

**DON'T SHOOT
CONSERVATIVES!**

A Plea for Tolerance

**Our Principal Ally:
Superior Air Power**

General Bonner Fellers

Our Pink-Tinted Clergy

Julian Maxwell



TAPPING THE NEW OPEN HEARTH'S AT J&L'S PITTSBURGH WORKS. The molten steel flowing into two giant-size ladles symbolizes J&L's capacity for modern, scientific methods of mass-producing steel.

To satisfy a giant's thirst... huge draughts of steel are "tapped"

INDUSTRY'S thirst for steel is a giant's thirst. It's a perpetual thirst . . . the thirst of machine shops . . . the thirst of huge stamping press lines . . . the thirst that prevails wherever steel is being worked and shaped.

In order to fulfill America's demand for automobiles and appliances,

toys and office equipment, cans and building materials, steel-making has to keep pace . . . quantity-wise and quality-wise.

Steel-making at J&L is geared to this fast-moving pace. The expansion of open hearth capacity typifies J&L's policy of development and moderni-

zation of equipment. And, behind J&L's manpower stands a great teacher . . . 100 years of steel-making experience . . . 100 years of producing the steels of today . . . 100 years of preparing for the steels of the future.

J&L stands ready to meet the challenge of tomorrow!

JONES & LAUGHLIN STEEL CORPORATION
PITTSBURGH

THE Freeman

A Fortnightly
For
Individualists

Editor HENRY HAZLITT
Managing Editor FLORENCE NORTON

Contents

VOL. 3, No. 22 JULY 27, 1953

Editorials

The Fortnight.....	761
One-Man Government?.....	762
Don't Shoot Conservatives!.....	763
The Glory of Berlin.....	764
What Treaties Can Lead To.....	765

Articles

Our Principal Ally: Superior Air Power.....	BONNER FELLERS 767
What's Left of the "Single Tax"?.....	GLENN HOOVER 770
Our Pink-Tinted Clergy.....	JULIAN MAXWELL 773
The Wonderful World of Books.....	JAMES BURNHAM 776
Two Sides to a Strike.....	LEO WOLMAN 777
Men's Magazines.....	ALLEN CHURCHILL 779
Government by Crisis.....	R. G. WALDECK 781

Books and the Arts

An Example of Integrity.....	MAX EASTMAN 783
Billionaire Corporations.....	ASHER BRYNES 784
With Fear of Truth.....	WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN 785
Eloquent But Erroneous.....	ANTHONY HARRIGAN 786
Hagiolatry.....	R. A. PARKER 786
Theory Versus Fact.....	FREDA UTLEY 787
Life Among the Peasants.....	RAY PALMER 788
Wagner Festival.....	ROCK FERRIS 789
Americans in Paris.....	JEROME MELLQUIST 789

Poem

Highway.....	WITTER BYNNER 782
--------------	-------------------

This Is What They Said.....	769
-----------------------------	-----

Worth Hearing Again.....	778
--------------------------	-----

From Our Readers.....	760
-----------------------	-----

Our Contributors

BONNER FELLERS, as a Brigadier General in the U.S. Army, was the official United States observer of combat with the British Forces in the Middle East, 1940-42. He is author of a book on national defense, *Wings of Peace*, published this spring by Henry Regnery.

GLENN HOOVER is professor of sociology at Mills College in California. His report on the economic situation of Denmark, entitled "Learning from the Danes," appeared in the September 8, 1952, issue of the FREEMAN.

JULIAN MAXWELL'S "Our Pink-Tinted Clergy," was written at our special request so that FREEMAN readers might have a clear presentation of the issues involved in this currently controversial subject.

LEO WOLMAN, a professor of economics at Columbia University in New York, has written extensively on trade unions in America, and is now working on a forthcoming volume to be entitled *Half Century of Union Membership*.

ALLEN CHURCHILL is widely known in magazine and publishing circles as an editor and writer. His articles have appeared in the nation's leading periodicals, including *Collier's*, *Cosmopolitan*, *This Week*, *American Mercury*, *Esquire*, and others.

R. G. WALDECK, known to her friends as "Countess Rosie," came to this country in 1931 from her native Germany. In addition to her journalistic activities, she has since written a number of historical novels and political books, among them *Athene Palace* and *Europe Between the Acts*. She is now on an extended tour of the major capitals of Europe, from where she will send regular "Letters" to the FREEMAN.

ROCK FERRIS, for many years a distinguished concert pianist, has recently returned from Italy to continue in his native land the career of music columnist he began while living in Florence after the war.

JEROME MELLQUIST has sent us another of his lively reports on art in Paris, this time on the Americans exhibiting there this season.

In Forthcoming Issues

Before Congress adjourns this summer a vote may be taken on the Bricker Amendment to the Constitution, which would make it impossible for any treaty with a foreign government to interfere with domestic legislation—or lack of it—affecting the life and liberty of the American people. The FREEMAN has asked Frank E. Holman, former president of the American Bar Association, to state the case for this Amendment from the point of view of law as well as of individual freedom. His article will appear in our August 10 issue.

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

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

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

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

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

FROM OUR READERS

Two Presbyterian Groups

May I call your attention to an error in the article "Dr. Mackay's Strange Scales" [July 13]? In the first paragraph is the statement that Dr. Mackay is the "newly elected Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in the United States." The Presbyterian Church in the United States is that branch of Presbyterianism commonly known as "Southern Presbyterian." The Church of which Dr. Mackay was elected Moderator is the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, commonly known as "Northern Presbyterian."

The names are so similar that such an error is quite excusable. . . The article otherwise is excellent. . . .

JAMES FRANCIS MILLER

Pikeville, Ky.

Senator Taft's Speech

You went down the line for Senator Taft's Cincinnati speech [June 15] with hundreds of unvocal Taft supporters among your subscribers applauding. You will have to pardon a great many of these if they thought

that the Senator was less than crystal clear in the contested "go it alone" portion of that speech. At a guess, many of them regret that he has since hedged on what they hoped he actually meant. . . .

If General Ridgway's bitter analysis of what we have thrown away in Korea is truth, then perhaps U.N. influence is no more to blame than the President's and the senile Pentagon's determination to follow the Truman policies. Still taking orders from London?

I agree completely with your "No More U.N. Wars" [June 29]. If this is not what Taft meant. . . . then my mental processes are disintegrating.
Athens, Ga. DUNCAN BURNET

Air Strategy

The review of Bonner Fellers' *Wings for Peace*, June 29th issue, seems to underestimate Russian strategy. Russia will not strike until she can measurably counter our air attack, which she is doing by dispersion of industry, concentrating on air defense, and above all by such vast reserves of munitions that she can conquer Europe, and *hold it without home production* until the industry of Europe is working in her behalf.

We are playing into her hands to wreck our economy to damage an in-

dustry she can do without, incidentally killing millions of civilians who might otherwise be on our side. . . . She seems to be building sufficient long-range aircraft to keep us diverted, as we should also do to worry her, but why assume the real attack against us will be made so expensively and hazardously instead of by guided missiles from her great fleet of submarines, which only a Navy can stop?

Just where will we be if we start the next war with a great strategic Air Force, which the enemy has discounted in advance, a Navy inadequate to control the seas, and an Army too small to expand into what may be needed? Only if and when a rearmed Germany can hold Russia on the ground, will a major air attack on Russia pay off.

Thank God the National Security Council under the direction of the President seems to be realistically re-evaluating our military needs.
Washington, D. C. LUCIAN B. MOODY

Tops

The FREEMAN is tops in my estimation. I don't know how I ever got along without it.

FLORENCE D. WATKINS

Cockeysville, Md.

(Continued on p. 791)

WHAT MADE AMERICA?

Ever since the landing of the Pilgrim fathers, one golden thread has been woven unmistakably through the fabric of American life. Without it, we could not have the America of today. Nor the America of tomorrow. *It is the spirit of courage and achievement.* And we must never lose sight of it.

Here, guided by the fundamental truth that "all men are created equal," exists a concept of freedom which goes far beyond what one may find in other lands. It knows no barriers of caste or class—or race or color or creed. *It is ready to reward*

individual initiative wherever it is found. It is summed up in the word "opportunity," which springs from our system of free enterprise.

Because we have reached the limit of our land frontiers, let no one think that we shall cease to grow. This is not the kind of thinking that built America. *Progress comes on the frontiers of mind and spirit—the frontiers of imagination, invention, courage—and work.* That's what it takes to turn dreams into realities.

That is what will make the America of tomorrow.

HARNISCHFEGGER CORPORATION

Milwaukee 46, Wisconsin

the P&H Line



TRUCK CRANES



DIESEL ENGINES



POWER SHOVELS



PRE-FABRICATED HOMES



ELECTRIC HOISTS



SOIL STABILIZERS



WELDING EQUIPMENT



OVERHEAD CRANES

THE Freeman

MONDAY, JULY 27, 1953

The Fortnight

Is the removal of Beria likely to mean an increase or a decrease in repression in Russia itself and in the occupied countries? Is it likely to mean an intensification, or a relaxation, in the cold war or in armed aggression against the free world? The astonishingly wide range of answers, on the part of the supposed Western experts on Russia, once more illustrates how well the Kremlin has so far kept its secrets. We hear on one side that it was Beria who took the lead in releasing political prisoners in Russia after Stalin's death, in exonerating the Jewish doctors from the "murder" charges, and in the "soft" policy in East Germany. It is pointed out on the other side that since June 27, the presumed day of Beria's arrest, evidences of the "soft" policy have continued in Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, East Berlin, and even in the Korean truce negotiations.

The same lack of agreement surrounds the question whether the purging of Beria has strengthened or weakened the internal power of the Kremlin leaders who remain. That purge has of course made it plain even to the dullest intellect that there *was* a struggle for power within the Moscow triumvirate. But though everyone now knows who the loser was, no one seems quite sure about the real victor. Was it Malenkov, Molotov, Bulganin, or Comrade X?

Yet certain conclusions are reasonably safe. In a monolithic state like Russia, built on lies, espionage, and terror, no one can trust anyone else. Shared leadership and distributed power represent a condition of highly unstable equilibrium. Absolute power must tend to gravitate into one man's hands. The elimination of Beria is bad news insofar as it reduces the possibility of an internecine war which would split the Communist world into factions or fragments under competing Titos. In this possibility lies the chief immediate hope of liberty inside the present Iron Curtain and of peace outside. But the purging of Beria, we may be sure, is only the beginning of a great new purge. Until a single victor emerges, there is

still hope for the world in the mutual treachery of the present Kremlin survivors.

The American experts who failed to guess that Beria was about to be liquidated should not feel too badly about it. After all, if any one was supposed to know what was going on in the Kremlin it was Beria—but even he slipped up.

There is more than one question at issue between Syngman Rhee and President Eisenhower concerning the Korean truce terms, and we certainly do not maintain that Dr. Rhee's position should be accepted as against that of the American negotiators in every case. But Senator Knowland, the acting Republican leader in the upper house, seems to us to have put his finger on the chief reason why the rift between Rhee and the American negotiators developed. "I think," he said, "that Mr. Rhee was not sufficiently consulted [on truce terms] during the Truman Administration and I don't think he was sufficiently consulted during the Eisenhower Administration." What is incredible is that the British, who have suffered 1 per cent of the casualties of the Allies in Korea, have had so much to say about the truce terms, while the South Koreans, who have suffered 63 per cent of the casualties and are still holding 65 per cent of the line, were allowed so little to say on the truce terms until they refused to acquiesce in them after they were made public.

"A United Nations with responsible and adequate authority could apprehend Syngman Rhee and hold him in contempt of world law." Thus spake Norman Cousins, President of the United World Federalists, according to the *New York Times*. One wonders why Mr. Cousins did not go a little farther back and envisage his United Nations serving writs on Nam II for leading the North Korean army across the 38th Parallel, on Mao Tse-tung for sending an invading army across the Yalu River, and on Joseph Stalin for starting the whole business. One may also wonder why such statesmen as Sir Winston Churchill, Prime Minister Nehru of India, and Mr. Lester Pearson of Canada and the United Nations have referred to the leader of a hard-pressed and much suffering ally in terms of

truculence and bitterness which they never employed toward the aggressor enemy. The ghost of Poland is beginning to walk in South Korea.

With the sole exception of the hysteria over the fake "book-burning" issue, nothing better illustrates the present strength and determination of the anti-anti-Communists in this country than the furor over J. B. Matthews, whom Senator McCarthy had appointed only a few weeks ago as executive director of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. Before his appointment Mr. Matthews had written an article for the July issue of the *American Mercury*, which had appeared after his appointment was announced, entitled "Reds and Our Churches." It opened with the statement: "The largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen." It then went on to name names and supporting evidence, and concluded by declaring: "It hardly needs to be said that the vast majority of American Protestant clergymen are loyal to the free institutions of this country, as well as loyal to their solemn trust as ministers of the Gospel."

Then the storm broke. The Democratic members of the subcommittee demanded Mr. Matthews' resignation; so did a Republican member, Senator Potter. There were screams from the press and from an articulate minority of clergymen. Practically all of them quoted only the first paragraph of Mr. Matthews' piece, acted as if he had indicted the whole clergy, and seemed in effect to take the position that any Communist should be immune from investigation or even the mention of a doubt if he bears the title of Reverend.

A telegram of protest to President Eisenhower from the three national co-chairmen of the Commission on Religious Organizations of the National Conference of Christians and Jews had the sense and the fairness to declare: "We fully recognize the right of Congress to investigate the loyalty of any citizen regardless of the office he may occupy, ecclesiastical or otherwise." But Mr. Eisenhower, in the face of Mr. Matthews' careful exemption of the overwhelming majority of clergymen from his charge, replied by denouncing "generalized and irresponsible attacks that sweepingly condemn the whole of any group of citizens."

The upshot of the affair was that Mr. Matthews was forced to resign. In view of this, we do not see how what's left of the Senatorial committee can in fairness deny him the opportunity, for which he has asked, to document and verify his charges before it. The *FREEMAN* does not pretend to know in advance that his charges are all true any more than those who denounced him can know that they are false. But we publish in this issue an

article by Julian Maxwell on "Our Pink-Tinted Clergy" which was ordered and written before the Matthews article appeared, and independent of any knowledge of that article. The subject seems more than ripe for further investigation and exploration.

In some cases the proper retort to the indignant query, "Who called that clergyman a Communist?" might well be, "Who called that Communist a clergyman?"

One-Man Government?

The Brothers Alsop on June 29 devoted a column to the fact that Republican Congressman Noah Mason of Illinois is opposed to many Eisenhower measures. Mason has been in Congress for many years; the Brothers do not dispute the assumption that he represents the views of his constituency. But the Alsops would deny him that right. Eisenhower is the leader of the Republican Party. Every Republican should take orders from a Republican President. The Alsops conclude: "The question remains—and it is a pressing question—whose party is it, Noah Mason's or Dwight D. Eisenhower's?"

We had the notion (incomprehensible to those who believe in one-man government) that the Republican Party belonged to the people who vote Republican and that each Congressman is expected to follow his judgment and conscience, subject to the verdict of his constituency. If the Alsops are right, why go to the expense of a Congress? Let the President write and promulgate the laws, and forget that Article 1, Sec. 1 says: "All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives."

How New Dealers think the President should assert his leadership is described in the *New York Post* by its Washington correspondent, William V. Shannon:

General Eisenhower has abandoned to Congress the traditional Presidential responsibility of writing and planning legislation. . . It is due in part to the President's quaint antique view that it is his duty to recommend but not to see that recommendation is carried out. . .

During the Democratic administrations all important bills were written downtown in the various agencies and cleared through the White House. If the committee chairman would not sponsor the bill, some sympathetic Congressman was found to put his name on it.

The measure then became known as "an administration bill." All the resources of the President and executive departments were put behind it. Those Congressmen who did not fall in line when they were needed did not receive a friendly hearing when they came looking for a hometown dam or an appointment for a friend. This system was not fool-proof but no better one had been devised.

Don't Shoot Conservatives!

Don't shoot conservatives! Don't hang anti-Communists! Don't slaughter whole populations just because they dare to disagree with Eleanor Roosevelt. Don't burn the FREEMAN. Remember, the freedom to read is essential to our democracy. People have a right to read even the American Constitution, in order to learn both sides of the question. We know that everybody lives in mortal terror of what Senator Lehman is going to say next. But we must take our courage in both hands and say "booh."

Surely you don't disagree with any of this! Are you in favor of shooting conservatives? Are you *against* the freedom to read?

Except for a change of sides and names, the foregoing paragraphs represent exactly the type of argument being seriously and systematically put forward by the Eleanor Roosevelts and the Herbert Lehmans and the American Library Association and the American Book Publishers Council and other groups that ought to know better.

