

How to Save the Taft-Hartley Act

Joseph H. Ball

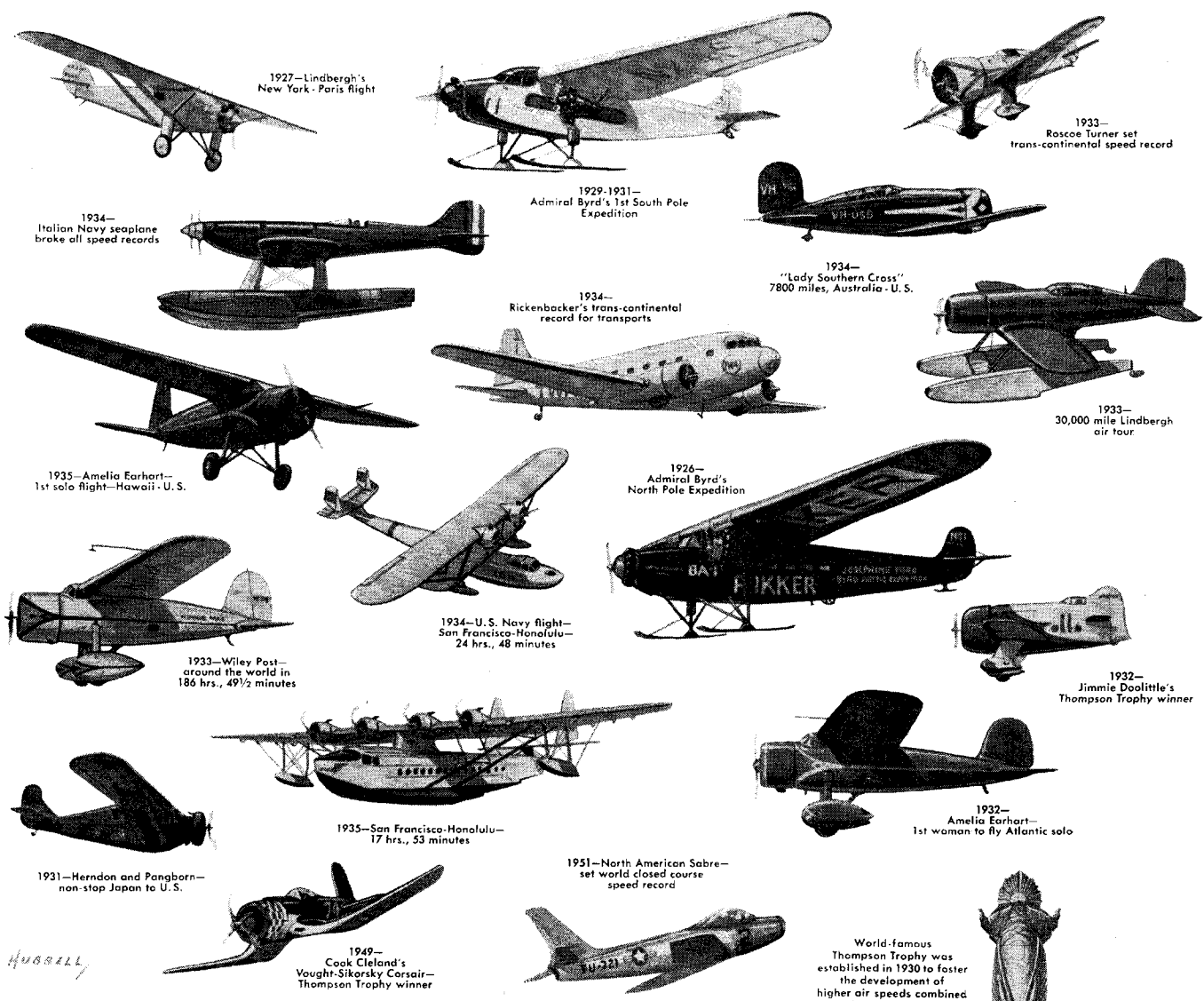
Has Russia Got the A-H Bombs?

Robert Donlevin

The Absurdity of the U.N.

An Editorial





1927—Lindbergh's New York - Paris flight

1933—Roscoe Turner set trans-continental speed record

1934—Italian Navy seaplane broke all speed records

1929-1931—Admiral Byrd's 1st South Pole Expedition

1934—"Lady Southern Cross" 7800 miles, Australia - U. S.

1934—Rickenbacker's trans-continental record for transports

1933—30,000 mile Lindbergh air tour

1935—Amelia Earhart—1st solo flight—Hawaii - U. S.

1926—Admiral Byrd's North Pole Expedition

1934—U. S. Navy flight—San Francisco-Honolulu—24 hrs., 48 minutes

1933—Wiley Post—around the world in 186 hrs., 49½ minutes

1932—Jimmie Doolittle's Thompson Trophy winner

1935—San Francisco-Honolulu—17 hrs., 53 minutes

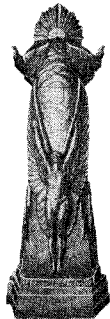
1932—Amelia Earhart—1st woman to fly Atlantic solo

1931—Herndon and Pangborn—non-stop Japan to U. S.

1951—North American Sabre—set world closed course speed record

1949—Cook Cleland's Vought-Sikorsky Corsair—Thompson Trophy winner

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THE Freeman

A Fortnightly
For
Individualists

Editor HENRY HAZLITT
Managing Editor FLORENCE NORTON

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Our Contributors

In his forthright and vigorous article, "How to Save Taft-Hartley," JOSEPH H. BALL, former U.S. Senator from Minnesota, recommends what action the public should take to prevent the scuttling of that act described as imminent by Theodore R. Iserman in our September 7 issue. Mr. Ball has long been a careful student of labor relations and legislation, and written extensively on the subject.

ROBERT DONLEVIN, until recently a European correspondent for an international news agency, is a regular contributor to the FREEMAN.

C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS, a Solicitor in the Department of Commerce from 1951 to 1953, made his debut to FREEMAN readers in the previous issue with a discussion of the legal aspects of the Earl Jowitt's book on the Hiss case. He was formerly a special assistant to the U.S. Attorney General. This fall he will return to New York City to resume the private practice of law.

JOHN HANNA is a professor of law at Columbia University in New York City. He has written a number of books and articles on legal and financial questions, and is one of the co-authors of the two-volume *The American Individual Enterprise System*, published in 1946.

"The Audience is Everybody" is a continuation of a discussion of mass media and their effect on the individual and our culture begun by FLORA RHETA SCHREIBER in our issue of April 20 ("The Battle Against Print"). Miss Schreiber conducts special courses in radio, television, and film writing at Adelphi College and the New School for Social Research in New York.

MARY SINTON LEITCH is the author of a number of volumes of verse. Her poem, "At Last," in this issue was recently awarded first place in a contest conducted by the Poetry Society of Virginia.

Among Ourselves

By the time this issue reaches our readers the FREEMAN's editor, Mr. Hazlitt, will be fraternizing with his fellow-economists at an international conference of the Mont Pélérin Society in Seelisberg on Lake Lucerne in Switzerland. He will subsequently visit Rome, Paris, and London. His reports on the economic and political situation in those key capitals will be forthcoming.

Reprints of the article "How to Save Taft-Hartley" in this issue are available at the following rates: single copy, \$.10; 12 copies, \$1.00; 100 copies, \$6.00; 1,000 copies, \$45; 10,000 copies, \$400. Quantities above 10,000 are priced at \$40 per thousand. Address the FREEMAN, 240 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.

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FROM OUR READERS

Morality and "The Moon"

The staff of the Production Code Administration has been made aware of the article entitled "Morality and 'The Moon'" [August 24] and signed by Serge Fliegers.

It is not the policy of this administration to engage in public disputes. . . It does not hold the brief that it cannot make a mistake. However, we were considerably jolted by the sneering tone of the article.

Mr. Fliegers deals rather familiarly with the Code. . . However the one actual quotation he gives . . . appears nowhere in the document. He gives the impression that we withheld our Seal of Approval for *The Moon Is Blue* without any very clear reason . . . I am now violating no confidence in informing you that we took this action because the picture contains "an unacceptably light attitude towards seduction, illicit sex, chastity, and virginity." In so doing we had in mind the family audience to which the screen caters and by whose patronage it exists.

While we cannot and do not speak for the Legion of Decency, we are surprised that Mr. Fliegers was also unable to obtain their reason for condemning the picture. It was: "The subject matter of this picture seriously offends and tends to deny or ignore Christian and traditional standards of morality and decency and dwells hardly without variation upon suggestiveness in situations and dialogue."

We are not disputing Mr. Fliegers' right to dispute the correctness of our judgment in the case of this controversial picture. We merely want to let you know that we had a specific reason for acting as we did. And furthermore, our judgment, mistaken or not, was unanimously supported, on appeal, by the Board of Directors of the motion picture industry . . .

GEOFFREY M. SHURLOCK
Acting Director, Production Code
Administration, Motion Picture
Association of America, Inc.
Hollywood, Cal.

Mr. Fliegers Replies

The Motion Picture Association of America seems to have got its transcontinental wires crossed. The quotation from the M.P.A. Code that appeared in my article and which is so unfamiliar to Mr. Shurlock, was obtained from his New York office. Neither that office, nor Father Little, Executive Director of the Catholic Legion of Decency, was able to point to any specific line, scene, or action in

The Moon Is Blue which might "deny standards of morality" or, in the words of Cardinal Spellman, "incite to juvenile delinquency."

Since my review appeared, *Variety* reports that *The Moon Is Blue* has been seen by more Americans than almost any other picture recently released. The resultant decline in American standards of morality, or increase in juvenile delinquency directly attributable to "The Moon" seem to have been less than negligible. This leaves us with the unavoidable conclusion that, as Mr. Shurlock indicates, there is a possibility that the Motion Picture Association was wrong in condemning "The Moon" and that thousands upon thousands of average cinemagoers who have since seen the picture—and have not found it objectionable—are right.
New York City SERGE FLIEGERS

Long Book Reviews

Re Gilbert M. Tucker's letter in your issue of August 24: Count me as one who thoroughly enjoyed "such a long dissertation on Sherwood Anderson."
Topeka, Kans. ROBERT F. STEINER

Land of Opportunity Still

I am a conservative who thinks he knows why he is a conservative. . . . Our superior standard of living is due not to a basic superiority of intelligence or manual dexterity. Training and education account for a very small part of this superiority. Many other nations could duplicate our general level of training and education in a matter of months, but they would still not be much better off than before.

The reason our living standard (the productivity of the American worker) is higher is because we alone have such a large capital investment in plant and equipment. The reason we have such a large investment is because in times past the government of this country has allowed people to receive the rewards produced by savings and has allowed them to invest their savings in the most remunerative enterprises; and, consequently, people did save and build up this investment in plant and production. Governments of other countries restricted the rewards accompanying savings and/or prevented what savings there were from going into the most economic channels. . . .

Urbana, Ill. RAE C. HEIPLE II

A Revealing Portrait

In my opinion James Burnham's estimate of Eleanor Roosevelt in "A Too Sentimental Journey" in the *FREEMAN* for August 24 will be a classic. No one else has analyzed her so well, or described her better.

Wyckoff, N. J. MARGARET RAMBAUT

THE Freeman

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1953

The Fortnight

A meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party, held in July, made important new applications of the present right turn in international Communist tactics. On the "electoral front" the decision is to support the "progressive" forces in the Democratic Party. As one result, party members and sympathizers are going to bat for Robert Wagner in the New York City mayoralty primary. "Wagner's nomination over Mayor Impellitteri," says an official party statement, "would constitute a blow to the Dewey-Farley-Impellitteri conspiracy. . . It would mean that the most reactionary section of the Democratic Party on a state scale, that closest to the McCarrans and Byrneses nationally, had received a serious setback."

The American Labor Party is to be employed as a lever for promoting united front coalitions. The party now criticizes the A.L.P., its own electoral tool, for having done in the past, under a different directive, what the party ordered it to do. "It has followed basically a go-it-alone policy and tends to—wrongly in our opinion—direct its main fire against candidates like Halley and Wagner instead of the main agents of reaction." According to the National Committee resolution, "the perspective . . . is that of the unfolding of important struggles among the masses who form the base of the Democratic Party. The Communist Party and other progressive forces must under no circumstances stand aside from this fight." In other words, the Communist Party is taking as its main domestic objective *the infiltration of the Democratic Party*.

This warm Communist move toward the Stevenson-A.D.A.-Lehman-Franklin Roosevelt Democrats is interestingly balanced by the coolness shown in another quarter toward the Chicago welcoming home party for the defeated but still talking Stevenson. Among the guests who chose not to lend their laughter to the wisecracks and their applause to the political abstractions were to be noted: Governor Shivers of Texas, Senator Holland of Florida, Governor Byrnes of South Carolina,

Senator Byrd of Virginia. In general, the responsible conservative wing of the Democratic Party and the nonideological machine leaders are not showing great enthusiasm for their bouncing candidate, who led them on the slipshod crusade that was none of their asking. It is always an error to underestimate the power of a Communist tactic. If these two current developments continue, we may wake up in 1956 to find the Democratic Party transformed into a *de facto* Popular Front coalition, with Adlai Stevenson the front man for "the broad forces of progress."

The Department of the Interior statement on future development of electric power was a masterly example of fence-straddling. The statement was issued with the approval of President Eisenhower and Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay. It was a formal announcement of policy that placed emphasis on decentralization of power. Aside from its commendable tendency to play down federal control, the statement was remarkably inconclusive. Nearly anything and everything seems still possible in the controversial field of public or private power. The statement was a good beginning, but hardly a decisive break with the past.

Against the opposition of the United States and a few other countries, the U.N. Economic and Social Council recently voted to remove from its agenda two items, the discussion of which might offend the delicate and sensitive nerves of the rulers of the Kremlin. One was freedom of information. The other was forced labor. This, along with similar incidents, raises the question what, if any, useful purpose the U.N. is serving. Obviously it cannot keep the peace. On the basis of its record in Korea it is the worst conceivable agency for waging a war. Defenders of the U.N. emphasize its supposed moral authority. But eager desire to appease the notorious worst offender on such matters of international concern as freedom of information and forced labor leaves scarcely a fig leaf to cover the moral nakedness of the sadly divided "United" Nations.

There was an exquisite anti-anti-Communist stiletto-thrust in the news report of Reuters, the

British news agency, on the choice of Senator Knowland as Republican leader in the Senate, following the death of Senator Taft. "Senator Knowland", said Reuters, "has an almost fanatical dislike for Communists." After all, Communists have only set up the most durable and abominable tyranny of modern times, built up a vast militarized empire with 800,000,000 enslaved subjects, kept up underground agencies for espionage and general mischief-making in all free countries, killed some 30,000 Americans and maimed a larger number in Korea. One can fairly see the eyebrows in some circles on both sides of the Atlantic go up in shocked disapproval at the thought of a man so crass, so narrow-minded, so "fanatical," that he actually dislikes Communists.

Mrs. Roosevelt, wined and dined by Tito on the island of Brioni, responded with a rather indecorous gush of girlish enthusiasm over the "whimsy and youth" of the leader of the "Socialist" country of Yugoslavia. As at most of the stops on her world tour, she felt she had to reassure our foreign friends by denouncing Senator McCarthy, whose methods, she stated, "look like Hitler's." Thus the "nice" Marxists are cultivated, and the Senator from Wisconsin is attacked, both on a global scale. Incidentally, there is no record of Mrs. Roosevelt's humanitarian impulses having motivated her to inquire about the health of Cardinal Stepinac.

There is something intriguing and suggestive in the news item about a reform school for vicious dogs which conspicuously failed to achieve its purpose. Although the managers of the school professed complete confidence that the fiercest bulldog or mastiff would emerge from their ministrations as meek as the proverbial lamb, precisely the reverse seems to have happened. Canine alumni of this school started to bite unwary passersby with greater zest and abandon than ever. Several suits are reported to be pending between disillusioned dog-owners and the school. Could it be that Fido and Rover, when entered in the school, were given a curriculum along approved progressive lines, and permitted and encouraged to do whatever their aggressive instincts prompted?

"In the quarter-finals, facing the United States' fourth-seeded team of Straight Clark and Harold Burrows, who hadn't even played together this year, the supposedly invincible champions of Wimbledon, Australia, France, and Italy proceeded to commit more boners than the Chicago Cubs have committed all season, and lost a marathon comedy of errors, 6-7, 14-12, 18-16, 9-7."—*The New Yorker*.

And the most inexplicable error, which even *The New Yorker* doesn't try to explain, is how the Australians managed to lose a set by the score of 6-7.

