

THE

Freeman

OCTOBER 19, 1953

25¢

Will We Have a Depression?

An Editorial

American Indians:

Neither Free Nor Equal

A. L. Tandy Jemison

The Defeat of German Socialism

Norbert Muhlen

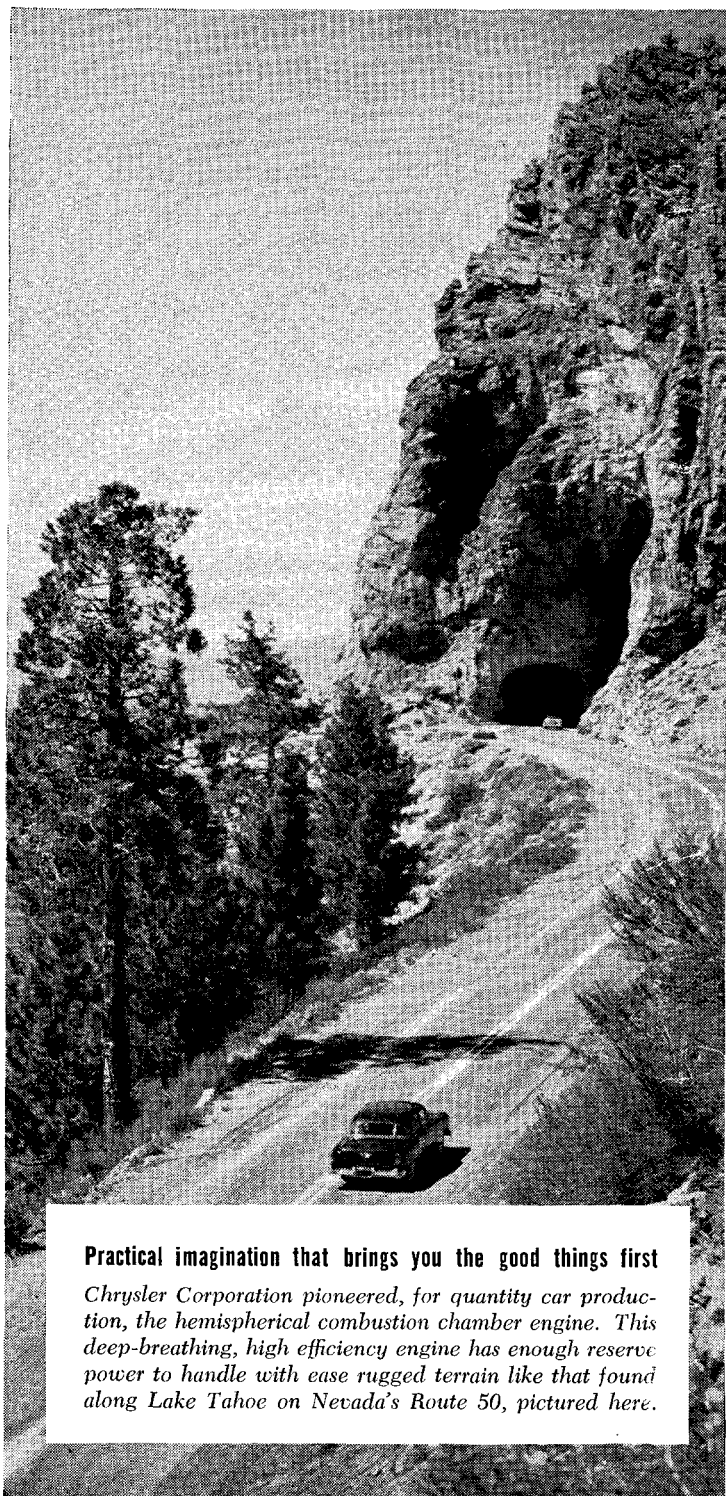
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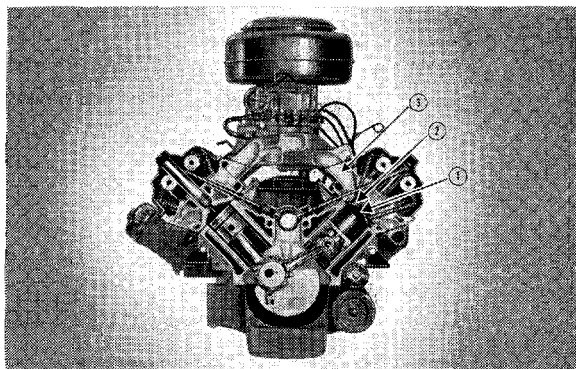
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THE Freeman

*A Fortnightly
For
Individualists*

Editor HENRY HAZLITT
Managing Editor FLORENCE NORTON

Our Contributors

A. L. TANDY JEMISON is a Seneca Indian of western New York State now living in Herndon, Virginia. She has been active in Indian affairs for many years and helped make the fight, she writes us, to defeat the highly discriminatory New Deal program for Indians enacted in 1934, about which she writes in detail in her article.

NORBERT MUHLEN will be remembered by our readers for his moving story on the East German riots in our issue of October 5 ("When the Red Flag Came Down"). His analysis of the status and prospects of socialism in Germany was written for the FREEMAN immediately after the September 6 elections and based on first-hand observations of their results.

DON KNOWLTON served as a member of the U. S. Employer Delegation to the Annual Conference of the International Labor Organization in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1951 and 1952. His reports on these conferences appeared in the FREEMAN (issues of November 5, 1951, and September 22, 1952).

MERRILL GRISWOLD, for the past twenty-one years chairman of the Massachusetts Investors Trust, is also a director of Dewey & Almy Chemical Company, John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance, Pan American World Airways, and chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Research and Development Corporation.

JULES MONNEROT, distinguished French sociologist and psychologist, was one of the first writers in France to oppose the Communist influence over his country's intellectual life. His brief remarks in this issue (p. 58) on some differences between America and France will be included in a forthcoming book, *What Europe Thinks of America*, edited by James Burnham.

HELMUT SCHOECK is a professor at Yale University.

LOUISE TOWNSEND NICHOLL'S *Collected Poems* will be published next month by E. P. Dutton and Company, New York.

In Forthcoming Issues

From his home at Martha's Vineyard, Mass., Max Eastman has just sent us another of his hard-hitting essays on socialism and the liberal left. Entitled "The Delinquent Liberals," it is scheduled for our next issue. From England F. A. Voigt has airtailed a timely discussion of Tito's neutralism, based on material that has had no publicity in this country and is generally little known here. And from Europe we have a new and vividly detailed report on the political situation in Italy by Peter Schmid, who might be most accurately described as a roving Swiss reporter.

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FROM OUR READERS

Latin American Communism

The editorial "Central American Yenan" in your issue of September 7, is most disturbing. That Communism has such a foothold on the American continent is bad enough. But that, as you say, the same old drums are successfully beating out again the same old rhythms of "agrarian democrats struggling to get a rod of land and to shake off war and imperialist exploitation," is even worse. . .

What can we do about Communism in Guatemala? Nothing. What could we do even if Russia were permitted to establish air bases there. . .? Nothing. The Additional Protocol Relative to Non-Intervention, adopted at Buenos Aires in 1936, forbids it. Article 1 of that protocol provides that "The High Contracting Parties declare inadmissible the intervention of any one of them, directly or indirectly, and for whatever reason, in the internal or external affairs of any of the other Parties." . . .

That protocol passed the United States Senate without reservation. For some sixteen years it has been "the

supreme Law of the Land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby."

ROBERT BLAKE
Maj. Gen. USMC, Ret.
Santa Barbara, Cal.

Unbiased Commentator

Thank you for "The Audience Is Everybody" [September 21]. Flora Rheta Schreiber is the most dispassionate commentator on this field of whom I know. She writes interestingly, yet without bias. . . . Why don't you get her to write on movies, too?

New York City RAE WATMAN

Congressional Investigations

"The Duty to Investigate" by C. Dickerman Williams [September 21] provides an indisputable answer to those would-be broadminded zealots who prate of the evils of McCarthyism. Reading it would be an illuminating experience for that vast army of critics who know so little about the actual duties of Congress.

Toledo, Ohio MORRIS F. MOORE

Sick Man of Europe

France has actually taken the place formerly occupied by Abdul-Hamid II before the First World War. We are interested in the course of events in Indo-China, but should hardly be expected to make further voluntary contributions toward bailing out the French government from the consequences of its own incapacity and demonstrated reluctance to effect the necessary and indispensable reforms of its fiscal and monetary errors. The monetary policy of Germany since 1947 has been in striking contrast to the French, and its economic consequences are striking. France badly needs a major monetary and fiscal operation and the only reason for not undertaking it is that the deputies want to hang on to their jobs.

France is not at all impoverished economically, in proof of which one need only regard the scale of living of the upper bourgeoisie. I remarked to a French friend of mine that either the French did not pay their taxes or were living on their capital. He replied: "They are not living on their capital, I can assure you." Why should we be taxed to pay French taxes?

Villefranche, Alpes Maritimes E.C.R.

Likes Political Articles

I want to tell you how much we all are enjoying the FREEMAN. I think it is the best magazine I read and the political articles are wonderful.

El Paso, Texas LUCINDA TEMPLIN

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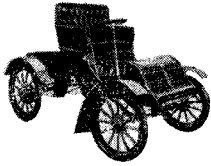
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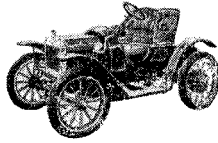
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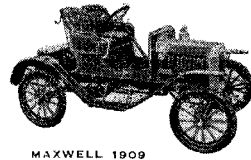
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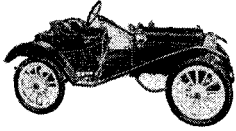
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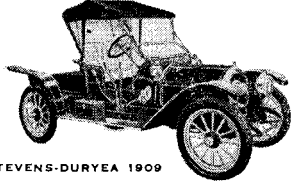
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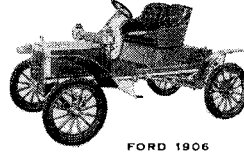
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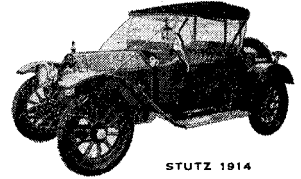
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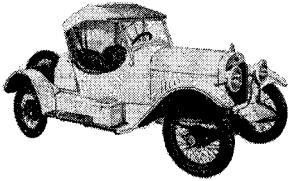
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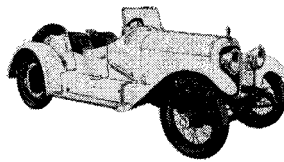
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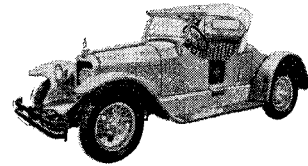
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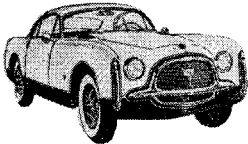
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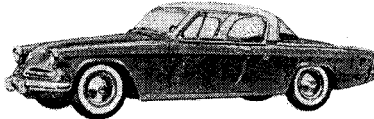
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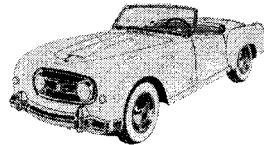
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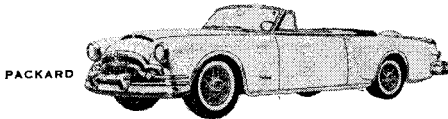
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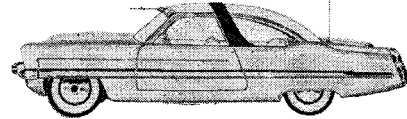
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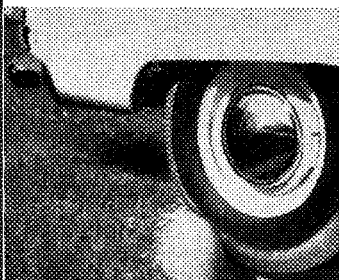
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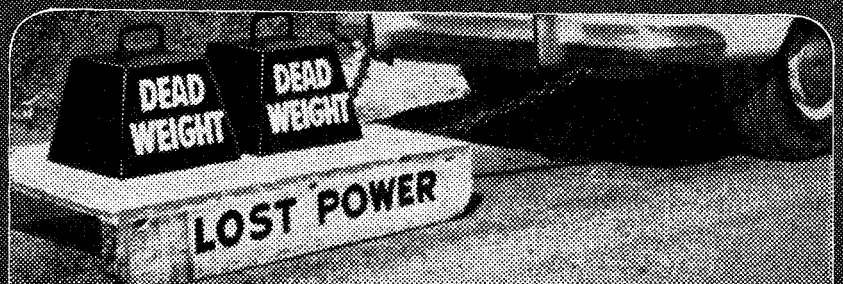
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SERVING INDUSTRY ... WHICH SERVES MANKIND

THE Freeman

MONDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1953

The Fortnight

The Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission is behaving as expected. Its first official act was to issue a letter to the prisoners whose transfer to its jurisdiction had been completed. Even the United Nations officers in the field were forced to comment that this letter read as if written by the Communist propaganda experts. Then came the rules concerning interviews and explanations. On these one American officer mildly remarked: "The Commission bought everything the Communists wanted." The 23,000 unfortunate anti-Communist prisoners will be compelled, by force if necessary, to submit to any number of "explanations" that the Communists call for. No counter-explanation or assurance from our side is under any circumstances permitted. To show that it means business, the Indian troops of the Commission, on the day the rules were issued, shot up a group of protesting anti-Communist prisoners, killing one of them.

No one will deny the winning personal charm of Earl Warren. By his overwhelming electoral victories he has time and again proved his popularity with voters. In office he has demonstrated his administrative skill, and his ability to work constructively with men of diverse kinds and opinions. These are important virtues in the citizen of a republic. They deserve and will almost inevitably gain high public recognition. By themselves, they do not seem to be the precise qualifications that might have been sought in naming a new Chief Justice.

The Supreme Court, in the years immediately ahead, will be adjudicating issues upon which the survival of our form of government and society will directly depend: concerning civil and social rights, the relationship between the state and the federal government, the balance between executive and legislature, the domestic effect of international commitments. To decide these the nation needs the best it can provide in the way of learning, judicial experience, constitutional insight and conviction. Appointment to the

Supreme Court, with the lifetime exemption from direct political struggle which this brings, has often transformed a politician into a serious and objective jurist. We hope this will be the case with the new Chief Justice, and we wish him well.

The theme of the recent annual convention of the A.F.L., if it had a theme, was, as President George Meaney put it, the submergence of human values to the "material welfare of the greedy few." This constructive keynote, which permeated the deliberations of an assembly that today purports to speak for 10,000,000 union members, means that the leadership of the Federation thoroughly dislikes the Eisenhower Administration and all of its works. What it really wants is a return to Mr. Truman, or his equivalent, and a reassertion of the dominance of organized labor in our government in Washington. This being the case, the convention's outlook was political. Its principal concern was the congressional elections of 1954. For this reason Secretary Durkin's resignation could not have been better timed to suit the purposes of Mr. Meaney and his associates. A suspicious person might be inclined to think that the whole business was a plot.