In an Associated Press dispatch from Athens of July 6, for example, Mrs. Roosevelt is quoted as declaring that Senator McCarthy has done "a great deal of harm to my country. . . . He has made the great mass of people blindly afraid People in the United States today are afraid to be different, to disagree with neighbors because of the possible consequences." This picture of the American people does not even deserve to be called a caricature; it is an irresponsible slander. The Americans who at present are doing most harm to our country are precisely those who are giving Europeans (many of whom are only too eager, in their present mood, to think the worst of us) this picture of their fellow-Americans.

Mrs. Roosevelt is no worse than those who framed and signed the "manifesto" put out on June 25 by the American Library Association in concert with the American Book Publishers Council. This manifesto pretended that there has suddenly developed in this country a tremendous threat to "the freedom to read":

It is under attack. Private groups and public authorities. . . are working to remove books from sale, to censor textbooks. . . to purge libraries. . . . We are deeply concerned about these attempts at suppression. . . . Such pressure toward conformity is perhaps natural to a time of . . . pervading fear. . . . We have been dismayed by the confused and fearful response of the State Department to recent attacks. . . . We are therefore enormously heartened by the President's recent vigorous attack on book burning. We support this position fully. . . .

And so on and on. By their perfervid rhetoric the authors of this hysterical statement are giving

Europeans the impression that there is now going on in America the equivalent of the ceremonial book burning that occurred in Germany under the Nazis.

The concerted campaign of these misguided "liberals" is a deliberate effort to divert attention from the real issues by raising and waving a man of straw. Who are the book burners in this country? Where are they? Let the people who are throwing around these irresponsible charges present names, dates, and evidence. And let a Congressional committee examine that evidence.

The real issue that has been so obscured and perverted is this: What books ought a government library to select? By what standards ought it to select them?

Our government libraries overseas are special-purpose libraries. They came into being as the result of an act of Congress—the United States Information and Educational Act of 1948. The purpose of the information service so set up is declared in the law itself to be the "dissemination abroad of information about the United States, its people, and its policies." More specifically, the State Department has declared that the purpose of the information centers is "to reflect American objectives, values, the nature of American institutions and life, and to utilize the book and related materials to advance ideas of America in the struggle against Communism."

It follows from this that any book that gives a false picture of the United States, its people, or its policies, or any book that actually tends to promote Communism, does not belong on the library shelves.

There is another point, of central importance, that has been consistently ignored in discussion of this problem. There are about twelve thousand new titles published in this country each year. Of these, the American government libraries abroad have been taking about a thousand new titles a year. This means that only one new book in twelve has been selected for acquisition; the other eleven have been ignored. The books favored for selection, therefore, implicitly carry some kind of government approval. The real question to be raised, then, about books by Owen Lattimore, Howard Fast, and Dashiell Hammett is not why they were eventually discarded but why they were chosen in the first place. Yet the whole hullabaloo of the self-styled liberals has been raised about a handful of books first taken and then discarded—with not a word said about the eleven out of twelve books that were never chosen at all. The dishonest claim is being repeatedly made that a book discarded by the

libraries is being "suppressed." Anybody who wishes, of course, still has an undisputed right to buy and read it. The only real question that should have been raised about it is whether it should have been acquired with taxpayers' money in the first place and given the implied endorsement of the American government libraries that stocked it.

We do not see why, finally, any distinction should be made between the standards applied in acquiring or not acquiring new books and the standards applied in discarding old ones. There is no reason why a book should be treated as if it had acquired some sort of sacred squatter's rights by the mere fact of being already on the shelves. The local librarians should be authorized to dispose of previously acquired books which in their judgment do not conform to the purposes of the libraries or have outlived their usefulness. The best way to dispose of them, ordinarily, would be through second-hand channels to the best bidder, in accordance with private library practice. This procedure would cut the ground from under the nonsensical charges that these books were being "suppressed," "censored," "burned," etc.

When the present wave of hysteria has passed, it is even conceivable that the whole issue will be treated with a little common sense.

The Glory of Berlin

Even though the tanks and machine guns of the Red Army have temporarily crushed the movement, the uprising in Berlin and other cities of the Soviet zone remains one of the most important, as well as one of the finest and bravest events of recent times. Things can never be the same again in East Germany. The men in the Kremlin may well remember the wise and witty remark of Talleyrand—that one can do anything with bayonets, except sit on them.

The entire Soviet position in Germany was irretrievably undermined on those June days when the workers rose against the "dictatorship of the proletariat," burned Soviet flags, stormed railway stations and public buildings, and made life very unpleasant for members of the Red Quisling regime. The very calling in of Soviet troops was a confession of political defeat, a recognition that the East German military and police forces, built up under Soviet tutelage, are completely unreliable and would, in all probability, desert en masse to the West at the first opportunity. It is significant that the Russians executed eighteen of their own soldiers who refused to fire on the rioters.

Facts, as Lenin liked to say, are stubborn things. And no amount of propaganda can obscure the impact of this first big mass outbreak against Communism.

Much of the sinister power of Communism lies

in the illusion of invincibility which it carefully cultivates. The peoples under its control are brain-washed (to use an appropriate new expression from China) with propaganda and terrorized by a host of spies and by ruthless police methods. Only those who have lived under this kind of regime can realize how diabolically strong this type of tyranny is, how weak and helpless the individual feels in the grip of a leviathan more formidable than Hobbes ever dreamed of.

It is the glory and the significance of the workers of East Berlin and of Magdeburg, Chemnitz, Halle, and other industrial towns in East Germany that they broke this evil spell more clearly and decisively than it has ever been broken before. There are several significant political lessons to be drawn from what happened in the Soviet zone.

First, a united Germany, based on free elections and free institutions and provided with adequate armed force for self defense, is a "safe" Germany from the standpoint of the West. The pictures of Berlin crowds throwing stones at Soviet tanks, and burning Soviet flags, should put an end to the silly idea that Germans have an affinity with Communism and are eager to throw in their lot with the Soviet Union.

It would indeed be strange if this were true when one looks back to the unparalleled outrages of murder, wholesale rape, and looting that marked the Soviet invasion of Germany in 1945 and to the merciless systematic exploitation that followed these original excesses. The spark that at last touched off the outbreak was a final turn of the Soviet economic thumbscrew, requiring the building workers in the East zone to work harder for less pay. One can confidently expect that if and when Soviet troops are withdrawn the pitiful puppets who have been governing the area under orders from Moscow will vanish from the scene and the clumsy war monuments set up to honor the unknown Soviet soldier (popularly referred to by Germans as the unknown rapist or the unknown looter) will be demolished with lightning speed.

Second, a tyranny in retreat is most vulnerable. H. L. Mencken put a political truth in his familiar flamboyant language when he wrote once that the tsars got along excellently so long as they ruled Russia "like a house of correction, a Southern Baptist 'university' or the D.A.R." It was no accident that the outbreak in the East zone started after some concessions had been made by the government and there were signs of weakness and vacillation at the top.

Third, while the outbreak was spontaneous, the proximity of free West Berlin was very helpful. An appeal of the West German trade unions broadcast at a timely moment by RIAS, the American radio station in West Berlin, helped to touch off the general strike; and broadcasts from RIAS were an aid in keeping the strikers informed of what was going on elsewhere.

What occurred in East Berlin, what occurred earlier in Czechoslovakia, shows that, despite the fellow-travelers, the pedantic legalists, and the faint hearts there is a strong case for keeping up maximum psychological warfare in all the Iron Curtain countries.

Fourth, the uprising in East Germany and the demonstrations in Czechoslovakia indicated a severe crisis in the Soviet satellite area. Economic exploitation is beginning to yield diminishing political returns. The Kremlin and the Gauleiters it has put in charge of the countries behind the Iron Curtain face a difficult dilemma. They cannot improve the intolerable daily living conditions of the people without scrapping a considerable part of their schemes for militarization and intensive industrial development. To do this is contrary to every Communist instinct. The one development which might get the Kremlin off the hook of this dilemma is some ill-timed, overeager gesture of appeasement from the West.

Berlin has twice proved itself a brave city. West

Berlin five years ago stood up without flinching or wavering to the Soviet blockade, frustrated by the large-scale airlift inaugurated by General Lucius Clay. Now East Berlin has given impressive proof that, although its body may still be under Soviet control, its spirit is with the West.

Some day a united Berlin may be the capital of a free, united Germany, cleared of the last hateful traces of Soviet rule. Then the memory of all the Berliners who lost their lives in the struggle against Nazi and Communist tyranny will be held in honor. And, as the prisoners of the June 1953 revolt are released, the lines of the Russian poet, Pushkin, addressed to the early Russian martyrs of freedom, the Decabristi, will apply to them, and to all the 18,000,000 Germans who are still living in the vast prison of the Soviet zone:

The heavy hanging chains shall fall
The walls shall crumble at the word
And freedom greet you with the light
And brothers give you back the sword.

What Treaties Can Lead To

Does our membership in the United Nations annul in any way the limitations placed by our Constitution on the prerogatives of our Chief Executive? In other words, does the fact that we belong to the United Nations give our President rights he does not have under our Constitution? If it does, what effect does such a situation have upon our sovereignty as a nation and our liberty as individual citizens? And what effect would our ratification of the United Nations Covenant on Human Rights have upon us?

In an address before a meeting of the Los Angeles Legion Luncheon Club on December 16, 1952, Clarence Manion, former Dean of Notre Dame Law School, declared:

"Today . . . the Bill of Rights is seriously threatened with complete destruction, not by a military conquest of the United States, but through the processes of a well-managed deception upon the people of this country engineered by enemies of American freedom and American independence . . .

"Through the influence of our star-gazers we are being urged to believe that since the world is not ready or willing to adopt our Bill of Rights we should adopt another which the rest of the world will accept.

"We are urged to do this in the interest of world unity and through the mechanism of multilateral international treaties. If any such treaties violate our time-honored Bill of Rights or any other provision of our precious Constitution, then to that extent our Constitution and our Bill of Rights is re-

pealed. Much of our Constitution has already been superseded in this way, and the remainder of it is scheduled for repeal by the Senatorial ratification of a score of treaties now in process of preparation and submission to the United States Senate . . .

"Our complete transformation from Constitutional Government into Statism would be climaxed by the ratification of the so-called Genocide Pact and the United Nations Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Both of these are now in the works."

Frank E. Holman, Past President of the American Bar Association, in an address at Yakima, Washington, on July 10, 1952, observed:

"Prior to the adoption of the United States Constitution over 164 years ago (September 17, 1787), never before in the course of history had any government anywhere been organized on the principle that the people, as individuals, are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights as to life, liberty, and property, including the right of local self-government, and on the principle that these rights are inherent in the people as individuals and are not something that their government has graciously conferred upon them and may therefore at any time retake from them.

"Theretofore, in the history of the world, governments had *granted* freedom to the individual citizens and local self-government to the people, only if forced to do so or if the sovereign for the time being felt so inclined. The previous concept

of the scope and power of a national government was that it had inherent powers of its own and might grant or withhold rights to the individual citizen as it saw fit. Such is the totalitarian theory of government.

"But by the American Constitution and Bill of Rights this concept was reversed. Only certain specific and limited functions and powers were conferred upon the officials of our national government. It was to be a government of delegated and limited powers only, and the people, by the Constitution, forbade and intended to forbid the federal government doing anything not authorized by the Constitution, nor permitted under the prohibitions of the Bill of Rights. There was no intention that the national government should have a reservoir of implied powers to change basic state and individual rights as fixed by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights or to embark upon a collectivist or a police state program or a World State Program, either through federal legislation or through international treaties or otherwise . . .

"Our wise forefathers knew that the mind and spirit could not be controlled and regimented by government or by the officers of government so long as freedom of speech and of press were preserved. Accordingly, the first provision of our Bill of Rights provided that, 'Congress shall make no law . . . abridging freedom of speech or of press' . . .

"But under Article 2 of the proposed United Nations Covenant on Human Rights it is provided that 'in case of a state of emergency officially proclaimed by the authorities, a state may take measures derogating from its obligations' to preserve freedom of speech and of press and other freedoms which under our Bill of Rights are not subject to suspension. In other words, the whole right of freedom of speech and of press may be suspended when a 'state of emergency' is officially declared by the authorities in power. Well, we have lived in a state of officially declared emergencies frequently during the last twenty years, and are still doing so. If this Covenant on Human Rights is ratified by our Senate, a President, by declaring a 'state of emergency' as provided in the Covenant, could close all the newspapers in the United States, or such of those and in such places as he may think it wise to close.

"Look at the scheme the 'treaty makers' in the United Nations have for completely socializing our government and our economy without the Congress or our State Legislatures having anything to say about the matter. How do the 'treaty makers' propose to do this? The program is spelled out in the Declaration on Human Rights which, under United Nations propaganda, has been celebrated throughout the land as a 'great charter of human liberty.' Article 22 of the Declaration provides that everyone has the right to 'just and favorable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment' and that everyone has the right to 'just and favorable

remuneration.' . . . Article 24 provides that everyone has 'the right to rest and leisure' and 'periodic holidays with pay.' Article 25 provides that everyone has 'the right to food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age' without any provision that he shall work for it or help establish a fund to pay for it. Put these or similar pronouncements in treaty form, ratified only by the Senate, and you will by a few pages of 'Treaty Law' transform the government of the United States from a Republic into a socialistic state . . .

"The outstanding and most alarming example of the effect of 'treaties' on our domestic law and on our own United States Constitution and upon the thinking of our judges is to be found in the Opinion of the Chief Justice of the United States in the recent decision dealing with the President's seizure of private property in the steel case. Lawyers had generally recognized that because of the peculiar provisions of Article VI of our Constitution ratified treaties of the United States are the Supreme Law of the Land overriding state laws and constitutions and even existing laws of Congress. This of itself constitutes a dangerous threat to American rights which needs correction by an appropriate Constitutional amendment. But now the Chief Justice of the United States advances the shocking doctrine in his dissent in the steel seizure case that the United Nations Charter gives the President of the United States authority to seize private property nowhere granted to him either by the Constitution or by the laws of the country . . .

"In other words, acting under the Charter, the President has powers *not* granted to him by the Constitution but moreover even denied to him by the Constitution . . .

"The Chief Justice succeeded in getting two other members of the Supreme Court to join him in this extraordinary doctrine whereby the United Nations Charter would be superior to the Constitution of the United States. If he could have succeeded in getting two additional members of the Supreme Court to side with him the United States would in effect then and there have ceased to be an independent Republic and we would have been committed and bound by whatever the United Nations does or directs us to do. We would have had a full-fledged world government overnight, and this is exactly what may happen under so-called 'Treaty Law' unless a constitutional amendment is passed protecting American rights and American law and American independence against the effect of United Nations treaties."

To sum up, no proposed amendment to the Constitution has ever been more urgent than the Bricker Amendment, which would make it clear beyond debate that treaties cannot impair or supersede our Constitutional rights.

Our Principal Ally: Superior Air Power

By **BONNER FELLERS**

Brig. Gen. U.S. Army, Ret.

On the basis of a careful study, hitherto unpublished, there is no longer any doubt that air supremacy is our only defense.

From the maze of conflicting Anglo-American relations an issue of great moment is coming to light. It is this: how can the free world best be defended?

The British propose that the present plan for large NATO ground forces be abandoned, and that we rely principally on air power to defend us. Our State and Defense Department leaders, on the other hand, have rejected any such proposal. They continue to insist on a *ground force* containment against Red encroachment.

Britain has always been reluctant to go along with the NATO program for the ground defense of Europe. A study of the manpower and resources of NATO, as compared to those of Moscow-dominated countries, convinced the British that it is impossible to build an adequate defense of western Europe around a large standing army. As a consequence, in late 1951, the British announced a policy of non-participation in the European Defense Army. Soon afterward they placed before top-level American officials their new concept for the defense of the free world. In late July 1952, Sir Oliver Franks, then British Ambassador in Washington, presented a carefully prepared Staff Study to our Joint Chiefs of Staff and Department of State representatives. There followed a long and detailed discussion at a conference in Washington attended by representatives of the two countries.

A Substitute for Containment

The Staff Study, or *Appreciation* as the British call it, was comprehensive and compelling. Signed by the three British Chiefs—General Slim for the Army, Admiral McGrigor for the Royal Navy, and Air Marshall Slessor for the Royal Air Force—it proposed daringly new and revolutionary defense concepts.

The logic of its conclusions was inescapable. After assessing Communist military might, the British contended that the free world is physically incapable of containing the vast frontiers of China, Russia, and the European satellites. Instead, they proposed to substitute for the containment concept the use of superior weapons—which the free world is better able to produce than Russia and her satellites. With intercontinental strategic bombers car-

rying atomic or hydrogen bombs and backed by defensive fighter-interceptors, they proposed to offset the Communist numerical superiority in manpower.