The Absurdity of the United Nations

In his August 26 address to the American Bar Association, the Secretary of State put on record a few plain truths concerning the United Nations. "The United Nations, in its present form," he declared, "has not met all our expectations. . . . It does not provide adequate security.

"The . . . Charter reflects serious inadequacies. One inadequacy sprang from ignorance. When we were in San Francisco in the spring of 1945, none of us knew of the atomic bomb which was to fall on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. The Charter is thus a pre-Atomic Age charter."

Getting closer to the crux of the trouble, he went on: "A second inadequacy sprang from the fact that the three leaders who planned the United Nations . . . inevitably . . . looked upon the United Nations as a kind of peacetime prolongation of the wartime triumvirate . . . We now see the inadequacy of an organization whose effective functioning depends upon cooperation with a nation which is dominated by an international party seeking world domination."

Mild as is this criticism in view of the facts, it represents a big advance over any previous official statement. Unfortunately, the Secretary failed to draw clear-cut practical conclusions. He spoke vaguely about "revising the Charter," and then drifted off on an unconvincing attack against the Bricker Amendment.

The problem of the United Nations is rapidly approaching the absurd. Gulliver, dozing while the Lilliputians tied him into knots, was a model of good sense compared to ourselves. We have trussed up our national interest and laid it at the foot of the altar of One Worldism, where it can be kicked around at leisure by any friend, neutral, or enemy who has been initiated into the U. N. brotherhood.

It would be sufficiently outrageous if the U. N. were nothing more than "a harmless debating society." The scores of millions of dollars that the U. N. costs American taxpayers are a high subsidy for an international talkathon. If it's just words we want, the TV networks could assemble a smarter, funnier cast, and make money on the operation.

But the U. N. is not just "harmless." As it now functions, it has quite positively been injuring our security and thwarting our national interests.

In Korea our U. N. entanglement prevented us from conducting the war in accordance with the elementary strategic and political requirements of the situation. The U. N. compelled our military commanders to act directly contrary to their own judgment, in spite of the fact that we and the Republic of Korea (not a U. N. member) had supplied more than 95 per cent of the troops, money, supplies—and casualties. It then eased us

into the most abject military defeat of our history, a defeat the most significant result of which is the blow to *our* prestige and influence in all Asia.

The State Department's obsessive subservience to the U. N. trapped us into denouncing our serious ally, Syngman Rhee, for carrying through the most gallant and dynamic action of the entire dismal war, an action that we should have initiated ourselves: the release of the anti-Communist prisoners.

The U. N. induced us to accept an armistice commission in which two members (Czechoslovakia and Poland) are openly our enemies, one (India) sides with our enemies in the clinches, and the remaining two (Sweden and Switzerland) are timidly neutral.

A majority in the United Nations tried to railroad through a vote on the composition of the political conference for Korea that would have meant a pro-Soviet majority against us, and would have excluded the Republic of Korea altogether. That is to say, a majority of the United Nations was ready to turn the political conference over to the aggressors—headed by the Soviet Union, the chief aggressor—and to ditch the victim of aggression. Although this proposal did not quite get the necessary two-thirds vote in the Assembly session which ended August 28, it will probably be revived at the new session, under the slippery eye of Madame Pandit, whom we are incredibly supporting for Chairman against our proved friend, Prince Wan Waithayakon of Thailand.

We are told that the United Nations, in spite of its inadequacies, does "help to solve" international difficulties. Even this faint praise is not borne out by the record. The procedures of the United Nations often exacerbate difficulties. Problems that might be settled by quiet and responsible diplomatic negotiation between the two or three countries directly involved are blown up out of all proportion in demagogic U. N. speeches designed to "appeal to the masses." Having taken a public ultimatum stand, the delegates cannot compromise or change their minds without "losing face."

Inevitably, blocs of nations (the Asian, Middle Eastern, Latin American blocs) are formed among the U. N. members. An issue that might be arranged satisfactorily between two nations—Britain and Iran, for example; the Netherlands and Indonesia; India and South Africa—becomes part of a general struggle between blocs, and cannot be settled on its specific merits. The troubles between France and Morocco, or between Britain and Egypt, have been aggravated rather than lightened through the existence of the United Nations.

The all-out United Nationalists threaten that if the U. N. should break down, then the United States would be "isolated." They are suffering from semantic delusions. If the U. N. should vanish overnight, the United States would be not one millimeter more or less isolated than today. Friendship and enmity among nations did not begin or

end with the United Nations. Whether the U. N. flourishes, flounders, or dies, allies will continue to be allies, the indifferent will remain indifferent, and our enemies will still be against us. The Republic of Korea is not a U. N. member, but her troops and ours together carried the brunt of a terrible war. India is a U. N. member, but no Indian soldiers fought alongside ours in Korea, while Indian diplomats sabotaged our interests. The Soviet Union supplied and directed the fight against us, and the Soviet Union is an honored member of the United Nations.

The Secretary of State put his finger on the fundamental absurdity of the United Nations as at present constituted. We have set up an organization for the alleged purpose of preventing war and aggression, and we have included in its inner command the power that is carrying on perpetual war and aggression. We have put the top criminal on the Police Commission.

To continue to muddle along the present U. N. course is to play heedlessly with the fate of our country. The following decisions have become a minimum condition of national safety:

1. We should make clear to ourselves and to the world that we are no longer prepared to sacrifice our lives, liberties, and honor to the intrigues of an international organization that has given no proof of its ability to defend anything except the bureaucratic privileges of its spy-ridden staff.

2. We should insist that the United Nations be reorganized to exclude the chief totalitarian aggressor and his puppets, or that it be dissolved as a fraud, and a hindrance rather than an aid on the road to peace.

Pattern of Subversion

The Senate's Subcommittee on Internal Security has recently issued a remarkable report which ought to be widely read and studied by responsible citizens. It is called *Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments*, and it describes the pattern that has gradually been emerging from the entire series of inquiries into Communist penetration of the government.

Some years ago, when the first disclosures were made, they could be dismissed, if not as outright red herrings, then as individual, isolated aberrations that had no important bearing on the course of events. What this new report establishes is that there was nothing individual, accidental, or isolated in the Communist infiltration of government, any more than in any other field of our national life. The Communists proceed step by painstaking step, according to a deliberate plan and tested methods.

Senator Jenner, Chairman of the Subcommittee, observed: "The Subcommittee has been impressed by the extent to which the Communists it has ex-

posed were able to move, often with great facility, from one government agency to another, spinning their web of intrigue and drawing with them in positions of power and influence their confederates and auxiliaries." The analysis shows how a single Communist, getting fixed in an agency, skilfully used his position to recruit other Communists, and often to transfer them to other agencies or departments where the party or the Soviet espionage apparatus wanted to acquire a base. The first major penetration took place in the Department of Agriculture, where the famous "Harold Ware cell," including Alger Hiss as one of its members, was established.

Perhaps the most remarkable base acquired by the Communists was set up in the National Research Project. Its director, David Weintraub, "occupied a unique position in setting up the structure of Communist penetration of governmental agencies by individuals who have been identified by witnesses as underground agents of the Communist Party."

The Report shows how the principal Communist concentration was focused during the 1930's in the economic agencies, particularly special agencies that arose under New Deal auspices during the Depression; then shifted into the special wartime agencies; and, at the conclusion of the war, toward the agencies dealing with international affairs. "In general, the Communists who infiltrated our government worked behind the scenes—guiding research and preparing memoranda on which basic American policies were set, writing speeches for Cabinet officers, influencing congressional investigations, drafting laws, manipulating administrative reorganizations—always serving the interest of their Soviet superiors. Thousands of diplomatic, political, military, scientific, and economic secrets of the United States have been stolen by Soviet agents in our government and other persons closely connected with the Communists."

The Report notes in its conclusions the extraordinary fact that despite information concerning this penetration which was available from the early 1940's on, "little was done by the executive branch to interrupt the Soviet operatives . . . Powerful groups and individuals within the executive branch were at work obstructing and weakening the effort to eliminate Soviet agents from positions in government."

At the outset Senator Jenner made clear that "the Subcommittee undertakes this investigation primarily with the view to preventing further infiltration and not to hold up to the pillory past misdeeds." How necessary is this thought for the future the Report itself well shows. Actual testimony proves the continuing existence of at least two unexposed Soviet rings in government. And more generally: a big string of fish caught from a pond hardly suggests that the pond is now completely empty.

Attlee's Double Standard

Clement R. Attlee, leader of the British Labor Party, recently gave a striking example of that myopic double standard of political morals which has been characteristic of Leftists ever since the Communist regime in Russia came into existence. In the stimulating atmosphere of Bled, the popular mountain lake resort in Tito's Yugoslavia, Mr. Attlee put in a plug for one of his favorite themes: the supposed desirability of admitting Red China into the United Nations.

Interviewed on this subject by the United Press, Mr. Attlee expressed the view that "admission to the United Nations is not a matter of conferring a favor, but recognition of a fact, and that fact is that China is not now governed by Chiang Kai-shek, but by the present government in Peking."

A shrewd inquiring reporter asked Mr. Attlee whether he also favored the admission of Spain. But this proved to be a horse of a different color, white rather than red. Mr. Attlee imposed a personal veto on Spain, on the ground that it would not subscribe to the conditions of the United Nations Charter. To the logical further question, whether he thought Red China could subscribe to those conditions, he blandly replied: "Generally speaking, I think the Peking government would."

The record of the Communist regime in China is an open book; and it is hard to believe that Mr. Attlee, with his special obligation to keep in touch with international affairs, can be entirely ignorant of that record. The genocidal slaughter of some two million Chinese, a fact of which the official Chinese Communist radio boasts, would seem a little difficult to bring into harmony with the pious aspirations of the U.N. Charter and of U.N. declarations about human rights. So would the complete suppression of freedom of speech, press, political assembly, and trade union organization and the ferocious persecution of the Christian religion, accompanied by the outrageous maltreatment, torture, and imprisonment of many American and British missionaries, who have devoted their lives to unselfish service to the Chinese people.

It would be rather difficult, one would imagine, to find anything in the U.N. Charter that would justify the two wars of aggression which the Chinese Reds have been carrying on outside China's borders, the shooting war in Korea and the war by proxy in Indo-China, where substantial aid in munitions and training facilities has been extended to the Communist insurgents. And if it were possible to buttonhole Mr. Attlee and put him in a controversial corner, one wonders what he would say about an ugly and notorious racket in which the Chinese Communist rulers have been engaged for years. This is the extortion of money from overseas Chinese by threatening to arrest, torture, and kill their relatives in China.

In contrast with the mass cruelties that have been going on in China (often to the accompaniment of brutalizing the young people by making them attend and applaud executions of "counter-revolutionaries") Franco's record seems almost humanitarian. Nor does it suffer by comparison with those of such members in good standing of the United Nations as the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Tito's Yugoslavia.

But Franco is "Right" and the others, including Red China, are "Left"; and that fact, to individuals of Mr. Attlee's narrow and doctrinaire vision, makes all the difference. One is carried back to the Alice-in-Wonderland atmosphere of the thirties when there was a regular foreign legion of American intellectuals, eager to sign "Hooray for Murder" manifestoes whenever there was a new batch of victims for the Soviet guillotine, when the same people who denounced fascist cruelties too often stultified themselves by obvious sympathy with Communism.

This double standard of morals is a disease sufficiently serious and widespread to warrant examination and quarantine measures. Mr. Attlee perhaps deserves a vote of thanks for giving such a crass illustration of how standards which are applied to the authoritarian goose are not supposed to hold good for the Communist gander.

Backflip in Morocco

Last week the State Department was in a slip-happy mood again, reminiscent of the mad, mixed-up days of the Acheson Administration. This time, the Department's bloopers concerned French Morocco, a strategic trouble-spot in North Africa.

Since 1927 Morocco has been ruled by Sultan Sidi Mohammed Ben Youssef, who has enjoyed reasonable peace and quiet under the protection of the French. But during World War Two, Sidi Mohammed had the misfortune to receive the visit of President Roosevelt and his retinue of global-minded advisers, on their way back from the Casablanca Conference.

Full of the gay and festive giveaway spirit that characterized later conferences such as Yalta, the American President had two gifts for the Sultan: a fast American car and words of warm promise about the impending "liberation" and "independence" of Morocco.

The Sultan accepted both the car and the promise, and shortly after the meeting, a Moroccan independence movement was created. Called the Istiqlal Party, it was organized along Communist lines with secret cells and fanatic strong-arm squads. In fact, French investigators have claimed that arrested Moroccan terrorists carried both Istiqlal and Communist Party cards upon their persons. As the years went by, the Istiqlal stepped

up its organized war against all Europeans in Morocco, including American personnel sent there to man a number of highly strategic air bases.

The Communists were delighted, and so were the member nations of the Arab League, especially Egypt, which is carrying on a similar type of warfare against British forces in the Suez zone. Supported by both the Reds and the Arab League, the Sultan became bolder. One of his sons openly took part in extremist Istiqlal activities, while Sidi Mohammed stubbornly blocked a French-proposed system of reforms that might have helped to calm the population.

Pressure was building up in Morocco, and General Augustin Guillaume, the martinetlike Resident General of France, could do little to relieve it. Every time he prepared to take stern measures against the Sultan, a timorous cabinet called him back to Paris and ordered him to maintain the status quo.

Last month the status was no longer quo, as the result of energetic action by another colorful figure on the Moroccan scene: Thami el Glaoui, aged Pasha of Marrakesh. While the Sultan and his followers are Arabs, El Glaoui is leader of the Berber tribes. These Berbers are the original pre-Islamic inhabitants of Morocco and could, if they wished, trace their ancestry to the sons of ancient Carthage. They are a fine-looking, courageous people who spend their time in the Atlas mountains and leave politics to their more excitable Arab cousins in the bazaars.

Faced with the increased terrorism of the Arabs and Communists, and the indecision of the French, El Glaoui assembled a council of Pashas and Kaids who declared themselves for the removal of Sidi Mohammed from his throne. To punctuate the decision, El Glaoui dispatched some of his fierce horsemen of the "Beni M" tribe to camp outside the gates of Rabat. Confronted by such positive action, the Sultan took several of his wives, loaded them into the fast car given to him by Roosevelt, and drove to the airport whence a Dakota flew the group to Corsica. Expected popular outbreaks did not materialize and Morocco, it seemed, breathed a sigh of relief.

Normally, the entire affair would have been a long-due and colorful development in the local history of North Africa. But that would have been reckoning without the muddling and meddling of our State Department. Less than two days after the new Sultan, Sidi Mohammed Ben Moulay Arafa, had been safely installed, a State Department spokesman shattered Washington's Saturday calm with the unnecessary announcement that the United States "views with deep concern" the removal of the ex-Sultan of Morocco. In diplomatic terminology, this amounted to a strong rebuke to France, and it immediately served to infuriate the citizens of the republic, as well as the

traditionally pro-Western Berbers in Morocco.

What might have been a dead subject was now cheerfully pounced upon by the Arab nations who, encouraged by the unexpected United States statement, announced they would bring up Morocco in the United Nations. In the midst of the serious discussions concerning Korea, the Arabs proceeded to hold theatrical meetings and press conferences, and finally managed to call a special meeting of the Security Council to consider the case of the deposed Sultan. Forty-eight hours before the Council was scheduled to meet, the State Department tossed another bomb into the diplomatic arena. A spokesman for Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. suddenly announced that the United States would vote against the Arab proposal to discuss the Moroccan question in the Security Council. It was the first time the United States has voted against consideration of any question in the Council. (We even abstained when the Council took up Soviet charges against the U.S.)

What's more, it was a backflip so breathtaking that even veteran observers of State Department methods were stunned. The reasons for such a sudden *volte face* remain steeped in mystery. The results are much clearer: Having infuriated the French and the Berbers, we have by our latest action also managed to antagonize the Arab side which, through the "Moroccan Information Office" in New York, denounced the U.S. action as a "betrayal of the Moroccan people's aspirations."

The State Department will have to do considerable rummaging in its files of excuses to come up with a satisfactory "White Paper" to explain that little episode.

Voices of Liberalism

As Max Eastman showed in his discussion in the August 24 issue of the problem of what to call those "who prefer freedom to equality as a guiding idea, or who realize that economic freedom is essential to the maintenance of a high level of life," the good old word liberalism has taken a tremendous semantic kicking around in our time. It was not unusual, at least until quite recently, to hear the self-revealing phrase, "Communists and other liberals." A liberal in America could be anyone from a thinly disguised party-liner to an advocate of low tariffs and clean municipal government. The "Liberal Party" in New York State is for something which historic liberalism would have fought to the death: sweeping extension of the powers and functions of the state.

