese.

The author goes off the deep end elsewhere, as in his moral defense of the Chinese Reds, comparing their reaction to the U.N. advance on the Yalu to a speculative situation along our own Mexican border. Yet we have not "invaded" Mexico since 1848. In another chapter, Dille dwells with some interest on the subject of sex on the rampage in South Korea. The percentage of sex crimes in our army accurately reflects nothing more or less than a similar percentage in civilian life. It is a problem we have not solved because we pretend it does not exist.

The remaining chapter of Mr. Dille's book contains professionally smooth reporting on Formosa, on Chiang Kai-shek *chez lui*, and postwar Japan—interesting facets of a many-sided international story.

CHARLES A. WILLOUGHBY

Breaking the Color Barrier

The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901, by Rayford W. Logan. 380 pp. New York: The Dial Press. \$5.00

Breakthrough on the Color Front, by Lee Nichols. 235 pp. New York: Random House. \$3.50

America has come a long way in the treatment of its Negro citizens. And these two books highlight the revolutionary development that has taken place in the course of some fifty years.

From the viewpoint of American Negroes and liberals of the abolitionist tradition, the post-Reconstruction era, from the election of President Hayes until the last Negro left the House of Representatives in 1901, was the darkest and most disgraceful period in our nation's history.

Having emancipated four million slaves, enfranchised them, and protected them with bayonets from all efforts to re-enslave them through the Black Laws, the federal government abandoned them to the erstwhile Confederacy, which prog-

ressively stripped them of the rights and privileges of their newly-won citizenship.

In his fascinating, instructive, and generally restrained study of this shameful sell-out of the freed men for the sake of national unity, Dr. Logan, professor of history at Howard University, vividly pictures the course of the counter-revolution. Extremely well read in the literature, journalism, and politics of the period of North-South reunion, and possessed of a readable style, occasionally enlivened by witty and sarcastic allusions and comments, Dr. Logan exposes the evasiveness and duplicity of the succession of White House occupants who were more concerned with preventing another civil conflict than saving the Negroes from the clutches of Kluxism.

In so doing, it appears, they were only expressing the sentiments of most white citizens as indicated by a study of the newspapers, magazines, literature, orations, and popular culture of the period. The stereotype of the happy-go-lucky, improvident, subhuman, childlike black rapist, doomed to ultimate extinction through crime, disease, and his incapacity to succeed in competition with whites, was firmly established during that quarter century. In contrast, the old slave states were progressively glorified by intellectuals as the repository of Anglo-Saxon virtues, of Christian forbearance, with an almost Athenian antebellum culture which the crassly materialist North had destroyed at Appomattox. Naturally, this Eden could never rise again unless the colored brother was kept down. Few Americans opposed this point of view.

Obligingly, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down a succession of decisions which nullified the legislation enacted for the Negroes' protection, while Congress failed to pass the laws needed to implement the Reconstruction amendments. As the Bourbons were supplanted by poor whites in the South, and demagogues like Tillman replaced the Wade Hamptons, things went from bad to worse. Segregation ruled by law, there was a lynching every other day, public education for Negroes became farcical, canards against them mounted, and they became victims of the most outrageous lampoonery and ridicule in cartoons, stories, songs, and plays. Organized labor and business turned thumbs down on them, and Southern planters virtually enslaved them.

Perhaps it was only because America's basic Christian virtues tempered the expedient surrender of the principles of freedom for which it had fought, that the American Negro came out of this shameful period at all.

That those virtues cannot be underrated is evidenced by Lee Nichols' dramatic account of the complete repudiation of the segregationist philosophy by the Armed Forces of the United States. In less than a decade, and in the face of powerful traditions, the Army, the Navy, the Marines, and the Air Force completely abandoned segregation.

Today Negroes serve in every branch of the Armed Forces on equal basis with whites, and so far there has been neither friction nor any "incidents." In view of the pre-draft backgrounds of these youths, and the generations of racist indoctrination which had conditioned them, this is truly remarkable. The revolutionary change in military policy did not come overnight. There was much studying, soul-searching, backing and filling. Powerful doubts had to be dispelled, but with increasing speed since the end of World War Two, and especially since the Korean "police action," the various services have been integrated.

