

THE

*Freeman*

NOVEMBER 16, 1953

25¢

Why Socialize Niagara?

Robert S. Byfield

Tito Wants Neutralism

F. A. Voigt

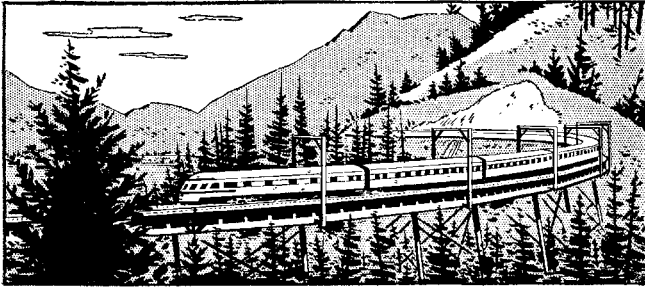
Gold and Subversion

Nathaniel Weyl

Does Expediency Pay?

An Editorial

# How does Hiawatha run so fast?

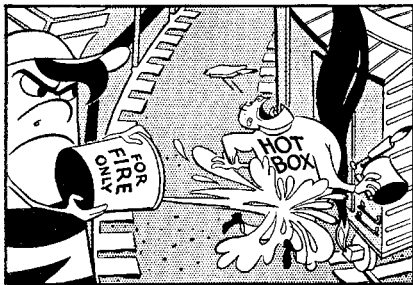


THE MILWAUKEE RAILROAD'S new *Olympian Hiawatha* changes scenery for you faster than a movie travelogue, and in three-dimensions. Its Super Dome cars bring the towering Rockies, deep-walled canyons and pine-covered

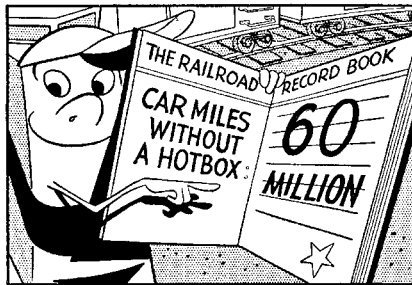


slopes right into your lap. Timken tapered roller bearings on the wheels help it outrun the legendary Hiawatha. By eliminating all speed restrictions due to bearings, Timken bearings helped make streamliners possible.

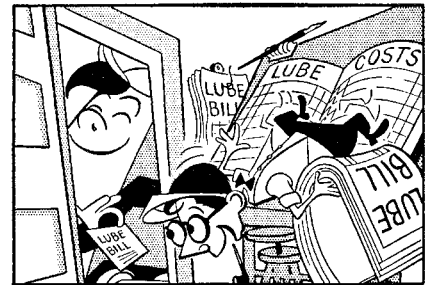
## Here's the next great step in railroading



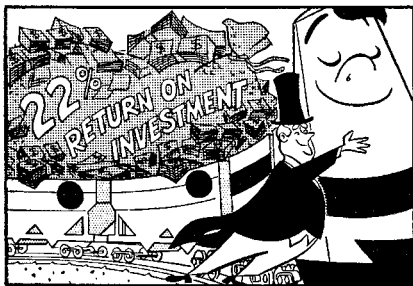
**RAILROADS ARE SOLVING** the hot box problem (overheated friction bearings) with "Roller Freight"—freight cars on Timken® roller bearings. It's the next great step in railroading.



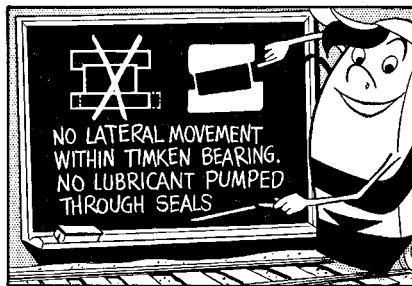
**ONE RAILROAD'S "ROLLER FREIGHT"** already has chalked up 60 million car-miles without a hot box. Friction freight averages a hot box set-out every 212,000 car-miles.



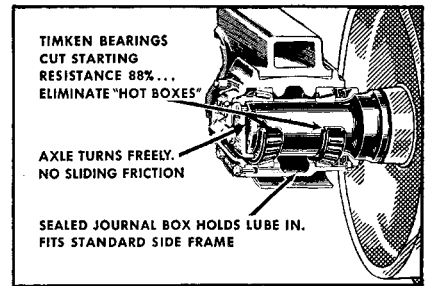
**LUBE BILLS SHRINK UP TO 89%** with "Roller Freight". And "Roller Freight" cuts terminal bearing inspection man-hours 90%, reduces starting resistance 88%.



**AFTER ALL RAILROADS** have switched to "Roller Freight", they'll net a 22% return on the investment, save \$190 million a year. Many industries have switched to Timken bearings, none back to friction bearings.



**THE TAPER** makes Timken the roller bearing you can trust to end the hot box problem and cut maintenance costs. Other products of the Timken Company: alloy steel and tubing, removable rock bits.



NOT JUST A BALL ○ NOT JUST A ROLLER ⊔  
THE TIMKEN TAPERED ROLLER ⊔ BEARING  
TAKES RADIAL ⊕ AND THRUST ⊖—LOADS  
OR ANY COMBINATION ⊕⊖

Copy. 1953 The Timken Roller Bearing Company, Canton 6, O.  
Cable address: "TIMROSCO".

Watch the railroads Go... on **TIMKEN** Tapered Roller Bearings

# THE Freeman

A Fortnightly  
For  
Individualists

Editor HENRY HAZLITT  
Managing Editor FLORENCE NORTON

## Contents

VOL. 4, NO. 4 NOVEMBER 16, 1953

### Editorials

The Fortnight .....	113
Does Expediency Pay? .....	115
No Time for Myths .....	116
Democratic Communism .....	117
The Mote and the Beam .....	117
Collectivized Animals .....	118

### Articles

Why Socialize Niagara? .....	ROBERT S. BYFIELD	119
Tito Wants Neutralism .....	F. A. VOIGT	123
Battle for Italy .....	PETER SCHMID	125
Gold and Subversion .....	NATHANIEL WEYL	128
If Management Walked Out .....	WILLIAM H. PETERSON	131

### Books and the Arts

First and Last Things .....	JAMES BURNHAM	134
From Tsar to Commissar .....	WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN	137
Man's Strange Predicament .....	GUNTHER STUHLMANN	137
Red Anti-Semitism .....	JAMES RORTY	138
Briefer Mention .....		139
What's in a Hit? .....	SERGE FLIEGERS	141

### Poem

To the Envious .....	SJANNA SOLUM	136
----------------------	--------------	-----

This Is What They Said .....		133
------------------------------	--	-----

From Our Readers .....		142
------------------------	--	-----

THE FREEMAN is published fortnightly. Publication Office, Orange, Conn. Editorial and General Offices, 240 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. Copyrighted in the United States, 1953, by the Freeman Magazine, Inc. Henry Hazlitt, President; Lawrence Fertig, Vice President; Claude Robinson, Secretary; Kurt Lassen, Treasurer.

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

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

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



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

## Our Contributors

ROBERT S. BYFIELD is a member of the New York Stock Exchange and an investment counselor. He has served as a director of a number of corporations and has written and lectured extensively on financial and economic topics. He is the Representative of the New York Stock Exchange to the United Nations.

F. A. VOIGT, former editor of the British literary and political monthly magazine, *Nineteenth Century and After*, is well known to FREEMAN readers for his articles on the European scene. He is author of *Unto Caesar* and *Pax Britannica*.

PETER SCHMID, Swiss journalist and author, has just completed an extended tour of North Africa, Italy, and Germany. He is now in America, where he plans to spend the next year as a correspondent of several Swiss and German magazines and newspapers. His books include *Spanish Impressions* and *Neighbors of Heaven* (a report on Latin America), both published in Germany.

NATHANIEL WEYL is an economist and freelance writer with his base of operations, Washington, D.C. Author of *Treason* and *The Battle against Disloyalty*, he is currently engaged in a book on world population and resources.

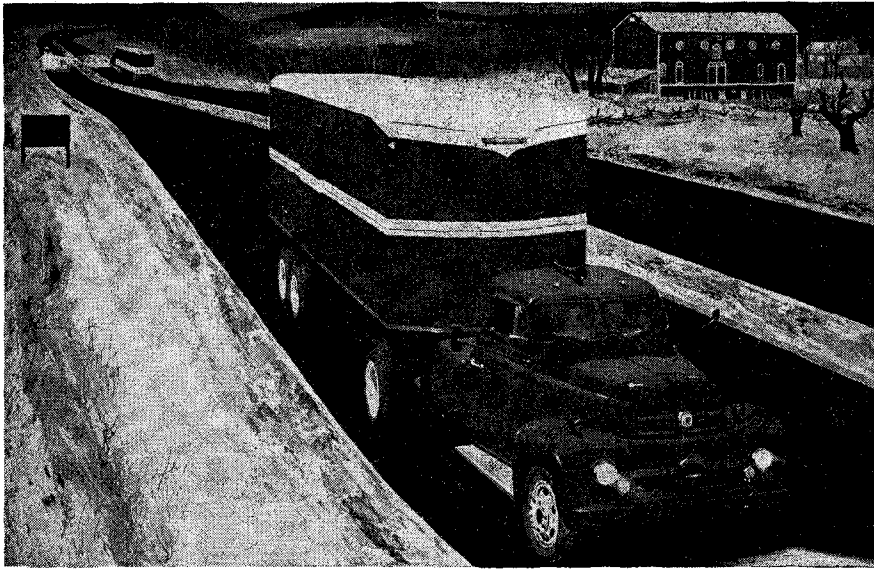
WILLIAM H. PETERSON, professor of economics at the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, is familiar to radio and television audiences for his frequent appearances on discussion programs, including "Chronoscope." He has in preparation a book on the rise of statism in the United States tentatively titled *The Age of Intervention*.

JAMES RORTY, poet, author, and editor, is a frequent contributor to the FREEMAN and to other national journals of opinion including *Commentary*, *Harper's* and the *New Leader*.

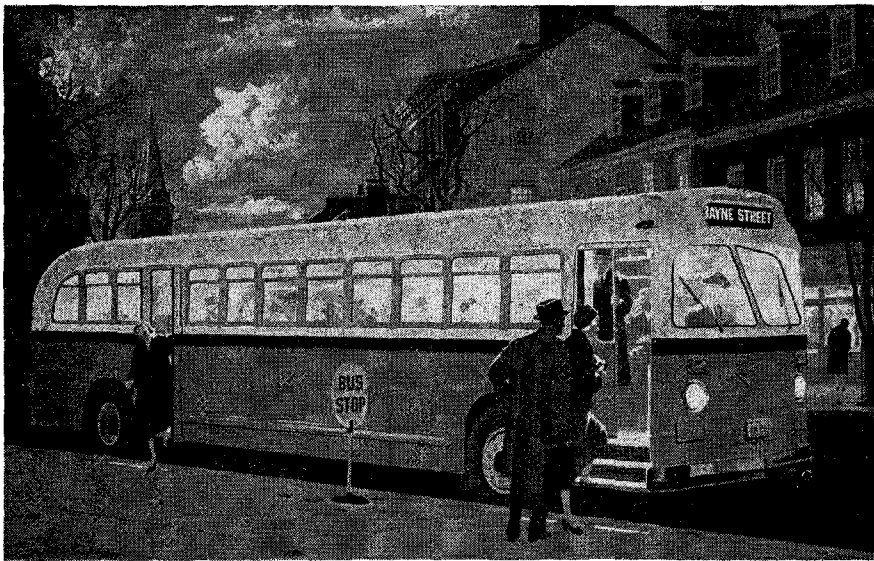
## To Our Readers

By this time of the year you are probably beginning to wonder how you can remember some of your friends, acquaintances, and employees for Christmas. To select gifts for all of them can be a formidable task. To make things easier for you we suggest a thoughtful and individual gift that you send each of them a subscription to the FREEMAN. It will remind them of you not for a day only but throughout the year. In this issue you will find a handy Christmas gift order form with six coupons. If your list is longer—and we hope it will be—just write the names and addresses on a separate slip of paper and enclose it in the envelope. To make these gifts easier on your pocketbook, too, we offer you specially reduced rates for Christmas gift subscriptions only: \$4.50 for a one-year subscription; \$8.00 for two one-year subscriptions; and just \$3.50 for each additional one-year subscription.

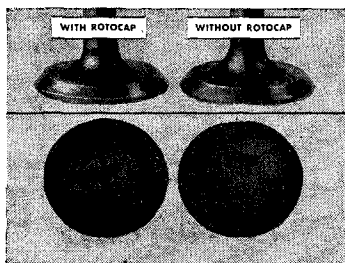
# How Thompson Products makes trucks and buses last longer



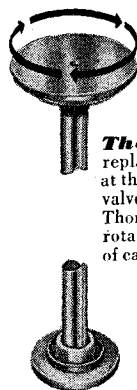
**Over 9,000,000 trucks** operate on the highways and streets of the United States, hauling 75% of all freight at least part of the way—over 8,000,000,000 tons annually.



**City buses carry over half** of all surface transit passengers. All common carrier buses transport nearly 9 billion passengers annually. In addition school buses carry over 7 million children each day.



**Actual photograph** of two exhaust valves after 538 hour dynameter test. The test was made under full load in a 6-cylinder heavy-duty truck engine. The top and side views of the valve at the right, without the ROTOCAP valve rotator, show severe burning, warping and pitting. Note the clean, undamaged condition of the valve at the left which was fitted with the ROTOCAP.



**The Thompson Rotocap** replaces the usual spring retainer cap at the tip of the valve stem, turning the valve about 6° at each stroke. Only Thompson makes a positive type valve rotator that keeps the valve face clean of carbon and other harmful deposits.

## VALVE ROTATION MORE THAN DOUBLES VALVE LIFE

IN THE PAST TEN YEARS hauling by truck has more than doubled, and today 75% of all freight is handled by motor trucks at least part of the way. Bus traffic has almost doubled during that time. Today over half of all transit passengers are carried by motor bus.

These tremendous increases require engines that operate economically, efficiently and without failure. Valve rotation has helped improve truck and bus performance. It increases valve life by eliminating hot spots, by continuously "wiping" the valve face and block seat clean and by keeping the valve stem free from sticking in the guides.

Valve rotation was pioneered by Thompson Products. In 1938 Thompson pioneered and introduced the release-type ROTOCAP. This was followed in 1946 by the positive rotating type ROTOCAP. Today over 50 automotive builders have adopted valve rotation, 41 of them using ROTOCAPS.

In addition to valve rotation, Thompson engineered and manufactures many other parts that have helped improve truck and bus operation. Among these are:

STEEL-BELTED PISTONS that result in more power and less oil consumption.  
"ENDURITE" VALVE SEATS that have superior corrosion resistance, resistance to insert seat collapse or loosening, and permit more regrinds.

U-FLEX PISTON RINGS that improve cylinder wall lubrication and oil economy.

SODIUM COOLED VALVES that provide highest cooling efficiency.

"500 BRINELL" CYLINDER SLEEVES that give an average of 2½ times longer service.

DUAL-BEARING TIE RODS that make steering easier and safer.

Constant improvements are being made in these and other vital parts—improvements which cut costs, increase efficiency and save time.

For the aircraft industry, Thompson makes precision engine parts, electronic equipment and many important aircraft accessories—is today one of the world's largest manufacturers of jet engine components.

All industry has learned that *you can count on Thompson*. Thompson Products, Inc., General Offices, Cleveland 17, Ohio.

You can count on  
**Thompson  
Products**

MANUFACTURERS OF AUTOMOTIVE, AIRCRAFT AND INDUSTRIAL PARTS. FACTORIES IN THIRTEEN CITIES.

# THE Freeman

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1953

## The Fortnight

The public has been licked by the union bosses so often, and has become so confused by the rationalizations of professors and the demagoguery of politicians, that it has lost its capacity for indignation even in the face of the worst union outrages. The milk strike in New York was merely the latest example. Here the unions decided to shut off the milk supply for 12,000,000 men, women, and children in the metropolitan district until their wage and "fringe"-benefit demands were satisfactorily met. Not only did they refuse to drive in milk, but they refused to let anyone else do it. Their pickets held up trucks; their vandals dumped milk or poured kerosene over emergency shipments for schools and hospitals, and the police were either unable or unwilling to prevent it. And not only was the strike itself perfectly legal, but under federal law (*i.e.*, the "union-smashing," "slave-labor" Taft-Hartley Act) the employing milk-distributors were compelled to negotiate with the representatives of the strikers and no one else.

And what was the desperate situation that drove the men to strike? Why, it seems that the inside workers were getting only \$82 and the milk drivers only \$115 a week! So their demands were a general wage increase of \$15 a week, a reduction in weekly working hours from forty to thirty-five, more holidays, longer vacations, and bigger pensions. The \$8.50 that the strikers won as a result of the strike must be paid for in a higher price for milk by families with a lower average income than the strikers' families. But under the ideology of the "liberals" the strike weapon is always sacred, and you must never cross a picket line, even to buy milk for your children.

Over in New Delhi, United Nations Day was the occasion for another of those fatherly lectures through which Indian statesmen are trying to raise the level of American manners and morals. We are afraid that some of our citizens don't adequately appreciate the trouble the Indians take to tell us what we ought to do. This time

it was Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, the Vice President of India, a well-known philosopher, who showed his metaphysical mettle by laying down the unexpected premise: "Fundamentally we are all very much alike." Reasoning therefrom, he concluded that "we must meet abuse by courtesy, obstruction by reasonableness, suspicion and hatred by trust and good will. That is the only way to change the heart of our opponents." This attitude will fan the "spark of the divine" in the Communists, and "when this happens the Communist system may democratize itself." We are grateful for this advice, and while he is on the subject we suggest that he send a copy of his talk to the Kremlin. He might also turn his notes over to Nehru, who should find them useful in clearing up that little Kashmir misunderstanding. It's funny how this Gandhi revivalism, when it boils down to practical politics, always amounts to an appeasement of Moscow and an attack on Washington. Why not try it the other way around?