The British study held, moreover, that it was impossible to raise or maintain the NATO forces at present contemplated. The maximum NATO strength envisaged by the February 1952 Lisbon Conference was 100 divisions and 9,000 combat aircraft. (Even these inadequate strength goals have since been repudiated.) A surface defense of western Europe, it was argued, even if successful, could not save Europe and America from atomic attacks launched by the Red Air Force from European and Arctic bases. Nor could a surface defense succeed unless NATO controlled the air over western Europe. Yet, as the British pointed out, the NATO powers are not even planning to build air supremacy! Without this, the Red Air Force could paralyze shipping to the United Kingdom, and could likewise keep American supplies and reinforcements from reaching NATO ground forces fighting in Europe. Deprived of these, Europe could not possibly defend herself, *even if sufficient ground troops were available*. The armies would have little to fight with, and Britain's population would face starvation.

Since only air supremacy could avert these disasters, the British are now planning to triple their own bomber strength, with special emphasis on long-range bombers. They are also building toward a goal of 1,000 first-line fighters for the defense of England. Britain's Army and Navy, since they can neither defend England against air attack nor effectively strike against Russia, have been assigned secondary roles in the over-all strategy.

Intercontinental Bombers

The essence of the British concept lies in the full exploitation of air power and atomic or hydrogen bombs, first as a war deterrent, and second as the only means of striking at Russia's war potential deep in the interior if war is forced upon us.

The British are tremendously impressed with the deterrent power of America's new intercontinental bomber—the B-52—armed with atomic or hydrogen

bombs. They agree with our own Air Force chiefs that Russia cannot defend herself successfully against this kind of attack, despite more than 3,000 modern Red fighter-interceptors now assigned to this mission. (Incidentally, only a few hundred fighter-interceptors are now available for the defense of the entire United States, and these are not all modern.) The ability of our new high-altitude jet bombers to penetrate air defense systems makes intercontinental bombers our preeminent arm against Russia. Strategic air power, therefore, in sufficient numbers for sustained attack is, according to the British, the primary war-winning factor.

The British Staff Study did not directly attack our naval super-carrier program, except to comment that our carriers are fine if we can afford such an expensive form of air power when its effectiveness is doubtful. The British consider the role of the fleet to be one of safeguarding sea lanes, and not of providing carrier bases for air attacks against enemy land targets and supply centers—which in the case of Russia are often deep in the interior. Carrier-based air support of ground troops they also regard as undependable and prohibitive in cost. Land-based aircraft are both more effective and less costly. The super-carrier, in their view, is too expensive to build and operate, and too vulnerable to enemy air and submarine attack.

British experience with anti-aircraft guns has shown that they are not very effective at high altitudes. Britain is therefore reducing the strength of her anti-aircraft ground units and placing more reliance on guided missiles, and particularly on those which can be launched from fighter-interceptors in flight. These missiles have the ability to seek the target at which they are fired. Their use in fighters, in the place of conventional machine-gun or cannon projectiles, will enormously increase fighter-interceptor effectiveness.

Unequal Burden of Costs

Of vital concern, both to us and the British, is the prohibitive cost of maintaining NATO armies under the present plan. Only the United States—and then only by contributing considerably more than in the past—could meet the initial and continuing costs. But such unequal American contributions cannot be extended indefinitely. Meanwhile, these expenditures, plus those for the regular U. S. Army and Navy, make it impossible for Americans to shoulder the additional burden of financing and building global air supremacy—of the utmost necessity in case of war.

To achieve this air supremacy will be so costly an undertaking, and will make such heavy demands on industry, that our currently planned Army and Navy expenditures will have to be reduced. Only after this reduction can sufficient funds and industrial effort be directed toward the necessary increased air effort. The employment of the Army

and Navy in supporting roles would enable us to create air supremacy and at the same time effect material over-all savings.

There was general accord at the conference that on foreign soil air forces are generally less unwelcome to the local population than are ground forces.

In answer to the arguments of the British, American military chiefs endorsed air power as the dominant element in war but—except for the Air Force representative—they were not convinced that strategic bombing could be decisive. Our Army and Navy representatives made no objection to giving priority to air power—so long as there was no decrease of emphasis on the traditional roles of their respective services! However, our Army leaders argued that ground troops are less costly than air power and just as great a war deterrent. (One representative was actually disturbed lest adoption of the strategy proposed by Britain would be taken as an indication that the views of ex-President Herbert Hoover had prevailed.) Further, though American Army leaders agreed that a new strategy must be developed eventually, they contended that the British might not be up-to-date on the possibilities of atomic weapons in ground combat. In reply, Air Marshal Slessor reminded our representatives that Britain had already produced atomic explosions and that her knowledge of the atom was certainly adequate for planning purposes.

Under Lock and Key

Having failed utterly at the conference to break down British arguments, American military leaders have since kept extremely quiet about British views. They have also continued the antiquated and impossible NATO program of ground defense. Though our troops would always be hopelessly outnumbered, our chiefs maintain that this numerical inferiority would be offset by atomic cannon, demolitions, and various other new defensive techniques.

While our Joint Chiefs of Staff have placed the British proposals under lock and key, the British representatives have not considered that their plan should be denied the public. The fact that Britain hopes to continue as a heavy recipient of military and financial aid from the United States may have caused her not to argue publicly after her plan received our official cold shoulder. But gradually the principal lines of thought have been disclosed through the implementation of the new British defense program.

It is certain, however, that the reduction in our 1954 Air Force appropriations is a disappointment to the British. This proposed budget marks a distinct departure from British defense concepts. The Air Force cut of \$5,000,000,000 could well be a death blow to hope of global air supremacy for the free world. The increase in ground force appropriations, together with Secretary Wilson's strange

and conflicting testimony, discloses our trend toward the employment of mass armies and universal service for American youth. As a consequence, we may now expect increased emphasis on carrier-based aircraft, and more fissionable materials devoted to atomic cannon and other battlefield weapons. It is likely that, more and more, strategic bomber strategy will be superimposed on, and tied to, traditional surface strategy.

If Atomic War Comes

These trends are sinister.

The Red Air Force is at this moment capable of launching a full-scale atomic assault against both Europe and America. It is a grim reality that we have neither adequate fighter-interceptors to defend ourselves against such an attack nor sufficient intercontinental bombers for sustained attack on Russia's war potential. Present NATO plans propose to hold the vast Red Army at bay with numerically inferior ground forces, which are dependent for support on a NATO air force much too weak to meet the Red Air Force.

If atomic war comes, the enemy doubtless will strike first. Our Air Force (or what is left after the first enemy attack) must be able to knock out his ability to strike us *immediately* after this initial attack; otherwise our Air Force will be rapidly consumed. Meanwhile, the enemy Air Force would be free to continue to inflict terrific damage and to destroy our war industries, including our aircraft industry. It would be years before we would be able to create a new and effective Air Force, if indeed we ever could.

The Red Army is the most powerful peacetime ground force the world has ever produced. If war comes, to engage its full weight will lead to ghastly slaughter and eventual disaster.

Does America dare let the Kremlin add air supremacy to its obvious advantage in ground forces?

Through force of circumstance, the British—more than we—have had to face the facts and realities of modern warfare. They cannot afford the luxury of pretending that the three main elements of defense—air, land, and sea—can each play an equal role. They are compelled to rely on new concepts and new weapons rather than on standing armies which can never match the Red Army. Although traditionally a sea power, the British have accepted the fact that Russia cannot be blockaded and have therefore drastically curtailed naval expenditures. Their Air Force has become the “first line of defense” in the ocean of the sky.

The British, wisely, have given up the effort of trying to satisfy all their generals and admirals and the loyal alumni of the two original sister services. How long can we in the United States afford to base our defense plan and stake our destiny on service loyalties rather than on strategic realities?

THIS IS WHAT THEY SAID

It can, of course, be argued that Chinese fear of germ warfare and American fear of Communist spying represent opposite sides of the same medal.

THE ECONOMIST, London, April 4, 1953

And on my part I ask you very simply to assign to me the task of reducing the annual operating expenses of your national government. We must move with a direct and resolute purpose now. The members of Congress and I are pledged to immediate economy.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Message to Congress, March 10, 1933

Anti-Semitism and other forms of racial prejudice and discrimination have almost entirely disappeared in Soviet Russia.

CORLISS LAMONT, *Soviet Civilization*, 1952

There was Menuhin. He used to talk about his art and his God and his fiddle. Then one day when he was supposed to play in Philly, we told the musicians he didn't hold a union card and they walked out. So now him and his God and his fiddle, they're in the San Francisco local.

JAMES C. PETRILLO, quoted by the *New York Times*, June 10, 1953

What Proposal, What Panic?

The peace proposal of the People's China and Korea created a panic on the New York Stock Exchange.

GLOS PRACY (Warsaw), April 16, 1953, quoted in *News from Behind the Iron Curtain*.

Handouts Unlimited

Would we be in “this present crisis” if we had . . . given both Britain and Russia five billion each at the close of the war; if we had presented to Russia four or five large dams, one of the things they love most, with the compliments and gratitude of the American people . . . if hundreds of American cities had “adopted” British and Russian devastated cities of similar size . . . if we had invited Russian and native Communists to speak on all college campuses . . . if we had given UNESCO 300 million a year instead of a niggardly three million?

READ BAIN, Professor of Sociology, Miami University, Ohio, address of April 25, 1951

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

THE EDITORS

What's Left of the "Single Tax"?

By **GLENN HOOVER**

The movement Henry George began seventy-five years ago is described by a professor of sociology. In our next issue the distinguished economist, Frank H. Knight, will present a different point of view.

The crusade for the "Single Tax," under the leadership of Henry George, was probably the most spectacular crusade in our history. George was forty years old when his *Progress and Poverty* was published in 1879. Before he died, some eighteen years later, this impecunious, unschooled, and obscure printer from San Francisco had become one of the most noted figures of his age.

His *Progress and Poverty* had been translated into all the important languages of his time, and millions of copies of it had been sold. He had lectured to enthusiastic audiences in Australia, New Zealand, and the British Isles, and it is said that in England only Gladstone was better known. He had twice been a candidate for mayor of New York City, and in his first campaign he received more votes than the young but redoubtable Theodore Roosevelt. He died (1897) just before the end of his second campaign, and as his body lay in state in the Grand Central Palace, one hundred thousand mourners filed by his bier, and another hundred thousand prayed or meditated outside.

What happened to the Georgist movement? Did it collapse because it dealt with petty or transitory issues as did the Populists, the Grangers, the Free Silverites, or the California advocates of "Thirty Dollars Every Thursday"? Has George's economic logic been refuted and rejected by professional economists? Is the world no longer interested in land reform? How much of the economic rent of land is already taken for public purposes by means of the general property tax? These and similar questions must occur to anyone interested in the history of reform movements. And they are of particular interest to those who believe that the earth, together with the waters upon it and the air around it, are, of right, the common property of mankind.

The term "Single Tax" as applied to Henry George's program, is a very inadequate description of it. The program was based on the simple proposition that land is a free gift of Nature and that all persons have equal claim to it. However, the earth cannot be equally shared by "dividing it up." What can be shared is not the earth itself, but the value of it—its economic rent. If landowners were compelled to pay as a tax the annual value of their land, this revenue could be used for public purposes. In this way the common right of all to

the earth would be recognized, and each person's share of the annual value of the earth would go into the public treasury rather than to those who claim the earth as their own.

Paradoxically enough, Single Taxers are not primarily interested in taxes at all, not even the tax on land, except as a means of siphoning the economic rent of land into the public treasury. Some Single Taxers—though not all—have believed that the economic rent of land would provide governments with enough revenue to meet their legitimate needs. If so, no other taxes need be levied. They therefore called themselves, and were called by others, "Single Taxers."

It must be evident, however, that whether or not the annual value of land would provide governments with enough revenue to enable them to abolish all other taxes is merely a "fringe" issue. The right of each to an equal share of the annual value of the earth does not at all depend on whether this sum would be large enough to support our governments. If it should—which now seems highly improbable—governments could reduce their debts, or even declare a "dividend"! If the sum proved inadequate, governments would of course, have to impose other taxes, even if the single tax on land were adopted.

Ethics plus Economics

The notion that, as Jefferson put it, "the earth belongs in usufruct to the living" is the very core of the Single Tax doctrine. It is not, strictly speaking, an economic notion at all but an ethical one. Nevertheless, it is based on certain economic premises which should be re-examined so that we may see if they have withstood the ravages of time and the criticism of economists.

The economic premises which are pertinent to the ethical claim of the Single Taxers are:

1. The earth is not the product of labor, but a free gift of Nature or of Nature's God.
2. Its value—apart from improvements—is created by the increase in the population it serves.
3. The supply of land—unlike the products of labor—cannot be decreased by any tax that can be imposed upon it. For example, windows could be "taxed out of existence," but not land.
4. Taxes imposed on the site value of land cannot

be shifted. When a tax is imposed on a produced goods, the tax enters into the cost of production and must be recovered in its price. However, a tax on land values will not decrease the supply of land or increase the demand for it. Nor will it increase the price of land, of farm crops, or the rent of urban property.

5. The rent received by landowners is not a payment for any service they render to society.

Do economists reject the foregoing premises? On the contrary, every one of them is accepted as true by economists—almost without exception. They are not propositions which Henry George, or any of his followers, ever claimed as their own. Most of them must always have been accepted as true by thinking men. For example, all primitive tribes agree that the portion of the earth over which they roam as collectors, hunters, or fishermen is the common property of all. It was only when agriculture was introduced that society recognized any private right to any given part of the common earth—and then only for such periods as the original claimant cultivated it.

George frankly based his program on the Ricardian explanation of rent. He insisted that it had "the self-evident character of a geometric axiom," and he never professed to add anything to the Ricardian analysis. Instead, he confined himself to drawing the ethical conclusion that if, as Ricardo demonstrated, rent is an unearned income which grows with the increase in population, then justice requires that it be devoted to public purposes.

The objections to the Single Tax, as recorded in most texts on economics, are adequately summarized in *Economic Principles, Problems, and Policies* (fourth edition) by Professor William H. Kiekhofer. He lists all objections under three headings—ethical, political, and economic. There is first the ethical objection that by adopting such a program society would fail to "keep faith" with those who had bought land with the expectation that the land values "created by themselves and their neighbors" would go to the landowners.

On political grounds, the objection is made that if adequate public revenue could be raised by appropriating the socially created economic rent, many citizens would lack any incentive to participate in government. Others argue that a large group of landowners is essential to the stability and progress of political society. On economic grounds the objection is made that the private appropriation of the economic rent of land is essential in order to secure "the best care and management of the land."

Professor Kiekhofer does not disclose his own opinions, and it might not be proper for him to do so in an introductory text. My own view is that there is some merit in the objection that the full economic rent should not be taken without some compensation to the landowners. But the notion that citizens, if relieved from taxation, would have no interest in their government, is quite unreal-

istic. Problems related to the cold war, Communism, inflation, trade unions, crime, tariffs, education, etc., are of as much public interest as an increase or decrease in taxes. And the notion that a sort of "landed gentry" is essential to the stability of society in this urban age borders on the fantastic.

Emotional Appeal Lacking

As a crusade, the Single Tax movement did not long survive the death of its leader. Without Henry George's unusual abilities as an orator and a writer, the movement could make but little emotional appeal to the masses, and those who respond to appeals to reason are seldom the stuff of which crusades are made. Even those who favored the public appropriation of the economic rent shied away from the movement because it had attracted so many eccentrics who persisted in presenting George's program as a panacea. Thoughtful men will hesitate to identify themselves with even the most sensible program if they find it is being offered to the public as a miracle-working cure-all.

Most American farmers who owned their farms would not support the program because they were interested in profiting from a rise in land values. They reacted to it more as land speculators than as land-hungry peasants, and showed little interest in sharing equally the value of God's footstool. The grain farmers of the Middle West joined the Granger movement and tried to obtain lower freight rates for wheat and corn. Those farmers who had mortgaged their farms reacted primarily as debtors and supported the Greenback Party, the Populists, or followed Bryan in his efforts to obtain "cheap money" with which they hoped to pay off their debts. George, as he himself put it, "stood for men," but most of the agrarians preferred someone who stood more specifically for farmers.

The industrial workers, although often warmed by George's eloquence, proved to be more interested in improving their lot as wage earners than in assuring to each man his equal share in the socially created value of land. They preferred to organize themselves into unions. Having learned that, with the monopoly power thus obtained, they could exact higher wages than they could get by selling their services in a free market, they were not much interested in economic justice. Thenceforth they showed but little interest in proposals for improving the lot of the entire "working class," and they were even less attracted to any movement seeking justice for all mankind.

The Single Tax movement, once a crusade, has now sobered up and settled down to the more prosaic but fruitful task of adult education. There is no Single Tax Party, no national organization, and no hierarchy empowered to expel heretics who depart from the orthodox faith. Single Taxers are pronounced individualists, and any man may claim to be a Single Taxer or a Georgist—and any other

man may just as vehemently deny this claim!