Mr. Nichols, a working newspaperman, tells the whole dramatic story in an account which is absorbing throughout. After reading Dr. Logan's and Mr. Nichols' books one concludes that the Americans are truly remarkable folk who have done much to rectify an historic outrage in a short time.

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

A Slight Case of Myopia

A New Pattern for a Tired World, by Louis Bromfield. 314 pp. New York: Harper and Brothers. \$3.75

This book is a melancholy example of how a man may be completely immunized against the fallacies of Marxism, whether of the Communist or socialist variety, and yet be blind to the major threat which Soviet Communism poses to American security. This threat is not the few converts who have been made in this country to the teachings of Marx and Lenin. As Mr. Bromfield correctly observes, the United States is an overwhelmingly middle-class country, happily deficient in Marx's "proletarians, with nothing to lose but their chains."

The truly serious threat of Soviet Communism is the mighty militarized empire into which the original Soviet state has developed. This empire disposes already of some 800,000,000 people, about one third of the human race, as military and industrial cannon fodder. And the rulers of this empire, both because of the remnants of Marxist dogma which still influence their thinking and because of the basic insecurity of tyranny, are constantly thinking in terms of further expansion by force or subversion.

Mr. Bromfield has his feet firmly on the ground when he exposes the failure of Communism to make good on its promises. And the same applies to his analysis of the substantial differences between

the dynamic, progressive, competitive capitalism of the United States and the stagnant system, plagued with cartels, price rings, and all sorts of restraints on free competition, which passes for capitalism in some western European countries.

Where he goes off the deep end completely and finds himself in the company of Kremlin apologists is in his violent denunciation of American foreign policy as it has developed since Washington belatedly awoke to the realities of Soviet aggression.

Mr. Bromfield's anti-Communism stops most illogically at the water's edge. He doesn't like our overseas bases and military installations, which he denounces in a kind of doctrinaire isolationist trance as "international meddling." He seems to dislike the idea of rearming Germany in a Western alliance, and words like "aggression" and "warmongering" recur in his discussion of American foreign policy as frequently as in a speech by Mr. Molotov.

The author's sights are badly maladjusted, too, when he repetitiously accuses the United States of trying to prop up tottering colonial empires. It would be interesting to hear the comments on this of the Dutch, many of whom feel with some bitterness that the United States forced them out of Indonesia. The contrast between the emergence of India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Libya as new independent nations, and the blotting out by Soviet imperialism of nine independent nations of Europe does not seem to occur to the author.

It is a pity, but it is unfortunately true, that Mr. Bromfield, with unimpeachably conservative views and the best of intentions, gives the American people about as much bad advice on foreign policy in the last chapter of this book as one would normally find in the offerings of the Moscow apologists.

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

Of Presidents and Power

The American President, by Sidney Hyman. 342 pp. New York: Harper and Brothers. \$4.00

The Presidency of the United States has always been a most distinguished office. The shifts in power and leadership from private enterprise to government, from the state governments to the federal government, and, within the federal government, from the legislative and judicial branches to the executive branch, have given that office much additional weight. Together with the special prerogatives of the President in foreign affairs, the remarkable rise of the United States in world influence and activity, and the tense nature of the international situation in recent years, they have made the Presidency of transcendent importance today. Mr. Hyman, collaborator with Robert Sherwood in the preparation of *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, former Director of Research of the

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Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Foundation, and, in 1952, campaign assistant to Adlai Stevenson, would appear to have many qualifications for writing the penetrating study of the Presidency that is so badly needed. It is regrettable that his book is amateurish and superficial.

We should not, however, be too hard on Mr. Hyman. He has held his New Deal sympathies in check and has made and largely succeeded in what must have been an heroic effort to be fair to Congress, to Republicans, and to conservatives in general, as did Harold J. Laski in *The American Presidency*, which Harper published in 1940. Mr. Hyman has collected a quantity of interesting information about the election, qualifications, and responsibilities of our Presidents. He argues persuasively against a national Presidential primary, although his point that Stevenson would not have been the Democratic nominee if such a primary had been held in 1952 may not be the absolute clincher that Mr. Hyman seems to think it is. A number of his observations are thoughtful. The reader puts down the book feeling that Mr. Hyman is sincere, that he has done his best.