We hope that Vice President Radhakrishnan did not overlook the speech delivered to the United Nations by Dr. Charles W. Mayo, son of the founder of the famed Mayo Clinic. It was perhaps the most remarkable and brilliant address ever made to the U.N., and it did seem to indicate that the Communist hearts could do with a good deal of changing. With all the authority of his professional knowledge, and with a complete and unchallengeable documentation, Dr. Mayo explained the methods whereby the Communists, under Soviet chiefs, extorted the "germ warfare" confessions from American aviators. He showed that the methods used to reduce human beings "to a status lower than that of animals" were not a temporary result of the passions of war or the zeal of subordinates. They were a cold, deliberate perversion of "the same technique which the famous Soviet biologist Pavlov used in his experiments on dogs and rats." Dr. Mayo's account of what happened to the individual men is almost too horrible to read, but is objective and precise.

The Administration is to be commended for its decision at last to put before the United Nations

the full story of Communist atrocities in Korea. Following the statement of Dr. Mayo, the Army, in a documented report of eighty-seven pages, announced that at least 6,113 United States service men had been murdered, tortured, starved, or subjected to other forms of bestial treatment at the hands of their captors in Korea. The probable number of military victims of war crimes all told was 11,622. Whether it was wise to hold back these reports for so long, and whether our official silence achieved anything, or merely prolonged the horrors it now reveals, are questions that will be long debated. But now that the facts have been made public at last, we know still more about the kind of foe with which Sir Winston Churchill wishes us to seek a friendly meeting and agreement, presumably on the assumption that the agreement would be worth having if and when we got it.

Those who award the Nobel Peace Prize do not give their reasons, but it is a plausible guess that General of the Army George C. Marshall got it for 1953 chiefly because his name has been associated with the \$17,000,000,000 or more "aid" program to Europe. Yet the 1953 award is ironic from almost any standpoint. Why should a man be so greatly honored for giving away the American taxpayers' money? It isn't as if the Marshall Plan has been a tremendous success. Its main effect has been to subsidize and prolong socialist and statist controls in Europe, and to give the rest of the world the idea that American taxpayers somehow owe it a better living than it is able or willing to earn for itself. It isn't as if General Marshall had made brilliant contributions to world peace. On the contrary, there is evidence he may have prolonged World War Two for two needless months in the Pacific. And by trying to force Chiang Kai-shek to take the Chinese Communists into his government, instead of helping him to defeat or at least contain the Communists, he made it possible for these same Chinese Communists eventually to launch their attack on American forces in Korea, so extending for three years, and immensely adding to the bloodshed and horror, of a war that might otherwise have been brought to a close in a few months with a decisive American victory.

One of the favorite techniques of left-wingers in recent years has been to pretend that the conservatives, and anti-Communists in particular, are trying to suppress freedom of opinion. They raise a fraudulent free-speech issue even when an admitted Communist, or a man who refuses to deny that he has acted as an espionage agent, is dropped from the government payroll. But these very left-wingers think nothing of demanding that a man be fired simply on the ground that he disagrees with them. The latest example concerns Dr. Clarence E. Manion, chairman of

the Commission on Inter-Governmental Relationships. Dr. Manion, it appears, had the effrontery to debate the question "Does the federal government have too much power?" on a television and radio program. Dr. Manion even had the boldness to suggest that the TVA should be sold to private interests. Whereupon James E. Doyle, national co-chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, demanded that President Eisenhower remove Dr. Manion on the ground that his very willingness to debate such a matter publicly demonstrated him "to be so biased as to be completely unfit to conduct any kind of rational or objective study on this subject." The only fit, rational, and objective chairman, we take it, would be an out-and-out Socialist.

A twist of unconscious irony sometimes makes a misplaced tribute singularly appropriate. A concert of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, designed to observe United Nations Day, was a case in point. A feature of the program was a new symphony, "Harmony of the World," by the modern composer, Paul Hindemith. Now world harmony has not, to put it mildly, been the leitmotiv in the short and troubled existence of the United Nations. The soaring concord which one feels in the great symphonies of Beethoven and Brahms would not be likely to start a train of association leading to the U.N. But to those who have not been "educated" in the higher harmony of dissonance the harsh discords in Hindemith's work might well seem a faithful stenographic report on a normal day of the discussion in the U.N., especially when Vishinsky was one of the speakers.

As part of her celebration of United Nations Week, Eleanor Roosevelt spoke at the Community House in the small village of Kent, Connecticut. (Sometimes it seems that there must be at least three Eleanor Roosevelts. How can one woman, even such a woman, be in so many places at once?) During the question period she was asked by the editor of a local paper whether her opposition to McCarthy meant that she was opposed to the investigation of Communists in government. She replied that if Alger Hiss had never been convicted and were still going freely about his business, it would be much less harmful to the country than McCarthy. Maybe Mrs. R. has got something there. Generalizing her suggestion, we might release Hiss, Sobell, Remington, Steve Nelson, Hathaway, and colleagues, and put Senator Jenner, Representative Velde, Bob Morris, Whittaker Chambers, and Elizabeth Bentley, along with Senator McC. into the vacated cells. With this one stroke we will eliminate hysteria and witch-hunting, and re-establish our reputation with Nehru, Aneurin Bevan, Marshal Tito, and Mrs. Roosevelt's other friends abroad.

# Does Expediency Pay?

During the past couple of months the Administration has broken out with a number of symptoms of a well-known domestic disease: Voting Fever. In its late stages this ailment often develops into Campaign Panic, and is almost invariably fatal.

As for the Administration, the first premonitory sign came as long ago as last spring. Acting in accordance with its professional fiscal principles, the Treasury and the Federal Reserve Board had been keeping their fingers off the money market controls. They were allowing interest rates to rise toward their natural market level, and that level turned out to be considerably higher than the managed rates of the past decade. Pained cries began to arise from one or two organized groups of citizens who were being squeezed a little—very little—by the higher rates. The Democrats made a few speeches about the “Rich Man’s government” selling out to the bankers, and some Republican Congressmen came running to the White House with their tails between their legs.

The result, even before the heat was really turned on, was a capitulation. The Federal Reserve Board in June lowered the reserve requirements of the member banks to make it possible for them to increase credit by some \$6,000,000,000; the Reserve authorities re-entered the market, and began acting to send the interest rate down again, by returning to the very methods of “monetary management” that the Republicans had denounced as inevitably inflationary.

Meanwhile farm and livestock prices continued a fall that had started as the result of changing world demand and the artificial supply situation brought about by twenty years of government controls and subsidies. Again the Administration, from the President down, started to swallow its election words and its announced doctrine. Especially after the defeat in the Wisconsin by-election, it began to be suggested that a guaranteed parity price was the invention of Adam Smith and Alexander Hamilton.

The same symptoms were to be seen in relation to “amending” the Taft-Hartley Act. An influential group within the Administration had apparently decided to grant the labor bureaucrats everything they had asked for, including provisions that would have placed the union rank and file more than ever under the labor bureaucrats’ thumb. So only a last-minute accident forestalled a formal Administration move to this effect in the last session of Congress. According to present reports, it will be renewed in the next.

Still more recently we have had another example in the Administration’s reversals on Israel.

Let us put these several incidents together and

sum up their common tendency. Confronted with the complaints and demands of tightly organized groups of voters—the real-estate lobby, grain or dairy farmers, ranchers, labor bureaucracy, Zionists—the Administration yields or half-yields, or at the very least wants to yield to them. It tends to yield even when the demands go directly counter to its election promises, its traditional doctrine, and to the beliefs which most of the members of the Administration undoubtedly hold. It tends to yield even when it knows that yielding is counter to the long-term interests of the country.

The explanation is simple enough. The Administration is scared that it is losing votes, and fondly imagines that by bending to this pressure group here, to that other there, it will “conciliate” them, and maybe keep or get their support. This is the familiar modern method that has replaced the old custom of passing out cash on election day.

A democratic government must naturally take into account the desires and interests of its citizens. That is its business, that is what makes it a democratic government. It does not follow that a democratic government is obligated to bow to the demands of this, that, or the other organized minority, and to be willing to sacrifice the interests of the nation as a whole in order to placate that minority.

Even apart from the general interest, the present Administration is never going to win at this demagogic game. If it comes to a question of matching promises and handouts, this Administration and the Republican Party haven’t a chance against the accomplished demagogues who are attached to the opposition. Analogously, responsible democratic government, under whatever party, cannot match the promises of a revolution, which, before it takes power, is always able to promise even the moon.

The American voters put this Administration into office because they had become disillusioned with a regime of promises, graft, and favoritism. In their hearts the voters felt that the common interests of the nation, which the government was constitutionally pledged to defend, were being sacrificed to the perverting minority interests of group, party, and faction. The voters had faith that the Republicans under Eisenhower would reassert the common interest, and would restore decency, truth, and the moral sense to the affairs of government. Our citizens wanted to be able once more to *respect* their own government, and to find a leadership they would be proud to follow, even when it called on them to give up some immediate privilege or profit.

This is still what they want from President

Eisenhower and his colleagues. And if they do not get it, they will abandon the President and his party. The Republicans are not going to "appease" the labor bureaucrats or the farmers or the Zionists by these cheap vote-catching methods. They merely lose the respect of each group in turn, as the A.F.L. convention so plainly showed. But the Administration can win the confidence—and in the long run the votes also—of responsible, patriotic union members, working farmers, and Jewish—or Catholic or Protestant—citizens if it proves that it puts the country first and is prepared to take the measures, even if momentarily unpopular, that will best strengthen and preserve the heritage of freedom.

## *No Time for Myths*

The high point in the territorial gains of the Axis was reached in the summer and autumn of 1942. At that time Hitler's empire stretched from the Volga to the Atlantic.

The Japanese were also at their peak in the Far East. They were in occupation of a large part of China, of French Indo-China, Malaya, Burma, the Philippines, and Indonesia. Suppose that Hitler and the Japanese militarists had intimated rather vaguely that they believed all outstanding problems with their enemies could be solved without the use of force—the assumption being that they would keep all their ill-gotten gains. It is safe to say that no one in the United States or in Great Britain, except a tiny handful of extreme pacifists and Axis sympathizers, would have given a moment's consideration to the suggestion of peace on such terms. It would rightly have been considered a peace of defeat, a peace of surrender.

Yet in a very similar situation today much comment in France and some comment in Great Britain and in the United States is based on the fantastic assumption that an honorable and lasting end of the cold war is possible on the basis of virtually recognizing the huge Communist empire. The situation is even more fantastic than this statement would indicate. For many voices, including such a powerful and respected one as that of Sir Winston Churchill, have been raised in favor of taking the initiative in pleading with Moscow to discuss "means of abating international tension" with no concrete advance intimation of Soviet willingness to relinquish its imperial spoils.

Equally strange is the rush to offer assurances of security to a power with such a preponderance of military strength as the Soviet Union possesses today. Is it reasonable to assume that a power which finally, with considerable help from the West, to be sure, defeated 175 Axis divisions, is very much concerned over the offensive possibilities

of six American and five British divisions on the continent of Europe?

Even if one takes into account the French and Italian forces, not very impressive on the basis of their showing in the last war, the tough, but rather primitive armies of Turkey, Greece, and Yugoslavia (assuming that the Yugoslavs are not too busy fighting the Italians over Trieste) and the twelve (still paper) German divisions contemplated under the European Defense Community, the preponderance in ground strength certainly remains on the Soviet side, especially if the satellite forces are included.

Ever since the Soviet peace offensive that started after the death of Stalin some politicians and many commentators on international affairs have been living in a world of myths. There is the myth that America is wickedly frustrating a panting Soviet desire for serious peace negotiations. But for months the United States has been pressing, along with its associates, for a conference on Germany and Austria in Europe, for a conference on Korea in Asia, and has been receiving nothing but obstructionist brush-offs from the Soviet Union and Red China.

There is the myth that a cozy talk behind closed doors between Eisenhower, Churchill, Laniel, and Malenkov would end the cold war. But if Malenkov wants such a talk, there is nothing to prevent him from asking for it.

There is the myth that the Kremlin is on the ropes, and that we should not be shortsighted and hard-hearted and press our advantage too far by demanding unconditional surrender. But one looks in vain for evidence that the Soviet government feels itself hard-pressed or disposed to make any serious concessions.

What evidence there is points in the opposite direction. There can be no reasonable doubt that in the German election last September the Kremlin was anxious to bring about Adenauer's defeat. The most hopeful means of achieving this end would have been for the Soviet government, on the eve of the election, to come out with a clear-cut, unambiguous offer to permit free all-German elections and to withdraw Red Army troops from East Germany, in return for German abstention from military association with the West. But no such offer was made. The whole trend of Soviet policy has been in the direction of propping up its satellite regime in East Germany.

It is time for Western statesmen to get out of the dream world in which some of them seem to have been living and to face the fact that the Soviet government has no visible intention of giving up one square inch of its conquests or of engaging in any serious peace talks. One effective means of modifying the negative Soviet attitude would be to stop talking in accents pleading appeasement. Another would be to speed up, in one form or another, German rearmament, a develop-



ment the Kremlin fears more than anything else. It is a supreme absurdity to act as if it were a privilege to ourselves to let the enemy consolidate and digest his gains of the last fourteen years.

## Democratic Communism

In our issue of September 21 we explained a tactical decision of key importance that had been made by the July meeting of the National Committee of the American Communist Party. In line with an international directive, the Party adopted "as its main domestic objective *the infiltration of the Democratic Party.*" We further pointed out the first application of this tactic, which occurred in the New York mayoralty primary. Therein the Communists worked for the defeat of Impellitteri.

We find that many persons are skeptical about these statements. "It can't be true," they say, as many have been saying for thirty-six years about each successive shift in Communist tactics. Nevertheless, the new turn continues to develop.

We hasten to add that it is certainly not our purpose to blacken the good name of the Democratic Party or any of its leaders. They are not responsible for the Communist decision. We wish to denounce the burglar, not the householder. At the same time, we wish to warn the householder to look to the locks on his doors.

The Communist Party continued to apply the new tactic throughout the New York mayoralty campaign. For those acquainted with the "Aesopian" language which the Party uses, there was no trouble in following the *Daily Worker's* directives to work for the victory of the "progressive" Democrat, Robert Wagner. Any doubt was removed by the *Worker's* editorial of October 21, "Make Labor's Vote Count!" Using a self-evident formula, the editorial declared: "The organized labor movement has apparently decided on its own way of bringing about this defeat [of Impellitteri, then still on the ballot, and Riegelman]. The bulk of labor has evidently decided to back a Democrat, Robert F. Wagner."

The only "restriction" that the editorial put on its willingness to "go along with labor" was an injunction not to give anyone a blank check, and a suggestion to vote for American Labor Party candidates for the minor offices. This sell-out of its own electoral machine was so blatant that several A. L. P. candidates, either to save face or out of sincere pique, protested next day in public about the Party's stand.

When Impellitteri was ruled off the ballot, the *Daily Worker* assumed that Wagner would coast in, and administered a mild public salve to its grieved cohorts. In the issue of October 27 the *Worker* said that it would itself vote for McAvoy (the A. L. P. mayoralty candidate), but it still dis-

agreed "with those progressives who insist that ONLY A FULL A.L.P. vote has any meaning."

This New York action is not at all the sole application of the new line. On every possible (and impossible) occasion, the Communists are going out of their way to praise "liberal" Democrats. They were delighted with Adlai Stevenson's Chicago speech, and always hail with joy any references to "negotiations," coexistence," recognition of Peiping, and denunciations of McCarthy that come from Democratic spokesmen. Particularly revealing was their reminder to Wagner of the "united front of labor, liberals, and Communists who battled alongside his father and Franklin D. Roosevelt against the Tories and economic royalists."

It is very hard for a political party to block a penetration maneuver of this kind. It is especially hard when the party is, like most parties, anxious for votes, and when it has some vulnerable chinks in its ideological armor. Before the new Communist turn goes much deeper, it would be a good idea for the responsible Democratic leaders to study it with some care. It might even be worth while for them to take a few minutes off from their offensive against McCarthy in order at least to "contain" this flanking maneuver.

## The Mote and the Beam

The parable of the mote and the beam is recalled by the shrill outcry which went up in leftist circles on both sides of the Atlantic against the agreement by which the United States has acquired air and naval bases in Spain in return for military and economic aid. How many of the individuals who profess to be shocked by this strategically advantageous deal with the Franco regime uttered a peep of warning or protest when the Roosevelt Administration went all-out for cooperation with, and appeasement of, the infinitely more bloody and dangerous dictatorship in Moscow?

The same tendency to exaggerate the Spanish mote while turning a blind eye to the Communist beam applies to other aspects of "delinquent liberal" thinking. Why, for instance, is Spain, under a conservative authoritarian government, considered ineligible for membership in a United Nations that includes the Soviet Union and the satellite states of Poland and Czechoslovakia, to say nothing of Yugoslavia, just as much a dictatorship as Spain and scene of an equally fierce civil war?

And why do the individuals who insist that the Red Chinese regime is "of right" entitled to China's seat in the United Nations because it is in effective control of the Chinese mainland never employ the same reasoning about the Franco government in Spain, although it has been in effective control of the country for a much longer period? It might also be noted that the Franco

government has committed no aggression outside Spain's proper frontiers and has never been and is not at war with the United Nations.

It borders on the ridiculous to argue that Spain should be indefinitely penalized, boycotted, and discriminated against because the extinct governments of Hitler and Mussolini supported Franco in the civil war or because Franco was benevolently neutral in his attitude toward the Axis in the first years of World War Two. After all, Stalin and international Communism were also benevolently neutral in relation to Hitler—until the Führer struck at Russia. And Franco's delaying tactics helped to block a German sweep across Spain that might have captured Gibraltar at the time when Britain's fortunes were at low ebb.

Franco's real sin, in the eyes of the leftists who can see dictatorship only in Spain, is not that he governs without benefit of political and civil liberties. For by this yardstick of judgment what can be said for the Soviet Union, Red China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia under their present rules? What is unforgivable about Franco is that he was a premature anti-Communist, a man who has made Spain, in striking contrast to France and Italy, a country without a serious Communist fifth column.

The civil war in Spain was not, as the leftist myth would have it, a struggle between liberty and despotism, with despotism winning. The nationalist revolt was not against an orderly government of free institutions, but against a state of anarchical misrule, characterized by the burning of churches, numerous political murders, and general insecurity of life and property.