One of the more stable organizations is the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation (New York) which publishes and circulates Georgist literature, both in English and in foreign languages. It also gives financial support to the *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, and is now awarding grants-in-aid to graduate students who are doing research in some phase of the land problem.

Another organization, now in its twenty-third year, is the Henry George School of Social Science, which publishes the *Henry George News* and offers class instruction in fundamental economics in its branches in many of the leading cities throughout the United States and Canada. The effort concentrated on these schools is further evidence that the advocates of land-value taxation have definitely abandoned the more spectacular political campaigns for various "single tax" measures, and are resting their hopes on the slower processes of education.

Single Taxers are also supporting every effort to have personal property and improvements exempted from taxation. This normally results in increasing the share of local revenue derived from taxes on the site value of land. Taxes on personal property, both tangible and intangible, are already in such disrepute that they have been abandoned in many places, and are levied at lower rates in others.

Single Taxers have also consistently opposed the levying of taxes on improvements because such taxes obviously discourage the construction of buildings and the proper maintenance of them. These efforts are having results, as is shown by the recent action of the State of Pennsylvania in permitting all third-class cities to tax improvements at lower rates than those imposed on land. This privilege had previously been accorded only to the two second-class cities of Pittsburgh and Scranton.

Sales Tax Opposed

Single Taxers are also entitled to considerable credit for opposing any additional use of the sales tax device by state and local governments. As compared with the tax on self-assessed incomes, a sales tax is easy to collect, and those who pay it need not devote two or three week ends each year to the baffling and wearying task of computing their sales tax liability. For example, taxes on the sale of gasoline would be much less popular if each auto owner had to report the number of gallons he had purchased in the preceding tax period and then make the required payment—whether at once or in four equal installments!

Each man pays his sales tax when he buys, and he gets some comfort from believing that every other man does the same. This is not true of taxes on income. Insofar as they are based on self-assessment, a premium is placed on dishonesty. An income tax payer must be naïve indeed if he can be-

lieve that all who are in the same boat with him are paying the same tax. But the simplicity and even-handed justice of sales taxes should not blind us to the fact that they are regressive in character. If that illogical celebrity—the man-in-the-street—could only think straight, he would not argue that taxes should be levied in accordance with ability to pay, and at the same time defend taxes on sales. Single Taxers do not so argue.

An increased use of taxes on sales and income by state and local governments does not always result in lowering the taxes on the site value of land. But in some regions it has meant just that. Landowners are frequently the most vociferous and influential of all taxpayers, and they favor the shifting of local government costs to the state governments. The local governments derive much of their revenue from taxes on land, while state governments derive most of their revenue from taxes paid—directly or indirectly—by the landless. If landowners can persuade the states, or the national government, to bear an increased share of the cost of supporting schools, building and maintaining roads and streets, caring for the poor, etc., they can keep more of their rents while the landless will pay more taxes. This program has been aptly described as "Single Tax in reverse."

But the landowners themselves seldom have enough votes to make "the great tax shift" from land to sales and income. To gain their ends they have encouraged their neighbors to believe that it would be well to transfer more and more of the costs of local government to the states—or better yet to the national government. Many of those without land—or any understanding of economics—have been easily seduced by the arguments of the landowners. Why should they pay for the support of the traditional functions of local governments if they can get their state or the national government to support them? The argument is simple and the simpletons who are persuaded by it may get what they deserve; but the landowners get what they do not deserve—additional revenue from the socially created value of land.

If the term "Single Tax" is used to include all of Henry George's economic notions, then the "true believers" are not very numerous. He was convinced that "in spite of the increase of productive power, wages constantly tend to a minimum which will give but a bare living." Both George and his contemporary, Karl Marx, predicted that real wages would never rise appreciably unless their reforms were adopted. In their abilities to foretell the future, time has proved both of them to be, at best, but very minor prophets.

It must be admitted too that George's attack on Malthus and his unconvincing explanation of the rate of interest have added nothing to his reputation among modern scholars. But his notions on these matters are almost quite irrelevant to the program which he advocated—the socialization of

the economic rent of land. Men can, and do, support this program while disagreeing violently on such questions as the inevitability of poverty or the merits of the Malthusian doctrine. The important thing is that the economic principles on which George's program is based have won general acceptance. The opposition to his program is based almost exclusively on ethical grounds, and on this issue reasonable men may reasonably differ.

Space limitations make it impossible to discuss the Single Tax movement in foreign countries. Suffice it to say that in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and particularly in Denmark, the advocates of land value taxation are very active. At the local level they have made considerable progress toward exempting personal property and improvements from taxation. In Britain no tangible results have yet been achieved in the field of legislation, but London is the center of a very effective educational campaign, and *Land and Liberty* is a well edited London journal which serves the Single Tax movement throughout the world.

And finally, a word of caution. No one, to my knowledge, has any authority to speak for all who call themselves Single Taxers, and certainly I do not presume to do so. I do not even enjoy being called one, unless the term is limited to mean one who believes in the governmental appropriation of the socially created value of land—with or without some compensation to its present owners. As we become more disillusioned with our existing taxes on personal property, improvements, sales, and income, it seems probable that much more of the economic rent of land will be taken for public purposes.

That reform may prove to be the only enduring legacy of the Single Tax movement. It will not satisfy those who yearn for utopia, but the practical idealists throughout the world who are working for it will be content. To have the earth recognized as the common heritage of mankind—rich and poor alike—would show the skeptics that the selfishness of individuals and of classes cannot forever prevail against appeals to reason and justice.

Our Pink-Tinted Clergy

By JULIAN MAXWELL

In their sponsorship of Communist causes a growing number of our churchmen are furthering the aim of a secret core in their midst to destroy religion.

It was a rainy Sunday morning in Brooklyn. I stepped out of the protective cover of the subway and turned left, down Montague Street. Ahead of me was the Holy Trinity Church, its spire partly obscured by the mist. I was on my way to its Sunday morning service conducted by the Reverend William Howard Melish, formerly Chairman of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and, according to Louis Budenz, a card-carrying member of the Communist Party.

An elderly woman smiled as I walked through the large paneled door and handed me a small pamphlet outlining the service and giving church news. The sermon was entitled, "Though One Rose From the Dead."

The organ began to play, and Mr. Melish, a sandy-haired man with close-set eyes and rimless glasses, appeared dressed in an ornate white robe. After the first hymn, "Fairest Lord Jesus," he began his sermon, in the mechanical yet full-throated tones of an uninspired actor. He told the story of Lazarus, the poor beggar who got into heaven, and of Dives, the rich man who didn't. "If more people in this world would worry less about their money and more about sharing it, it would be a better world," he said. As he spoke my eyes,

fixed on the gleaming communion altar, moved to the great chancery window where the ascension of Christ was pictured in vivid colors, then traveled slowly up the gothic arches to the high-vaulted clerestory. Was it really possible, I asked myself, that all this was only so much stone and glass—a new front for Communism?

This question has troubled congregations in a good many churches in recent years. Mr. Melish is only one of a number of clergymen who are accused either of being out-and-out Communists or of taking part in pro-Communist activities. In the New York area alone there are at least a dozen Red or pink-tinted clergymen. These include the Reverend J. Henry Carpenter of Brooklyn, who was recently refused a passport by the State Department, the Reverend George A. Buttrick of the Presbyterian Church on Madison Avenue, the Reverend Allan Knight Chalmers of the Broadway Tabernacle Congregational Church, the Reverend Jack R. McMichael, Director of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, the Reverend Mark A. Dawber, Secretary of the Home Missions Council, and Dr. Harry F. Ward, Professor Emeritus of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary.

Just about two months ago Dr. Ward was the

honor guest at a "peace and friendship" dinner at the Hotel McAlpin in New York. Nearly four hundred persons attended. Dr. Ward was being honored for his "signal contribution to the cause of American-Soviet understanding and world peace." The featured speakers included Paul Robeson, Corliss Lamont, and that millionaire champion of Red China, Frederick Vanderbilt Field. The speeches, of course, sang the praises of Russia and damned the "warmongering" of the United States.

Of the above-mentioned clergymen, McMichael is probably the most powerful. His Social Federation, which has been labeled subversive by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, claims to represent twenty Methodist bishops and some four thousand clerics. McMichael himself, who has been associated with more than twenty Red front organizations, is a dynamic and personable man who runs his outfit like a high-powered public relations firm. From his offices in the official Methodist building on Fifth Avenue, which he occupies despite strenuous church opposition, he disseminates a veritable flood of pro-Communist propaganda.

Surprising Frankness

Of the several other Red-front religious groups, Harry Ward's Methodist-Episcopal Federation and the Institute of Applied Religion are probably the best known. The head of the Institute, the Reverend Claude C. Williams of Detroit, undoubtedly has provided us with the frankest statement on record of a Red churchman's philosophy. "Denominationally," said Williams not long ago, "I am a Presbyterian; religiously a Unitarian; and politically, I'm a Communist. I'm not preaching to make people good or anything of the sort. I'm in the church because I can reach people easier that way and get them organized for Communism."

However, the party probably gets its greatest support from clergymen actually working inside churches or official church organizations, writing and editing articles for the church magazines, and making important policy decisions. For instance, Dr. Ward had a direct hand in writing the Social Creed for the churches of the National Council—a creed which advocates "social planning and control of the credit and monetary systems and the economic processes for the common good."

The articles that sometimes pop up in the church magazines are surprising. For example, an article in the Methodist publication, *Adult Student*, for April 1950, contained the following strange description of our economic system: "Our chief rulers are the descendants (and their satellites) of the house of Morgan (the head of the world's greatest combination of finance), the Rockefellers (head of the world's greatest oil supply), the Mellons (aluminum and oil), the Du Ponts (chemical products and allied industries), and the Ford Empire."

Another piece in the January-March issue of

Crossroads, a Presbyterian Sunday School quarterly, discussed the position of the working man: "As the world became more industrialized social problems became more complicated and acute. With insufficient protection by law industrial workers—including children—endured severe privation and were often unscrupulously exploited. In the midst of this situation a prophetic voice was heard—a voice that was to be heard yet more loudly in the years to come. It was the Voice of Karl Marx. . ."

In Praise of Stalin

The Reverend Jerome Davis, a former professor at the Yale Divinity School, often expresses the pro-Communist clergyman's opinion of foreign affairs. In the July 1947 issue of *Classmate*, a Methodist publication, he sang the praises of one Joseph Stalin. "It would be an error," said Davis, "to consider the Soviet leader a wilful man who believes in forcing his ideas upon others. Everything he does reflects the desires and hopes of the masses to a large degree."

In his recently published book, *Behind Soviet Power*, Davis made some interesting comments on religion and Communism. He wrote:

Bolshevism is commonly pictured as the antithesis of Christianity. Yet Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury [the Red Dean] declares, "the Communist puts the Christian to shame in the thoroughness of his quest for a harmonious society. Here he proves himself to be the heir of the Christian intention . . . the Communist struggle for community contains an element of true religion and as such demands Christian recognition." The former United States Ambassador to Russia, Joseph E. Davies, says, "the Christian religion could be imposed upon Russian Communism without violating the economic and political purposes of Communism, which are based after all on the same principle of the brotherhood of man which Jesus preached."

This paragraph explains the essence of the fallacious reasoning which often leads some of our muddleheaded ministers into the ranks of Communism. Forgetting that Communism presupposes atheism and amorality, they take the bait labeled Social Welfare which the Reds dangle so enticingly before them and are hooked in short order. This basic naïveté of outlook crops up continually in the personality of the pink-tinted clergyman—he follows the track of Communism but never manages to catch up with the vehicle; and if he ever does catch up with it, he is crushed under its wheels.

Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of Maryland is typical of this group. A former president of the National Council of Churches, which claims to speak for 35,000,000 Americans, and current president of the World Council of Churches, he stands at the top of the clerical world. Yet he is completely oblivious to the Communist threat to that world. He has visited Russia three times and he often expresses sympathy for Red doctrines. He denies he is a Communist, but his sayings have a

peculiar ring, like the statement he once made about basic Marxist theory: "From each according to his ability to each according to his need has its roots in the teachings of Jesus."

Another clergyman whose frock is probably a darker Red is the Reverend Stephen H. Fritchman of Los Angeles. Tagged by many as the "Red Dean of America," he worked for years putting out pro-Communist propaganda in the *Christian Register*, a Presbyterian publication. Eventually church officials forced him out of his job, along with his assistant, Martha Fletcher, who fled to Paris where her lawyers advised her to stay if she wanted to keep out of jail. But the officials couldn't stop Fritchman from finding a new pulpit, and he is today pastor of one of the largest Unitarian churches on the West Coast.

In general it is extremely difficult to force suspected ministers out of their jobs and prevent them from getting new ones. This is partly due to the complex structure of most church regulations and partly because of the traditional respect accorded a "man of the cloth." The case of the Reverend Melish in Brooklyn is an example. When members of his Episcopal congregation found out about his connections with Red-front organizations, a group got together and demanded he be removed. At the time he was serving as assistant rector to his father, the Reverend J. Howard Melish, at the Holy Trinity Church. The father refused to remove his son, and the younger Melish vehemently denied he was a Communist.

Irate churchgoers immediately brought pressure to bear on the Vestry, and it voted to request the father's removal so that his son could be forced out of the church. Bishop James Pernette Wolf removed Melish senior as requested, but in the meantime a new Vestry had been elected and had decided not to request the removal of his son. Under church regulations, Wolf was powerless to act without a go-ahead from the Vestry and, as a result, young Melish stepped into his father's place as acting rector, a position he still holds. Melish senior fought his case for reinstatement up to the United States Supreme Court without success.

However, the greatest threat to the churches today does not come from fellow-travelers or even suspected Communists. They are out in the open. Most of their affiliations or pinkish leanings are known, and it is possible to be on guard. The real danger comes from the dyed-in-the-wool Reds in the clergy whose names are known to none perhaps except the most inner Party councils. Thoroughly Godless and specially trained for their task, they have none of the worries of their more scrupulous and foggy-headed sympathizers. They do not have to reconcile Communism with faith or build elaborate rationalizations to explain Communism's lack of Christian morality. They see the Communist goal clearly, which is the total obliteration of religion from the face of the earth, and they act

with concentrated purpose to achieve this end.

The Communists began to infiltrate the clergy in Russia shortly after the revolution. Their aim was to kill two birds with one stone. First, they wanted to hear confessions of compatriots suspected of defection and get evidence to send them to Siberia. Second, they hoped to use their positions inside the church to influence laymen and other clergymen to support Communism, in the long run undermining the whole structure of organized religion.

A similar program was begun in the United States in the early 1930s. Earl Browder, former boss of the party, defined the purpose of the program. "By going to the religious masses," he said, "we are for the first time able to bring our anti-religious ideas to them." To serve this goal several Reds were specifically trained for subversive service in the clergy. Later on, rank-and-file party members were ordered to join churches and form organizations which would attract fellow-travelers with religious interests. Herbert Philbrick, who joined the party to work for the FBI, gives the following account of his own experience:

"In 1942 I was ordered by the party to maintain strong ties with the Baptist Church, the denomination with which I had been affiliated since early youth. I did this, joining the First Baptist Church of Wakefield, Massachusetts, becoming a member of the administration committee, chairman of the public relations committee, Sunday School teacher, and head of the young married people's club. None of the church members had any knowledge of my affiliation with the Communist Party."

Philbrick recently told a congressional committee in Washington the names of five ministers in and around Boston who are Communist Party members but whose connections are still completely unknown to members of their congregations.

A Natural Sanctuary

At first the Red infiltration of religion was an important but secondary maneuver. Before World War Two the main Communist effort was directed toward labor. The Reds were interested in converting workers to the cause and installing Reds in key jobs in unions. After 1945, however, cold war tension began to mount and Communist labor organizers and other members of the movement were forced to take to the underground. In a search for a new mask for their activities, they turned automatically to the church. It was a natural sanctuary. The Red hunters might scour the country, the Reds thought, but surely they would not invade the sacred confines of religion. The Communists began planning a new campaign.

It was not long in coming. The names of ministers soon began to appear by the hundreds on the Stockholm Appeal and other Moscow-inspired petitions calling for "peace." Later on, ministers

were to provide the greatest bulk of support for the appeal to save the Rosenbergs and their names also were to turn up on germ warfare charges against the allies in Korea. There was the famous letter from Dryden L. Phelps, American Baptist Missionary in Chengtu, Szechwen, China. Said Phelps: "Ninety-five per cent of the U.S. press on the Far East is absolutely false. Believe the opposite and you will be close to the facts. The South Korean government first attacked North Korea. It seems that only *Soviet Russia Today* [a pro-Red magazine to which the letter was addressed] and Harry Ward's Social Action bulletin of the M. E. Federation are about the only trustworthy papers in the U.S. now."

