

THE
Freeman

NOVEMBER 2, 1953

25¢

Europe's Self-Made Handcuffs

Henry Hazlitt

The Delinquent Liberals

Max Eastman

The Rights and Wrongs of Labor

Donald Richberg

Our Highest Court

John Hanna

Somber Present, Gay Past

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THE Freeman

*A Fortnightly
For
Individualists*

Editor HENRY HAZLITT
Managing Editor FLORENCE NORTON

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Our Contributors

M. K. ARGUS, a Russian by birth, a journalist by trade, devotes his major literary efforts to being satirically critical of the tyrants that have taken over his native land and of their American protégés and apologists. In what time is left over he writes with warm, yet barbed humor of his fellow Russians in America, of which his recent book, *A Rogue with Ease*, published in September, is an example.

JOHN HANNA has had a distinguished career as a practicing lawyer and as an author and teacher. He was special assistant to the U.S. Attorney General in 1919. Since 1931 he has been professor of law at Columbia University.

DONALD R. RICHBERG's name is practically synonymous with labor legislation in America. He was co-author of the Railway Labor Act passed by Congress in 1926 and of the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933. From 1933 to 1935 he served as General Counsel of NRA and as its Chairman in the latter year. His present article, "The Rights and Wrongs of Labor" (p. 89), includes the substance of a recent address delivered to the Industrial Research Institute.

JO HINDMAN, in answer to our request for biographical material, reports from Inglewood, California, a variety of activities as community worker, editor, writer, publicist (including a \$3,000,000 school bond election). "My current interest in school subjects," she writes, "stems from the fact that my three children are now going through grade school." She is a regular contributor of both fiction and non-fiction to a number of national magazines.

GUNTHER STUHLMANN, formerly on the editorial staff of *Der Monat* in Berlin, has been Associate Editor of the *American Mercury* and Editor of *Magazine Digest*.

MABEL TRAVIS WOOD, Production Editor of the *Freeman*, was previously Managing Editor of *Plain Talk* and Associate Editor of *Encore*.

CORRECTION: In our last issue Helmut Schoeck was mistakenly described as a professor at Yale University. He is a Visiting Research Fellow.

Among Ourselves

True to our promise in our September 21 issue, we are publishing herein Mr. Hazlitt's report on his recent European trip. Our readers might be interested to know just how up-to-the-minute it really is. Almost before he had deplaned on American soil and long before he had become "reconditioned" (as he put it) to American time, Mr. Hazlitt was faced with a deadline and a typewriter and that promise to fulfill. For the result, see "Europe's Self-Made Handcuffs," on page 83.

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before
Congress
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by returning to the
GOLD COIN STANDARD?

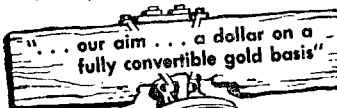
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FROM OUR READERS

From an Economics Professor

Emil Reeve, chairman of the C. I. O. policy committee, told the Senate Banking and Currency Committee that the raising of interest rates on government debt is just another action "to make life more pleasant for the nation's private bankers."

This seems to represent about the ultimate limit in political mudslinging. C. I. O. leaders cannot be so ignorant or stupid, or even so blinded by self-interest and prejudice, as not to know what is self-evident. The "private bankers" have opposed this change. They will lose more or less heavily by it through depreciation of their bond holdings. Further, a primary objective in bringing the rates closer to those of the open capital market—the only "honest" rates—has been to get

(Continued on p. 106)

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 of the *Freeman Magazine* with which is combined the magazine *Plain Talk*, published fortnightly at Orange, Connecticut, for October 1, 1953. 1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: *Publisher*, The Freeman Magazine, Inc., 240 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.; *Editor*, Henry Hazlitt, 240 Madison Avenue; *Managing Editor*, Florence Norton, 240 Madison Avenue; *Business Manager*, John W. Day, 240 Madison Avenue. 2. The owners are: The Freeman Magazine, Inc., 240 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.; Henry Hazlitt, 37 Washington Square West, New York 11, N.Y.; Dr. Ludwig von Mises, 777 West End Avenue, New York 25, N.Y.; Leonard Read, Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y.; Dr. Donald J. Cowling, 926 Northwestern Bank Bldg., Minneapolis 2, Minn.; Dr. Stewart M. Robinson, Second Presbyterian Church, Elizabeth, N.J.; Henning W. Prentis, Jr., Chairman of the Board, Armstrong Cork Company, Inc., Lancaster, Pa.; Dr. Leo Wolman, Professor of Economics, Columbia University, New York 27, N.Y.; W. F. Peter, Vice President and General Counsel, Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railroad, Chicago 3, Ill.; Dean Roscoe Pound, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass.; Lawrence Fertig, 149 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.; Dr. Claude Robinson, President, Opinion Research Corporation, 44 Nassau St., Princeton, N.J.; John Hill, Hill & Knowlton, Empire State Bldg., New York 1, N.Y.; Alex Hillman, Hillman Periodicals, Inc. 535 Fifth Avenue, N.Y. 17, N.Y.; Kurt Lassen, Young & Rubicam, 285 Madison Ave., New York 17, N.Y. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders, owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None. 4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs shows the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

John W. Day, *Circulation Manager*, Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25th day of September, 1953. Pasquale J. Fenico, *Notary Public*. (My commission expires March 30, 1954).

THE Freeman

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1953

The Fortnight

What was most surprising about the Republican defeat in the Congressional race in the Ninth Wisconsin District was the apparent eagerness of the losers to put the worst interpretation on it. "The results show very clearly," said Arthur Padrutt, the losing Republican, "that the farmer and laboring man do not like the present Administration's policies and took this opportunity to show their displeasure." Certainly at first glance the results seem to warrant this pessimism. The Ninth Wisconsin Congressional District has never before elected a Democrat. In 1950 Representative Hull defeated his Democratic opponent by 81,258 to 43,437. This time the successful Democrat got 57 per cent of the votes. But if the election must be called a resounding Republican defeat, it can hardly be called much of a Democratic triumph. The outcome was chiefly the result of apathy and indifference. Less than 40 per cent of the registered voters went to the polls. The Democratic victor, Lester Johnson, got only about 28,000 votes compared with 81,000 for the victor of 1950. And judging by his campaign, Mr. Johnson may turn out to be as much a maverick to the Democrats as the late Representative Hull was to the Republicans.

What creates most misgivings about the Wisconsin election is the interpretation being placed upon it, by both Republicans and Democrats, as regards future policy. It is being assumed that the voters are unhappy about the Eisenhower Administration not because of its lack of direction and firm principles, its flaccidity in negotiating with the Communists in Korea, or its weakening on its budget promises, but simply because the farmers are not getting big enough handouts from the government. President Eisenhower's speech at Kansas City on October 15 was on the whole guarded, but he did assure his audience that "the price support principle must be a part of any future farm program."

Yet it is precisely the price support principle that is the cause of half the economic mischief in the world. Price supports for producers must be at

the expense either of taxpayers or of consumers, and usually of both. Price supports for farm products mean higher food prices for city workers. And politically you cannot grant price supports to A without eventually being forced to grant them also to B, C, and D. You cannot have farm price supports without further demands for wage increases and further pressure for protective tariffs. For once price subsidies, protection, or supports are granted to one set of producers, there is no economic or moral ground on which they can be refused to other producers. And we come at last to the *reductio ad absurdum* where everybody thinks he ought to be subsidized at the expense of everybody else.

The choice of a new Secretary of Labor has become the occasion for apprehension and prayer. As Thorstein Veblen used to say, when confronted with a promising proposal: "I hope and pray it will succeed; but I pray more than I hope." Something of this mood has greeted the designation of James P. Mitchell to succeed Martin Durkin as head of the troubled Department of Labor. The new Secretary comes into office unfettered by formal affiliation to either a labor union or an employer's association. He has been for many years a professional administrator of labor relations and personnel management. His training and interests qualify him to administer the department with common sense and efficiency. But if he yields to the pressure of special interests, such as have proved a source of turmoil and confusion in the department for many years, runs to Congress with ill-conceived proposals for legislation, and forgets there is such a thing as the public interest, it will be too bad for the Administration, for labor, and for the country.

The cruel and unnecessary ordeal to which 22,500 Chinese and North Korean anti-Communist prisoners are being subjected is a new proof that the fruits of appeasement are always sour. A "neutral" repatriation commission in which pro-Communist India holds the deciding vote has decided almost every disputed point regarding the interrogation of the prisoners according to Communist wishes. The prisoners must attend the "explanations" of the Communist "persuad-

ers." They may not protest or demonstrate. They "may apply for repatriation at any time and at any place"; any unguarded moment of weakness will be exploited. There is a preposterous assumption that these men, who resisted every suggestion of repatriation, really want to go home. This whole sorry business of putting new pressure on men who have certainly suffered enough merely confirms the point that these prisoners should have been released unconditionally long ago and given every opportunity to circulate their anti-Communist message in South Korea, Formosa, and the overseas Chinese communities.

Seven distinguished Americans, Herbert Hoover, Senator H. Alexander Smith, Joseph C. Grew, Charles Edison, Walter H. Judd, John J. Sparkman, and John W. McCormack, have launched a petition to the President against the admission of Red China to the United Nations. The petition lists eight sound reasons, any one of which would be sufficient for opposing this step. The recent news item that thirty-three out of the hundred Americans stupid or unlucky enough to be in Red China are in prison reinforces the statement in the petition: "The so-called Chinese People's Republic has shown its unwillingness to carry out the obligations of the Charter by systematically disregarding every human right and violating every freedom." The petition should receive a mass response; the Administration needs all the stiffening it can get against appeasement pressure from abroad.

The United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers Union recently completed a week's convention in Chicago. This is the union that was thrown out of the C.I.O. because of its pro-Communist leadership and consistently pro-Communist policy. Proceedings under the Smith Act or the McCarran-Walter Act are now pending against a dozen or so of its officials. Nevertheless, President Albert J. Fitzgerald and Secretary-Treasurer Julius Emspak were able to report to the convention that their union now has bargaining rights in 1,039 plants covering 316,150 workers. Many of these plants are doing secret work of the highest importance in the fields of electronics or special instruments. This is an incredible situation—like handing a burglar the combination to the safe. Business management is partly responsible for it. In some cases, management has jumped at "favorable" settlements offered by the U.E. as bait, in order to head off its non-Communist C.I.O. rival union. But under the existing law, management is often helpless. The Butler Bill has been introduced into Congress in order to correct this preposterous state of affairs. Its intent is to prohibit contracts with Communist-led unions. Needless to say, this bill was target No. 1 at the U.E. convention.

The past month has provided rude lessons for those who still believe that the threat of Communism exists only in far-off spots on the other side of the globe. Right under our eyes, across the waters of our strategic threshold, an attempted squeeze play has come into the open. Moving behind electoral fronts on the model of New York's American Labor Party, the Communist leaders of Guatemala and British Guiana have been advancing along the road toward the seizure of all power. Their aim is the conquest of a fixed base (a Yenan) from which they can destroy our strategic position in the Caribbean, and guide the subversion of central and northern South America. The British government, showing a resoluteness that has been so conspicuously lacking in its Asian policy, has moved to smash the conspiracy in Guiana. It has suspended the premature and misguided new Constitution, under which the Communists have been using the mask of the "People's Progressive Party" to camouflage their own operations. Troops have been sent in, and martial law declared. If the British government is able to protect itself against Labor Party criticism at home, it should in this instance be able to carry through its announced determination that no Communist state shall arise within the Commonwealth.

Meanwhile, in support of their Guiana comrades, the Communists of Guatemala staged one more strike and thereby pressured the Popular Front Guatemalan government into one more expropriation of American property. It remains a mystery why Washington has taken no practical sanctions, even of the most elementary sort, against a government that is so grave a threat to our security, and that has so grossly violated its contractual and international obligations. This seems to be one occasion, at least, when we might take a lesson from Whitehall with considerable profit to ourselves.

Prime Minister Nehru of India seems to be aspiring to the role of world preceptor. One day he gives Secretary Dulles a stern lecture on "immaturity." On other occasions he assumes the role of a volunteer Voice of Asia, although his credentials to speak for Asians who are prepared to fight Communism are certainly questionable. Granting that India has an old culture and civilization, it is young as an independent country. And there is something immature in Mr. Nehru's bland assumption that he can have his cake and eat it too, that he is entitled to influence the settlement of a war to which he did not contribute a man or a gun, or that India can count for much politically in Asia or anywhere else so long as its government has nothing but passivity and appeasement to offer in the face of the threat of Communist imperialism.

Nonaggression Bear Traps

The question of whether and in what form the United States and other Western powers should offer a nonaggression pact to the Soviet Union is in the forefront of international diplomatic discussion. This idea was first suggested by the Communist side. A nonaggression pact among the "Big Five" (the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, and Red China) has been an international Communist propaganda slogan for years.

The suggestion that a nonaggression pact along the lines of the Locarno Treaty of 1925 might reconcile the Soviet Union to the reunification and rearming of Germany was voiced by Sir Winston Churchill in his speech of May 11, in which he also urged a private meeting of leading statesmen of the Soviet Union and the Western Powers:

I do not believe that the immense problem of reconciling the security of Russia with the freedom and safety of western Europe is insoluble. . . . I have a feeling that the master thought which animated Locarno might well play its part between Germany and Russia in the minds of those whose prime ambition it is to consolidate the peace of Europe as the key to the peace of mankind.

Returning to the same theme in his speech at the recent Conservative Party conference, Sir Winston spoke of "the plan of everybody going against the aggressor, whoever it may be, and helping the victim, large or small."

West German Chancellor Adenauer subsequently intimated that the European Defense Community might conclude a pact of mutual nonaggression with the Soviet Union. But Dr. Adenauer has made it clear that he looks to the reunion of Germany on a basis of freedom and also to some modification of the Oder-Neisse frontier line, arbitrarily fixed by the Soviet Union and assigning to Poland and to the Soviet Union territory where millions of Germans have lived for centuries.

The French Deputy Foreign Minister, Maurice Schuman, suggested at the United Nations that, if the Soviet Union would accept the European Defense Community, some arrangement promising not to change existing boundaries by force could be made. This statement was vague as to what boundaries should be guaranteed. Finally, Mr. Dulles intimated at a recent press conference that "the general problem of giving reassurance against a possible resurgence of German aggression is being studied in concert," although he felt that it would be difficult to add much to the obligations which the United States and the Soviet Union have already assumed not to resort to force or the threat of force under the terms of the U.N. Charter.

Now if it were possible to induce the Soviet government to evacuate Germany and the sub-

jugated countries of eastern Europe, to pull its troops back within its frontiers of 1939, by giving a new assurance that the United States and its associates do not propose to engage in an aggressive war, the gain would be cheap at the price. Unfortunately, the giving up of substance for shadow is an American, not a Soviet, characteristic, as the Yalta experience shows.

There is not the slightest indication that the Soviet government would regard with favor a bargain on these terms. And there is much evidence—the tightening up of the satellite regime in East Germany, the intensified persecution of the Catholic Church in Poland, for instance—that its face is firmly set against any concessions except cheap verbal ones. It would seem that the talk about a new Locarno or a nonaggression pact is not only putting the cart of such an agreement before the horse of solid Soviet concessions, but putting the cart before a horse that has not even emerged from the stable.

The Locarno formula seems entirely inapplicable to the present European situation. Under the Locarno Treaty of 1925 Great Britain and Italy undertook to aid France or Belgium, if attacked by Germany, or Germany, if attacked by France or Belgium. Under the circumstances of the time this seemed to be a reasonable means of assuring peace and stability. But the arrangement crumbled when in 1936 Hitler remilitarized the Rhineland, in violation of the Treaty of Versailles, without causing any positive action by Britain or France.

