

NO MORE U.N. WARS

The Fiasco in Korea Should Be the Last

The Truth about Fluoridation

James Rorty

Denationalize Electric Power

O. Glenn Saxon

How to Regain Purse Control

Gov. Christian A. Herter

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VITAL ARTERY OF
LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE
PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS**

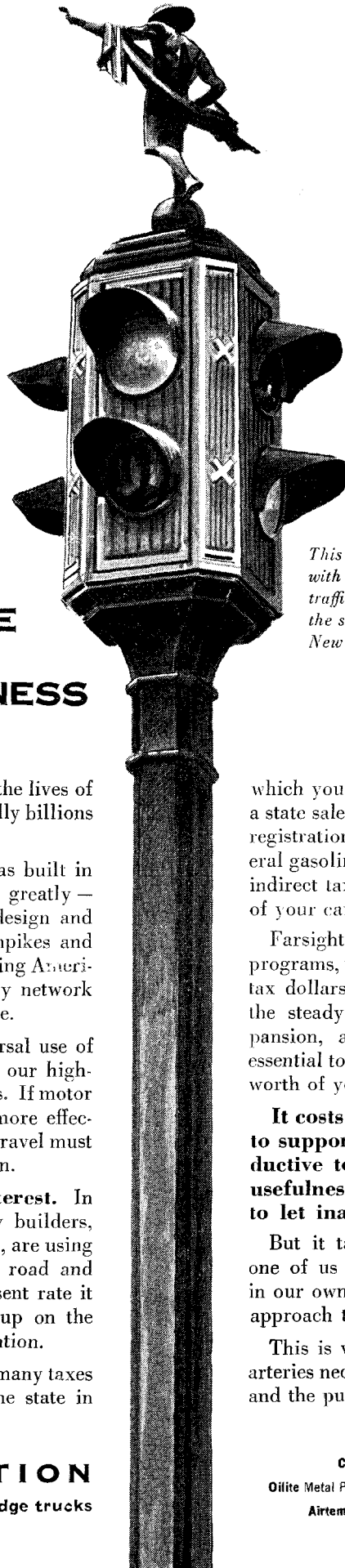
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Your dollars and your interest. In many places, American highway builders, the most experienced in the world, are using your tax dollars to better your road and highway system. But at the present rate it would take years just to catch up on the backlog of projects awaiting attention.

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This helmeted figure, bronze with gold leaf, symbolizes modern traffic movement. It adorns the signal lights along New York City's Fifth Avenue.

which you live, are a general property tax, a state sales tax, a Federal excise tax, a state registration fee, a state gasoline tax, a Federal gasoline tax and others. And direct and indirect taxes equal over 30% of the price of your car.

Farsighted local and state administrative programs, which do not divert your highway tax dollars to other purposes, can provide the steady roadway maintenance and expansion, and the increased traffic safety essential to the growing economic and social worth of your motor vehicle.

It costs less to have good roads than to support poor ones. It is more productive to take advantage of the full usefulness of the motor vehicle than to let inadequate roads limit its use.

But it takes the active interest of each one of us in stimulating and encouraging in our own localities a competent, vigorous approach to roadway improvement.

This is vital if our nation is to have the arteries necessary for its very life, its liberty and the pursuit of its happiness.

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THE Freeman

A Fortnightly
For
Individualists

Editor HENRY HAZLITT
Managing Editor FLORENCE NORTON

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Our Contributors

JAMES RORTY, well-known newspaperman, magazine writer, and author, has in recent years through his articles and books gained a merited reputation as an authority on matters relating to public health. His most recent book is *Tomorrow's Food* (with N. Philip Norman).

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER, former editor and for ten years a member of the United States House of Representatives, was elected last fall Governor of Massachusetts.

ALEXANDER T. JORDAN served for a number of years, both before and during the war, in the foreign office of the Polish government in London. He is a former contributor to *Plain Talk*.