On the "Republican" or "loyalist" side in the Spanish civil war there were many currents, ranging from genuine liberalism to utopian anarchism. But with the progress of the civil war the Republican regime fell more and more under Communist domination, partly because the Soviet Union was a main source of munitions, partly because some of the most reliable troops belonged to the "international brigades," recruited by Communists and largely composed of Communist sympathizers.

The practical alternative in Spain was not Franco or a republic based on free institutions and the rule of law. It was Franco or a "People's Democracy" of the model that has become painfully familiar since the war. And a Spanish "People's Democracy" would have been a most convenient channel for funneling Moscow subversive agents and propaganda into Latin America.

No reasonable American, however much he dislikes dictatorship of any kind, would be likely to doubt that of the two practical alternatives Franco's authoritarian rule was the less undesirable. There need be no legitimate pangs of conscience about an arrangement which strengthens America's air and naval position in the strategically important Mediterranean area.

## Collectivized Animals

During the past couple of years, our farmers have been getting into some difficulties by raising more than we can eat. While we are debating whether the trouble ought to be straightened out by the price system or by state controls, we might take a look at a speech delivered recently by N. W. Krushchev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The theme of this speech was the following: "The collective farm system, created under the leadership of the Communist Party, has decisive advantages over any privately owned agricultural production—both small-scale peasant farming and large-scale capitalist production." As proof he offered a number of statistics. After studying these, it looks to us as if Krushchev must be a Beria man and a hireling of capitalist imperialism, who was aiming to sabotage Soviet prestige.

Let us take Krushchev's figures on animal husbandry, remembering that where Soviet statistics err it is not in the direction of blackening Soviet achievements.

Size of livestock herd, U.S.S.R. (millions of heads):				
	<i>Cattle</i>	<i>Cows</i>	<i>Hogs</i>	<i>Sheep &amp; Goats</i>
1916	58.4	28.8	23.0	96.3
1928	66.8	33.2	27.7	114.6
1941	54.4	27.8	27.5	91.6
1953	56.6	24.3	28.5	109.9

Let us ponder these figures against the fact that the human population, in the period 1916-53, increased approximately 50 per cent. It will be observed that all categories of animals increased considerably from 1916 to 1928. In fact, the increase occurred from 1923, when the figures were much lower than 1916, after the devastation of the war and civil war. Thus the increase was even more striking, and exactly coincided with the years of the "New Economic Policy"—that is, the "retreat" to the principles of free enterprise.

In 1929 the farm collectivization program began, and immediately the number of animals started dropping. Today, except for hogs, it is still much lower than 1928; cattle and cows are lower than in 1916. Judged in relation to the expanded human population, the drop in the number of animals is really catastrophic.

The consumption of meat and other animal products is one of the clearest indices of the standard of living in any nation. They are luxuries, inasmuch as calorie for calorie their cost of production is about three times that of grains. Thus, a national diet relatively high in grains and cereals expresses a low material standard.

No wonder the "Internationale" is seldom heard any more inside the Soviet Union. The good citizens might get mixed up over who was being referred to when they sang out: "Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!"

# Why Socialize Niagara?

By ROBERT S. BYFIELD

*Governor Dewey's plan to have a State Authority develop "people's kilowatts" at Niagara Falls is indefensible from the standpoint of savings, and belies his own professed faith in free enterprise.*

Before spring comes again Niagara Falls may perhaps be the scene of one of the most crushing losses American free enterprise has suffered in its twentieth century struggle for survival. A dramatic legislative battle is now being waged as to whether the Niagara Mohawk Power Corporation will be prevented from developing additional electric energy at Niagara Falls. The final decision, which lies with the Congress in Washington, will probably be made this winter. Ironically enough, in this case the leaders of those who would favor government over business are not New Dealers, Fair Dealers, or Americans for Democratic Action. They are highly placed Republicans who profess their friendship for free enterprise.

Since 1895 Niagara Mohawk has been producing hydro-electric power at the Falls. But not until 1950 did a new treaty with Canada permit water utilization sufficient to develop more than a million additional kilowatts of power on the United States side. Niagara Mohawk, together with four other investor-owned utility companies—New York State Electric & Gas, Rochester Gas & Electric, Consolidated Edison of New York, and Central Hudson Gas & Electric—promptly offered to carry out the new project. They had the experience, the technical knowledge, the financial strength, and a fully interconnected network for distributing the additional electricity with maximum efficiency.

Then two other claimants appeared on the scene as opponents of the five companies: the federal government and the New York State Power Authority. Bills were introduced in both houses of Congress by legislative supporters of free enterprise, federal government, and state government groups respectively. Joint hearings were held by the appropriate Senate and House committees in May 1953. On July 9 by a roll-call vote of 262 to 120 the House passed H.R. 4351, the free enterprise bill, sponsored by Representatives Dondero (R., Mich.) and Miller (R., N.Y.). It rejected H.R. 5335, the State Authority bill of Representative Becker (R., N.Y.) by 136 to 17. The chances for federalization of Niagara thereby appear for all practical purposes to have faded away.

However, several weeks later Governor Dewey arrived in Washington amid considerable fanfare to do battle for his state government at Albany. It was his first formal appearance on the Niagara

power situation, legislatively speaking, since he had allowed John E. Burton, Chairman of the New York State Power Authority, to carry the ball for state development at the joint hearings in May. On July 23, following a brief statement by Senator Ives (R., N.Y.) who is sponsoring the New York State Authority bill in the Senate, Governor Dewey really pulled out all the stops in his testimony before its Public Works Committee. Considering his immense political influence and prestige, it may well become an important campaign document in the future. But Congress adjourned before the hearings were completed and no action was possible in the Senate.

## Claims and Facts

Just what is the New York State Power Authority? It is in fact the *alter ego* of New York State itself. It is a paper organization with no experience, few assets, and so far as the Niagara power project is concerned, an applicant without references. There are many who will go further and say that the issuance of its tax-exempt obligations constitutes a flagrant abuse of state sovereignty. The constitutional privilege of tax exemption was surely not intended to further business ventures competitive with taxpaying individuals or organizations.

The case for the State Power Authority rests primarily upon three claims. The first is that it can furnish electric power more cheaply than the five companies, thereby "saving" a huge sum annually for the consumers of electricity. The second is that Niagara, being a natural resource, belongs to "the people" and should be developed by them for their own benefit. The third is that the state project is not socialism.

The Power Authority states that it will concern itself solely with the generation of electricity and not with its transmission and distribution to consumers. This narrows the issue. Since the same water will be falling at Niagara at the same speed no matter who is entrusted with its conversion into electric energy, some pertinent questions are in order. Does the State Authority have better engineering talent at its disposal than the five private companies? Would the State Authority be able to obtain more efficient or less costly turbine-gen-

erators, pumps, and other machinery? All the manufacturers of electrical equipment, whose names are household words, are investor-owned companies operating on a competitive basis and offering their wares to private purchasers and public agencies alike. Would the State Authority pay its employees less or buy its supplies for less than the five companies? Of course the answer to all these questions is No.

How come, then, "cheap" electricity? For the answer let's look at a typical balance sheet and income statement of an electric utility corporation. Some enterprises, such as a grocery store or a barber shop, can do a large volume of business on a relatively small capital investment. But others, such as steel mills, railroads, and electric companies, "turn over" their capital more slowly. According to official statistics of the Federal Power Commission, privately owned electric utilities in 1952, on a net investment in fixed and working capital of a little over \$22,000,000,000, had operating revenues of approximately \$6,500,000,000, a ratio of about 3.4 to 1. Hence such items as taxes, depreciation charges, and interest and amortization on borrowed money bulk large in relation to salaries, wages, supplies, office overhead, and advertising and sales expenses.

### The Governor's Testimony

It is in this perspective that Governor Dewey's testimony before the Senate Public Works Committee must be viewed. He said:

... the people of the Northeast, of Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York and New England will save about \$31,000,000 a year . . . That is made up as follows: There are different estimates on the federal taxes involved, but they are about \$10,000,000 . . . There would be about \$11,000,000 of state and local taxes saved; and there would be about \$10,000,000 a year saved on the bonds because our interest rates, of course, do not include taxes. So it will save approximately \$31,000,000.

What is meant by this word "save"? If an accountant took the financial statement of a corporation and burned the sheet on which the liabilities were printed, the liabilities would still be there. Social accounting, like corporate accounting, must either be a double-entry affair or bankruptcy will result. There would be no "saving" of taxes in a state project at Niagara, only a shifting of part of the cost of the electricity to be produced from the consumer to the taxpayer—who may even be the same person. Electric light bills may be smaller, but, unless there is an engineering, technological, or managerial advantage enjoyed by government over private enterprise, tax bills must rise in at least equal amount.

Senator Martin, Republican ex-Governor of Pennsylvania, who chaired the Senate Public Works Committee during the Dewey testimony, promptly pointed out: ". . . as a Governor of a state I had

a lot of trouble in securing money enough to operate our schools, our roads, and our welfare institutions . . . if we save these taxes, the taxes must be paid by the people in some other way."

And so we know now, officially and on the record, that there are really no "savings" in the State Authority project. The State Power Authority would issue a total of, say, \$400,000,000 in bonds probably marketed in blocks of \$100,000,000 or \$150,000,000, as required. Under existing laws interest will be exempt from federal and New York State income taxes. The Authority, however, cannot levy taxes but must rely solely upon the revenues it expects to receive from the sale of electric energy in order to discharge its debts. The rate of interest which its bonds would carry will depend not only upon financial conditions at the time of issuance, but upon market appraisal of the quality and soundness of its obligations; in other words, the investment or credit rating of the securities themselves. Obviously, such credit rating will not be determined by reason of tax exemption. A tax-exempt bond will, of course, carry an interest rate lower than a taxable bond of identical quality, and the differential will exactly measure the value of the tax exemption to the purchasers.

The State Authority bonds will be suitable investments for mutual and incorporated insurance companies, savings banks, commercial banks, pension funds, and individual investors in the higher tax brackets. In this connection it should be borne in mind that corporate income is presently taxed by the federal government at 52 per cent, and individuals at varying rates from 22.2 per cent progressing up to 91 per cent. A canvass of bankers specializing in tax-exempt obligations of the Authority type indicates that the average tax bracket of a cross section of likely purchasers would be in the neighborhood of 50 per cent. From this point it needs only simple arithmetic to show that if the State Authority bonds bear 3.5 per cent coupons, their true carrying charge would be 1.75 per cent greater because of the federal subsidy through tax avoidance, or an aggregate total of 5.25 per cent. If, however, 4 per cent bonds were issued, as could well be the case (this rate has actually been mentioned from time to time in the hearings), then the total carrying charge becomes 6 per cent. This is a higher rate than the five companies are today earning on their property investments in New York State. Therefore, tax avoidance would finally amount to the monstrous and highly indefensible figure of \$30,000,000 to \$31,000,000. This would comprise direct tax losses, federal \$9,700,000, state \$4,300,000, local \$9,000,000, and a federal indirect loss on bond interest exemption of \$7,000,000 to \$8,000,000. What a price to pay for a political solution at Niagara, unjustified by any engineering, management, or financial considerations!

The ensuing dialogue is even more illuminating:

*Chairman Martin:* There is no use trying to kid ourselves. The people and the consumer have to pay the taxes.

*Governor Dewey:* Do you want my views on that subject?

*Chairman Martin:* Yes . . .

*Governor Dewey:* If all the government-developed waterpower in America paid federal, state, and local taxes, I would not have a leg to stand on. But the government waterpower in America pays no federal taxes, no state taxes, and no local taxes. There may be a minor exception here and there. . . . But, I say, why should my people be singled out of the forty-eight states to pay the only taxes there are on this kind of waterpower development?

Thus Governor Dewey jettisoned his "savings" argument in favor of a subtle form of logrolling. New York must have a subsidy in the form of free electricity because Tennessee, California, and other states have one. In effect, "you got yours and now I want mine." The two final victims of the chain reaction which would be set in motion by this argument would be the U.S. Treasury and the investor-owned electric utility industry. The Niagara project is so important that a defeat for the private enterprise concept there could start a bandwagon rush for tax exemption of virtually every remaining waterpower in the United States. Here, indeed, is a powerful, time-tested formula for collectivization of a basic industry.

Senator Bush, Republican of Connecticut, an experienced investment banker, forced Governor Dewey to admit that some hydro-electric projects in states other than New York are not government owned and therefore do pay taxes, but the latter seemed to think they were of minor importance.

*Senator Bush:* I would like the record to show there are other private companies operating hydro-electric properties on the rivers of the United States which are paying taxes.

*Governor Dewey:* I did not dispute that, Senator.

*Senator Bush:* I thought your statement did state that.

*Governor Dewey:* I said with a few exceptions.

The arithmetical underpinning of this Dewey statement is knocked away by the official figures of the electric utility industry as compiled by the Federal Power Commission. As of December 31, 1952, only about 24 per cent of the installed capacity in the United States was hydro-generated, and half of that or 12 per cent—not just "a few exceptions"—was privately owned and received no benefit of tax exemption. The Dewey statement boils down to a demand for subsidy at Niagara because the other half of the hydro-generated power elsewhere, equal also to 12 per cent of the national capacity and located in limited and remote areas, did receive a subsidy. And, of course, the 88 per cent which is unsubsidized is conveniently forgotten.

Upstate New York is a lush, prosperous indus-

trial and agricultural area and hardly a candidate for a domestic "Point Four" operation whether directed from Washington or Albany. Ninety-six per cent of its farms are electrified. Its use of electricity is above, and the cost is below the national average. Judging by the sworn testimony and public remarks of its elected representatives and other spokesmen, it needs no subsidy.

Niagara can in no respect be likened to the multiple purpose power projects of the South, Southwest, and West. Its physical characteristics are quite different. Engineering blueprints provide for a system of water tunnels, a unique pumping-generating station, and a water storage reservoir. No dam whatever will be built. No torrent of tortured rhetoric could transform Niagara into a Siamese twin of the TVA, Grand Coulee, Hungry Horse, or Fort Peck dams. Allegedly, at least, these projects were built primarily for flood control, sanitation, irrigation, or navigation with electric power merely a by-product. They are located in relatively underdeveloped areas of the United States. By their very heterogeneous nature they could not or would not have been built by private enterprise. At Niagara, New York State would seek to engage in the proprietary business of generating electric energy and nothing else, with private enterprise able and willing to do the job at no cost to the taxpayers.

### A Semantic Booby-Trap

In connection with the second claim of the State Power Authority, we must realize that association of any political program with "the people" has become a ritual indispensable to the business of politics. The captive countries of the Kremlin call themselves "people's democracies." The Soviet zone of Berlin has its "people's police," and British Guiana a "People's Progressive Party."

Our natural resources, say the anti-free enterprisers, being God-given, are the "people's heritage," belong to all the people, and should be developed by the people through their instrument, the government. Hence the proponents of public power talk about the "people's water," the "people's transmission lines," and we suppose, even the "people's kilowatts." Never, we hardly need mention, do they include the "people's taxes" or the "people's debts."

Here lies a dangerous semantic booby-trap. Falling water is a natural resource convertible into electric energy, but so are coal, oil, and natural gas. And what about iron ore, sulphur, salt, timber, and other basic raw materials which are highly important building blocks for our industrial civilization? All are equally God-given. No one can deny this, but it has no relevancy as an argument against private enterprise. For Americans have long ago made up their minds that their natural resources, except in certain special cir-

cumstances, shall be developed and processed by individuals or groups of individuals functioning outside the framework of government. So far as the generation and distribution of electric power is concerned, they have overwhelmingly favored private ownership and business management regulated as a natural monopoly in the public interest by state or federal commissions and subject to the final jurisdiction of the courts. Incidentally, this is a strictly American contribution in the field of government, a concept wholly in keeping with our philosophy of "checks and balances" as a means of protecting free men from the encroachment of government.

In New York State private utility corporations are subject to the daily regulation of the Public Service Commission as to rates, standards of service, accounting practices, and many other matters. The Commission has a reputation for strictness but fairness with respect to the interests of the consumers, investors, and management. If the five companies are allowed to proceed, they will obtain no title to the water flowing through their tunnels, they will pay a rental to the State of New York for its use, and they may not earn any return on any "value" of the water in the Niagara River. There is to be no profit on the "people's water."

If labor unions and farm groups qualify as "the people," they seem strangely unconvinced by the actions of their self-appointed champions. The International Brotherhood of Electric Workers of the A.F.L., the Utility Workers Union of the C.I.O., the New York State Federation of Labor, the New York State Farm Bureau Federation, the New York State Grange, and others have strongly supported development of Niagara by private enterprise.

### Tests for Socialism

And finally, let us take up the denial that the State Power Authority bill would constitute socialism. Governor Dewey testified on this point: "Well, in my opinion, gentlemen, if I thought it was socialism I would not be down here supporting it."

To invest a political program or project with social virtue or, conversely, to condemn it by merely affixing to it a label calculated to conjure up a desired image in the public mind is a rhetorical device often rendering sound judgment difficult. We might examine "Democratic Socialism," a recent pamphlet by Norman Thomas, or the "New Fabian Essays," a 1952 restatement of Socialist theory by a group of leaders of the British Labor Party. The result of such research would be devastating to the contention of the Deweyites.

Yet the answer does not lie there. Socialism, like capitalism, means different things to different men in various countries. Each country or community must decide for itself what combination

of public and private activities best reflects its values and beliefs. Americans have pretty well staked out the areas in which private enterprise and not government shall be permitted to function. Decisive tests have been: is private enterprise able and willing to undertake the task; can it perform efficiently; is the public interest thereby served? At Niagara the answers are crystal clear. To deny the five companies the right to proceed would violate the American pattern. In view of the huge size and national importance of the project the balking of free enterprise might even push us past the "point of no return."

### Dewey vs. Dewey

The remarks of a leading political administrator to a group of insurance men in November 1949 are pertinent:

I do not believe government can run any business as efficiently as private enterprise, and the victim of every such experiment is the public. The great tragedy is that once each new experiment in socialism is started it is never possible to unscramble the eggs. . . . It is a curious thing to me how these people who are always trying to find new things to socialize are always the same people who are advocating new and larger expenses by government. I wonder who they think they are going to get the tax money out of. . . .