Unfortunately, his best is not good enough to make a significant contribution to the serious subject that he has chosen. His style is lamentably pedestrian, particularly when compared, as is inevitable, with Laski's polished and sophisticated work. Despite the momentous events since 1940, Mr. Hyman's presentation of the major problems posed by our constitutional system is less stimulating than Laski's—a fact which makes it seem a little odd that the book has been brought out by the same publisher. Mr. Hyman's discussion of the President's relations with Congress is fragmentary and fails to include, among other things, consideration of the vital question whether insistence on congressional acceptance of the President's program as such is not bound to end in what Professor E. H. Carr has called "plebiscitary monarchy." Although Mr. Hyman refers to the number and variety of the demands on the attention of the President and to the recent expansion of the President's "Executive Office," he does not analyze the implications of the resulting palace atmosphere. He does, however, make one excellent suggestion, namely, that Congress create its own screening authority with respect to appropriations—an agency to correspond to the Bureau of the Budget. At present Congress is ill-informed of the detailed need for the vast sums of money it appropriates during each session.

What the public requires is a work lucidly describing the evolution—perhaps one should say the aggrandizement—of the Presidency, and credibly predicting the eventual outcome of the trend to central and personal power. Mr. Hyman, however, has not written such a book.

C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

Briefer Mention

Seven Years in Tibet, by Heinrich Harrer. Translated by Richard Graves. 314 pp. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. \$5.00

The title of this book gives little idea of the remarkable adventure it relates. Caught in India by the outbreak of World War Two, the members of the 1939 German Himalayan Expedition were sent to P.O.W. camps "for the duration." The natural thing to do was escape. This is the story of how two of the group—Heinrich Harrer, Austrian mountaineer, and the leader of the expedition, Peter Aufschnaiter—broke away, made their long and arduous way through the Himalayas to find sanctuary in the holy city of Lhasa, capital of Tibet. The journey itself, almost fatally handicapped by legal and financial barriers as well as the forbidding terrain, was an experience made possible only by the remarkable stamina of the men, by their unusual physical and psychological equipment as high mountaineers. The second half of the book, the years in Lhasa, is as tranquil and lovely as the first half is exciting and harrowing. For the capital of Tibet was—before the Communists moved in—a high plateau of peace and joy. The two men were soon happy members of its community, Mr. Harrer becoming eventually tutor to the Dalai Lama—a charming, exceptionally intelligent youth. The author has succeeded admirably in recreating this strange, beautiful, farthest world—a success that gives special poignancy to his concluding statement: "Wherever I live, I shall feel homesick for Tibet."

Prisoner for God, by Dietrich Bonhoeffer. Edited by Eberhard Bethge. 190 pp. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.50

"It is not easy to be brave and hold out," wrote this German clergyman of the Confessing Church, "but it is imperative." Thus, when the Gestapo arrested him in April 1943 as a political suspect, he went on living, in his prison cell, "in faith and responsibility," as though "a splendid future" still lay before him. He was hanged in April 1945. His courageous reflections on life, Christianity, and literature, contained in notations and letters smuggled out of prison, make up this probing and deeply moving volume, which is perhaps the finest document of an unbroken Christian spirit that has come out of the political prison cages of our century.

How to Lie With Statistics, by Darrell Huff. 142 pp. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. \$2.95

If a figure is fairly improbable, says Mr. Huff in this light-hearted guide to statistical skulduggery, it is probably all wrong. It is a generalization disguised as an exact statement. Thus

figures derived by sampling techniques, such as the results of public opinion polls and, indeed, of practically all marketing research, are suspect. So is every figure described as an "average," for the word can have three different meanings (mean, median, or mode) each of which would result in a distinct figure. In short, the possibilities of lying with statistics are endless. Yet, says Mr. Huff, himself a member of the advertising and public relations fraternity, to reject statistical material arbitrarily "makes no sense either." How, then, can one tell true from false? Mr. Huff lays down five rules in the form of questions: Who Says So? Does It Make Sense? etc. And thus he takes us right back to where he started, namely: be skeptical. His tone throughout the book is light and amusing, yet when the laughs wear off, he leaves you with some knowledge of the tricks of his trade.