O. GLENN SAXON, professor of business administration at Yale University, has held a number of public posts, among them director of research for the Republican National Committee (1936-40) and commissioner of finance and control for the State of Connecticut.

ROBERT DONLEVIN has recently returned from Paris, where he has been working as a newspaperman.

MARTIN EBON, a frequent contributor to the *FREEMAN*, is the author of the just-published biography *Malenkov: Stalin's Successor*.

ROBERT C. RICHARDSON, as a Lieutenant General in the Army, from 1943 to 1946 commanded all army and air forces in the Pacific Ocean Areas, and was Military Governor of Hawaii. Following his retirement in 1946 he became president of the Pacific War Memorial.

EUGENE DAVIDSON is editor of the Yale University Press.

FRANK H. KNIGHT, professor emeritus of economics, University of Chicago, is a frequent contributor to economics journals. His most recent book is *Freedom and Reform*.

VAUGHN D. BORNET is now a member of the Department of History at Stanford University. He taught previously at the University of Miami, and took a year of his graduate study at the University of Georgia.

NICOLAS MONJO, a New York writer on the drama and other arts, makes his first contribution to the *FREEMAN*. One of his plays was produced by the Columbia University Players, and he is at present writing a novel.

New Reprints Available

Two articles in this issue, "The Truth about Fluoridation" by James Rorty, and "Denationalize Electric Power" by O. Glenn Saxon, are available in reprints at the following rates: single copies, ten cents; 100 copies, \$5.00; 1,000 copies, \$40.00; 10,000 copies, \$250.00; prices for larger quantities on request.

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FROM OUR READERS

Was Chambers Wrong?

Max Eastman has written a superb article in "The Religion of Immoralism" [June 1]. In only one place does he deviate from sound analysis—and that is when he claims Whittaker Chambers to be profoundly wrong in stating that "the issue between Soviet Communism and the free world is between religion and irreligion, or between belief in man and belief in God." Eastman goes on to say that the dialectic movement is the Communist god. I would call his attention to the probability that Chambers' reference to God was orthodox—and not a semantic distortion such as Eastman would classify the god of Communism. There is a vast difference between the actual God and the artificial gods that are erected by mortals to meet their particular necessities.

Since the Soviet dialectic social salvation is akin to the National Council of Churches' "Kingdom of God," and since neither theory has any foundation in the Bible, I would say that Chambers is right and Eastman is wrong.

Washington, Ind. A. G. BLAZEY, M. D.

"Incisive Power"

Thank you for blowing a whiff of sanity into the political scene. Of course I know the old maxim that, for one's education, one should read comment at odds with his own opinion rather than comment which makes him say: "Isn't that so?" None the less, I feel bound to say that in the last paragraph and the one preceding it ("The Fortnight," April 20), you have attained a height of incisive power which makes me very desirous of continuing a careful reading of your magazine.

Berkeley, Cal. CHARLES B. COLLINS

Soviet vs. Tsarist Aggression

Your editorial (Toynbee's Little Lamb, April 20) . . . suggests that the editors of your interesting magazine are confusing the most important issue of our times: Is it Communism we are fighting, or just another form of traditional Russian imperialism?

As to history, though nobody can deny that old Russia was an imperialist state, it was no more imperialistic than any other great nation. You offer a proof of Russian expansion: comparison of the map of the Muscovite state in the sixteenth century with the present one. How about comparing the maps of Great Britain? Or of the United States, for that matter?

Wouldn't you discover some expansion of these states? . . .

By confusing Russian imperialism with Communism you distract your readers' attention from a real issue. No matter how aggressive Imperial Russia could have been, it never even dreamed of conquering its European neighbors, it never attempted to undermine its political rivals by means of subversion, by fifth columns. . . . Once we identify the Russian people with the Communists, we have lost the Third World War before it begins, because the Russians, the first victims of international Communism, would again ally themselves with the Soviets in defending their native land.

VLADIMIR N. PETROV
New Haven, Conn.