Some people would like to put the Long Island Railroad in Authority. That would presumably mean loss of millions of dollars of taxes to the local governments and would be a catastrophe to many of them as well as a great loss of revenue to the state and national governments.

These are all evil results of the extension of socialism but even these are not the most important even though in the long run they may do the greatest damage. In each of these fields where people would extend government ownership and monopoly, a basic injury is done to the services the people get and are entitled to expect. There is loss of freedom for the individual, a higher price and a poorer service in every field you can name.

Equally pertinent are extracts from an article in *Collier's* written by a leading American statesman upon his return from the Far East in 1951:

The Japanese believe that if they can find the capital and if they can get the raw materials, they can rebuild their lost shipping in twenty-five years. But they do not know where the capital will come from. . . . The power shortage is equally critical. Only in America where the power industry has largely remained free of government ownership is there still an almost adequate supply of power. I have always appreciated the value of the American free enterprise system, and everywhere I went it was driven home again and again that competitive private enterprise is the only system which can meet the needs of a modern Society.

The author of both of the preceding statements was none other than Thomas E. Dewey. Could it be that the case he is prosecuting at Niagara should be entered in the docket as *Dewey vs. Dewey*?

# Tito Wants Neutralism

By F. A. VOIGT

*The flare-up over Trieste has again set the West to guessing about Tito. Whether he will ever become a reliable ally is still as much in doubt as before the United States started backing up his regime with lavish aid. Meantime rumors continue that with Stalin dead Tito hopes to return to the Soviet fold. A British journalist here reveals some surprising episodes in Tito's relations during the war years with Stalin, Hitler, Great Britain, and Mikhailovich. In the article following Mr. Voigt's, Peter Schmid reports on the situation in Italy, the opposite factor in the problem of Trieste.*

THE EDITORS

In recent months, many observers have expressed grave doubts whether the rupture between Marshal Tito and the Kremlin is permanent, and whether Yugoslavia, under its present regime, can ever be regarded as a reliable ally of the Atlantic Alliance. Indeed, on the basis of Tito's past performance there is ample reason for doubt. To evaluate his present position it might be enlightening to recall some of the somewhat obscured facts of Tito's behavior during World War Two.

Yugoslavia has always commanded the most strategic position in southeastern Europe. When Hitler, who was fully aware of the fact, concluded his pact with Stalin in 1939, Yugoslavia was assigned to his sphere of influence. And Stalin, who, at this point, did not want to endanger his entente with Nazi Germany, cancelled all plans for a Communist revolution in Yugoslavia. Indeed, he disposed of nearly all the Yugoslav Communists who might possibly have had other notions. The man entrusted with the job of henchman Stalin regarded as particularly reliable. He was none other than Josip Broz, later known as Tito.

In view of the Nazi-Soviet collaboration, Prince Paul, then regent of Yugoslavia, knew that his country would be helpless against any German attack. Under German pressure he decided that Yugoslavia would do well to join the anti-Comintern, or Three Power Pact, comprising Germany, Italy, and Japan.

But then something unexpected happened. The Croats, who comprise a large part of Yugoslavia's mixed population, were in favor of the Pact, but the Serbs were so unanimous in their disapproval that the Yugoslav government was threatened with a popular rebellion. In March 1941, Prince Peter, though still under age, was proclaimed King. Infuriated, Hitler decided to occupy Yugoslavia. In a few days the Yugoslav state and army disintegrated. Croatia became a separate kingdom under an Italian duke, concluded an alliance with Germany and Italy, and on December 14, 1941, declared war on Britain.

The Serbs, however, did not capitulate. They rallied around a new leader, Draza Mikhailovich,

who reorganized his troops under the name of the Home Army, generally known as Chetniks. Mikhailovich was named Minister of War by the exiled Yugoslav government in London, but remained with his men in their mountain hideouts. He had the support of all the main Serbian parties except the Communists, of Serbian public opinion, and of many Croats who had remained loyal to the Yugoslav state.

## Communists Start Civil War

After Russia was invaded in June 1941, the Yugoslav Communists (who during the Stalin-Hitler Pact had attacked the French and British as "imperialists" and "warmongers") suddenly became eager to fight the Nazis. Tito immediately assumed their leadership. But while professing to rally the Communists and all others who were prepared to join their ranks in the fight against Germany, he subordinated that fight from the beginning to the revolutionary struggle for Communist power in Yugoslavia. He did, it is true, fight the Germans, for had he not done so he would not have received any support from Britain and the United States. Without such support the Communist revolution would never have succeeded. But the effort he made against Hitler's army was small compared with the series of actions and campaigns he conducted against the forces of Mikhailovich.

Tito and his Partisans opened their attack against the Chetniks on November 2, 1941, precipitating a civil war in Yugoslavia at a time when the pressure of Nazi attack was heaviest on the Soviet Union. Stalin understood what Tito was up to; Churchill did not. The first battle between the forces of Tito and Mikhailovich brought the first rift between the Partisans and the Soviet Union. Slight at first, the rift widened, then closed, and finally burst into an open rupture. For Stalin needed help against Germany, not a Communist revolution that would play into the Nazis' hands.

Meantime, Mikhailovich was desperately short of arms and ammunition. Britain could supply "only a few droppings," as Churchill said in the

House of Commons on February 22, 1944. So the Chetniks had to make only attacks that were militarily justified. The legend that Mikhailovich was "not fighting" never impressed the Germans, who rated him highly as an opponent. Tito claimed as his own every success won by the Home Army. His claims were believed in London. Again and again men of the Home Army, listening to the London radio, would hear their victories over the Germans attributed to the Partisans. Thus Tito came to be known as a daring fighter for "democracy," whereas Mikhailovich was branded as a "reactionary" or even a "fascist."

Tito supplied the British with a series of documents which purported to show that Mikhailovich was "collaborating" with the Germans and was therefore a traitor. The documents were also sent to Stalin, with some additions. Stalin was not so easily duped. No doubt Tito went too far when he tried to make Stalin believe that the Yugoslav Government-in-Exile and even Great Britain were in secret connivance with the Germans.

In a message dated March 5, 1942, the Kremlin warned Tito against revolutionary action and declared that "it is difficult to agree with you when you state that London and the Yugoslav government are making common cause with the occupying power. . . . We urgently advise you to reconsider your tactics as a whole and to make sure that you have done everything to create a genuine united front of all Hitler's and Mussolini's enemies in Yugoslavia." In a further message, dispatched the same month, Stalin urged Tito to regard the struggle "from an international as well as from a national standpoint, from the standpoint of the British-Soviet-American coalition."

### Forged Documents

Tito was quite unabashed, and reproachful of the Kremlin's "unjustified complaints." In August 1942 he sent another message to the Kremlin, asserting that "the Yugoslav government is openly collaborating with the Italians and secretly with the Germans. It is betraying our people and the Soviet Union. We are convinced that the British Intelligence Service is supporting this policy." The Kremlin replied: "Put the authenticity of your documents to a careful test. It may be that the occupying powers have a special interest in kindling enmity between the Partisans and the Chetniks. It is not impossible that these powers have deliberately forged these documents." (The fact was that Tito had forged them himself.) The Kremlin refused to give Tito any help, and in November offered to send a military mission to Mikhailovich.

Churchill was convinced of Mikhailovich's alleged "collaboration." After all, he reasoned, a British mission including personal friends and his son Randolph had been on the spot in Yugoslavia. (Actually, this mission had been duped and kept

away from the real facts.) So Churchill changed his policy. Mikhailovich was abandoned to his enemies, and massive help was given to Tito by Britain and later by the United States.

By that time the Soviet Union was out of danger herself and ready for Communist revolution in Yugoslavia. Stalin must have been happy to observe how this revolution was being armed and supplied by the Western powers.

In 1943 one of the Kremlin's couriers who was passing through Hungary on the way to Yugoslavia was arrested by the Germans. What he had to reveal was so sensational that the Germans did not believe it at first. But it soon turned out to be true. Tito proposed a local armistice which would enable him to concentrate his attacks on Mikhailovich. Then came the official proposal which confirmed the courier's report: that the Partisans should, with Stalin's approval, join forces with the Germans in Bosnia to repel an Anglo-American landing. The proposal came to nothing, for when it was submitted to Hitler he replied: "I don't negotiate with rebels, I shoot them."

In September 1944 Stalin received Tito in Moscow. "Tell me," Stalin asked, "what would you do if the British really forced a landing in Yugoslavia?" Tito replied: "We should offer determined resistance." In saying this—and meaning it—Tito showed that he agreed with the Kremlin's determination to extend the Communist empire to the Adriatic, and to exclude Great Britain and the United States from southeastern Europe.

By the end of 1944 Tito was master of all Yugoslavia. He removed his opponents by means of the gallows, the firing squad, prison, and the concentration camp. In November 1944 he held "elections" and secured an overwhelming majority by fraud and terrorism. But Tito showed himself a theorist, after all. He had power at a time when the Soviet Union was not prepared to precipitate a warlike crisis in Europe, and he had all Yugoslavia for a base. Yet he made no stand against Moscow.

It was the Kremlin that broke with Tito, not Tito with the Kremlin. Friction had been growing between him and Stalin, between his government and the Soviet Mission in Belgrade. Tito was again invited to Moscow, but did not go for fear he would never return. Thereupon Radio Moscow announced his excommunication.

Tito now began his policy of radical industrialization and collectivization in accordance with his conception of the teachings of Marx and Lenin. The policy was wholly unsuited to Yugoslavia, and the country moved rapidly toward ruin. In desperation, Tito turned to the Atlantic powers. He was helped again, this time by America. And he reduced the speed of his advance toward socialism.

Today Tito's supreme interest is neutrality—armed neutrality, of course. Yugoslav neutrality is in the interest of the Kremlin too far, if sustained, it would protect the Soviet right flank in



an advance on the Aegean and its left flank in an advance on western Europe. On the other hand, if the Atlantic Powers had Yugoslavia for a true ally, as they have Greece and Turkey, they would hold a strategic position of such strength that they would make it exceedingly dangerous, if not impossible, for Soviet Russia to advance on the Aegean or to invade western Europe. In the event of war, the Western powers could strike at the Black Sea, the Ukraine, and the Caucasus with more decisive effect than from any other position in the world.

If the Kremlin can keep Yugoslavia neutral, it will have increased Soviet security in Europe. If it can neutralize Germany as well—and this, indeed, is the main purpose of its present German policy—it will have complete security in Europe. For the time being, therefore, it can have no desire to overthrow Tito's government.

Tito has accepted American aid and is taking

part in military "conversations" with the Atlantic powers, especially with Greece and Turkey. But he has so far undertaken no commitments. To aid him in surviving the rupture with the Kremlin was, in the beginning, sound policy. But it has not as yet produced the result which the security of the West imperiously demands.

Tito is seeking, with some success, to obtain the support of "neutralists" everywhere—of certain members of the British Labor Party (especially Mr. Bevan), of the German Social Democrats, and of Mr. Nehru. A vast neutral zone, comprising Germany, Yugoslavia, and India is his main object. If he succeeds—and we must expect him to receive the support of the Kremlin (no doubt under cover of verbal threats)—the Soviet Union will be relieved of much anxiety and will be able to concentrate its policy of penetration and disintegration, with a view to future conquest, all the way from the eastern Mediterranean to Indonesia.

## Battle for Italy

By PETER SCHMID

In the Assembly Hall of the Chamber in Rome two imposing clocks admonish the deputies to keep the length of their speeches down to a bearable minimum. A few hours after the elections of June 7, 1953, both clocks came to a standstill. Among superstitious people this would certainly have been regarded as a bad omen, as a sign that somebody in the family was about to die. Perhaps this foreboding could also be applied to Italy as a nation, or rather to her government, although the dusty works of the old clocks have been cleaned meanwhile and are running again.

To venture a prophecy about Italian politics is a hazardous business because, so far, the predictions of experts have been proved wrong time and again. When, after the last elections, De Gasperi found his Christian Democratic Party crushed between the opposition blocs of the Right and the Left, his resignation seemed to mark the end of the relatively stable coalition government of the center parties and the beginning of an agony of parliamentary democracy similar to that of France. When Giuseppe Pella formed his cabinet, it was called cynically *governo balneare*, tolerated by the opposition only as an interim measure, as a caretaker government to put the budget through and pass the time during the vacation season when the deputies fled from Rome's summer heat to the mountains or seashore. The crisis over Trieste suddenly changed the whole picture. By claiming the disputed city vigorously for Italy, the "caretaker" premier managed to gather the forces of national sentiment behind him, and for a while it seemed as though his position was more secure

than even that of De Gasperi at the height of his popularity. But with equal suddenness this stability threatened to vanish when the Allies showed signs of reconsidering their promise to turn over Zone A to Italy. All this waxing and waning of Pella's power is due to the fact that his so-called stability is no real stability at all: it is based, as was De Gasperi's victory in 1948, on an appeal to irrational sentiments which have nothing to do with actual social conditions and the practical interests of the Italian people.

Most observers agree that the June elections were marked by a general lack of enthusiasm. These elections, in which the Italian people apparently expressed their political feelings most somberly, showed a decided trend to the left. The Christian Democrats lost two million votes and the bloc of Communists and Nenni Socialists gained about the same amount. This alarming trend becomes more apparent from election to election. In 1948 the combined Communists and Nenni Socialists polled 8,100,000 votes; this year they received 9,600,000. Six weeks after the elections the local section of the Communist Party in Rome added 3,400 new members to its file. Success creates new successes, especially among political cynics. And most Italians are political cynics, ever ready to jump on the bandwagon of the side that shows signs of winning. If Communist strength continues to develop along the same pattern as it has so far, the Reds may easily get 11,000,000 votes in 1958. If the Christian Democrats continue their downslide, the Communist left may very well be on its way to power—quite legally and democratically. What are the

reasons behind this growing Communist danger?

The answer seems simple: Italy is riddled with misery, poverty, and unemployment. A parliamentary investigation committee has just released a revealing study of Italy's social situation. More than 12 per cent of the population, 1,400,000 families, are living in hovels, cellars, or crowded, sub-standard apartment houses. More than 23 per cent are utterly poverty-stricken, 66 per cent subsist on a bare minimum, and only 11 per cent lead a middle-class existence by European standards.

Poverty is, of course, very unevenly distributed. From the Alps down to Rome, Italy is a European country, with similar living standards and values as the northern countries of Europe. But south of Naples a different world begins, a world inhabited by masses of people who live like cattle, procreate indiscriminately, eat whatever they can find, and bear their fate with oriental passivity.

The Mezzogiorno, as this region is called, has always been a stumbling block in the road of Italy's development. Yesterday it was still the playground of a small group of landowners, perhaps tomorrow it will be the breeding ground of a sweeping revolution. The factories of the industrial North are going at full speed, but the poverty-stricken masses of the Mezzogiorno have not the money to buy their products.

But even in the busy North everything is not quite as it should be. Although the war left the heavy industries of northern Italy virtually unscarred, they are suffering from various ills in spite of the 1,600,000,000 dollars of Marshall aid poured into them. Most of the machinery is old, and production is hampered by a highly unrealistic Social Security system. It forces industrial management to keep large numbers of superfluous workers employed. To ease their burden, manufacturers consistently avoid paying taxes.

### Poverty and Communism

The root of the Italian problem might be summarized in one phrase: too many people have to share too little work and too small a production. Even though Italy's fantastic birth rate has steadily decreased since 1946 (last year, with 17.6 per cent, it fell well below that of many other European countries), the yearly surplus of 370,000 people—two-thirds of whom come from the Mezzogiorno—can only very slowly be absorbed by emigration and industrial expansion. Nobody has yet solved this problem, and nobody has been able to give work to the one and a half million unemployed.

The problem of Communism in Italy, however, cannot be explained by poverty alone. The Lazaroni of the South, for instance, who are at the bottom of the economic ladder, don't vote Communist at all. During the past election they were induced to cast their votes for the party of the traditionally well-to-do, the Monarchists, because they dis-

tributed free macaroni. On the other hand, the mostly well-to-do tenant farmers of Tuscany vote traditionally for the Communists. The same is true of a large part of the industrial workers of the North, whose wages today are thirty per cent higher than before the war and who thus could have been reasonably expected to support the coalition of the center.

All this seems to indicate that Communism in Italy is a psychological rather than a social problem. The De Gasperi government tried very hard to fulfill its social obligations. Most important among these was the land reform in the Mezzogiorno, in Sardinia, and the Maremma, the coastal area north of Rome. Actually, a number of laws were passed and put into effect which limited land ownership to a specific number of acres and allowed for the building of irrigation systems, the distribution of land to farmers, and the organization of modern cooperatives.

What, however, was the political effect of all these measures? Have the farmers who benefited from this program become staunch supporters of the Christian Democrats? By no means! The June election showed that the effect of these social measures did not register with the voters at all. The people who had voted Communist before voted Communist again. And, strangely enough, the Communist Party had its largest gain (32 per cent as compared to 15 per cent in the rest of Italy) in the Mezzogiorno.

There you are, gloated the reactionaries, the land reform has not taken the wind out of the Communist sails, but the contrary. Here we encounter a strange causality which seems to explain the success of the Communists in Asia as well as in Italy: a deplorable social situation may go on for years, even decades, if nobody meddles with it. But whoever tries to ease the situation by a number of careful reforms pulls the bottom from under the entire social structure and everything comes tumbling down. The farmer who accepted his miserable condition as inevitable begins to realize the shakiness of the old order as soon as somebody approaches him with a few limited innovations. Seeing that the old ideas have lost their value, he is ready to search for an altogether new order, which Communism seems to offer him.

A government must deal with realities—but oppositional demagoguery can exist in an illusory world of wishful thinking. Italy's industrial workers cling to Communism because their trade unions prevent the dismissal of superfluous workers and thus make a rationalization of industry practically impossible. The farmers of Tuscany vote Communist because the Communists fought for the better conditions they now enjoy. It would be absurd to assume that the members of the Communist Party or the Communist voters are ideologically committed Marxists. To them the Party is simply an organization which has brought

them certain professional advantages, and so they go along with the Communists just as we join a professional organization or a sports club.