Handbook on Propaganda, by Oliver Carlson. 110 pp. Los Angeles: The Foundation for Social Research. \$1.00 paper bound, \$2.00 cloth bound

Oliver Carlson's attempt to sum up in simplified form the basic problems and manifestations of propaganda is a healthy symptom in a world of communications filled with semantic snares for the unwary. The need for public sensitivity to propaganda is great. And so is the need for continuing

analysis of propaganda from all quarters. Within the limited space of this small volume Mr. Carlson cannot, of course, produce the detailed analysis many readers may be waiting for. However, by spotlighting the need and the direction for such a book, and by providing some simple rules for avoiding naive involvement in propaganda schemes, he has performed a valuable service.

A Kid for Two Farthings, by Wolf Mankowitz. 120 pp. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. \$2.50

We no longer live in a world where unicorns are "common as carthorses," and all one had to do to make a wish come true was to reach out "and there it was, a glass of lemon tea, a new hat." Thus it is a rare delight to follow Mr. Mankowitz into the simple and wonderful world of a six-year-old boy, Joe, who lived with his mother in the half-Yiddish, half-Cockney section of London's East End, and who "thanks to Mr. Kandinsky," the gentle old tailor on Fashion Street, "knew a unicorn when he saw one." And indeed, Mr. Mankowitz relates in this graceful and imaginative story, one day Joe acquired a unicorn—it looked, perhaps, a little like a one-horned baby goat—and the wishes of the colorful people who inhabited Joe's orbit of adventure came true.

The Free Man's Library

By HENRY HAZLITT

How to Keep Our Liberty, by Raymond Moley. 339 pp. 1952. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$4.00

Raymond Moley was a major architect in Franklin D. Roosevelt's early New Deal. His opposition to later developments in national policy culminated in this vigorous but admirably organized and carefully thought out "conservative manifesto." "Today the people of this nation," he writes, "are presented with a choice between two forms of political and economic life. One form is that of our traditions, in which individual liberty prevails and is guarded by 'the long, still grasp of law.' The other is the dominance of the state in human affairs. My purpose here has been to present a plan for political action to those who do not wish to go down the road to socialism." The book combines rich scholarship with the readability of first-rate journalism.

Democracy in America, by Alexis de Tocqueville. 868 pp. 1835. Numerous editions.

This is by far the best book ever written about America, and the most penetrating book ever written about democracy. Its central theme is that democracy has become inevitable, and is on the whole desirable; but that it has great potential-

ities for evil as well as good, depending upon how well it is understood and guided. In de Tocqueville's view, the greatest danger that threatens democracy is its tendency toward the centralization and concentration of power: "If ever the free institutions of America are destroyed, that event may be attributed to the omnipotence of the majority." There is revived interest in de Tocqueville today because of the uncanny clairvoyance of some of his prophecies—for example, that America, whose principal instrument was liberty, and Russia, whose principal instrument was servitude, were each marked out some day "to sway the destinies of half the globe." But the special reason for including *Democracy in America* in the free man's library is that, as John Bigelow wrote in his introduction to the 1904 edition, it is "an intellectual arsenal in which the friends of freedom will long come to seek weapons."

Areopagitica, by John Milton. About 50 pages. 1644. Many editions.

This written oration against censorship is the noblest of Milton's tracts, and one of the world's great documents on human liberty. It is rich in magnificent sentences: "Who ever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?" . . . "As good almost kill a man as kill a good book: who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book kills reason itself."

THEATER

To Whom Authority?

By SERGE FLIEGERS

The debate over where authority properly starts and ends began when man first endeavored to establish an organized system of social co-existence. And it has been with us ever since. Yet we have traveled a long way from the first cave man's simple authority over his family, from the tyrannical force with which some cruel satrap established his rule over a community to the highly complex mechanism of authority that holds and binds the fabric of twentieth-century civilization. In the course of history we have experienced many forms of political, spiritual, moral, and intellectual authority over men's minds and acts and persons. We are regretfully familiar with the sordid phenomena of force, coercion, terror, and inhumanity with which a spurious authority has too often been exercised.