The arrangement at Locarno was plausible because neither Great Britain nor Italy was committed to an alliance either with France or with Germany. But any plan of German rearmament is based on the closest association of Germany with the Western powers, either through the proposed E.D.C. or through NATO. How it is possible for Great Britain simultaneously to back German rearmament, as Sir Winston, to his credit, did in his recent speech and yet pose as a "neutral" guarantor of the Soviet Union against the most improbable contingency of a German attack? A better argument about guaranteeing Soviet security is one which is often used in Bonn. This is that the proposed merging of German with French, Italian, and Benelux military contingents in a European Army is the best guarantee against offensive war, since it is inconceivable that countries with no territorial claims against the Soviet Union would allow the troops of the common European army to be used in an offensive war.

Any nonaggression pact not preceded by a sweeping Soviet retreat from its empire in eastern Europe would be the worst kind of bear trap into

which we could fall. It would start from the preposterous premise that the word of the Soviet government is worthy of any trust or credence. Shades of the nonaggression pacts which the Kremlin concluded with Poland, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Japan, Turkey, every one violated or denounced at the first opportunity!

The signature of such a pact would have no effect on Soviet public opinion, which is nonexistent, for all practical purposes. It would have a relaxing and most demoralizing effect on Western public opinion. It would extinguish the last hope of freedom among the oppressed and exploited peoples of eastern Europe. It would sanctify the spoils of ruthless and treacherous aggression.

In short, American public opinion should be set against the nonaggression pact trap, which would impair, not strengthen our national security, except in the most improbable contingency that the Soviet government would get out of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. The sensible course is to leave off day-dreaming and press on with the build-up of the equal or superior military, political, diplomatic, and economic force in which lies the only hope of preventing future Soviet aggression and redressing past Soviet aggression. Above all, our official statements should stress that there is no point in concluding any new pact of nonaggression with Moscow while the Soviet Union continues to enjoy the spoils of so many former pacts which it has unilaterally violated.

Comrade Tito as Ally

London and Washington have finally grasped the Trieste nettle, and it is to be hoped that they will hold firm. If there is any loosening now, the sting will be sharp and lasting.

There is no "ideal" way of solving the Trieste problem. The Trieste region is usually taken to include the city of Trieste and its environs, the Istrian Peninsula, and the city of Fiume (now called Rijeka). Italy claims it all by virtue of an ethnic majority of Italians. Yugoslavia claims it all as the successor state in that area of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

At the end of the war, most of the Istrian Peninsula together with Fiume were turned over outright to Yugoslavia. The rest was divided in two. Zone A, which included the city of Trieste, has been under Anglo-American occupation; the smaller Zone B, under Yugoslav.

Under the Italian Treaty, the combined zones were to be internationalized, and to become a Free City under an internationally selected governor. The cold war made the necessary international agreement impossible. Then, in an effort to influence the 1948 Italian elections, Washington

promised, or seemed to promise, both zones to Italy. A little later, as part of the process of warming up to Tito, Washington tried to forget this promise, and allowed Yugoslav hopes to inflate.

The record is not one to be proud of. There is no possibility of fulfilling all obligations—since they are mutually contradictory—or of satisfying the directly conflicting aspirations of both Rome and Belgrade. The situation had reached an irritating stalemate that could be broken only by action.

London and Washington announced the one active move that makes positive sense at this stage in the unhappy development. Zone A will be turned over to Italian jurisdiction. The Anglo-American occupying troops will withdraw and be replaced by Italian troops.

It is the response of Tito, the "good" Communist, white-haired boy of the old Acheson wing of the State Department, that should most interest us. Immediately his red saber started rattling. His mobs in Belgrade stoned the American Embassy and injured an American diplomat. His soldiers and tanks started moving into Zone B, and he loudly threatened to begin shooting if Italian forces entered Zone A. On his airfields, planes were ordered to stand ready to take off.

The planes, tanks, and many of the guns with which he defies us and threatens to shoot our allies, perhaps also our own soldiers, have been supplied, let us recall, by us. Under the policy of aid "without strings" we have been building up Tito as Balkan bulwark of the West. But Tito, when he starts aiming the guns, seems to get his directions mixed.

We are lucky to be having this little test run on Tito's reliability. What if the crisis were involving the Red instead of the Italian army? It would be wise to be reasonably sure where Tito's guns would then be pointed. But we shall never be sure if we continue the policy of the past three years: namely, granting all the material, financial, and military aid that Tito asks for, without getting any return in concessions or guarantees.

The repercussions of what happens now in Trieste will sound long and far. Washington and London must show that they mean business if they expect to be taken seriously by the smaller nations. If they allow themselves to be pushed around and blackmailed by a small-time Communist demagogue, they should not be surprised if the example proves catching.

Tito is of course bluffing. He may carry his bluff very far, even to the point of a few rounds of gunfire. But there is not the smallest doubt that if he meets firmness—real firmness, of course, not just an indignant memorandum—then he will back down. Firmness, moreover, far from "thrusting him into the arms of Malenkov," is the one attitude that might transform him into an effective military ally of the West. Like all Communists, Tito respects strength and despises weakness. He aims to land on the winning side.

A "Stronger" U.N.?

A resounding phrase, no matter how empty of practical content, has for a certain type of mind a strangely hypnotic fascination. "World government under world law enforceable against individuals" is one such phrase. With some audiences it is guaranteed to bring down the house, although one might suppose that anyone with reasonable knowledge of international affairs and an average supply of judgment would realize that in the present age there is no commonly accepted standard of law, no conceivable agency powerful enough to enforce "world law" and no means of bringing to book an individual for the kind of action which might endanger world peace. Imagine, for instance, the practical difficulties in the way of serving the writ of some international tribunal on the manager of a Soviet atomic bomb plant tucked away in a remote corner of Siberia.

"A strengthened United Nations" is another phrase which is apt to be endorsed by some well-meaning individuals and organizations as automatically and unthinkingly as Pavlov's conditioned-reflex dogs were supposed to exhibit signs of appetite after they had become accustomed to being fed under certain conditions. The cry for a strengthened U.N. as the way out of all our international troubles is often heard today. It may well be heard more frequently as the time approaches when a conference may be held to discuss revision of the U.N. Charter.

Behind this cry are two obvious illusions. It is assumed that by some institutional sleight-of-hand a situation may be created in which the Communist part of the world could be voted into good behavior. That anyone could believe this after the systematic Soviet policy of barring U.N. commissions from all its imperial provinces, from North Korea, from Bulgaria, Albania, and East Germany is amazing. But illusions die hard.

The second illusion is that U.N. majorities will always be on our side. But this has been disproved time and again. Strategies that could have won the ill-starred war in Korea were crippled, hamstrung, and made impossible by pressure from other U.N. members which contributed little to the fighting, but much to every move for weakness and appeasement. There was a U.N. majority for the admission of India to the Korean conference—a move that would have placed the curse of Munich and Yalta on that gathering before it even started.

Late last year a vote in the economic committee of the General Assembly endorsed the principle of nationalization of foreign property without compensation. How would we feel if, after rashly discarding our U.N. veto, we found ourselves confronted with votes in favor of abandoning Chiang Kai-shek, giving up German rearmament, paying

out huge sums every year for the support of "underprivileged" nations? We would feel that our leaders had very stupidly let us be cornered. Our proper policy with regard to the U.N. is to make it as harmless as possible and to entrust our national security to the more secure foundation of our own strength combined with alliances based on equality of risk and sacrifice. A strengthened U.N. might well mean a weakened U.S.

Too Many Laws, Anyway

A line of criticism beloved of leftist commentators and publications is that the present Congress is derelict in its duty because it has not passed enough laws. A good many dud shells were fired by a railroad captain of Artillery against the excellent record of the Eightieth Congress on this same assumption: that it is the first business of Congress to pass as many laws as possible restricting, regulating, and directing the conduct of the individual.

This is a naively mistaken conception of the proper function of a legislative body. Something might be learned from the traditional practice of the Chinese, paying the doctor so long as they are well. The ideal Congress might well be one that enacted the fewest new laws and repealed the most obnoxious existing statutes.

It has long been an American weakness to believe that, if something is wrong, it can be quickly set right by passing a law. In many cases "There ought not to be a law" would be a truer and sounder philosophy than "There ought to be a law."

It is certainly arguable that a simple repeal of the Wagner Act would have been a better means of curbing excesses of trade-union power than the piling on top of the left-wing New Deal Wagner Act the moderately conservative Taft-Hartley Act. And a more hopeful approach to the thorny subject of strikes affecting national welfare than trying to spell out in detail what action should be taken in such emergencies would be to repeal legislation giving labor organizations special legal exemptions. It is easy to imagine, for instance, what would happen if a group of employers should conspire among themselves to stop the railways, the coal mines, the steel mills, or the operations of shipping.

Part of the mischief of overlegislation is rooted in the tradition that party platforms should be cumbersome, unwieldy documents, filling at least eight columns of the *New York Times*. There may well be a bright political future for a party that will try the experiment of offering its case in a short statement of principles, pointing clearly in the direction of striking off old controls on human freedom, rather than imposing new ones.

The American people are already conspicuously overtaxed, overlegislated, overregulated. It is adding insult to injury when the theory is seriously advanced that Congress should be an instrument for grinding out new laws on a piecemeal basis, to be praised if its output is high and censured if it is low.

A Congress that would deliberately set out to repeal as many harmful, obsolete, conflicting, and redundant laws as possible would deserve well of the American people.

U.S.-Financed Competitors

All the current talk about reducing the national debt is not going to do the country any good as long as we keep on paying big sums into all kinds of foreign investments that eventually turn out to be competitors of our own industrial undertakings. We were reminded of this by a speech which Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey made in Washington recently. Mr. Humphrey was frank in admitting that we are financing enterprises abroad that are actually competing with our own industries. Just what we were up to when we sent the money over there to build up competitors for ourselves he did not tell his audience. But he made no bones about his own disagreement with a policy that hits itself over the head with a sledge-hammer, and doesn't even say ouch.

Secretary Humphrey said: "The government must question both its right and its financial ability to continue to use taxpayers' money to finance investments abroad on a large scale in the development of competitive enterprise." We welcome these frank words, but remain puzzled by the mysterious ways of our foreign policy planners, who seem to have forgotten that our own business community deserves at least as much consideration as any, however worthy, foreign enterprise.

Profitable "Martyrs"

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg will find no peace in the grave, so long as their erstwhile comrades have anything to say about it. With their brutal cynicism, the Communists aim to squeeze the last drop of political juice from the corpses of this pair of stupefied fanatics and from the two wretched children whom, by their refusal to tell the truth, they abandoned. *The Death House Letters of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg* is being serialized in a number of European newspapers, and is scheduled for early publication in a dozen or more countries. England, Argentina, Japan, Holland, Italy, Israel are among the nations on the list. According to the *Daily Worker*, the French translation will be

published by Gallimard, probably France's best-known publishing house. A little gesture by Gallimard, no doubt, to show us how to promote better Franco-American understanding.

The *Daily Worker* informs us with a smirk that "all profits from the book . . . are going into a trust fund for Michael and Robbie." What trust fund, by the way? Established where, and under what individuals as trustees? Come to think of it, a lot of money has poured down the Rosenberg drain during the past several years. Just how much? Where has it all come from and—most interesting question—where has it all gone? How much actually went into expenses of the case, and what portion was detoured into the byways of the Communist apparatus? The National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg case seems to be sailing merrily along. Has the FBI or the Treasury Department given a thought or two to some of these questions?

The FTC Talks Sense

In recent weeks a new mood has entered the relations between government and business. It is a refreshing thing to observe, and one of the most encouraging developments of the period since the Eisenhower Administration came into office.

The most recent concrete example of this mood can be found in the decision of the Federal Trade Commission to reduce friction between government and business by developing a new system of clearing up misunderstandings that tend to obscure the realities of day-to-day business practices. The FTC has stated that it wishes to cut down on the number of cases actually reaching the courts. It has decided to replace conflict in the courts with the type of negotiation that tends to solve disagreements before they reach the point of no return. It is to be hoped and expected that business will be ready to meet the FTC halfway, and make it easy for its officials to perfect the system which they have developed, but which still has to prove itself in actual operations.

Meanwhile, it would be wise to practice restraint in every direction, and to reduce the area of irritation and conflict that can only alienate business and government from each other and aggravate old wounds. It is not an easy thing to translate a new mood into the day-to-day rough and tumble of legal and economic affairs. But the effort is worth making, and should bear its own reward.

In any event, we most certainly welcome the FTC's new attitude, and its intention to let bygones be bygones. Whatever the final outcome of its new policy, it certainly represents a new era of good will toward the hard-pressed and often misunderstood men who run our large business enterprises.

Europe's Self-Made Handcuffs

By HENRY HAZLITT

Firsthand examination of the economies of Italy, France, and England shows that failure to remove controls is now the chief cause of their ailments.

Every once in a while someone brags that he could lick someone else with one hand tied behind his back. Whether or not the boast is warranted, the boaster at least admits by implication that having one hand tied behind his back would place him at a certain disadvantage. Yet what would we think of a fellow who insisted that having one hand tied behind his back, or wearing handcuffs, actually increased his effectiveness and competitive strength? This is pretty much the position of most countries today.

The present report, the product of a month in Europe, is necessarily sketchy. I visited only four countries—Switzerland, Italy, France, and England—and learned only at secondhand of what several writers have begun to call the “miracle” of German recovery. The reports I heard, however, came from persons in the best position to know, and did not differ on the basic facts.

In Switzerland I attended a conference at Seelisberg of the Mont Pèlerin Society, where eminent economists from half a dozen different nations were present, including a large contingent from Germany. The German contingent included Dr. Ludwig Erhard, Germany's economic minister, and other economists both inside and outside the government. And despite individual differences, the burden of what they and economists of other nationalities had to report was that, as a result of the monetary reform of June 21, 1948, and of the dropping of price controls, there has been an economic revival in Germany not paralleled in any other country of Europe.

Germany does not have, even today, a completely “free” economy. It still retains rent control, investment control, and above all exchange control. But *comparatively* it has a freer economy than any major country in Europe that was involved in the Second World War. And the timing, pace, and extent of its recovery come as near to an inductive demonstration of the superiority of a free economy as our age is likely to witness.

Yet officialdom in the rest of Europe still seems to draw from the German experience every lesson but this. It is true that nearly everywhere there has been some relaxation of the postwar controls: *general* price-fixing and *general* rationing are now extremely rare. It is also true that in practically every country where people are still free to express themselves orthodox socialism—government

ownership of the means of production—has been rapidly losing its prestige. It is true, furthermore, that everywhere there has been widespread disappointment and disillusion with the particular government plans and controls that are now in effect. But it would be too much to say that there has been any marked disillusion with “planning” or controlism itself.

On the contrary, what principally strikes one is the stranglehold that controls get once they are established, the almost impregnable strength of the vested interests they build up, and the tenacity of the habits of thinking to which they give rise. As a result, no matter how badly planning and socialism work, from the standpoint of the general national interest, nothing is done to mitigate or get rid of them except in the most violent kind of crisis.

Suppose we look at what has happened in this respect in Italy, France, and England. It is impossible to describe here in detail all the complicated controls that remain in each of these countries, but we may choose a few controls in each for purposes of illustration.

Union Coercion in Italy

The case of Italy reminds us that not all economic controls are imposed by government—at least not directly. One of the most harmful economic controls in Italy consists of the nation-wide union contracts under which an employer cannot drop workers without giving them terminal pay, which may run a month for every year of service. In practice the requirement is usually even more onerous, for an employer can seldom drop a substantial number of workers without being forced to pay *all* of them four or five months' separation allowance.