No wonder the word liberal in America lost any real sense or meaning. There was a similar development in Great Britain. The once powerful Liberal Party in Great Britain disintegrated intellectually as fast as it declined politically. A

party firmly rooted in the principles of economic individualism could have played an independent and challenging role and might have attracted many British voters who disliked both the socialistic class war doctrines of Labor and the cozy cartelism of the Conservatives.

Unfortunately the dwindling band of surviving liberals mounted separate hobby-horses and rode off furiously in all directions at once. In Britain, as in America, it became extremely difficult to know just what, if anything, a liberal stood for. This summer, however, echoes of the brave old world of nineteenth-century liberalism were sounded at the Liberal summer school of Oxford.

Professor John Jewkes, an economist of Oxford University, and author of *Ordeal by Planning*, one of the most crushing indictments of British socialism in theory and practice, made a point that is no less valid because it is often overlooked. He called the roll of the countries in the best economic health: the United States, Canada, West Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Switzerland. And he noted that every one of these countries belongs in the category of the freest nations from the economic standpoint.

He sounded a warning that Great Britain, after discarding so many of the characteristics of self-reliant economic individualism on which the country grew strong and great during the last century, faced a danger not of sudden spectacular collapse, but of creeping decline. In Professor Jewkes' vivid language there was a peril that Britain "may founder slowly like a waterlogged raft, gradually becoming poorer, a permanent burden to our friends abroad, a breaker of pledges and promises to the poorer parts of our Commonwealth, and a constant disappointment to ourselves."

On the same occasion Professor F. W. Paish, of the London School of Economics, made the significant point that personal savings in Great Britain have been practically destroyed. The middle class, formerly the principal source of savings and investment capital, is so crushed under taxation that its members are reduced to a losing struggle to pay what in England are rather grimly called "death duties."

Incentive to working-class saving has been largely destroyed by the welfare state and its handouts. As a consequence the chief source of new capital is what businesses earn and put back into their own operations. But even this would shrink without continuous high prices and continuous inflation. As the London *Daily Telegraph* puts it: "We have reached a stage where inflation is not an unfortunate consequence of our postwar economic policies, but a prerequisite of those policies."

It is a good thing that in the country of Locke and Bentham and Adam Smith some voices can still be heard clearly pointing to the inevitable bankruptcy of socialistic economic policies.

How to Save Taft-Hartley

By JOSEPH H. BALL

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

Unless people wake up soon to what is happening and protest long and loudly, the present Republican Administration is going to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act. Ironically, many G.O.P. leaders who helped block President Truman's efforts to repeal Taft-Hartley from 1949 through 1952, appear to be going along with this new effort.

Of course, it won't be called repeal. The job of emasculating the law will be done by way of amendments, with the sponsors piously insisting they are preserving the essentials of Taft-Hartley. But the effect on national labor policy will not differ materially from repeal.

You doubt this? You just don't believe that a Republican Administration elected with the overwhelming support of businessmen would deliberately set out to wreck the law which restored some semblance of fairness and balance to federal labor policy? Nobody could blame you for that, because it does seem illogical. But the facts on the record, unfortunately, all point to just such a program.

The convincing tip-off on the plans of some powerful forces within the Administration was a proposed message on Taft-Hartley amendments which was very nearly submitted to Congress over President Eisenhower's signature on July 31, the day of Senator Taft's death. Protests by Vice President Nixon and others stopped it then, but somehow a copy of the message was "leaked" to the *Wall Street Journal*, which published its full text on August 3. After its publication, the White House denied that it was in final form, insisted it was only a "working draft," but, significantly, did not repudiate it. As a result, the proposed message has now become what is known politically as a "trial balloon." This means that the relative volume of protests as against endorsements of the proposed message received will probably determine the Administration's future course of action.

The nineteen amendments to Taft-Hartley in the proposed message included twenty-four concessions to union leader demands, while only one minor change was mentioned from among the many for which employer groups had made strong cases in the lengthy hearings before congressional committees. As a sample, the changes proposed would have cut the heart out of the restrictions on compulsory union membership, the prohibition of secondary boycotts, and the safeguards on union welfare funds, three of the vital provisions of the

act. What is really frightening, however, is that the background of the message indicates it may well be only a starting point for concessions to union leaders, which ultimately could result in a far worse law than the original Wagner Act.

A Successful Six-Year Record

The Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 was itself a direct result of public indignation against the open alliance between the Truman Administration and big union bosses and the flagrant abuses of power by those same union bosses. The basic principle of Taft-Hartley is that no group in society should be above the law or be permitted to disregard rights of individual workers and employers or the public interest in pursuit of its own ends. To that end, the act severely restricted the so-called closed shop, prohibited secondary boycotts (a monopolistic power device that no one defends), imposed responsibilities on unions commensurate with their privileges and power, safeguarded welfare funds, and established procedures for dealing with national emergency strikes. The law has been in effect for six years, long enough to demonstrate that, while not perfect, it has worked well and fairly, that it did not destroy unions, and that the unbridled hate campaign against it by union leaders was entirely unjustified. Nevertheless President Truman refused to invoke the law in the long steel strike of 1952, and public reaction against his unconstitutional attempt to seize the steel industry undoubtedly was a factor in the Republican victory that fall.

President Eisenhower himself has demonstrated time and again his determination to deal fairly with all groups in society, as well as his basic conservatism on economic policy. However, he has little personal knowledge or experience in the labor relations policy field. He has perforce been dependent on advisers, and naturally was most inclined to listen to the eastern Republican group that was largely responsible for his nomination. Unfortunately, many leaders in that group, who now occupy influential positions in the Administration, are convinced that to survive politically the G.O.P. must "buy" the support of big union leaders by yielding to their demands. This despite the evidence of recent elections, which show that no leader can deliver the so-called "labor vote" and that Republicans have been supported by rank-and-file

workers when they disregarded demands of union leaders and supported measures aimed at protecting and expanding individual worker rights. But the results of this group's efforts are plainly discernible in the development of labor policy under Eisenhower. The chronological sequence is revealing.

This Administration's Concessions to Labor

September 1952. Speaking to the A.F.L. convention, Eisenhower emphatically opposed repeal of Taft-Hartley. He favored amendments, but mentioned only two: making employers as well as union officials sign non-Communist affidavits, and elimination of a "union-busting" provision, which denies replaced economic strikers a vote in representation elections. (He was wrong on this one, but it is a relatively minor point.)

December 1952. Eisenhower announced the appointment of Martin P. Durkin, then president of the A.F.L. Plumbers union, as his Secretary of Labor. The late Senator Taft, with his usual blunt honesty, called the selection "incredible." Durkin was a lifelong Democrat. He had supported Stevenson and advocated complete repeal of Taft-Hartley. In addition, whatever his personal character, he headed an A.F.L. union notorious for its monopolistic practices such as closed shop, closed union, and secondary boycotts. One could hardly conceive an individual less qualified to administer a new and unbiased national labor policy.

February 1953. In his state of the union message, Eisenhower again confined his comments on labor policy to the two amendments he had mentioned in his A.F.L. speech. Actually, a preliminary draft of the speech had contained several other concessions to union leaders' demands, but Senator Taft was able to get them eliminated. However, the Palace Guard already was working to shift the President to their way of thinking.

March 1953. Secretary Durkin's tripartite committee to recommend changes in Taft-Hartley broke up in disagreement. The fact that it was tried is significant. Both Truman and the late F.D.R. had used the tripartite device, with pro-union public members, in order to give flagrantly biased labor policies and actions an appearance of impartiality.

February to June 1953. In months of hearings before House and Senate Labor Committees, union leaders advocated amendments to repeal or nullify almost every provision of Taft-Hartley, but couched their demands in the same old general terms and failed to produce any convincing case histories to show any damage to legitimate union activities. Industry witnesses, on the other hand, cited hundreds of case histories to show that many key provisions of the act need strengthening, largely because of biased interpretations by the National Labor Relations Board.

May 1953. In efforts to develop an Administration labor policy, Secretary of Labor Durkin pro-

posed at the hearings that the White House support seventeen changes in Taft-Hartley demanded by unions and oppose nine changes which had been urged by various industry groups.

June 1953. Congressional hearings closed with an impressive record which overwhelmingly supported the strengthening of Taft-Hartley rather than weakening amendments. The White House staff moved in and a series of conferences with congressional leaders, Commerce and Labor Department officials were held in an effort to develop an "Administration bill." The basis of discussions was a bill drafted by a group of lawyers, some representing the A.F.L. and some employer interests, which supposedly had A.F.L. endorsement. Of the twenty-one amendments proposed in this bill, fifteen were concessions to union demands, six were procedural, and three were concessions to employer views.

July 1953. Conferences with congressional leaders broke down, largely because of Secretary Durkin's adamant opposition to any concessions to employer views and his insistence on even more concessions to unions. White House Counsel Bernard Shanley said he would draft a proposed message, working with Labor and Commerce Departments and attorneys for congressional committees.

July 31, 1953. The proposed Eisenhower message was sent to Chairmen McConnell and Smith of the House and Senate Labor Committees, who were told by telephone that it would be submitted formally to Congress that afternoon. This message proposed twenty-four concessions to union demands, seven more than had been asked originally by Durkin, and it left out all of the industry proposals opposed by Durkin. In other words, the price of union leader (A.F.L.) acquiescence was going up steadily. Vice President Nixon and others succeeded in preventing formal submission of the message, and after it was published, the White House called it only a "working paper." Later it was learned the first draft had been prepared by one Charles Donahue, a holdover assistant solicitor in the Labor Department and an A.D.A. Democrat who drafted the late Secretary Tobin's anti-Taft-Hartley speeches and even wrote anti-Ike speeches last fall for the Democratic National Committee. His draft was worked over slightly by Shanley and McConnell on July 30, but Commerce didn't even hear about it until late that night and was unable to prevent the initial reference next day to McConnell and Smith.

The record speaks clearly. The Eisenhower advisers who wanted to sell out to the A.F.L. obviously were in the saddle from last November until along in February, when Senator Taft's growing influence with the President began to make itself felt in this field. But as Taft's fatal illness in May and June gradually reduced his effectiveness, the influence and boldness of the Administration advisers bent on appeasing union bosses grew steadily.

As it grew, the price of A.F.L. and Labor Department acquiescence in an Administration program increased also. Now, to anyone familiar with union bargaining techniques, it is obvious that the concessions to union power in the proposed message will be the starting point for additional union demands as soon as the subject becomes active again.

Other Labor Laws Involved

This record on Taft-Hartley does not stand alone. Administration of the Walsh-Healey and Bacon-Davis Acts (which authorize the Secretary of Labor to fix wages paid on all government contracts) has been transferred from the Solicitor's office to that of Under Secretary Lloyd Mashburn, himself an old A.F.L. building trades leader. Local communities all over the nation are protesting at the way these acts are being used to lever up local wage rates. The Labor Department itself is still staffed almost entirely by the same Democratic officials who made it little more than a sounding board for, and instrument of, big union policies under Truman. A new Atomic Energy labor panel has been set up, with pro-union members, and given powers to make recommendations for settlement of disputes, which amounts to compulsory arbitration in this field. In all of these areas, business people directly concerned report that the current situation, insofar as flagrant pro-union bias is concerned, is worse than under Truman.

There is no indication that Eisenhower is aware of these machinations within his Administration to sell out basic principles of labor policy for promised political support of A.F.L. leaders. There are plenty of sound officials within the Administration who would strongly oppose what is going on if they were made fully aware of it and given some political ammunition to combat it. Unfortunately, members of the A.F.L. sell-out group are in powerful positions. Most of them probably are sincere in believing they can negotiate a political deal to buy labor support at the cost of protection of public and individual rights.

Actually, the political facts of life are against them. The Republican victories in 1946, 1950, and 1952, when union leaders supported the Democrats almost 100 per cent, demonstrated their fallacy. Truman won in 1948 on prosperity rather than issues. Taft got millions of workers' votes in Ohio in 1950, even though union leaders unanimously demanded his defeat. John L. Lewis probably controls his coal miners more tightly than any other union leader, yet he couldn't deliver their votes to Willkie in 1940. Finally, the farmers of the Midwest and the small businessmen on Main Street are the backbone of the Republican Party. The twenty-year Democratic alliance with the industrial unions of the C.I.O. did not affect them directly, because those unions don't operate much on Main

Street. They are in the mass production industries and deal with big business. But the A.F.L. craft unions live on Main Street. The smaller concerns are their main target. And both farmers and small business are very vulnerable to such racketeering devices as the closed shop, closed union, and secondary boycott. The proposed message would virtually repeal the protection against these tactics now in the law, and Heaven help the G.O.P. if the farmers and small businessmen ever wake up and find their own party has done that to them.

This drift of the present Administration toward a labor policy completely dominated by the moguls of the A.F.L. is far more frightening than was the democratic alliance with the C.I.O. Because of the type of unions involved, that alliance led to nationwide strikes and emergencies that made big headlines, and an aroused public could make its views felt, particularly in Congress. But the A.F.L. craft unions seldom or never create national emergencies. They don't make big headlines. They don't go in for mass picketing. But their smaller goon squads and secondary boycotts actually are more effective, if less spectacular. They get by with far more than the C.I.O. without the public's becoming aware of it.

The Public Must Act

If you are thinking that after all this is just Administration recommendations and that Congress can be relied upon to defeat any such proposals, think again. It is quite true that the 81st and 82nd Congresses refused Truman's request for Taft-Hartley repeal, and the 83rd Congress generally is rated as more conservative than those. But the effective power on labor policy in Congress has been the coalition of southern Democrats and Republicans, with the latter contributing the bulk of the votes. The southern Democrats haven't changed their views, but it is a different story with the Republicans. For them, it was easy to oppose Truman recommendations on labor law. It would be a very different thing to oppose recommendations of the first Republican President elected in twenty years. Add Eisenhower's personal popularity to public ignorance of labor law technicalities, and bucking the White House on this issue could mean primary defeat for many G.O.P. congressmen. Only those sure of the support of their own districts on this issue could afford to risk it, and there are not enough of them. Some G.O.P. congressional leaders have even swallowed the political deal aspect. As of now, a White House bill to amend the heart out of Taft-Hartley could not be stopped in Congress.

With the great bulwark against such a sell-out in Congress gone with Senator Taft's death, only one thing can reverse this trend and maintain a labor policy based on freedom and fairness instead of bias and coercion. That is an aroused public opinion that makes its views known.

The proposed message of July 31 on Taft-Hart-

ley is a trial balloon of major importance. The public reaction to its proposals to gut the act's protections of the public and individual workers will determine whether it is abandoned or whether it is just the beginning of additional concessions to union power. The proponents of the sell-out are doing their best to minimize the importance of the message while they quietly encourage their friends to record their support of it. That also is a recognized part of the trial balloon technique.

But if enough people refuse to be lulled to sleep and protest vigorously, as happened on Taft-Hartley itself in 1947 and on the steel strike in 1952, they can get results. There is no doubt that President Eisenhower wants to be fair to all groups. So do many of his advisers. But unless they hear from the people, they may be persuaded that the things proposed in the trial balloon message are not so bad after all.

If you want to make your own opinion count, there is a simple way to do it. Write a letter or send a telegram to the President at the White House. Do the same thing to members of the cabi-

net. Write, wire, or talk to your representative and senators. Do the same to your Republican state chairman and national committeeman. And be sure to talk to the individual to whom you contributed G.O.P. campaign funds last summer and fall.

You don't have to go into details on the proposed Presidential message in your letters or wires. They will know all about that. But if you believe the restrictions on compulsory union membership should be strengthened, not weakened; that secondary boycotts hitting innocent third parties are rackets which should be completely prohibited; that the billions going annually into union welfare funds should be safeguarded so the individual worker's rights are protected; that the growing union power demonstrated in recent years shows that further curbs rather than greater license is the real need, then say so.

You can be sure that your message will count. And as of now, it looks as if only a flood of such messages can keep Taft-Hartley from being amended into a more one-sided and biased statute than was the old Wagner Act.

Has Russia Got the A-H Bombs?

By **ROBERT DONLEVIN**

The report of an underground organization backs up doubts expressed in Washington.

Premier Malenkov's announcement that the Soviet Union has the H-bomb was aptly timed. It was made just as the dictator needed to strengthen his hand at the coming Korean peace parley and in such Moscow-directed projects as the Communist rebellion in Indo-China. Doubts that the announcement was true were expressed in Washington. Then the U.S. Long-Range Detection Project picked up air samples indicating that a thermonuclear explosion had taken place in the Soviet Union on August 12, and headlines around the world confirmed the Kremlin's claim to the H-bomb.