The Bricker Amendment

Garet Garrett's article in the FREEMAN of May 4 is a masterful presentation of facts regarding the manner in which sneak treaties can betray our American Republic into the orbit of the one-Communist world slave State. We not only need the immediate passage of the Bricker anti-treason amendment, but we need a simple Senate resolution of withdrawal from this political death-trap until such time as we can fortify our constitutional way of life with such amendments as those proposed by both Senator Bricker and the distinguished past President of the American Bar Association, Mr. Frank Holman.

McAllen, Tex. MARCIA MATTHEWS

Garet Garrett's "Nullification by Treaty" should be answered briefly. The treaty power has never been abused to abridge our constitutional liberties. Many other delegated "powers" have been so abused. If any amendment is needed, it is in other fields. . . . If we fear that two-thirds of the senators might abridge our freedom or divest us of our sovereignty by ratifying a treaty, why not also fear that a majority of Congress will do the same?

We need no amendment. We merely need senators who are not afraid that we will vote away our freedoms—and senators who will read treaties before they ratify them.

Los Angeles, Cal. PATRICK H. FORD

"A Substantial Voice"

Your magazine is an inspiration to me. It certainly gives a forceful and a soundly substantial voice to those American ideals which in recent years have seemed almost to be vanishing away.

ELIZABETH LYNN WALDBOTT
Wellesley, Mass.

The Korean Situation

I have followed your comments on the Korean truce situation recently with entire approval. Your editorial in the issue of June first entitled "A Test of Honor" is even more to the point—it is magnificent. . . .

I agree with your recommendations of what might have been done and could still be done. The leaflet-drop with all sorts of promises is the basis of surrender by thousands. However, as you pointed out: The forcible return of political refugees smeared as "fascists" at the time, is one of the many criminal facets of Yalta. Unless public opinion rallies, something of the sort is going to happen again. The repercussions in the Far East can be imagined—a score for the Communists.

The incomprehensible single item is the bland evasion of a strong talking point in these truce negotiations: What about the known murder of our men behind the enemy lines, the assassination of our soldiers in enemy hands? The Eighth Army admitted a discrepancy of six to eight thousand in prisoner of war totals; we have photographs of these men, tied with their hands behind their backs and shot behind the ears—a typical Communist execution method. Why are our negotiators silent on this touchy point? They were quick enough in 1945 to set up war criminal tribunals. Let them set them up in 1953 or raise the point for juridical consideration.

Congratulations on your courage, as the only reputable paper, to my knowledge, to have touched upon the moral issues of this incredible situation.

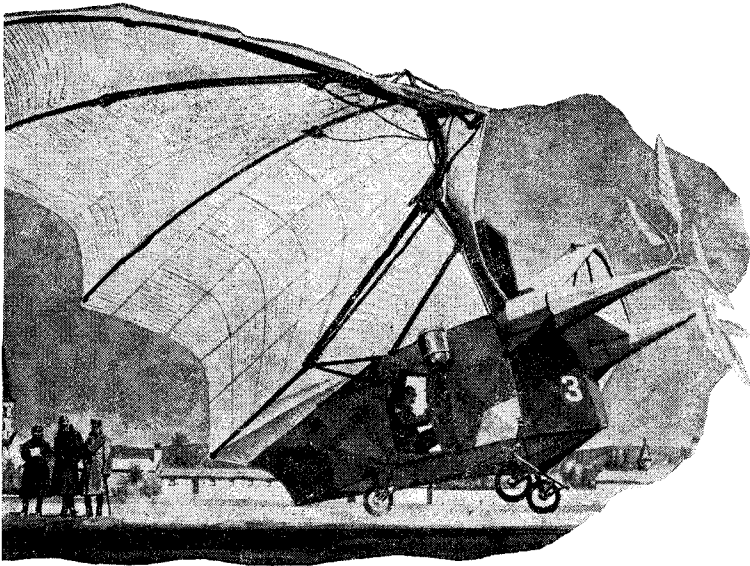
MAJ. GEN. CHARLES A.
New York City WILLOUGHBY (RET.)