Today the question of authority is more than ever connected with the relation between the individual and the steadily increasing machinery of government, with the calamity of war, with ideological conflicts. Where does the free will of the individual end? What are the proper demands of authority on the individual in the name of the nation, an ideology, "the common good"? Who is to decide this "common good" at every point of crisis? Where does the final, the ultimate authority rest?

All this brings us to the two plays under present scrutiny: *The Caine Mutiny Court Martial*, by Herman Wouk, and *Coriolanus*, by William Shakespeare. Although they are centuries and continents apart, both plays present some invigorating comment on the matter of authority and the men who hold it. In the matter of *The Caine Mutiny* there is also an aspect of highly topical importance to which recent headlines have drawn special attention.

The story of the play is basically the same as the book. It concerns Captain Queeg (Lloyd Nolan in the play), a martinet and a coward, who commands one of our minesweepers in the Pacific phase of World War

Two. In the midst of a typhoon Queeg gets panicky and threatens to founder the ship. He is relieved of his command by well-meaning Lieutenant Maryk (John Hodiak), who brings the ship back to San Francisco where he faces a court martial demanded by his captain. Lieutenant Barney Greenwald (Henry Fonda) is assigned to defend Maryk, and manages to ravel Queeg up in the Captain's own lies and neuroses, exposing him as unfit to command a vessel of the U.S. Navy, thus winning vindication and acquittal for his client. This makes good, engrossing theater, so competently written that even those who have read the book share anew the courtroom suspense. Up to this point, the play justifies its description as the biggest hit since *South Pacific*, for it is all things to all men—and women. A sailor next to us, for example, obviously relished the crashing defeat of Captain Queeg, apparently working off all the frustrated aggression generated within his own breast by a succession of overbearing superiors. The women adore Henry Fonda, who continues to play the lovable character he created in *Mr. Roberts*. Others enjoy the taut direction by Charles Laughton and the top-notch acting of the principals.

But as Lieutenant Maryk is acquitted, and the audience prepares to go home, author Wouk throws in an epilogue. At a dinner to celebrate his victory, Lieutenant Greenwald delivers an impassioned and maudlin speech. In it he exposes the inner conflict that beset him throughout the trial. As a lawyer he had to win the case for his client. But as a naval officer, he was deeply disturbed about attacking the principle of authority in the Navy, even though in this case it was represented in the unworthy person of Captain Queeg. Thus he subscribes to the idea that authority per se is doubly urgent and important when a country is confronted by barbarism from abroad. Such authority, he believes, should be hallowed and not questioned by subordinates, however well-meaning they may be. But does this same attitude not lead to such ultimate irresponsibility as we have experienced in the pleas of certain former Nazi officers, for instance, who passed the buck of

BOOKS FROM CHICAGO



Capitalism and the Historians

Edited by F. A. HAYEK. Capitalism, even in the days of the Manchester slums and the child worker, was an immediate, positive social good. From actual case studies of the English worker, his work, and his times, the authors argue that the prevalent belief in the immediate evil of the Industrial Revolution is a myth, perpetuated by a few historians and intellectuals. The contributors to this important and controversial statement are: F. A. Hayek, The University of Chicago; T. S. Ashton, University of London; Louis Hacker, Columbia University; W. H. Hutt, University of Capetown; and Bertrand de Jouvenel, French economic historian. \$3.00

The Uneasy Case for Progressive Taxation

By WALTER J. BLUM & HARRY KALVEN. Progressive taxation, a major development of twentieth-century capitalism, has long been accepted, rarely understood. In this extremely timely examination of the arguments, pro and con, Professors Blum and Kalven present the only study of its kind—a systematic and critical analysis of the legal, economic, and social position of progressive taxation in present-day America. The importance of this book to anyone who studies—or pays—taxes is self-evident. \$2.50

Essays in Positive Economics

By MILTON FRIEDMAN. The author, winner of the John Bates Clark medal (1951) of the American Economic Association, makes economic theory a positive tool for the analysis of concrete problems. A new introductory essay of major importance discusses methodology in general, its relation to reality, and the role of assumptions in theory. Subsequent essays (several previously unpublished) demonstrate Friedman's thesis that economic theory is far more than a formal discipline. \$5.75

At your bookstore, or from
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responsibility through a chain of command till it finally landed at the feet of the dead "high commander"? Is there not a point to be made for the responsibility of the individual for the things he does, even in an army? Or in government, for that matter?