Is there evidence that the explosion came from a thermonuclear weapon? Or was it similar to an atomic explosion which took place in Russia in 1949, and was attributed to an atomic bomb?

Allied intelligence authorities have in their hands a report backing up the skepticism which former President Truman expressed last January when he told a newsman that he "was not convinced Russia has the [atomic] bomb." The source of this report is a reliable Soviet underground organization that has been able to set up intermittent courier contact with the free world, and is vouched for by some highly competent experts in Soviet affairs. The report related that the first atomic explosion in

the U.S.S.R., recorded in 1949, was either an accident or sabotage, but definitely not an atomic bomb. Although the data on the second and third explosions, which occurred two years later, was less detailed, it was reported that this active, if limited, underground organization is convinced that these explosions were not produced by bombs either.

According to the report, a hospital located in southern Russia was suddenly filled with wounded soldiers in September 1949. A heavy guard was thrown around the hospital but news of the arrivals soon leaked out and rumors spread like wildfire that war had broken out. The soldiers had a different story. They recounted that some months previously they had been loaded on cattle cars of a train and sent eastward. When they asked their officers where they were going they were told, Mongolia. However, they got off the train near the city of Narym on the Ob River in Siberia and were marched to what they described as a newly-built factory city surrounded by a high cement wall topped off with barbed wire and guarded by constantly patrolling sentinels. The entire population was in uniform except for a few German civilians. It was an atomic experimental station. They were employed as unskilled and semi-skilled labor in

preparing uranium ore for use in the experiments. The population of the city was estimated at 25,000.

One day late in the summer of 1949 a terrific explosion rocked the site. Of the 25,000 soldiers engaged in the work 8,000 dead were identified; 3,000 were seriously injured; 1,000 suffered lighter injuries, and the remaining 13,000 disappeared without a trace. It is believed that the missing were those suffering from atomic blast burns. They may have been either executed or hospitalized elsewhere in a completely isolated area to prevent leakage of knowledge of the disaster—each one being living testimony to a monstrous accident.

Explosion or Weapon?

Knowledge of this report may have influenced Mr. Truman's expressed doubt that the Soviet Union could manufacture a workable atomic bomb. But the ensuing confusion was not hard to explain. Hadn't Secretary of State Dean Acheson "assumed" that the first announced atomic explosion came from a weapon? Hadn't U. S. Atomic Energy Commissioner Gordon Dean stressed as far back as January 1951 that the Soviets possessed the A-bomb? Finally, hadn't White House press secretary Joseph Short released a statement on October 3, 1951 that "*another atomic bomb* has been exploded in the Soviet Union" and that the USSR "*is continuing to make atomic weapons*" [italics mine]?

When called on it, Mr. Truman confirmed his statement but refused to elaborate beyond alleging that those of his congressional foes who criticized him for it were "scaring a lot of Americans to death with some irresponsible statements in the atomic bomb controversy."

The President's announcement of the first recorded atomic explosion in the Soviet Union on September 22, 1949, made no mention of a bomb.

How did we know of such an explosion in the first place? There are three ways to detect an atomic blast:

1. By examining samples of earth taken from around the blast area.

2. By examining air samples which may be taken even at great distances from the blast area. A nuclear explosion of significant proportions causes a measurable increase in the radioactivity in the air, even thousands of miles away. This increase registers on any one of the many devices we have around the Iron Curtain, either on the ground, at sea, or in high-flying aircraft. Air samples also reveal something about the nature of the blast.

3. Through intelligence.

Method One poses the extremely difficult problem of having someone near the spot, at least shortly after the blast, capable of transmitting samples of soil outside the Iron Curtain. But in any case, Methods One and Two have a severe limitation. They cannot distinguish between the blast

of an atomic bomb or other atomic weapon and the blast that would occur if a nuclear reactor or a stockpile of plutonium or U-235 should blow up, either by accident or through sabotage.

Writing in the *Washington Post*, Dr. Ralph E. Lapp, one-time executive director of the Research and Development Board of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) and former head of nuclear physics work for naval research said: "Our Central Intelligence Agency is known to depend upon the instruments of our Long-Range Detection Project for its intelligence data about Soviet bomb tests."

The only way we can know definitely whether or not an atomic explosion in the U.S.S.R. was set off by a weapon is through intelligence, which also has other—human—limitations.

After Mr. Truman had expressed his doubts about the Russians' capacity to manufacture a workable atomic bomb, Lieutenant General Leslie Groves, wartime head of the Manhattan Project, said that the President may have been right. "All we know is that there were indications of nuclear explosions in Russia," he asserted on January 29, 1953. "That does not prove that they have the bomb in workable form." General Groves later qualified that remark by saying that the Russians should have the capability to produce an atomic bomb and it would be "foolhardy to assume they did not have one."

Even stronger was a statement by Dr. Arthur Compton, winner of the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1927 and a top atomic scientist during World War Two. He said that Russia had the scientific knowledge to make an atomic bomb but whether she could "put a workable atomic bomb together is highly problematical." When queried on his statement some time later, he said he would like to omit the word "highly." He felt, as did General Groves, that it would be foolhardy to proceed on the assumption that Russia did not have the bomb.

On the other hand, President Eisenhower, who may have viewed Truman's statements uncharitably because he would soon have to present a huge national defense budget to an economy-minded Congress, twice declared that there is "incontrovertible evidence" that Russia has the atomic bomb.

The conflict is not easy to resolve, even for the experts, but certain guideposts may be useful. The late Secretary of Defense, James Forrestal, reported in the September 28, 1948 entry in his published *Diaries* that Lieutenant General Walter Bedell Smith, former Ambassador to Russia, had told him "the Russians cannot possibly have the industrial competence to produce the atomic bomb now, and it will be five or even ten years before they could count on the manufacture of it in quantity. They may well now have the 'notebook' know-how, but not the industrial complex to translate that abstract knowledge into concrete weapons."

In an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* (June 7, 1952) atomic spy Klaus Fuchs was said to have

explained that "it was impossible for him to do more than tell the Russians the principle on which the bomb was made. It was up to the Russians to produce their own industrial equipment, and he had been astonished they had produced the bomb so quickly."

Carleton S. Proctor, a leading American engineer with experience in the Soviet Union—though he was careful to point out that he was not an authority on atomic fission—made it plain that it takes far more than scientists to produce an A-bomb:

The Russians probably have had for some time all the theoretical data on the A-bomb, but the production of the A-bomb requires a highly integrated industrial plant and the smooth-running coordination of thousands of extremely delicate operations. That sort of integrated effort calls for a mutual confidence among groups that anyone who has worked in the Soviet Union knows is completely unattainable there. Nobody dares trust anybody else there under any conditions. Mutual confidence is taboo. Initiative is stifled. The only rewards are for spying on your neighbor. I haven't known anyone who has worked with the Soviets, as I have, who has found them capable of this integrated effort.

Six years passed between the explosion of the first successful atomic bomb at Alamogordo, New Mexico, and the successful conclusion at Eniwetok Atoll in 1951 of "experiments contributing to the thermonuclear weapons research [H-bomb]." Yet, if the implications of the AEC's estimation of the situation is correct, the Russians would have developed their H-bomb only four years after the first recorded atomic explosion in the U.S.S.R.—and it is even doubtful that that was a bomb.

Zhdanov Told Too Much

The first definite indication that they did not yet have the A-bomb came on October 22, 1947. The full text of a speech made in Warsaw by Colonel General Andrei Zhdanov, a member of the Politburo, appeared in a special supplement to the Polish Communist newspaper *Glos Ludu*. It contained a sentence which was omitted in the report of Moscow's *Pravda*: "American politicians now plan the early start of a preventive war against the Soviet Union and insist on using the atomic bomb, of which America has a temporary monopoly." Two weeks later Molotov tried to repair the damage of Zhdanov's admission by saying that the "secret [of the atomic bomb] is known." Zhdanov died the following year under circumstances which are not yet clear. And again in 1948, Deputy Foreign Minister Vishinsky implied that the Soviet Union had the bomb.

But it was not until President Truman had announced on September 22, 1949 that an atomic explosion had occurred "recently" in the Soviet Union that the Kremlin really opened its propaganda guns. The following day the official Soviet news agency, Tass, reported that the U.S.S.R. had

had the bomb secret and atomic weapon since 1947.

Dr. Harold C. Urey called the Russians' 1947 claim a bluff, but again, on October 19, Vishinsky stressed that they had had possession of the bomb since 1947. After the announcement by the White House on October 3, 1951 of the explosion of a second "atomic bomb," Stalin himself confirmed that "there recently was carried out here a trial of one of the types of atomic bomb." He went on to say that "trial of atomic weapons of various calibers will be carried out in the future also."

Was the word "bomb" put into the second White House announcement in an attempt to counter Soviet leaders' claims that they were developing atomic energy for peaceful purposes? And were these Soviet claims a sour-grapes cover for their atomic backwardness?

The third atomic explosion registered in the Soviet Union was announced in the United States on October 22, 1951. This time the White House significantly omitted the word "bomb" in the communiqué. In spite of Stalin's boast, no nuclear explosions took place in the U.S.S.R. for the next twenty-one months, while during the same period the U. S. exploded at least twenty-eight atomic or H-bombs and artillery war-heads.

The AEC reported that a fourth "fission type of explosion" had occurred in Russia on August 23, 1953, but did not attribute this to a bomb.

Dr. Medford Evans, former chief of training of the AEC, in an article in the *FREEMAN* of January 12, 1953 pointed to the curious anomaly of the Russians supposedly beating the British by three years in their first atomic explosion. The British, he indicated, were privy to practically all American A-bomb data during World War Two and up to 1946, and are known to be tops both in research and industrial know-how. Yet they didn't explode their first A-bomb until October 1952, three full years after the Russians—if the Russians exploded one in 1949. To this might be added the strange speed with which the Russians are supposed to have outdistanced the British on the H-bomb.

It is quite possible that the U.S.S.R. has been able to produce in limited quantity a crude sort of atomic bomb which can be detonated from a tower. That the Soviets possess in large quantity workable atomic bombs which can be delivered by long-range aircraft or guided missiles is less certain. There can be no quarrel with the school which holds it would be dangerously foolish to assume that the Russians do not have any atomic weapon. However, we are doing ourselves irreparable damage in the war of diplomatic maneuver by playing up Soviet strength in the hope of keeping defense expenditures popular at home and among our allies. The public must learn to meet the Soviet threat without alarmist shots in the arm. Every time we talk up Soviet strength we weaken our own position and the resistance to Communism of the already faint-hearted neutralists in Europe and Asia.

The Duty to Investigate

By C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

Those who deplore the probing of congressional committees should review the history of this informing function of our legislative branch.

Congressional investigations are denounced for many things. There often runs through these criticisms the implication that somehow congressional committees are taking time off, not really sticking to business, when they engage in investigations.

No comment on congressional functions could be more wide of the mark. Woodrow Wilson went so far as to say, in effect, that investigation was a more important congressional function than legislation itself. His view was:

Quite as important as legislation is vigilant oversight of administration; and even more important than legislation is the instruction and guidance in political affairs which the people might receive from a body which kept all national concerns suffused in a broad daylight of discussion. . . It is the proper duty of a representative body to look diligently into every affair of government and to talk much about what it sees. . . The informing function of Congress should be preferred even to its legislative function.

President Wilson's assertion is more valid today than when it was made. For the truth is, unpleasant as it may be to champions of the legislative branch, that Congress today plays a relatively minor, although varying part in the legislative process, despite the Constitution's grant to Congress of "all legislative powers" of the government. In respect of legislation Congress has largely become, like the English Parliament of old, a consenting rather than an originating body. In foreign affairs, at present the most important subject and always a special prerogative of the executive branch, the Senate and the House normally await the President's proposals before taking legislative action of any kind. Even domestic matters are now so complex that it is difficult for Congress to initiate action. There are outstanding but rare exceptions such as the Taft-Hartley Act and the tidelands bills. But certainly under the New Deal-Fair Deal the role of Congress was primarily to consider whether or not, or to what extent, to consent to measures proposed by the President. And the President has on occasion gone so far as to demand that Congress adopt certain bills, described as "must legislation," although the Constitution only authorizes the President to "recommend."

The decline of congressional stature in the field of legislation proper has been somewhat

compensated by the increasing importance of what President Wilson called its "informing function." Certainly Congress has responded to this greater responsibility. In many quarters the complaint is that its response has been too vigorous. Before considering the complaint let us examine briefly the accomplishments of congressional investigations.

Most congressional investigations deal with economic problems lacking in general interest, and the witnesses usually appear gladly. It is not necessary to coerce farmers or shipmasters to tell Congress why they need subsidies. Although perhaps of far-reaching importance, the evidence is so colorless from an emotional point of view that the public hears little of it. The investigations conducted by the Cullom Committee and the Alexander Committee, leading to the Interstate Commerce Act and the Shipping Act of 1916, were of this kind.

Inquiries into Misconduct

The controversial investigations are those inquiring into real or supposed misconduct. They may be of officials of the federal government, like the recent investigations of the Departments of State and Justice and of the Bureau of Internal Revenue; of private industry, like the investigations of the investment bankers in 1933; of the relations between private industry and government officials, like the oil investigations of the 20's and the shipping investigations of the 30's; or of the relations between criminals and municipal officials, like the crime investigation of 1950-51. Although these investigations were marked by violent indignation and even what is called today "hysteria," it is impossible to deny that they had beneficial results in legislation, administrative reform, and civil and criminal prosecutions.

Thus the investigations of the bankers and the shipping companies led to the Securities Act of 1933 and the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. The recent investigations of the Department of Justice and the Bureau of Internal Revenue led to reorganization of those offices and also caused both candidates in the Presidential campaign of 1952 to pledge high-principled administration. The oil investigations of the 20's brought about

the prosecutions of Albert B. Fall, Harry F. Sinclair, and Edward L. Doheny and the civil suits in which millions of dollars worth of property were recovered by the government.

In addition to tangible reforms of one kind or another effected by investigations there is also the education the general public receives from them. Indeed it is probably only through congressional investigations that behind-the-scenes activity at a high level is revealed. Although the executive departments maintain staffs of investigators, obviously department heads will not use them to expose their own mistakes and those of their immediate associates. Even when subordinate employees are dismissed for incompetence or dishonesty, it is rarely announced to the public. Although the Eisenhower Administration took office after a campaign largely devoted to accusations of incompetence and corruption on the part of the Truman Administration, the new officers, whatever they may have discovered, have disclosed no misconduct to the public.

"Headline Hunting"

It is sometimes argued by critics who concede the necessity of congressional investigations that there is no occasion for the "circus" atmosphere of many investigations, the radio, the television, the headline hunting. These concomitants of investigations, it is maintained, unnecessarily disturb public confidence, ruin the reputations of innocent people, prevent orderly consideration of the evidence, impel the investigators to overreach themselves in an endeavor to advance their own careers.

It is impossible to deny that there have been occasional abuses. In the investment banking investigation a midget was put on the lap of J. P. Morgan while cameras clicked; Justice (then Senator) Black's tactics in the shipping investigation were really rough on witnesses. Yet basically such objections are unsound, for they overlook the vital role that public opinion plays in translating the evidence yielded by congressional investigations into tangible results. Widespread publicity is a prerequisite of forceful public opinion. Obviously the public cannot bring pressure to bear unless it has access to the facts. The benefits of investigations do not follow as a matter of course from information the Congressmen themselves acquire.

Would Congress ever have adopted the Securities Act of 1933 in the absence of the public reaction to the investigation of the investment bankers? Was not the public sentiment caused by the investigation of the shipping companies indispensable to the passage of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936?

In a recent opinion Supreme Court Justice Jackson said:

But always, since I can remember, some group or other is being investigated and castigated here. At various times it has been Bundists and Germans, Japanese, lobbyists, tax evaders, oil men, utility men, bankers, brokers, labor leaders, Silver Shirts and Fascists. At times, usually after dramatic and publicized exposures, members of these groups have been brought to trial for some offense.

Justice Jackson's phrase, "after dramatic and highly publicized exposures," points to the force that causes these offenders to be "brought to trial," viz., an aroused public opinion. It is, for instance, most doubtful whether people with powerful friends, such as Fall, Sinclair, and Alger Hiss, would have been prosecuted in the absence of the publicity attendant on congressional investigations.

The usefulness of investigations in the area of administrative reform is also dependent on publicity. The reorganization of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, the discharge of various Collectors, the replacement of Attorney General McGrath, the dismissal of Messrs. Boyle and Roberts from their respective National Committee posts would not have occurred if it had not been for the headlines. In saying this it is not intended to reflect on Presidents Truman and Eisenhower. There are so many demands upon the attention of the President that the misbehavior of his officers and political associates may in the ordinary course of events not be fully impressed upon him. Moreover, the publicity provides the President with a forceful argument against the elements in his own official family and political party who might urge that the erring official be merely reprimanded and forgiven.