The effect of this is to force employers to keep unneeded men. This reduces the efficiency of the working force by reducing its mobility, and keeping part of it working on the wrong things. It reduces its efficiency still more by encouraging featherbedding practices, in which two or three men do the work of one. And of course the heavy penalties on firing discourage new hiring.

This union coercion is made possible by a governmental agency, the Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale, popularly known as I.R.I. (pronounced Erie). This organization owns stock in most of the large Italian industrial companies. It uses the

earnings of the profitable corporations to help meet the losses of the unprofitable ones, and the government treasury makes up the net deficit that remains after the operation.

The theory behind all this appears to be that no corporation must be allowed to shut down, because that would create unemployment. Yet there is no reason to suppose that in the long run this elaborate system has prevented or will prevent unemployment. At present registered unemployment in Italy is about 2,000,000 out of a working force of 19,400,000. (There are reasons for thinking that this figure is not too reliable; but if it overstates the number of *totally* unemployed, it does not allow for the large number of partially employed, or "underemployed.")

Nor is there any good reason even in theory to believe that these devices can in the long run either cure or alleviate unemployment. For by diverting the earnings of the profitable corporations to support the unprofitable, they prevent the profitable corporations from expanding and increasing employment to the extent that they otherwise would. At best they substitute less productive employment for more productive. Their net effect is to reduce the incentives to efficiency and to the production of the things that are really needed.

Still another factor making for inefficiency and lowered production is the way in which wages are fixed. About once a year the representatives of the Confindustria, a sort of super-N.A.M., sit around a table with the representatives of both the Communist and non-Communist unions and draft a collective bargaining agreement which covers practically the whole of Italian industry. This not only puts a floor under the wages of the poor workers, but indirectly puts a ceiling over the wages of the good workers. Wages are not fixed primarily on the basis of individual skill and productivity, but are heavily determined by the family status of the individual and the number of his children. The differential between the pay of skilled and unskilled workers has narrowed considerably.

I need hardly point out that the whole result of trying to turn the wage system into a huge social security scheme is to undermine the incentives to production and to make the average of real wages and living standards far lower than it would otherwise be.

Many of these schemes were put into effect by Mussolini, yet the vested interests they have set up have successfully prevented all efforts to terminate them.

France's Wage System

I have not space to go at length into the maze of controls that constitute the present economic system of France, but so far as the wage system is concerned, it is strikingly like that of Italy. Here again wages are determined primarily by the

family status and the number of children of the individual worker. In April of this year, for example, the average wage of unmarried workers was 5,780 francs a week, whereas the average wage of a worker with a dependent wife and two children was 8,410 francs a week.

Under such a system the incentive to reproduction is greater than the incentive to production. And the great body of workers, of course, are not helped, but hurt by it.

The original theory behind all these plans was that the employers were being forced to pay all these social security benefits to the workers. A French employer, in fact, must pay out social security taxes of one sort or another that total 43 per cent of his entire payroll. Yet in the long run workers must pay for their own social security; and there could hardly be a clearer demonstration of the working of this economic principle than in France. For while the cost of living is about twenty-three times as high as in 1938, French wages, not including the social benefits, are only about fifteen times as high.

The system, moreover, provides a perfect illustration of the power of such schemes to perpetuate themselves, no matter how harmful they are from the standpoint of the general welfare. By their very discriminations they build up powerful vested interests in favor of their continuance—individuals who are better off, or believe themselves to be better off, than they would be without the scheme. One need merely imagine the fate of a French premier who would propose the abolition of this terrific tax on employment and of the benefit payments that went with it—even if he were to decree that the employers must pay the former taxes out as wages.

British Exchange Control

But it is not merely, as I have indicated, the growth of vested individual or group interests that preserves "planning" and controls, but the mental habits that are also built up under them. This is nowhere better illustrated than in the way that the British now think of their exchange control.

Exchange control is in origin a totalitarian device. It was first fully elaborated in its "modern" form in Hitler's Germany under Dr. Schacht. It consists first of all in the government's fixing a fiat rate for a country's inconvertible paper currency and then forbidding any of its citizens to buy or sell that currency except at this "official" rate. In order to enforce such a control, the government is usually obliged to go on to control the country's whole foreign trade—the export and import of its own currency, and the export and import of other currencies, particularly the "scarce" currencies (which are "scarce" chiefly because they are undervalued by the compulsory official ex-

change rate which overvalues the home currency).

Further, the government must go on to control all exports and imports. It does not allow its own exporters to keep or sell freely the dollars they earn. It does not allow its own industries to buy their raw materials freely from abroad, but only specified amounts from specified areas, and usually only through special import licenses. It not only forbids its own citizens to import "luxuries" from abroad, but does its own "bulk buying" of food-stuffs, thereby not allowing its own citizens to decide freely the quantity, quality, and nature even of their own food. If the authorities want to continue butter rationing, for example, in order to impose their own notion of "austerity," they need merely allow insufficient import or home production of butter, whereupon the world is informed that "England" still has a "shortage" of butter because "England" still lacks the "dollar exchange" to buy butter.

A few of the more fantastic restrictions of exchange control in Britain have now been relaxed. But a freeborn Englishman is still not allowed more than £40 (\$112) a year for foreign travel for his own pleasure. Above all, the machinery of exchange is kept intact, and the British citizen is made to feel that any freedom he does have to buy anything is the result of a special favor from a kindly bureaucracy.

Exchange control is so obviously a totalitarian measure that without the emergency of total war nobody in Britain would have dared to suggest imposing it in the first place. But totalitarian controls, like vice, though at first monsters of frightful mien, are, if too long endured, finally embraced. What most struck me in talks with otherwise intelligent Englishmen was the way in which they have accepted such controls as a normal and permanent way of life. They are now so unaccustomed to free markets and a free economy that they have come to fear and distrust them. It is not the advocate of continued exchange control, but the advocate of a return to the international gold standard and to the centuries-old system of free foreign exchanges who is treated as the "theorist," the experimentalist, and the reckless doctrinaire.

This becomes clear when you ask most officials or bankers or even most economists when they think the pound sterling can or should be made convertible. Their first reaction to the problem is one of indifference. They talk as if things are going along pretty well as it is. And they see the problem of convertibility as a very formidable one. They point to the quick breakdown of the convertibility experiment in the summer of 1947; and they blame the convertibility itself for that breakdown, and not the utterly unrealistic conversion rate of \$4.03 for the pound. A man who started with a million dollar bills, and offered to exchange each of them for three quarters, would

hardly be entitled to astonishment if he soon found himself with \$750,000 in quarters and entirely bailed out of dollar bills. Yet this was precisely, in principle, what Britain did. But the outcome proves nothing at all about conversion at a realistic rate for the pound or at a free market rate.

I will not pursue further all the false reasons and needless timidities which prevent the British from going back to free exchanges, free markets, and free enterprise to solve their economic problems. It is my own conclusion that three-fourths of Britain's present economic problems are *caused* by the very controls set up to cure them. And this is true, it seems to me, of most of the rest of Europe.

The world is dying of its remedies, and the real problem is how to save it from its saviors.

Post-Facto Justice

By M. K. ARGUS

Molotov smiled sourly and said: "I have the latest report on Beria, Comrade Malenkov."

"Well, well," exclaimed the Premier cheerfully and began to rub his pudgy hands. "What is it?"

"There is a rumor that a man who resembles Beria and claims he is Beria is somewhere in Spain. He is being questioned by the American imperialists."

"The American imperialists are wonderful people," said Malenkov. "Marx bless the American imperialists. When they question someone they learn nothing and we learn everything. Who is that man, anyway?"

"We don't know yet, Comrade Malenkov, but we'll find out soon enough."

"It doesn't really matter," observed Malenkov. "What I can't understand, though, is why anyone should want to impersonate Beria. What kind of an ambition is it?"

"We Russians," Molotov said diffidently, "have strange ambitions."

"Very true," Malenkov said and smiled with benign malice at Molotov. "However, we must all be grateful to that new Beria, whoever he is. He will save us a great deal of trouble."

"Naturally, Comrade Malenkov. But how?"

"Very simple. I am beginning to think that our late Comrade Stalin was right when he called you a nincompoopski. Don't you know how the course of Soviet justice runs?"

"Of course I know. When we apprehend and unmask an enemy of the people we liquidate him, then try him, then sentence him to death, and then publish an announcement about his arrest. Long live Soviet justice, Comrade Malenkov!"

"Long live Soviet justice, Comrade Molotov. Now then. Beria has been liquidated already. Now we have to try him. We've already announced pub-

licly that he will be tried by the Supreme Tribunal of the Soviet Union. What would, under normal circumstances, be our next step?"

"Our next step, under normal circumstances, would be to have Beria, after his liquidation, die of pneumonia in jail, or in an automobile accident on the way to the tribunal."

"Exactly. But now all this trouble has been eliminated. I am not worried about our own people. They are well aware of the procedure. But some idiots abroad, especially those soft-hearted intellectuals who sympathize with our great movement, may begin to ask questions. They may start wondering when Beria's trial will be held. Now, thanks to the Wall Street capitalists, we have a ready answer."

"What is the answer, Comrade Malenkov?"

"The answer is that we cannot try someone whom we do not have. Beria, we will say, has fled to the enemy camp. We can only try him in absentia. Considering the fact that Beria has been liquidated already it would only be proper for us to try him in absentia, don't you think?"

"A remarkable idea, Comrade Malenkov."

"Yes, it's quite remarkable," Malenkov agreed modestly. "We could even demand his extradition and have some fun with the Americans. And Vishinsky could deliver a speech in the United Nations condemning the American government for harboring a dangerous criminal against international peace."

"You are a genius, Comrade Malenkov!"

Malenkov nodded in silent agreement and resumed rubbing his pudgy hands. "That was Beria's main trouble," he observed philosophically. "Beria wanted to be a genius, too, and he was in too much of a hurry. It takes time to become a genius in Russia. Besides, under our glorious Communist system there can only be one genius at a time in the Soviet Union. You don't want to become a genius, Comrade Molotov, do you?"

"Never!" Molotov exclaimed emphatically.

Malenkov suddenly began to laugh: "Ho-ho-ho!"

"He-he-he," Molotov echoed. "Would you mind telling me, Comrade Malenkov, what I am laughing about so hilariously?"

"An idea just struck me," Malenkov said. "A very interesting thought occurred to me while I was looking at you. 'There surely must be someone outside the Soviet Union,' I said to myself, 'who resembles our dear Comrade Molotov.'"

"Who resembles me?" Molotov asked. "Why should you be interested in someone who resembles me?"

"You never can tell," Malenkov replied. "The Americans may want to question him, too."

"Oh no, no," Molotov cried. "You can't do that to me, Comrade Malenkov!"

The Minister of Foreign Affairs jumped up from his chair, threw an imploring look at the Premier, and flopped to the floor in a dead faint.

THIS IS WHAT THEY SAID

The fact that Durkin has not blown up and gone back to his nice quiet job at the union is a reflection of his mature, stable character and his conviction that he can be much more useful to labor at work within the Administration than he would be carping on the side lines. And Democrat or not, he has acquired a profound loyalty to President Eisenhower and the success of his Administration.

HUGH AND ELISE MORROW, *Saturday Evening Post*, September 5, 1953

Indeed, the argument that India is either for us or against us—that unless she agrees with us on the interpretation of every regulation she is oriented toward the Communists—is basically a totalitarian line.

WASHINGTON POST, October 6, 1953

I find myself nervous when I see such frequent reference to the world being divided into two sharply differentiated halves, the capitalist-democratic and the collectivist-socialist. . . . We need mixed orders and societies growing up in order to diminish the friction between the most different systems. . . . I think that in Europe we may look to Poland, for instance, for creative and valuable thinking in the realm of political theory and to excellent methods and techniques in political practice.

OWEN LATTIMORE, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July 1946

The current facts are such that we cannot "liberate" Eastern Europeans or Russians or Chinese from the slavery of Communism, and Communists cannot emancipate Western Europeans or Africans or Americans from the thralldom of "capitalism," save at a cost equivalent to the suicide of civilization.

THE NATION, June 20, 1953

Understatement of the Year

More American workers have automobiles than is the case in the Soviet Union. . . . There are more television sets in the U.S. than in the Soviet Union and the screen on most of our sets is larger.

DAILY WORKER, September 13, 1953

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

Our Highest Court

By JOHN HANNA

Some revealing and rather unexpected facts and observations about the Chief Justiceship and the man from California who has been named to fill it

Earl Warren, Republican, sixty-two, six feet tall, two hundred pounds in weight, native Californian, extrovert, popular politician, devoted family man, has become the fourteenth Chief Justice of the United States. (The appointment is still subject to Senate confirmation, but this is taken for granted.)

The new Chief Justice had an average college and law school record at the University of California in Berkeley, brief military experience in World War One, short and unimportant private practice in San Francisco, nearly twenty years as deputy and district attorney in Alameda, where he was courageous and efficient in the prosecution of racketeers (including labor racketeers), four years as Attorney General and ten years as Governor of California. His administration of the two latter offices was marked by nonpartisanship and the promotion of public welfare measures that disintegrated the supporters of the Townsend and other radical security proposals. State patronage under Governor Warren recognized his Democratic and independent backing. No hint of scandal ever marred his career. The Governor was a candidate for the Republican nomination for President in 1948 and 1952 and was the nominee for Vice President with Governor Dewey in 1948.

Chief Justice Warren's speeches and writings do not characterize him as an abstract thinker either in government or law. His opinions and policies show him to be an empiricist, who accepts the inevitability and even the desirability of considerable change in the direction of increased public responsibility for social welfare. On the other hand, his opposition to President Truman's assertion of power to seize the steel industry in peacetime and his stout support of state ownership of submerged lands indicate a belief in constitutional limitations on the power of the federal executive and a distaste for concentration of federal authority at the expense of the states. Where the new Chief Justice stands on the great constitutional issues of freedom of speech and other private liberties in relation to national security is anyone's guess. Propheying a judge's opinions from his political affiliations has often in the past proved hazardous. This was particularly so in respect to some of the members of the present Supreme Court, whose New Deal associations have furnished slight guide to their judicial attitudes.

The nomination of a Chief Justice is one of

the major responsibilities that can come to a President. Since John Adams selected John Marshall in 1801, only one in three of our Presidents has been faced with this responsibility. The influence upon our national life and institutions of Chief Justice John Marshall and Roger B. Taney is common knowledge. Lawyers would assign almost equal significance to the services of Charles Evans Hughes and Harlan Fiske Stone. Several associate justices, among others Oliver Wendell Holmes and Louis D. Brandeis, had perhaps a greater influence upon the development of law than certain of the chief justices. The Chief Justice has important duties in the assignment of cases for opinion, in administering the business of the Court, and in supervising lower federal courts. For the rest he is one among equals. His weight depends upon his personality as a negotiator and conciliator, his character, legal knowledge, and intellectual stature.

The Olympian Hughes

Were the new Chief Justice to seek a model in his great office, most lawyers would suggest that he choose Charles Evans Hughes. If any man was properly cast in the role of Chief Justice it was Hughes. He brought to the Court the Olympian presence of a major prophet as well as a profound knowledge of law and history. He had charm and courtesy beneath his dignified exterior. He was a humanitarian whose righteous character was built on deep religious conviction. He had the conservative's respect for principle without the reactionary's blind aversion to change. He was immune to any sort of pressures except those that reached his intelligence. He had great practical sense in matters of law administration, and energy and patience in working for reforms he deemed essential. He was a great lawyer and a great man.