From Eva Le Gallienne's Sister

May I be allowed to bring to your notice an error made by Helen Woodward, the reviewer of my sister's book, *With a Quiet Heart*, in your issue of May 18? In it the reviewer stated, apropos of our late father, Richard Le Gallienne: "He had been born Richard Gallon."

This is not so. The family name is Gallienne, a very old Channel Island name, which goes back for many centuries in the Guernsey archives. Our great-grandfather, a sea captain from Peter Port, traded with England and added the prefix "Le," in the same manner as heads of Scottish clans added the article "the" to their names—The MacLeod; The Mackintosh, signifying the head of the clan. Our grandfather never followed the tradition in England, but our father did. . . .

HESPER LE GALLIENNE HUTCHINSON
West Redding, Conn.

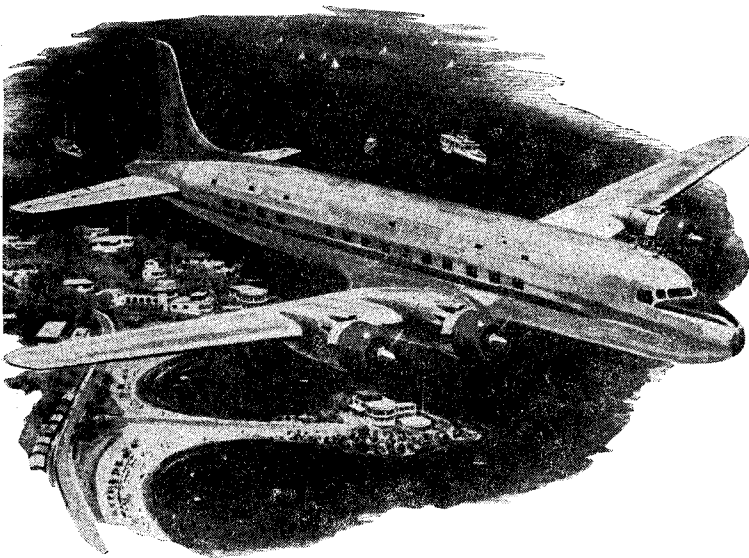


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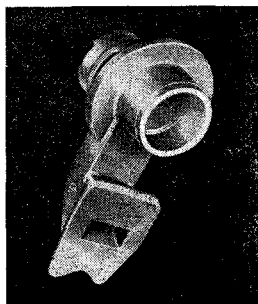
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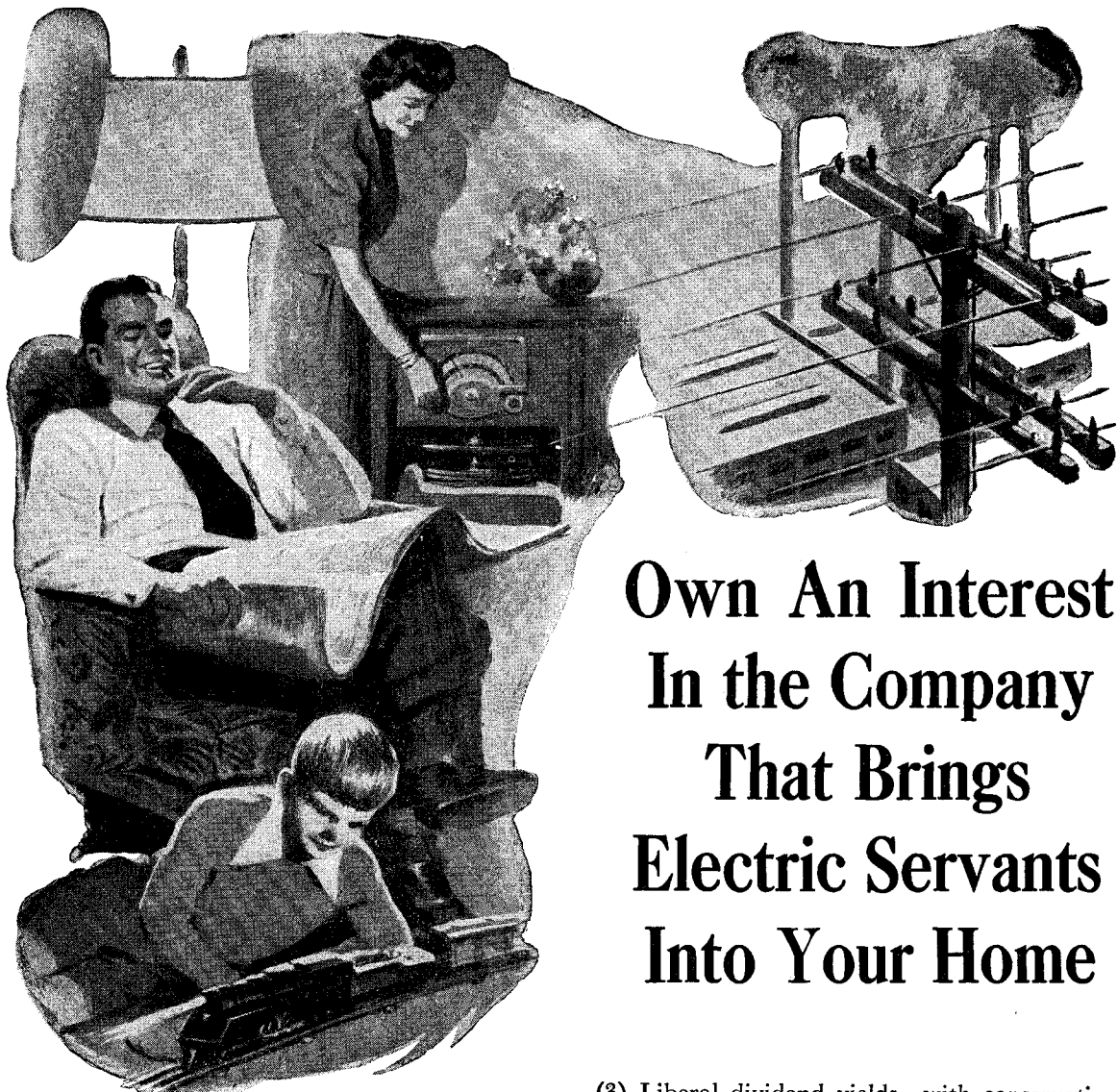


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THE Freeman

MONDAY, JUNE 29, 1953

The Fortnight

President Eisenhower spoke at Dartmouth without text or notes. This probably accounts for an unfortunate lack of balance in dealing with a subject that above all called for the drawing of careful distinctions— if not, indeed, for the recognition of glaring differences. As it stands, the speech may only add to the “hysteria about hysteria” already so rampant here. It can also provide ammunition for Soviet propaganda— and we may be sure that the Kremlin and its stooges here will not miss the opportunity. “Don’t join the book burners,” Mr. Eisenhower advised the Dartmouth graduates. This is the same sort of reckless simile as the Communists and those who so foolishly parrot them have been wallowing in—“witch hunt,” “inquisition,” and “reign of terror”—all to describe the activities of congressional committees in having the audacity to ask a few people a few questions. Is there really an important group in this country that is literally burning books or advocating the burning of books? Then why give ground for that impression? There is a world of difference between denouncing people for heresy, and exposing outright disloyalty, conspiracy, and espionage. The President should be careful to say nothing that can cause his audience to lose sight of that difference.