The latest wrinkle in labor relations in the United States is the outbreak of civil war in the port of New York. The beginning of hostilities is the first step in the plan of the A.F.L. to put the existing longshoremen's union out of business and to replace it with a union of its own choosing. This semi-military undertaking has been entrusted to two A.F.L. affiliates, the Seamen's and Teamsters' unions, whose leaders, represented as specimens of the modern type of labor statesmen, rely for the success of their proselytizing efforts not on strong-arm methods but on peaceful persuasion. Their campaign, therefore, was initiated with the invasion of Brooklyn piers by a fleet of automobiles, some with out-of-state licenses, whose passengers, bearers of peaceful tidings, were equipped with the customary weapons of the union organizer's debaters' manual.

All of this goes on under the nose of the government of New York City and in the presence of the

bi-state Waterfront Commission which is charged with reforming labor conditions on the waterfronts of New York and New Jersey. Thus we have the spectacle of private warfare with agencies of government acting as onlookers and referees. So far as the longshoremen are concerned, they are not even given the right, which they enjoy under the Taft-Hartley Act, to choose through a secret ballot the union to which they elect to belong. But perhaps Mr. Beck of the Teamsters and Mr. Hall of the Seamen, their imaginations captured by the methods the North Korean Communists are using to persuade unwilling prisoners of war to return to their native heath, feel that they, too, need the time and facilities required to indoctrinate longshoremen, who are the potential members of the new A.F.L. union.

In connection with Beria's purging and his subsequent adventures in the Land of Rumor, it is odd how little attention has been paid to the fact that he was the chief of the Soviet atomic project. According to Kremlin announcements during the past two months, the Soviet Union has a workable H-Bomb and a whole series of fission bombs. These announcements followed one by one, almost immediately after Beria's exit. We reflect on the following puzzle: does a government get rid of a man at the exact moment when he completes a triumphant achievement in the decisive field upon which the continuing existence of that government depends? All things are possible under Communism, but this makes even less than minimum sense. We continue to wonder: how much of the Soviet atomic armament exists outside of its propaganda bureaus?

There is no older or more universal comedy than that of the impostor who, for a time, carries conviction. Every Russian knows Gogol's inspector general, the young man who is taken for a high government snooper, collects bribes from all the conscience-stricken officials, and disappears just as the news comes in that the true inspector general has arrived. Prussia had its "Captain of Kopenick," a man who got away with many privileges by assuming imaginary military rank. Now France has uncovered a group of individuals who invented a "Resistance" organization called "Wolves of France," and did a roaring business selling certificates of patriotism, gallantry, etc., to persons who were just as willing to draw a veil over the true picture of their conduct during the occupation. The exposure before a Paris court of these sheep in wolves' clothing occurred at an opportune moment, when most Frenchmen are becoming a bit bored with the exaggerated claims of some Resistance participants and with the self-justification of some partisans of Vichy, and would like to forget the whole business.

An important step forward in the legal campaign to rid our schools of subversion has been taken by the New York State Board of Regents. Acting as required under the Feinberg Law, the Board has made a formal finding that "the Communist Party of the United States of America and the Communist Party of the State of New York are subversive organizations as defined by law and should be so listed." Basing itself on a detailed study of Communist literature from Marx onwards and of oral testimony, a special committee of the Regents declared in its report, unanimously approved by the full board, that the Communists "advocate, advise, teach and embrace the doctrine that the Government of the United States should be overthrown by force and violence." The effect of this finding is to require automatic dismissal from the New York school system of any teacher who is proved to be a Communist. Communist obstruction at hearings and through the courts delayed this action for four years. But now, slowly, and by full due process, we are giving legal form to our growing understanding of a vital fact of our age: that the Communist enterprise is an *outlaw* movement, incompatible with our government, our society, and our civilization.

Americans recently were able to observe a marked contrast in attitudes toward testifying before a congressional committee. Professor Corliss Lamont of Columbia University, perennial apologist for the Soviet Union, proved a most balky witness at a Senate committee hearing. Almost simultaneously a scholar of at least equal renown, Professor Marek Korowicz, international law expert from the University of Cracow, showed himself not only willing but eager to tell the House Committee on Un-American Activities everything he knew about Communist oppression in Poland. Professor Korowicz had utilized his appointment as a member of the Polish delegation to the United Nations to make a quick break for freedom. There is an obvious reason for this difference in attitude between two intellectuals. Korowicz knows from personal experience what Communism is.

Fortunately for mankind there arise now and then individual leaders who, by virtue of their human qualities, are able to transcend politics. Ernst Reuter was one of these. By party affiliation he was a Social Democrat, but his proud spirit refused to be confined within the limits of a party machine. From the streets of shattered Berlin he spoke for his city, his people, and ultimately for the entire free world. No matter what provocation or threat was launched from the East, his calm resolution, deepened by wisdom and irony, never wavered. By his death all men who love freedom have lost a champion. By the continuing struggle for freedom his memory will be honored.

Softeners-Up and Whittlers-Down

The firmness, integrity, and consistency of our foreign policy are under formidable attack at home and abroad. On both sides of the Atlantic a corps of softeners-up and whittlers-down is at work. Should their offensive succeed we would find ourselves back in the atmosphere of Teheran and Yalta, when half of Poland was considered a fair equivalent for a smile from Stalin, and Soviet participation in the embryonic United Nations seemed worth the gift of Manchuria, the key to China.

Key slogan of the campaign is that American foreign policy suffers from "intolerance" (Adlai Attlee's favorite word), "inflexibility" (Clement Stevenson's preferred expression), and "rigidity," bugbear of sophisticated commentators. The unspoken implication is that Soviet foreign policy, at least since the death of Stalin, has been tolerant, flexible, and elastic, although a glance at the map fails to reveal one square inch of territory that has been freed from Soviet imperial control or any loosening of the bonds that hold together an empire greater than Genghis Khan's, embracing one-third of the population of the world.

There have been several recent developments in this drive to soften up and whittle down the declared aims and purposes of the Eisenhower Administration in foreign policy. Whatever may be their personal rivalries and other differences, Mr. Attlee and Mr. Bevan seem in substantial agreement as to America's supposed predominant share of responsibility for current international tension. The influential *Times* of London seems as eager to appease Malenkov as it was to appease Hitler at the time of Munich and works up a passion of indignation against Syngman Rhee which it was never able to muster against the North Korean and Chinese Communist aggressors. Stevenson's speech in Chicago, while phrased more moderately than the strictures of our foreign critics, bore down heavily on the note of "inflexibility" and included what might well be cited as the outstanding false cliché of the year: "The door to the conference room is the door to peace."

There have been many conferences between the Soviet Union and the Western powers on various subjects and at various official levels. So far as can be discerned, not one of these conferences advanced the cause of peace, and the one-sided concessions to the Soviet viewpoint at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam were definitely detrimental to the prospects of peace.

Mr. Dulles' speech in the United Nations on September 17 suggests that there may have been some penetration of our diplomatic lines. The implications of some statements in this speech are

disturbing. The emphasis was not on the necessity for German reunion in freedom, but as we pointed out in our October 5 Fortnight paragraphs, on the highly superfluous giving of assurance to the Soviet Union against any repetition of Hitler's aggression.

Mr. Dulles' speech may turn out to have been no more than an attempt to soothe domestic and foreign critics without giving up key positions in the cold war fronts of Europe and Asia. But a bolder strategy would be more straightforward and, in the long run, sounder. This would be to issue a statement along the following lines:

"Yes, our policy vis-a-vis the Soviet empire is rigid and inflexible in the sense that there will be no more Yaltas, no more betrayals and sell-outs of friends in the vain hope of appeasing implacable enemies. We are accused of going into conferences without leaving room for maneuver." But the consequences of Soviet wartime and postwar aggression have left us about as much room for maneuver as a man engaged in a desperate tussle on the edge of a cliff. If our critics (see Mr. Stevenson's speech in Chicago) say that 'we have to have something to negotiate with as well as for' they have an obligation to say specifically what we should give up.

"Should we throw independent South Korea to the Communist wolves, under some phony formula of neutralization, after so much American blood has been shed there?

"Should we abandon Chiang Kai-shek and turn over Formosa to the Chinese Communists?

"Should we let the Chinese Communist regime shoot its way into the United Nations and repeat the humiliating British experience of begging for an exchange of diplomatic representatives, and not getting it?

"Should we make a deal behind the back of our strongest and most dependable continental ally, Dr. Konrad Adenauer, and renounce German rearmament, the key to the ground defense of Europe?

"Should we, in deference to Mr. Attlee, who still remembers as one of his finest hours the salute he took from the predominantly Communist volunteers in the Spanish civil war, renege on our advantageous agreement for the use of air and naval bases in Spain?

To ask these questions should be to answer them with an emphatic No. In all this pseudo-sophisticated breastbeating over American "inflexibility," "intolerance," etc. two vital points are overlooked. First, there has been no serious concession from the Soviet side. Second, to proceed on the assumption of the status quo, of the legitimacy and untouchability of the swollen Soviet empire is to admit defeat in the cold war and to prepare disaster for

the future. Secretary of State Dulles might read with profit what Mr. John Foster Dulles wrote in *War and Peace* (Macmillan, p. 251):

The great danger of war would come if and when Soviet leaders successfully combined eastern Europe and Asia into a vast political, industrial, and military unity and completed the "encirclement" phase of their strategy. They would then be so strong that they might well plan to finish their conquest by war.

Will We Have a Depression?

We are again in the season of the year when the prophets of business activity peer anxiously into the future and record their fears and hopes. This preoccupation with the shape of things to come is nothing new. It has had a long history and in the years since the end of the war those who ventured to forecast the trend of economic events were more often wrong than right.

Looked at with the benefit of hindsight, much of what happened to the fortunes of business since 1945 seems today natural and logical, if not inevitable. A fortunate combination of circumstances—the large and unanticipated increase in population, the low levels of production and construction which prevailed throughout the 1930s, the high records of employment and income achieved during the war, and the accumulated war shortages of civilian goods and services—conspired to produce a prolonged and unexpected spell of business expansion. The inherent vitality of our private business system was disclosed by its capacity to generate sufficient purchasing power to compensate for the decline in federal purchases, from 1945 to 1947, of \$75,000,000,000.

This is not to say that all has been smooth sailing. Several times in the course of this postwar business history, there have been warnings and signs of possible saturation. In 1948-49 manufacturing production dropped 20 per cent and unemployment exceeded 4,000,000. But the decline was brief and was followed by further expansion. Several years later the bulge in consumer buying which came close upon the beginning of hostilities in Korea was marked by rising prices and growing inventories. This boom likewise came to an end in the textile and related industries which for more than a year experienced unemployment, falling profits, and even occasional cuts in wages.

Now once again the stage appears to be set for some decline in business, this time in the industries supplying automobiles, refrigerators, and the like, and in the wide range of tools and machinery which, in these postwar years, were so heavily bought by American business. The reasons for this

expectation are neither recondite nor mysterious. They rest on the belief that for a variety of products both consumers and business are for the time being adequately stocked and that a period of adjustment is required to work off excessive inventories and to bring business and personal accounts into better balance.

Few, of course, venture to estimate the duration or intensity of such an adjustment. But there would seem to be ample reason for thinking that the country does not face a disastrous industrial depression. Underlying conditions fail to duplicate those of the 1920s which resulted in the collapse of 1932. Our banks have few of the weaknesses which made them so vulnerable twenty-five years ago. Security and mortgage markets rest today on a much firmer base than at many other periods in our history. There are, to be sure, formidable obstacles in the way of swift adjustments where such are needed to hasten the revival of activity. But even here the management of American industry has proved much more resourceful than its critics had credited it with being.

What happens to business in the next year should convince us that it is possible to sustain high levels of production and employment, while we arrest inflation, cut taxes, reduce the cost of armament, and begin to stop the flood of billions of dollars for foreign aid.

"Multi-Purpose" Power

We'd like to take another look at the government's newly-defined policy on public and private power development. The announcement which the Department of the Interior made last month should not be permitted to disappear into oblivion. After all, this controversy over public versus private power has been with us quite a while—and the Administration's statement suggests that it will be around a good while longer.

The announcement—prepared under the direction of Secretary Douglas McKay and approved by the President—makes the commendable statement that the Department "does not assume that it has exclusive right or responsibility for the construction of dams or the generation, transmission and sale of electric energy in any area, basin or region." Then, however, it says that the government will keep control of what it calls "those multi-purpose projects with hydroelectric developments which, because of size or complexity, are beyond the means of local, public or private enterprise." This observation leads straight into the heart of an old controversy: that the government tends to tie up the generation of electric energy with one or another of the purposes which are more widely accepted as the proper province of federal activity.

A project becomes "multi-purpose" as soon as it

is linked with such matters as, to quote the Department of the Interior again, "the reclamation of arid and semi-arid lands under the federal reclamation laws and the development of natural resources as authorized by Congress." Among these, the statement adds, are "construction of hydro (water) projects under the Interior Department's jurisdiction, which the Department will "actively plan and recommend." Also, and this is a noteworthy policy addition, the Department thinks "these responsibilities include the disposal of surplus electric energy which can be economically produced in the course of the development of these resources."

But what is meant by "surplus"? Who is to decide when, and to what extent, electric energy becomes "surplus"? Past experience suggests that the self-generating bureaucracy starts out with some worthy humanitarian or conservationist objective, quickly gets into a "multi-purpose" enterprise that happens to produce a lot of electric power—which is then declared surplus with the same abandon that placed vast quantities of American war equipment into the hands of black marketeers all the way from Manila to Marseilles, following World War Two.

There is nothing in the government's public power policy statement that can let the foes of the superstate relax and assume that matters are now out of the hands of the power bureaucrats. Too much still depends on the decisions of anonymous underlings in Secretary McKay's Department. There is the danger that a hard core of bureaucrats left over from the Roosevelt-Truman regimes will take the Department's statement as so much window-dressing and face-saving, just enough of an conciliatory gesture to keep the chorus of free enterprisers from protesting too loudly under the White House windows.

The Spanish Agreement

"Faced with the danger that threatens the Western world, the Governments of the United States and Spain, desiring to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security through foresighted measures which will increase their capability. . ." So begins the preamble of the defense agreement with Spain, which, after nearly three years of negotiation, has now been signed and brought into force. By all outward evidence this is a notable success of responsible, nonpartisan diplomacy.

The negotiations were prolonged and difficult, and the bargaining was hard. On both sides, the agreement is strictly business. We get something that we want, and in return the Spaniards get something that they want. There are, apparently, no vague indefinite commitments—none of those vast ideological, humanitarian, one-worldish objec-

tives that sound so impressive to some ears and make such endless trouble in practice.

We get the use of two excellent and several other good harbors for our ships, and for dry-dock and storage purposes. We get the use of a number of airfields which will be enlarged and improved under our direction. These facilities will promote strategic flexibility not only geographically, by providing alternate locations to those already existing in Europe and Africa, but politically. The security of the Spanish bases is not subject to the same political pressures that operate in northern Africa, or to the different set that are active within France and Germany.