No serious complaint can be made against President Eisenhower because of the geographical composition of the present Court. The Court is a national, not a representative body. It is probably more important to have the principal fields of law represented than the various sections of the country. It may be noted, however, that the Middle West and Mountain states now have no member while the South has three. The Chief Justice and Justice Douglas are from the Pacific Coast, Justices Frankfurter and Jackson from the Northeast,

Justices Burton and Minton from the North Central, and Justices Black, Reed, and Clark from the South, although perhaps the section of the last-named might more accurately be called Southwest.

The age of the new Chief Justice, sixty-two, should occasion no criticism. More years are little index of a man's durability, capacity for growth, or fitness for exacting duties. Something may be said for compulsory retirement policies where physical powers and the utility of the promotion of junior executives are paramount considerations. Even in political life, where onerous administrative burdens and social obligations bear heavily on mental and physical powers, the argument for youth is significant. An appellate judge, although he should have unimpaired mental vigor to meet the long hours of research and writing, is almost entirely free from the strains that break down a business or government executive. There are few public demands on his personal social life. He is protected almost entirely from the annoyances from which others can scarcely shield themselves. His work is done in the most favorable surroundings. The actual hours of court sittings are few. Many judges have done from fifteen to thirty years of distinguished legal work after the age of Chief Justice Warren, among them Marshall, Taney, Holmes, Brandeis, Hughes, and Augustus and Learned Hand. John W. Davis and George Wharton Pepper are contemporary lawyers over eighty in active practice. Roscoe Pound (eighty-three) and Samuel Williston (ninety-two) are law teachers who make the usual retirement rules ridiculous.

Political Considerations

President Eisenhower, in announcing the appointment of Chief Justice Warren, stated he was influenced in part by the political philosophy of his nominee. Adverse comment has come from some who believe that the President should have considered only legal and judicial qualifications. The President may fairly seek intelligent conservative representation in a coordinate branch of government. He may expect the Republicans to have a long lease of power, but he cannot be sure.

If the President believes in the philosophy of the Republican Party, he is justified in placing on the Court a man who accepts that philosophy. Chief Justice Warren and Justice Burton are the only Republicans on the court. The federal judiciary is still overwhelmingly Democratic.

President Roosevelt frankly sought judges who were sympathetic to the New Deal, although, as has been stated, the professional principles of the new judges rather than their political alliances determine their judicial opinions. Whatever the New Deal political philosophy, many of the writings of its more articulate members showed an intolerance for what they called "bill-of-rights" democracy, a belief that the liberty of the citizen

should yield to the superior wisdom of social and economic planners, a sympathy for a materialistic interpretation of history, and an acceptance of the idea that individual enterprise and the independence of local and state governments produced wastes and inconsistencies that should be corrected by a concentration of power in the central government. The Republican Party, while admitting no lesser concern for humanitarian legislation or social welfare, retained its faith in individual enterprise, personal freedom, the integrity of local government.

A prevalent delusion is that the chief danger to liberty is from the conservatives. This is hard to understand in view of the intolerance commonly exhibited by radicals and self-styled liberals. The conservative is both rational and skeptical. He recognizes that most institutions have grown out of the needs and conveniences of human beings. In the pattern of history he sees little evidence that abrupt changes in institutions greatly affect human behavior. The conservative, rejecting materialistic determinism, believes in a moral order from which is derived standards of political conduct. With his historical perspective the conservative insists upon limitation of governmental power. He protects the minority from majority tyranny. At the same time the conservative knows that society is dynamic, not static. He is not committed against change. The conservative frequently is a non-conformist because he looks behind and beyond current myths. In practical administration the conservative with rational notions of the origin and nature of institutions may introduce more innovations than the radical, who is more likely to be committed to a single panacea.

Chief Justice Warren is an untried judge. He may find comfort in the knowledge that other men whose experience has been primarily political have become eminent judges because they have appreciated the soundness of Justice Cardozo's admonition that nothing can take the place of rigorous and accurate and profound study of the law as already developed from the wisdom of the past. It was:

The judicial process comes to this and little more; logic, and history, and custom, and utility, and the accepted standards of right conduct, are the forces which singly or in combination shape the progress of the law. Which of these forces shall dominate in any case must be dependent largely on the comparative importance or value of the social interests that will be thereby promoted or impaired. One of the most fundamental social interests is that law shall be uniform, and impartial. . . Therefore, in the main, there shall be adherence to precedent. . . But symmetrical development may be bought at too high a price. . . The social interests served by symmetry or certainty must then be balanced by the social interests served by equity and fairness or other elements of social welfare. These may enjoin upon the judge the duty of drawing the line at another angle, of staking the path along new courses, of marking a new point of departure from which others who come after him will set out upon their journey.

The Rights and Wrongs of Labor

By DONALD R. RICHBERG

Industrial peace in this country is impossible so long as the leaders of organized labor are unchecked in their war on private enterprise.

I have fought with and against labor organizations, with and against employers, and with and against government. Probably no one will accuse me of any timid pacifism—or even of any excessive partisanship! But let me claim one consistency in this motley record. I have consistently opposed tyranny and oppression. To me employers, labor leaders, or public officials who think they have been divinely appointed to rule over their fellowmen are equally absurd and pestiferous.

Labor battles have brought suffering and hardship to millions of people. They have wasted untold wealth and energy that might have been better used to advance the general welfare. But in our crude human struggles toward a higher civilization we seem fated to do a lot of fighting against one another in the process of learning how to work together for our common gain.

In such fighting I have swung an axe, zestful and battle-scarred, for nearly half a century. But recently I have become fearsome and battle-scared. Recently I have come to fear that, as with atomic weapons in international warfare, we have developed such weapons in industrial warfare that we are facing a choice between disarmament and suicide.

Our international efforts to achieve a peace of reconciliation of conflicting interests seem doomed to failure. The ruling classes in too many nations are possessed of an irreconcilable desire for world dominion. The question we should ask ourselves today is whether, for a similar reason, our domestic efforts to achieve a peace of reconciliation of conflicting economic interests are also doomed. The answer to this question may be found through study and research into the moving causes of industrial strife and into the prevailing policies of outstanding labor leaders.

There are three classes in our supposedly classless society whose theories, aims, and activities are irreconcilable with industrial peace. In one class are obviously the Communists, whose proclaimed objective is the destruction of private property, private management, and private enterprise. In the second, less obvious, but larger and more dangerous, class are the bipartisan socializers who, through the miraculous conception of a "welfare state," expect to produce Siamese twins of social security and individual liberty. They are also working for the gradual destruction of private

property, private management, and private enterprise. In the third, and most powerful, class are the leaders of organized labor, who persistently wage industrial warfare which, if unchecked, will eventually destroy private property, private management, and private enterprise.

Pro-Socialist Leadership

The menace of this labor leadership is incredibly great just because most of the conspicuous heads of labor unions either actually believe or make other people believe that they are ardent apostles of our constitutional liberties and the American way of life. In reality, most of them are genuinely opposed to Communism. They sincerely think they are opposed to its gentler brother, national socialism—particularly if you call it "fascism."

Unfortunately, when a Socialist dresses up in overalls, a flannel shirt, and muddy shoes, and rants about democracy and exploited workers, these labor leaders take him to their bosom. They repeat all his stock denunciations of profits, which are the lifeblood of private property. They attack and undermine management authority, which is essential to maintaining private management. They damn investment banking (called "Wall Street"), which is essential to sustaining private enterprise. Thus they educate millions of misguided followers to help bring about the eventual destruction of private property, private management, and private enterprise.

This labor leadership is a menace not because it may become Communist, but because it *is* anti-capitalist and pro-socialist. The weakness of the opposition to it lies in miseducation of the American people in the last fifty years. A large majority have apparently been persuaded that capitalism is much worse than socialism. They have been taught that socialism can be made democratic—just as though a wolf, forced to wear a sheepskin, can be made harmless. But capitalism is reputed to be so naturally predatory that it cannot be reformed.

Yet it is capitalism that has been the economic foundation of individual liberty in America. Only on that foundation can the structure of our free institutions be maintained. Any man who wants to engage in private enterprise, to support him-

self, and to own his own home, any man who wants to be free from excessive taxation and detailed controls of his living and working conditions by government, should know that the rights of private property which are the essence of capitalism are essential to his enjoyment of individual liberty.

When these rights of private property are taken away, or even when they are so modified that he can no longer use them freely, then the Constitution of the United States will no longer protect those precious freedoms that are written into the Bill of Rights. They are all dependent on economic freedom; and economic freedom is protected, not by granting powers to government to regulate the acquisition and use of property, but by denying, or at least severely limiting, such powers of government. Free men may call upon government to protect them from the violence or fraud of other men. But if men would remain free they must insist that government leave them free from any compulsion to work, or to use their property, in the service of other men.

This right of the individual to control the employment of his own labor, and the use of property gained by his labor, was once a fundamental principle in American labor organizations. To protect the liberty and dignity of the individual was the major objective of unionism. The workers were *not* organized to get rid of one set of industrial masters, called employers, in order to substitute a new set of masters, called labor leaders. They were *not* urged to substitute for a class of hereditary masters of politics a new class of elected masters. They were organized in order to set themselves free from all masters, to end the ancient concept of master and servant, and to establish a society of self-governing, self-supporting, self-respecting people, voluntarily cooperating to advance the common good.

The long struggle to establish the right of the workers to have a voice and a powerful influence in the direction of industrial progress has been definitely won in the United States. There is today no effective opposition here to the right of the workers to organize for self-protection and self-advancement and to participate in the regulation of wages and working conditions through collective bargaining between representatives of their own choosing and representatives of employers. There is no effective opposition to the right of the workers to obtain the protection of written and enforceable trade agreements. There is no effective opposition to the intervention of government to safeguard the free exercise of the right of collective bargaining so that it may not be destroyed by any brutal exercise of property power to compel the workers to choose between accepting intolerable conditions or being deprived of employment essential to the earning of a livelihood.

This was the vision of future industrial relations

which inspired hopeful students, such as myself, to believe that the way to peaceful industrial cooperation lay just ahead, if we could only establish the right of the workers to organize and be represented in negotiations with employers by representatives of their own choosing who would faithfully protect and advance their interests.

Unfortunately, it became necessary to bring government aid to the support of the workers in their struggle to build up and maintain representative organizations. In retrospect it is clear that, if far-sighted counsels had prevailed among big and little employers in the period when labor organizations were fighting for the mere right to exist, the employers would not have opposed the free and independent organization of workers. However, early labor organizations, having to fight for the right to exist, developed a leadership of militant and often fanatical men whose activities were countered by the militant opposition of employers. Thus the labor movement grew in a philosophy of hostility to property owners which trended inevitably toward a hostility to the entire system of private property. This tendency was held in check for many decades by the fact that the overwhelming majority of the American people was composed of farmers and small businessmen and their employees, who either owned their homes and managed their own businesses or anticipated that, through thrift and hard work, they would become home owners and business managers.

Laws Supporting Labor Unions

Probably the earliest effective legislation for government support of organized labor was the Railway Labor Act of 1926. This was followed in 1932 by the Norris-LaGuardia Act. As a co-author of both these acts, I venture to point out that they were designed to protect the organization and functioning of labor unions; but neither gave to labor unions any power beyond that which would lie in the capacity of the workers for self-organization and in their relief from oppressive uses of the power of employers, or of government, against them.

In 1933 came the National Industrial Recovery Act, which, in its historic Section 7-A (which I drafted) again extended the protection but not the militant aid of government to the self-organization of the workers. Unfortunately, to my mind, the rapid growth of labor organizations during the first two years of the Roosevelt Administration aroused deep-seated hostility among managers of both big and little business. This became a fundamental reason for their antagonism to the continuance of the NRA, which resulted not only in its nullification by the Supreme Court (which may or may not have been fortunate for the country), but in the failure of the Congress to enact legislation which would carry forward some of the good

intentions of the NRA while eliminating some of its obvious errors.

Out of the death of the NRA came the birth of the Wagner Act. Now, for the first time in our history, the great and rapidly expanding powers of the federal government were brought into a partisan support of organized labor, largely destroying the balance of economic powers under which genuine collective bargaining could be carried on.

Perhaps the most evil effect of the Wagner Act was that it helped to convert many leaders of organized labor from strong supporters of a capitalist system into often unconscious advocates of a socialist system. More and more they called upon government to lend its powerful aid to compel the creation and maintenance of an industrial system in which the interests of industrial wage earners would be constantly advanced, with inadequate regard for the interests of property owners and managers in agriculture and in big and little business.

The enactment of a law fixing minimum wages and maximum hours might have been only a protective measure, to avoid the imposition of starvation wages or exhausting hours of work upon necessitous employees unable to protect themselves through labor organization. But, under pressure of labor organizations, which should have been and generally were able to defend their members against starvation wages and exhausting hours of work, the Congress was induced to elevate gradually the standard of minimum wages into a sort of basic wage. On this legalized foundation all other wages could be more easily raised. Instead of merely preventing excessive hours of work, the federal law established a low standard of forty hours, with increased hours permitted when accompanied by increased wages. Thereby, the fundamental principle of a maximum hour law was violated, and the law became another wage-fixing law, a potent government aid to one side in collective bargaining.

Union labor has been invoking government aid in a great variety of measures to favor employee interests in the negotiation or revision of trade agreements. There has been, for example, a notorious use of government boards committed, or strongly influenced, to decide disputes in favor of labor. This political favoritism persisted even in time of war, when an impartial government should have tried to enforce an equality of sacrifice between those protected in the enjoyment of peaceful occupations and those who were protecting them by suffering the loss of personal freedom, the rigorous discipline, the hardships and perils of service in the armed forces of the nation.

The authoritarian control of working and living conditions in war time should have taught free men and women to hate the continuance and extension of such controls in peace time. But that lesson was not taught to the favored class of organized labor. Nor was it taught to the socialistic

reformers who saw how easily an all-powerful government could compel a people to live and work according to paternal standards of economic justice and social morality. But a wicked lesson was taught to Communists. They learned that hosts of unfortunate, frustrated, inefficient, weak-minded persons could be persuaded to demand, and even to fight for, a tyranny that would promise to lift them up and to level all others down to an equalitarian standard of living.

Authoritarian Trends in Labor

So, as we emerged from the Second World War, a kindred interest in spreading and increasing the powers of government inspired such diverse elements as the Communists, the bipartisan socializers, and the militant trade unionists. All three classes could envisage the triumph of their differing ambitions in the creation of what could be persuasively called a "welfare state." The very words that had inspired the American people to gain a national strength, a spiritual freedom, and material comforts never before attained by so many millions were now perverted to support the destruction of the political foundations of our glory.

"Democracy," instead of meaning self-government, was perverted to mean an unrestricted rule of the majority.

"Equality," instead of meaning equality of opportunity, was perverted to mean equal enjoyment of the rewards of unequal contributions to the welfare or wealth of the nation.

"Security," instead of meaning assurance of protection from violence and fraud, was perverted to mean an escape from the hazards of self-reliance and self-support, and relief from suffering the consequences of one's own improvidence or folly.

"Freedom," instead of meaning a right to be let alone and to take care of one's self, was perverted into a "freedom from want" which means a right to be cared for by others, to the extent and in the manner determined by politicians.

There is another strong evidence of the authoritarian trend in the thinking and activities of labor leaders. That evidence is found in the compulsory unionism which is now one of the principal goals of the labor movement in America.

In former times weak labor organizations advocated a closed shop as a necessary aid in resisting the disintegration of their unions by hostile employers. As long as there were some employers who agreed to employ only union labor and many other employers who would employ non-union labor, the establishment of many closed shops did not make membership in a union an absolute necessity in order to earn a livelihood. But as the unions grew in strength of numbers and through industry-wide and nation-wide bargaining became able practically to monopolize opportunities for employment, they became ardent to establish

complete monopolies by compelling everyone who wanted to earn a living in any important industry to become a member of the dominant union. This makes workers subject not only to the payment of union dues and assessments but also to union discipline, to rigid limitations upon their freedom of labor, and particularly to an imperative command that they abandon work and cease to earn a living whenever it suits the strategy of a labor boss to call a strike.