As congressional investigations in controversial matters would be ineffective without full disclosure, the question whether individual Congressmen are motivated by aspirations of good government or by a desire to see their names in the paper is largely academic. Indeed the effectiveness of investigations is so dependent on publicity that it might be asserted that a passion for headlines is a virtue.

The crescendo of attack on congressional investigations has lately reached unprecedented heights. There are several reasons for this. The witnesses at the present investigations of Communist infiltration are mostly members of the intelligentsia. They are more vocal than shipping magnates, investment bankers, professional gamblers. They are more likely to have friends on magazines and newspapers and other media of communication.

Further, the assumption by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of the chairmanship of an investigating committee has had an unfortunate effect, as observed by Rebecca West in her recent articles in the London *Sunday Times*. Until the organization of the 83rd Congress in January of the current year Senator McCarthy had never been in charge of any congressional investigation; whatever had been done, rightly or wrongly, by investigating committees could not be attributed to him, and

whatever had been done, rightly or wrongly, by Senator McCarthy could not be attributed to investigating committees. Until that time the accusation against Senator McCarthy was that he had made unfounded or exaggerated charges of Communist activity or sympathy. But the combination of Senator McCarthy and an investigating committee has led a large section of public opinion to identify him with congressional investigations in general. The consequence has been that distrust of Senator McCarthy has now been turned against all congressional investigations in the field of Communist influence, a consequence that Miss West regards as most helpful to the Communists.

Are Reputations Ruined?

To understand the reasons for the present fury is not, however, to justify it. The question is whether the criticisms of the present investigations are sound, not whether they have a psychological explanation.

Now whatever may have been said, congressional committees have no authority to impose any punishment, as such, on anyone. They have not levied fines, issued sentences of imprisonment, or discharged persons from employment, and they have not purported to do so.

It is of course a fact that various people, such as Alger Hiss, have been imprisoned as a result of criminal proceedings set in motion by committee revelations. And it is also true that a number of United Nations employees and a good many teachers, especially those employed by the New York City public school system, have been discharged because of their invocation of the Fifth Amendment when asked about Communist Party membership or participation in Soviet espionage. In these instances the duties and policies of authorities quite independent of the committees have acted on the basis of facts disclosed by Congress. Those who object to the result should direct their objection not at the committees, but at the authorities who have taken action.

Others have perhaps suffered unpopularity or unpleasant consequences from a hostile public opinion. One may sympathize with those whose mistakes have been exposed, but it can hardly be suggested that Congress should refrain from performance of its most important functions because people regret what they are shown to have done.

Perhaps the most vigorous objection is that investigations may undeservedly ruin reputations, that committees act as "prosecutor, judge, and jury," that those who are accused of misconduct do not have the protection available at judicial trials.

But in recent years investigating committees have made it a practice to screen witnesses; testimony unfavorable to the reputation of private individuals is first heard in closed session; only if the committee is satisfied that the witness's story

is prima facie valid is it presented at an open hearing. The accused is given every facility to reply.

The objection that committees perform judicial functions is apparently based on their practice of reporting facts which they learn. That it is a legitimate function of congressional committees to find and report facts was held by the Supreme Court in a famous case involving the brother of Attorney General Daugherty at the time of the Teapot Dome investigations. The Senate had adopted a resolution creating a special committee of five to investigate the Department of Justice. Mal S. Daugherty disobeyed a subpoena and was arrested for contempt. In refusing a writ of habeas corpus the Supreme Court quoted with approval the following assertion of Senator George:

Has not the Senate power to appoint a committee to investigate any department of the government, any department supported by the Senate in part by appropriations made by the Congress? If the Senate has the right to investigate the department, is the Senate to hesitate, is the Senate to refuse to do its duty merely because the public character or the public reputation of some one who is investigated may be thereby smirched, to use the term that has been used so often in the debate?

The Supreme Court concluded:

We think the resolution and proceedings give no warrant for thinking the Senate was attempting or intending to try the Attorney General at its bar or before its committee for any crime or wrongdoing. Nor do we think it a valid objection to the investigation that it might possibly disclose crime or wrongdoing on his part.

The Teapot Dome and related Daugherty investigations stirred up a torrent of wrath against congressional committees not equaled until the present day. The *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* led the onslaught. The *New York Times*, calling Senator Walsh "the Montana mud-gunner," was even more severe than it is today. The committees were defended by Justice Felix Frankfurter, then a professor at the Harvard Law School, in a forceful article in the May 21, 1924 issue of the *New Republic*. He strenuously opposed the notion that the danger of ruin to reputations warranted restrictions on the committees:

The question is not whether people's feelings here and there may be hurt, or names "dragged through the mud," as it is called. The real issue is whether the danger of abuses and the actual harm done are so clear and substantial that the grave risks of fettering free congressional inquiry are to be incurred by artificial and technical limits upon inquiry. . . . No limitations should be imposed by congressional legislation or standing rules. The power of investigation should be left untrammelled and the methods and forms of each investigation should be left for determination of Congress and its committees as each situation arises.

It is significant that Justice Frankfurter reached this conclusion at a time when the technique of advance screening had not yet been developed, and

despite the obviously greater danger to reputations from unchecked testimony.

In the same article Justice Frankfurter was bitter against those who seemed more concerned with attacking the inquisitors than with the revelations of the committees. "The condemnation of the most powerful," he complained, "is reserved for the exposers and not for the exposed. . . Professing, of course, that wrongdoing, impropriety, and unwholesome standards in public life should be exposed, critics, who have nothing to say for the astounding corruption and corrupting soil which have been brought to light, seek to divert attention and shackle the future by suggesting restrictions in the procedure of future congressional investigations." He reserved his most scorching criticism for President Coolidge, whose claim that any trouble could be taken care of by criminal prosecutions implied, he thought, an absence of ethics:

The gathering forces against the investigations and the investigators reached their culminating reinforcement in the support of a President who, while professing a desire to vindicate the law, assumes that law and order are bounded by the Penal Code, and helped to create an atmosphere in which necessary investigation could not thrive.

Whatever may be said of the congressional investigators of the present day, certainly no one can deny that they have notably performed with respect to the problem of Communism and Communist infiltration what Woodrow Wilson declared to be the most important function of Congress: they have "kept [it] suffused in a broad daylight of discussion."

And that discussion has proceeded in a manner, if not in the best tradition of American politics, certainly in its most characteristic tradition—with emotion, ill-feeling, and exaggeration. Issues upon which so many people feel so deeply could hardly be discussed in any other way. If we really favor democracy and freedom of speech we must believe that the resolution of the issues in this way is best. Such belief is fortified by the record of past investigations: although typified by anger and vituperation, it is hard to point to anyone who has been undeservedly harmed, while the benefits are obvious. History demonstrates that freedom of speech, revelation of facts, are the best policy. The extreme alarm now displayed by many intellectuals is hardly consistent with their pretensions of devotion to democratic procedures, especially in the light of their complete calm when businessmen were under scrutiny.

The danger in the present situation is that the outcry against congressional committees may lead to some permanent restriction on their activity. If it does, the limitations on Congress in the field of legislation being already so great, there will be little left for Congress to do. And the loss of power by the legislative branch is the twilight of liberty.

THIS IS WHAT THEY SAID

Nobody can read the book without knowing it was written by a capitalist, a Democrat, and an anti-Communist.

JOSEPH E. DAVIES, commenting on the removal of his *Mission to Moscow* from a U. S. Information Service Library abroad, July 1, 1953.

. . . central economic planning on a national scale is but the normal next step, the logical extension, of the central managerial technique of modern industrial society. . . If we no longer have any option as to whether to plan or not to plan, we do have a momentous political choice as to whether (1) private industry will take over and run the state under a fascist type of set-up, or (2) the democratic state will take over and socialize the economy. And there is no possibility beyond perhaps the next decade of straddling the two systems.

PROFESSOR ROBERT S. LYND, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 9, 1944, p. 16

Street-Corner Economics

I was interested to be told by a man I happened to meet on the street that he'd been in and around New York City for thirty years but he had never seen a worse summer for his business. He was a small businessman and he said business was very slow and there were more empty stores in his neighborhood than he had seen in a long time. . . . This is interesting because there is much talk, I am told, of how valuable a "small recession" would be. They say apparently it would bring prices down and that wages would be lower and altogether the businessman would find it of benefit. I had not taken this talk very seriously till I heard the report of my little shopkeeper. The big industries would undoubtedly profit by a little depression. . . . but the little businessman would find it hard to take and if it should become just a little more than is now planned the countries of Europe would begin to feel it. . . . The Republican Administration had better walk carefully. These little depressions have a way of getting out of hand.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, syndicated column, August 11, 1953

How to Point Out a Menace

Mr. Kunzig: . . . we are wondering why you sent this [a copy of the pro-Communist book *Behind Soviet Power* by Jerome Davis, and a letter recommending the book] to all the Methodist ministers throughout the United States of America. . . .

Bishop Oxnham: We wanted them to see the real menace of this situation in terms of a sympathetic statement of the case.

TEXT OF HEARING before the House Committee on Un-American Activities requested by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnham, July 21, 1953

Submerged Lands and the States

By JOHN HANNA

The controversy over tidelands oil points up the arguments for state vs. federal control of the varied resources in our submerged public lands.

If Senators Humphrey and Lehman succeed in exploiting as a political issue what most people call "tidelands oil," it will mark a full Democratic swing from anti-federalism to federalism.

Until General Eisenhower took the state side and Governor Stevenson the opposite position in the 1952 campaign, the controversy had been political but not partisan. Secretary Ickes in 1933 stated officially the historic view in support of state ownership. The first prominent exponent of federal claims, and the actual father of the submerged lands issue, was Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota, who was at least a nominal Republican. Two Democratic Congresses and several Democratic Senate and House judiciary committees voted to confirm the state position. Senator Donnell of Missouri, a Republican, was the leader of the opposition. It was the vetoes of his fellow Missourian, Harry S. Truman, in 1946, and again in 1952 that alone prevented a settlement by the Democrats in favor of the states.

The final action by Congress in 1953, confirming the states in their historic boundaries, was a Republican measure signed by a Republican President; but the actual vote made the result fairly nonpartisan. If Democrats who think they have a popular issue in opposing what they call a "giveaway" program ever get an anti-tidelands plank adopted by the next Democratic convention, they will show little concern for the votes of several of the most populous Southern states.

"Tidelands oil" is a misnomer for the actual controversy. The tidelands are not presently involved at all. The law cases have concerned submerged lands of the marine coastal waters. Resources in these lands, besides oil, include sand and gravel, oysters, lime rock, pearls, marl, zircon, salt, seaweed, buried treasure, and various metals. Within the original or present coastal areas are seaplane runways, docks, and other structures, and artificially made land in locations once below the low water line. Had the Supreme Court decision prevailed, some remedial legislation would have been essential to remove uncertainty as to hundreds of land titles dependent on state grants.

Submerged lands subject to possible federal control are of four sorts: (1) the tidelands, properly so-called, between the limits of high and low tides; (2) the submerged lands under coastal

waters beyond the tidelands to the historic boundaries, usually three marine miles, but in the case of Texas and Louisiana, three marine leagues (ten and a half miles); (3) the submerged lands to the end of the continental shelf; (4) the lands under waters of the Great Lakes, inclosed bays, harbors, and navigable rivers.

Prior to the present controversy, the Supreme Court had decided in favor of state ownership of tidelands and inland navigable waters. Many Supreme Court and other judicial dicta and innumerable acts of federal authorities had accepted state ownership of submerged lands under coastal waters. This view was in accord with the practically unanimous opinion of informed legal experts. No federal or state claim was made in regard to the continental shelf until the Presidential proclamations of 1945, asserting United States jurisdiction over this area. Texas and Louisiana subsequently claimed that their boundaries had been extended to the limit of federal jurisdiction. This claim can scarcely be taken seriously, and was rejected by the recent congressional action.

Historical Decisions

Here is a brief summary of the argument for the states. From the earliest times some extension of national boundaries into marginal seas was universally claimed, and was recognized by all authorities on international law. There was no international agreement as to the limits of these national ownerships. It came generally to be regarded as the cannon-shot range, most frequently three marine miles; although there was considerable support for three marine leagues. English colonial charters granted a marine coastal area. When the Colonies became independent, they received individually by the Treaty of 1783 what they had owned as colonies, and in any event what the British Crown had owned. As new states were admitted on an equal footing they presumably had the same sort of ownership of any submerged lands as the original states. Texas was an independent republic from 1836 to 1845, so recognized by the United States, the United Kingdom, and other countries. As such it claimed a marine boundary of three marine leagues. When it was annexed in 1845 its bound-

aries were accepted by the United States. Texas expressly retained its public lands.

The government, in suits against California, Texas, and Louisiana, challenged state claims to ownership in the three or more marine mile coastal area. It said first, contradicting practically all international publicists, that no three-mile or other extension of natural boundaries was recognized in 1783, and that its acquisition was due to subsequent assertion by the United States as a nation. If the original states had no ownership beyond the tidelands, no other states had any different position. Even Texas, it was maintained, lost its extended boundary by accepting annexation on an equal footing. The government refused to press an argument it could have used against California. When that state was admitted into the union, the federal government reserved all public lands. It later ceded 500,000 acres to the state, not including any submerged lands. In its recent suit the government's main argument was that federal paramount powers over international affairs, foreign commerce, navigation, and defense were incompatible with state ownership of submerged coastal lands.

The Supreme Court, two justices not voting, decided five to two for the government in the California case in 1947. In the Texas case of 1950 the vote was four to three. The Louisiana case was controlled by the California ruling. The Court elaborated the doctrine of paramount powers, and denied that the states could benefit by estoppel or prescription by reason of more than a century and a half of federal acts and policies in recognition of the claims of the states. Texas lost its submerged lands by coming into the United States on an equal footing, which prior to this decision no one thought meant anything more than political equality within the federal union. Vigorous dissents by Justices Frankfurter and Reed objected to the majority's reading of history and derided the notion that the exercise of admitted federal powers had any necessary relation to the ownership of submerged lands. Curiously, the Court refused to decide that the federal government owned these lands, but only that the states had no authority over the oil resources in them. While the precise points of the cases had not been decided previously, the Court admitted that it was in effect overruling earlier judicial opinion. It also implied that Congress had power to dispose of the disputed lands.

Arkansas is reported to be planning to challenge in the Supreme Court the recent action of Congress in confirming the historic boundaries of the states. It is difficult to find constitutional warrant for any such suit either by a state or by a citizen. Congress has made a political determination in its own sphere. Historically, Congress has made many grants of public land to states and others. The Supreme Court has re-

fused hitherto to review congressional judgment as to appropriations, at the suit of either a state or an individual. Congress, of course, may not renounce constitutional federal powers and delegate them to the states, but no such action is remotely comparable to the present situation. In the past, state-owned submerged lands, and indeed all other property in the nation, whether owned by states or citizens, have always been subject to federal paramount powers. That situation will continue. To find any derogation of federal power in congressional recognition of a jurisdiction the states have always exercised, in loyal subordination to legitimate federal authority, is an absurdity.

A Dangerous Doctrine

The new law is a salutary check on the tendency of the central government to encroach on the proper sphere of the states. What made the doctrine of paramount powers such a menace to the traditional federal-state relationship was that it had no logical limitation to submerged coastal lands. Taken together with the Supreme Court's overruling of precedent, and its denial that estoppel and prescription operate against the federal government, there was nothing to prevent future federal officials from questioning state jurisdiction over resources in lands under the Great Lakes, harbors, bays, and inland navigable waters. Some of these areas are perhaps more significant to the nation as a whole than the Gulf of Mexico. The doctrine of paramount powers, sympathetically enlarged by the courts, would have much appeal to persons who would like to see the states abolished. A little further enlargement of this doctrine would be to deny state jurisdiction over land in the interior if it contained some such resource as uranium.

No one should be misled by occasional efforts to present the submerged lands issue as one between the oil interests and the people. Whether such lands are under state or federal ownership, actual drilling and manufacture will be by private interests, the terms of whose contracts will be about the same under either authority. There is nothing to the notion that the oil in these lands should be kept as a reserve. Reserves are oil products ready for use, not oil still to be located miles underground.

No one really knows whether submerged oil resources are as vast as some estimates, or of comparatively minor importance. So far private interests have spent more than they have obtained in revenues under their leases and licenses. In the meantime, since the federal government retains control over the continental shelf resources beyond the historic boundaries of the states, an interesting opportunity is afforded for efficient state and federal cooperation.