In return we undertake to supply Spain with economic, military, and technical aid. This aid should, in part at least, prove of indirect additional benefit to us. It will strengthen the thoroughly anti-Communist and anti-Soviet Spanish armed forces. That it will also strengthen the regime internally, as in the analogous case of Tito, is further consequence which is beyond our power to control.

Although the agreement is thus primarily military in motivation and character, it inevitably has also a political significance. It marks a realistic break with the hangover of ideological leftism which has seen nothing wrong in the diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union and its puppets, or deals with the dissident Communist, Tito, but which has denounced as betrayal any sort of approach to the authoritarian government of Franco. The agreement neither commits individual Americans to approve of Franco's system of government nor requires Spaniards to endorse the American system. It does imply a rejection of the United Nations' resolution of 1946, with its false equation of the present Spanish system and Nazism. However distant the present Spanish government is from our own ideals, we are recognizing that Spain belongs on our side in the present struggle for the world.

The undertaking with Spain is presented as "an executive agreement." As in so many cases of the past fifteen years, this seems to be a subterfuge. It is in reality a treaty. It should be designated as such, and submitted to the Senate for formal ratification. There is no reason to suppose that anything other than early approval would be the outcome of such a procedure. In this case, it can hardly be argued that speed is of the essence, and would be impossible if Congress took a hand. The executive, acting on its own, has already taken more than two years.

Fortunately, Congress will have a chance to express its views when appropriations envisaged under the agreement come up for debate. But this does not excuse another violation of what should be taken for granted on all sides as proper constitutional tradition.

What Is North Korea?

As the conflict over Korea goes into a new phase, it might be useful to keep in mind a small verbal point with large implications. The press and the diplomats talk about "North Korea" and "South Korea" as if they were exactly the same sort of thing. They have been at war; now there is an armistice between them; and tomorrow, if both are willing to make "reasonable compromises," there will be peace. This account is semantic nonsense which can benefit only the Communists.

"North Korea" is, in reality, *nothing at all*. It does not exist, and never did exist. It is not a nation, not a people nor a culture nor a naturally defined geographical region. Korea is all of these things: it exists as a people, nation, and culture, with a distinctive history and a geographical home in the peninsula south of the Yalu River.

The correct phrase would be "the northern part of Korea." By an arbitrary and wholly unjustified line drawn on a map, this northern part was, at the conclusion of World War Two, cut off from the rest of Korea. This line (the 38th parallel) made no economic, geographic, ethnic, or any other kind of sense. It cut through hills, rivers, cities, and farms. The people above and below it were of the same stock, the same religion, the same habits.

From the beginning, there has never been any "North Korean government." That is just a verbal fiction, like "North Korea." The government of the Republic of Korea, the Syngman Rhee government, is the only Korean government. In the northern part of Korea, there was set up a committee of Communist agents, functioning as viceroys of Peiping and Moscow—that is, of foreign powers.

What the native inhabitants of the northern part of Korea thought of this was proved even before the fighting began in 1950. The majority of them crossed over to the south, to live under their own government. During the fighting, most of the remainder followed, until only a few Koreans are left in the northern area.

What exists in the north is a foreign army of occupation and a colonial administration.

In the face of this reality, it is hard to see how Syngman Rhee could take any attitude other than that which he has consistently stated. His country is occupied by a foreign invader who is at the same time an advance echelon of the Soviet world empire. Most obviously, such a situation cannot be stabilized. Most certainly, if the invader, backed by the power of the empire, is left unchallenged where he now is, then the rest of Korea must sooner or later be swallowed.

When and if the "political conference" on Korea is held, a single issue will be fundamentally at stake: the freedom and independence of Korea. These can be secured only by reunification, and

this in turn requires that the force of the invader be withdrawn, or thrust back. Under such circumstances, perhaps with international supervision as in Greece, an all-Korean election could establish and confirm an all-Korean government.

Perhaps this is impossible for the moment. That is no reason for not proclaiming its justice and necessity. With anything less, a Korean truce is sure to be not a solution but an evasion. If that is the best we can do, let's not fool ourselves about it.

Honesty in Mexico

On October 19 President Eisenhower will shake hands with an honest man—Mexico's President Adolfo Ruiz Cortines. The ceremony that brings the two Presidents together is the dedication of the Falcon Dam on the Rio Grande. The White House, in an official announcement, has called the dam "an outstanding example of practical cooperation by two neighboring countries in the utilization of a common resource."

Since Mexico's President was inaugurated last December, he has attacked the Augean stables of corruption with energy and success. His accomplishments are doubly notable because his targets were the men and practices of his own political party, the all-embracing Party of Revolutionary Institutions.

Ruiz Cortines was named by his predecessor, the handsome, genial, and excessively easy-going Miguel Aleman. No one expected Ruiz Cortines to be more than just a loyal party man in high office, a respectable front man for the political freebooters in the backroom. But he fooled them.

It started when the new President listed his own personal property, and asked all public officials to do the same. It took a while for the sleek wise guys among politicians, corrupt officials, and crooked big-time contractors to believe that the new boss really meant it. But he did. His crack-downs have hit all strata of corruption. He has done away with petty "inspection" racketeers who preyed on real estate owners. And he also broke up the oil distribution and sugar monopolies that were in the hands of Aleman cronies.

The Mexican public has, for the most part, been delighted with it all. The papers have been able to print as news what had previously been strictly hush-hush stuff. One Aleman cabinet minister was discovered to have amassed a rent fortune, including part ownership of a bank, a sugar mill, several huge buildings, and four mansions.

We wouldn't for the world mix ourselves in the politics of our neighbor nation. But we can't help wishing for Ruiz Cortines a long stay in Mexico's "White House."

Neither Free Nor Equal

By A. L. TANDY JEMISON

Our American Indians have long been second-class citizens, and their situation grew worse under the New Deal experiments in "human management."

Under the New Deal, with its high protestations of concern for the rights of minority groups as well as for human rights, the descendants of the first Americans got a deal that can hardly be described as fair. It was under the Presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt that the policy of educating our Indian people to become full citizens was reversed.

Indians, as wards of the Congress of the United States, are governed by specific and separate laws and the regulations promulgated under those laws by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Schooling for the Indians, the primary purpose of the Bureau, had been inadequate in most areas for about fifty years, but gradually improvements had been made. By 1930 the majority of Bureau schools carried a twelve-year course comparable to local schools, and many Indians were being graduated from high school each year. During the New Deal era, however, the curriculum was completely changed to educate Indian children in the "art of living" on reservations. Many basic courses, such as those in higher mathematics and foreign languages, were eliminated, and courses in vocational and industrial arts, social science, Indian arts, crafts, music, and language were substituted. Indian parents were deeply concerned about this program which kept their children doing chores around the schools and agencies for half of their school time under the guise of "vocational and industrial arts," and did not provide accredited academic training.

At Cherokee, North Carolina, the parents withdrew their children from the schools in a protest strike. The Superintendent of the Agency posted a notice forthwith, stating that anyone who persisted in opposing the school program would no longer be included on the lists of those eligible for work relief. This was at the depth of the Depression, and some three hundred jobs on work relief projects were being rotated among the families on this reservation, which has a total population of about three thousand. Indian employees and one white teacher at this Agency were dismissed for their opposition and several children were suspended from school.

Many Indian pupils, completely discouraged, quit school within a year or two of graduation. As one Cherokee girl expressed it, if she was "going back to the blanket" she knew the way better than any of the school employees.

The situation was the same throughout the Indian reservations. A Sioux Indian mother on the Fort Yates, North Dakota, reservation was both startled and dismayed to see one of her sons doing a war dance around the cow he was supposed to be milking and to learn from the boy that he was "practicing" for one of his classes at school. An isolated instance, perhaps, but multiplied by thousands of Indian children over the twelve or fourteen years during which the program continued, the result is a whole "lost" generation of Indian children who should now be leaving college prepared to make their contributions to America.

School facilities for Indians always have been and still are inadequate in some areas. In 1933 the Bureau reported to Congress that about 8,000 Navajo children of school age were not in school because there were no schools. Twenty years and many millions of dollars later the Bureau reported to Congress in 1953 that 13,000 Navajo children are not in school for lack of schools!

Involuntary Wards of Government

The roots of our "special treatment" of Indians go back into history. George Washington and other Founding Fathers recognized the Indians as human beings with the inherent rights granted to all other people by the Constitution. That this recognition granted the Indian the right to enjoy his life and liberty in his own way is plainly discernible in Section 8, Article I of the Constitution, which gives Congress authority over trade and intercourse among the several states *and the Indian tribes*—thus recognized as separate entities.

Unfortunately the words "and the Indian tribes" were not included in Section 2, Article III of the Constitution, which gives judicial jurisdiction over the acts of Congress to the Supreme Court. Consequently, the Supreme Court has consistently and rightfully held that "Congress has paramount and plenary power over tribal Indians and their property which can neither be denied nor controlled by the judicial branch of the government."

Thus the Indians became involuntary "incompetent wards" of the Congress. One Congress in beneficent mood can grant the Indians certain rights. The next Congress, with different ideas, can take the rights away or completely nullify them.

The first Indian Bureau came under the War

Department in the 1830s and was created for the express purpose of "civilizing and Christianizing the Indian" and fitting him for full American citizenship. By the early 1830s most of the Indians had been corralled on reservations by treaties, and in 1849 Congress placed the Bureau of Indian Affairs under the Secretary of the Interior. For 104 years this Bureau has had complete control over both the person and the property of tribal Indians in the United States. The Bureau maintains its own schools, hospitals, courts, and governmental functions of every description with appropriate departments for each in the Washington office, and local Indian agencies on the reservations.

By law, the Secretary of the Interior is directed to control all timber, grazing, and mining operations on Indian reservations. By rules and regulations, which have the force and effect of laws, and through the local Agency Superintendents, the Bureau controls all leasing of property, irrigation projects, cooperative enterprises, tribal funds, and individual accounts. Tribal councils, the so-called governing bodies of the Indians, can take no action without approval of the Superintendent and cannot spend any tribal money for any purpose without the prior consent of the Superintendent and often of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Money due individual Indians for pensions, old age and welfare assistance, rentals, leases, and sales of such things as timber and livestock is deposited at the Indian Agency and disbursed at the discretion of the Superintendent. Many Indians never know how their accounts stand at the agency. Indians cannot sell timber from their own individual allotments of land without the written consent of the Agency employees. Not only must the Indian secure the permission of the Superintendent to buy or sell livestock but he must also pay a fee of \$2.50 for a permit to butcher a head of livestock for his own use!

Congress is the only body to which the Indians can appeal for relief from injustices. Almost since the very inception of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indians and white friends alike have pleaded with successive Congresses to do something to free the Indians from this status of virtual dictatorship. Over the years Congresses have tried many experiments to this end. The Allotment Act was passed in good faith to divide up the tribal property among individual Indians and to release Indians individually as they were adjudged competent by the Bureau or its agents. Slick-dealing Indian agents and avaricious white citizens took care of the good intentions in that legislation. From 1881 to 1949 Indian land holdings were reduced from 155,000,000 acres to 56,000,000 acres, at least half of which was through the allotment program.

In 1924, after years of work on the part of Indians and their white friends, Congress enacted a short simple law which stated that henceforth all Indians were citizens of the United States.

Although many Indians gained the right to vote in all state and national elections, the law gave them no right to govern themselves nor any say about those who should govern them. The Bureau continues in control of all Indian affairs and the Indians are now merely voting wards.

Congress has long been aware that something is wrong with Indian Affairs. The Bureau has been bitterly denounced and severely condemned both by individual Congressmen and by reports of the Committee of Congress. Each succeeding Bureau has had one stock answer for all criticism—not enough money. So Congress appropriated more money, the Bureau hired more employees—and the Indians had more about which to complain.

By the 1930s, one hundred years after the original Bureau was created in the War Department to fit the Indians for citizenship, 51 per cent of all money appropriated was being spent for administrative costs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and salaries of more than 8,000 full-time employees, or one employee for every forty Indians living in the United States. After an additional twenty-two years of preparing the Indian for citizenship, the Bureau reported to Congress that in 1952 it employed 13,902 people full time, or one employee for every twenty-six Indians living in the United States!

What had happened to the Indians during those one hundred years of Bureau care? The Senate Committee on Indian Affairs wanted the answer. In 1928, a special Subcommittee to Investigate Indian Affairs was created. By 1940 hearings had been held on practically every Indian reservation in the United States, and countless numbers in Washington. The record of those hearings constitutes one of the blackest chapters in American history. For it is the record of a people who have no freedom, whose every act is government-controlled, and who are defenseless through lack of judicial jurisdiction.

New Deal Legislation

Upon this defenseless people the full force of the social "reforms" of the New Deal was brought to bear in 1934. The Indian Reorganization Act was introduced into Congress in February 1934, and placed on the list of legislation. Alert Indians all over the United States immediately protested to Congress. Many came to Washington at their own expense and personal sacrifice. On the reservations where thousands of Indians were dependent upon work relief projects controlled by the Bureau opposition to the program was effectively quieted by circulation of copies of a letter signed by the Secretary of the Interior which stated:

The authorities in Washington have endeavored during the past year to develop a coordinated, modern Indian policy. . . I have increasing evidence that there is a subtle misleading propaganda against

the new Indian program emanating from a minority of employees within the Indian service. . . My purpose in addressing you is to notify all of those engaged in this scheme to defeat our program that a continuance will be under penalty of dismissal from the service.

And Indians were dismissed from the service for opposing the program, both from the Indian Service and from work relief projects. A California Congressman asked a Christian missionary serving in an Indian boarding school for an opinion on the proposed legislation. The missionary spoke against the program and continued to oppose it whenever the occasion arose. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs sent letters and telegrams to the school instructing them to deny this missionary the use of any facilities of the school and so informed the Mission Board which employed him. The Board had no choice but to replace him.

All the resources of the federal government were utilized to propagandize in favor of this legislation. Bureau employees, from the Commissioner on down, conducted a campaign all over the United States for the program. All the left-wing organizations, the so-called Indian Welfare organizations, many misguided women's organizations, patriotic and Christian organizations supported this program. Against this roaring avalanche of approval the protest of the Indians was utterly drowned. The Bill became law on June 18, 1934.

Proponents of the law hailed the enactment as a great step forward in giving the Indians self-government. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs summarized his viewpoint by a published statement which said "Indian Service presents the opportunity for making new discoveries—the opportunity for clinical experimentation in a large number of branches of social science, most of all, the science of human management."

The Indians said that the law was pure and unadulterated Communism, sponsored and administered by fellow-travelers and Communists. From 1935 until the United States entered World War Two in 1941 Indians besieged Congress to repeal this Act and to remove from office those who were administering it. In fact, the Indians were the first group in America to appear before Congressional committees and point out specifically the Communism in a government program and those who were administering it. The law remains on the books.