Senator Taft never declared in his May 26 speech, as we pointed out in our last issue, that the United States should “go it alone” without allies. But when President Eisenhower, Senator Wiley, and nearly all the self-styled internationalists continued to talk as if he had, he made another statement on June 5 explicitly repudiating this interpretation: “At no time did I use the words that the United States should ‘go it alone’ in the Far East or anywhere else.” The *New York Times*’ treatment of this denial was extraordinary. It succeeded in reporting the new statement without getting a single hint of the denial into its long headline bank. On the contrary, by reporting it under the main headline: “Taft Won’t Budge in His Korea Stand”, it managed to give the unwary reader the impression that the Senator *still* wanted to “go it alone.”

President Eisenhower hardly helped matters by talking on June 10 as if he too were rejecting Senator Taft’s proposals when he was, in a curious back-door sort of way, granting their validity. “We all hear,” he said, “a good deal of unhappy murmuring about the United Nations”—as if this murmuring were something to be deplored. He then went on to admit that “to the Communist world” the United Nations has been simply “a convenient sounding board for their propaganda, a weapon to be exploited in spreading disunity and confusion.” But this is precisely what the unhappy murmurers are murmuring about. He continued: “To the free world it has seemed that [the United Nations] should be a constructive forum for free discussion of the world’s problems.” But this is precisely Senator Taft’s recommendation. “The United Nations,” he said explicitly, “serves a very useful purpose as a town meeting of the world where disputes can be brought into the open and peaceful means reached to prevent a war.”

But what Senator Taft has stressed is that the divided United Nations should be given no powers of coercion over its individual members; that it has proved itself “a complete failure as a preventer of aggression”; that it is futile and dangerous to try to use it as a military alliance for war, but that, instead, we should make alliances of the free world *outside* of the U.N. to combat the aggressions of the Communist world. Why have Senator Taft’s proposals been so persistently misrepresented? Because their opponents do not know how to answer them on their merits? When is the “internationalist” press going to cease to shout “Isolationist!” whenever Senator Taft speaks, and give his proposals, instead, the serious and urgent study they deserve?

One of the most important jobs of the free press of the world during the next few months will be to keep a steady spotlight of publicity focused on the proceedings of the so-called neutral commission which is to supervise the North Korean and Chinese prisoners who are unwilling to return home. Prime Minister Nehru of India has said of the Indian resolution, which was accepted in sub-

stance by the Communists after being rejected last December, that "it did not recognize voluntary repatriation of prisoners . . . It did not recognize the right of asylum for prisoners of war which applies to political refugees." The attitude and actions of a commission, charged with the fate of the prisoners, in which India holds the casting vote, should be kept under the closest scrutiny.

One marked feature of the Soviet Union since the death of Stalin has been the amazing nose-dive of the deceased dictator in the field of publicity. Only a few months ago no effort was spared in Soviet newspapers and magazines to represent Stalin as the greatest and wisest man who ever lived. He was depicted as a supreme genius not only in war, politics, and economics, but in astronomy, linguistics, philosophy, music, literature, and other subjects too numerous to mention. Only a few months have passed since Stalin died; and the cult of Stalin is in visible decline, if not decay. The tribute to Stalin, the quotations from Stalin have become as rare now as they were frequent and inevitable in the dictator's lifetime. Tyrants, after all, are fragile and brittle creations. The stature of an Abraham Lincoln grows with the generation. The time may well come in Russia when Stalin's memory will be bracketed with that of Ivan the Terrible and recalled with horror and loathing, and some sense of national shame.

Elsewhere in this issue we publish an article by Professor O. Glenn Saxon explaining why it is both necessary and urgent to denationalize electric power. The chief credit for creating an atmosphere in which it is possible to discuss re-privatization, not merely as a remote hope but as a living political issue, must go to former President Herbert Hoover, who spoke out so courageously and convincingly on the subject on April 11. Under the initiative of free men, he pointed out, America developed the technology and use of electricity far beyond any other country. "Stemming from private enterprise, we have created a per capita supply of electrical power for our people three times that of the combined western European nations and eleven times the average of the whole foreign world." In addition, "household electric power is sold today by our private enterprise utilities at one-third of the price of thirty years ago . . . while most other commodities and wages have increased by 50 per cent to 100 per cent. There is no such parallel in any other commodity." Yet despite this amazing record, socialization of electric power has grown today to ominous dimensions. Professor Saxon explains in detail the burdens and losses that this has brought.