The demand for the closed shop, now sugar-coated with the union shop formula, is a raw demand that every worker be compelled to join one of the elite national labor organizations in order to earn a living. There is no pretense that this is not the objective of the present labor movement. Our outstanding labor leaders flatly assert on platforms, in writings, and in arguments in the courts that there should be "no competition between workers." They argue that all workers should be organized in unions which should work in concert for the objective of establishing an irresistible power in labor organizations to dictate the terms and conditions under which all wage earners will be permitted to earn a living. They demand a monopoly power in industry which they rightly denounce whenever and wherever such a power is sought by business managers.

The truth is that today our outstanding labor leaders are not only greedy for monopoly powers which should never be permitted to anyone, but also greedy for conscriptive and disciplinary powers which, if exercised by any government, would be denounced as political tyranny.

The drive for compulsory unionism is more clearly menacing to the welfare of the American people when it is seen that, as labor monopolies have grown in power, irresponsible and vicious uses of the strike weapon have steadily increased. This unrestricted power to injure not only large communities, but all the American people, cannot be permitted to remain available to any class or segment of our free society.

A strike against one employer, or a group of employers, may be tolerated as a crude but effective way of inflicting a competitive injury. It need not be always regarded as an assault against the public welfare. But an industry-wide strike is nothing less than the inflicting of a deliberate injury upon the nation for the purpose of forcing the suffering public to compel the managers of industry to accede to the strikers' demands, regardless of how unreasonable or harmful to public or private interests these demands may be.

Many a strike which the public could not endure for more than a few days has been called or threatened against transportation agencies and other public utilities. Such conduct has no more justification than other forms of blackmail and extortion.

It is time for the people generally to recognize

that extortion is extortion, no matter whether it is practiced by a racketeer for his personal gain or by a labor organization to make private gains for its members. It is the method that is criminal, regardless of the objective, just as assaults and mayhem and murder are crimes even when committed by striking workers or their allies.

The need to curb an unrestricted power to strike has been proved, not merely by the vast injuries done by nation-wide strikes, but also by the repeated use of a costly strike to enforce some petty demand or to rectify some petty wrong. Not long ago the press reported a strike of 1,500 trainmen which deprived about 50,000 other workers of their employment—all because of a ten-day suspension imposed by railroad managers on two conductors who had been accused of a slowdown! Obviously the union, the employer, or the community would have gained heavily by paying the suspended men five times the amount of their lost wages. Or the dispute could have been settled by a quick arbitration at a trifling expenditure of time and money compared with the enormous cost to the workers alone of the idling of 50,000 men for even a day.

A Suggested Program

Over and over again we have seen such examples of arrogance and stupidity in the use of the great powers now in the hands of labor organizations. The record of the last fifty years proves conclusively that labor unions should be compelled to accept public responsibilities commensurate with their powers to do harm, or else such powers should be taken away from them.

To summarize the conclusions of half a century of active research, I would offer a practical program of obvious remedies for intolerable abuses of labor's powers of collective action—powers which in general should be preserved, but in particular uses must be restrained:

1. The creation and exercise of monopoly powers by labor unions should be made unlawful.

2. Compulsory unionism, a form of involuntary servitude, should be abolished by law. This is a duty of Congress under the Thirteenth Amendment.

3. The right to strike should be qualified and limited by defining the lawful objects, the lawful methods, and the lawful occasions for strikes. Strikes should be held unlawful which are: (1) against the public health, safety, and welfare; (2) to compel political action; (3) without a preceding reasonable effort to avoid a strike; (4) conducted with the aid or toleration of criminal violence.

All our efforts to avoid international warfare, or to strengthen our resistance to international aggression, will be seriously weakened so long as we tolerate civil warfare as the means of deciding conflicts of economic interest within our borders.

The Delinquent Liberals

By MAX EASTMAN

Some answers to the puzzling question of why free minds in our midst continue to promote the interests of a regime of absolute tyranny.

Those who cling to socialism often say that we who have let go are suffering from shock at the murderous outcome of Lenin's seizure of power in a backward country. It is true that the horrendous results of Lenin's experiment in state control—and no less Hitler's—have influenced our judgment. They have reminded us of certain hard facts of human history that in our infatuation with an ideal we had forgotten. And who will deny that the reminder has caused painful emotion? Who will pretend that, having journeyed to the cradle of a "society of the free and equal," and seen rise out of it the most absolute and bloody tyranny that history has known, he did not experience a devastatingly sad surprise? I must testify, however, that I was more surprised and saddened by the reaction to that tyranny of liberal and free minds in other countries than by the tyranny itself.

I had never looked for purposive intelligence to our American liberals and humanitarian reformers. Kidding the *New Republic* of Herbert Croly and Walter Lippmann from a class-struggle point of view was one of my pleasant pastimes as a Socialist editor. The *Survey* and the *Nation* I liked better, but I thought of them, too, as theoretical opponents. I called the editors and adherents of these papers "soft-headed idealists," by which I meant people who use their minds to mitigate the subjective impact of unpleasant facts instead of defining facts with a view to drastic action.

There occurred no change in my feeling on this subject when I abandoned the idea of proletarian revolution. I still think the worst enemy of human hope is not brute facts, but men of brains who will not face them. For that reason I had no high expectations of the liberal intelligentsia when it came to acknowledging that the "revolution of our times," as so far conceived, has been, and will be a failure. I never dreamed, however, that they could sink to the depths of maudlin self-deception and abject treason to truth, freedom, justice, and mercy that many of them have reached in regard to the Russian debacle. That has indeed profoundly, and more than any other shock, whether emotional or intellectual, disabused me of the dream of liberty under a socialist state. If these supposedly elevated and detached minds, free of any dread, of any pressure, of any compulsion to choose except between truth and their own mental comfort, cannot recognize absolute horror, the absolute degradation

of man, the end of science, art, law, human aspiration, and civilized morals, when these arrive in a far country, what will they be worth when the pressure is put upon them here at home? They will be worth nothing except to the dark powers that will most certainly undertake to convert state-owned property into an instrument of exploitation beside which the reign of private capital will seem to have been, in truth, a golden age of freedom and equality for all.

To that much emotional shock I plead guilty. But I do not want to leave it there. Many of these delinquent liberals were my friends in past years despite our differences, and I find myself continually puzzling over the problem of their motivation. Why have they betrayed themselves? Why do they promote the interests of a regime under which even they, traitors to democracy though they are, would be shot for half-heartedness, or permitted to die of starvation in a slave camp for having in the past believed, or thought they believed, in freedom?

Decline of an Ideal

Up to 1917 it is not hard to understand what happened to them. The old liberal movement grew out of the struggle against absolutism and feudal oppression. The freedom fought for in that struggle included free trade as a matter of course. But free trade and the industrial revolution soon raised the general wealth so high that idealists began to worry about the living conditions of the poor. It is perhaps not too much to say, as the canny Norwegian, Trygve Hoff, does, that a social conscience was born of this great rise in wealth production. The first sagacious step toward bettering the condition of the poor would obviously have been to increase still more the production of wealth. Then if the pangs of the social conscience had kept pace with this increase, all might have been well. What it did was to run way ahead of the increase in wealth. People were attacking the businessman and demanding a better distribution of profits long before their distribution would have made any appreciable difference in the general condition of the poor. As wealth production increased, this state of pained conscience among liberals—themselves businessmen often enough—increased much faster. So fast that their zeal for liberty was gradually replaced by a zeal for social justice. Their liberalism became al-

most indistinguishable from humanitarianism. Nor was this change of mind and mood among liberals retarded by Marx's doctrinaire announcement that their interest in freedom had been a fake all along: capitalist profits, not human rights, had been the goal of their struggle against absolutism; their great revolution had been "bourgeois," not democratic.

They still talked the language of liberty—so also did Marx—but their dominant drive was toward a juster distribution of the unheard-of wealth that under a regime dominated by the idea of liberty had been piling up. The culmination of this change was, in England, the decline of the Liberal Party, the seeping away of its membership into the Labor Party with its promise to expropriate the capitalists, and in the United States the transformation of the old liberal press into organs of the New Deal—a government of settlement workers become militant, not in the cause of freedom, but in the battle against "economic royalists." The whole development is summed up in the contrast between Benjamin Franklin's: "Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety," and Harold Laski's: "Those who know the normal life of the poor . . . will realize well enough that, without economic security, liberty is not worth having."

This much, then, must be said in defense of the delinquent liberals. The edge of their passion for freedom had been growing blunter for decades before the rise of totalitarianism put their loyalties to a test. It is not only freedom that they betray, however, in apologizing for the Soviet tyranny, or pussyfooting about it, or blackening America so savagely that Russia shines in unspoken contrast. They are betraying civilization itself. They are lending a hand in the destruction of its basic values, promoting a return march in every phase of human progress. Reinstitution of slavery, revival of torture, star chamber proceedings, execution without trial, disruption of families, deportation of nations, massacre of communities, corruption of science, art, philosophy, history, tearing down of the standards of truth, justice, mercy, the dignity and the rights of man—even his right to martyrdom—everything that had been won in the long struggle up from savagery and barbarism. How shall I account for this depraved behavior—for that is how it appears to me—on the part of friends and colleagues who were once dedicated to an effort to make society more just and merciful, more truth-perceiving, more "free and equal" than it was?

They shield themselves from facts, I suppose, by choosing what books and newspapers to read. Many violent conflicts of opinion come down to a difference in reading matter. And this is especially so in the case of Soviet Communism, for it has been put over with a campaign of All-Union and International Lying whose extent,

skill, efficiency, and consecration is almost harder to believe in than the truth it conceals. Indeed the distinction between truth and the exact fabrications handed down for propagation by the heads of the world party in the Kremlin has disappeared very largely from the minds of its members. Until one has grasped this phenomenon in its full proportions, and learned to distinguish the sincere truth-teller from the sincere lie-teller, it is not easy to be hard-headed about Russian Communism. This too may be advanced in defense of the delinquent liberals—they are the victims of a swindle which nothing in past history had prepared them to detect.

Harold Laski's Conflict

A great many of them, however, are not deceived, but are swallowing the horrors of life under the Soviets with open eyes and a kind of staring gulp that is more like madness than a mistake. In the effort with their soft heads to be hard, they have gone out of the world of reasoned discussion altogether. Again I will take the late Harold Laski as an example. No anti-Communist has more candidly and crushingly described the blotting out of civilized values and all free ways of life by the Russian Soviet state than he did; and yet no pro-Communist has more vigorously defended that state, or brought more intellectual authority to its support. There must be, I suppose, in all the delinquent liberals, a repressed conflict between the impulse to speak those truths that are important to man's civilized survival and the more compelling thirst for a comfortable opinion. In Laski, because of some strange and perhaps bumptious quirk in his nature, this conflict was not repressed, but was naively or insolently blared forth. I met him for the last time in a debate on the "Town Meeting of the Air" September 19, 1946. Knowing about this conflict in his soul, I brought with me to the debate the passage from his *Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time* in which he most eloquently describes the horrors of life under the Soviet Communist regime. In the course of the debate, I mentioned some of Stalin's crimes and Laski replied: "It's no part of my case that Russia hasn't committed crime and been guilty of grave blunders and committed inconceivable follies: so has the United States, and so has Great Britain."

In answer, I said: "I'm going to read from Laski's own book some of the crimes that have been committed in the Soviet Union, and you see if any of them have been committed in the United States or England." I then read this passage from *Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time*, or as much of it as I could crowd into the time granted me:

Despite the pledges of the Constitution of 1936, there is no freedom of speech, except for Stalin's adherents, no freedom of the press or assembly. Everyone knows that the elections are a farce: no

candidatures are possible which reject the party line, and even the ballot-papers for them read like a hymn to Stalin. Freedom of movement is gravely restricted. Contact with foreigners is looked upon with suspicion. There is arbitrary arrest; there is long imprisonment, and execution without trial. Citizens cannot travel abroad without the permission of the government. Most political offences are tried in secret; there is no writ of *habeas corpus*, no right to subpoena witnesses, no right to a professional defence. The death penalty may be imposed for injury to, or theft of, collective property; and even "teasing, mocking, or persecuting" a shock-worker may, under Article 58 of the Criminal Code, become "wrecking," and so punishable with death.

The moderator interrupted me and asked Laski: "Do you care to comment?" And Laski, spreading his hands in a gesture which my friends in the audience described as sickly, answered: "No."

Laski did have, of course, a scheme for convincing himself that in a nation thus chained and trampled by power-lustful and unbridled masters of the state, the Revolution of Our Time is bringing to birth a new age of freedom and humane reform. He accomplished it by opposing the words "economic" and "political" as though they designated things happening on different planets. While the above listed horrors filled the sphere called "politics," the sphere called "economics," he asked us to believe, was brimming with sweetness and light. I quote, also with condensation, from the same book:

In the narrow economic sphere, there is a more genuine basis for economic freedom for the masses in the Soviet Union than they have elsewhere previously enjoyed. . . . Millions, in every field and factory, help to make the conditions under which they live. There are the effective beginnings of constitutional government in industry. Care for the health, sanitation, and safety of the workers in field and factory has been established at a pace which would have been unthinkable in any capitalist society. The administration of justice (political offences apart) is on a level superior to that of most other countries.

It is obvious that no man thinking about concrete facts could put these two passages into the same book and chapter. How can it be that in a country where "there is no right of *habeas corpus*, no right to subpoena witnesses, no right to a professional defense," nevertheless "the administration of justice (political offences apart) is on a level superior to that of most other countries"? What jocular Deity brings it about that while death may be the penalty for teasing another worker, nevertheless "care for the health, safety, and sanitation of the workers" outruns all previous norms? How does it come to pass that where "elections are a farce, freedom of movement is restricted, there is arbitrary arrest, imprisonment, and execution without trial," nevertheless "there are the effective beginnings of constitutional government in industry . . . and millions help to make the conditions under which they live"? Would these millions not be more likely, in a real world, to establish the beginnings of constitutional

government by making the rules under which they can be dragged out and shot?

That this artificial division of society into two halves, political and economic, in which opposite things are taking place, should have been put before us with obeisances to "Marxism," was a prodigy of intellectual gymnastics. But Marx or no Marx, any man of hard sense knows that the Russian people are not being subjected to these hideous political repressions for their own good. It is not to bring in the Kingdom of Heaven that the masters of the state have locked the population in this toothed vise.

I dwell upon this unreal notion of Laski's because I think it exposes in a raw and yet elaborated form what has happened in the minds of many of the pro-Soviet liberals. They are not totally blind to the monstrous things that have happened in Russia, but they have reasoned their way to a point of tranquil acquiescence by means of this nonsense about political versus economic.

This too, then, must be said in behalf of the delinquent liberals: they had a rationalization, a cerebral alibi, so to speak, for their crime of treason against civilization. They managed to draw the whole thing up into their heads where it did not seem so bad.

Economic Freedom

It is significant that while pro-Communist liberals apologize for the political enslavement of the Russian people on the ground that they are economically free, the pro-Socialist liberals make an opposite use of the same artificial distinction. They tell us that *economic* enslavement will not deprive us of our real freedom, which is *political*. Philip Rahv in the *Partisan Review*, defending the British Socialist regime against the assertion of Dos Passos that "personal liberty has been contracted in Great Britain," said: "The evidence cited by Dos Passos shows that the contraction he speaks of has occurred solely in the economic sphere. Socialists, however, do not consider the right to buy and sell as one pleases to be a significant part of the heritage of freedom." Stuart Chase took the same line in defending a state-planned society, and to them both Friedrich Hayek made the obvious and conclusive answer: "Economic control is not merely control of a sector of human life which can be separated from the rest; it is the control of the means for all our ends."