Not all the ministers who serve Communism are Reds or pink-tinted. A large number are actually tricked into giving their names to support Communist causes. For example, last Christmas the Reds sent out copies of a petition to President Truman from the mailing address of a fictitious minister in New York. The petition began: "As the Christmas season approaches, its message of God's grace to all men of good will rings out. . . ." It continued in this vein for several paragraphs and finally at the very bottom turned into an appeal to the President to grant amnesty to the eleven Communist leaders convicted of plotting to overthrow the government. Many a clergyman, overflowing with Yuletide spirit, signed the petition without reading down to the vital paragraphs. The *Daily Worker* quoted the names of 161 prominent churchmen as appearing on the petitions, which were mailed to the White House.

Only a few months ago, one hundred ministers attended a conference in Washington only to discover too late that the main speaker was the Legislative Secretary of the Communist Party. The Reds pulled a similar trick in New York in January. The National Committee to Defend Negro Leadership invited several clergymen to attend a dinner where awards were to be passed out to Negro men and women who had contributed to the fight for "democracy." As it turned out, the fighters for democracy were Communists, and the after-dinner speechmaking period was devoted to a long diatribe against America by Red leaders.

The problem of investigating Communist infiltration and influence in the churches presents many difficulties. In the first place, New Deal and conservative factions of the Protestant movement have been involved in a political civil war for the past ten years, which has tended to obscure the real danger in clouds of propaganda. Second, there is the dilemma of ultimate faith to be considered. The vast majority of our churchmen are loyal, God-fearing men. If an investigation of suspected Reds were undertaken in a mood of hysteria, it would undermine the very religious beliefs we are trying to preserve.

However, something must be done. Recently a

secret operative inside the Communist Party reported that orders had been received for a new step-up in efforts to take over religion in this country. So we must follow the advice of John, in the New Testament, "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits which they are of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world."

The Wonderful World of Books

On May 1, two persons who identified themselves as Edward J. Fitzgerald and Harry Magdoff, testified under oath at a public session of the Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee. It was a routine performance, except that these two seemed rather more important than the usual run. They had entered the government in 1936 or '37, and left in 1947. The National Research Project, under David Weintraub, had funneled them into the broad government apparatus. After gathering their honey from a variety of wartime agencies, they had shifted into the Department of Commerce where, at the time of their leave-taking, they were flexibly located at the \$10,000 level.

They were both, so they testified, economists, and indeed they were marvelously placed for the exercise of an economic sort of talent. During the war, for example, one was in charge of a continuous survey of ten thousand metal working plants. Both were apparently demons at devising census and statistical projects covering key sections of American industry.

In the standard formula, the two witnesses declined to answer all questions relating to Communism, Communists, espionage, classified documents, and a long list of individuals. (In a 1945 sworn memorandum, secret but available to their governmental superiors, both had been identified as members of a Soviet espionage ring.)

Mr. Magdoff declined to answer, also, all questions dealing with his current business. Mr. Fitzgerald was, on this point, more open. He confessed that he was a "free lance writer." His main genre is, it seems, book reviews, particularly published. he testified, in the book sections of the *New York Times* and *Herald Tribune*, and the *Saturday Review*. In these hospitable organs—together constituting the principal screening membrane for the books that filter through to the American public—he has done well for one whose active acquaintance with the delights of literature began so short a while ago. According to the testimony, during the first four months of this year 53 reviews of his (some signed by such other names as "Martin Rice") appeared in the *Saturday Review* alone, thirty-odd in the *Herald Tribune*, and six to twelve in the more austere atmosphere of the *Times*.

JAMES BURNHAM

Two Sides to a Strike

By LEO WOLMAN

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

The voluminous and ever-growing literature on the labor problem, organized labor, labor relations, and collective bargaining has very little that is useful to say about strikes, the leading weapon of union labor in its succession of conflicts with employers. Discussions of the right to strike rarely deal with the issues that cause strikes, the methods by which they are called, and the manner in which they are conducted.

Neither during nor after the two great steel strikes of 1949 and 1952 was any investigation made by responsible public agencies of the degree to which these costly stoppages reflected the will of the members of the steel union. Nothing available in the extensive writing on this subject describes authoritatively the union's administrative machinery which prepared the way for the strikes, made the decisions to call them, and decided when and how they were to terminate. Although the President's emergency board of 1949 dealt briefly and critically with the failure of the union to bargain with large segments of the steel industry, the matter was promptly dropped, and no report was ever made of the consequences of the union's unwillingness to exhaust the processes of collective bargaining before engaging in industrial warfare.

Yet all of these questions are matters of deep public concern. Accurate knowledge of them would seem to be indispensable to Congress in making public policy and drafting federal labor legislation. They are surely not answered by reiterating that there is an inalienable right to strike and to picket and that denial of these rights, however and for what purpose they are exercised, is a clear violation of American law.

Protection of Citizens

For, as everyone knows, there are many rights, some superior to others. When these numerous rights come into conflict with one another, it is the function of public policy to decide which gives way. Certainly no one would claim that the right to organize and to act and bargain collectively wipes out all other rights, though many behave today as if this were so. It cannot, however, have been the intent of Congress, in drafting the Wagner Act, or the Taft-Hartley Act, to sacrifice the right of all citizens to protection against violence, force, and

intimidation, to require employers to enter into compulsory membership arrangements with unions, or to subordinate the public to any private interest.

What these issues mean in practice, and how they can be disposed of in such a way as to clarify the goals of public policy, is illustrated by the history of a strike against the Southern California Edison Company, called last March by a local union of the A.F.L. Electrical Workers' Union. The strike lasted two months. In its course, the company, thanks to the loyalty of many of its employees and the courage and competence of its management, continued to supply electrical service to its customers. The company's position, explained in a series of public statements during the strike, and the terms of settlement show how a conflict of this nature raises most of the questions of public policy which again and again plague Congress in its efforts to write and rewrite our federal labor law. If Congress studied the events of this encounter, it would see more clearly than ever before what kind of labor legislation this country really needs in order to secure the legitimate interests of the public and of labor, union or non-union.

A Public Disaster Averted

Southern California Edison fought, first of all, against the power and right of a private organization to shut down a vital public service. The area served by the company includes some 3,000,000 people. Every type of economic life and activity—farming, industry, public and social services—is represented. If the union had been successful in its purpose to cut off the supply of electricity, the effects would have been devastating. As the company put it: "If the officials of Local 47 of IBEW-A.F.L. had the power to cause a major disaster such as an earthquake in this territory . . . and they exercised that power, such a condition could neither be tolerated nor condoned. Yet we are today confronted with a strike which could cause damage far in excess of any damage from all the earthquakes which we have experienced in our history in this area . . ."

In this, as in most labor disputes, there was originally nothing in the union's demands that could not have been accommodated by peaceful and reasonable negotiation. The union must have known that its wage demands were unreasonable, for they

were far in excess of concessions the company had already made to a C.I.O. union of its employees. The second major demand, for a union shop, or compulsory membership, was nothing more than a demand for more power by a private organization which showed by its behavior that it had greater power than it could safely be entrusted with.

There is every evidence in this episode that the union's demands were not economic, but political—a condition which has become increasingly common to all relations between organized labor and employers in this country. When, therefore, collective bargaining is turned into a process in which the prestige of one labor leader, national or local, is pitted against the prestige of a fellow-leader, the outlook for harmonious and sound labor settlements becomes dark indeed.

The Right Not to Join a Union

On the issue of compulsory membership the company remained adamant from beginning to end, and it won its point, as it should have. California Edison consistently held that it had neither the legal nor the moral right to force anyone into a union. By taking this position, the company has shown more strength and foresight than our federal government. For in the Wagner and Taft-Hartley Acts, as well as in the recently amended Railway Labor Act, Congress yielded to union political pressure and conferred governmental sanction on union demands for compulsory membership. By doing so the Congress for all practical purposes nullified the fundamental objective of both the Wagner and Taft-Hartley Acts, which was to secure to individuals the right of self-organization, that is, the right to determine, freely and without coercion, whether to join or refrain from joining a union. Thus, Congress first granted a workman an indispensable right and then took it away. To this surrender, the Edison Company refused to be a party.

As in the great majority of strikes, this strike also was featured by violence, including dynamiting, and by what in the long run has proved to be most damaging to peaceful labor relations, persistent efforts of the leaders of the unions to blacken the reputation of the company and to destroy employees' loyalty to it. Anyone familiar with the evolution of union behavior in the past twenty years knows how harmful to good relations between employers and employees the policy of driving a wedge between management and labor has been. It is by all odds the foremost of all of the problems associated with the growth of organized labor, and persisting in it is bound to injure the interests of both workingmen and business.

The seriousness of this problem was recognized by the company. A letter from the company to employees on April 3 says: "Through the years, the leaders of the [union] have been indoctrinating

their members with the idea that loyalty to the union in many respects prevents loyalty to the company; that as a member [of the union] you owe everything to the union and nothing to the company except that which the union leadership approves and dictates with reference to your performance on the job." Accordingly, the agreement of May 11, which settled the strike, states that it is the obligation of members of the union to preserve "the good name and good will and the property of the company" and "to cooperate and assist in the performance of the duty and obligation of the company to the public."

On the surface this strike against the Edison Company seems indistinguishable from the numerous outbreaks of labor warfare to which all American industry is today exposed. But, in fact, this strike and the way it was handled by the company's management were unique in the recent history of this type of episode. There was, first, the refusal by the company to evade the issues which the strike, in its origin and conduct, created. The company might, as many enterprises have done, have compromised the issues and brought the conflict to a quick end. It refused to pay the price of surrendering underlying principles of human conduct and piling up greater trouble in the future for the vast community it serves, the welfare of its employees, and its own prosperity. The strike was unique, also, in that it was settled without government intervention, which, allowed to operate here as it has elsewhere, would have produced the typical political settlement, full of potential disorder calculated to break out as soon as the men returned to work.

WORTH HEARING AGAIN

The Workers Decided

The most gratifying thing, to me at least, that grew out of the recent election in November was the forthright attitude expressed, or implied, by American working men and women. . . . They let it be known, in no uncertain terms, that they preferred a free economy to a controlled economy. They turned their backs upon paternalism, regimentation, and special privilege. They also made it clear that they favored a "live-and-let-live" policy for business, along with a decent respect for the profit-motive in business. Obviously, it was not American business or American management which decided the recent election. . . . It was the rank and file of American workers who, with the American farmers, decided that it was "time for a change."

BENJAMIN H. NAMM, in a speech before the Richmond Retail Merchants Association, Richmond, Va., February 26, 1953

Men's Magazines

By ALLEN CHURCHILL

Magazines exclusively for the American male now have a circulation of eleven million, but are slanted in large part to the mentality of a "delayed adolescent."

Not long ago, an English author lecturing here had to sprint for a train, and left the books he was reading behind in the taxi. Faced with a long ride at the mercy of the nation's newsstands, he determined to make the most of it, and reported one of his conclusions at the end.

"You know," he said, "there are no magazines for men."

Hearing this, friends in the business reacted violently. Men's magazines, they pointed out, are the high-power trend in publishing today. Where four years ago there were only *Esquire*, *Argosy*, and *True*, there are now more than thirty, with names like *Man's*, *Cavalier*, *Real*, *Sir*, and *His*. Together with the three pioneers, they add up to an aggregate monthly circulation of eleven million.

To all of which the Englishman had a ready answer. "They're not magazines for men," he stated flatly. "They're for grown-up boys."

Anyone examining the more-than-thirty magazines put out to catch the male eye can't help thinking that the foreign visitor had something. Circulation leaders in the field are *True* (2,000,000) and *Argosy* (1,500,000). In recent issues these two featured such articles as "How I Won the Mexican Road Race," "The Mob Said They'd Kill Me," "I Jumped into a Crownfire," and "The Strangest Hunt of My Life." A smaller competitor, *Man's*, boasted "I Ate a Man." It seems to be a sad fact—anyone picking up a mass-circulation men's magazine today would do just about as well with *Boy's Life*.

This despite the fact that of the more than 70,000,000 males in this country, some 50,000,000 are over forty and presumably have outgrown any lingering youth. Further, a good percentage of American males have attended college and should be willing, if not eager, to entertain mature thoughts. But from men's magazines it would appear that all today's man wants to do about life is escape from it. In male-magazine pages you never find what editorial offices call a "think" piece. Instead, you are more likely to find articles beginning like this: "As long as Julius stuck to the kind of panthers that make good eating for a man, he was all right. But when he let himself be deviled into going after that skinny one. . . ."

Despite the numerous competitors that have sprung up in their wake, *Esquire*, *True*, and *Argosy* remain the most successful magazines in the field.

(*Esquire's* 800,000 circulation is presumably "better," because the magazine costs fifty cents, or twice as much as the others.) Naturally each has an office-conception of its average reader, from which it should be possible to decide whether the fellow the magazines are aiming at is a real man.

The Typical Fan

Esquire considers its average reader a man of not more than thirty-eight. He is an executive with an income of \$8-10,000, a home owner, college graduate, and club joiner. So far, so good, but what of his opinions? *Esquire* doesn't care. More important is the fact that he buys the best liquor and clothes in town.

True visualizes an equally shadowy male. Its editor, Ken Purdy, is under forty himself and edits the magazine for men of that age and younger. An auto addict, Purdy drives a 1912 Mercer and treats his readers to regular stories on this, together with tales of less civilized adventure.

Until recently the editor of *Argosy* was Jerry Mason, but now he is Howard Lewis, a man younger than Purdy. "My man," Lewis tells you, "is between thirty-two and four. He's had a high school education and his income is \$4-5,000. He either has been in the war or in the army since, and it's the experience of his life. He still wants to read about it. He's married, has a couple of kids, and whether he lives in the country or city he is interested in hunting, fishing, and outdoor things."

In short, it would seem that, to the magazine editors who cater to him, the American male is little more than an extrovert with a pocketbook—a description some might consider unflattering. Especially as there is on the record an indication that American males can cope with mature reading fodder.

It's to be found in the success of *Esquire*, the daddy of all the magazines. *Esquire* has made no less than \$100,000,000 in twenty years of existence. But that is only part of the story. Originally the magazine was conceived by David A. Smart to be sold over the counters of haberdashery stores. At the last moment, for reasons of prestige, a few thousand were put on newsstands. This was December 1933, a time of bank holidays and bleak depression. On all sides Smart was warned that publishing a fifty-cent magazine was a form of

madness. What happened on publication day amazed him as well as everyone else. Newsstand copies vanished as if blitzed. Dealers clamored so loudly for more that the haberdashery stores were told to turn their copies back for sale. In all, 100,000 copies were sold, and *Esquire* became the only magazine in history to sell out its first issue at a profit. (Later *Life's* first issue sold out, but at an advertising loss.)

Smart had intended to edit *Esquire* himself, in odd moments. Now, holding a fortune by the tail, he became publisher and appointed a young man named Arnold Gingrich editor. In the annals of male magazines, Gingrich occupies a special niche. He's the only editor in the field who ever gave American men credit for brains. With a successful magazine behind him, Gingrich was peculiarly able to do this. At a time when most publications were floundering financially, he could approach writers like Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Theodore Dreiser, and John Dos Passos, amazing them by promptly writing out a check.

"Now what'll you write for us?" he would ask, handing over the irresistible lure.

So, sandwiched between the sexy *Esquire* cartoons and such famous non-fiction as "Latins Are Lousy Lovers," there appeared some of the best writing of the decade. *Esquire* published what is probably Hemingway's finest short story—"Snows of Killimanjaro." But in addition to established writers, Gingrich used new ones. William Saroyan, Louis Paul, Michael Fessier, Jesse Stuart, and others found a first market in the Magazine for Men.

Not Too Highbrow

Yet nowhere on the record is there any sign that *Esquire's* readers objected to such comparatively highbrow fare. On the contrary—though many first bought *Esquire* because of the pin-ups and cartoons (which, looking back, are of an unbelievable rawness), they also enjoyed the stories. Writers like Saroyan actually preferred *Esquire* as a market, since readers who liked, or didn't like, their stories wrote in to say so. *Esquire* readers even turned out to be remarkably literate. When Gingrich published a plagiarized version of "The Damned Thing," by Ambrose Bierce, all hell broke loose. Gingrich, the literary man, had failed to spot the plagiarism. His readers caught it in droves.

Still, this evidence that American males—and many females as well—appreciated the best in fiction started no trends. It even failed to convince *Esquire*, for eventually Smart took over the editorship with a quick lessening of literary standards. (Smart died in 1952 and Gingrich is now back as publisher, which should have interesting consequences.)

But where *Esquire* should have been convinced, there was not the same opportunity for *True* and

Argosy, which after the war hurled themselves into the men's field with spectacular success. Both are published by firms that have made millions publishing blood-and-thunder shockers.