Far from providing self-government, the law but serves to tighten the bonds of Bureau control. Only one form of government is provided by the law—a communal form with all property held in common and every act of the supposedly self-governing body subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior. Further than this, mandatory control over all timber and grazing operations is vested in the Secretary—authority which had always been exercised but never before spe-

cifically authorized by law. Under the law, by a process of three so-called elections on the reservations—to accept the Act, to adopt a local constitution and finally a charter of incorporation, a federal corporation was set up which is social, economic, and political in scope. All Indians who voted to accept the Act automatically changed their legal status from that of involuntary to voluntary wards.

A Matter of Record

The facts about the program under this law read like a horror story. The chicanery and brutality employed in putting the law into operation, the destruction of property rights, inheritance, and individual enterprise under the law, the jailing of individuals and the starvation of others who opposed the program and protested the seizure of their property, and the dissension, strife, and misery which resulted are incredible. These facts are a matter of record, much of it by sworn testimony of Indians who appeared before the Committees of Congress from 1935 until the time when foreign affairs became the major concern of Congress and such minor matters as a government-sponsored program of Communism among a handful of Indian wards of a Christian nation had to be shelved.

Justice for the Indians? Providing that today presents a challenge to any who would attempt it. Congress is impatient with Indian Affairs, begrudging the vast amount of time and money consumed in administering them. Having created this Frankenstein, Congress can find no quick and painless method for destroying it. No single Act of any Congress can correct existing evils or make restitution for wrongs committed through good intentions on the theory that Congress knows best what is good for the Indians.

The estate of these incompetent wards is scattered through twenty-two states and valued at millions of dollars. No two tribes present the same situation. All tribes made separate treaties originally except one which is still technically at war with the United States. Title to real property and tribal assets, inheritable rights, and even tribal membership are in such legal turmoil that the wisdom of a Solomon will be needed in untangling them if any semblance of justice is to be achieved.

All this the Indians know. Yet so deep is their love for this country, so great is their faith in the Constitution which shelters all other citizens and aliens, that they dare to hope that some time in the discernible future the Constitution will include them, too, and they will cease to be guinea pigs for "clinical experimentation in . . . the science of human management." Perhaps the time is now, for a new President has spoken. In a pre-election speech on human rights, President Eisenhower said that there should be no second-class citizens in the United States.

The Defeat of German Socialism

By NORBERT MUHLEN

Due to a basic and irresolvable dilemma the Social Democratic Party, while still a major force in German politics, is on the decline.

On the eve of September 6 the people of Frankfurt-on-Main were invited to an open-air meeting to be held in the Römerberg—the city square. Their host was the Social Democratic Party, by tradition the strongest political party of that industrial West German city. It was to be a final round-up before the Bundestag elections the next day.

Only a year before fields of ruins covered with rubble and overgrown with scrubby bushes had surrounded the Römerberg. Now those fields were dotted with new apartment dwellings—low-cost housing projects erected by private corporations, and in most cases supported by the government's social housing program and the Marshall Plan.

As the early comers began to drift into the square, the band struck up martial tunes. Like the speakers' platform, the bandstand was situated on the stairway of the Römer, a proud building where from the sixteenth century the kings of Germany had been elected and its emperors crowned. It had been decorated for tonight's meeting with the red flag of the revolution and the black-red-gold flag of the German Republic.

Long before time for the meeting to start the square was full. Men and women exchanged friendly handshakes and little jokes as they patiently waited for the speeches to begin.

The first to step forward to the speaker's rostrum was a woman important in the local trade union hierarchy. In bitter words she scolded the government for its failure to build new houses, for its support by and of the "millionaires," for high prices, for social inequalities.

Next came a high-ranking Social Democratic politician, the Minister President of the state of Hesse in southwest Germany. In even more acid words he denounced Chancellor Konrad Adenauer as a man who had violated Germany's national interests to promote international interests, who had lent himself to the purposes of foreign powers, especially France, the Vatican, the United States. At that point his speech turned into an attack on American policy, which, he claimed, played down German unity and independence in its contest with Soviet policy.

At the conclusion of his tirade against America and internationalism, the assembled crowd sang the old party anthem of the Social Democrats, "The Internationale."

This was a show of contradictions, with the red

flags waving over speakers who did not advocate revolution, with the new houses overshadowing the tribune from which the government was censured for its failure to build new houses, with "The Internationale" sung after nationalist denunciations of the government's internationalism.

Two days later, the Social Democratic Party turned out to be the great loser in elections that were to etch the profile of the young West German republic for the next four years. Its defeat was marked not so much by the rather slight decrease in the votes it polled—from 29.2 per cent in 1949, to the present 28.8 per cent. What was, and remains, its real defeat came from the fact that it failed to win more than one-third of the total vote, while its main opponent, the Christian Democratic Union (C.D.U.) advanced from the 31 per cent it received in 1949 to 45.2 per cent in 1953. Measured in parliamentary strength, the C.D.U. brought home 50 per cent of the vote, the Social Democrats only 31 per cent. Polling 8,000,000 out of a total vote of 33,000,000, with an electorate of 37,000,000, the Social Democratic Party—the only party in Germany today which has kept its name, its character, and its tradition since the pre-Hitler era—proved that it remains a powerful force in German politics. But is it a force on its way to power? In my opinion, its great defeat in the September elections revealed an innate weakness which is likely to increase in years to come until the party disappears from the political scene.

Myths vs. Reality

The surface reasons for the defeat of the Social Democrats are rather evident. Chief among them is the simple fact that no party can convince people they are very badly off when they are actually better off than ever before. Most Germans know perfectly well from personal experience that the West German recovery was not a myth of benefit only to the "millionaires." Yet in their campaign the Social Democrats kept repeating this myth.

It was the same with the Social Democratic criticism of West Germany's foreign policy and their program for it. They tried to offset the feeling of security and success which Adenauer's partnership with the free Western world has given West Germany by warning the people against the insecurity and failure toward which Adenauer would

lead them. Adenauer's Western internationalists' line of "Freedom First" evidently appealed more to the voters than the nationalistic "Germany First" banner of the Social Democrats.

To the big crowd of the little people, whom the Social Democrats tried to win in order to be a popular majority, the party's criticisms of the present recovery were as unconvincing as its alternative programs. Their reaction revealed the dilemma that confronts all modern European Socialism, which seems constitutionally unable either to support existing regimes or present generally acceptable alternatives.

The main point of attack in the Social Democratic campaign strategy was the economic order of the present government, the "free social market economy" which Ludwig Erhard, Adenauer's courageous and brilliant Minister of Economics, established in 1949. This system firmly upholds freedom from governmental interference with the production, pricing, and distribution of goods and services. The only genuine alternative the Social Democrats could offer would have been a planned Socialist economy. The history of the party gave rise to the suspicion that this was what they really were after. Though they have not openly admitted it in the last years, nor openly denied it, they have gone to some lengths to explain away this suspicion. But the very specter of a planned Socialist order, however vague, was enough to scare away the big crowd of the little people. They had known it well in the later Nazi years when war and preparations for war had led to a strictly controlled command economy. And again in the first postwar years, before the present free system was established. They were also familiar with the progress and outcome of Socialist planning in that one-third of their country which is today Soviet Germany. They had seen how "Socialist planning" led to extreme poverty and economic disorder.

Although most Social Democratic leaders were well aware of this popular temper, they could not bring themselves to renounce their past and publicly remove all Socialist elements from their plans for the future. But neither could they come out in support of the present order and content themselves with criticizing some of its features and promising to improve them. If they had frankly professed their faith in Marxism, they would have alienated those who alone could deliver the majority; if they had renounced their faith in Marxism, they would have alienated their own faithful rank and file, people who have been Social Democrats since childhood and for whom Marxism is an article of faith, among them millions of workers who are the party's mainstay.

The contradiction between an ideology and oratory belonging to the revolutionary past and a political action in line with today's realities has been the undoing of the party before. In the great Depression of 1933 the mass of the people followed

the parties whose real policy seemed to correspond with their revolutionary oratory—the Communists and the Nazis. When things go badly the Social Democrats' radicalism in words is belied by their half-hearted acceptance of the middle-road realities; if things go well, their half-hearted acceptance of the realities is belied by their acidly radical criticisms in words.

Party's Failure to Meet Change

This dilemma stems from the basic weakness of democratic Socialism, its failure to adjust itself to the new society of our times. In West Germany (as in most of western Europe), the old differences in income and wealth have been vastly reduced; traditional class distinctions are tending to disappear; the large majority of the people have lost their independent status as "self-employed" and become, in socialist terminology, part of "the working masses." Hence the appeal to the workers for socialist class war has lost its meaning. The only people in Germany today who are underprivileged, and are therefore by Social Democratic definition potential new followers of the party, do not belong to "the working masses" because they are unable to work—the aged, the crippled, refugees and expellees who have not found a job, and people in certain economic emergency areas. Many of them voted this time for the Social Democrats. But neither in character nor numbers can they ever suffice to turn the Social Democrats into a majority party representing the whole nation.

After their defeat, the Social Democratic leaders hastened to assert that nothing had changed or would change in their party's policy. These leaders, or more properly chief bureaucrats of the party machine, are men without profile or color, trying hard to live up both to the traditions of Social Democracy going back to Bismarck, and to the letter of the late Kurt Schumacher's political testament. The few dissenters who incline to more modern, more realistic ways, like Hamburg's mayor, Max Brauer, and octogenarian Paul Löbe, have more moral influence outside their party than political influence within it. This was true also of the late Mayor Ernst Reuter of West Berlin.

It was mainly as a heritage from Kurt Schumacher that the party renounced its old internationalist faith in favor of an increasing nationalism. Opposing the government's policy of West German integration with western Europe and partnership with the United States in defense of freedom, today's Social Democrats have given first place in their program to German national interests. They argued that the Schuman Plan would compel Germany to sacrifice some of her national advantages in favor of international cooperation; they opposed the European Defense Community because it does not grant to Germany what the Social Democrats called "equal rights"; they rejected NATO and

retired to a more and more pronounced neutralism between East and West with the claim that it would give strength and peace to Germany. By 1953 German reunification had become for them a goal prior in importance to every other international issue. In the last week of the campaign, when the Social Democratic leaders apparently discovered the failing response to their economic criticisms, they concentrated on blaming America for all Germany's ills, and stepped up an emotional down-with-America campaign. This upswing of nationalism and anti-Westernism recalled to the minds of many voters the bitter experiences of the Hitler past as well as the Soviet German present. Just as they suspected the party of a tendency toward socialist economic planning, they suspected it also of a tendency to appease the Soviets. Although the Social Democrats deserved a large share in the successful resistance to Communism in Berlin and—up to 1949—in West Germany, their political attitudes since Schumacher's death have seemed to give support to this suspicion.

With memories of the last lost war still fresh, the majority of West Germans were extremely skeptical about nationalist appeals. For the same reason, the openly nationalist and neo-Nazi parties received a stunning defeat—notwithstanding the

“well-informed observers” who for years have preached, predicted, and proven their alarming strength. And again for the same reason, the openly neutralist, appeasement-minded *Gesamtdeutsche Volkspartei* polled only the same percentage of the total vote as the neo-Nazi party: 1.1 per cent!

The future looks black indeed for the Social Democrats. They cannot expect even to win a democratic majority, or even to function as a constructive, loyal opposition party. A party always excluded from power, as the German Social Democrats practically have been for the eighty years of their existence, cannot permanently remain a responsible party. It is bound to fall into negativism. If nothing succeeds like success, nothing seems to fail like failure. Only if the party renounced its socialism could it become a democratic power; only if it renounced its democratic character could it become a socialist power. It is unwilling and unable to do either.

In the very year which has been designated as Karl Marx Year behind the Iron Curtain—and in which the people of East Germany have been in a state of permanent rebellion against the totalitarian socialism of their rulers—the people of West Germany have demonstrated that, in their opinion, “democratic socialism” also contains no hope.

They Call It “Cooperation”

By DON KNOWLTON

The idealistic “Joint Labor-Management Committee” concept is actually a front for a system that gives government control over a nation's industrial life.

To kindly people who dream of peace and harmony in all phases of human affairs, the phrase “Joint Labor-Management Committee” has a pleasantly idealistic ring. They envisage a group of men, some from the front office and some from the shop, sitting down together to “talk things over,” with mutually satisfactory conclusions arrived at and ice cream and cake served all round.

Unfortunately the phrase has a much deeper implication. It is used as a disarming camouflage for a principle known in this country as “co-determination” and in Germany as *Mitbestimmungsrecht*. The principle, long a part of basic Socialist philosophy, is that workers and management should have an equal voice in running the enterprise in which they are engaged. The “joint committee” is the implementing device. Management authority would be vested in a committee on which the union and the employer would have equal representation.

This is the declared purpose of co-determination. The actual purpose, however, is far more devious.

Under co-determination, union and management have an equal voice. But on basic issues they often cannot agree. Who thereupon determines the outcome? Government, of course. Provision must be made for government to step in and decide a deadlock. The “Joint Labor-Management Committee” concept therefore emerges as a “front” for a system which, if generally applied, would give government control over the actual operating phases of a nation's industrial life.

The International Labor Organization (I.L.O.) never mentions “co-determination.” The state Socialists who dominate it are past masters in semantic dissimulation. The word they use for it is “cooperation.” At its 1951 conference the I.L.O. initiated a discussion of what it termed “Cooperation between Public Authorities and Employers and Workers Organizations.” What this turned out to be was a proposal that, under law, companies, industries, and industry nationally, should be run by joint committees of workers and employers. The

intent was that the unions should have an equal voice with the employers in the management of the enterprise—with government, in case of deadlock, stepping in as the third and deciding factor.

What the I.L.O. had in mind was an *international law* to this effect; and in advance of its 1951 conference it wrote to the governments of member countries, asking what their position would be on this subject. The general flavor of the questionnaire was: "Would you like to see matters now considered the prerogative of management turned over to joint committees?" Most member countries replied, in substance: "Yes, provided government has its finger in the pie."

The outstanding exception, be it said to our credit, was the United States. Our government stated: "The Government of the United States is fundamentally opposed to the adoption of international regulations of the type proposed, because they represent a concept of the function of government in relation to labor and management which is contrary to basic economic and political principles adhered to in our country."

At the conference the proposal was vigorously debated. Due to strenuous opposition by employer delegates and failure of support by some governments, it was whittled down, for carry-over into the 1952 session, to "Cooperation between Employers and Workers at the Level of the Undertaking." With co-determination emerging as the actual issue (with broad regulatory power for government as the ultimate objective) the proposition became a hot potato and was unanimously buried by an innocuous recommendation saying, in effect, that "cooperation is a good thing."