It hardly requires a Marx or a Hayek, however, to reveal the unreality of this dichotomy. It is clear to all who possess "the faculty to imagine that which they know." And I often think that the lack of this faculty or habit, so justly praised by Shelley in his "Defense of Poetry," is one of the main causes of the delinquency of the liberals. They are predominantly intellectual—and are not intellectuals in general, even when originally moved by sympathy, strangely heartless and conscienceless

through the very fact that they make a habit of abstract thinking.? A phrase like "workers and peasants," or "kulaks," or "prison camps," or "execution without trial," becomes a bloodless pawn which they move around on the cerebral blueprint of a schemed-out world with as little sense of the human hearts and bodies designated by it as though they were playing a game of chess. This enables them to go on calling themselves "left" and "liberal" after all the original meaning except to their own self-esteem has been dragged out of those terms.

Another and cruder motive undoubtedly swung many once refined liberals into the camp of the brutalitarian tyrants. That is an underlying irresistible wish to associate themselves with power. Their early ideals had made spiritual rebels of them in their own country. They were commonly not only against the government and the "vested interests," but in a state at least of mild demur against the whole established hierarchy of persons and values. To the thinking mind this was valid and exciting, but to mere organic tissue it was a hard attitude to keep up for a lifetime.

All human history testifies to the strength and generality of what may be called the hierarchical instinct. Students of comparative psychology have found it to prevail rigidly even in so pre-human a society as is to be found in the henyard. The caste system in a colony of jackdaws, as described by Konrad Lorentz in his recent book, *King Solomon's Ring*, throws astonishing light on several traits and institutions that we think of as peculiarly human. Particularly the disposition to recognize the elite, to fall in line comfortably under those having the prestige of superior power. Its roots seem to be as deep, almost, as the impulse to form a society. Surely this trait cannot be ignored in trying to assess the causes of the cultural disaster that I am discussing.

Dwight MacDonald, speaking of a liberal whose delinquency was transitory and need not be advertised here, says: "The spell of Communism for people like [him] seems to have been that at last they could identify themselves with power without feeling guilty. [His] political language, in America a despised minority dialect, was now spoken throughout a sixth of the globe. A vast international movement backed by a powerful government was going his way—or seemed to be."

Whatever may be the inner truth about the individual in question, the acuteness of this comment on the great wave of enthusiasm for "the proletariat" that struck our liberal intelligentsia in the early thirties cannot be denied.

Still I do not think this trait, or all the above traits together, explain the permanent and unrelenting treachery to civilization of so many distinguished minds in this crisis of man's history. They had not all lost their passion for freedom; they do not all fall for the lie campaign, or swallow the politics-versus-economics moonshine; they are

not all excessively cerebral, or swayed by a primitive adoration of power. I think probably the most general explanation lies in a kind of spiritual cowardice. Life is a battle; it is a battle without any victory, and these aspiring idealists lack the pluck to go down fighting it. Bereaved of God and heavenly blessedness, they have to find some home, some certainty, some Absolute on earth, if it is only the absolute parody of their dreams. And that is about all there is left of the Soviet heaven after they get through listing the qualifications in their adoration of it. The extent of these qualifications makes plain the selfishness of their mental condition. With all their brains they cannot draw the inference that any casual man who cares about other people even a little bit must draw from the continuing horrors suffered by millions of simple-hearted, honest folk under the Kremlin's lash. They cannot do it, because it would cause a pain in their own safe bosoms. They would have to know, then, that the world is just as bad as it is, and just as fluid, too. There is no end-term in the fight to better it.

WORTH HEARING AGAIN

. . . the basic idea of America—the motivation of its free enterprise system—is this: that the dynamics of individual men (the engine) should be set free, except temporarily on dangerous curves, from the statics of the State (the brake on the wheels).

The themesong of the most extreme and characteristic collectivists proves that their society is not dynamic but static: "Tis the *final* conflict." No radical conservative envisages a society (this side Judgment Day!) where a "final conflict" is possible—or desirable. To him life is an endless drama of risk and adventure—a dynamic growth toward infinite aspiration which we forever approach but which we can never exhaust. Goethe is the great modern conservative (as well as one of the most truly liberal minds of all time); and such is his philosophy in *Faust*. It is the collectivist who says to the State: "Stay, thou art so fair!"; it is the radical conservative who forever sees, beyond the shabby years, the alabaster cities gleam.

It is also false that, to be liberal, we must see *government* as the sole agent of advance. Has not the initiative and genius of one man—George Washington Carver—done at least as much for the "progress and reform" of the South as the government's ballyhooed TVA? Do we disbelieve in "progress and reform" simply because we trust the spontaneous energies of free men, and distrust Washington?

E. MERRILL ROOT, "Are the 'Liberals' Liberal?", *Human Events*, September 23, 1953

Gag Rule in P.T.A.

By JO HINDMAN

How nearly 8,000,000 parents and teachers are muzzled and indoctrinated by a small, powerful national group.

The efforts of state parent-teacher associations to rid themselves of gag rule on the part of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers (N.C.P.T.) met with varying degrees of success and failure during state conventions this summer. But, taken as a whole, the grassroots rebellion which for a time showed hopeful greenery has once again lapsed into dormancy. Vital policy for almost eight million P.T.A. members continues to be dictated by a small, powerful group, who are busy muffling some and indoctrinating others among the parents.

The Indiana incident is a classic example of gag rule. Local P.T.A. units in that state objected to their board of managers' decision which committed them to support federal aid to education. In 1952 aroused local units forced a reversal of their legislative machinery, removing policy-making from the hands of a few and returning it to the vote of the many. As soon as the new policy was adopted at the Indiana state convention, local P.T.A. groups began voting against the federal aid policy. Now, under the new plan, any legislative program must be submitted to the local units and can be adopted as a state P.T.A. policy only if it is approved by a majority of the local units voting on it.

A similar revolt in California failed to match Indiana's gain. Proposition No. 2 on last November's ballot asked California voters to tax themselves another notch for school upkeep. The California Congress of Parents and Teachers (C.C.P.T.) and the California Teachers' Association lobbied feverishly. Free discussion of the issue was silenced on P.T.A. platforms where only speakers favoring the tax increase were entertained. The C.C.P.T. board of managers had approved the tax measure, and local P.T.A. units were required to go along with that decision. Several units rebelled against the muzzling, and as a result, legislative policy was rewritten at the annual C.C.P.T. convention in Long Beach this year, favoring freedom of speech. P.T.A. people in California can now hear both sides of a question, but only *before* the state board has taken its stand. As a concession, the board promises to attempt more polling of units before establishing policy.

Elsewhere in P.T.A., where action originates on upper levels, the picture is gloomier. This story is illustrative: the N.C.P.T., through its executive committee, recommended support of the United

Nations and started a flow of material through the state and local groups, praising the work of the United Nations Social and Economic Council (UNESCO). Shocked by the instructions to sing the praises of UNESCO, many P.T.A. members rejected the literature.

An article by Eleanor Roosevelt in the June 1953 issue of the *National Parent-Teacher*, official organ of the N.C.P.T., emphasizes the need for parent-teacher groups to help "strengthen" the United Nations. Mrs. Roosevelt admits: "True, the breach has widened between us and the Soviets," and naively adds, "but the breach might have broadened into a war if there hadn't been a place where we *had* to meet and where we were able to talk." In conclusion she repeats the current line of the One Worlders about "hysteria" and "thought control": ". . . parents and teachers today must have courage enough to stand up against waves of public opinion. At present we are going through a period of what I call unreasonable fears, fears that cause great suspicion among us. Many people are afraid to say what they think because it might by chance be something that somebody else might think subversive."

Key P.T.A. members throughout the United States were electrified by an advertisement appearing on the back cover of the February 1953 issue of the *National Parent-Teacher*. It is a matter of pride with P.T.A. people that strict measures have always been taken to keep their organization free from commercial strings. The national handbook rules that the name of the association or the names of its officers in their official capacity must not be used in any connection with a commercial enterprise or publication. Yet this advertisement called attention to "an important current book" issued by a commercial publisher—*The Many Lives of Modern Woman* by Sidonie M. Gruenberg and Hilda Sidney Krech—which it announced would be condensed in the next issue of the magazine. The name of the publisher was not mentioned in the advertisement, but did appear in a footnote with the further promotion of the book through the condensation in the March issue. P.T.A. members whose interest in securing the book had thus been aroused found that the condensation had softened the communalistic theme of the authors, who advocate cooperative nurseries, sewing rooms, restaurants, and cooked food services for American families today.

Meanwhile in California, letters protesting the

blunder reached the state board of managers. One P.T.A. chairman introduced her objection to the infringement of the rules before a district officers' meeting. Her story portrays the grip of gag rule on P.T.A. "Of course," she said, "Any action has to be taken at the national level. I did all I could when I brought it to the attention of the district. Frankly, I feel frustrated. Our district president also discussed the matter before the state board of managers. I know that an inquiry has gone to national from our state board, but we haven't heard a thing—and all that happened months ago, long before the end of school."

Joint Committee with the N.E.A.

High among the unscalable pinnacles of the national organization lies another busily tilled field—the joint committee. Comprised of officials from the N.C.P.T. and the National Education Association (N.E.A.), this committee works to promote "joint projects of vital concern to schools and children." The N.E.A. has a membership of 490,000 school teachers, the majority of whom believe in their handbook's statement (page 54 of the 1952-53 edition): "The profession must know what the public expects of the schools and carry out these wishes as well as possible." But there is a segment in the N.E.A. which tells the public what sort of schools it should have. The interlocking joint committee is this minority's most useful tool.

Activities of the committee during 1951-52 included "the cutting of competitive athletics down to size in terms of the physical capacities and development of all pupils." Simultaneous ratification by P.T.A. appeared in the *California Parents and Teachers* magazine during those years. Overdrawn, fear-charged articles attempted to show how free competitive play injures cartilage and causes faulty bone growth. These features implied that banishment of score sheets will eliminate the injuries that children sometimes do suffer in play.

In July 1953 P.T.A. became involved in the Little League baseball controversy with the Los Angeles City Recreation and Parks Department. Sponsors of Little League, a nation-wide organization locally supported by service clubs or merchants, maintain that the competition develops leadership, sportsmanship, and appreciation of team effort in the boys. National P.T.A. spokesmen claim it disturbs emotions and breeds neurotics. In Los Angeles a vice president of the N.C.P.T. quoted from a sports planning conference report which criticized the Little League's system of county, state, and national tournaments as "improper for the age group involved." The cue for this attitude had been struck three months earlier at the California convention when delegates were exposed to a wire recording that included criticism of competitive baseball. Delegates shrugged it off as more of "that leveling-off process" that they are bombarded with, but

the truth stands that P.T.A. is advancing as gospel a view that has not been freely discussed or voted upon by its card-holding membership.

Competition is likewise soft-pedaled in some P.T.A. drives for collecting paper, in which no recognition prize is awarded to the eager youngster who has outstripped his classmates in collecting zeal. Whether or not the average P.T.A. father and mother approve of their child's urge to excel, P.T.A. is encouraging attitudes against this, implemented by policies executed dictatorially and without regard for parent opinion.

Working in its field, the N.E.A. side of the joint committee is fulfilling its terms of the pact, key-noted as far back as its Cleveland convention in 1934, by urging the elimination of badges and certificates of excellence in spelling, penmanship, and other scholastic achievement. Graded report cards, setting forth scholarship rating in percentages, or the traditional A-B-C-D-F scale, have taken a vigorous drubbing.

The attempt to turn parent attitudes against the graded report has long been a pet project of so-called "progressive" educators. Through P.T.A. channels, parents hear that the graded report is outmoded because it injures the child's emotional development. Parents also read this fear-inspiring dogma in articles prepared for P.T.A. magazines. Nowhere is mentioned the fact that the incentive-graded report card is still widely used throughout the United States, Hawaii, and Alaska, nor that several school districts which junked the incentive-grading system are swinging back to scientific measurements after the chastening experience of using meaningless check marks to evaluate pupil progress.

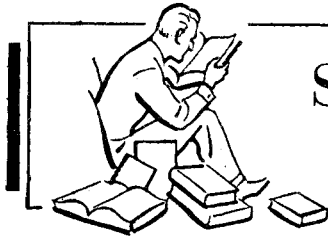
Investigation discloses that gag rule and its companion, indoctrination, have less hold over some local parent-teacher associations than others. The groups most loyal to principles established by the founders of P.T.A. are most apt to question the ideologies foisted on them. Winning back freedom of speech and majority rule have been given tremendous uplift by the Indiana and California rebellions, but these victories extend only to state boards. Beyond lies the national organization.

The Quiet Bird

Memory is specialized and spare,
Showing a thrush upon the lawn
And ecstasy to see him there,
White satin with the heart-shaped mark
Splashed lavish on.

Memory's alert without a sound,
Still as the thrush upon the ground,
And stamped with dark.

LOUISE TOWNSEND NICHOLL



Somber Present, Gay Past

By JAMES BURNHAM

How Russia is Ruled is a competent book in its kind. (*How Russia is Ruled*, by Merle Fainsod, 575 pp., Harvard University Press, \$7.50.) It contains a vast amount of information. Its documentation, most of it from original Soviet sources, is thorough. Its author is a professor of government at Harvard, and director of political studies at Harvard's Russian Research Center. He has abandoned the typical illusions that beset well-meaning professors in decades past. He is no Sidney Webb or Harold Laski. He knows that in the Kremlin's system of rule the secret police are more important than the Stalin Constitution. Nevertheless, his book fails somehow to produce a conviction of reality. There is something dead about it.

Perhaps it is only a question of style. Although Professor Fainsod's prose is relatively free from academic overloading with technical jargon, he writes with what might be called an academic syntax. There is never any verbal surprise from the ordering of his sentences. They are unconcrete, correct, and dull.

The complexity of the problem of political loyalty and disloyalty is emphasized by the fact that some policies of the Soviet leadership command widespread approval even among those hostile to the regime, while other policies or institutional characteristics meet widespread disapproval even among those who have identified their fate with the regime's survival. . . . Despite the fact that identification with the Soviet system usually takes the form of passive accommodation rather than positive enthusiasms, the ability of the regime to command the loyalty of its subjects should not be minimized.

Perhaps, also, I want too much. Professor Fainsod serves his readers, it cannot be denied, a large meal. There are heaping plates of statistics. With nearly every chapter there is a side dish of Organizational Charts. There is abundant sauce of authentic quotations. For appetizer, there is a concentrated review of the Bolsheviks' pursuit and conquest of power.

Much nourishment is here, however stretched out with filler. The five charts of the successive reorganizations of the Central Committee Secretariat may not be enough to rouse a jaded appetite. But Chapter 8, with its statistical analysis of the shifting social composition of the party membership, is something worth sinking the teeth in. There is additional solid food in Part III's survey of constitutional changes and its discussion of terror as a system of power.

The portrait remains stubbornly lifeless, hard as it is to say exactly why, when nearly every judgment of materials and draftsmanship must be favorable. It is all of one tone, without highlight, emphasis, or focus. A banal fact about some formal document holds equal place alongside an observation of potential profundity. When the "Transport Otdel" changes its place in an organizational chart, this is made to seem as significant as when a few million persons are purged. Professor Fainsod knows that there is more myth than reality in the constitutions. Nevertheless, he spends more space on the easier job of listing the formal constitutional changes than on the hard creative task of interpreting their meaning.