This is not to advocate the complete removal of discipline from the armed forces. But there is a world of difference between the intelligent interpretation of orders by qualified officers and the blind following of instructions from above. Obedience to authority for the sake of efficiency, for the sake of "future generations," for the ultimate glory of some crackpot idea or another has always been one of the semantic snares of totalitarian henchmen, planners, and power-hungry politicians. And it has never absolved anybody's weakness, passivity, or indifference to evil from the moral and often practical judgment of history.

If we need further refutation of the superman thesis of abject submission to authority, we can conveniently turn to the recent fine production of Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* at the Phoenix Theater. Shown only once in America since 1885, *Coriolanus* is one of Shakespeare's later, more mature and thoughtful plays. Coriolanus, an arrogant patrician named consul because of his military successes, demands absolute authority over the people and their tribunes. Egged on by the latter, the people deny him the consulship and drive him from the city. Like a Roman sword, Shakespeare's play is two-edged. It attacks the principle of absolute power, yet at the same time slashes at the fickle, stupid mob which one minute acclaims Coriolanus and the next minute sends him into exile. The villain of this piece is not the unhappy Roman general, who is finally stabbed by his Volscian allies, but the Roman mob, "the mutable, rank-scented many."

Presumably hidden somewhere in the magnificent action of this play is the still-valid message: That authority should be entrusted neither to the rulers of the moment nor to the unreasoning emotionalism of the mob but to those possessed of moderation, integrity, and good sense, and even then not without a system of checks and balances.

FROM OUR READERS

Employing the "Objectionable"

In the February 23, 1954 issue of a newspaper that prints only "All the News That's Fit to Print," there appeared an editorial that commended the Waterfront Commission of New York Harbor "for its vigilance in keeping objectionable characters from employment on the piers."

What strikes me as strange is that whenever an attempt is made to keep Communists or fellow-travelers off the air, screen, or stage, this same paper sets up a horrendous howl in their defense. Could it be that they don't consider this group objectionable?

Lexington, N.Y. HAROLD S. RAGUE

Hidden Antidotes

I am renewing my subscription to your magazine. Since I was at first skeptical, I am happy that you have been able to keep going the work you started.

In our library I notice the *Nation*, the *New Republic*, the *Reporter*, out in plain sight well displayed while your magazine is packaged with obscure publications. . .

It seems to me that that is equivalent to a drugstore which prominently displays the poisons while it keeps the antidotes in the safe.

Bellingham, Wash. THOMAS F. HUNT

Contributors Seem to Differ

I read with interest "Laymen's Revolt in the Churches" by Edmund A. Opitz (February 8). Mr. Opitz. . . levels a finger of indictment at the World Council of Churches and the National Council of Churches for those parts in these organizations that are collectivist sounding boards, harping out in perfect three-four tempo the music of Marx-Engels-Lenin. I am glad to see the FREEMAN printing the truth relative to this "sinister" propaganda.

I find it hard to reconcile, however, when Mr. Opitz classes Reinhold Niebuhr with the "non-Communist left," and James Burnham, reviewing Niebuhr's latest book in the same issue, says that the author "moves several steps rightward" and cites the following quotation as proof: "I have always resisted the dangerous illusions of Communism." . . . Mr. Burnham appears to imply that Dr. Niebuhr's own basic "theories can no longer justify" what Burnham calls "a continuing leftism in practical politics." This statement is followed by an appraisal of this book as "valuable to those who wish to aid in developing a new and revived American conservatism."