Co-Determination in Germany

According to Collie Small (*Nation's Business*, May 1953) co-determination, advocated by German radicals and already developing there in pre-Hitler days, was revived in Germany after World War Two with the encouragement of the British, and apparently with no objection from our own occupation authorities. In 1951 Germany passed a law providing that the boards of directors of steel, iron, and coal companies should consist of eleven men—five elected by the stockholders, five representing labor, and the eleventh man selected, if need be, by a conciliation committee. However, in the event of a prolonged deadlock over the eleventh, *the matter would be submitted to a Federal Court.*

Since that time another law has been passed extending the principle of co-determination to a lesser degree throughout industry in general. This second law does not, according to Small, give labor "absolute right to representation on the management board." Broadening the second law along the lines of the original statute applying only to coal, iron, and steel will be a political issue in Germany.

If co-determination is thus universally extended,

the power to appoint the key men who can swing management decisions throughout all industry will be in the hands of government.

Mr. Small advances the theory that the Communists endorse the principle of co-determination because they "know it could wreck the free enterprise system." It was my impression at the Geneva I.L.O. conferences, however, that the Communists, as a matter of principle, joined the Socialists in supporting *any* measure which would in the long run vest more control in the hands of government and so help pave the way for the regimented state.

The key to the Communist attitude toward the Joint Labor-Management Committee is to be found in a book published by the International Labor Organization in 1951, entitled *Co-operation in Industry*. (You can buy it for \$1.50 at the Washington I.L.O. Office.) The book purports to be a scholarly and exhaustive research summary of the functioning of Joint Labor-Management Committees in various countries of the world. It is written in a manner which a college student would consider factual reporting. In fact, however, the book is an amplification of the co-determination theory which was on the I.L.O. 1951 Conference agenda under the title, "Co-operation between Public Authorities and Employers and Workers Organizations." Thus it states:

Just as the workers, through their representatives, are becoming ever more closely associated in the control of the national economic system, so they should be associated also in the management of the undertakings, which form the basis of that system.

"Voluntary" joint committee? Oh no, says the book. "Legislation has the advantage of *imposing* [italics ours] uniform obligations on all the undertakings included within its scope."

That government regimentation is the real objective is thus stated in the concluding chapter:

Finally, at the national level, the aim is to associate employers' and workers' organizations in the preparation and application of the government's social and economic policy.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the book points out that the United States has been backward in this matter; that the more progressive Socialist countries have made more progress; but that in Russia and the satellite countries the joint committee has attained its full flowering, thereby serving to improve and enrich the life of the workingman. Speaking of Soviet Russia, it states:

The trade unions can discharge important advisory and executive functions at the level of the industry as well as in other spheres of public and economic life. . . . This more or less close bond of collaboration and mutual consultation between the trade union organs and the organs of the economy may, no doubt, apply with regard to all economic and social problems. . . . The whole trade union policy at the level of the industry constantly reflects the major preoccupations . . . with regard

to the implementation . . . of the production plan for the given branch, the practice of economy in the use of materials and manpower and, generally, the reduction of manufacturing and operating costs, which, according to the fundamental premises of economic planning, should result in a raising of the living and working conditions of the whole community and, in particular, of the wage earners.

How come this utopia? Here is the answer:

It may be observed that the various types of activity cited as examples above fall also within the competence of the agencies responsible for the direction of the economy at the different hierarchical levels, and within the competence of the parallel organs of the Communist parties. Thus, a very close collaboration generally develops between them, . . . the prime mover in relation to any action taken being, in fact, the *Communist Party*. [Italics ours.]

I would say that the Commies want "cooperation" for its own sake, and not just because it would "wreck the free enterprise system." But why does the I.L.O. publish this book extolling the better life under the Soviet system?

Co-Determination in the United States?

Unlikely, yes. But the theory persists, and crops out in various places. In the Geneva 1951 and 1952 I.L.O. conferences, the A.F.L. and the C.I.O. supported the "cooperation" proposal. No doubt for this reason our government did not oppose it there as vigorously as was the case in its previous statements. The concept is still current in "liberal" C.I.O. philosophy. If there should ever be the prospect of a Labor government in the United States, co-determination, backed by the German precedent, would probably emerge as a major demand of organized labor.

The idea of government taking over when labor and management groups deadlock was part of the pattern of the Truman Administration. The steel seizure was an example of what the I.L.O. calls "cooperation."

A pattern of co-determination is definitely emerging in this country in the field of apprentice training, as described in *Educating for Industry through Apprenticeship*, by William F. Patterson, Director of Apprentice-Training Service, U. S. Department of Labor, and Marion H. Hedges, Director of Research, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The Apprentice-Training Service of the U. S. Department of Labor, created under the Fitzgerald Act, heads up the structure. Its keystone, say the authors, is the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship appointed by the Secretary of Labor, made up of employer, labor, and government-agency representatives.

Each industry is to have a national joint labor-management committee on apprenticeship, dovetailing with the Labor Department's Apprentice-Training Service, and laying down policies to be followed, in connection with its industry, in local joint labor-management apprentice training councils

throughout the nation. Each state is to pass legislation setting up its own joint labor-management apprentice training committee, which helps to implement the program within the state. Bait is held out by the Department of Labor in the form of federal grants under the Smith-Hughes Act and the George-Dean Act to states setting up such programs. A number of states have enacted such legislation and others are being urged to do so.

Patterson and Hedges suggest that a state committee should have, as "regularly designated consultants," representatives of federal public agencies such as the U. S. Employment Service, or the Apprentice-Training Service. Several state committees, they say, "have been strengthened by a provision calling for the appointment of a representative of the public as a full-fledged voting member."

Note the elements of government control. Government is always in the picture to decide a deadlock between unions and management; and government can shut off the money if you don't behave.

At the local level, in each industrial community, there is to be a joint labor-management apprentice training committee, the policies of which are presumably steered by a field representative of the United States Labor Department Apprentice-Training Service. It is proposed that 10,000 such joint committees should be set up.

Now for the nub of the system. A boy entering into an apprenticeship is "contracted to the established designated agency—namely, the joint labor-management apprenticeship committee in his community. He becomes the *ward* [italics ours] of this committee."

The committee determines the educational requirements, standards, and qualifications of apprentice training in various industries. It has the power to dictate where a boy takes his training, and can move him from a job in one company to a job in another. The committee can actually dictate who shall or who shall not enter which business.

Government remains throughout in a position to set policy and decide issues, steering an over-all course plotted in Washington. Consider the potentialities. If a boy's "ideologies" do not suit the committee, presumably they could refuse to graduate him. What a magnificent opportunity for indoctrination into the gospel of Big Government!

As Patterson and Hedges say in their book: "The shape of things to come in this particular field of education is clearly outlined. The materials are at hand, the tools are forged, to create a smoothly working national system of apprentice training."

The proponents of the regimented state are patient and persevering. They are ingenious in pursuing their ends. It is easy to be taken in by the innocent-sounding titles under which the real intent of their projects is masked. But the test is simple. Just ask the question, *where is government in this picture?* The answer will show up as it does with litmus paper.

Employees Become Investors

By **MERRILL GRISWOLD**

An investment leader describes several payroll savings plans that benefit not only the workers but also management and the federal government.

Plans for encouraging savings and investment among employees in industry are providing a fresh source of the new capital which is constantly required for a growing America. Today those in our higher income groups who have been an important source of new equity or "risk" capital are able to invest less and less because of steeply graduated income taxes and double taxation of dividends. With the individual income flow of the nation now distributed over a much broader base, largely to workers in industry, employee stock purchase and savings plans are proving of benefit both to the new investors and to industry itself.

The earliest type of plan, used by many companies, was to offer company stock to employees from time to time at prices below the market. A recent survey by the National Industrial Conference Board found some twenty-eight active plans of this kind. It was estimated that the median average of participation in such plans by eligible employees was 26 per cent. In plans of this kind the employees assume a degree of risk varying widely with the diverse fortunes of the respective companies. Among the notably successful plans of this kind have been those of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. Two hundred and fifty thousand Bell System employees are now buying 1,700,000 shares through installment payments, and more than 200,000 employees already own shares.

Certain types of profit sharing now in favor increase the employee's ownership of stock. Under these plans the company, instead of paying cash bonuses to employees out of annual profits, invests some percentage of its profits each year in varying amounts of government bonds, company common stock, or shares of investment companies. These securities are held in trust and distributed to the employee in later years as a retirement or pension fund or a supplement thereto. Certain income tax advantages make this type of plan especially popular with executives in the higher income brackets.

Incentive Savings Plans

Some nineteen large corporations, notably in the petroleum industry, are developing a new type of thrift plan, usually combined with stock ownership, which shows promise of far wider acceptance and which can be geared to fit the needs of the small company as well as the large. Fifteen of

these nineteen companies have reported that, on the average, 86 per cent of their eligible employees participate in such plans.

Under this kind of payroll deduction plan, the employee agrees to have withheld a certain percentage of his annual wage (varying from 2 to 10 per cent) which is invested for his account, usually in government bonds or company stock. To this amount the company contributes a cash bonus of from 15 to 100 per cent of the employee's contribution. The company's contribution is usually invested in company common stock or, permissively, in some of the important new plans, in shares of investment companies. In most cases the employer's bonus is forfeited unless the employee continues to save under the plan for a specified minimum period, usually five years.

While each of these nineteen plans has been tailored to fit the objectives of the particular corporation, some of them have distinctive features. The Sun Oil Company plan is one of the oldest, having been in effect with modifications and improvements since 1926. The company feels that it has been extremely satisfactory and an important factor in reducing employee turnover. Under this plan the employee may contribute up to 10 per cent of his salary, to which the company adds a 50 per cent bonus. The entire amount is invested in company stock. A new plan is started each year. Each year's investment in the stock is held for five years and then distributed to the employee.

The Sears, Roebuck and Company plan includes a unique profit-sharing and years-of-service feature. Each year the employee may contribute up to 5 per cent of his pay to the fund. The company contributes to the fund 5 per cent of profits if they are under \$40,000,000 and a higher percentage as profits are greater, reaching 9 per cent when profits exceed \$100,000,000. All funds as far as practicable are invested in company stock. This employee fund is now the largest stockholder of the company.

The plan of the General Electric Company displays a most conservative attitude toward investment of the employee's contribution, which may be invested only in U.S. Savings Bonds. The employer's bonus (15 per cent) is invested in company stock.

The plans of Kroger, Standard Oil of Indiana, Pure Oil, Union Carbide and Carbon, Atlantic Refining, and Sunray Oil also provide that employee contributions be invested in U.S. Government Bonds.

Socony-Vacuum, later followed by the Texas Company and others, has set a new precedent that specifically includes use of investment company shares in their employee thrift funds. These plans permit the employee to elect whether both his contribution and his employer's 50 per cent bonus shall be invested in U.S. Savings Bonds, company stock, or shares of selected investment companies. The concept thereby established, of using investment company shares in employee thrift plans, may have wide appeal to companies desiring their employees to become stockholders but having no stock of their own available on the public market.

Proved Advantages

The incentive savings plans of these nineteen corporations cover nearly a million workers. Many other large corporations have similar plans under active consideration. These plans have proved desirable for several important reasons:

1. They encourage personal thrift.
2. Plans which provide for stock ownership give the worker a share of a company or of American industry generally. He receives dividends. His interest in our profit and loss system is no longer academic.
3. These plans reduce labor turnover. The worker is naturally more interested in staying with a company in which he has an investment.
4. Companies which have plans have a competitive advantage in the labor market over those companies which do not.
5. Plans which provide for partial investment in U.S. Savings Bonds help check inflation. The more government debt absorbed by individuals, the less has to be raised from commercial banks, which results in credit expansion and currency inflation.

The same reasons which prompt large corporations to adopt these plans apply with equal logic to companies with no stock of their own available or suitable for employee investment. Some simple standard form of thrift plan embodying many of the features of those now in existence could be devised and put into effect by these smaller companies. For example, the Sun Oil company plan, which provides the advantage of early and frequent distributions of the securities to the employee, would be a simple one to follow, with the following modifications:

1. Instead of purchasing company stock, the employee's contribution might be invested in U.S. Savings Bonds, as in the General Electric Plan. This would help spread the government debt among individuals and afford a "dollar certain" payback.
2. The employer's bonus contribution might be invested in shares of investment companies. This would give the employee a broadly diversified participation in the fortunes of American industry.

If greater emphasis on corporation ownership was desired, a larger proportion of common stock

investments could be arranged. If it appeared desirable to take advantage of the tax exemption features of a qualified profit-sharing trust, either a contributory or noncontributory profit-sharing plan could be adopted.

Studies of incentive savings plans have been made recently by the National Industrial Conference Board, New York; by Pandick Press, New York; and by the New York Stock Exchange.

Concentrated effort to promote payroll deduction incentive savings plans of this character on a national scale by the investment industry in cooperation with the banks and the U.S. Treasury Department might produce some surprisingly wholesome results.

As the French See Us*

By JULES MONNEROT

Unlike western Europe, the United States was *born modern*. The sum of the characteristics of the modern age—capitalist enterprise, representative government, and unprecedented growth of production, exchange, and consumption—are congenial with the United States. They are the modalities of its existence, peculiarities of its nature. In contrast, when these characteristics appeared in Europe, it was a Europe that had been adult for a long time. For western Europe the birth of the modern world was an upheaval and a subversion. The United States belongs much more intimately to the modern world, and indeed symbolizes it to European eyes. The industrial revolution, the very spirit of modern times, found in the New World virgin soil which had not been worked over as in Europe. Nothing makes adaptation to new conditions more difficult than the perfection with which older conditions have been fulfilled. In Europe, modernity was a revolution which took place within a society that already had its own norms, its own civilization, its own ways of life.

The United States resembles Europe at the time of the latter's greatest historical fertility, when the entire Christian world was trying to achieve a new state of balance between the ancient territorial and traditional forces, on the one hand, and the new forces of money and intellect, on the other; and when freedoms were born out of the struggles, compromises, and pacts between these forces. This was the period of the great vitality of the sixteenth century and the Renaissance, of which the neo-classical age in its perfect and unstable balance was to be the apogee.

The formation of the Western world took place through the struggle of the feudal lords against the kings, of the kings among themselves, the feudal lords among themselves, the young cities against

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the feudal lords—a plurality of social groups born from a soil in full vigor, where power produced wealth, and wealth power. Today we get the same impression of force and vitality not from Europe but from the United States, with its vigorous pluralism: churches, economic forces, great trade unions, all kinds of associations.

Among existing regimes, it is in the United States that we find the maximum of initiative independent of the state. Economic “free enterprise” is only a special case of initiative. Whereas in Russia every association is managed from above, in the United States the associations have issued from private initiative, and demonstrate the vitality of American society. Every real social force translates itself into a group, a league, an association, and by a “real force” we should understand not only economic powers. A church is also a real force, and money is only a unit of power, a common measure between forces.

In this sense one of the strengths of the United States is its frankness, its veracity. The political regime of the United States is the resultant of a plurality of factors that are real forces in full vigor. Economic and financial powers establish great cultural institutions. Churches and universities, made rich and prosperous by the trust of their members, go into business; union leaders control the labor market for the maximum benefit of their followers; and the great corporations, through their public relations activities, plead their case before public opinion and do not hide how much the living standard of the American people owes to them. Anything that represents a real force has a chance to assert itself. This vitality manifests itself by powerful transformations of social energy. Faith changes into power, and power or confidence into wealth. Wealth, in turn, supports power or science. All of these forces influence the political world which influences them in turn by suppressing what encounters the strongest resistance from the voting masses. It is a cycle of continuous energy conversion.