The Audience Is Everybody

By FLORA RHETA SCHREIBER

During the recent Dulles-Robertson telecast on the negotiations with Syngman Rhee, I heard a woman remark: "Dulles needs a shave." "No," replied her husband, "that must be some technical defect of the screen. Dulles wouldn't be seen that way." Whether or not Secretary Dulles needed a shave is not important. What is important is this new intimacy between public officials and the people, this almost universal acquaintance with the leading figures and issues of the day.

Only a short while ago the audience for any kind of communication constituted little more than a handful of the total population. Today that handful has become everybody. The change, first brought about by compulsory education, then by the popular newspaper and magazine, has received a big push from the newer mass media—the movies, radio, and now television. These newer media, which supplement and even supplant church and school, profoundly influence our way of life and our behavior, our outlook and our very thoughts.

Their influence is indirect rather than direct; they inform or entertain rather than teach. But information, too, is influence. If I tell you something and you act on it, I am influencing your action whether or not your action is what I wanted or its very opposite. These newer mass media exert more influence over the uneducated than over the educated, over the nonserious than the serious. There is, in fact, a clear cleavage between the tastes of the cultivated minority and the uncultivated majority. Criticizing the broadcasters, Lee De Forest, the inventor of the vacuum tube, has this to say: "This child of mine, now thirty years in age, has been resolutely kept to the average intelligence of thirteen years. Its national intelligence is maintained moronic, as though you and your sponsors believe the majority of listeners have only moron minds."

And yet, according to a recent survey, 70 per cent of the radio audience is extremely pleased with what it gets and believes that radio is doing a better job for the community than local government, schools, or newspapers. Thirty per cent of the audience, however, agreeing with De Forest, is not pleased. It feels that the average program does not meet its needs; that it is not being given the required service in terms of what a free radio should undertake in a democracy.

Are mass communications producing a new kind of man with a mass mind? The answer depends far more on the individual, on his "growing up," than on the new media.

The majority runs from seriousness and thought as from a pang of conscience. They want to escape, to forget, to avoid any confrontation with life and its meanings. It is a flight by young as well as old; in fact, by young even more than old. Radio preference among those between fifteen and twenty-five is strongly for popular music and against public affairs programs; for entertainment, pure and simple. It is on this flight, on this denial of experience and of thought, that mass entertainment is built.

This is not to say that the mass media have not fulfilled a serious mission. "Invitation to Learning," a program devoted to great books and the ideas deriving from those books, after six months on the air, reached an audience of a million people in nearly forty cities to which the program was piped. Currently, at its peak it reaches two million in one broadcast.

TV and World Issues

The role that television played in the last Presidential campaign is further evidence of the mass media's serious mission. According to a survey made by the University of Michigan as reported in the *Scientific American*, slightly over half the population followed the campaign on television even though only two out of five homes have television sets. This means that people left their own homes to watch the campaign on television. Three out of five people who watched on television but who also made use of other media considered television their most important informational source.

The campaign on television had a greater impact on those with only a grammar school education than on college people. The television presentation of the campaign meant most to those who had an income of \$5,000 or more a year, but who had not gone to high school. This suggests that television is meeting the need for political information primarily among people whose social status demands that they be informed, but whose lack of formal education has not given them a taste for reading.

Television is ubiquitous, as the coronation of Queen Elizabeth so strikingly demonstrated. Few people were admitted to Westminster Abbey, yet the entire world was witness to the Abbey's pro-

ceedings, many as they were taking place, we but a few hours later.

Television has also performed an important mission in the dissemination of culture. In his N.B.C. broadcasts Toscanini regularly reaches an audience variously estimated to be between three and six million people. The Philharmonic broadcasts within a four-week period generally reach somewhere between twelve and fifteen million people.

Through radio and television, too, particularly through the Metropolitan Opera broadcasts, each of which reaches 4,520,000 people, a wide public has been won for opera. When the "Omnibus" television program produced a condensed version of *Der Fledermaus* in English, 55 per cent of the program's mail was in praise of the opera. When it produced *La Bohème*, also in English, it drew 80 per cent of the program's mail. *Fledermaus* was heard by thirteen million listeners; *Bohème* by close to fifteen million. Probably not more than 10 per cent of these audiences was familiar with the music previously.

So far as the dissemination of culture is concerned, the mass media are limited by the potentialities of the individual reader, listener, or viewer. Compulsory education can and does bring Shakespeare and a modified Euclid to every schoolboy but it cannot make of every boy a lover of literature or a reasonably good mathematician. And so one should not have exaggerated expectations. The mass media are not compulsory; at least not in free countries. The voluntary audience selects what it already likes. People are curious, however, and some out of sheer curiosity will tune in on a symphony broadcast or a televised opera. Some of these will find that, after all, this highbrow stuff is rather agreeable. Again, there is chance. A potential music lover comes across a music program while waiting for another program or he listens because his hostess is listening. So a convert is born.

A Casual Revolution

The exposure of more and more people to knowledge and the arts, however they may resist such exposure, is the essential cultural counterpart of democracy itself and constitutes a cultural revolution. The media expose everybody to an assault on eye and ear, to a bombardment of the senses, to a multiplicity of impressions, to vicarious experience, even to what I like to call vicarious ideas—those that the listener or viewer takes over from someone else.

It becomes a strange paradox, however, that the daily expression of this cultural revolution should take place in an atmosphere that is basically casual. Acceptance, not criticism; passivity, not activity, is the usual order of listening or viewing. One listens to radio; one looks at the movies or television. One sits back and enjoys the show. In America today more people have more leisure than

ever before; more leisure than any people has elsewhere in the world. Ironically, this leisure is devoted less to self-development and more to killing time through a lazy gratification of the senses.

What is taken so casually, however, strongly influences our lives. For even the most indifferent listener or viewer—and most listeners and viewers are not indifferent—absorbs unconsciously. Such absorption leads to reiteration without real knowledge but with a show of knowing. The result is echo talk; ditto thinking. The listener or viewer generally subdues his own personality to the professional personalities that exhort him and so, momentarily at least, becomes a creature of automatism. "Milton Berle says," becomes a commandment for daily living. Or even just simply "the radio says," or "they say on television."

Many housewives even take their recipes for living from their favorite soap opera characters. I know of one woman who wrote to Helen Trent, a soap opera heroine, for the magic rule for staying young though middle-age threatens. I know of another who wrote a major network appreciatively that she had left her son's house when she realized that she was in the way, because "that's what Stella Dallas did." Network fan mail is replete with such instances. The audience thus tends to confuse entertainment with knowledge and to allow its attitudes to grow out of imitation rather than out of a reasoned judgment.

Television, as we saw, is a valuable source of political information. Television can add vividness to the current scene, reinforcing words and opinions by live interviews with those who make the headlines, by graphs and charts to illustrate and make clear what has been stated. The encounter with newsworthy people, which converts a name on paper into a face recognizable at a possible meeting, colors the reaction to them. Putting the newsworthy and responsible into public situations in which their opinions are on trial creates a public forum analogous on a national scale to the old-time town meeting on a local scale. In a program like "The Author Meets the Critics" the author must defend his position against those who challenge it. In "Town Meeting of the Air," "Chronoscope," "Crossfire," "Washington Exclusive," "At Issue," "Meet the Press," public officials are called upon similarly to defend their stand. This airing of opinions provokes thought. It may clear up issues. And it takes the remoteness out of the world of ideas and out of the world of public action. It glamorizes these guests by making them performers in an entertainment medium, but it also deglamorizes the position that they occupy in the world itself by bringing that role down to earth.

Television's discussion programs naturally combine the forum techniques of radio with a number of new elements. Perhaps the most exciting of these new elements is the direct participation of the audience in the discussion, as in "Keep Posted."

Ubiquity lends authority to discussion as when "People's Platform" posts a roving cameraman on outdoor location and Douglas Edwards, the curbside moderator, coordinates the "on location" portion of the debate with the studio portion.

A Television Generation

Yet television has had an adverse effect on conversation, reading, participation in sports, movie-going, visiting. It has brought the family into the home, but in silence. Families with children between six and twelve use their television receivers 25 per cent more hours per week than families without children of this age. Television has endowed children with a worldliness that gives us pause.

Already there is a television generation—children who have never known a world or a home without television, who can rattle off the casts of their favorite crime shows before they have learned the alphabet. A prominent educator overheard two members of this new generation—his four- and six-year-old daughters—discussing the best way their daddy could poison mother. Said the television-wise four-year-old: "Strychnine is faster. It isn't so safe, though. The cops can find out where you bought it." Her sister thought she had a better method. "I'd use arsenic. It's slower, but safer."

A Federal Communications Commissioner had a similar experience with his seven-year-old daughter. The child complained that there were not enough prize fights on television. When her father asked her why she wanted more, her reply was: "I want to see the blood."

At this stage of the prevailing cultural revolution, however, its effect on children is, on the whole, less serious than is its effect on the cultivated man. He is, in fact, the most serious victim of this revolution. For it is the man with undeveloped taste—that is, the mass man—who calls the tune that radio, television, and movies obediently play. This majority audience, amorphous conglomerate that it is, is treated as though it were infallible. Good box-office, high Hooper, Crosley, and Nielson ratings wait on its approval. As a result popular culture rests on quantitative, not qualitative judgments. Quality, therefore, is often driven into hiding just as, according to Gresham's law, the worst currency in circulation drives all other forms of currency out of circulation.

The cultivated minority has no desire to impose its will on the majority; it merely wants a fairer share for itself from radio, television, and the movies. And it does not want taste as a whole to be frozen at the lowest levels. It wants the potential graduate from the majority to the minority to have his opportunity.

This does not take place because standards of popular culture are sagging. There is no pinnacle from which the mass media can fall because no-

where else in the world has there ever been a popular culture literally reaching everybody. Talk of sagging standards is confused because it attributes to a hitherto nonexistent popular culture the standards of an altogether different one—the culture of an aristocratic elite in a world where the many were illiterate. The better standards from which popular culture has allegedly fallen are elite standards which applied only to a small fraction of the population.

The average person in that world, being illiterate, was not on the whole much given to reflection or criticism. This was, of course, a deprivation. But so long as his life was spent in isolation from the ideas, opinions, and arts of his time, this lack was not of particular importance. Today, however, with that vacuum filled by information and opinion distilled by mass media, the lack of the critical faculty is a matter of the greatest urgency. Half-knowing has replaced lack of knowledge; thinking that one knows has replaced unconcern. The man formerly without opinions because he was exposed to no source of them has become a man with opinions passively acquired.

Insofar as the audience lacks this critical faculty, it thwarts the full flowering of the cultural revolution. For unless the audience brings criticism to appreciation, information will be miscellaneous and meaningless; opinions will be absorbed parrot-like; and entertainment, professing to have no serious purpose, may nevertheless have adverse effects. The challenge that mass media, along with education, must somehow meet, is to develop in people the power of analysis, a capacity for criticism and judgment to keep pace with their overstimulated eyes and ears. In other words, the next step in the development of mass communications is for the mass audience to grow up.

At Last

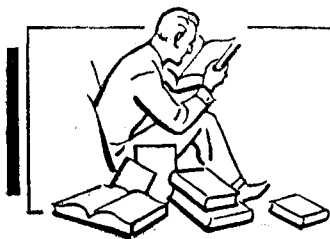
To Himself

I cannot find you where the cedars darken
The mound that bears your chill, deceptive stone,
Nor yet within our walls that, when I hearken
For your loved voice, give back my cry, "Alone."

I hoped the spring would ease despair, denying
That death could sever hearts which had been one:
In vain: not breaking buds, not bluebirds flying,
Persuaded me you were not wholly gone.

But now, beside the sea—the long waves falling
In frail embroideries of foam—upon
The clean salt wind at last I hear you calling:
Your sail moves toward me, leaning on the dawn.

MARY SINTON LEITCH



Recent Imports

By JAMES BURNHAM

The laws that determine just what books get translated are not easy to figure out. Every year thousands of volumes are published in France, Germany, Italy, the Soviet Union, and Japan, and at least several hundreds in each of many other countries. From any one of the national lists, no more than a few dozen make their way to a United States edition, and most of these are technical or other specialized studies. A similar strict screening goes on in both directions at every literary border.

Why are these particular books out of the thousands the preferred candidates for editorial immigration? We would like to think that we are selecting from each nation the very finest specimens, sturdy products typical of their local regions yet adapted to every soil and climate. We want to believe, in short, that we select the foreign writings rationally, like a judge at a county fair picking the prize apples from the hundreds of entries.

Maybe something of the sort (though not quite so rationally) does happen in dealings with the past. One way or another, most major classics do get quite generally translated. As for contemporary and recent writings, the mode of choice seems to resemble a lottery combined with the spoils system. Political bias, personal friendship, and sheer accident are often deciding factors. A single editor or publisher, like Alfred Knopf between the two wars, can come close to setting the translation pattern for decades.

It was surely not a purely literary criterion that, during the Popular Front epoch which ended in 1947, kept almost all German, Spanish, and Italian writers who were not exiles out of the American publishing market. The personal acquaintance of the directors of *Nouvelle Revue Française* (Gallimard) was certainly not the least of the influences that brought so many of the books they published safely to harbor in New York.

A number of foreign writers new to this country are being introduced here this autumn. Among them, perhaps only by coincidence, is an old-fashioned (pre-Civil War) Spaniard and an Italian who, I gather, remained at home during the whole Fascist period. A good and sufficient reason for publishing their two books now, or some years earlier for that matter, is that they both make pleasant reading. (*Torment*, by Pérez Galdós, trans-

lated by J. M. Cohen, with illustrations by Charles Mozley, Farrar, Straus & Young, 312 pp. \$3.50; *The Sisters Materassi*, by Aldo Palazzeschi, translated by Angus Davidson, Doubleday & Company, 316 pp., \$3.50.)

These are novels by professionals, competently and wittily written, and skilfully constructed. They are not fictionalized religion, philosophy, history, or travelogue. They are just novels, quite plainly intended for the enjoyment of readers. Both are written in the Latin tradition of humane irony which the authors accept from their respective masters, Cervantes and Boccaccio.

One other novel of Galdós', *The Spendthrifts*, was published here, although not much noticed, about two years ago. Farrar, Straus & Young has issued the two books as part of its projected "Illustrated Novel Library," which is to present, "often for the first time, many lesser-known classic works of fiction, as well as new editions of some of the world's famous masterpieces." For Galdós, the illustrations, quite good enough to justify the revival of this older publishing custom, are by Charles Mozley.

Pérez Galdós, who died shortly after the end of the First World War, is regarded as the Spanish writer who came closest to the great line of English and French novelists that developed during the nineteenth century. He is most frequently compared to Balzac and Dickens. The basis of the comparison is quickly evident, but I should judge on the evidence of *Torment* that he stays rather closer to the surface.

Like Dickens, though perhaps less intricately, Galdós has deliberately constructed in *Torment* a formal, contrived, and conventional plot. It is not at all stream of consciousness, rigid naturalism, or direct realism in the Tolstoyan manner. The action centers around the household of Don Francisco de Bringas y Caballero, a minor Palace bureaucrat (second officer in the Royal Commission for the Holy Places), "as firmly anchored on the payroll as an oyster lying on the very deepest shoal out of reach of the fisherman." He and his socially aspiring wife, Doña Rosalía Pipaón, use as a household drudge their poor, beautiful, and orphaned relative, Amparo Emperador.

Another relative, the middle-aged Agustín Caballero, has just appeared in Madrid after making his fortune in America. It goes without saying that Caballero falls in love with Amparo, and, to

the horror of Doña Rosalía, determines to marry her. She, poor girl, has on her conscience and secret (but not quite secret enough) record a single but disastrous indiscretion—with, moreover, a dissolute and fallen priest, Don Pedro Polo. To tell or not to tell, that is the question that suspends the plot until its resolution in a happy but Spanish flavored ending.

Around these principals are gathered six or eight other characters, several of them typical *commedia dell'arte* types. They are all handled with great zest and gaiety. There is more here than amusement. The psychological probing is shrewd and the social critique sometimes sharp enough. But Galdós never seems to be gloomy.

Curiously enough, there is in *Torment* no description whatever of nature. Except for a small episode presented by a letter from Don Pedro, everything takes place in the city (Madrid), and inside rooms—there is no landscape even of a city kind, not even streets. Galdós does certainly have a sense of *scene*. Some of the rooms and their furnishings are described minutely, and there are delightful incidents (the house-cleaning, for example, or the premarital adornment of Caballero's apartment) which feature many material props. But the absence of earth and sky and trees seems to place the action in a special context or frame, somewhat like a play. From this single book it is impossible to judge whether this absence is the result of a limitation in Galdós' sensibility or of the intentional aim of achieving a special sort of focus.