Since when do libertarians have to

go to welfare-statists to "revivify" their American conservatism? I am not so sure that Mr. Burnham caught with full force some of Dr. Niebuhr's carefully baited hooks designed to catch unwary conservatives. It appears to me that there is some difference of opinion over Dr. Niebuhr on the part of your contributors, but then, I guess that is what makes life interesting.

Cedarville, Ohio DONALD ALLEN WAITE

What They Said

I think that your column "This Is What They Said" is one of the most impressive in your admirable magazine.

Del Mar, Cal. MRS. MERLE R. FRANCIS

General Motors' Expansion

Saturday Evening Post, issue of February 20: ". . . General Motors' decision to invest at least one billion." FREEMAN, issue of February 22, "General Motors' \$2,000,000 program. . ."

Will you two magazines please get together on your information so that the public can divest itself of a feeling of being engaged in a game of "double or nothing"?

New Castle, Ind. H. E. CONN

[Our writer's enthusiasm ran away with him to the tune of a billion dollars in a paragraph which arrived as we were going on the press, too late for editorial checking. THE EDITORS]

Film Censorship

Under the title "Codes and Morals" (February 22), I expected to find something authentic about their origin and application. Instead, I read a self-contradictory essay. It began by opposing any restrictions on motion pictures by either producers or governmental bodies, and ended by hoping that "objectionable films" would be shunned by distributors and exhibitors. How they could decide which films are objectionable to the public or to himself the author does not explain. He expects them to be more learned than the highest Justices of the states whose decisions the Supreme Court reversed. According to this reasoning, courts are unnecessary because everybody is able to judge for himself what is best for all.

The author can hardly be blamed for advocating such anarchistic ideas if he read the decision in the *Miracle* case. It expressed violent abhorrence to a "flood of orthodoxies." The alternative seems to be for the Court to allow a flood of unorthodoxies to sweep away the moral code which affects economics as well as sex. The prestige of the Supreme Court rests on the orthodoxy which it wishes to ignore. Experiments are a poor substitute for experience.

New York City HENRY V. MORAN

More Questions . . . More Answers

There are an unlimited number of questions deserving the RIGHT answers. And there is one important source for the facts: FREEMAN reprints. But these reprints are more than sources of information! They are the inexpensive, effective means by which you can take part in the battle against collectivist propaganda. Order a supply of the reprints listed below.

TITO'S SECRET ALLIANCE WITH MOSCOW by Bogdan Raditsa

The inside story of the new Yugoslav-Soviet friendship based on documents and interviews with intelligence experts, diplomats, and others having access to firsthand sources. This article drew a personal—and vaguely stated—denial from Marshal Tito. The author was formerly Tito's Foreign Press Chief.

Single copy .10; 12 copies \$1.00; 100 copies \$6.00; 1,000 copies \$45.00. Reprint #35

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A delightful retelling of the Benedict Arnold story written after the too-lengthy perusal of recent headline revelations. It has been acclaimed as a masterpiece of devastating satire.

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DENATIONALIZE ELECTRIC POWER by O. Glenn Saxon

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Robert Montgomery is, of course, the distinguished and much-loved stage, screen, radio, and television star who has recently won acclaim and new fame as a radio commentator and narrator of the popular television show, "Robert Montgomery Presents." His eloquent words should be read by every American.

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WHY SOCIALIZE NIAGARA? by Robert S. Byfield

Why does New York's Governor Dewey plan to have a State Authority develop "people's kilowatts" at Niagara Falls? Read the facts about how indefensible the plan is and how Governor Dewey belies his own professed faith in free enterprise.

Single copy .10; 12 copies \$1.00; 100 copies \$6.00; 1,000 copies \$45.00. Reprint #28

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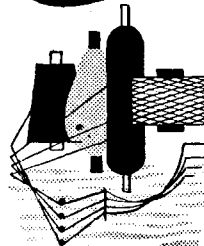
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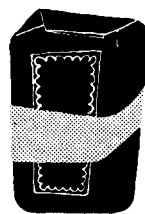
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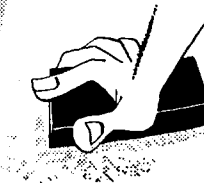
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