As one of the sixty magazines (and Gold Medal Books) published by Fawcett Publications, *True* has rubbed office-elbows with *Daring Detective*, *Rocky Lane Western*, and *Captain Marvel Adventure*. *Argosy*, one of forty magazines put out by Popular Publications, shares attention with *Famous Fantastic Mysteries*, *Ace High Western*, and *Dime Detective*, which today costs fifteen cents.

Red Corpuscle Stimulation

Both *Argosy* and *True* may be the proudest possessions of the firms that own them. Nevertheless, it is impossible not to think that they are governed by precisely the same sort of thinking that goes into *Captain Marvel* and *Dime Detective*. Sometimes this is apparent in the writing. "The slovenly landlady of the third-rate boarding house along North Boyleston Street in Los Angeles said I'd probably find ex-Lt. Red R. Carmack, a hell of a man back in the days when he was flying the Hump, upstairs in his room," is the beginning of one article in *True*.

Not to be outdone, *Argosy* thus describes the reactions of an Indianapolis speed racer: "He felt the piled-up tension socking in his guts."

For the most part, though, the writing in the two magazines is straightforward, as befits prose written by some of the country's top commercial writers—Philip Wylie, Corey Ford, and Alan Hynd, among them. *True* sometimes pays more than the *Saturday Evening Post* for articles. *Argosy*, which uses fiction (*True* does not), pays more for it than *Esquire*.

But if the writing in the two magazines and their more than twenty-five imitators is often immature, the conception of material is almost wholly so. Both magazines embrace heartily the magazine shibboleth of reader-identification, which is calculated to take the reader out of himself, making him identify with men leading a less responsible, more colorful existence than his. Though such reading may stimulate the red corpuscles, it does not provoke thought. Indeed, when represented in *True*, *Argosy*, *et al.*, thinking is more likely to be shock.

Ken Purdy most successfully shocked his readers with an article called "Flying Saucers Are Real," in which it was maintained that the saucers flew here from another planet. With this article, *True* snared as much publicity as any magazine in recent years. Circulation soared and copies sold out in two days. Two footnotes to this feat deserve recording. One is that the success of *True* unwittingly helped *Argosy*, for many who found *True* sold out bought its competitor. Second is that Purdy got in so much hot water over the article that perforce he became an expert in the saucer field. He

has come to believe that flying saucers are a gimmick of our own.

Galloping along the highroad of circulation success, men's magazines have failed to heed one signpost. They have not followed the established women's magazines—*Ladies Home Journal*, *McCall's*, *Woman's Home Companion*—in stressing service, or self-help, features. Only *Esquire*, which for twenty years has been showing American males how to dress, has done so. By their own special standards—and for their own special male—*True*, *Argosy*, and the others do have service features. But where women's magazines try to help all women, even telling them how to wash dishes better, the men's magazines advise only the few.

Thus *Argosy* has an article on "The Fanciest Hand Gun," aimed to catch the attention of those who collect guns. *True* has one called "How To Shoot a Fish from a Tree," aimed at an even more specialized group. *Argosy* has matched Ken Purdy's interest in cars by discovering Ralph Stein, an artist with a passion for Alfa-Romeos. Next to cars the two magazines stress guns. *True* has a regular series on them by veteran Lucian Carey. *Argosy* counters with a huntin'-and-fishin' section written by Byron Dalrymple.

He-Man Stuff

But look for features that might stimulate the mind or satisfy the intellect and you find—nothing. Even sex, the standby when women's magazines want to stimulate controversy, is missing. In the carbon-copy imitations it is more prominent, but *True* and *Argosy* offer a one-sided male existence in which women are only an occasional irritant.

Yes, the rule is rugged, he-man reading, the lineal descendant of *Boy's Life*. This is at its best in *True* in the book-length features, sometimes condensations of books, sometimes not. In *Argosy*, it is a feature called the "Court of Last Resort," the purpose of which is to free men unjustly sent to prison, usually on charges of murder.

The record of the Court is impressive. It has saved several men and is working on the cases of others. By every standard the Court should make gripping reading, especially as its activities are chronicled by Erle Stanley Gardner, whose detective stories have sold more copies than any other living writer's. Yet when writing on the Court, Gardner seems to lose his touch, as if he had been sold on the idea of writing down to the American male. Perhaps he has been, for the whole field seems to operate on the theory that contemporary man is a delayed adolescent who would rather be out hunting than home reading a newspaper.

It's a sorry situation that may have a sorrier result. Next time an outsider is asked to comment on the American scene he may not say that there are no men's magazines. He may say there are no men.

Letter from Paris

Government by Crisis

By R. G. WALDECK

After six weeks and five attempts France at last has a premier who seems fairly certain of remaining in office more than a few days. Some say at least till autumn. At best, however, it is likely to be but a brief respite in what has become a state of recurring ministerial crisis. Already three speakers have attacked the government of M. Joseph Laniel as doomed at the outset to a period of inaction. Since all three are extreme leftists, they have of course their own reasons for wishing the new premier—who is conservative center—nothing but the worst. But they are unfortunately right. For the Constitution of 1946 makes it impossible for France to have a government worthy of the name.

Here in Paris that fact is regarded as elementary. You hear it expressed in the bistros, the subway, at the Jockey Club. You read it in newspaper editorials and pronouncements of all political parties, left, right, and center. What you rarely see in print or hear discussed is the simple question—Why? Why is the Constitution of 1946 a failure?

The Constitution of 1946 was the creation of a coalition that included the Communists. *And these Communists deliberately and methodically set out to make it unworkable*—to alienate the elected from the electors, to prevent the installation of a sufficiently strong executive, to confuse and demoralize the people and disgust them with the parliamentary regime altogether. They succeeded. With superior political cunning they put over on General Charles de Gaulle, who was then in power, a proportionate electoral system which is fine for the party machines but eliminates the nomination of any candidate outside the parties, no matter how talented, popular, and desirable he might be. The result is that the deputies feel themselves responsible not to their constituents, but to their separate parties. This condition exists to some extent, of course, in all free countries. But here in France it is so exaggerated that there is practically no bond at all between the deputies and the public. Hence the people consider quite rightly that their duly elected representatives do not represent them but are rather agents imposed upon them by the various party organizations.

Worse still, the Communists put over the idea of a single chamber—the National Assembly of Deputies—possessing the full legislative powers of the Republic. By assuming executive functions which it cannot fulfill, the Assembly actually destroys all governmental authority. In short, the French Constitution of 1946 is essentially similar

to that of the Weimar Republic—and nothing worse could be said of any Constitution!

But few Frenchmen knew or remembered in 1946 the lesson of the Weimar Republic. Also, the proportionate electoral system had a certain appeal for the new men of the center and right who had been catapulted into politics by the Resistance. Most of them were unknown to the public, and they feared they had no chance of election to parliament unless presented to the electorate by the parties.

Thus Communist cunning, aided by De Gaulle's political naïveté and the selfishness and corruption of all parties, has saddled France with an absurd Constitution and an Assembly of a distressingly low moral and intellectual level.

The Communists have every reason to congratulate themselves. They have accomplished exactly what they set out to accomplish seven years ago: a parliament that can agree only on doing nothing; a regime of such instability as to make France a rather dubious partner in the Western alliance; almost universal popular disgust with the whole unhappy situation.

I got the feel and sound of that situation at a night session of the Assembly. Georges Bidault, who had been Foreign Minister in the government of René Mayer, was supposed to assume the premiership. Earlier that day he had demanded extended, if not full, powers for at least a year. In this period, he declared, he would pledge himself to work out solutions to France's three most pressing problems: that of establishing an economic and financial equilibrium; that of "making Europe without unmaking France"; that of ending the war in Indo-China while keeping faith with France's friends and her own past glories.

Bidault's program had been received without any particular enthusiasm, but the general consensus was that he was in again. And why not? He had been premier twice and minister eleven times since the Liberation. Everybody knew what to expect of him. Anyway, there had to be an end of the crisis. In the ensuing debate only the Socialists and Communists had voiced any criticism of his program. There was nothing unusual in that. The hundred Communists always voted against everything and everybody. The Socialists could not be counted on to vote for Bidault. His majority hinged on the Radical-Socialists, and the fact that they remained silent during the debate was a favorable sign.

But lo, when the ballot was finally taken, Bidault received only twenty-seven Radical votes, and failed by a single vote to become premier for the third time in his recent career. Bidault's friends were very bitter. They said Bidault didn't know what the Radicals were up to because they took no part in the debate. They claimed also that the parties were in cahoots to turn him down. Actually,

there was a good deal of conferring among the benches before the balloting started. It would seem that one party agreed to cut down its votes as another increased its—and for no special reason but the sheer fun of calculating to the finest point how to hold back just the one winning vote.

But even if Bidault had obtained that one vote, would he have succeeded in retaining the support of the Radical-Socialists for all the measures he proposed? This is the crucial question at the heart of any ministerial crisis in France, now or in the future: Is there a majority in the Assembly upon which a government can rely? In spite of the final acceptance of M. Laniel, the long-term answer is no. The present Assembly can produce nothing but caretaker governments. Nor could anything be gained by the dissolution of this body as now constituted. Under the existing electoral system, the incoming Assembly would prove as unmanageable as the outgoing. Only a revision of the Constitution and a change of the electoral system would bring order to what is today chaos.

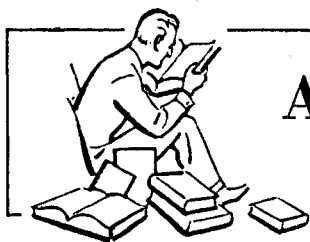
Does this mean that the end of the Fourth Republic is likely? A number of informed Frenchmen I asked believe it is. General Alphonse Juin, it is rumored, is convinced that only a strong man can lead France out of chaos and that he is that man. There is also recurrent talk of De Gaulle. Nowwithstanding the failure of his *Rassemblement Populaire*, he continues a figure to be reckoned with. Moreover, when he saw how his Constitution worked in practice, he came out for revising it with a view to strengthening the executive.

Oddly enough, there are also reports of a possible monarchist restoration. This is by no means limited to the traditionalist monarchist circles of the Faubourg St. Germain. Quite a few left-of-center Frenchmen have told me they prefer a constitutional monarchy to the strong-man-on-horseback type of dictator à la Juin or à la De Gaulle. It is possible that the British Coronation aroused such notions, and they are ephemeral. In addition, the pretender, the Comte de Paris, has made something of an impression with his idea of a "social monarchy." In my own opinion, the monarchist solution is unlikely—although nothing is impossible in a country whose governmental machine has stopped working.

Highway

On, on with Fate and all her struggling train,
She rides superbly and her name is Pain.
On, on with Fate till she has circled earth,
She canters madly and her name is Mirth.
On, on with Fate whose hand is like a dove,
She rides in mercy and her name is Love.

WITTER BYNNER



An Example of Integrity

By MAX EASTMAN

There's a sadness for me in reading Sherwood Anderson's letters. (*Letters of Sherwood Anderson*, selected and edited by Howard Mumford Jones in association with Walter B. Rideout, 479 pp., Little, Brown & Company, \$6.00.) They confirm a feeling I had reached only during his last years, that we might have been deeply communicative friends for all our lives. It would have been so simple, only a motion on one side or the other in the early days when I published his famously shocking story "Hands" in the old *Masses*, and when to him—as he says in one of these letters—the magazine was of "tremendous significance . . . I can remember with what eagerness I used to watch for its appearance out in Chicago."

The motion was never made, until a year or two before he died when I stopped for dinner with him in Marion, Virginia, on my way motoring south, and then later he and his loved Eleanor came up to my house in Croton for a week end. Once after that, and for the last time, I had dinner with him at Mrs. Burton Emmet's picture-filled house on Washington Mews. Tom Wolfe was there, and Ella Winter, the brazenly bright-minded pro-Communist wife, formerly of Lincoln Steffens, then of Donald Ogden Stewart. Who else I don't remember, but the mixture was politically indiscriminating, and that was true, I think, of Sherwood's entourage in general. It accounts for the impropriety of having his letters edited by an unabashed sponsor of various Communist traps for suckers, including the welcome to that balefully asinine old scalawag, the Red Dean of Canterbury. I must add that Professor Jones is conscientious in telling us of Sherwood that "not once but many times he repudiated the Communists," and to include letters containing such deeply directional remarks as this: "Words like 'the people,' 'the masses,' 'the proletariat,' 'the capitalist,' so happily and freely thrown about, every one so grouped. There are times when I devoutly wish Karl Marx had never lived. A man has to work hard to pull himself away from this indulgence."

I remember at that dinner Sherwood's remarking he was never at ease—never was himself—except with women, and Tom's having a violent, almost hysterical reaction to that. It was a hectic dinner, and Sherwood's genial great quietness of spirit,

his firm, broad-shouldered, smiling receptivity to the whole experience was impressive. He seemed to contain it all though he was also in it. He was a poet, a rejoicer in experience, perpetually experimenting with life's values, perpetually, zealously, and yet at a slow mental pace, meditating about them. The fruits are to be found in these letters almost as ripe and abundant as in his books.

"It takes strength to be tender, and these men haven't strength," he says of Henry Mencken and Sinclair Lewis. And he writes to Waldo Frank: "I do think you are terribly young. . . I have wanted life and the sun of days to put you in a great cradle and swing all your false weariness away." What a beautiful thing to say! What a stirring and fructifying friend he must have been!

Professor Jones thinks it "at least possible" that "out of his voluminous publications . . . only *Winesburg, Ohio* and a handful of the short stories will survive, marvelous as some pages in *Tar*, for example, and *Dark Laughter* may be." Upon that I have no opinion, for I have not read enough of his books, but I have a hunch that these letters will survive. The record they contain of a literary artist, a very American one, struggling in the competitive, racy, and rather glib and phony stream of American writing at that time, and our time too—artistic excellence being here more than elsewhere confused with celebrity and what Veblen called "pecuniary beauty"—struggling in this roaring stream of skilled journalism to master the pure art of writing, to live the life of it, to maintain the absolute integrity of it, will not be forgotten. As men find less rest in the supernatural, they will be more drawn to these efforts to make something pure, and so-to-speak supernal, out of this earthly life. Not in art only—that is but one phase of such endeavor—but it is the one which communicates itself.

As I wrote you, I went to Washington in the fall and wrote a new novel. The publisher had it announced. It was another novel about men and women and the tangle of their love for each other. I was about to send it in to be published, but first went out to Chicago to see my little daughter. One night while I was there, I suddenly threw the novel out of the hotel window. I did this because I had become convinced that I had only written it in order to get some money to do something else I wanted to do. The whole impulse suddenly seemed to me corrupt.

Had the turn been made, that might have been described as a turning point in American literature, its discovery of the very profound difference between business, and most particularly perhaps the highly skilled business of journalism, and creative art. Sherwood Anderson was aware of the inward taste of this difference because he had been a businessman, part of the time a writer of advertising copy, up to the age of forty, when that mysterious "nervous breakdown" occurred which caused him to close up his office and become what his deep heart told him to be, a literary artist.

There is a vast collection of these letters in the Newberry Library in Chicago, enough to make another volume, the editors say. But the basis upon which these have been chosen is so wise as to seem—except for the absence of his love letters—conclusive. The selection was of letters which "related significantly to at least one of several major concerns . . . : (1) Anderson's own methods and purposes as a writer and his struggle to become one; (2) his special sense of the place (or lack of place) of the writer in America; (3) the nature and psychology of art, with particular reference to writing; (4) his relationships with other writers and artists. Included also are a number of letters showing his response to various social, economic, and political issues of the day."

To these last I could have added a significant example, if I had not been so forgetful. I thought when the editors wrote me that I had nothing in my files from Sherwood but brief notes or postal cards, but subsequently there turned up his reply to some request of mine to take a stand in regard to a thing that was happening among the revolutionaries, whether in Soviet Russia or at home. It may well have had to do with the position of the literary artist, for I was then writing my book, *Artists in Uniform*, in which I described the party dictatorship over literature that had been set up in Moscow and was kowtowed to by some of our friends on the old *Masses*. His answer was characteristic—it was, perhaps, in the circumstances, wise:

Dear Max:

I am in receipt of your letter and wish it were possible for you or anyone else to clear my mind about all this matter of the various revolutionary forces. It seems a shame they should have to spend so much energy hurting one another and being cruel, but, Max, here I am a provincial, absorbed really in storytelling. How am I to know what is black and what is white? The whole thing leaves me terribly confused.

I am back in my small town where I have a farm and this summer several men are coming here with their wives. They are all men who are up to some kind of work and we are going to try living together cooperatively. Wish us luck.