In complete contrast on this last point, the action of *The Sisters Materassi* is solidly located in space and time and *place*. The opening pages are an entrancing description of the Florentine section of the valley of the Arno, surrounded with its "most harmonious circle of hills." This harmony is produced by the most unexpected irregularities, of which chance only could be the architect . . . To these unexpected irregularities no one could possibly suggest any correction, could add or take away anything; for there is no lapse into the gloomy or the horrid, into the romantic, the sensual, or the nostalgic; the landscape maintains a clear, luminous tone of lordliness, of elegance, of civilized beauty . . .

I must hasten to add that . . . man, by his own work, doubled the beauty of all that the work of chance had been able to achieve. For the inestimable merit of these hills is that they are studded with villas and castles built at the most interesting points, facing in all directions, in all periods and all styles, and never disturbing the general harmony; surrounded in their turn by parks and gardens which, instead of producing an atmosphere of dreamlike or fairy-tale unreality, contrive, by virtue of a kind of severity and refinement, to create an illusion of simplest reality, of domestic intimacy, of stable nobility, of sobriety and good sense, and of modesty . . .

The scene of the novel is Santa Maria a Cover-

ciano in the plain—"not even a little village; it is a mere group of people—by which I mean a nucleus with no independent civil existence but held together in spiritual union by a church." There live the three Materassi sisters: Teresa and Carolina, fifty-year-old spinsters, makers of the finest lingerie and trousseaux for the finest families of Florence; Giselda, a younger sister who had made an unfortunate five years' marriage, and who has returned in bitterness to handle the household chores and to act as bailiff for the farm and cottages; and Niobe, another poor and wronged girl, who is the cook and drudge, irrepressibly cheerful and in spite of all still ready to smile at the sight of a "handsome dark fellow."

To them arrives Remo, the fourteen-year-old son of a fourth sister who, following her impoverished husband, has died in Ancona. Remo has glossy black hair, very white teeth, smiling lips, sparkling eyes, and an elegant figure. The greater part of the book is the story of his remaking of the household in the service of his genial ends, which are at the farthest remove from the study and job that his aunts plan for him. By the time of his climactic marriage, ten years later, to Peggy, the daughter of an American who has made millions from a "special kind of mechanical cooking pot," he has succeeded in extracting the last lira not merely of their savings but from all the mortgages and notes that could be put on their property.

Remo is a re-creation of the handsome young city slicker who so often appears in the stories of Boccaccio. Palazzeschi explicitly notes his discipleship: "Amongst the heath and the broom and the myrtle, like someone who searches for miraculous herbs, all my senses search hungrily to find the place where—unless it be that the seed is lost—your pure and genial sprightliness, Messer Giovanni, is hidden." At his best, Palazzeschi shows a right to this lineage. At times an intrusion of whimsy or mild sentimentality drops him from the serene and crystal level of the *Decameron's* unsullied prose.

It is hard to understand why Dutton has made Paul Colin's first novel into such an ugly book. (*Savage Play*, by Paul Colin, translated by Alfred van Ameyden van Duym, E. P. Dutton & Co., 381 pp., \$3.95.) The jacket is vulgar and preposterous, the cover blatantly cheap, the paper poor in grade and crowded with type. This novel, finished in 1950, won the Prix Goncourt, still the most highly regarded of French literary awards, and has been very successful in French sales. Although it does not seem to me to live up to its reputation, it deserves a better physical form than its American publishers have allowed it.

Colin, we are told, was born in Sens, and now lives on an isolated farm from which he goes to Paris only once or twice a year. He considers that ideal conditions for writing are conditioned by

complete solitude. This attitude, so far from the familiar French writer of the boulevards and cafés, seems to be expressed in much of *Savage Play*.

This book is often wild and strange. It hovers (as a certain kind of art, including some of the greatest, frequently does) at the edge of the grotesque, and several times falls over the edge. But at the same time it is exceedingly formal in structure. It is about, at its center, four persons: François Gane, Jean Jacques and Claude Herber, and Denise Mazurier. Around them are grouped the mother and aunt of François, Baron Herber and his wife (the parents of Jean Jacques and Claude), a friend of François named Baumier, who appears only in the middle section, a bastard child of Jean Jacques, with the same name, and a number of minor characters from among whom the villagers compose a kind of Chorus.

The book is divided into three parts. The first is located at the provincial village of Neuvy, dominated by the property of the Gane family, La Hétraie, and the castle of the Herber family. François, Jean Jacques, Claude, and Denise are adolescents, and in a kind of imaginative outlawry they bury themselves every day in the woods and swamps of the region, carrying on their fantastic "savage play," passionate and lyrical, while François' mother and the Baron Herber complete a love affair that ends in England.

The second part shifts to Paris, after the war, where François is completing his graduate study of lepidoptera, and translating Professor Chouson's "cytological study on the crossbreeding among the Anoures." He rooms next to Baumier, who seems to be modeled closely on James Joyce's Buck Mulligan. Claude and Denise reappear—after many years during which François had not seen them. He quarrels violently with Claude and elopes with Denise.

The final part returns to La Hétraie. François takes his place as the ruler of his family property and of Neuvy. He brings Denise as his wife. Jean Jacques, who had gone completely wild, has been killed, but François takes the bastard child, Jean Jacques, into the house. Finally after encounters of frenzied sadism and passion, he installs Claude also at La Hétraie.

The narrative, accepted at literal level, seems to be pointing an old-fashioned and even "reactionary" moral. To find himself and his destiny, François goes back to the good earth. He asserts his authority over both his home and his village. It may be as simple as that, but such an interpretation seems to leave too great a remainder.

It is not easy to be sure just what Colin has wanted to do. He gives clues, perhaps, through the quotations placed at the beginning of each part. "Remember well, I beg of you, that everything is but what it *appears to be*, that everything is *symbolic*." (Léon Blov.) "We are more closely linked to the invisible than to the visible." (Nova-

lis.) "One must not be too much afraid of being a victim." (Vauvenargues.)

Is it one meaning that these four—François, Jean Jacques, Claude, Denise—are one, are all François? "Denise, o solitary body! Claude, o solitary spirit! At last you have been given back to me; you give yourselves body and soul. . . God and Devil enter into the game. Who has gotten hold of the brother?" And at the very end: "They skirted the pond's shore until they reached the little sandy beach of their childhood. . . It was there that in the old days they had launched themselves upon the conquest of the eternally promised land; Jean Jacques had drawn them to it with his visionary eye, Jean Jacques. . . All three of them had closed their eyes; their lowered eyelids gave to their faces, the eternity of stone. The child, alone, searched the vast night."

Or is even François also a symbol? "Parallel to God," François declares to Baumier, "man pursues his own business of creating. Vanity; but it seems to be his function to spend himself in vain attempts at existence since his fall."

Another novel by an Italian writer, this one still in his twenties, is on the current list. (*The Dead Boy and the Comets*, by Goffredo Parise, translated by Marianne Ceconi, Farrar, Straus & Young, 241 pp. \$3.00.) It is a kind of jumble of surrealism, imagism, and other outworn literary fashions. It is plastered with most of the orthodox surrealist symbols. There is a homosexual transvestite ridiculous enough—without being funny—to end all homosexuals. Most of the characters seem to be more or less dead a good deal of the time: "Not all of them are resigned to staying down there. They open the lids of the coffins and rise up to the earth, carrying their bones along with them, and a little bit of skin too." Images succeed each other in nightmare order, like an imitation Cocteau movie.

There are indications that Parise has verbal talent, but he has failed to write a novel, nor could he by this method. He is most compelling when evoking a lyrical mood, usually related to the war and the bombings. "To wander among the rubble down there, and to remember all the things we did during the war. The lovely explosions of the hand grenades and the adventures with our revolvers." And he tries to give it all an existentialist rationale: "Actually, this is all that's left to us. God died many years ago and only left us an heirloom of menace and terror. The houses crumbled, the people were blown up. . . It's all been one great fear. But I don't care at all. I ascend in my balloon and if the world explodes I piss on it. . . Think of yourself, rather, make yourself pretty and don't look at others. Because there's just no hope, my dear: now the absurd alone is our hope, our last safety."

Parise should reread his Boccaccio.

Liquidation by Stages

Report on Mao's China, by Frank Moraes. 212 pp. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$3.75

In April 1952 Frank Moraes, Oxford-educated barrister and editor of the century-old English language newspaper, the *Times of India*, visited Communist China as one of a group of Indians invited by Mao Tse-tung on a "cultural" mission.

The tour was rigidly controlled from Canton to Manchuria and back, through Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai; in the mines and mills, and even at the opera. It was supervised everywhere, indeed, except for the visit Mr. Moraes made to the dreary Shanghai night club the Reds had not yet got around to closing. Shanghai, once known 'round the world as the "Paris of the Orient," is giving up hard. When Mr. Moraes saw it just a year ago, the San Fan and Wu Fan movements were drawing to a close. These two ruthless drives were ostensibly directed against "corruption," particularly "corrupt commercial elements"—the businessman and the capitalist. Actually (and Mr. Moraes confirms this) their aim was the terrorization and ultimate elimination of the bourgeoisie.

Mr. Moraes demolishes the hypocritical Communist protestations of devotion to and concern for the "common man," and shows how the Red leaders can bend their iron determination to achieve, hold, and extend power as quickly and easily as a thin wire hairpin when they realize they have gone too far too fast. "In June 1950," he says, "Mao Tse-tung, after unleashing an indiscriminate liquidation campaign against the landlords and rich peasants, had called for a change . . . 'We must preserve our rich peasant economy,' he warned, 'for nothing matters so much as the restoration of production in the rural areas.' Almost exactly two years later, the Communist regime seems to have been afflicted by the same doubts and hesitations vis-à-vis the national bourgeoisie . . . The ruthless prosecution of the San Fan and Wu Fan movements was threatening to kill the capitalist goose which laid the golden eggs."

Since increased production is the key to the economic progress of the Communists, most other considerations are subservient to it. The Communists will tolerate rich peasants in order to insure greater agricultural output. And for the same reason, Mr. Moraes says, they will allow the small trader and capitalist to operate in the business field.

This section of Mr. Moraes' book interested me greatly, because I happened to be in Hong Kong last year at the time the Indian cultural mission was in Communist China. The British government had just notified the Chinese Communists that British firms trading in China wanted to close down and withdraw their staffs, and were requesting facilities to do this. The reaction of the Communists was, as usual, arrogant and insulting. Chinese

friends in Hong Kong told me of the Communists' obvious relish in cracks about the family name of the head of the British negotiating mission in Peking, Mr. Leo Lamb. They especially enjoyed the sarcastic coupling of it with the long-time symbol of his country's strength, the British lion.

Much of what the author relates is not new. His manner of analyzing motives, and the powerful Communist personalities pursuing those motives, is new. Mr. Moraes is an Asiatic who understands his fellow Asiatics better than any Westerner could, while his Western education and long experience in writing in English give the book a special value for the non-Asiatic reader. His realistic view of India's danger from those of her leaders who cherish romantic notions about their country's relations with China makes the author's observations supremely important, not only to India but also to the West.

Whether one agrees with his ultimate conclusion or not, it is enough that he presents an interesting and valuable report that contains sufficient of his own personal views to stimulate thoughtful study.

IRENE CORBALLY KUHN

Intellectuals in Old Vienna

The Man Without Qualities, by Robert Musil.

Translated by Eithne Wilkins and Ernst Kaiser. 365 pp. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc. \$4.00

I met Robert Musil once—at an authors' party which was typical of pre-Hitlerian Berlin. Practically all the guests had murdered somebody or other and then written a book about it in prison. There were Nazis who had murdered Communists, and Communists who had murdered Nazis, and members of the Free Corps who had murdered ministers of the Weimar Republic. It was something of a relief to find myself sharing a settee with an immensely polite gentleman who hadn't murdered anyone.

Mr. Musil was fiftyish then. I remember him as a small, compact, carefully dressed man who had about him something of the Austrian civil servant and something of the Austrian officer. Musil had been both. He was also an engineer, a doctor of philosophy, and an inventor. A chromatometer he invented is known by his name. About all this he spoke to me in low grave tones while the murderers disported themselves around us. He also spoke about his gigantic literary undertaking, which was *The Man Without Qualities*. He called it his life's work and hinted with modest assurance that while neglected by his contemporaries, it would be appreciated by future generations as one of the great works of world literature.

When Musil died in his Swiss exile in 1942, his life's work was unfinished. Even so it makes for one of the longest novels extant. The present

volume is only about half of the first German volume and one-sixth of the total fragment. As it is, it hardly gets around to establishing the characters. Its real action lies beneath the surface—in the actors' states of mind and their theories and arguments in relation to each other and to their world.

Briefly, the novel is played out in Vienna in 1913. There are two main themes. One concerns the preparations for the Jubilee of the Austrian Emperor, which is designed to be a grandiose demonstration of "the Austrian way of life." The other is the cause célèbre of Moosbrugger, the sex maniac and murderer, whose fate hangs in the balance. Ulrich, the man without qualities, has against his will become honorary secretary of the campaign committee in charge of arrangements for the Jubilee. He also gets involved in the review of the Moosbrugger case. Ulrich is a neutralist by conviction, a dilettante, unattached and independent. He understands that the campaign is a farce—a vain quest for an idea, for the realization of the Good and the True and the Beautiful. And he also understands that the Moosbrugger case is another more hideous aspect of the same lack of an idea, of the same lack of standards by which to measure the Good, the True, and the Beautiful.

This is an intellectual novel; the men and women who populate it never come to life. Thus one's emotions are never identified with Ulrich; at best one is interested in his philosophical and political notions which, one gathers, are Musil's own. However, the volume is studded with intelligent, wise, and witty remarks. And no one ever said deeper things about the old Austrian-Hungarian Empire and the secret of its way of life. R. G. WALDECK

Secret World

The Brontë Story, by Margaret Lane. 368 pp. New York and Boston: Duell, Sloan and Pearce—Little, Brown and Company. \$5.00

Using Mrs. Gaskell's admirable *Life of Charlotte Brontë* as her starting point, Miss Lane examines the salient Gaskell passages in the light of additional information turned up by modern research, and smoothly weaves new and old into an enthralling narrative, giving us the most complete Brontë story to date.

Mrs. Gaskell had approached her task with enthusiasm and with a preconception derived from a briefing she received from her hostess when she first met Charlotte, the literary sensation of the day. This briefing, embodied in a Gaskell letter, was only partially rectified in her "Life." It was a tissue of distortions and misrepresentations.

Instead of living at the end of nowhere, the Brontës lived in the heart of industrial England, just four miles from the manufacturing town of

Keighley. Mr. Brontë conscientiously performed the duty of visiting his parishioners in the half-dozen hamlets in his cure, often accompanied by Charlotte. There were teas, calls, and visiting back and forth with the friends Charlotte made at her Roehead school. To the extent that the Brontë life was solitary, it was so because they loved reading, reflection, and the moors that stretched above the village, and because they felt superior to their neighbors. How wrong they could be in this was shown in the case of Mr. Nicholls. The girls had always made fun of their father's curates and Charlotte lampooned them in a book, but when she finally married Mr. Nicholls and visited his home in Ireland, she found to her surprise that it was a gentleman's country-seat and that his relatives were cultivated, delightful people.

Far from neglecting his children's education, Mr. Brontë found ingenious ways of stimulating their interests and he sent all the girls away to school. The magnanimity of the brilliant old man, who by his own efforts had raised himself from his humble beginnings as an Irish cotter's son and who supported himself at Cambridge by winning a scholarship and two "exhibitions," is shown in his reactions to the published biography. Instead of reproaching Mrs. Gaskell for publicly portraying him as a monster, he thanked her for her perceptive book, merely adding that there were a few trifling mistakes which he hoped she would correct in the next edition.

I do not deny that I am somewhat eccentric. Had I been numbered among the calm, sedate, concentric men of the world, I should never, in all probability, have had such children as mine have been. Only don't set me in my fury to burning hearthrugs, sawing off the backs of chairs, and tearing my wife's silk gowns . . . I am not in the least offended at your telling me that I have faults: I have many and, being a Daughter of Eve, I doubt not that you also have some. Let us both try to be wiser and better as Time recedes and Eternity advances.