The leaders of this "sports club," however, know very well what they want. The fact that the Communist vote increases with each election, although the social situation is gradually becoming less tense, is due to an almost scientifically conducted Communist propaganda campaign. Immediately after the last election results had come in, Communist study groups examined the returns from each locality. They tried to determine who had voted for the Party and began right away to convert sympathizers into active members.

Also, the Communist Party is the only one which offers a complete political education to its members. This education is not confined to a recitation of Party doctrines, but covers any concrete civic question that might come up, from income-tax returns to schoolroom problems. Thus the Italian Communist is generally better educated politically than the members of other political groups, a fact that is largely responsible for the impact the Communist Party has in Italy.

The Christian Democrats lack one important element—organization. They have well-organized allies, it is true, especially the Catholic Church, which regards them as the foremost defender of the interests of the Church and supports them vigorously. But as valuable as these allies may be, they do not really constitute a strong party cadre. They are not able to create a proper political Christian Democratic consciousness among their followers. The fact that Catholicism has by no means a monopoly of the membership of the Christian Democrats does not help the situation. The neo-Fascist Italian Social Movement (M.S.I.) and the Monarchists claim that *they* are the strongest advocates of Catholic interests, and even the Communists piously attend mass.

The Church has also been affected by the defeat of the Christian Democrats. The influential order of the Jesuits has been fighting for years against what it called the too "liberal" orientation of De Gasperi. Today these elements are deliberately steering to the Right, and they are contemplating the creation of a clerico-fascist regime along the lines of the Salazar government in Portugal. They argue, quite correctly by the way, that the strength of the Communist Party stems largely from a misuse of those liberties which a super-democratic postwar constitution granted them in a reaction against the lack of freedom under the Fascists. Indeed, this constitution contains quite a few vague articles which are in urgent need of clarification. The role of the trade unions and the often misused right to strike still require legal definition. And the articles covering the freedom of the press in practice permit the most vicious slander without any legal restraints. When Scelba, the long-term Minister of the Interior and Police in the De

Gasperi cabinet, introduced a law for the protection of the state, it was interpreted in a way that made it applicable only to the resurgent neo-Fascists without bothering the Communists. According to the right wing of the clerical group, all this should now be corrected. A strong authoritarian hand, supported by the Monarchists and possibly the neo-Fascists, is supposed to halt the advance of the Left and perhaps wipe it from the political map.

### Right or Left Turn?

Once the nationalist enthusiasm over Trieste will have evaporated, Pella or his successor will find himself faced with the deadly alternative of siding with the Right or the Left. The rightist solution seems easiest, and possibly the most reasonable after all, though there is hardly a Salazar available in Italy at present. If this experiment should be tried, it is quite possible that the whole Christian Democratic Party will disintegrate, because its progressive left wing, under the leadership of former Minister of Agriculture Fafani, would never tolerate a coalition with the extreme Right.

What, then, is the alternative? Is a coalition with the Left possible? Would it be possible to break the bonds between Pietro Nenni, the Socialist leader, and the Communists and admit him into a democratic coalition? But Nenni is a man who has to be handled with care, for since his return from exile he has always played the Communist game. Already in 1943 he belonged spiritually to the Communists, and only Togliatti, the sly Communist boss, prevented him from openly joining the ranks of the party. Tactically it would be much better, Togliatti explained to him, if a nominally independent Socialist Party would march separately but fight in union with the Communists. In 1948 the two leftist parties entered the election campaign with a joint list of candidates, but last June they changed their tactics and campaigned separately. Togliatti obviously had a clever maneuver in mind: to drape Nenni in a democratic blanket and send him as a Trojan horse into the democratic coalition. There was no danger that in doing so Nenni might taste the sweet air of independence and actually go over to the democratic camp, for his party organization has been thoroughly infiltrated with loyal Communists.

One has only to listen to the speeches of the two leaders of the Left to realize where the stronger force lies. Nenni is a typical demagogue with a rhetorical gift for electrifying the masses. But he screams before he thinks. Togliatti, on the other hand, is almost a scholarly type with a razor-sharp mind. His enemies regard him as a Mephistopheles and one can well understand their feelings. He is the most ingenious player on the chessboard of Italian politics. If he has not been very active lately, he is simply biding his time.

# Gold and Subversion

By NATHANIEL WEYL

*Soviet gold mined in Siberian death camps flows all over the world as a bribe for stirring up unrest and a weapon in the cold war of finance.*

Whether the removal of Lavrenti Beria marks a basic turning point in Soviet policies may well be indicated by future developments in the Soviet gold mining industry. Siberian gold mining, a massive mechanism of death sustained by slave labor, has, as recent events disclose, an important bearing on the spread of Communist power all over the world.

From the mid 1930s throughout the war Soviet gold production figures were phenomenally high. Then suddenly after 1948 this industry fell into a profound and enigmatic decay. According to a reliable report in the *Northern Miner* of January 15, 1953, U.S.S.R. gold output fell from a 1937 peak of 4,800,000 ounces to 1,800,000 in 1950. The dollar drop was from \$168,000,000 to \$63,000,000, or about 60 per cent.

This decline cannot be attributed to geological or technical factors. The auriferous area is enormous, about 85 per cent of output is alluvial, and production efficiency has increased with mechanization. The drop occurred partly in 1948-50 when Soviet industrial output and production of non-ferrous metals were advancing at record rates.

Is this decline temporary or permanent? Is it a sign of decreased reliance on slave labor in the total Soviet economy or merely of a shift of this labor to activities other than gold mining? Can the rulers in the Kremlin finance their plans for empire without a superabundance of gold in the barrel?

A brief glance at the past and several current developments that have received little publicity give a clue to the answers.

The Bolshevik Revolution and the civil war period wrecked the gold industry in Russia. Lenin showed little interest in its revival, believing that gold would soon become worthless except for filling teeth. Things did not turn out quite as planned, and by the end of the 1920s Stalin had to give realistic consideration to the problem of at least temporary coexistence with capitalism, a problem complicated by an acute foreign exchange shortage. To meet it the rich gold-bearing region of Kolyma was opened up and soon became the source of three-fourths of U.S.S.R. gold production.

Lying within the Arctic Circle, Kolyma is a vast region of marshes, taiga, and permafrost under the control of secret police. (Beria, incidentally, as head of the N.K.V.D., had an important part in its development.) Within the ramified forced labor

economy of the U.S.S.R. it occupies a special position as a death camp. The brutality of the secret police, the ordeal of polar cold and inadequate rations, the policy of driving the workers beyond human endurance have caused mortality rates unprecedented even in the U.S.S.R. Of 7,600 Polish prisoners of war sent to the gold fields in 1940-41, only 584 survived until 1942, when an amnesty was granted and they were returned to the Free Polish authorities. According to the careful estimates of Sylvester Mora, based largely on Free Polish military intelligence interrogations, of approximately three million prisoners sent to the Kolyma gold fields between 1933 and 1946, only half a million were alive at the end of the period. Mora states that half of the new arrivals die within four months; this general picture is corroborated by Vladimir Petrov, Elinor Lipper, and others who experienced Soviet forced labor.

Between 1936 and 1942 an estimated 33,000,000 ounces of gold were mined in the Soviet Union. The U.S. Treasury bought \$311,000,000 worth of this, and the balance of about \$800,000,000 worth presumably went into the Kremlin's monetary reserves. In 1940 some 40 per cent of all Soviet prospecting effort in non-ferrous metals was targeted on gold.

## **Soviets Spurn International Monetary Aid**

At the end of the war, the Soviet need for hard currency seemed desperate to American observers. With the country devastated and close to famine, it was generally supposed that the U.S.S.R. would join the newly established International Monetary Fund and International Bank. By doing so the Kremlin could have borrowed up to its quota of \$1,200,000,000 from the Fund and probably an equal amount at long term from the Bank. The U.S.S.R. could have harbored no illusions that these institutions were unfriendly to its purposes. They had been created and shaped largely by Harry D. White, whose job was that of Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and whose vocation was Soviet espionage. White became the first American executive director of the Fund. Some of its top staff positions were filled by Americans of questionable loyalty, such as Frank Coe, who in 1953 refused to tell a Senate subcommittee whether he was currently spying for the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet Union refused to join either the Fund or the Bank. It objected vehemently to the requirement that members divulge their gold production, their gold and foreign exchange transactions, and the size of their monetary reserves. Although this information falls under the same Soviet security classification as top military secrets, it seems incredible for a war-battered nation to weigh such minor monetary data against reconstruction aid running into the billions. Probably other factors were also at work. The decision for a cold war policy having been taken, autarchy, even at the cost of immense hardship, may have seemed preferable to dependence on American equipment and technology. Secondly, the Soviet gold position was stronger than was generally believed.

The U. S. Treasury estimated the 1946 Soviet gold reserve at \$2,400,000,000. When the Kremlin swallowed up the East European countries, it reaped a windfall of \$552,000,000 in additional reserves. Present holdings are perhaps four billion dollars. Current gold and foreign exchange reserves are probably well in excess of any trade deficits the U.S.R.R. would wish to incur. Major deficiencies in raw materials such as bauxite, lead, zinc, tin, and tungsten were remedied by the absorption of the Balko-Danubian area and China. The Red empire is largely self-sufficient. It can buy the raw materials it needs from the free world without drawing on its gold. Depletion of high-grade iron ore at Magnitnaya and elsewhere has not yet reached the point where large-scale utilization of Swedish ores will be economically urgent.

Columnists generally refer to the Soviet gold hoard as a war chest, but this is obvious nonsense. Modern wars tend to be cataclysmic and total. There is a global military boundary, and the flow of strategic goods across it is normally choked off. This was illustrated in the spring of 1950. Without warning, a tidal wave of Soviet gold shipments inundated the free markets. Within fifteen weeks a quarter of a billion dollars worth of Soviet bullion was unloaded in France, Sweden, Italy, and Switzerland, in Macao, Hong Kong, and Tangier. Fortunes were sold in the form of obsolete English, French, and Mexican gold coins. Then the wave receded as suddenly as it had advanced.

What was the explanation? New York financial writers theorized about a Soviet plot to dump gold, upset the currencies of Europe, and thus bring about (one was to suppose) a general collapse of capitalism. How this was to be accomplished as long as the U.S. Treasury supports the gold price at \$35 an ounce was not explained.

The real reason for the gold flood was almost certainly a simple and logical one. The Soviets had decided to build up secret funds of several hundred million dollars in local currencies all over the world. They needed these invisible accounts to import strategic materials, to finance subversive activities, to keep the cauldron of political discontent bubbling

in Asia and elsewhere. They had to do this by the spring of 1950 because the North Koreans were to invade, according to Soviet plan, that summer. Once the Korean war started, the U.S.S.R. would have run the risk of having its gold neutralized by embargo.

### Bait for the West

The present declared Soviet policy of economic and political rapprochement with the West makes gold more important in the Communist scheme of things. Gold is bait. It makes East-West trade more attractive to the free nations. The Soviets can offer gold either by allowing debit balances to arise in their trading accounts or by buying with bullion for future delivery. As long as the American Treasury is willing to buy all gold offered at a fixed price, the Soviet gold reserve is a blank check on the productive wealth of the United States.

By maintaining living standards of levels beyond productive effort or balance of payments prospects, western Europe periodically suffers from what it is now fashionable to call a dollar gap. The gap widens as Mutual Security Agency subsidies are cut by an economy-minded Congress. When this happens, Soviet gold glitters with dazzling brightness, causing political blindness among western European leaders.

The outflow of the Soviet gold reserve—its directions, impact, and consequences—is skillfully concealed, but small incidents sometimes throw beams of light on Soviet financial warfare. Last August 19 the Swiss Federal Court at Geneva refused extradition of two Italian nationals charged with dealings in counterfeit French Napoleons, British sovereigns, and Porfirio Diaz ten-peso gold coins. Since none of these coins is legal tender, the court held, no crime had been committed. The court, moreover, refused to divulge the identity of the accused.

The business of making other people's money is one which has always attracted the Soviets. In 1929, with Stalin's personal approval, the Soviet Union counterfeited American \$100 bills and dumped several million dollars worth in China. Nicholas Dozenberg of Soviet military intelligence organized the operation in the United States through a hapless Dr. Burtan (who was caught by the Secret Service and served time) and a syndicate of Chicago hoodlums. Stalin's brilliant venture into counterfeiting was finally abandoned because it resulted in wholesale arrests of Red military intelligence and M.V.D. agents.

At present the Soviets are not believed to be engaged in faking banknotes, but they do counterfeit coins. The Prague mint forges Napoleons, sovereigns, and other gold currency long since retired from circulation. This is sold in Europe, Africa, and Asia. Since these coins conform to the original standards of weight and fineness, the

purpose of the operation may seem obscure. However, thousands of people are prepared to buy gold at \$50 an ounce provided it is offered as round, milled disks with the embossed image of some defunct European monarch or Mexican caudillo. The buyers are too poor to acquire gold bars or too unsophisticated to know assay values. The gold hunger is particularly acute in France, where the successive misgovernments have almost destroyed faith in the paper currency. The French hoarders are sheared twice. First, their elected officials confiscate their property by successive inflations and devaluations; then Soviet agents sell them counterfeit coins at 40 per cent above the value of contained bullion.

A large but unknown share of the Red "Napoleons," the bogus Louis d'Ors, and the rest of the stock-in-trade of the Prague mint crosses the Asian cold war frontier that extends from the Caucasus to the Viet Nam rice deltas. Chieftains of turbulent mountain tribes (and in particular the Kurdish insurgents) are bought for the Soviet cause with gold mined with the agony of Kolyma slaves. Gold coins leave no trail to the source of bribery. Then, too, Asia has little confidence in paper currency. Freedom from colonial rule has sometimes provided native peoples with an immediate introduction to the painful mysteries of inflation. As for primitive tribal groups, their test of money is frequently its weight, or color, or its feel between their teeth.

### Slavery and Aggression

Thus gold mined by the victims of Soviet power provides the means for the further expansion of that power. The curve of forced labor has tended to rise whenever the Soviet revolution advanced either intensively or extensively. The marks of intensification were the purges and the collectivization crisis, both completed by World War Two. The main postwar source of slave labor was provided by two successive thrusts of Soviet expansion—the political revolution in the subjugated areas and the agrarian collectivization which followed it.

However, the postwar prisoners were not sent primarily to Kolyma, nor were they used to a large extent in gold mining. Gold may have still been attractive, but uranium was vital. Ambitious canal construction and hydro-electric power projects under Plan Four were M.V.D. operations. Prisoners from the subjugated countries have been used to a very large extent in the procurement of radioactive ores. The fact that 100,000 German uranium miners were involved in the recent revolutionary risings against the Soviet masters illustrates the qualitative difference between conditions there and in the Kolyma death camps.

From a long-range standpoint, rising Soviet labor productivity emphasizes the inefficiency of the

M.V.D. enclaves. Shortage of labor and rising capital investment per worker militate against the forced labor system on economic grounds. Ventures such as Kolyma prematurely destroy hundreds of thousands of able-bodied workers.

Added to the decline in Soviet gold operations after 1948, a further drop seems to have occurred after 1950. The reason for this is self-evident. Supplies for the East Siberian gold fields—that is to say, prisoners, guards, machinery, construction materials, and foodstuffs—were in logistic competition with matériel of war for the Korean front. Both had to move in the main on the inadequate Trans-Siberian Railway. With the U.S.S.R. supplying an estimated 70 per cent of combat material for the Red armies in Korea, post-1950 expansion of Kolyma mining would doubtless have been regarded by the military as quite intolerable.

### The Chinese Migration

Malenkov's report to the Supreme Soviet last August 8 foreshadows a foreign policy in which gold will resume its importance as a key weapon in the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. This is implied in the turn from Asia to Europe and the shift from revolutionary adventures in backward countries to the effort to form "peace front" coalition governments in western Europe.

All this means that the neglect of the East Siberian mines must be checked. Yet it is virtually out of the question for the Soviet government to replenish the slave labor force through new purges, deportations, and arrests involving millions of Europeans. This would create vast economic and social dislocation; it would run counter to the new policy of emphasizing consumer goods rather than terror as a means of raising labor productivity; it would make the formation of viable popular front movements in western Europe enormously difficult. As for the Soviet prisoners now at work in the uranium mines and on Russian canals, it would be economic idiocy to send them 7,000 miles by rail to grub for gold in Kolyma.

The obvious solution is to use Chinese labor which has already demonstrated in the settlement of Manchuria its ability to survive and work under extremes of cold. Given continuing famine and dire misery in China, this migration may be at least partly voluntary, thus reducing the enormous overhead of the M.V.D. repressive apparatus.

This process apparently began in 1951 when Kao Kang, the Communist Party boss of Manchuria, organized a volunteer force of 100,000 Chinese to proceed to Siberia and work in the development of gold and other Soviet natural resources. The following year, 240,000 more Chinese were sent to the Asian territories of the U.S.S.R. as a working force. A recent report from Hong Kong states that the National Defense Commission for Central-South China has been ordered to mobilize 100,000

additional laborers within the next two months to replace 80,000 Chinese workers who have already died in Siberia. The total number of Chinese in the entire U.S.S.R. and its East European satellite states is placed at 540,000. As yet, the Siberian contingent represents merely a minor overflow from the vast reservoir of Red China's forced labor population. The latter is estimated by Nationalist intelligence in Formosa at 30,000,000, of whom 10,000,000 are engaged in flood control and water conservation projects and the balance of 20,000,000 chiefly in road and railroad construction.

The two obvious purposes of this vast slave labor operation are to consolidate the power of the regime through terror and to force the swift completion of public works, war, and reconstruction projects. Perhaps equally important is the implementation of Red China's population movement program—a projected solution which was worked out by Mao's economic advisers years prior to the seizure of power. The plan is to drive the surplus population from the famine areas into the Chinese Northwest.

While this land is largely infertile, water-deficient, and hostile to human settlement, it is China's only remaining agricultural frontier.

The vanguard of this migration is today penetrating Siberia. Whether the Kremlin permits this flow to reach massive proportions hinges on the answer to an intriguing and seldom asked question: Has Communist internationalism supplanted the traditional Russian policy of driving Chinese settlement away from the Siberian plains? If the answer is affirmative, then the plan which Soviet use of manpower has assumed foreshadows a continuing trend toward greater capitalization, higher productivity, and improved working conditions west of Baikal. But east of that lake we can expect a prodigal expenditure of coolie lives to create new centers of industrial and military might capable of revolutionizing the power balance of Asia. Within this large and ominous scheme, Soviet gold production can be either spurred or retarded, depending primarily on the role which gold is to assume in the Kremlin's international strategy.