More generally, it seems to me that Professor Fainsod, in a kind of passion for "original sources," grants them more credit than is their due. *Every* statement from a Soviet source, even the most minor and seemingly unimportant, must be held suspect. Professor Fainsod knows this in the abstract, but he cannot resist filling his pages with thousands of items that he has laboriously dredged from the Soviet press. He is thereby drawn toward important errors, as, for example, in his overestimation of the role of the soviets.

And why the "Russia" in his title—*How Russia is Ruled*? His book in fact deals with the rule not of Russia merely, but of the Soviet Union, within which Russians are a minority. The slip here is not a little one, and cannot be traced to carelessness only. The Russian Research Center at Harvard is dominated by a "Great Russian" point of view which systematically obscures the truth about the nationality structure of the Soviet Union. On this problem, with all the practical consequences for anti-Soviet policy which are bound up with it, Professor Fainsod sheds no light.

Franz Borkenau is no less meticulous a scholar than Professor Fainsod. He shares the devotion to original sources, among which, in his field, he is able to turn frequently to direct personal experience and personal acquaintance. But he is at all times the master, not the servant, of his data. (*European Communism*, by Franz Borkenau, 564 pp., Harper and Brothers, \$6.00.)

Dr. Borkenau's book on the Communist International, published in 1938, was the first serious history of non-Russian Communism. Because this has been out of print for some years, he begins

his work with a review of the earlier book's contents. He explains the fumbling origins of the Comintern, and traces its early history through 1933, during which time "Germany was the hub of Communist world policy." He then continues the story (for Europe only—Asia and the Americas are outside his scope) for the Hitler period, the time of the Spanish Civil War, the Popular Front, the Nazi Pact, the War and postwar years. In this new book, he has especially "concentrated on France, which ever since 1934 has been the stronghold of European Communism."

European Communism is creative history of the first rank. Its materials are fresh, little known, and sifted with a sharp sense of relevance as well as of accuracy. The facts are ordered not by mere mechanical devices of grammar, but with an integral feeling for organic form. The book exists as a whole, and grasps the mind of the reader. We do not merely look at successive and separable pages, sections, and chapters. We become aware as it were of a living person developing through time, and we are enlightened.

The uniqueness of the Communist enterprise has not been sufficiently stressed. This uniqueness, and the fact that it is right before us in the living, baffling present, is what makes it so hard to understand Communism by the usual academic methods. The conventional approach almost always reduces the unique wholeness of the enterprise to one of its partial aspects. Communism is treated like "a philosophy" comparable to other philosophies; like "a political party" or an expanding "imperialist state." Such reductions are not altogether false, but each of them is by itself distorting and deadening.

Borkenau *understands* the Communist enterprise, and with his help every reader can, if he allows himself, begin to understand it at least a little. I do not mean that we are to accept as finally proved everything that Borkenau says. He does not timidly shrink behind a permanent screen of qualifications, a constant "on this side" and "on the other." He risks many big and controversial judgments (one source of the intellectual excitement of his book), and he can hardly be right on all of them. His personal comments, malicious and often amusing, on Comintern figures whom he knew are hardly subject to exact proof. But when he is wrong, he is wrong about the right issues. He is writing about the real thing.

In Borkenau's account, the Comintern is much more than an abstract extension of the dominant faction of the Russian Politburo. It is continuously changing, shifting, evolving under the pressure of myriad forces which range from great historic crises to small individual foibles. Borkenau is a little too scornful, I think, of the abilities of some of the leaders—he is perhaps settling a few personal scores. It is easy to convict them of intellectual errors, but intellect is after all not very

important in political struggles. What Borkenau calls Lenin's "subjective voluntarism" may have been philosophically jejune, but this is only another name for the mighty political *will* which carried him to power against obstacles that would have plunged mere intellect into passivity.

One general conclusion is time and again suggested by this history. The leaders of the Communist enterprise have, on the most flattering interpretation, made frequent, repeated, and major mistakes. They have made their astounding advance toward their goal of world domination not so much by their own positive talents as by the ignorance, timidity, miscalculation, and lethargy of their opponents. This generalization applies from the very beginning, from the time of the seizure of power in Russia, right through to the present day. From it we ought to be able to take hope, were it not for the reflection that so many "lost chances" seem almost to suggest an even more basic law of the inability of the West to take advantage of Communist failure. "The unteachable insistence upon committing, over and over again, one and the same mistake, reveals, not so much an error of judgment but a moral disease."

In his last pages Borkenau formulates with no hedging a major conclusion. He believes that the rise and fall of Zhdanov completes the proof that the Soviet leadership does not feel the Soviet Union to be at present even "remotely strong enough to start World War III. . . . There is therefore no reason to think in the least in terms of an imminent World War III." He hastens to add: "There is as little reason to be satisfied with the position. I confess that I find few things more exasperating than the almost universal belief that, once American rearmament has made some progress, we shall be over the worst." Our intelligence services might find it profitable to take a week's recess from their flood of "Secret" dispatches and inter-office memos in order to study this book enough to estimate the validity of this conclusion.

We may turn with relief from these somber problems of the present to the delights of the past. It is not that the past did not have its own troubles. But its troubles were not ours; they cannot pierce our bodies and they need not pain our souls. They can become part of a pageant for us to contemplate and delight in. And this, by and large, is what Will Durant happily makes of the Renaissance. (*The Renaissance, by Will Durant, 776 pp., illustrated, Simon & Schuster, \$7.50.*)

Will Durant is the most remarkable of popularizers. I still remember when during my school days his *The Story of Philosophy* was published, and began to sell like coals in Atlanta. The sober teachers and students of philosophy (among whom I then was) were automatically scornful, and for several years could not be brought to read the book. They then found that it was indeed easy

to read, as it must have been, but by no means so vulgar as their envy demanded. More space than in the school texts was spent on the personalities of the philosophers, and "epistemology" was firmly pushed aside. But from it a reader could learn a surprising amount about philosophy, its history and its problems, and could enjoy the learning.

The Renaissance is the fifth volume in Durant's *The Story of Civilization*, which he started in 1927, and plans, with two more volumes, to bring to an end in 1963—his own seventy-eighth year. It is restricted pretty much to Italy in the period 1304-1576, and I do not see why it is not the best single volume history in its field, better, for example, than Burckhardt or Symonds. At any rate, if someone who did not know the Renaissance asked me what to read, this new book of Will Durant's is the first one that I would name.

Durant is very much pro-Renaissance, and this is a good thing for the pleasure of the reading. It is the wonderful overflow of pictures, buildings, and other objects, above all of persons that the Renaissance means to him, that he loves, and that he tells so warmly about. He does not neglect the financial and business underpinning. In theoretical statements he comes rather close to an economic determinism, which he doesn't, however, seem to take too seriously in detail. He has also things to say about the religious and political changes, but it is always the individual persons through whom, about whom, and by whom he writes his history. This has always been his way, and it becomes especially appropriate in telling the story of the Renaissance, so much the age of individuals.

Durant does not share in any degree the conception of the Renaissance, become prominent during the last generation, as the source of the evils of our age and the prelude to the breakdown of Western civilization. This absence deprives his book of depth, and makes it seem a bit old-fashioned. But it is not necessary to do all things at once. He has constructed in words an analogue of a giant movie, a first-rate technicolor chronicle, and it is worth looking at.

Hart Crane

I see your eyes. I listen to you still
Lurching and laughing down a Taxco hill.

I see you clasp a burro whom you meet
And kiss his nose and mingle with his feet.

I hear you half suggesting that a friend
And you arrange a sudden end.

I see you face horizons all alone:
I hear you hit the water like a stone.

WITTER BYNNER

Eternal Search

The Quest, by Elisabeth Langgässer. Translated from the German by Jane Bannard Greene. 370 pp. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$4.00

Elisabeth Langgässer was perhaps one of the most gifted as well as most controversial figures of contemporary German literature. Her particular poetic talent, which drew heavily on the images of ancient mythology and received much of its strength from the romantically mystic landscape of her native Rhine-Hesse, was first recognized in the early 1930s, when she received the Literature Prize for German Women. But her own brand of mystical Catholicism and the dreamlike, irrational quality of her writing made access to her work extremely difficult.

Never a popular writer, she was soon forgotten when Nazi censorship clamped down on her because she was partly Jewish, and for almost a decade Elisabeth Langgässer remained in the shadow. Then, in 1946, she came into sharp focus again with the publication of a powerful and strangely remarkable book, *Das Unauslöschliche Siegel* (The Inextinguishable Seal), which told the mystifying story of a German Jew who became "a prisoner of God" by his conversion to Catholicism. Barely four years later, in 1950, she died at the age of fifty-one. She left behind six volumes of prose and several books of poetry. *The Quest* (originally published as *Maerkische Argonautenfahrt*) was her last book. It is also the first of her works to appear in America.

The Quest is not a novel in the true sense of the word. It is a free-floating, dreamy legend of man's efforts to find a personal peace in a turbulent, chaotic world. Miss Langgässer once described it in her mystic way as "an icon transformed into a fable." Seven confused, guilt-ridden, and bewildered persons—an architect and his sister; an actor; a Jewish couple who escaped from the gas-chambers; a young, demoralized girl; and a disillusioned former soldier—have left the war-torn ruins of Berlin and embarked on a mysterious pilgrimage to Anastasiendorf (the village of resurrection), a convent in southern Brandenburg. There, under the guidance of the Abbess Demetria, they hope to rid themselves of their "melancholy" (i.e., the spirit of nihilism that has poisoned the soil of Europe) and find "joy" in the indefinable state of "grace" that Catholicism affords to those who deliver themselves into the hands of God. But, as it turns out, Demetria never receives the pilgrims. The meandering story switches abruptly to the fate of two little children who vegetate in the ruins of a bombed-out building, and Miss Langgässer never mentions the pilgrims again. Whether they ever reached their goal is no longer her concern; apparently her only interest was in pointing the way.

The characters in *The Quest*—symbols rather than figures of flesh and blood—move around with the magic disregard for time, place, and logical sequence that one finds in the medieval mystery play. They meet casually, part again, become engaged in sexual complications (which seem oddly contrived in the context of Miss Langgässer's narrative), and their endless dialogues, conducted in a stylized, imaginative language, ultimately resolve around the question of their individual resurrection.

In spite of its—perhaps purposeful—disorganization, its shallow passages, and its disconcerting wealth of mythological, religious, and mystic innuendo, Elisabeth Langgässer's book is a powerful symbol of man's eternal search for the indefinable, yet unavoidable goal and center of all human life. That she herself found it in Catholicism is perhaps Miss Langgässer's greatest achievement.

GUNTHER STUHLMANN

Professional Prince

A Rogue with Ease, by M. K. Argus. 211 pp. New York: Harper and Brothers. \$2.75

A sprightly first novel by the author of *Moscow-on-the-Hudson* relates the adventures of a bogus Russian prince in the New York and Hollywood of the 1920s. Prince Saratov is actually Russian—unlike his friend Count Simsky, born Sims in Liverpool, Ohio, and some other members of their protective organization ARNIA (Association of Russian Noblemen in America). The plot has amusing twists, but its chief virtue is that it serves as a thread to hold together the sparkling asides which the author dispenses on nearly every page. For Mr. Argus' comment on human foibles has both wit and warmth.

Russians in America, the subject of Mr. Argus' earlier book of real-life sketches, are featured again in his fictional portraits of the residents of Madame Zubov's rooming house, where Saratov lived before he rose to more princely surroundings. Among them are Ivan, self-centered inventor of the self-winding telescope; the efficient Mademoiselle Kurochkin, who takes Ivan in hand, and the lovely Olga, who acts Chekhov heroines in group theatricals.

The novel's satire is extended to Americans of the 1920s. There are shrewd thrusts at the little group of avant garde thinkers headed by j.j. o'sullivan, who is trying to live down his family's money by becoming a poet of the proletariat and eliminating all capital letters from his name. ". . . it would be easier to equalize the letters of the alphabet than the members of the human race," the author remarks. "One could, of course, ask why it was necessary to lower the upper cases instead of elevating the lower cases. But in all processes of equalization the tendency is, apparently, not so

much toward uplifting the underprivileged as deflating the privileged." Though o'sullivan marries Olga, he can never quite forgive her for deserting the Great Experiment in the Soviet utopia. The society ladies who swoon over the "prince" also come in for spoofing. In his chapters on zany doings in Los Angeles and Hollywood, Mr. Argus is as perceptive as Evelyn Waugh, but there is more good humor in his barbs.

Having come to the United States at about the same time as his hero Saratov, Mr. Argus can now be amusing in two languages. He has brought out two books in English in three years. But his Russian-speaking readers can chuckle six days a week over his column in the anti-Communist newspaper *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*. We wonder what we're missing.

MABEL TRAVIS WOOD

Briefer Mention

Ideas and Places, by Cyril Connolly. 280 pp. New York: Harper and Brothers. \$3.50

Cyril Connolly has assembled here a bookful of the articles, reviews, and editorials that he wrote for the magazine *Horizon*, which he edited during the ten years of its existence (1939-49). There is also included a score of the replies that *Horizon* received to a questionnaire on the livelihood of writers which it circulated widely among British authors. These replies hold both interest and piquancy for their American colleagues. What is most pleasing about Connolly's own pieces is their expression of his pleasure and concern in literature, his regard for its standards, his lament at its debasement. When he tries too hard to be witty in a neo-nineties manner, or to mourn a little too fashionably over the death of culture, he is less agreeable. "During the eight years I have edited *Horizon* we have witnessed a continuous decline in all the arts" sounds less grandiose when put directly beside: "*Horizon* has become aware of the decline of literature through the increasing difficulty of obtaining contributions." Could it be that it was the editor who became tired, or bored?

The World Between the Wars, by Quincy Howe. 784 pp. New York: Simon & Schuster. \$7.50

This is the second of the projected three-volume "World History of Our Own Times." Ostensibly its thesis is the following: "From the United States the voice of Wilson promised peace for all through world democracy. From Russia the voice of Lenin promised plenty for all through world revolution. The history of the next two decades of the twentieth century is the history of the world's search for the goals that Wilson and Lenin defined." However oversimplified, this might have provided Mr. Howe with an organizing principle. He does not really follow it through.

His book is a giant grab bag, stuffed to the lip with quotations selected on no apparent basis except that they are contemporary, with miscellaneous dates, and half-digested facts. Its prose is an alternation of straightforward narrative with journalese.

For the old and middle-aged this volume has some of the uses of a family picture album. Leafing through it, the past revives in recollection. Nearly everything is there, in one mode or another. Still, such a purpose is served by novels and the personal memoir better than by these filing cabinet histories.

The Great Peace, by Raja Hutheesing. 246 pp. New York: Harper and Brothers. \$3.50

Raja Hutheesing is Prime Minister Nehru's brother-in-law and a successful, well traveled journalist in his own right. He knows America and is not very fond of it. He is an Asian ideologically as well as by birth, and condemns with the typical scorn of the well-bred Asian the grievous sins of the West. He has been most sympathetic to the Chinese "anti-imperialist revolution." This background makes all the more impressive his account of two journeys to Mao's China, one as a newspaperman and one as member of the India-China Friendship Association. He found China shut in like a prison, with a "dictator who rules in the name of the people."

No freedom of speech or association is possible. . . Literature is subordinated to politics and so are art, cinema and drama. . . There is no freedom of movement or domicile. . . There is a growing separation between the people and the Party.

Montesquieu's "Great Peace" of autocratic government holds the nation enthralled. "China offers little hope for the future."

There are many interesting reports of direct observation, among them a description of the Germ Warfare exhibit.