At this season of the year, when universities and colleges are discharging their thousands of graduates, some thinking about the design and purpose of American education is not out of place. One of

the most important issues in American education is whether state monopoly in this field is desirable. Before he left the presidency of Harvard to assume office as High Commissioner in Germany, Dr. James Bryant Conant declared in favor of the comprehensive public high school system and attacked a dual system of schools as calculated to maintain group cleavages. But Dr. Harold Dodds, President of Princeton, seems to have spoken with more realism when he recently voiced a plea for the maintenance of the independent private school and remarked that too many public schools "play down academic scholarship . . . in favor of universality at a level of intellectual aptitudes adjusted to a common denominator." For a society where many forces work in the direction of mass uniformity, cultural pluralism seems to be the desirable educational ideal.

Few statements in favor of the Bricker amendment have been more persuasive and compact than that of Senator Price Daniel of Texas: "The amendment . . . would prevent any international treaty or agreement from superseding the Constitution as the basic law of the land . . . In the course of recent years, our courts have been unable to reconcile the commitments of certain treaties with the language of the Constitution. On certain occasions, the treaties and agreements have been held to be superior in effect. Furthermore, certain executive actions—notably the seizure of the steel industry by Presidential order—have been predicated upon the authority of treaties as a superior authority to the Constitution. The result is confusion which can be mitigated solely by an affirmative declaration clearly reasserting the superiority of the Constitution in such conflicts. This is necessary for the guidance of the courts, the executive branch, and the legislative branch. More importantly, it is necessary to allay the uncertainty and fear now felt by the American people."

The A.D.A. (Americans for Democratic Action) have been charged by such politically naive persons as Senator Joseph R. McCarthy with fellow-traveling. Until now the *Daily Worker* has not agreed. Few who disagree with the Communist line in the most minute particular get a *Daily Worker* O.K. as bona fide fellow-travelers. In its issue of May 31, however, the *Worker* advised the faithful that the A.D.A. has been added to its Hit Parade. Reporting on the National Convention of the A.D.A. held in Washington the previous week, it O.K.'d all eight hundred delegates, with two exceptions. These were Senator Humphrey and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. It seems they had not toed the line. Schlesinger and Humphrey are special cases. Schlesinger still hopes to write speeches for Adlai Stevenson. Humphrey may have to run against Congressman Walter Judd next year in Minnesota. For them *Daily Worker* approval would be the kiss of death.

No More U. N. Wars

There is no cause for jubilation in the truce that has been arranged, after almost two years of futile bickering, at Panmunjom. The best that the United States, associated, in theory, with the supposed might and majesty of the United Nations, has been able to obtain is a no-decision draw in a struggle with two economically backward Asiatic satellites of the Soviet Union.

The disappointed bitterness with which the news of the truce terms has been received in South Korea, the only country, besides the United States, which has put forth a major war effort, is natural and understandable. Korea has been devastated and physically wrecked by the war. The truce leaves a huge Chinese Communist invading army in occupation of almost the whole of Korea north of the 38th Parallel. It represents a retreat from the position taken by the U. N. Assembly in October 1950, when that body authorized the forces of General MacArthur to drive to the Yalu River and demanded of its members "that all appropriate steps be taken to insure conditions of stability throughout Korea."

The truce hardens and perhaps perpetuates an unnatural, unhistorical, and uneconomic partition of Korea along the arbitrary line of the 38th Parallel. The South Koreans have another well-founded grievance. About 35,000 North Korean prisoners, opposed to Communism, wish to remain in South Korea. The United States proposed that these prisoners be released as soon as an armistice was signed. But under the familiar pattern of pressure from Great Britain, India, Canada, and other U. N. members, this American proposal was discarded, and these Korean prisoners will be transferred to the dubious custody of a five-nation commission, in which Poland, Czechoslovakia, and India constitute a majority.