# If Management Walked Out

By WILLIAM H. PETERSON

*The privileges Americans take for granted where labor is concerned should in fairness apply to management, an economics professor points out.*

U. S. atomic energy construction projects of the highest priority, located in Paducah, Kentucky, and Joppa, Illinois, have been crippled by some two hundred strikes, mostly of a jurisdictional nature. The strikes have accomplished what Soviet espionage could scarcely have hoped for: set back the whole program by more than a year. National security is disregarded while local labor leaders wrangle over which union is to get the fattest jobs.

This year's flash strike of eastern tugboat hands forced giant liners to dock unassisted on arrival in New York—risky business in view of tides and river currents. The *Queen Mary* narrowly missed the pier in the first attempt, made her berth on the second. The *Caronia* tore an \$80,000 gash in her pier shed. Luckily no lives were lost.

In New York City 13,000 milk drivers and plant workers strike to halt the flow of milk to 12,000,000 men, women, and children in the metropolitan area.

Americans are resigned to strikes against the public interest and accept them as but more unhappy headlines. But would Americans accept strikes by companies ("lockouts") as complacently as they do strikes by unions? Would public opinion be of different temper if construction contractors

at Paducah and Joppa established "jurisdiction" by "walking out" and setting up inviolable picket lines against each other—instead of submitting competitive bids?

This past summer several hundred trainmen on the Long Island Railroad "reported sick" on the same morning, and tens of thousands of commuters either clogged the highways to New York or simply stayed home. This device was also used in a large eastern city when several hundred members of a garbage removal local "reported sick" on the same morning. Garbage and litter rotted in the streets, and the Board of Health issued a declaration of emergency. Had it been the garbage contractors or the railroad management "reporting sick," however, public action (probably in the form of injunctions) would have been swift, certain, and decisive.

Clearly, we Americans judge labor by one standard and management by another. What's sauce for the union goose is not sauce for the company gander. This double standard violates our American tradition of fair play and distorts the whole labor-management picture. It also muddies the thinking of those charged with the administration of our labor laws.

Last August, for example, the National Labor Relations Board ruled that the Mt. Hope Finishing Company, which had moved from Massachusetts to North Carolina, had to pay some \$4,000,000 in back wages to its former employees in Massachusetts and, if they desired it, rehire them and pay moving expenses to North Carolina. The grounds for the ruling claimed that the company moved so as to avoid dealing with a union which had established bargaining "rights," although the company moved at the expiration of its contract with the union. This ruling violates the established legal concept that a job is a privilege and not a right. Workers and unions are free to move to new employers in greener fields. Why is not the corresponding privilege extended to employers?

In another recent decision, the NLRB ruled that the Bonwit Teller department store of New York in speaking to its employees about labor problems on company time and company property had to provide the *same* speaking opportunity to the union. One would then think that this ruling would permit the same license to employers, that is, the same speaking opportunity at the union hall on union time. Not so—the NLRB ducked that one.

Take the matter of the anti-featherbedding provision in the Taft-Hartley Law. The law sanely protects employers from payment for work not performed. But in two decisions the NLRB again reversed the Taft-Hartley philosophy. In the Gambel Enterprises decision in Ohio, the Board ruled that local "stand-by" musicians must be hired when an out-of-town band is booked in a theater. In the International Typographical Union case, the Board ruled that a union's setting up "bogus" type (unused type resorted to when prepared type or "mats" come into the shop from outside the local's district) is legitimate work and must be paid for. Both these decisions, upheld in the courts, hurt competition and play hob with the cost of living. Consumers must now pay the fiddler who doesn't play and the printer who doesn't print. Moreover, the decisions compel Americans to pay tribute and to recognize a highly questionable facet of union power.

Circumvention of Taft-Hartley has come not only through its administrators. In 1950 near-paralysis of the country's railroads resulted from the strike of the Brotherhood of Railroad Firemen. The reason? The union demanded *two* firemen in the new diesel locomotives—but the diesels, using automatic oil pumps, were designed to operate without *any* firemen. The settlement: one fireman in every diesel. True, in long runs safety may require a second man in the diesel cab, though not necessarily a fireman. But in the cases of switch engines and yard engines, to have a second man is pure featherbedding.

The Taft-Hartley Law fails to answer the question of union monopoly. The strategy of the labor movement is said to be "to take labor out of

competition." Yet the absence of competition leaves monopoly, which is the essence of union power. Uncontrolled monopoly is incompatible with a free enterprise system, and that is why it is circumscribed in our laws.

Last February, for example, the United Shoe Machinery Corporation of Boston was held in violation of our anti-monopoly laws. Through leases, the government contended, the shoe machinery concern maintained an illegal network of similar contracts with 90 per cent of all the shoe manufacturers in the industry.

Yet how different is this from industry-wide bargaining contracts which force up to 100 per cent of the employers, big and small, in an industry to sign substantially the same contracts? Said Fred Wohlfahrt, a Detroit machine-shop owner who closed his business a short time after he had signed up with the C.I.O. Auto Workers: "A mechanic earning about \$1,000 a month sat all day reading a newspaper or looking over blueprints. He never turned over his jig machine once. It's been this way ever since I signed the contract. So what's the use of being in business? I'm losing money."

### Our Double Standard

Industry-wide bargaining has led to nation-wide strikes that have alternately left the nation without coal, steel, train, and telephone service. Were it not for a small band of "liberal" Republicans, a prohibition of industry-wide bargaining would have been included in the 1947 Taft-Hartley Law. Such a provision is badly needed today. For if monopolistic corporations must bow to the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, why should not monopolistic industry-wide bargaining unions, which were once subject to the law but have since lobbied out of it?

New amendments to the Taft-Hartley Law ought to include provision for peaceful means for settling jurisdictional disputes. As it stands now, the principal means appear to be strikes, collusion, and private fiat. A jurisdictional strike delayed the opening of New York's Idlewild Airport for more than a year because the telephone workers union and the electricians union disagreed as to which union had the sole responsibility of running cable under the field. An estimated 8,000,000 man-hours have been lost through jurisdictional battles in the critical atomic energy program at Joppa and Paducah. Employers settle "jurisdiction" by competitive bidding. Why not, perhaps, unions?

Picketing is another problem crying for clarification. The Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments provide that "No person shall . . . be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." Time and again, however, non-strikers have been made involuntarily idle by picket lines. The unions claim that picketing is merely an extension of freedom of expression. To the extent that this argument is valid, only one picket or a few should



be needed for the union to express itself. More than this spell strong-arm tactics and intimidation to workers who are not on strike.

Arthur Krock, *New York Times* columnist, commented on this situation:

The mere fact that organized workers have struck a plant . . . and thrown out even a token picket line, as when the last steel strike began, may for a long time continue to be sufficient to deprive unorganized employees also of their normal employment. That condition exists because the people of the United States accept toleration of coercion by their public servants in the interest of strikes that make a mockery of one of the most important grants of personal liberty [Bill of Rights].

The same reasoning can be cited in another crucial failing in the present Taft-Hartley Law, its legalization of compulsory union membership. Here is an obvious conflict with our Thirteenth Amendment, which prohibits "involuntary servitude." True enough, the Taft-Hartley Law almost completely rules out the closed shop, and it allows employers the privilege of hiring non-union workers, providing these workers join the union after a short period. But these strictures are still violative of our heritage of liberty.

James Petrillo, musicians' boss, through his closed shop prerogatives recently suspended pianist Oscar Levant from appearing in concerts in the United States and Canada. He blandly announced, too, that British musicians may not play on American shores. Both these actions usurp the power of Congress, for the Constitution states: "Congress shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations."

We speak concernedly of "full employment" for workers but rarely of the more meaningful "full production" for the nation. We demand competition among employers but blithely accept monopoly from unions. We have legal minimum wages for employees—but if that is sound, why not legal minimum prices for employers? We hear demands for a "guaranteed annual wage." Well, then, perhaps we ought to entertain "guaranteed annual profits." We sympathize when a union cries that it is being served with an injunction, but think nothing of it when a corporation is served. We listen when the union complains that the machine is eliminating labor (which machines have been doing since man first discovered the wheel and began his emancipation from drudgery), but we plainly eliminate our own labor when we buy a power lawnmower, or somebody else's when we buy a safety-razor.

This double standard drives us to many of the incongruities in our labor laws today. Amendments to Taft-Hartley are in the immediate offing. The "incredible" concessions to the labor bosses in the famous nineteen points in the recent on-again-off-again Presidential message should warn all those who are concerned with fairness as well as freedom to send their own messages to Congress.

## THIS IS WHAT THEY SAID

There is no good evidence that the socialist dictatorships which exist in the Soviet Union and in China, or in fact any other socialistic dictatorship, have ever taken away from the people more freedom than they have given the people.

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

For if we are really honest with ourselves we cannot escape the conclusion that since V-J Day our economic withdrawal, our naked materialism as exemplified by our attitude toward the feeding of starving peoples, our political vacillations, and, above all, our moral negativism, have done more to keep the world in turmoil than Russia's actions.

VERA MICHELES DEAN, *Foreign Policy Bulletin*, March 8, 1946

### Of Man and Makers

I was an ignorant young man and the [Communist] Party took me, educated me, made me a man.

MARSHAL TITO, as quoted in the *New York Times*, October 25, 1953

It's merely a question of making sure that the direction of development [in Yugoslavia] is socialism. An attempt of any kind to restoration of the old or any other deviation will not be permitted here.

MARSHAL TITO, in a discussion of Yugoslavia's internal development, as quoted in the *New York Times*, October 25, 1953

### Judicial Caution

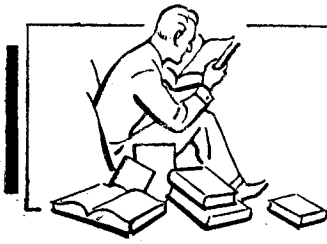
*Mr. O'Konski*: Would you consider the Russian unprovoked attack upon Finland in 1939 as an aggression, Mr. Justice Jackson?

*Mr. Justice Jackson*: I would rather not pass judgment on that, because I have never examined the documents. . . . If you asked me my offhand impression from what I read in the newspapers, my answer would be the same as yours. If you ask my opinion as one who feels some responsibility for his opinions on legal subjects, I would say that I have not adequate information.

HEARINGS on the Katyn Forest Massacre before the House Select Committee, November 11, 1952

The Freeman invites contributions to this column, and will pay \$2 for each quotation published. If an item is sent in by more than one person, the one from whom it is first received will be paid. To facilitate verification, the sender should give the title of the periodical or book from which the item is taken, with the exact date if the source is a periodical and the publication year and page number if it is a book. Quotations should be brief. They can not be returned or acknowledged.

THE EDITORS



## First and Last Things

By JAMES BURNHAM

The novel is the most undefined of literary forms. We can say with reasonable clarity what we mean by "a sonnet," "a drama" (comedy or tragedy), "an epic," "an essay," "a ballad." But what exactly do we have in mind when we speak of "a novel"? What, for example, was the first novel? How far back do we go—to *Don Quixote*, *The Golden Ass*, the collections of tales from the East? Or for the true novel must we wait for the eighteenth century and the solidification of middle-class wives as the novel-reading audience?

What is the legitimate length for a novel? Anything from 20,000 to 2,000,000 words can apparently be proved by the record. How about content, subject-matter, and purpose? It seems impossible to fix a boundary. On those shelves that are labeled "Novels" by the librarian, we can discover the most literal history and the most fantastic fiction; sociology and nonsense; the sober account of an industry or a migration alongside a wild myth; pure fun next to careful psychology. This "novel" aims to instruct us; that one, to inspire; this other, merely to amuse.

From about the beginning of the twentieth century, some novels have performed, or sought to perform, a still deeper function. They have expressed, in a wide and general way, an interpretation of "the meaning of life": this is, a philosophy. Novels in the past, like other major forms of literature, have often implied a particular philosophic outlook. That is inevitable. In our time novelists like Proust, Joyce, Mann, Dreiser, Waugh (at least in *Brideshead Revisited* and the new *Men at Arms*), Martin du Gard, Graham Greene, or François Mauriac have done considerably more than this. They have made philosophy an explicit subject-matter of their books.

This may have happened because most of the formal philosophers simultaneously abandoned the attempt to write about the general "meaning of life." In line with the historic trend toward the division and specialization of knowledge, philosophers narrowed themselves down to detailed problems of logic, methodology, or at most epistemology. Many of them even reached the extraordinary conclusion that the great general problems that had always occupied the philosophers of the past—of truth, reality, God, man, immortality, freedom—are "meaningless." These problems cannot, of course, be shoved off the board by such a semantic trick. Men will continue to ask them, whatever

the formal philosophers say, and will continue to demand answers. The novelists have been supplying some of the unfulfilled demand on the metaphysical market.

The *Quest* has already been noticed in the columns of the *FREEMAN* of November 2. (*The Quest*, by Elisabeth Langgässer, 370 pp., Alfred A. Knopf, \$4.00) I wish to discuss it further in a context somewhat different from what was presupposed by Mr. Stuhlmann's review.

This extraordinary, beautiful, and most harrowing book is quite openly "philosophical," or (more strictly) theological. The English title accurately places the book's fable as a variant of the endlessly recurrent quest legend: the search for the Grail; or, as is incorporated in the German title, the Journey of the Argonauts.

It is a complex and difficult book. To read it well, we must be willing to take much time, and most of us will have to use a classical dictionary and an encyclopedia.

I do not wish to pretend that as yet I sufficiently understand *The Quest*. I should like, however, to note what, on this first acquaintance, seems to me to be its "theme" or "meaning" in the general philosophic sense. Of course, to translate this meaning into a brief explicit statement gravely distorts it. The whole complex structure of the book is what expresses the full meaning.

Miss Langgässer begins with ruined Europe, the ruined West. She places it before herself, and before us, in its most terrible form: Berlin, both physically and spiritually ruined by Nazism, the bombs, the death camps, the Red soldiers.

The problem then becomes: is there any way in which I can reconcile myself to these ruins, this horror, to the nihilism in the heart of the West?

The classic myths and even the magical allusions seem to suggest the first stage of the answer. It is pride and sentimentality, mere subjective illusion, to suppose that the present is singled out as a unique chamber of horrors. It has always been so. This is the valley of the shadow, the condition of Fallen Man. And, as if to sum up, we suddenly read a passing mention that the Trojan War was the most terrible war of the West—no doubt because it is the archetype war, the pattern war of the basic myth, and is thus all wars.

We are raised from immersion in the immediate, egoistic, and local. What, then, is our attitude

to be toward this unending ruin of the world? One of the pilgrims, the returned soldier, Friedrich am Ende, seeks to reject and deny it in the Nirvana of the East, which he tries to find in a crystal ball that he picked up in a chapel destroyed by cannon fire. But this crystal ball turns out to be a bead on a rosary: a link on the chain, that is to say, which leads to the Cross.

Miss Langgässer's answer is that of the strictest Christian, specifically Catholic, orthodoxy. The two ignorant peasant nuns ("two towers on invisible feet") are absolutely uncompromising. Lotte Corneli has been having an affair with her fellow-pilgrim, Albrecht Beifuss. She discusses it sarcastically with Pat, and asks sharply:

"Why are you clutching your rosary? Are you afraid of me?"

"It's not you I'm afraid of," replied Pat unmoved, with a look of incomprehension. Metaphorical language was quite beyond her utterly simple, unimaginative mind. "But I am afraid of Satan, for whom you are playing the Corn Woman."

"I am a witch then, am I not?" returned Lotte Corneli. "And I should really be burned? Don't you think so?"

"That is not necessary," replied Pat. "You are burning already. But the others should be warned not to come near you," she added candidly. "Herr Beifuss especially. I am sorry for him." . . .

"What do you know—" asked Lotte contemptuously.

"What one needs to know in order to get to heaven," said the tall Pat.

It is generally forgotten that over the gates of Dante's Hell were inscribed not merely the familiar lines, but also a far harder announcement: "Justice moved my High Creator; the Divine Power and the Primal Love made me." What an infinite affront, to propose this as a "cure" for modern man: that he should not only acknowledge the existence of Hell, probe its awful geography to the uttermost limits, but should *therefore* rejoice, should proclaim that Hell *also* makes manifest God's Beauty and Love!

While the city was destroyed around it in flames, its own yard burned, while the invaders came shooting, raping, and smashing, the convent's "daily routine suffered not the slightest interruption. . . Not a hair from any head, not a sparrow from the roof. This too passed. The noise of war died away and left in its wake, like the tide on the sand, nothing but gratitude and remembrance and the feeling of a gracious Providence." Over the altar of the convent, the pilgrims at last were able to read the inscription: *Gratias agamus Deo Domine nostro*, and Father Mamertus noted in his journal: "The course of the globe-encircling *Argo* also traversed countries and ages. It even led down to the underworld and finally out beyond space and time. . . Who has ever reached shore without having been shipwrecked? Who has had the joy of finding his way home again without having known the wild despair of losing his way?"

Ignazio Silone's new novel is also "philosophical." (*A Handful of Blackberries*, by Ignazio Silone, translated by Darina Silone, 314 pp. Harper and Brothers, \$3.50.) Its ideas are bland when tasted after the subtle, fiery food of *The Quest*. Silone, as is well known, was for many years an active Communist. He broke organizationally some years ago, but Communism and the Communist Party remain the axis of his spiritual being. The scene of his present book is the mountainous Abruzzi countryside of *Fontamara*, *Bread and Wine*, and *The Seed Beneath the Snow*. Many of the characters are almost the same as those found in the earlier novels: the earthy, impoverished, and comic peasants; small-time village bureaucrats; genial outlaws; a wicked local landlord; a "good" (*i.e.*, anti-clerical) priest; a noble and wronged younger peasant; Communists and ex-Communists.