The Adventures of Augie March, by Saul Bellow. 536 pp. New York: The Viking Press. \$4.50

Saul Bellow has made a declassified, rootless, metropolitan lumpen-intellectual the hero of a huge picaresque novel. At its best it is fine: witty, sharp, mercilessly observed, with Augie a kind of Jack-in-the-Box Figaro. There are lots of women, and plenty of racing city talk. There is no pretense at an organized formal plot, and no reason why there should be.

Saul Bellow may know too much for the genre which he has chosen. The traditional picaresque is presented from the outside, without comment, explicit or implied. Things just happen to happen the way they do. There is not even any casual or psychological explanation for what goes on. Mr. Bellow and his protagonist, however, are periodically stymied by the pale cast of rather sophisticat-

ed thought, and Mr. Bellow cannot altogether resist occasional proof that he "understands" what is going on. "I got to grinning again," Augie says to himself at the end. "That's the *animal ridens* in me, the laughing creature, forever rising up. What's so laughable, that a Jacqueline, for instance, as hard used as that by rough forces, will still refuse to lead a disappointed life? Or is the laugh at nature—including eternity—that it thinks it can win over us and the power of hope?" Very well, no doubt, but he shouldn't have to *say* it.

The Betrayers, by Ruth Chatterton. 310 pp. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.50

The Betrayers, a novel by Ruth Chatterton, is an attack upon the senatorial committees that investigate subversives. Its message is simply this: it is cruelly anti-liberal to ask men who are working on such projects as atomic defense whether they are agents of the Kremlin. The story involves a nuclear physicist who is smuggling atomic secrets to Russia because he believes that America is fully as evil as her enemy and that only by equalizing, and hence nullifying, the destructive powers of the two countries can war be averted. The other characters do not quite approve of his stand, but their treatment of him is revoltingly like the sympathy one might grant to an idealistic though impractical saint. He does not receive one-twentieth of the damnation poured on the senator who wants him investigated—and even *after* the physicist is found guilty, the book continues to damn investigations. Although they are perfunctorily condemned, it is not the Communists or espionage agents who are the villains of this novel: the villains are the men who want to bring Communism and espionage into the open and do something about them. Described in a style of pseudo-*New Yorker* sophistication, the characters alternate between pouring drinks for one another and tossing off irresponsible nonsense on such life-and-death issues as treason and the atomic bomb. It is this mixture of cocktails and blood that gives the book its peculiar air of moral indecency.

The Bold Women, by Helen Beal Woodward. 373 pp. New York: Farrar, Straus and Young. \$3.75

If proof were needed that women are irrepressible, this book supplies it in abundance. Some fifteen of them parade through its pages indulging in a variety of vagaries and capers and quirks of thought and dress and deed that are apt to seem rather high-flown even now, let alone in the nineteenth-century American setting that witnessed their determined antics. They are severally admirable, pitiful, engaging, moving—and all of them thoroughly individual. The historical detail is as colorful and fascinating as the ladies themselves. The style is pleasingly conversational.



Adolescents on Broadway

By SERGE FLIEGERS



If the past Broadway season with its *The Children's Hour* and the innumerable offspring in *The King and I* could be called "The Children's Season," the upcoming dramatic cycle might well be known as "The Semester of the Adolescents." With only a few weeks of that semester under way we already have two plays dealing with the trials and tribulations of the immediate post-puberty period.

Tea and Sympathy, which we shall examine more closely in a future issue, concerns the problems of an "off-horse" boy in a typical Eastern prep school. It came to Broadway with the usual fanfare that precedes a hit: the snare drums of high-powered publicity men, banners proclaiming the name of Deborah Kerr, and in the background the reassuring rumble of wealthy backers. *End as a Man*, which describes life in a Southern military academy as seen by Calder Willingham, himself a Southerner, came to Broadway in a somewhat different manner. The story of how it happened is almost more interesting than that of the play.

Mr. Willingham's work was singled out some eight months ago for production at the Actor's Studio, a remarkable organization where aspiring young thespians can acquire theater experience within the very shadow of Broadway and under the tutelage of such luminaries as Elia Kazan and Cheryl Crawford. For work in the Studio *End as a Man* was perfect. It required little scenery, called for a youthful cast, provided spectacular, drama-packed scenes wherein each actor could emote to his heart's content. Not averse to turning practice into profit, the cast decided to give three public performances before moving on to another play. Top Broadway producers were invited to back these appearances, including such astute gentlemen as Lee Strassburg and Paul Vroom, but they would have none of these "semi-amateurs." That would have been the last performance on *End as a Man* had not a pretty, twenty-four year old actress from San Francisco named Claire Heller happened to be in the audience. She stepped forward enthusiastically when it was over to announce: "I thought your play was wonderful. Do you mind if I try to produce it?"

Nobody said No, so Miss Heller went ahead. She took all her savings—\$5,000—and hired the Theater de Lys, a side-street place in Greenwich Village. As director she retained the Studio's Jack Garfein, a wonder boy who escaped from a Czech concentration when he was nineteen and arrived in America knowing just five words of English. Within eighteen months he was teaching speech, and a year later

directing *End as a Man*. The actors included Ben Gazzara from New York's lower East Side, Albert Salmi from the Bay Ridge section of Brooklyn, and Arthur Storch, who has attended dramatic schools in Germany and England. Somehow, in the intimate and hopeful atmosphere of Greenwich Village, this varied combination of talent worked like a charm. They put on a taut, fast-paced drama and—to the unending wonder of this spectator—never wavered once in their Southern accent. They did the whole thing so well, in fact, that *End as a Man* received a unanimous verdict of approval from New York's jaded critics. And Miss Heller set a special mark of some kind by making back her investment within four weeks—a feat even the most optimistic producers dare not dream about.

Encouraged by her artistic and financial success Miss Heller decided to move her production uptown, a geographic undertaking involving approximately thirty-five city blocks and \$35,000. Latest reports indicate a busy box-office.

End as a Man is not a formula play and is notably lacking in many of the ingredients which are supposed to assure success. There is no big name in the cast or producing end, not a single woman among the characters. *End as a Man* is a well-written, impressive drama about the hazing system, an institution some people believe makes a man out of a boy. Mr. Willingham shows quite effectively how this system can also work in reverse. His main character, played by Gazzara, portrays a vicious upper classman who takes out his sadism on the freshmen in his platoon, especially a flabby, spineless newcomer whose part is handled with magnificent repulsiveness by Albert Storch. Gazzara's antics, which include beatings with a broom and a wire coat-hanger, are interrupted when he roughs up the academy's prize football player, a half-witted bully acted to perfection by Albert Salmi.

Nemesis comes in the form of the general in charge of the school—played by Frank M. Thomas, the only member of the entire production who has seen more than thirty summers. During the last scene of the court-martial most of the boys get expelled for being either too tough or not tough enough. Dramatically this is a somewhat unsatisfactory ending. Mr. Willingham tends to tear down his major characters almost before building them up so that in the end we are left with no hero—neither the general nor the school nor the system. Still, as a change from the bland fare of the past

few years *End as a Man* is definitely worth seeing, and it comes mighty close to being a really fine play.

The question remains whether any play can be successfully transplanted from Greenwich Village to the dour soil of Broadway. And another question is whether a play without a star name and with little money behind it can flourish.

TV Drama Grows Up

By FLORA RHETA SCHREIBER

One of the major political novels of our time, *1984* by the late George Orwell, found its way to the television screen as the initial offering of Studio One's sixth season. It was a bold choice, for *1984* is both fantasy and satire, two forms which popular audiences find uncongenial. Yet an audience of 23,000,000 saw it, and many expressed enthusiasm. For here was a production on a plane of high seriousness and artistic integrity, far removed in conception and execution from the run-of-the-mill television drama. Credit belongs to Felix Jackson, the producer; Paul Nickell, the director, William Templeton, the script writer; Henry May, the designer; Eddie Albert, who played Winston Smith, Orwell's hero; Norma Crane, a newcomer to television, as Winston's partner in love-crime; Lorna Greene as Winston's merciless, omniscient interrogator.

The television play succeeded in conveying the grim atmosphere of a future state controlled by a collectivist society, in which truth is legislated, the past is obliterated, and thought police persuade people that ignorance is strength and war is peace. This glimpse into the future went deeper than the usual romantic vision of space cadets and week-end excursions to the moon. It was a future connected not with gadgets, but with the spirit of man, a future that seemed not merely a nightmarish prognosis of things to come, but also a sober diagnosis of things that are. Viewed in the quiet of one's living room, with a mind free to observe and react—in contrast to the fictional minds on the screen—television's *1984*, like the book before it, became an allegory representing the past created by Hitler, the present created by Stalin and Malenkov. It was an allegory, too, of the totalitarian elements within our own country and of the very tendencies within ourselves that make automatism and rote thinking possible.

But the play was not didactic. On the contrary, it told its political story in highly personal terms. When I talked with him, Felix Jackson put it this way: "We concentrated on the person-to-person story, on how the individual suffers under this kind of regime." The world created on the television screen was a world of a dream image. Yet the image,

to be completely convincing, must be sustained without interruption. Two such interruptions did occur, and they were enormously distracting. One was the music, which was neither unfamiliar enough, nor harsh and barren enough, to suggest 1984. The other was Betty Furness' appearance between the acts to sell the products of Westinghouse. That good company had made this production possible, and we were duly grateful. But to be reminded of a 1953 refrigerator while we were concentrating on 1984 was disruptive of mood and pleasure. Wouldn't it have been better business to have the sales talk only at the beginning and the end?

The sets, however, did preserve the dream image. "Don't build us rooms. Build us 1984," Felix Jackson told the scene designers. And this is what they did. They constructed a set abstract in the main, but with two scenes significantly realistic—the glade and the room above the junk shop where the lovers met in what they thought was privacy. In these realistic sets the illusion of the human could be preserved in the surrounding climate of abstraction and hallucination.

And it was against this background that Paul Nickell strove to tell a very human story. He avoided the remote, the stylized, the depersonalized directorial techniques that the theme inherently suggested. The result was the emergence of a love-against-the-world motif, a very ancient theme that seemed the more tragic in a world which had abolished not only love, but all human feeling and thought. Just as the lovers as a pair seemed ill-starred, so did Winston himself seem a tragic hero. His fall from individual to robot seemed the fall of Everyman, and his nobility seemed greater by his juxtaposition to those who had early made their peace with the unrelenting automatism of the super-state.

Successful in its own terms, this production nevertheless raises certain questions concerning television's suitability as a medium for literature. Values are lost inevitably by the need of cutting to fifty minutes of acting time. Video's Winston, for instance, could not indulge in the luxury of memory, as he did in the first chapter of the novel. Similarly, the mysteries and complications of Orwell's "doublethink" just did not exist on television. And the horror of individual scenes was minimized. Video's Winston enters the torture room only for a moment, and the audience never sees what is behind the door. In comparison with the cumulative terror of the original, this version of the famous scene was clearly made palatable. This was unfortunate. For *1984* as a whole shows that though television imposes limitations on the extent to which character, mood, and thought can be elaborated, it does remain a viable vehicle for literature's less palatable forms—fantasy, satire, and tragedy. But if television is to develop these genres, it must not be guilty of protecting its audiences from the pain implicit in a play.

What Art Means to Me

I feel within an impulse, perhaps that divine impulse which has moved all races in all ages and in all climes, to record in enduring form the emotions that stir within.

I may model these emotions in clay, carve them in wood, hew them in stone, or forge them in steel. I may weave them in textiles, paint them on canvas or voice them in song, but whichever I do I must hearken always to the song of the lark and the melody of the forest and stream and respond to the color of the rose and the structure of the lily, so that my creation may be in accord with God's law and the universal laws of order, perfect fitness and harmony.

Moreover, I must make my creation good and honest and true, so that it may be a credit to me and live after I am dead, revealing to others something of the pleasure which I found in its making.

When will my creation be art whether I be poet or painter, blacksmith or cobbler for I shall have labored honestly and lovingly in the realization of an ideal.

FROM OUR READERS

(Continued from p. 76)

public debt out of commercial banks into the hands of "real lenders" from savings. This is the only alternative to inflation.

Public ignorance and prejudice in matters of elementary economics make a program of plunder easy for interested groups in a position to extort money from the rest of society through currency depreciation. One such classification consists of all-powerful labor monopolies in key industries. Inflation brings about unreal paper "profits" for business enterprises because of the lag in cost-values behind product prices. These "profits" can then be "expropriated" by aggressive labor monopolies, or by government through taxation. The loot really comes out of the nation's capital, its provision for the future.

This is not "theory." I have myself suffered a capital loss of a substantial fraction of the annual pension of a retired professor—already reduced to half its value by inflation—through the fall in value of a small block of stock in a local well-managed bank, whose investment in government securities has been conservative. But it suits the purposes of the C. I. O. propaganda to assume that all bank-stock owners, like security-holders generally and especially all landlords, are rich capitalist exploiters. My commitment of savings to this use was also conservative. Incidentally, the bank was founded after the collapse of the 30's as a community necessity, with only a modest hope of ultimate yield. It paid no return for years, and has gradually worked up to about the minimum considered necessary on risk capital in any going concern.

Chicago, Illinois FRANK H. KNIGHT

Collectivism

I never expected to live to see the day when saving and thrift and accumulation of money by investment and hard work would be spat at and decried by large segments of our population who have been infected with collectivism, in other words, state ownership of assets that have been privately accumulated. State ownership can work only by force and leads directly to communism and slavery.

It is deplorable that this movement toward collectivism and slavery has been helped by politicians who have traded political funds for office. After changing the Constitution so as to permit varying rates of income tax on citizens, they have gone so far as

to get this rate up to 92 per cent of an individual's income. This would be robbery if done by any but the government, and when done by the majority group of people called government, it still is theft on a grand scale.

The sound Americans either must recapture control of one of the major parties or form a new party. . .

Davenport, Iowa JOSEPH S. KIMMEL

Praise for Verses

I feel obliged to you for printing the charming verses, "On a Hilltop" by K. Wharton Sturges, in the issue of September 7. Here is what my daughter wrote me about them: "The poem is a little jewel. To combine such simple words in a simple form and achieve something fresh and beautiful takes the wisdom of a Confucius or the blessing of inspiration. . . ."

Adamstown, Md. D. B. PHILLIPS

Editorial on the U.N.

I consider the FREEMAN one of the best and most informative publications in existence today. "The Absurdity of the U.N." [September 21] was excellent throughout. Twenty-two of the twenty-three states that adopted resolutions to take us into a One World government have revoked this; only Utah has not. . . .

San Francisco, Cal. WILLIAM BURKLE

Answering a Critic

Doris Brushaber in her criticism [October 5] of Mr. James Burnham's review of Eleanor Roosevelt's book overlooks the fact that Mrs. Roosevelt chose to stand alongside her late husband in being committed, so they said, "to do those things which must be done." . . . And while the Roosevelts' thinking, or lack of thinking, can not be charged with all the world's political ills, the brilliance they figured they would give did not aid, but rather greatly weakened the outlook for a saner future. Considering that the Roosevelts' fuzzy ideas have been so very expensive to all of us. . . I feel Mr. Burnham was too kind to Mrs. Roosevelt.

Grand Rapids, Mich. GEORGE W. MACAULEY

American Indians

I regard A. L. Tandy Jemison's article "Neither Free nor Equal" [October 19] as the most revealing and astounding exposé of the tragic plight of our red brothers yet to be presented to the American people. The Constitution must be amended so that the Indians may be made secure in their rights—in courts of law—as is guaranteed to all other citizens. . . .

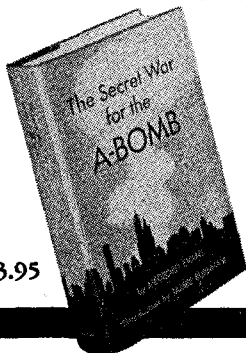
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