In the United States, “capitalism” does not hide. It tells the public its version of the link between business profits and national prosperity. It does not believe that its interest and profit represent Evil and Satan. In France, the bankers and business leaders appear to the eyes of the naïve as something akin to the acolytes of a secret cult, a mixture of alchemist and high priest of Baal. The capitalists have allowed themselves to be saddled by Marxists with an inferiority complex. Marx’s condemnation of capitalist exploitation seems to make more or less the same impression on them as the Church’s condemnation of “usury” did on their Medieval predecessors.

In France there are no *lobbies* and no *pressure groups*, but there are deals between the real forces and the political parties or individuals that are in a position to determine policy. We voice righteous

indignation against pressure groups, but the open play of forces in the United States indicates much sounder political health. Officially, the major real forces of French society do not intervene in French political life. Ideological and pure, the political groups, if we believe what they say about themselves, represent only various forms of virtue and the will toward the good. Nevertheless, the real forces, whose power the political groups promise to diminish, when they do not pretend to ignore it, don’t do too badly. But they are forced to act under conditions of obscurity and irresponsibility that discredit them. Frenchmen who blanch with horror because there are lobbies and pressure groups in the United States need a truth treatment. I think that the open hearings, where the interests that will be favored or hurt by a vote can plead their cause before the congressional committees, are a healthy practice.

Our concept of a democracy where the Common Man, through a sovereign assembly, has all the rights is a fiction. Why not admit that the United States sets an example of the representation of *real* social forces and movements? Do the A.F.L. and the C.I.O. defend the American workers less effectively than the C.G.T. defends French workers? Both of the American organizations are no doubt compelled to compromise with all the other forces, and this produces a hard but vital regime, a regime that is certainly different from the “leftist” concept of French democracy. By a kind of confusion in terminology, this concept assumes that the most “democratic” is what is most “to the left.” The State is conceived as above all an apparatus for protecting the weak, the Common Man.

From this follows the idea that whoever is not “common” is not “interesting”; and carrying the contradiction to the absurd, that after all *only the weak should be strong*. This is what is expressed by the ideal of a sovereign assembly dominated by the sect of those who pose as the representatives of the Common Man. The Communists have managed to put across the belief that they are those representatives. To all other demagogues, they have opposed a stronger demagogy.

October Montage

Plumage and leafage on a level mingle
And the observant russet sun responds
At once to plum, to umber, and to bronze
Where roosters rummage in the matching leaves
Come lately rushing to peruse the ground.
Colors of bird and leaf become a single
Culminating life that ruffling moves
Feathered and foliate with rustling sound:
The rich Autumnal of the animate
Crushing and crowding toward the ultimate.

LOUISE TOWNSEND NICHOLL

Our Near Eastern Outposts, II

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

In this concluding report from foreign capitals, the author portrays Turkey, an ally, he says, that is going our way.

Istanbul

In no country which I visited during my European trip did I get such a strong sense of an ally going our way—without prodding, pushing, and cajolery—as in Turkey. Indeed, to the harassed diplomat or military adviser who has acquired premature gray hairs trying to be tactful in countries where the view prevails that it is a favor to the United States to make a reasonable national defense effort, Turkey seems almost too good to be true.

No Communists. The known Moscow fifth columnists are in jail. No articulate or influential fellow-travelers. No members of the Turkish parliament or Turkish publicists who specialize in looking for sinister motives behind American military and economic aid. No societies for Soviet-Turkish friendship. And a good hard fighting contingent of Turkish troops went to Korea.

All this is not because the Turks have developed a sentimental crush on the United States. They pride themselves on being realists. It just happens that on an issue which almost every Turk, from the sophisticated diplomat in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the illiterate shepherd in the mountains near the Soviet frontier, regards as of transcendent national importance, the United States and Turkey are going the same way. This issue is Russian aggression. Turkey has fought twelve or thirteen wars with Russia in the last two hundred and fifty years, and to the average Turk Moscow is *the* enemy. During my stay I had two opportunities to observe Turkish diplomacy in action, dealing with the blandishments of the Kremlin peace offensive.

Some time ago the Soviet government sent a note to Turkey announcing with a great flourish of generosity that the "Soviet Republics" of Georgia and Armenia had magnanimously renounced their claims to the Turkish frontier provinces, Ardaghan and Kars. After a suggestively long delay Turkey replied in a note that was formally correct, but that was impregnated with the spirit of "So what? We never recognized your predatory claims anyway, and we couldn't care less if you have decided, on paper, to give them up for the time being."

Somewhat nettled, the Kremlin tried a more truculent approach. American and British naval forces had been visiting Istanbul, and the Soviet government asked for "further information" on this, remarking that such visits were increasing and might be considered a kind of demonstration. This time

the Turkish reply was swift and to the point. Pointing out that the Montreux Convention, which regulates the regime in the Straits, imposes no limit on the number of naval vessels of friendly powers which may visit Turkish ports, the note remarked that the recent visits merely emphasized the happy state of friendly relations between Turkey and America and Great Britain. Furthermore, the Soviet request for additional information was devoid of legal basis and might be considered a kind of intervention in Turkey's internal affairs.

The New Turkish Army

I obtained a briefing on the Turkish armed forces from Major-General William Shepard, head of an American military mission of some seven hundred members in Ankara. He is enthusiastic over the qualities of the Turk as a soldier.

"No finer fighting man in the world," he tells an inquiring reporter. Indeed, the Turkish peasant soldier, accustomed to hard work and spare living, is tough and uncomplaining and responds magnificently to good leadership. One of his handicaps is that he often comes into the army illiterate, although there is a strenuous effort to give him a quick study course in reading and writing before his two years of service are completed. But he is credited with a good deal of natural manual ability and aptitude in getting the hang of new weapons.

One of the more striking recent features of American military aid to Turkey, which has consumed about two-thirds of the total American subsidies to that country, is the development of a jet air force, expected to number some three hundred planes by the end of the year.

Largely as a result of American military aid, which began in 1947, the Turkish Army has been transformed from an unwieldy old-fashioned force of about a million men, with heterogeneous equipment, much of it obsolete or obsolescent, into a smaller, but much more efficient and mobile army of between 400,000 and 500,000.

Turkey conveys to the visitor the sense of a country of dynamic vitality that is just coming of age economically and represents one of the world's few undeveloped frontiers. Lee Dayton, head of the Military Security Agency which administers American economic aid, was as enthusiastic as any Turkish government official could have been over the

achievements of the last few years and the prospects for the future. He laid special emphasis on the significance of Turkey's tremendous program of road building as a means of opening up the country, making formerly isolated villages accessible to new farming ideas, and creating markets for agricultural surpluses which formerly went to waste because there was no means of getting them to market. The country now has over 10,000 miles of all-weather roads, with six north-south and three east-west road systems, as compared with a little over 6,000 miles of mule tracks five years ago.

Mr. Dayton was clearly impressed by the go-ahead spirit of the Turks. "In some other countries," he said, "our impulse is to prod and push, to give governments a little more faith in the economic future of their countries. But here our advice is usually along the line of trying to prevent the Turks from hitting a faster pace than their financial resources really warrant."

Available figures show that Turkey has experienced a remarkable economic upswing during the last five years. Five years ago there were about 3,000 tractors in Turkey; now there are almost 40,000. And there has been a sensational increase of cereal production, from nine million tons in 1948 to 13.5 million tons at the present time. From a country which in the past often did not raise enough wheat to feed its own people, Turkey has developed into the fourth largest wheat exporter in the world, with one million tons shipped abroad from its last crop and 2.8 million tons in prospect for this year.

Wheat has ousted Turkey's old standbys, cotton and tobacco, as the country's principal export. The same progress is visible in many fields since 1948, with cotton up from 50,000 to 170,000 tons, chrome from 200,000 to 700,000 tons, coal from four to six million tons. The whole highway from the airport to Istanbul is lined with advertisements of American, German, British, and other firms dealing in tractors, agricultural machinery, automobiles.

Turkey has two conspicuous assets which are lacking in most Near Eastern lands. There is no pressure of excessive population. And the country is not bedeviled by oppressive landlordism. There is still free land for the taking, especially in the eastern provinces, which have become more accessible with the improvement in communications. Some farmers are obviously richer than others, as one could see by visiting villages in the neighborhood of Ankara. But one did not find a sense of helpless destitution or embittered dependence. The Turkish peasant usually farms his own land, and improved machinery and farm methods are already giving him a higher standard of living.

There are two clouds on the Turkish horizon, one economic, one political. The Turks have been discounting not only their present but their prospective agricultural exports. Their balance of foreign payments is adverse. They are heavily in the red with the European Payments Union. Even the

casual tourist can recognize that something is wrong with the lira, the national currency unit, when he is besieged with offers to buy it at a rate of five to the dollar when the official rate of exchange is 2.80.

Soviets Aid Islamic Extremists

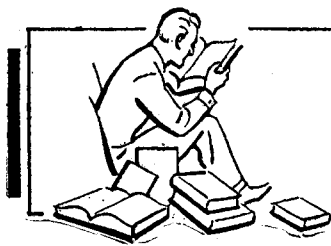
Kemal Ataturk, the founder of modern Turkey, put down fanatical religious and pan-Islamic tendencies with a stern hand. One sees no minarets in Kemal's new capital city, Ankara, although there are several in the adjacent old city. Under the milder and more liberal regime which developed in 1950—when Turkey went over from a one-party to a two-party system and the Democratic Party, in a surprise election, ousted the People's Republican Party—religious enthusiasm, expressed in such things as praying in Arabic rather than in Turkish, was treated with more indulgence. Now, however, the government is a little alarmed at what it considers a potentially dangerous upsurge of fanaticism, of which one expression was the attempted murder of a liberal newspaper editor, E. A. Yalman. Legislation tightening the penalties for using religion for political purposes has been passed.

Mr. Yalman assured me that Soviet money, in devious ways, is reaching pan-Islamic religious fanatics. Direct Communist propaganda gets nowhere in Turkey. It is immediately suspect because of its Muscovite origin. It would be quite in keeping with Soviet tactics to try to weaken Turkish unity by this indirect method of subsidizing pan-Islamic agitation, directed against such modernizing reforms as the abolition of polygamy, the unveiling of women, and the substitution of Western codes for old Koranic law.

But it was my impression that the forces of young Turkey are strong enough to survive this test and that Turkey, whatever temporary financial vicissitudes it may undergo, has a very promising economic future. The strategically important Straits are in good hands.

When I remarked to a Western-educated Turk, not at all a melodramatic sort of person, that the Soviet Union had shown a strong desire after the war to get a base in the Straits area, he observed simply and decisively: "They'll get it when not one Turk is left alive."

It was politically simpler and much less expensive for America when Greece and Turkey were just faraway countries and not defensive outposts. But in those days there was no swollen Soviet empire, stretching from the Baltic to the Pacific, and building up modernized armies in the Iron Curtain countries. What the United States has done in making the eastern Mediterranean stronger and more defensible is not aggrandizement, but the injection of a badly needed element of defensive balance into a situation where, without this element, Soviet power would be irresistible.



Domestic Writing

By JAMES BURNHAM

We publish too few books about our own country. I am not thinking about scholarly treatises on Puritan divines or eighteenth-century architecture, which are regularly produced by our university assembly line. Nor do I refer to the massive, thorough history of some major phase of our national development.

There is a modest, genial literature that deals in terms more direct than those of formal history with a local region, a picturesque human type, or a special way of life that has been made part of the national design. Francis Parkman's *The Oregon Trail* is an ideal example. This superb book, written with a serenity that seems incredible for the author's youth when he wrote it, illumines everything that it touches—land, persons (mostly Indians, of course), animals, and the flow of our history. The prose, unbroken by even a momentary drop into sentimentality, free from the smallest intrusion of "philosophy" or moralizing, has the bright coolness of a Western mountain creek. We are fortunate that it is now easily available in the Modern Library. (*Modern Library*, 366 pp., \$1.25.)

Even when such books are written at a vulgar level, for pulps and movies, they can have a certain importance beyond the entertainment and excitement that attract their readers. In spite of our new priests of the electronic calculator cults, a nation is not a mere summing up of statistical quantities. Until it is sung and written about, a nation does not exist. Sights and sounds and values must become articulate as symbol and myth, as *word*. This verbal task is particularly necessary to our own country because of its sheer geographical bulk, and because more nearly than other nations it has started from scratch. Our great mountains, our lakes, seas, plains, deserts, and forests are so big and so distant from each other that they and the diverse groups of people in them tend to fall apart. Words read in common are among the main forces that hold them together, that join the past to the present, and the Rockies to Brooklyn.

The South and *The West* are our two most elaborate and compelling myths, grown like all lasting myths out of the truth. More fully perhaps than by us, this is understood by the rest of the world as it becomes audience for our mass arts. The South, more refined and limited, is a myth of the past. The cruder, less intellectualized myth of

the West, though it too reaches into the past, turns also toward our future. It is shallow to be scornful of the conventional, repetitive elements of these myths: Johnny Reb, cowboy, plantation owner, stoic Indian, pure flower of Southern (or Western) womanhood, frontier or Mississippi gambler, and the rest. It is just their constant use by Hollywood and the pulps that proves their depth and power.

Cowboy is at the heart of the myth of the West, and two current books are about him. Fred Gipson, in *Cowhand*, sets out to tell "the true story of a working cowboy." (*Cowhand*, by Fred Gipson 216 pp., Harper & Bros., \$2.75.) It is evidently Mr. Gipson's intention to debunk the mythical, or Hollywood cowboy.

By Hollywood standards, Fat is a far cry from being a typical cowhand. He never shot a man in his life. He never chased a rustler across the Rio Grande. He never rescued a beautiful girl from ruthless bandits and rode off into the sunset with his arm about her waist. He never carved a cattle empire out of a "howling wilderness."

The truth is, he doesn't even look like a cowboy. He's too squat and heavy; he's too short-legged and bull-necked. "Fat" here is Ed Alford, a real person and a real West Texas cowhand; and this book is his real story.

It is an absorbing story, for the most part well and amusingly told. The education, work, amusements, and troubles of cowhands are presented in terms of Fat Alford's career in the range country west of the Pecos. There are exact accounts of just what a cowhand does in roundup, branding, roping, wrangling, shooting, and entertaining himself. There is also in this book a fine feel for the strange and barren West Texas country, with its scrub oak and juniper, low hills and deep gulleys, prickly pear and dry river beds.

It is true that Fat could never make a Hollywood hero or even extra. But oddly enough, although Gipson writes accurately from direct experience, it proves impossible to rub the glamour off the figure of the cowhand. There is something about his individualness, about the way he, with his own fabulous skills and inner resources, directly meets the problems posed in that vast stage-set of the West, which is too deep in our national consciousness to become banal.