The protagonist this time is Rocco de Donatis, an educated young man of a good local family, presumably representing Silone himself. The date is shortly after the war. Rocco has been a Communist, and a Partisan leader. He takes a trip behind the Iron Curtain, and comes back disillusioned. He breaks with the Party, but his girl, Stella, orphaned daughter of a refugee Jew from Vienna, stays in for a while longer. She finds herself trapped into a frame-up which the Party engineers against Rocco, and in her remorse has a physical and nervous breakdown. The Party now turns its apparatus of character assassination and frame-up against the two of them. Nevertheless, by the end of the book, Rocco has managed to construct a house for a relative, and to lead an apparently successful peasant action.

Don Nicola, the priest says of Rocco:

Rocco was born with an evident vocation for religious life. He was the object of the clearest call from God that I have ever witnessed. That he did not follow it is one of those mysteries that only God can explain and judge. But although he did not obey his vocation he has constantly demanded from secular life the absolute quality that he could have found only in a monastery. For this reason he is in a tragic, absurd situation, much harder to solve than any living in sin.

We cannot help speculating whether this may not be the way in which Silone sees himself. In any case, whether his present situation is tragic or not, it certainly seems untenable. Neither in his books nor in his public conduct as an active Italian politician does Silone seem able to think his way through. For a good many years half of him has been still stuck in the Communist mud, while the other half is gasping in the free air. He seems unable to pull himself all the way out, and unwilling to sink back.

*A Handful of Blackberries* includes much discussion of the nature of the Party. For both Rocco and Stella, the reasons for breaking with it always boil down to a single one: the Party does not

treat human beings as human. Rocco, states one of the orthodox Communists, "is a tormented man, an individualist. He wouldn't admit that human problems can't be solved by human beings, but only by the Party. . . Are you so worried about what happens to him?" The priest remarks of the noble young peasant: "I'd find it ridiculous, almost frivolous in fact, to define his case as 'common' or just 'political.' If you come to think of it, he's neither one nor the other. He's just Martino."

But what has caused this fatal flaw in the Party? Silone's only explanation is that, from being "the Persecuted," the Party, gaining power first in Russia and then throughout the world, has become "the Persecutor." The Communist is a good man, with good intentions and principles, who by a nonessential accident has gone wrong. Neither in this book nor anywhere else does Silone ever seriously undertake an examination of the fundamental theory, integral methods, and basic history of the Communist enterprise. His own explanation of the Party's "badness" is ridiculously inadequate.

Having failed to face the truth about the dark woods of Communism—that is, having failed to come to terms with his own past—Silone is correlative unable to discern a path toward the bright star. His alternative, as so far presented, can be made to sound humanly attractive, but when offered as a possible "way of life," is no more than sentimentality. It can be summed up as an emotional identification with the very poor, and an acceptance of true friendship. The incident that gives the book its title becomes, since it is unrelated to any structure of ideas and values, rather mawkish:

Only then did Rocco notice that one of Martino's hands, resting on his knees, was full of blackberries. "I picked them on the way up," said Martino. "It was still light. The hedges up here are laden with them. As a boy, in summertime, I often had nothing else to eat with my stale bread but blackberries gathered from the hedges. Do you want to taste them? Have some."

Silone is at his best in this book and in the others (as in his personal conversation, for that matter) when he is telling un-ideologized stories about his peasants and busybodies. I hope that next time he will leave ideas out.

A posthumous book by Dr. Alexis Carrel, the Nobel prize winner whose *Man the Unknown* became an unexpected best seller twenty years ago, also ponders the first and last things. (*Reflections on Life*, by Alexis Carrel, translated by Antonia White, 205 pp., Hawthorn Books, \$3.00.) To the usual standards of liberal modern man, his conclusions are almost as sharply offensive as those implicit in *The Quest*. His view is somber indeed:

Through its own fault, civilized humanity has brought immense catastrophe upon itself. . . The

fact is that human life is not a success. One might say that it has run into an impasse as at the time when creative evolution produced the dinosaurs, those gigantic beasts with small heads who were incapable of adapting themselves.

He does not believe that the outlook is absolutely hopeless, but he is sure that only the most drastic methods will now serve.

Carrel's philosophy is in reality a neo-Aristotelianism. Modern man, searching for softness, material profit, physical pleasure, has become divorced from the laws of life. These must be based on the nature of man and society, and thus must be truly scientific. Science has smashed the traditional rules of conduct, and has brought mastery of the material world. Science has not been applied to human conduct, the most important field, by far, of all. Modern man thinks that he is being scientific about conduct, but he is really appealing to ideologies—such as Bentham's, Marx's, or Freud's—not to true science.

"The secret of life is to be found in life itself; in the full organic, intellectual, and spiritual activities of our body." This is Aristotle's "actualization of potentialities." The general principle is amplified into three laws, "different aspects of one and the same thing": the Law of Preservation of Life; the Law of Propagation of Race; the Law of the Ascendance of Mind. By a tour de force comparable in contemporary terms with what the thirteenth century neo-Aristotelians achieved in their scientific language, Dr. Carrel finds these laws most fully realized in Christian doctrine and ideal Christian practice.

Carrel's point of view was undoubtedly reactionary; and, especially after his return to Vichy, France, was considered fascist by many liberals. However strange it may seem in the light of some of his conclusions, he was both a brilliant practicing scientist and a passionate believer in science. But he rejected "Scientism" and refused to be an ideologist of Science:

Science has opened up to man a realm which is marvelous but full of dangers. . . Up to now, science has not yet brought us any effective aid in conducting our lives. Instead of asking it for light, we have used it to exploit nature to our own profit. Thus it has taught us nothing about the subject of our true destiny. As a guide, it has shown itself inferior to intuition, tradition, and religious revelation.

---

## To the Envious

Aphrodite, more beautiful than wise,  
would have done well declining Paris' prize.  
Honors, however a resplendent loot,  
the deeper bite reveals as bitter fruit;  
the mouth grows puckered tasting an award  
that proves to be the Apple of Discord.

SJANNA SOLUM

## From Tsar to Commissar

**Russia: A History and an Interpretation**, by Michael T. Florinsky. Two volumes, 1,587 pp. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$15.00

Although there has been a considerable outpouring of books about various aspects of the Soviet Union, the field of general Russian history has been somewhat neglected in the English language. This is an additional reason for welcoming the appearance of a work so scholarly, balanced, and thoroughly readable that it may well become a standard in its field.

Professor Florinsky, a Russian by birth who has been teaching at Columbia for the last two decades, devoted more than twenty years to the preparation of this work. His bibliography of source material takes up thirty pages of text and lists almost every major work dealing with Russian history in Russian and other languages. And the author is always master of his material. The narrative flows easily; there is excellent balance between the political, economic, and cultural aspects of his vast subject.

Professor Florinsky is no dry-as-dust chronicler; he shows a keen sense for irony, tragedy, and drama. But the work is never cheapened or vulgarized by lurid sensationalism and the author shows no tendency to mount the hobbyhorse of some special theory. Indeed, if this admirable work is open to criticism, it might be on the ground that more generalized interpretation of the narrative would have been warranted and welcome.

Often, to be sure, the narrative requires no interpreter to point its moral. One can foresee the destiny of Russia in the twentieth century in its experiences under the Muscovite state of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Consider the following description of administrative methods under Ivan the Terrible:

"Upon the slightest suspicion and on any pretext men of the highest standing were arrested, deported or put to death. . . . It seems reasonably clear that Ivan's disposition prevented him from trusting anyone for long."

Under the Muscovite state, under the Western veneer which was imported into Russia by Peter the Great, under the Communist dictatorship Russia presents the same essential picture: a land ruled by cruelty, espionage, and terror, where the people fear the rulers and the rulers fear the people.

Some of Florinsky's comments on the Muscovite state could be applied without changing a syllable to the Soviet state. Its whole trend was toward a bound society, "whose members were firmly attached to their habitat and status and assigned definite duties."

There was a remarkable cultural flowering of Russia in the nineteenth century and there were some political and economic alleviations; but these were in the nature of too little and too late. As the author shows, the liberation of the serfs in 1861

was accompanied by many drawbacks, of which the most pronounced was the continued enslavement of the liberated serf to his village community. The sure and true basis of resistance to Communism is not any kind of socialism, but individual freedom, political, economic, and cultural. Far too few Russians possessed this freedom in 1917.

To the question whether Communism was inevitable Professor Florinsky replies in the negative. He believes that a government with sufficient courage and insight to give the land to the peasants and to stop the war in 1917 could have checkmated Lenin and his coup d'état. But once Communist absolutism had established itself in the place of tsarist absolutism a tragic reenactment of some of the darkest aspects of the tyranny of tsars like Ivan the Terrible followed as naturally as night follows day.

Absolute unlimited power of tsar and commissar has been the tragic figure in the great drama of Russian history, a drama that is far from having run its course, in Russia or in the world. Evidence for this proposition in this impressive work of unimpeachable scholarship is abundant and overwhelming.

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

## Man's Strange Predicament

**The Deep Sleep**, by Wright Morris. 312 pp. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.50

Wright Morris is obviously intrigued by the extraordinary aspects of ordinary life in this country. His sharp but gentle eye, his ability to evoke a specific social atmosphere without succumbing to tedious description, and his precise but never cutting humor have already been demonstrated in *The Works of Love* and *Man and Boy*. Now, in *The Deep Sleep*, his latest novel, Mr. Morris has added another quiet but impressive work to the small shelf of books which probe into the fabric of America without wielding a sociological or political ax.

In *The Deep Sleep* Mr. Morris deals with the phenomenal fact that people can live together for ten, twenty, or even thirty years without ever really knowing each other, without ever being able to look at the same thing through the same eyes. To demonstrate this "strange predicament," which certainly reaches beyond the bounds of his particular American setting, Mr. Morris gently leads us into the old house of a successful and respected lawyer on the Main Line of suburban Philadelphia. The lawyer, Judge Porter, a limited but lovable man, has just passed away. Gathered around are the people he left behind, each one pursuing the tasks of the day with a habitual determination which is only slightly intensified by the presence of the dead man.

It is a memorable array of well-observed charac-

ters: the Judge's mother, a magnificently cranky woman in her late nineties; his confused wife, who, in her own righteous way, had tried to dominate him throughout his life; his daughter and her husband, an artist who never fitted into the Porter fold; and an old hired hand whose worship of the infallibility of Mrs. Porter had made him an integral part of the family. And as the first day after the Judge's death passes in the uneventful casualness of suburban routine (interrupted only by the curious condolences of a few neighbors and a tense trip into town) Mr. Morris skillfully bares the inner fibers of his characters. Suddenly—the story is told from five points of view—it becomes clear that each of the five people has a more or less sharply defined vision of the others, but that nobody sees himself as the others see him, and, for that matter, that each person has a different image of everybody else. "They gazed at the same world," Mr. Morris remarks in the beginning, "but it was clear that they did not see the same things."

All this, however, does not prevent the characters of the book from attaining their own brand of happiness, for, Mr. Morris implies, the mystery of marriage and companionship transcends the realm of human understanding. In pointing this out, Wright Morris has not only created a worthwhile study of a specific American milieu, but he has also proven himself again a competent and sensitive, if not very spectacular novelist.

GUNTHER STUHLMANN

## Red Anti-Semitism

**The Jews in the Soviet Satellites**, by Peter Meyer, Bernard D. Weinryb, Eugene Duschinsky, and Nicolas Sylvain. 637 pp. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press. \$6.50

With this volume the American Jewish Committee completes the massive study launched in 1951 by the publication of Solomon M. Schwartz's *The Jews in the Soviet Union*. Both volumes represent valuable contributions to the writing of contemporary history, and are much wider in scope than their titles would suggest. Judaism is only one of the religions that Moscow has persecuted and subverted, and the Jews are only one of the racial minorities that the Soviet empire has conquered, oppressed, enslaved, or liquidated.

In the earlier book Dr. Schwartz gave us the best available history of Soviet minority policy, of which Stalin was the first administrator. In the present volume its four authors, although they are primarily concerned with the experience of the Jews, have covered a similarly wide ground; in fact they have provided what amounts to politically expert and well-documented accounts of the Communist conquest of the five principal

countries of eastern Europe: Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria.

Peter Meyer's introduction—which might well be reprinted separately for use in college current history courses—is a quick and brilliant review of the history of eastern Europe from World War One to the present. He and his collaborators make it abundantly clear that, if Communist anti-Semitism is less psychopathic than that of Hitler, it is equally cynical and ruthless wherever and whenever Moscow needs a scapegoat to divert attention from its economic and political failures and crimes, or to win totalitarian allies.

Stalin's death appears to have halted the country-by-country spread of anti-Semitic purges, arrests, and deportations that began with the Slansky trial and the arrest of the Jewish doctors in Moscow. But Malenkov and Company have ordained no change in the Kremlin's policies with respect to racial and religious minorities, and no abandonment of Moscow's assiduous cultivation of neo-Nazi, fascist, and reactionary allies in Germany, the Near East and Latin America; nor has there been any genuine relaxation of the economic and social tensions within the Soviet empire of which anti-Semitism is in some degree an expression and a consequence.

"It is a superstition," writes Mr. Meyer, "that totalitarian society eliminates competition. In the general misery and insecurity, competition for better jobs, rations, apartments, and the favor of superiors is murderous in the literal sense of the word. Racial hatred thrives in such an atmosphere of *bellum omnium contra omnes*."

The great anti-Semitic riots in Bratislava in 1948 grew out of a dispute between two housewives over precedence in a shopping queue. Thousands of middle-class Jewish families were deported from Budapest and other Hungarian cities—some of them to slave labor camps in the Soviet Union—to make room for a locust swarm of Russian commissars and technical experts.

In Czechoslovakia, after the Prague trial, the most that the few remaining Jews can hope for is that the regime will again permit them to emigrate. In Poland, even the Yiddish language is now frowned on, and in a typical rewriting of history, the heroic uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto is now credited to the (Communist) Polish Workers Party. In Rumania, most of the middle-class "unproductive elements," totaling over 100,000, who were deported in the spring of 1952 were Jews. In Bulgaria the regime's frantic effort to get rid of its minorities has resulted in the expulsion of Armenians and Turks, as well as Jews, the majority of whom have now succeeded in emigrating.

As Mr. Meyer rightly concludes, a secure, happy, and purposeful life is possible for Jews—as for other people—only under democracy.

JAMES RORTY

## Briefer Mention

**An Autumn in Italy**, by Sean O'Faolain. 207 pp. New York: Devin-Adair Company. \$3.50

This excellent book is a companion to Mr. O'Faolain's *A Summer in Italy*, which dealt with Italy's northern half. *An Autumn in Italy* is a genuine guide, a most useful volume for the traveler in southern Italy. It covers the well-known regions—Capri, the Naples area, Palermo—and also the relatively untoured sections farther south and to the east. At the same time, *An Autumn in Italy* is a work of literary distinction. O'Faolain may have had rotten politics during most of his life, as his long stretch of Communism attests, but he has always been a superb writer.

O'Faolain is interested in everything around him on his journey; sights, smells, people, customs, ideas, churches, freaks, superstitions, mosaics, history, and the connections of all these with each other and with the past and the future. Perhaps he goes a little too deeply into land reform in his last chapters, but even that he connects always with vivid people, the land, the rain, and the whole surface of the sensuous world.

The prose is too delicious not to quote at least a sentence. A sample can be drawn almost at random. Let it be from the quays of Palermo: "I had been reading Kantorowicz on Frederick II, and here, by this old U-shaped harbor, with the tunny fleet in for the winter, and the fluttering crowds squawking like seagulls over the latest catch of fish, and the whole half-bombed, dusty, rubble *quartiere* a babel of loading and unloading, bargaining and carting, making, mending and peddling—the cakelets drop in their sizzling fat, the little white fish are eaten raw—I could easily invoke that royal boy, whom the Empire was so soon to acclaim as *Puer Apuliae*, wandering unheeded among similar crowds. . ."

**Cockney Communist**, by Bob Darke. 190 pp. New York: John Day Company. \$3.00

This is quite unlike any previous book by an ex-Communist. All the others have been written by intellectuals, and in their tone and preoccupations have been typical products of the alienated twentieth-century intellectual. Bob Darke is a workingman, a London bus conductor, who, after a number of years in the British Party, broke finally in the early months of the Korean War.

He tells his story in a straightforward, simple, and utterly convincing way. Nowhere is there a comparable account of what it means to be an ordinary, active Communist Party member. We can learn that the Party has something positive to offer a worker over and above promises for the future. It broadens at least part of his intellectual horizon, and is quick to give him a chance

to use talents that have no outlet in the usual worker's life. We also learn how it gradually crushes the souls of its members.

There is something so honest and decent about this book that it makes one almost ashamed of conventional "anti-Communism." Bob Darke has a *right* to be an anti-Communist. So does his loyal wife who, when the reporters told her the news of his break, said: "Thank God it's all over."

**The Big Picture**, by David Cort. 269 pp. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$3.50

From 1932 to 1946 David Cort worked for the Luce organization, and for ten of these years was foreign editor of *Life*. His publishers say that he "gave up an established editorial position to pursue the kind of writing for which he had never found time." It is hard to see why, because what he has written in *The Big Picture* seems exactly in the Luce manner, for better and for worse.

The idea of the book is apparently to locate mid-twentieth-century man in the spot that he occupies on the big picture of the universe that is mapped by mid-twentieth-century science. To this end, Mr. Cort summarizes in clear Lucelike journalese miscellaneous generalizations of various sciences. We learn that the Pyrenean ibex and African quagga have disappeared as species, and that in a medieval castle the baron's rooms were at the end of the Hall opposite to the service quarters. The net result is a jumble worse than a teen-ager's room during a busy vacation.

Mr. Cort not only fails to give the answers. He does not even ask the questions. To judge from the chapter which he devotes to the subject, about Love he knows even less than Dr. Kinsey.

**The Shame of New York**, by Ed Reid. 234 pp. New York: Random House. \$3.00

"The people must not only believe, they must remember what they have been told over and over. . . that there is a crime syndicate and it is threatening their moral and economic values. . . [It] is as great a menace to the welfare of our country as the Communist Party." With this alarming idea in mind, Ed Reid, Pulitzer Prize-winning crime reporter of Harry Gross exposure fame, has compiled a quick run-down of what he calls the "inside story" of New York's "secret Crime Kingdom." But Mr. Reid's breezy account of probes and personalities, of the time-tested link between the Mafia-ruled Mob syndicate and machine politics and politicians, adds little save an unsubstantiated *Almanach de Gotha* of thugs and a few court transcriptions to an already familiar record. Had Mr. Reid not been content to prove his notion that there is a crime syndicate but explored it further, he might have come up with a better book.