With my love to your lady,
Sherwood

Billionaire Corporations

Giant Business: Threat to Democracy, by T. K. Quinn. 321 pp. New York: Exposition Press. \$3.75

It may seem a harsh thing to say bang at the beginning, but Mr. Quinn himself admires bluntness; consequently let the truth be told: his formula for cutting up the monster corporations of American industry is not new and has never worked. If big business is a big evil, and Mr. Quinn makes out an attractive case for that side of the question, then surely this is no way to establish virtue. Suppose we had more legislation on the order of the Sherman and Clayton Acts, but better conceived and clearly worded so that there were no loopholes for corporation lawyers to crawl through and nibble, nibble, nibble such laws to death. Suppose we also had a Federal Incorporation Act limiting every corporate business in interstate commerce, by the terms of its Federal charter, to one kind of production or one type of service or sales effort. Suppose, finally, that the Federal Government subsidized small businessmen to step into the places vacated by the shrunken giants—suppose all this to be promoted, voted, lawed, and executed in the name of democracy, of equality, and you suppose something that in the light of political history is absurd.

There are few things in politics that one can be dogmatic about, but this happens to be one of them. Democratic electorates have voted themselves farms, jobs, pensions, medical care, and the like; they have never voted anybody the capital with which to start or to expand the middle-size type of business which Mr. Quinn has in mind. On the other hand there is indeed a case for the very small business and something should be done about the high rate of bankruptcies that has prevailed in that group since the end of the last war. Today a new business, according to Department of Commerce statistics, has only a better than even chance to survive its first year; and a three out of four chance of surviving its second year. The somber background to this picture of failure is that the top 1 per cent of the solvent businesses in this country control about 50 per cent of our production facilities—and none of the "billionaire corporations," as Mr. Quinn says, ever fails. They cannot be allowed to fail, as a matter of public policy.

People who don't like to work for somebody else, who like to be their own boss even if it hurts—and such people have been the upsetters of apple carts since the dawn of time—are finding fewer and fewer opportunities to make a living outside factory walls. Even our farms are so heavily mechanized today that it takes more experience, land, and capital to run them than ever before; in sum, agricultural overhead costs are

so high now that two-thirds of the farms are operated almost entirely by family labor. Except for the field of medicine, the non-business professions such as architecture and the law are crowded to the sticking point. Big business does what it can: decentralization has become almost as potent a word as productivity in managerial circles. But there is a limit to what can be done in devolving responsibility (and independence) to lesser supervisors way down the line of command. There is also a limit to what can be done in the way of finding the executive talent on the factory floor and promoting everybody from the ranks.

What we need is a positive program to provide for all of our citizens who are willing to work harder, who have shown their stability by saving some capital, and who possess the experience and knowledge required to run a business—what we need is a program to assist them to the opportunity of doing exactly that. ASHER BRYNES

With Fear of Truth

Foreign Policy Without Fear, by Vera Micheles Dean. 220 pp. New York: McGraw-Hill Company. \$3.75

Vera Micheles Dean's collected writings deserve a place on the shelf with Owen Lattimore's. Both are classical examples of what Arthur Koestler calls "anti-anti-Communism."

There is a subtle technique in anti-anti-Communist writing, which any student of comparative political thought will find in the present work by the research director of the Foreign Policy Association as well as in Lattimore's books on the Far East. The first principle is to omit any specific reasons why the Soviet empire, with the 800,000,000 people it controls, its enormous international fifth column, and its huge military establishment represents a permanent, constant threat to the security of the United States and other free nations.

Then it is easy to proceed to the assumption, suggested rather than openly stated, that anyone who sounds an alarm about Communism is an unsophisticated, uncivilized lout, and a hysterical witch-hunter into the bargain. Add a few insinuations that the United States and the Soviet Union are just two strong nations engaged in an ordinary tussle of power politics in which there is much to be said on both sides. Never miss an opportunity to blacken as a benighted reactionary the men who are linked with the anti-Communist struggle, like Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee, and Bao Dai. Bring into the picture as witnesses anonymous Europeans and Asiatics (Mrs. Dean is especially fond of the device of referring to these unnamed individuals as "our friends") who somehow always turn out to be strong opponents of any policy of effectively resisting Communism. Shake well, and

the anti-anti-Communist cocktail is prepared.

One can read this book from cover to cover without finding one clear-cut statement of a documented act of Soviet aggression; the blockade of West Berlin, the coup d'état in Czechoslovakia, the invasion of South Korea, might never have happened so far as Mrs. Dean's thinking is concerned. And such individuals as Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White, Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, Harry Gold, the Rosenbergs, and the long parade of individuals who "for fear of self-incrimination" have refused to answer when asked whether they had committed espionage against the United States—these are "unpersons" in Mrs. Dean's scheme of things.

So it is easy for her to deprecate preparedness against the Soviet military and political threat with such phrases as "If the Republicans can avoid succumbing to the fear of Russia and Communism" . . . "Before the Republicans can liberate other nations they must liberate themselves from the fear not merely of Russia and Communism, which had also come to dominate the Democrats, but from fear of the changes the twentieth century has wrought within our own borders."

Mrs. Dean is a thoroughgoing collectivist. "For people abroad"—those convenient anonymous authorities—"TVA has become the most significant symbol of what is best in modern America." The New Deal, to her, is the transition to a promised land; and she never seems to consider the possibility that America's relative wealth among nations is more attributable to the survival of old individualist economic values than to the tinkering and experimentation which went on under Roosevelt and Truman.

Loftily and scornfully indifferent to the very real and very present Soviet danger, Mrs. Dean is quick to see danger where Communists like to see it: in West Germany, where there is not a regular soldier under arms, and in Japan, where there is a small, lightly-armed, skeleton army. Incredible as it may seem, the author speaks of a Russian "legitimate fear . . . of new German threats to Moscow and Stalingrad" and of "the need of China and Russia for safeguards against the revival of a militant Japan."

The consistent pattern of distortion in this book is easier to understand if one looks back to Mrs. Dean's prolific writings in the war and postwar years. She was ready with an apology and "explanation" for every Soviet act of violence and terror, from the denial of all liberty within the Soviet Union to the annexation of the Baltic republics and Eastern Poland. Her interpretation of the ferocious purges of the thirties was that a "fifth column" was being destroyed. This is scarcely borne out by the fact that half a million Soviet citizens fought in the German armed forces during the war—much the biggest active "fifth column" which appeared in any country invaded by the Nazis.

Mrs. Dean's new book is a very old and shop-worn bill of goods. She seems to have learned nothing and forgotten nothing as a result of the cold war.

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

Eloquent But Erroneous

Major Campaign Speeches of Adlai Stevenson, 1952. 320 pp. New York: Random House. \$3.50

Ours is a political age. Parties, administrations, state policy, fiscal theory, etc., are what we continually dwell on, and therefore everything we read and write is colored by political convictions. There is little that we can do about this situation. An independent literary judgment of a book involving politics is almost impossible nowadays. This truth comes home with great force in a reading of Stevenson's speeches.

One's reaction to this volume is determined by whether or not one voted for Stevenson. The big bump in this book, for those who did not vote for him, is Adlai Stevenson's endorsement of the New Deal-Fair Deal era. Time and again in this volume of fifty speeches the Democratic Party is depicted as the force that saved the nation and inaugurated an era of prosperity. But neither "deal" solved the problem of depression. It was the inflationary spending of World War Two that produced our present economy of "full employment." The pump-priming and assorted measures to regulate production (such as dyeing potatoes blue, or the experiment with paying farmers to slaughter pigs) constituted failure.

The whole liberal, dreamy, and utopian ideology dominating Adlai Stevenson is embodied in the farm policy address he delivered at Kasson, Minnesota, with its key statement: "Facilities must be adequate to meet the constantly growing demand for power on the farm, *at prices the farmer can afford to pay*" [italics added]. Here, in the proverbial nutshell, is the utopian thinking that brands Stevenson as woefully weak in economics. For in the event that the government supplies farmers with power at a price below the cost of producing it, the inescapable fact is that the city-dweller pays the difference out of his pocket. Indeed, this is a prime example of favoring a special interest. Despite this and other curious assertions of governmental beneficence, the 1952 leader of the Democratic Party states in the address, "The American Future," that "we will not abandon our free-enterprise system. We will oppose all attempts to limit its freedom whether by centralized government or by private monopoly." In the light of this species of economic thinking, it is not especially startling that the American states and people rejected Stevenson's offer of leadership.

Well, then, do we have to conclude that the *Major Campaign Speeches of Adlai Stevenson* are com-

pletely without merit? Certainly not! In any case there is the question of stylistic quality. If we draw a sharp distinction between political and stylistic qualities, it is possible to offer positive praise.

Indeed, to suggest that Adlai Stevenson is not an ingratiating orator is almost impertinent. That Stevenson makes the classic failure to discriminate between necessary reform and dubious innovation does not prevent numerous conservatives from recognizing his personal gifts. Indeed, a study of this book shows that despite the staff work of Messrs. Schlesinger, De Voto, MacLeish, *et al.*, the mark of the man is on the speeches—the cut and trim of the literary style is Stevenson's and not the work of professorial ghostwriters.

Clearly, Stevenson of Illinois is neither devil nor dupe. He is not a rude courthouse politician like Harry Truman. Neither is he a mystic daydreamer on the order of Henry Wallace. Strange to say, Stevenson's greatest resemblance is to another Midwest gentleman, Robert Taft of Ohio. Inherited wealth, Ivy League education, study of law, and a family tradition of statecraft marks both men—men at opposite ends of the political spectrum. One can but regret that Stevenson was not influenced in his formative years by the noble vision of American conservatism, the vision embodied in the work of Fisher Ames, Hamilton Fish, and John Hay.

ANTHONY HARRIGAN

Hagiolatry

Henry James: The Untried Years: 1843-1870, by Leon Edel. 350 pp. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, \$5.00

Some years ago, when *The Complete Plays of Henry James* appeared, edited with an introductory essay by Leon Edel, some of us were more impressed by Edel the editor than by James the dramatist. Here was a literary detective who could tell us just what his hero Henry was doing every minute of the day and night. Especially memorable was his reconstruction of the disastrous opening night of *Guy Domville* at the St. James Theatre in London—when Bernard Shaw, Arnold Bennett, and H. G. Wells sat in the stalls as critics, and poor Henry was crucified by the catcalls of the gallery. Here was the perfect, the complete Jamesian, henceforth to be acclaimed as "the foremost authority on Henry James."

Now appears the first volume of Leon Edel's long-awaited "definitive" biography of James—with two more promised. Here again is ample evidence of Edel's indefatigable sleuthing. No clue is too faint or faraway to escape his bloodhound nostrils, no legwork too fatiguing. Edel has searched the New York Hall of Records for correct addresses and dates; he has examined the will of grandfather William of Albany, and the records of the litigation

that followed the breaking of that will; his operatives have trekked through the files of dusty crumbling newspapers; he has corresponded with the descendants of the friends of the Jameses, even unto the third generation; he has perused hundreds of unpublished letters. You will find it difficult to trip Mr. Edel on addresses and dates. Nor does all this biographical data weigh his narrative down, for Leon Edel has perfected a sort of "throw-away" technique, more familiar on the stage than in print.

Yet the seed of a doubt is implanted in the reader's mind. You begin to ask yourself: "Is Henry James so supremely important as to warrant this single-minded, almost fanatical devotion?" Then you discover that the whole structure is based upon the dogma that Henry James is the supreme genius of the modern novel. To support this major premise, certain evidence must be omitted or played down, other theories enunciated and elaborated. One of these concerns Henry's reported stammer and impediment in speech—surely worth investigation, but brushed aside by Leon Edel as merely "apocryphal." Then Mr. Edel develops an elaborate theory of the rivalry between William and Henry, proffering a Jacob-Esau conflict, served up with *sauce freudienne*. Surely if in future volumes he hopes to canonize his hero Henry at the expense of William, he will be lost in the realms of fantasy and fallacy. William's keen and penetrating criticism of Henry cannot be dismissed as mere juvenile jealousy. Contrasting their literary ideals, William once wrote to Henry:

. . . mine being to say a thing in one sentence as straight and explicit as it can be made, and then to drop it forever; yours being to avoid naming it straight, but by dint of breathing and sighing all round and round it, to arouse in the reader who may have had a similar perception already (Heaven help him if he hasn't!) the illusion of a solid object, made (like the "ghost" at the Polytechnic) wholly out of impalpable materials, air, and the prismatic interference of light, ingeniously focused by mirrors upon empty space.

Despite all of Edel's conspicuous gifts and energy in research, one is reluctantly driven to the conclusion that this opening volume must be characterized as hagiography rather than critical biography. Its reasoning is deductive rather than inductive. Legitimately Leon Edel may be called the hero-worshipper-in-chief of the James cult, which for more than half a century has been so assiduously cultivated and propagated. With the younger generation "appreciation of James" has become almost standard equipment in the cultural bag of the "liberal" Left Wing intellectual.

Surely the time is ripe for an impartial, rigorous investigation of the role of the literary cult in contemporary society. We have witnessed the rise of any number of these—the Rimbaud cult, the Gide cult, the Joyce cult, the Kafka cult, to name but a few. Etiemble, a great French scholar, has recently

been performing a deft surgical operation on the Rimbaud myth. We need a sort of Mass Observation survey of the James myth, undertaken with rigorous, impartial, nonliterary honesty, without the incense, the genuflections, and the esoteric rituals of the high priests.

R. A. PARKER

Theory Versus Fact

The World and the West, by Arnold J. Toynbee.
99 pp. New York: Oxford University Press. \$2.00

I got to know Professor Toynbee nearly thirty years ago, when I was his only student at a series of lectures at King's College, London University. The emptiness of his classroom was not due to his being a then virtually unknown young professor; it was because his course on Greece offered no "credits."

Now, looking back on those distant days when I sat listening to his accounts of a walking tour, or informally discussing the modern world with him across the table, I think I understand why he writes the curious books which he chooses to call historical studies. He is the perpetually retarded clever adolescent who has never been awakened to reality through contact with the actual, as distinct from the academic world.

It would be an exaggeration to say that Toynbee Communism appears to offer fulfillment of mankind's age-old longing for the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. In spite of his sheltered life, some doubts are aroused in his mind as to whether all is as right as it should be in Soviet Russia. He never gives his millions of readers any inkling of the brutish, hungry, and fear-ridden existence of the subjects of the Communist empire. One would never know from reading his books that there are concentration camps in Russia, or that Moscow practices genocide. Nevertheless he is not altogether ignorant of Soviet realities; in *The World and the West* Toynbee admits that Soviet Russia is detested by the Western world because of her tyranny. However, in his view this is the result not of Communist theory and practice, but of "the Russian attitude of resignation toward an autocratic regime . . . whether this calls itself Czarism or Communism." In a word, like Crankshaw, Professor Toynbee has adopted the racist theory that it is not Communism *per se* but the Russian character itself which is responsible for the illiberal nature of the Soviet state. Hence Toynbee not only comforts our former Communist sympathizers and present anti-anti-Communists who rely on Tito, or possibly Mao Tse-tung, to take Communism away from the Russians. He also caters to the deep-seated American belief that all is for the best in the best possible of worlds.

In this book Toynbee carries farther than in his *A Study of History* the thesis that Communism is

not a *negation* of the values upon which Western civilization is founded, but a "heresy" born of our failure to live up to our principles. It has to be admitted that there was originally some substance to this theory. But there comes a point where heresy becomes negation, when anti-Christ succeeds to Christ. This is what Toynbee refuses to see. Instead of recognizing the fact that the strength and success of Communism today are due to its utter ruthlessness and the fear it instills, even beyond the borders of the Soviet empire, he persists in attributing its influence to its "spiritual" appeal. He tells us that "in the encounter between Russia and the West, the spiritual initiative, though not the technological lead, has now passed, at any rate for the moment, from the Western to the Russian side." However, he offers us a "measure of reassurance." If we listen to Uncle Arnold we may yet succeed in taking "the spiritual leadership" of the world away from Uncle Joe's successors and followers. Moreover, even if we fail, we can console ourselves with the Toynbee dictum that Communism is an "exotic" Western doctrine "the adoption of which by Russia, so far from signifying that Western culture is in jeopardy, really shows how potent its ascendancy has become." Could any Soviet dialectician do better?

As his English critics have pointed out, Toynbee is a master of the art of making facts fit preconceived theory. In *The World and the West* he displays a truly amazing capacity to twist history or ignore the record in order to prove his thesis that what we are now experiencing is a revolt of the greater part of humanity, led by Russia, against Western domination. Soviet Russia is represented to us as the big worm which has turned, and which is encouraging all the little worms to do likewise. Toynbee presents her as a victim of Western aggression "from the thirteenth century to 1945." Not only does he omit all mention of the long record of Russian aggression east, west, and south; he tells us also that it is our fault that the Russian people are inured to tyranny. "The Russian attitude toward autocratic regimes," he writes, is due to the feeling that "it is a lesser evil than the alternative fate of being conquered by aggressive neighbors." If he had confined himself to the accusation that the West's treatment of China, India, and other Asian and African peoples negated professed Western principles and has led to revolt against us today, his book would have had some value. But by placing Russia among the oppressed nations instead of among the aggressors, he makes his whole thesis ridiculous.