Miss Lane is not able to throw much new light on Emily, and she rejects the apocryphal suppositions that have been variously aired. We don't know the proximate cause of her becoming a recluse, but perhaps the conditioning cause is to be found in the "little books," a great mass of minute handwritten manuscripts decipherable only by a magnifying glass, whose significance Mrs. Gaskell did not perceive. It was an American researcher, Miss F. E. Ratchford, who discovered that they are "a closely connected series of poems, novels, histories, and dramas, having a common setting and common characters," written through sixteen years. "This highly complex creation took so strong a hold on their imaginations that all four children passed their entire youth under its influence, and even in maturity remained addicted to it like a drug." This never-outgrown fictional world of their childhood, in which the Brontës identified themselves with gallantly wicked Byronic characters, unfitted them

for the realities of adult life. But their ecstatic love of the realities they knew has quickened the imaginations of countless readers.

ALICE BEAL PARSONS

Briefer Mention

The Spirit of St. Louis, by Charles A. Lindbergh. 562 pp. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$5.00

By the evidence of the best-seller lists, Americans have lately wanted to read about being alone. They have journeyed by book—the cheapest and often the most exciting form of travel—to the top of a great mountain, to the jungles and gardens under the sea, and on a tiny raft across the sea's surface. The time is thus auspicious for the Lone Eagle to tell once more the lonely and amazing story of his great flight. It is clear that Colonel Lindbergh intends this as the definitive rendering within the limits of surviving records and memories. He begins with the birth of the idea in his own imagination, and carries the account through every stage to the final landing in Paris. There is a fascinating mixture of the sublime and the humbly practical: details about financing or saving a few ounces of plane load linked to meditations on the infinite evoked by the space and mists of the empty Atlantic. Colonel Lindbergh writes with the straightforward modesty that has distinguished his career. The use throughout of the "historical present" tense was perhaps a mistake. The book is handsomely manufactured, with an excellent appendix of photographs and technical data.

Anthem, by Ayn Rand. 105 pp. Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers. \$3.00

Ayn Rand, author of *The Fountainhead*, has presented in her novel, *Anthem*, an exciting and frightening dramatization of the ideals of collectivism carried to their logically inescapable conclusion. The "I" is the root of all evil, the collectivists tell us. In *Anthem's* world of the future, the word "I" has disappeared from men's language—the word "we" has replaced it. Man must live for others, preach the collectivists. In *Anthem's* world, men are permitted no "selfishness"—their thoughts, their occupations, their actions, are dictated by the needs of their "brothers." All the scientific and industrial achievements from the past "Unmentionable Times" have been lost—for, having destroyed the independent mind, this totally collectivized society has no power to keep that which the independent mind alone can create and maintain. But out of this swamp, one man of rebellious and intransigent spirit arises, who is tortured and threatened with death for the crime of pursuing knowledge for his own pleasure and purpose—

and who escapes into an uncharted wilderness, discovers the sacredness and true significance of man's ego, and determines to build a new world "where each man will be free to exist for his own sake." Written with beauty, passionate intensity, and inexorable logic, this novel is of profound importance in a world torn by the collectivist-individualist conflict, because it identifies the exact nature of that conflict: the struggle between those who assert that man's duty is to exist for others and those who uphold his right to exist for his own happiness.

Russia: What Next?, by Isaac Deutscher. 230 pp. New York: Oxford University Press. \$3.00

A couple of years ago, after the publication of his pretentious biography of Stalin, much of the American publishing industry seemed to regard Isaac Deutscher as their white-haired boy in the field of international politics. His name was featured in the solemn magazines, and the public was told that by reading him everyone could quickly learn what was what. No attention was paid to the fact that Mr. Deutscher continued to be, as he had been, an unregenerate Marxist, a defender of the Bolshevik Revolution, and the kind of critic of Stalin who finds that the Stalinist regime is "historically progressive." This new book, obviously a quickie written to cash in on Stalin's death, proves once more what must follow from such premises: a distortion of historical fact, and policy recommendations that could, if accepted, benefit only the Kremlin. Mr. Deutscher assures us that the Soviet Union is going to be democratic and peace-loving, if the West is sweet and friendly. For all practical purposes, Mr. Deutscher writes like an unpaid public relations counsel to Malenkov.

The Flowers of Friendship: Letters Written to Gertrude Stein, edited by Donald Gallup. 416 pp. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$5.00

If there is no agreement about the place of Gertrude Stein in English literature, there can equally be no dispute concerning the fact that she was one of the remarkable persons of our time. To readers who have been puzzled by her syntax, it may come as a surprise to learn how wide, warm, and lively were her relations with people. The thousands of letters written to her, which she preserved from early years, are now in the Yale University Library. From these Donald Gallup has made this collection of about 450, dating from her student days in 1895 to her death in 1946. They are from everyone imaginable—William James, Picasso, Matisse, Bernard Berenson, H. G. Wells, Clare Luce, Sherwood Anderson, Virgil Thompson, Pfc. John Breon, Thornton Wilder, Scott Fitzgerald. . . Some of them are about humdrum matters, but together they recon-

struct a fascinating pattern, of which Gertrude Stein was the focus, but which extends from her to touch on much of the intellectual life of this century.

Of Continuing Interest:

The Captive Mind, by Czeslaw Milosz, \$3.50. An account of writers and artists in the captive countries, beautifully written by a poet who escaped to freedom.

The Sociology and Psychology of Communism, by Jules Monnerot, \$6.00. Perhaps the most profound general study of the nature of the Communist enterprise.

The Conservative Mind, by Russell Kirk, \$6.50. An admirable revaluation of the great conservative tradition from Burke to Santayana.

A Century of Conflict, by Stefan Possony, \$7.50. A thoroughly realistic study of Communism as a system of power and violence.

MUSIC

Made in Japan

For the last three decades there has been a feeling that opera was a dying art. However, since the war, opera has proven that for a doomed invalid it is just about the healthiest of all the arts. In Europe, the moment a town or city was liberated—even before a new cabinet was picked—the citizens arranged to have gala opera performances. Salzburg had scarcely been entered by the Allies when the famous festival was resumed with Mozart operas as the main attraction. Berlin and Vienna produced operas before starting to clear the rubble out of the streets.

And now Japan has sent over for its second season in the United States the Fujiwara Opera Company of Tokyo. Last year the company had what might be called a "dry run" at the City Center in New York, but this year it is back for a nation-wide tour, which began August 5 at the Greek Theater in Los Angeles and is coming by easy stages across the continent to New York, where it will be at the City Center on October 27, 28, and 31. In all, some sixty-four performances have been scheduled.

The opera is *Madam Butterfly*, and the Japanese roles will be sung in Japanese, while the American roles, sung by Americans, will be in the original Italian. Michiko Sunahara of the Paris Opéra Comique is the brightest star in the company, and she will alternate in the role of Cho Cho San with Kazuko Yamaguchi. Americans singing with the company include Sven Nilsson as Pinkerton and Carlos Alexander as Sharpless. The company has its own chorus and orchestra, conducted by Allen

Jensen, and its own ballet—something of a novelty in a production of *Butterfly*.

The company was founded by Yosie Fujiwara, a successful tenor at the Paris Opéra Comique, in 1941. With the exception of the last years of the war it has been going ever since, and has staged twenty-four different operas, ranging from *Lohengrin* and *Tannhäuser* to *Blossom Time* and *The Gypsy Baron*, all performed in Japanese.

After the opening in California the critics more or less agreed with the New York critics who heard the performance last year. Admittedly, the voices are not as large as those we are accustomed to, but the acting, costumes, and sets are well worth seeing. The fact that the voices are smaller than European voices does not mean that the artists are inferior. Michiko Sunahara, for instance, is an artist with a great European reputation. The difference is one of quantity rather than quality.

However, if one wants authenticity in one's opera, here it is. Apparently that is what a great many opera lovers in this country do want, because the advance sale of tickets for *Madam Butterfly* in such unlikely places as Sacramento, Reno, Provo, and Sioux City has been incredible. And that in a section of the country where not too long ago our own Nisei had a pretty rough time.

The present performance of *Butterfly* is the fulfillment of a long-cherished dream of Yosie Fujiwara. Although most of us have never realized it, every time we of the Western Hemisphere have ever seen a performance of the opera, we have seen a mere caricature of what it should be. To begin with, the costumes have never been authentic, and the actresses have given more the impression of being Chinese than Japanese. Then, too, the stage sets have shown a heavy Chinese influence. The first time Mr. Fujiwara saw a Western performance of *Butterfly* he was both horrified and humiliated. No Japanese girl like Cho Cho San could possibly behave with the mannerisms popularly associated with a Geisha girl. So he made up his mind then and there to arrange a production of the opera that would be authentic in every detail. He finally did so to his satisfaction in 1948, and it has stayed in the repertoire of the company ever since.

In spite of the fact that the moment one mentions the Fujiwara Company one immediately assumes that of course they would be giving *Butterfly*, the decision to do so was by no means easy. To be sure, many of the operas in their repertoire were automatically disqualified. Americans are too used to type casting to be interested in seeing a Japanese cast in *Carmen* or *Cavalleria Rusticana*. But the company also has in its repertoire two native Japanese operas—*The God of Nishiura* by Hirota, and Dan's *Yuuzuru*. It was finally decided that these might be musically a bit too much on the oriental side for occidental ears, and so in spite of the risk of bringing a controversial per-

formance of *Butterfly* to a country accustomed to its own interpretation of it for almost fifty years, the Puccini score was chosen. Mr. Fujiwara philosophically says that he "thinks it of sufficient significance that they can make American people know what Japanese customs are by dint of Puccini's refined music."

The brochures announcing the tour of the company emphasize that this is a North American good will tour. It is not the fault of the company, nor of North America, but a little ironic on the part of Puccini that in his score, following the cast of characters, is written the line: "At Nagasaki. Present day."

ROCK FERRIS

THEATER

Preview of 1953-54

No matter how many theatrical seasons go through the almost regular cycle from exciting rumor to disappointing reality, with the coming of each September diehard theater addicts pay renewed heed to stirrings along Broadway. Although nobody can accurately single out the likeliest entries from among the hundred-odd productions waiting in the wings, it is impossible to resist the impulse to make predictions.

As things look this September serious drama seems scantily represented on fall lists, and it appears to be a good guess that comic banter will provide the season's best entertainment. Although there is much glitter and activity in the ateliers where our popular musicals are born, advance trumpeting doesn't ring as clear this year as they have in the past.

Musical comedy will no doubt be as avidly demanded and paid for as it has always been, but this year there will be fewer candidates in the extravaganza class. Nevertheless, when this is read, *Carnival in Flanders* by George Oppenheimer and Herbert Fields, with John Raitt and Dolores Gray, should be doing business at the Century. So should *Anna Russell and Her Little Show*, an intimate revue featuring Miss Russell's satires on "serious" vocalists, certainly funny enough to deserve some kind of renown. Herbert and Dorothy Fields' projected frolic at Coney Island, *By the Beautiful Sea*, holds a part with top billing for versatile Shirley Booth. Billy Rose and St. John Terrell may come forward with two musical settings of the Orpheus legend, the latter's with the heart-warming title *To Hell with Orpheus*. Ballerina Renée Jeanmaire is expected in *The Girl in Pink Tights*, while Rouben Mamoulian and Maxwell Anderson have concocted an affair called *The Devil's Hornpipe*.

If the musical future doesn't seem to burgeon

richly with creative élan, neither does drama appear too likely to set Shubert Alley on fire. Robert Anderson's play about a boy erroneously accused of homosexuality, *Tea and Sympathy*, will open starring Deborah Kerr. *A Pin to See the Peepshow*, by F. Tennyson Jesse (Lord Tennyson's grandniece) and H. M. Harwood, is based on England's sensational Thompson-Bywaters murder. By far the most anticipated event in serious theater is Paul Gregory's production of *The Caine Mutiny Court Martial*, in which Henry Fonda will play the defendant's lawyer, Greenwald. This courtroom drama taken from the best-selling novel will be presented in a sparsely severe setting and adhere faithfully to the original text.

The 1953-54 season will unquestionably belong to comedy. Perhaps life itself of late has been so overloaded with drama for so many that it's too painful to do anything else but laugh at ourselves.

Whatever the reason, the comic horizons are pleasant. Mary Martin—back home from England—will be starring with Charles Boyer in Joshua Logan's staging of Norman Krasna's *Kind Sir*; the advance sale is, of course, enormous. Josephine Hull, beloved by practically everybody, at last seems to have a play capable of housing her comic genius. Written by master George S. Kaufman, aided by Howard Teichmann, *The Solid Gold Cadillac* mulls over what might happen if a female stockholder, with Hokinson-like vacuity, decided to attend a giant corporation's annual meeting. *The Paradise Question* is a comedy involving U.N. diplomats; John Patrick's amusing report on occupation troops in Okinawa, *The Teahouse of the August Moon*, is due in October, under the aegis of Maurice Evans. Katherine Cornell stars in a new play with comic overtones, *The Prescott Proposals*; Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne will probably appear in the long-awaited *Quadrille*.

An English long-run hit, *The Little Hut*, by Nancy Mitford and André Roussin, is on its way through the customs; Samuel Taylor's *Sabrina Fair* stars Joseph Cotten and, at last report, Margaret Sullavan in a story about a girl who has some amusing difficulties readjusting to American life after several years in Paris. George Axelrod, up-and-coming author of *The Seven Year Itch*, signs his name to *Pffft!*, subtitled *The Heart-warming Chronicle of a Happy Divorce*. Edward Chodorov turns his urbane talents to the satiric aspects of the psychoanalytic couch in *Oh, Men! Oh, Women!*, and Dorothy Parker and Arnaud d'Usseau have collaborated in a dissonant hymn to predatory widows and divorcées pining away in residence at the Plaza, in *The Ladies of the Corridor*. The names of Edna Best and Betty Field will be back on the marquee for this one.

All in all, the prospects are bright for some light-hearted nights along Broadway in the months ahead.

NICOLAS MONJO

How YOU Can Do Your Part

In the Fight Between Capitalism and Communism

The true opposite of Communism is Capitalism. The Communists know it, but most of the rest of us don't.

To begin with, the very word "Capitalism" was coined and given currency by Marx and Engels. It was deliberately devised as a smear word. It was meant to suggest what it probably still does suggest to most minds—a system developed by and for the capitalists.

It is in large part because of the connotations built into the smear word "Capitalism" that, while millions are willing to die for Communist delusions, nobody has been willing to die for Capitalism—certainly not under that name. But Capitalism is merely the Marxist epithet for the system of the free market, for competitive private enterprise, for the system under which each is permitted to earn and keep the product of his labor—in brief, for economic freedom.

It is because of its freedoms and securities that Capitalism is incomparably the most productive system in the world. It does not have to "prove" its superiority to Socialism or Communism. It has already proved that a thousand times over, whether the standard of comparison is productivity or

personal freedom. Capitalism is not the best system because it is best for the employer or for the rich. It is the best system precisely for the worker and for the poor. Under it the status, wages, and welfare of the worker have improved historically at a rate and to an extent that before the Industrial Revolution would have been considered incredible.

The answer to Communism, in brief, is Capitalism. And once we understand this, the problems of "ideological strategy" which we have been confusedly debating begin to melt away.

There is only one right answer to the sum of 2 and 2, and an infinite number of wrong answers. Once we have shown that 2 and 2 make 4, we do not have to provide separate proof that every other answer is wrong. Communism is just one wrong answer to the basic social problem—though the worst and most dangerous. Socialism (which proposes the same basic economic measures as Communism) is merely another wrong answer, in the long run only a little less bad and a little less dangerous. "Planning," price control, inflation, Keynesianism, are still other wrong answers. As in arith-

metic, there are an infinite number of such wrong answers. But once we have found the right answer, we can explain what is wrong with the other solutions from that basis.

In the social and economic realm, we must base our criticisms on a positive program. That program is the improvement and purification of Capitalism.


The FREEMAN is a conservative fortnightly journal of opinion devoted to the cause of individual freedom. In politics it upholds the principle of constitutionalism, of limited government, of decentralization of power, and of the rule of law. In economics it upholds the free, private, competitive enterprise system and the free market. It is opposed to government waste, to subsidies and handouts, to price-fixing and wage-fixing, to all arbitrary barriers to production and trade, internal and external, and to Communism, Socialism, collectivism, and statism in every form. By helping to build the FREEMAN audience, you can help to preserve and strengthen our American freedoms.

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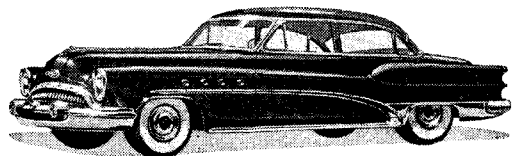
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Photograph by Robert Holmsted

The Vanishing American

Little by little this picture of the American farmer is disappearing from our national scene. More and more our country's farmers are using mechanized equipment to produce food in greater quantity and of better quality than ever before.

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