# ***You, Too, Can Be an Educator!***

An educator is someone who passes on knowledge to others. You, too, can become an educator by passing along the knowledge you gain from reading the FREEMAN. To make this easy for you, our reprint department prepares inexpensive reprints of articles and editorials which our readers have considered especially important. You can pass on these reprints to your friends and help combat leftist propaganda and spread the facts about the real issues of today. Why not order a supply now?

## **How to Save Taft-Hartley**

*By Joseph H. Ball*

The Republicans may vote a return to something more biased than the old Wagner Act unless an aroused public opinion makes its views known.

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

## **Changing the Labor Law**

*By Leo Wolman*

More information on this vital law and some excellent suggestions for an effective federal policy.

Single copy: \$.10; 12 copies \$1.00; 100 copies \$5.00; 1,000 copies \$40.00.

## **Two Sides to a Strike**

*By Leo Wolman*

The recent strike at Edison in Southern California shows how a conflict of rights can be settled justly and without government intervention.

Single copy: \$.10; 25 copies \$1.00; 100 copies \$3.00; 1,000 copies \$25.00.

## **A Union Builds Up an Industry**

*By Frank J. Taylor*

Union tile layers in Los Angeles have created work for themselves by boosting their employers. An example of constructive labor relations.

Single copy: \$.10; 12 copies \$1.00; 100 copies \$5.00; 1,000 copies \$40.00.

Write to: Reprint Department

**The FREEMAN, 240 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.**





# What's in a Hit?

By SERGE FLIEGERS



Along Broadway, "hit" is a mystical term. Anywhere else, it is a three-letter word meaning impact. But when applied to a Broadway show it becomes the magic seal of Solomon, the difference between abject failure and vertiginous success. A hit makes stars out of strugglers, turns producers into potentates, and creates mountains of money out of molehill investments. Yet there is no established committee of experts or system of procedure that attaches this precious epithet to a particular piece of entertainment. The theater-going public has little say in the matter, for usually a play becomes a flop or a hit on opening night before most theatergoers have had a chance to see it. The critics sometimes agree that a show is good, and this helps. But their verdict is seldom unanimous and, anyway, they rarely employ the word "hit." Press agents, on the other hand, seem to be infatuated with the word, but their opinion generally carries little weight. Neither press agents, players, nor producers are willing to go on record in answer to the question: "What makes a hit?" "A humming box office makes a hit," they say. But what makes a box office hum?

After a look at the theatrical record, this reviewer would like to venture the definition that a hit is any vehicle starring Ethel Merman and featuring the music of Irving Berlin. This, in fact, makes a "sure-fire hit." The above ingredients can easily be varied by substituting Mary Martin or Rosalind Russell for Miss Merman, and Rodgers and Hammerstein or Cole Porter for Mr. Berlin. And if you leave out the music, you still have a hit if it stars perhaps the Lunts or the Harrisons. In more general terms, a play has a good chance of becoming a hit on Broadway if it has a top-line star to bring in advance bookings, and a plot that pleases the critics and keeps the audience comfortably happy or sad—as the case may be. Like all good formulas, this one cannot be expected to work all the time. T. S. Eliot, that unpredictable

gentleman, turned out a Broadway hit without stars and—in the opinion of many—without a plot. Moreover, each season we are delighted to see our system upset by "surprise" or "runaway hits," shows that do not follow the tried-and-true formula, shows that produce their own stars and their own successful playwrights who, in time, will undoubtedly evolve their own formulas.

*Tea and Sympathy* is technically the first hit of the 1953-54 season. It is moreover a combination of the "sure-fire" and the "surprise" hit, and a happy combination at that. Deborah Kerr, of Hollywood and London fame, is the star who stimulated advance sales. But Robert Anderson, who wrote this competent and engrossing study of life and love in an Eastern prep school, is a newcomer to Broadway success and a man who scorns formulas. John Kerr, the male lead of the play, defined it best to us when he said: "*Tea and Sympathy* is a hit—but an unpretentious hit."

In the case of John Kerr—no relation to Deborah, by the way—there is certainly no pretentiousness. Jack, as he prefers to be called, is a shy, good-looking fellow who will be twenty-two next month. He seems unperturbed, so far, by the autograph seekers, interviewers, admirers, and promoters who gravitate to a Broadway hit. He is more interested in his Russian studies at Columbia than in the search for greasepaint glamor. Deborah Kerr, too, shuns pretense. She also shuns all visitors with the general excuse that she is suffering from "post-premiere fatigue." According to her publicity man, this a state of suspended social animation achieved by a female star who has three movies and a theatrical hit running in New York at the same time. Even playwright Robert Anderson, whose success has won him membership in the profitable Playwrights Company, refuses to be pretentious. "I'm not Arthur Miller," he explains. "I leave the big things to Arthur and con-

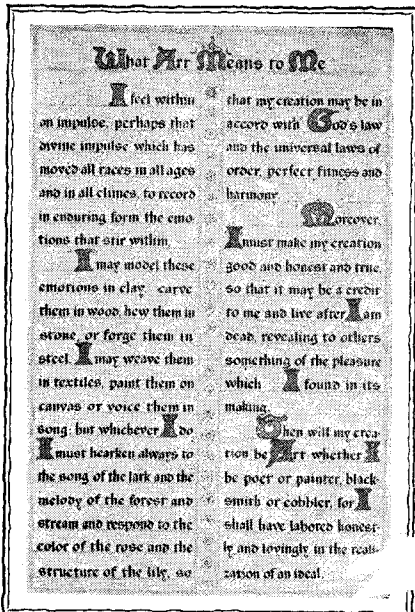
centrate on the little things." But he quickly adds: "After all, it's the little things that make up life."

Anderson wrote *Tea and Sympathy* as the result of a crush—a purely artistic crush, that is—he developed for Miss Kerr when she appeared in a radio play he had written. Around her "cool, crisp, yet sympathetic personality" he wove the story of a boy in an exclusive boarding school who is falsely accused of homosexuality. Tom Lee, played by John Kerr, is a shy youngster who likes classical music, has no girl friends, and is considered by his companions to be an "off-horse." When he goes swimming with an instructor who befriends him, they are quick to accuse him of being a "queer." He is hounded by the boys, abandoned by his roommate, and viciously persecuted by his housemaster, well acted by Leif Erickson. His only support comes from Laura, the housemaster's wife, who in her own way is an "off-horse" too. As adversities pile up, the boy and the woman draw closer together and a rich, tender love story develops between them.

Since the role of Laura was written for Miss Kerr, she cannot go wrong in it and gives an even performance highlighted less by her emotions than by her perfect diction. Strangely enough, Miss Kerr took the role because she wanted to break a Hollywood rut that always cast her as a Mrs. Miniver. Yet she's just that in *Tea and Sympathy*: a junior Mrs. Miniver, and she's more convincing in that type than as a seductress in *From Here to Eternity* or the ideal marital companion in *Dream Wife*.

The best acting by far comes from John Kerr. It is difficult to discern because the role parallels his outward personality so closely: he went to Exeter and is a bit of an "off-horse" himself. It is only when one remembers that last year Mr. Kerr excelled as an exuberant and care-free adolescent in *Bernardine* that one realizes the depth and diversity of his acting.

Whether it is the acting, or the tight and imaginative direction of Elia Kazan, or the fast-paced writing of Mr. Anderson, or a combination of these three, *Tea and Sympathy* gets across to the audience and keeps it alternately chuckling



Every man who takes  
**REAL PRIDE IN HIS WORK**  
 will enjoy owning this original, inspiring  
**CRAFTSMAN'S CREED**  
 "What Art Means to Me"

Beautifully hand-lettered and illuminated, lithographed in five colors and gold on heavy parchment stock, 8 3/4 x 13, ready to frame. Only \$1.00 each; six for \$5.00. Postpaid anywhere in U. S. or possessions. Ideal for gifts.

Order from  
**GEORGE E. JUDD**  
 Route 3, Box 626  
 Fort Myers, Florida



**What  
 Price  
 Israel . . .**

**for the United States  
 in the Middle East?  
 for one million Arab refugees?  
 for American Jewry?**

This is the book no Christian American could write. Alfred M. Lilienthal, an American of Jewish faith, indicts international Zionism with its accompanying pressures: dual loyalties, the Jewish vote, the racial myth, smears and fears, the information blackout. This is the story of the creation of Israel, from the aged duality of Jewry through the Balfour declaration and the United Nations partition to the present unrest in the Arab and Moslem worlds. Mr. Lilienthal points to the present confusion of religion and politics. Israel, he insists, must be viewed in a proper perspective to free American foreign policy and permit Judaism to survive as a universal faith. **\$3.95**

At all bookstores

**HENRY REGNERY COMPANY**  
 20 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4

and dabbing at its eyes. Mr. Anderson cleverly sinks in his Freudian darts, then covers them up with laughs and humorous situations that seem to be a hangover from his radio-writing days. And although his play is less profound than, let's say, Eliot's *Cocktail Party*, it is less crass than *End as a Man* [reviewed in the issue of November 2]. Thus it keeps the audience comfortably happy or sad—as the case may be. And that, after all, is what an honest hit is supposed to do.

**FROM OUR READERS**

Reading your editorial in the October 19 issue on Mr. Earl Warren's political success, one may well infer that people east of the Rockies are laboring under a misapprehension. Mr. Warren's success in three gubernatorial campaigns was due, not to his popularity, but to the unpopularity of his opponents. To many voters he was the lesser of two evils. They wanted no part of Olson, Kenny, or Jimmie Roosevelt.

Had the Democrats, in any of those campaigns, put up as a candidate a man of even moderate ability and acceptable character and political philosophy, Mr. Warren would have gone down to defeat, despite his affable personality and reputation for decency and honesty.

RICHARD H. CREEL  
 San Francisco, Cal.

**Author's Request**

I am presently engaged in writing a biography of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. Perhaps some of your readers might have some material they would like me to see, correspondence, clippings, articles, etc. Anything sent to me will, of course, be returned.

c/o The Westmore VICTOR LASKY  
 333 West 57 Street  
 New York 19, N.Y.

**Morals and Dr. Kinsey**

I think the FREEMAN is wonderful. . . but I can't buy the book review on the Kinsey report [October 19].

This can hardly be called a review. It is more an exposition of the reviewer's ideas about morality. His statement that "perhaps all the moralists ought to write their sex chapters over again" is a dilly. Just because 5,940 women revealed some of their

secrets to Kinsey's researchers does not mean that the natural or moral law has changed. It is just as wrong today to be immoral as it was last year, the year before, or 1,000 years ago.

Scranton, Pa.

F. K. MAHER

**With Hitler Against Russia?**

In your issue of October 6, James Burnham, in his article "On the Rewriting of History," writes: "That something went wrong with United States policy immediately before, during, and just after World War Two is no longer in dispute. . . It is further agreed that . . . the primary human cause was an incorrect estimate of the Soviet Union and of world Communism on the part of those who were

world Communism we would not have gone to war against Hitler, and that American policy before the war should have been to let Hitler conquer Europe and Russia, or perhaps even assist him in conquering Russia? Many people who write just the way Mr. Burnham does in this article seem to hold this position, and I think Mr. Burnham has a duty to his readers to make it clear whether this is also the position he takes or whether there is not a different interpretation that can be put on the passage I have quoted.

Bellerose, N.Y.

NATHAN GLAZER

**Mr. Burnham Replies**

Of course there is no general agreement on the propositions that Mr. Glazer states. Within the context of the article my meaning was a bare minimum that I will here put in the words of Jules Monnerot: "The great allied leaders were the victims of an illusion. . . These people thought that Bolshevism, as it stabilized its power, would become 'bourgeois'. . . 'The united struggle against fascism' upheld this illusion during the 1930s, but it remained to be seen whether, in reality, we were fighting against fascism in the name of an Anglo-Saxon type of democracy or in the name of fascism's rival, totalitarianism."

Kent, Conn.

JAMES BURNHAM

**The Social Democratic Dilemma**

I think that Norbert Muhlen's intelligent analysis of "The Defeat of German Socialism" in the FREEMAN of October 19 is perhaps one of the best expositions of the dilemma and the ultimate failure of "democratic socialism" in Germany.

New York City

CHARLES HUFFERT

# **100,000,000 gallons of water a day for a yarn?**

Yes, for a cellulose acetate filament rayon yarn produced by the Celanese Corporation of America!

Four big Fairbanks-Morse Pomona Turbine Pumps tap the Catawba River for the huge Celriver plant down in the Carolinas . . . where the chemical operations demand a hundred million gallons of water a day.

Fairbanks-Morse Performance—so often the answer to Industry's problems.

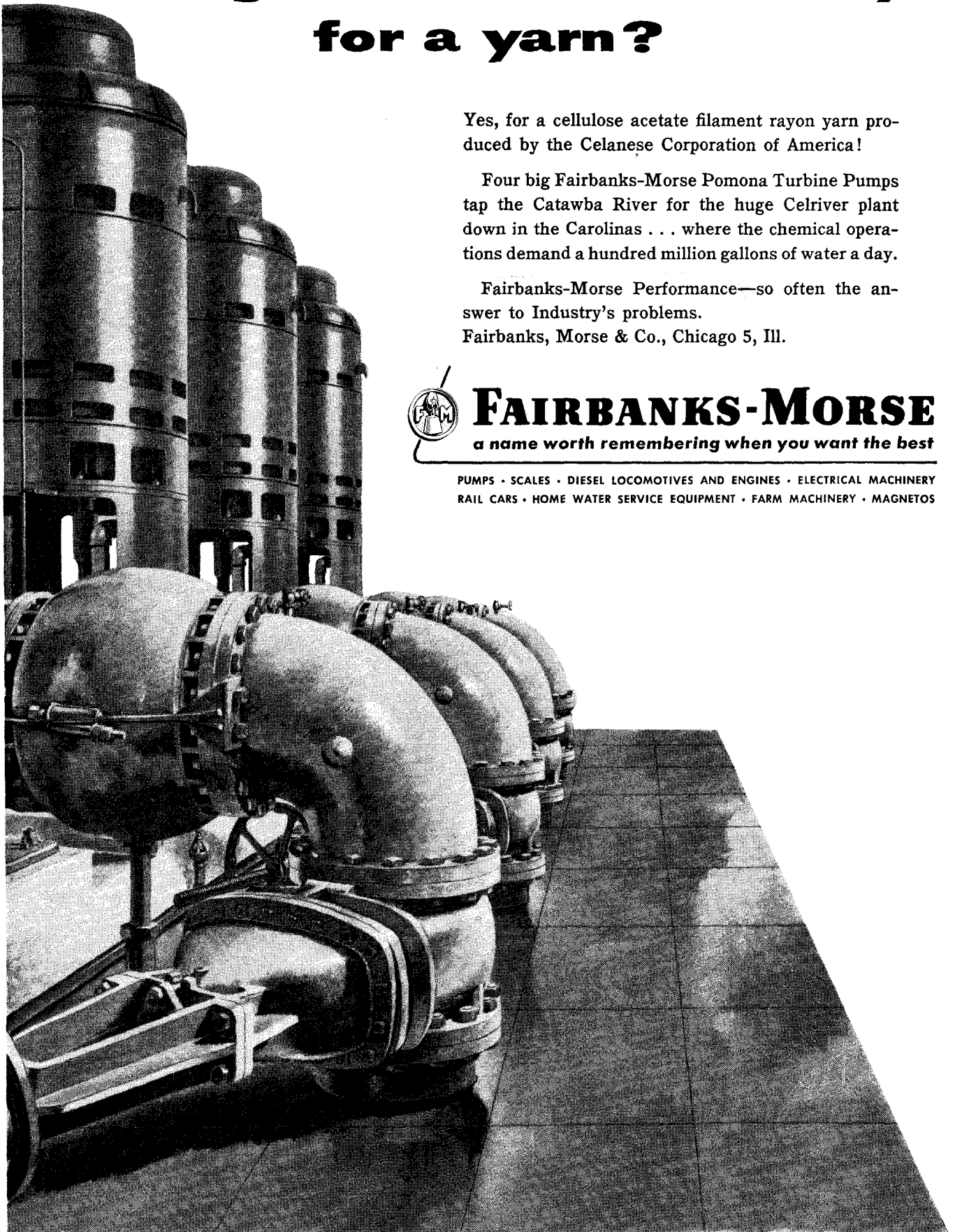
Fairbanks, Morse & Co., Chicago 5, Ill.

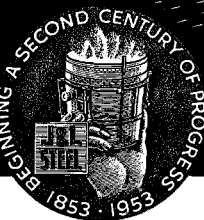


## **FAIRBANKS-MORSE**

*a name worth remembering when you want the best*

PUMPS • SCALES • DIESEL LOCOMOTIVES AND ENGINES • ELECTRICAL MACHINERY  
RAIL CARS • HOME WATER SERVICE EQUIPMENT • FARM MACHINERY • MAGNETOS





ROLLING SLABS AT J&L'S PITTSBURGH WORKS. Men in the pulpit operate controls that move the white-hot ingot to the rolls of J&L's new blooming mill. The ingot on successive passes is rolled into a slab.

## In steel's blooming mill . . . your future takes shape!

**I**NGOTS OF STEEL—fiery hot from the soaking pits—enter the mill where they will be squeezed by powerful rolls into masses known as “slabs” or “blooms.”

This is the first of a variety of forming operations that steel passes through on its way from furnace to fabricator to ultimate use by you. In

steel's blooming mill your future takes shape. Your work, your play, and your freedom depend upon the ingots that pass through the rolls of the blooming mill. Nearly everything you own has some steel in it or relies upon steel for its manufacture.

At J&L, steel-making is geared to the ever-growing importance of pro-

ducing more and better steels. For one hundred years, the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation has been pioneering in the steel business. Today finds J&L mills and finishing operations expanded and modernized. Jones & Laughlin's long-range planning has an eye on future problems and demands.

**JONES & LAUGHLIN STEEL CORPORATION**  
PITTSBURGH