Toynbee suggests that Communism, like Christianity in the Roman Empire, offers men an "ideal of human fraternity that will overcome the clash of cultures." I am sure the learned professor is neither a Communist nor a Soviet propagandist. But by clouding our minds and feeding the foolish

optimism of those who, like himself, have never faced up to the terrible reality of the Communist menace, he is helping to destroy our civilization.

FREDA UTLEY

Life Among the Peasants

Kingfishers Catch Fire, by Rumer Godden. 282 pp.
New York: Viking Press. \$3.50

"Sophie is like a kingfisher," her long-suffering, stuffy British admirer Toby says with atypical subtlety, "choosing some strange, unthought-of place for her nest, diving relentlessly for her private fish, then flashing out of sight."

The unthought-of place that Sophie Barrington Ward, widowed in India with two children and no money, chose for her "nest" was a house in the Vale of Kashmir, out beyond the English colony of the town and among the Indians. To her daughter and younger son she explained that they were poor now, and were to be peasants. But Sophie put windows in the house that she rented, and stoves in the kitchen and upstairs; to the Indians she was rich. She promptly drove the neighborhood crazy with her waywardness. The situation deteriorates rapidly and excitingly as Sophie tries to unravel the sorry episodes that befall her, her children, and her Indian neighbors. She goes through hell and high water of her own making, yet comes out undismayed, or at least unregenerate. "Sophie never sees effects," says an English aunt, and indeed what appear to the English missionaries and doctors to be theft, attempted murder, and rape Sophie comes to see from the Indian point of view as something quite other. Good for Sophie, but what havoc!

At the book's end Sophie gathers up her odd possessions and her offspring and marches away to build another nest, this time in Lebanon. Toby, who has come half way around the globe to save her from herself and from further messing up the beautiful Vale of Kashmir, is asleep in the house boat. He proudly expects to take her back to England with him the following day. "It isn't very polite to go without saying good-bye to Toby," remonstrates Teresa, Sophie's daughter. Polite, yet! We are asked to admire, to be amused and charmed by Sophie, and in the end she is revealed as a first-class heel. This is a betrayal of the reader; it is bad art.

Unfortunately Miss Godden's story lacks third dimension. Her heroine flashes her green wings, collects her "private fish," be they rugs or people, and slums around, but charm arises from something deeper than bright feathers. A more limited objective, a drop of milk in Sophie's soul, might have made her redeemable to us, and to her creator. Miss Godden is too sensitive a writer and too lively a storyteller for us not to regret that she failed to make her heroine whole.

RAY PALMER

MUSIC

Wagner Festival

For those who love Wagner, Bayreuth is the place to be between July 23 and August 23 this year. Next year there isn't going to be a Festival. And without a Festival, Bayreuth is a pretty sober town.

It's to be a gala affair, opening with a performance of *Lohengrin*. On the second night *Parsifal* will be given. *Parsifal* has an historic record at Bayreuth. Wagner settled there in 1872 to build his dream theater and present the *Ring*. To his amazement the *Ring* didn't prove enough of an attraction. Although a thousand patrons paid the equivalent of over two hundred dollars apiece, and the *Ring* was given twice, it rang up a nice deficit of more than \$39,000.

After this inauspicious beginning, Wagner went to London to conduct concerts, trying to raise money for his *Festspielhaus*. There were no further performances at Bayreuth until *Parsifal* was presented there for the first time in 1882. In the meantime Wagner had been forced for financial reasons to let other opera houses perform the *Ring*; but *Parsifal*, which had been written with the Bayreuth stage in mind, was presented only there.

Wagner died in 1883, but his wife Cosima carried on the Bayreuth festivals. At long last, twenty-six years after the original failure, the *Ring*—the main reason that the *Festspielhaus* was built—joined the repertoire.

This year there is to be a complete performance of the *Ring*, with a day out between *Siegfried* and *Götterdämmerung*. Cynics have said this is so that the British will have time to change into evening clothes. Actually, it's not quite as bad as that, for most of the operas start at four in the afternoon, and have a long intermission after the first act.

Of course all the visiting VIP's are invited to Wahnfried, which was Wagner's villa. Hitler frequently invited himself there. He rebuilt the Bachelor House, and generally made such a nuisance of himself that Friedlinde, Wagner's granddaughter, finally left Germany—although she

owns a quarter interest in the Festival. She is going back this year. It will be her first trip to Germany since before the war, and she returns as an American citizen.

The *Festspielhaus* seats 1,800 people. As originally built to Wagner's specifications it seated fewer, but when Winifred Williams-Klindwirth, Richard's daughter-in-law and Friedlinde's mother, came into power, she added more seats. The stage is one of the largest in the world, and acoustically perfect. During the war the *Festspielhaus* suffered no damage, so that when the American occupation troops moved in, it was a natural for USO shows. Of course the stage was too large, so a smaller one was built over it. This was fine for the troops but not for the Aquacade of the Rhine-maidens. So when the festivals started again, the small stage was removed.

Because of the USO shows, certain American vaudeville artists are now billing themselves as "of the opera of Bayreuth." The singers this year include such top names as Regina Resnik, Eleanor Steber, Astrid Varnay, George London, Ramon Vinay, "and others," as the brochure says. It is safe to assume that the "others" will not be members of the USO. ROCK FERRIS

ART

Americans in Paris

While western Germany confronts an exhibition of American paintings of the more placid nineteenth century, Paris has lately been inspecting at the Musée de l'Art Moderne the explosive effects of "Twelve Contemporary American Painters and Sculptors" who incorporate the disorder of the present. It had been hoped—particularly in view of the impressive auspices of the show, both American and French, and diplomatic no less than cultural—that here at last confusion would be superseded by clarity and that some recognizable artistic silhouette would emerge from the United States. What is the evidence?

Guided by the catalogue, the visitor will learn that he is to behold not a panorama, but rather a series

"A work which reaches to the very core of the Chinese problem as few books have succeeded in doing before."

—Springfield Republican

CALVARY IN CHINA

By Rev. Robert W. Greene, M.M.

This personal record of a Maryknoll Missioner's ordeal at the hands of the Communists is "a testimony of courage and faith written by a gentle man. . . . Here revealed is the mind of the Communist officials, trained by the Soviets; and the effect of propaganda upon the Chinese people. It will serve to teach us what to expect in dealing with the new Chinese converts to this vicious gospel." — *Los Angeles Times*

At all bookstores \$3.50

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
New York 16

of provocative panels. Open-mindedness, one has been told, is one of the American virtues, and here, presumably, it would be exemplified. Unfortunately, a loose-meshed sieve has been employed, the consequence being that while a few live coals are sifted out, plenty of slag, cinders, and even long-dead ashes have also dropped in.

Occupying the initial alcove is that so-called "primitive" John Kane, who as an immigrant settled in Pittsburgh and, inspired by its industrial pipes and telephone poles, set down a homespun account of such felicities. Yet somehow his treatment does not reveal the granite strength one associates with simple folk: already the pigment cracks and soon will be peeling, while the molasses tint of the color hardly endears it to the eye seeking beyond the standardized passivity of its subject matter. Dangling above these limp and unkindled canvases is *Jacaranda*, an Alexander Calder that might have been imported from a jungle, high and airy and almost feathery.

Another enclosure brackets to-

**LARGEST
IN THE WEST!**

**Open your
Los Angeles
Savings Account
at
COAST FEDERAL
SAVINGS
AND LOAN ASSOCIATION**



**\$1.00 to \$50,000.00
opens your savings account.**

**9th & Hill Bldg.
Los Angeles 14, California**

**RESOURCES OVER
ONE HUNDRED FIFTY MILLION DOLLARS**

**COAST
FEDERAL
SAVINGS**

JOE CRAIL, PRESIDENT

gether Morris Graves, a Pacific Coast painter who closes his eyes when he thinks about birds (and sometimes almost seems to close his eyes when painting them, too), and John Marin, that water-color master who still awaits his proper introduction to Europe. Certainly he did not secure it on this occasion; his quicksilver washes, high-strung compositions, and elusive atmosphere suffer by exposure to a too-obtrusive light. After all, chamber music rather loses itself in a major concert hall. Then there is Ben Shahn, who, however touching his democratic sympathy with the crippled and needy of the cities, simply does not house them, so to speak, in a sufficiently protective habitation. He combines tempera with cut-outs (perhaps photos) and inky drawing, until only an abrasiveness is left.

Elsewhere, visitors confront the deadened streets and gleaming office-interiors of Edward Hopper, who supposedly is the bard of American understatement. Glimpsed here, alas, his subdued speech seems rather to derive from a parched and needy organ of articulation. Jackson Pollock whose drifting line sometimes

has provided a comparison to the lasso, does, however, bespeak the ardors of a more youthful republic. Perhaps the pigment splatters and even fights itself, yet he has flung off old trammels. Also sprung from the realist category is Stuart Davis, whose sharply cut and abbreviated forms relate more to advertising posters than to painting. Even so, they are greatly preferable to the funereal odes-to-decomposition by Ivan Le Lorraine Albright.

As for sculpture, apart from Calder, long praised and justly respected in Europe, and his two confrères, David Smith, who shapes in iron, and Theodore Roszak, who contrives horned and beaked and pricking effigies in metal and other malleable material, here again some traces of bolder and braver energies are apparent. Nevertheless, the ensemble blurs more than it clarifies. One peers through to certain bright vistas in Marin, to troubled ones in Pollock, to electrifying possibilities in the sculpture, yet the general effect attains no harmony. In short, Europe still awaits a satisfactory American silhouette in art.

JEROME MELLQUIST

HENRY GEORGE Social Thinker vs. Land Communist

Controversy Rages Anew

Was Henry George the founder of "Agrarian Communism" in America? Has the total communism inherent in his great masterpiece escaped until now even the keenest of minds? Socionomist Spencer Heath says: "Tax-slaves forfeit freedom for servitude; the future free-man will pay only the market-gauged site-rent value of whatever public services he receives." Tax-Lords versus Landlords! Judge for yourself!

Read Henry George's PROGRESS AND POVERTY for the Land Communist argument and point of view. Then read the —ANSWER—in 26 pages of critical review and clarification, showing Landlords and private property in land as Society's first and last—its only ultimate defense—against total enslavement by the State.

John Dewey says of Henry George: "No man, no graduate of a higher educational institution, has a right to regard himself as an educated man in social thought unless he has some first-hand acquaintance with the theoretical contribution of this great American thinker." Tolstoi, Helen Keller, Nicholas Murray Butler—all have written in similar and even stronger vein.

Yes, PROGRESS AND POVERTY is an appealing book. Grossly fallacious in its economic argument and inevitably totalitarian in its proposed application, it is yet idealistic, rhetorical, poetical, beautiful—thus subtly deceptive—in its world-wide renown. Order your copy now at the special low price of \$1.50 and you will receive, in addition, a free copy of its definitive *exposé*. PROGRESS AND POVERTY REVIEWED and Its Fallacies Exposed, a 26-page booklet by Spencer Heath, LL.B., LL.M.

The Science of Society Foundation,
11 Waverly Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Please send me the book PROGRESS AND POVERTY, Anniversary Edition, 571 pages, cloth bound, with free gift of Spencer Heath's booklet PROGRESS AND POVERTY REVIEWED and Its Fallacies Exposed. I enclose \$1.50.

NAME ADDRESS
CITY ZONE STATE

FROM OUR READERS

(Continued from p. 760)

The "Book Burners"

Thank you for your editorial [June 29] criticizing President Eisenhower's speech at Dartmouth. There was certainly something missing in that speech. How could he warn the students, "Don't join the book burners," without mentioning the many books by anti-Communist authors which have been killed in more subtle ways by Communist and leftist infiltration of the book reviews, the magazine and book publishers, and even the book shops? . . . There are other ways of destroying a book than by burning it.

New York City

MARY REISNER

Strikes me the FREEMAN is guilty of an "unfortunate lack of balance" similar to that it attributed to President Eisenhower's Dartmouth speech. In your captious expository you permit your readers to weigh the President's position by reporting five words of his speech.

San Francisco, Cal.

WILLIAM BROWN

Book Reviewer Replies

In your issue of June 1, violent exception is taken [page 637] to my review in the *New York Times* of John Flynn's latest book. Rather than answer the unwarranted charges in the article itself, I wish to call your attention to a letter I received a few days after the review appeared. It reads, in part, as follows:

A note of appreciation for that review. . . I got the impression that you disagreed thoroughly with every sentiment in the book, but it was very evident that you tried to be fair. For that, many thanks—and forget the brickbats that are sure to come your way.

This letter is signed by Devin A. Garrity, President of The Devin-Adair Company and publisher of Mr. Flynn's book. I have Mr. Garrity's permission to quote it to you.

New York City

JOHN B. OAKES

This supplies no answer to the specific criticisms that Mr. Garrett made of Mr. Oakes' review.

THE EDITOR

Education for Legislators

O. Glenn Saxon's article "Decentralize Electric Power" in the issue of June 29 should be placed on the desk of every Republican in Congress. I think many of the Democrats such as Senator Byrd would go along with the article's reasoning.

Arlington, N. J.

HARVEY H. JONES

"You don't make milk by stinting on the feed"

Thus simply, Secretary of Commerce Weeks stated in a recent address a profound business truth which is frequently overlooked.

"If the regulated industries are to render their full services to the nation," the Secretary said, "it is my judgment that the regulatory bodies must allow earnings adequate to attract and support the equity capital they can use effectively for economies, improvement and growth." And he observed further that "the courage and inventiveness that risks great sums for improvements and economies in the future does not naturally emerge from men who have not the credit to raise the money nor the assurance that they would be allowed a return on it when their dreams come true."

That has been the situation of the railroads. Earning a return on their investment which over the years has averaged less than 4 per cent, the railroads have not found it possible to attract the equity capital they could "use effectively for economies, improvement and growth."

Nevertheless, by drawing heavily on their reserves and by sharply increasing their obligations for the purchase of equipment on the installment plan, the railroads have put into service since the end of World War II more than 500,000 freight cars and almost 18,000 new diesel-electric locomotive units. For these and other improvements they have spent more than a billion dollars a year.

Such improvements mean not only better service to the public but also more efficient railroad operation, with costs and rates lower than would otherwise have been necessary. And as research opens up other possibilities, there will be other opportunities for railroads to make improvements which will mean still better service at the lowest possible cost.

To take advantage of these opportunities, the railroads will need not only "the courage and inventiveness that risks great sums for improvements and economies in the future," as Secretary Weeks said, but also the cash and the credit which, in the long run, can come only from "not stinting on the feed."

ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN RAILROADS



WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

You'll enjoy *THE RAILROAD HOUR* every Monday evening on NBC.

Put this
Question
before
Congress
NOW!



Why Don't You Defeat Communism with Sound Money

by returning to the
GOLD COIN STANDARD?

"**T**he surest way to overturn an existing social order is to debauch the currency." These portentous words, credited to Lenin, point the way to defeat Communism, at home and abroad. Make monetary strength the weapon—and sound money the ammunition.

The only sound money system that has ever been successful is the Gold Coin Standard.* It stabilizes the value of money—prevents issuance of fiat currency . . . gives the individual close control over government policy since he can redeem his currency for gold coin whenever such policy is inimical to preservation of individual rights and liberty.

This sovereignty of the citizen over government is the great difference between dictator-

ship and democracy. We must be proud of it . . . display it fearlessly to the world . . . make it the principle that will persist for free men . . . and keep them free!

For twenty years the recently deposed federal administration pooh-poohed this principle. Our citizens suffered—became more and more the economic slaves of government. The value of their earnings and savings shrank—up to 60%.

Fortunately, technological advancements, such as Kennametal, increased industrial productivity during this period—and helped partially to offset the evil effects of irredeemable currency.

The President, important Cabinet members, Senators, and Congressmen are aware of the inherent relationship between the Gold Coin Standard and individual freedom. Why, then, should legislative action on it be delayed?

The tremendous impact on all other nations of sound money in the United States will lead the way to international economic stability . . . impel a new high level in human relationships, and provide a healthful domestic atmosphere in which American industry, of which Kennametal Inc. is a key enterprise, will provide ever-increasing benefits for all our people.

We must resume without devaluation or delay.

One of a series of advertisements published in the public interest by

Excerpt from Republican
"Monetary Policy" Plank



* The right to redeem currency for gold will help keep America free . . . ask your Senators and Congressman to work and vote to restore the Gold Coin Standard. Write to The Gold Standard League, Latrobe, Pa., for further information. The League is an association of patriotic citizens joined in the common cause of restoring a sound monetary system.

KENNAMETAL Inc.
Latrobe, Pa.

WORLD'S LARGEST Independent Manufacturer Whose Facilities are Devoted Exclusively to Processing and Application of CEMENTED CARBIDES