Ross Santee, well known as a writer about the West and as an illustrator, also has a new book

about the life of cowhands. (*Lost Pony Tracks*, by Ross Santee, 303 pp., Charles Scribner's Sons, \$3.95.) He bases his account on his own working experiences thirty to forty years ago as a horse wrangler and general hand, chiefly at the Bar F Bar Ranch, not far from Globe, Arizona. Much of the material covered is the same as in *Cowhand*. There is no doubt that most of what Santee writes is taken directly from what he knows, but I do not find his book as convincing as Gipson's. It is too arty in manner. It sometimes seems to be Greenwich Village (or rather, Santa Fe) Western. Santee overuses the special cowhand vocabulary (waddie, unwound, critter, drag, wild one, muley, etc., and even *ol'*), somewhat in the style of a hepcat talking about swing. His illustrations, though skillful, are too pretty. They don't seem to me to give the stretching, desert, and fantastic quality of the Arizona landscape.

Some of the book, however, is very good. Though a little dressed up, the long chapter on Martin Dobson, one of the Bar F Bar bosses, is excellent. Both Santee and Gipson have amusing examples of a cowhand characteristic that I have often noticed: the deadpan practical joke, the exclusive form of their sense of humor, which usually ends in a humiliating tangle of the victim with horse, rope, or steer.

I have never read a book just like Cecil Williams'. (*Paradise Prairie*, by Cecil B. Williams, 372 pp., John Day Company, \$4.50.) With the merely nominal disguise of changed names, he has written what I assume to be the story of his family. The Jake Wilson of his book was a young miller in West Virginia, with a wife and several children. In 1902, from motives not very clear to him and far from sympathetic to his family-bound wife, he shifted to a farm in an Oklahoma valley. There they became part of a Dunkard (Church of the Brethren) community which had settled the area not many years before. Several chapters of the book deal with customs of this strict and curious fundamentalist sect.

As the family expanded and settled in, they formally joined the local Brethren through the perilous "dunking" ceremony—a full-scale triple immersion that left the children half-drowned and half-frozen. Their literal reading of the Bible permitted them neither physical combat nor litigation. The effect of these restrictions on the father, when a tenant took advantage of them to refuse to pay his rent, provides the frame for one of the book's most amusing episodes.

Actually, the story of the family is not the subject of the book. Even for Dunkards, the characters remain wooden, and Mr. Williams' occasional attempts to handle conversation seldom do better than stilted copybook phrases.

The real protagonist of the book is the farm itself, the fields, crops, plants, and animals, and

the big and little actions that constitute the farm's life. The human beings in the book never seem quite to get off the paper. The farm, and all the natural things that go to make it up, are wonderfully alive. Everything about the farm can, as we read, be smelled, seen, touched, felt, and tasted. Gradually the cycle of the life of the farm begins to control us as reader, as it did the family that lived on it.

The Wilsons started with two quarter-sections, and added several more as luck and times permitted. It was not a rich or fancy farm. It was at the edge of the valley, with half of its land in the rocky slopes. All of it was periodically devastated by the Oklahoma droughts, and attacked by erosion gulleys. The hardest work and a powerful will alone keep it fruitful.

Nevertheless, there is nothing grim, bare, or ugly in the reality of the farm that remains in the mind of the reader. Each foot of land and everything that grows from it are washed by the warm light of love: the mulberry trees that brought the first fruit of spring; the "tender, light, yellowish-green fruit" of the Early Harvest apples; "two big red Cherries, whose fruit made pies and preserves," and the wasps who also found the fruit sweet; the corn and potatoes and peanuts that grew between the trees, and were tilled with a "one-horse, two-shovel cultivator"; the spring anemones, lambs-tongues, yellow-flowered wild honeysuckles, and johnny jumpups on the slopes along the road to school; Dick Russell's spring, by an old two-roomed log house, past a craggy bluff of almost perpendicular rock, where in the years of drought the last water flowed over mossy stone; the poultry and horses and dog. Even the inanimate farm objects—the harrow and smokehouse, first phonograph and first car—are recreated by love. Even butchering day, with its processes discussed in exact order and detail—the carcass at each stage portrayed as accurately as in a Dutch *genre* painting, becomes somehow beautiful.

The book ends after the death of the father, with Terence (presumably the author) in the train that carries him back to the university where he now teaches, reflecting on "the soul of America." The abstract word he concludes with is "aspiration," but the farm itself seems in its own way to give much more of the answer.

The components, both history and myth, which form the living whole of "West" and "South" fill a reservoir that is always available. Out of the thousands of movies and stories that are drawn from them, only a few, naturally enough, are of a high order. Even the ordinary run, however, are very much better than what the same talents could have done if applied to merely individual material. There is always this advantage in a tradition. Making use of it, the artist or mere craftsman gains a certain form, and a dimension that stretches beyond the limits of his individual frame.

Mr. W. R. Burnett's newest book is a minor example in point. (*Adobe Walls*, by W. R. Burnett, 279 pp., Alfred Knopf, Inc., \$3.00.) It is a fictionalized account of the last phase of the Apache wars. The principal character is modeled after Al Seiber, Chief of Scouts in those wars. The main incident is the tracking down of the young Apache war chief, Vittorio (called Toriano in the book), who has broken out of the reservation near Tombstone, Arizona, in the last spurt of the Apache uprisings.

The book, with its fast, easy, familiar style, is quite obviously aimed at Hollywood, and is in no way remarkable. It is somewhat more than nothing, though, just because something of the West is occasionally there. The Apaches, never more than six or seven thousand in number, were in fact an amazing people. Through imagination and myth, they have become elevated into a lesser symbol of the irreconcilable, of that which cannot be assimilated. Burnett is familiar with their country, and here and there succeeds in communicating what it is like to be in the midst of it.

The East does not do so well this publishing season. It may be that the once strong, salt myth of the East is giving way under the assaults of the relentless research scholars. Scott Corbett has written a friendly, undistinguished book about Cape Cod. (*We Chose Cape Cod*, by Scott Corbett, 307 pp., Thomas Y. Crowell Company, \$3.50.) It is an account of his shift in residence from Manhattan to East Dennis, on the bay side of the Cape. Although its ostensible aim is to portray Cape Cod as a place to live in, rather than a visit for a quick vacation, I imagine that the tourists will be the ones who buy *We Chose Cape Cod*. It tries to tell about traditional New England incidents and attitudes, but the folksy tone would do just as well for Levittown.

A New Dark Ages

Nothing so damaging to the human race has been written since Gulliver's travels as F. J. P. Veale's *Advance to Barbarism* (C. C. Nelson Publishing Company, Appleton, Wisc., 305 pp., \$4.50). Indeed Swift's satires are cheery reading compared to this somber and tremendous book. For the bitter truth is, and Veale proves it to the hilt, that, bad as this species of animal is, he has got steadily *and dreadfully* worse in the last forty years.

The first third of the book is a short and relentless history of human wars from the Ice Age to 1700 A.D. It contains such devastating estimates as that between the years 1500 B.C. and our times more than 8,000 treaties of peace, each intended to endure forever, were concluded, and the average time they remained in force was two years. The reason for stopping at 1700 is that at about that time the novel and self-disciplinary idea arose of

establishing a code of "civilized warfare." It was a purely European idea and was adhered to even by Europeans only when fighting among themselves—only in "European civil wars," as Veale chooses to call them. It carried over to the United States, but General Sherman's March to the Sea shows how briefly. The phrase "war is war," used by him in his reply to a protest from the mayor of Atlanta, was an express repudiation of this European idea.

The central principle of the code was that hostilities between civilized peoples must be limited to the armed forces actually engaged. After abiding by this code for two centuries, the European nations abandoned it "more swiftly and mysteriously than it had been accepted," and reverted to what Captain Liddell Hart has accurately described as "the most uncivilized method of warfare the world has known since the Mongol devastations."

Mr. Veale dates this return to barbarism from May 11, 1940, when the British Air Ministry decided to send out eighteen bombers to attack railway installations in western Germany, an area entirely removed from the scene of military operations. This raid was kept secret until April 1944, when the Luftwaffe had become paralyzed for lack of oil and it was no longer necessary for England's "emotional engineers" to keep up the bluff that Hitler had started the bombing. On that date Mr. J. M. Spaight, former Principal Secretary of the Air Ministry, was permitted to publish the fact, and he did more than that: he gloried in it, calling it a "splendid decision."

Mr. Veale has a viciously good time throughout his often brilliantly satirical book with that phrase "splendid decision." For according to him this raid was "the first deliberate breach of the fundamental rule of civilized warfare," and as such marked the beginning of an epoch of unrestrained barbarism.

It was indeed a momentous decision, and the reminder that it was made by England and not Germany will upset the complacency of a good many people. But it does seem strange that Mr. Veale has forgotten the bombing of Guernica by Hitler's planes in the Spanish Civil War. In that war, besides 700,000 slain in battle, 30,000 people were executed or assassinated, and 15,000 killed in air raids. That surely marks the date when this swift and mysterious descent into the mores of Batu and Ashurbanipal began. For one who is interested in the causes of things—an interest hardly compatible with the mood of Olympian condemnation in which this book is written—that anterior date will have, it seems to me, some importance.

However, the Olympian condemnation is certainly deserved, and it is driven home with relentless logic and seemingly inexhaustible information. From the extension of warfare to the civilian population, it follows naturally that the captains

and leaders of the enemy must be publicly shamed and put to death, as they were under the Pharaohs and the Assyrian kings. That this ancient ceremonial of vengeance was surrounded in the case of the German generals with the phony and hypocritical imitation of a judicial trial—a parade of the forms and mockery of the essence of legal procedure—does not mitigate, but rather intensifies the moral deterioration involved. Nor does it inhibit the shudder with which one contemplates the effect it will have in future wars.

The principle established by it was stated with his usual brusque candor by General Montgomery: "The Nuremberg trials have made the waging of unsuccessful war a crime: the generals on the defeated side are tried and then hanged." That these generals in the future will employ every conceivable method, and every conceivable means, to *avoid* being defeated, seems to be a valid inference from this principle. And Mr. Veale draws it with persuasive force. His book makes one feel, if he did not already on other grounds, that only a moral and intellectual regeneration can save us from a new Dark Ages caused not by a barbarian invasion, but by our own advance to barbarism.

MAX EASTMAN

Concept of Planning

Politics, Economics, and Welfare, by Robert A. Dahl and Charles E. Lindblom. 557 pp. New York: Harper and Brothers. \$5.00

The authors of this book, a political scientist and an economist, venture "a new concept of planning," mostly by dropping the ominous word "planning." It is a "political economy of welfare." In other words, this is a "consistent theory" of how some segment of a population can force the rest to make up for the difference between their aspirations and physical reality.

Dahl and Lindblom neither believe in "grand alternatives" nor do they fall for large-scale planning and rapid change. They stand for "incrementalism," i.e., "patching up an old system is the most rational way to change it." However, "the ultimate result of 'patching' is a transformation of the social system. Capitalism was only a series of patches on feudalism."

The authors examine very intelligently many ambiguous socio-economic problems. As was to be expected from Professor Lindblom, the trade unions come in for a merciless dissection. Of course, it would be "frivolous" to ask for less unionism. Therefore: "The government must have enough control to . . . if necessary even determine the decision [in bargaining]. Anything less is an abdication of the democratic goal."

Dahl and Lindblom grapple sincerely with the meaninglessness of the concept of "social equality"

and with the extreme complications of (re)distribution. Compared with the resentful idiocies of the new platform of the British Labor Party, for instance, Dahl and Lindblom's book is almost conservative. But nowadays no economist or sociologist wants to be caught with even a slightly conservative proposition. Thus, the authors take care never to lose sight of the maximization of equality. After all, planners can always hope for some future generation which will be willing to toil for a token incentive.

Given time for recruitment of new generations of management—such time as is provided by the gradualness with which more equalization must be attempted in any case—. . . an adequate supply of vigorous, imaginative management can be had through much smaller differentials in money income than those now prevailing.

Although advocates of a more or less planned society, the authors show remarkable concern for some private niches of life on the grass-root levels which are to be protected from the zeal of central planners.

But what do the authors really believe? Fortunately they are candid. The ultimate basis for the authors is what they deem "desirable vs. undesirable" in social life. Thus, this impressive volume is neither an inductive investigation of what really is nor of what might be derived from a consistent grasp of human behavior. One might call this book a *suma theologica* of the liberal creed. This the authors admit in their "Postscript":

. . . to affirm the values of expanding freedom, equality [e.g., by ever more progressive taxation] and rational social action *is a kind of act of faith*. Not only are we . . . unable to demonstrate the "ultimate rightness" of these values, but *we cannot even demonstrate conclusively that the characteristics of man and social organization make these values attainable enough to serve as relevant social goals* (italics added).

On the whole, the book is brilliant dialectics. Almost each statement or hypothesis is balanced by a friendly look at its antithesis. All points considered, however, the authors try to make a case for a rationally planned society and economy by an amazing argument. After carefully pointing out most of the weaknesses and dangers of socialism, the authors conclude:

It is necessary to understand, however, that the socialist movement came to a dead end not solely because of its failure but in very large part because of its successes . . . *Almost everyone has become a socialist*, and major socialist criticisms of the economic order have been accepted and acted upon (italics added).

This kind of argument granted, I wonder whether Dahl and Lindblom have anything left with which to dispute the reasoning of the Communists? After all, any Communist can claim

correctness of his views by pointing out that a substantial number of people have become Communists and that the Communist order has been "accepted and acted upon." HELMUT SCHOECK

Briefer Mention

Quackery in the Public Schools, by Albert Lynd.
Boston: Atlantic Monthly—Little, Brown. 282 pp. \$3.50

Mr. Lynd has expanded into an excellent book the argument that he first presented in an *Atlantic Monthly* article. He writes clearly and responsibly, without jargon or fanaticism, like one intelligent parent and businessman talking to others. His discussion amply proves how thoroughly he has studied the problem that concerns him.

His analysis shows how the decay in the quality of public education is the consequence of the monopolistic growth of the professional Schools of Education and Teachers Colleges—what Mr. Lynd calls "Educationism." "Quackery in the public school is not directly related to any particular theory or technique of education; it is a product of Educationism itself as a self-aggrandizing enterprise." The theories of progressive education—developed by John Dewey in a tradition stemming from Rousseau and Pestalozzi, and applied by William H. Kilpatrick of Columbia's dominant Teachers College—have, however, provided the Educationists with their rationale. They use a watered-down Deweyism to justify their attack on the subject matter of traditional learning, and their defense of their own caste privileges.

"Parents," he reminds us, "have a more immediate interest in schools than do employers or college instructors. The most interesting aspect of this shift to a 'real needs' curriculum is the question: who are the people who presume to decide upon the 'real' needs of your child, or mine? What are their qualifications for such decisions?" The answer, in the words which he convincingly quotes from Professor Harold Clapp, "approaches the definition of a racket."

Sexual Behavior in the Human Female, by Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, Clyde E. Martin, Paul H. Gebhard. 842 pp. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company. \$8.00

Contrary to expectations, Dr. Kinsey's *The Sexual Behavior of the Human Female* caused fewer violent convulsions among the defenders of our morals than his earlier book about the male. This gratifying surprise was not due, surely, to any lack of interest in the way girls and women behave, but to the fact that the first book had broken down our resistance to knowing, or admitting that we know, a few of these "facts of life." That this is a progressive step can hardly be denied except by

those who do not believe, to the end of the road, in enlightenment. A lot of people who have been going around crippled by a secret shame will be relieved on reading these books, and that perhaps is their greatest value.

Twenty-five years ago, in his *Preface to Morals*, Walter Lippmann bemoaned the absence of statistical knowledge in these fields. "It may be," he wrote, "that there is . . . a fine but candid restraint practiced among modern men and women. It may be that incredible licentiousness exists all about us. . . Nobody, I think, really knows."

Well, now we do know—at least approximately and in a general way—for no one can deny the extreme conscientiousness and scientific punctilio of Dr. Kinsey's studies. Indeed they are so conscientious and scientific, so devoid of emotion on a subject usually approached with a superabundance of passion, that the effect at times is almost comic. One finds himself saying: "Yes, that is good, but on the whole Thurber and White's *Is Sex Necessary?* was better.

Of course Dr. Kinsey's statistics, based on the testimony of only 5,940 women—and these, let us remember, uninhibited women who are willing to testify on so private a matter—cannot be recklessly generalized. He himself is the first to recognize that. But their significance is nevertheless very great. If his books had existed in 1929, Walter Lippmann would never have begun his chapter on "Love in the Great Society" as he did. Perhaps he ought to write that chapter over again. Perhaps all the moralists ought to write their sex chapters over again.

Civil Rights in Immigration, by Milton R. Konvitz.
216 pp. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. \$3.50

In his new study of immigration (a previous volume was published in 1946) Mr. Konvitz has marshalled the facts, figures, and arguments on a problem of particular concern today, especially to our lawmakers. His focus is on civil rights as they are involved in our admission, exclusion, and deportation policies and in the granting of citizenship. That he favors an extremely liberal policy need not lessen the scholarly value of his work for those who disagree with his view.

Too Late the Phalarope, by Alan Paton. 276 pp.
New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.50

Alan Paton's first novel, *Cry, the Beloved Country*, won a vast reputation through the novelty of the South African subject matter, the popular if sentimental humanitarianism of the author, and the pseudo-poetic singsong of the prose. Thanks to the Book-of-the-Month Club choice, his second book is destined to spread still more widely. The singsong is still there, the sentimentality more mawkish, and the novelty by now rubbed off. What are you going to do with a book the third sentence of which reads: "Strange it is that one could run crying to

the house of a man that one loved, to save him from danger, and that he could say to one, *have I not told you not to come to this house?*" (Italics in original.) This is Aunt Sophie writing as narrator, with Irish blood in the family by the syntax of it, about nephew Pieter van Vlaanderen, whose offense to the racial code brings on "our destruction." Mr. Paton is reported among the founders of a new South African political party. Let us hope that the Spartan life of political combat will have a sobering effect on his rhythms.

Portrait of André Gide: A Critical Biography, by Justin O'Brien. 404 pp. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$6.00

Professor O'Brien, student, friend, editor, and translator of Gide, is the American best equipped to write this book, which he defines as "something between a critical study and a biography." He has brilliantly used Gide's favorite Greek myths as the integrating titles of his chapters. Appropriately, he begins with Gide as "wily old Proteus," who "served as herdsman of the unsightly seals and other monsters of the deep. He had the power. . . of assuming all manner of shapes in order to elude whoever would pursue him."

Justin O'Brien, who is completely acquainted with Gide's writings, has drenched his text in perfectly chosen quotations. He is, as no doubt a biographer must be, more advocate for his subject than cold historian. Part of his case breaks down, for part of what Gide was, wrote, and did is indefensible. Although he states that he accepts Gide's own insistence on the priority of aesthetic considerations, Professor O'Brien deals primarily with Gide's ideas and opinions. This makes his task all the harder. Some of Gide's ideas were subtle or brilliant, but not a few were false or—as the fellow-traveling episode proved—superficial. Professor O'Brien might have been more uniformly convincing if he had stuck closer to Gide's chosen ground of art.

The Origins of Soviet-American Diplomacy, by Robert Paul Browder. 256 pp. Princeton: Princeton University Press. \$5.00

Professor Browder here examines, ably and thoroughly, the problem of our diplomatic recognition of the Soviet regime. Basing himself on all available documents, he explains the initial policy of non-recognition, the motives for the change in that policy, and the "diplomatic disillusionment" to which the change eventually led.

Two points are particularly striking. One is the remarkable insight of the contemporary American statesmen into the nature of the new Bolshevik regime and of American interests in relation to it. The prompt estimates of Ambassador (to Petrograd) David R. Francis and of Secretaries of State Lansing and Colby were so accurate as to make our

subsequent national foolishness hard to explain. Second, we find among the motives that brought recognition in Roosevelt's first year that combination of "idealistic" liberal sentiment and "materialistic" hope for commercial profit that has so persistently characterized our national attitude toward the Soviet Union. It is this combination that lies back of the Foundation grants to left-wing individuals and organizations, and the odd couplings of the Lamonts, Davieses, and Weirs with starry-eyed (and sometimes brass-knuckled) radicals. It persists today as a prop for all the illusions about possible "coexistence." A good dose of this book might help to purge it.

Spain in the Modern World, by James Cleugh. 339 pp. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. \$4.75

Mr. Cleugh has compressed an extraordinary amount into this useful and readable book. In clear, quick summaries, combining both insights and statistics, he tells about the Spanish land, people, history, politics, economics, and social arrangements. He does not shrink from judgments of his own, and he concludes with a discussion of the vexed problem of Spain's relation to the rest of the Western world. Mr. Cleugh writes as a friend of Spain, and as frankly sympathetic to its present regime—not as a form of government considered in the abstract, but in specific relation to the Spanish reality. He believes the anti-Spanish attitude, still so widely prevalent here and in Europe, to be a dangerous leftover. "A strong and well-disposed Spain would certainly be the key to the consolidation of the West, would powerfully contribute to the defense of the Atlantic Ocean, and would facilitate a potential alliance of America with Africa." The bulk of the book, however, has nothing to do with current polemical issues, and can be enjoyed independently of politics.

Two Walk in Autumn

Sadly you said, that autumn afternoon,
As we walked down the roadway, hand in hand:
Autumn is death, and it has come too soon.
(I sensed you knew that I would understand.)
We had looked too long on shrunken stalk and weed
And withered, windless boughs. I turned to view
Your face, to find an answer for my need,
And there, all time's lost roses bloomed in you.

Oh, then I longed to press you to the earth
In all your vaporous beauty, young and fresh—
To wedge your living warmth against the dearth
Beside our path—to feel within your flesh
And in the wild, warm sweetness of your mouth
The lush, lost dream of summer in the south.

ANDERSON M. SCRUGGS



Socialized Ballet

By SERGE FLIEGERS



When the British Sadler's Wells Ballet Company returns home after its present nineteen-week tour of the United States, it will have collected an estimated \$2,500,000 from American aficionados of the toe-dance. This is entirely consistent with the glorious tradition of the ballet. For, like many other worthy ventures, ballet began as a money-making proposition. In 1581 Catherine de Medici found herself unexpectedly in need of funds, and decided to raise some hard currency from the foreign ambassadors at her court. In order to soften up these gentlemen for the bite, Catherine organized "a rich and edifying spectacle" which consisted of a number of dancers acting out a story. This particular story was simple, a none-too-subtle scenario to the effect that although Catherine owned the sun, the moon, and the stars, she might not be averse to accepting cash loans at 5 per cent interest. The whole thing was called *Ballet Comique de la Reine* and was an instantaneous success. Not only did the foreign ambassadors fork over the renaissance equivalent of a dollar loan, but they sent glowing reports to their masters describing the entertainment they had just witnessed.

Ballet—a dance with a purpose—was quickly adopted by the numerous money-hungry courts of Europe. And by the time it ceased being an effective drawing-card for potential lenders, it had become a full-grown art, housed in the Royal Academy of Music and Dance in Paris, especially built for it by Louis XIV. In France, the ballet took on most of its tradition, ritual, and vocabulary. In the process, it also changed from a money-making to a money-losing proposition. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the course of progress and history had depleted the French treasury, and had replaced the ballet with more economical forms of amusement, such as the tandem bicycle.

The ballet thus found itself without a home, but not for long. Mother Russia, already predatory in her

policies, was casting about for borrowed culture, and quickly pressed to her bosom all the out-of-work toe-dancers, ballerinas, choreographers, and *maitres de ballet*. In Russia the fortunes of the ballet advanced by leaps, bounds, and *pirouettes*. The emperor was enchanted by his company of dancers and there were the separate courts of seventeen different Grand Dukes, each vying with the other to snag for himself the best ballerina, the most inspired choreographer. These were the days of the incomparable Marius Petipa, of Nijinsky and Pavlova. They were the days when Tschai-kovsky's new music for the ballet echoed in the silk-draped hall of Moscow's Bolshoi Theater, whose ballet company had become one of the wonders of the world.

Among other things, the Red revolution liquidated the ballet, its sponsors, and most of its stars. A few managed to escape and, back in France again—or more precisely, Monte Carlo—the legendary Diaghileff began to revive this dying and sadly mutilated art. In the twenties, the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo was touring the world, producing new masterpieces by Fokine and training young hopefuls from Europe and the Americas. One of these hopefuls was an Irish lass named Edris Standus, who approached Diaghileff for a job. The impresario snorted: "How can you ever hope to become

a ballerina with a name like yours!" Later he relented, however, and hired the girl on condition that she change her name to Ninette de Valois. Recently, Miss de Valois was made a Dame of the British Empire in recognition of her services in establishing and directing the Sadler's Wells Ballet Company. She started it in 1928 by staging some inter-act dances for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Romeo and Juliet* at the Old Vic. Attendance increased so rapidly that ballet soon became a steady partner of the bard in London.

This season Miss de Valois brought over her company of eighty dancers for an American tour, the third of its kind. They will travel from coast to coast, performing in principal cities. Judging from the response in New York (where \$200,000 in advance bookings were received even before the first advertisement appeared) all American appearances will be a financial success for the British company.

Whether it will be an artistic success, though, is another question. One of the reasons for the standing of the Sadler's Wells Ballet is that it is today the only group of its kind to perform full-length ballets in the classical tradition. The drum-beaters and publicists of Sol Hurok, importer and manager of this costly entertainment, make much of the fact that Sadler's Wells will present lavish, costly, full-length performances of such classics as *Swan Lake*, *Sleeping Beauty*, *Giselle*, and *Sylvia*, the latter in a new version by Frederick Ashton. To purists of the pointed toe, and other people in the dance business, it is presumably important and interesting to witness these king-sized capers. The ordinary theatergoers have also been attracted by the promise of uninterrupted delight. Many of them—including this reviewer—found out, however, that four acts and one apotheosis of *Swan Lake* are almost too much. After several hours, even the combination of Tschai-kovsky and Petipa become somewhat tedious.

That is why companies in the United States have found it to be more economical, and artistically more successful to cut the score and choreography of some of the full-length ballets. But Sadler's Wells is no ordinary company. No need for

Return

You wander down a long street
Looking for a door,
Looking for a number
You have known before.

You find the same number
You have always known,
You find the door, but when
you ring
It stiffens like stone.

WITTER BYNNER



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them to concern themselves with audience appeal or budgetary considerations. For the Sadler's Wells Ballet is socialized ballet, maintained by government funds through the Arts Council of Great Britain.

And it is this fact—perhaps not too generally known—that accounts for many of the shortcomings of the Sadler's Wells Ballet as I saw it. A pall of artistic austerity seemed to have followed the company all the way from London, and hung over it as it performed on the great stage of the Metropolitan Opera House in New York. If I say that Miss de Valois' company actually *looked* socialized I do not want to imply that Margot Fonteyn, the star, executed an Attlee arabesque, or that Brian Shaw—a remarkable dancer, by the way—performed Laski leaps. But there is, nevertheless, an air of ballet bureaucracy about the company. Not only because Miss de Valois is as difficult to approach as a Prime Minister, but because the staging and direction of the ballets are uninspired and flat, as if the choreographers were just doing a routine, government-paid job instead

of giving every ounce of their creative ability to a great and dramatic art.

Although the unusually large ensemble works well together—almost too well, like the Radio City Rockettes—the ballernias still look rather more like polite girls at an English garden party than frightened swans or merry peasant maids. The *prima ballerinas*, Fonteyn, Violetta Elvin, Nadia Nerina are technically perfect, yet their performances are apt to seem cold against the backdrop of a regimented line and massive, uninspired scenery.

We have a tendency in this country to neglect local talent and admire the artistry that comes from abroad. Last season, George London of the Met had to go all the way to Vienna in order to be "discovered." Perhaps one good point of the Sadler's Wells Company in the United States will be to remind us that we have excellent domestic, non-socialized companies such as Balanchine's New York City Ballet with Maria Tallchief (an American Indian) and Lucia Chase's Ballet Theater with the choreography of Agnes de Mille.

HENRY GEORGE

Social Thinker or Land Communist

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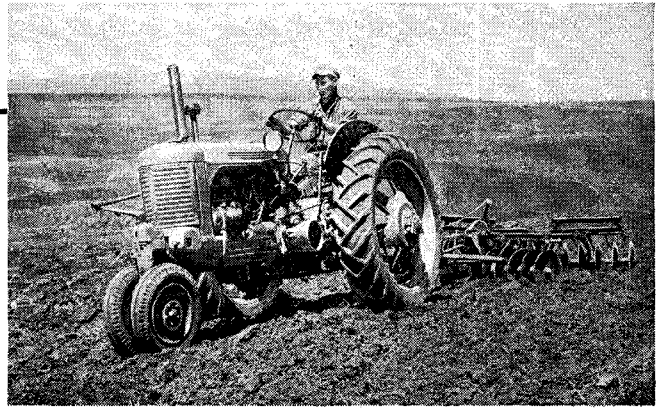
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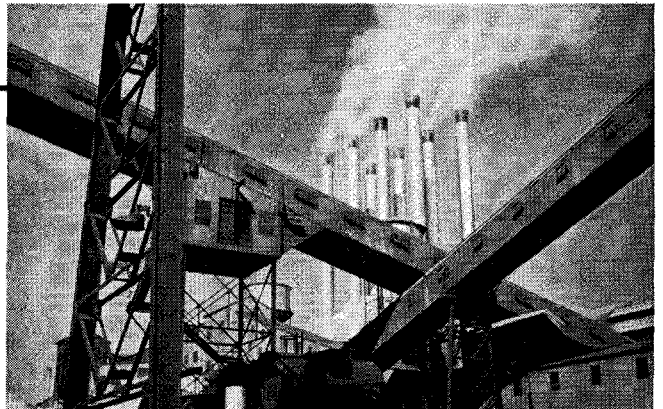


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