Everyone hopes that President Eisenhower is correct in asserting that the principle of political asylum for anti-Communist prisoners has been upheld. But India, on the basis of its long record of yielding to every demand of the Chinese Communists, is not, to put it mildly, an ideally qualified custodian of American honor, which is deeply committed to the proposition that no prisoner shall be sent back against his will. And India holds the casting vote in a commission of which the other members are two Communist partisans, Poland and Czechoslovakia, and two honest neutrals, Sweden and Switzerland, which have sent no troops to Korea.

There is no reason to look with much optimism to the political conference which will follow the armistice. The United States will be subjected to the strongest kind of pressure to consent to the admission of Red China to the United Nations. The

nations that have done so much to sabotage the conduct of the war with a view to victory may be expected to do everything in their power to lose the peace. The two unanimous votes in the Senate condemning the admission of Communist China should strengthen the hand of the American delegation.

There are several reasons why the United States should stand firm on this issue, if it is not to lose all prestige and influence in the Orient. The Red Chinese regime is a totalitarian tyranny which boasts that it has slaughtered some two million of its own "counter-revolutionary" subjects. It has been waging war for almost three years against the United Nations, trying to shoot its way into the organization. It has been actively supporting the Communist attempt to take over Indo-China. To recognize Red China would be a terrific blow to the Chinese Nationalists on Formosa. Surely at Yalta there was enough of sacrificing faithful friends to appease implacable enemies.

Much in the past and future of the Korean situation is obscure. But one lesson is crystal clear. The United States must never again let itself in for a U. N. war. The very title United Nations has become for some well-meaning Americans a mystical fetish, blinding their eyes to the utter impotence of the United Nations to play any positive role in resisting aggression.

But the Korean record is brutally clear. The position of the United Nations was one of confusion, of divided counsels, of almost grotesque helplessness. It might recall Voltaire's gibe at the Holy Roman Empire, which had ceased to be either holy or Roman or an empire. One of the permanent members of the U. N. Security Council, the Soviet Union, was openly and boastfully supporting a war against the United Nations. It was not even officially censured for this attitude.

Another member of the United Nations, India, a nation of some 300,000,000 inhabitants, contributed nothing to the fight against aggression except an ambulance corps and an infinite amount of defeatist backseat driving, admirably calculated to strengthen Chinese Communist intransigence. If one weighs on one side of the balance the small token contributions which a few U. N. members made in the fighting, and on the other side the immense military and political disadvantages which the United States incurred by subordinating its strategy to the fears and whims of a hopelessly divided organization, there can be little doubt that we would have gained by fighting the war in Korea on our own terms, in alliance with the South Koreans, the Chinese Nationalists, and others who had their hearts in the struggle.

Under its present Charter (which cannot be amended without Soviet consent) the United Nations could only stop the kind of war which could not conceivably start anyway. No power, no combination of powers, would be so foolhardy as to resort to arms in the face of the combined force of the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, and China. Against the only kind of war that could, under present circumstances, assume dangerous proportions—a war engendered by Moscow's grand design of world conquest through subversion and piecemeal aggression—the U. N. offers no defense whatever.

The fiasco in Korea should be the last. Never again should Americans be asked to give their lives as part of an unequal bargain in which the Americans do the fighting and dying and the United Nations does the appeasing and capitulating. Let the next war, if Communist aggression makes such a war necessary, be fought by the United States on straightforward grounds of national security and self-defense, with as many allies as we can persuade to join in a common cause, but without the silly pretense and serious practical disadvantages of posing as champions of an organization that was hopelessly divided from the moment when it was set up.

Senator Taft has given a strong constructive lead on this subject, a lead that American public opinion will almost certainly find soundly based on the realities of the international situation. Whatever limited value the United Nations may have as an international forum, it is the worst conceivable agency for conducting a war or negotiating a peace. The U. S. cannot be safely supplanted by the U. N.

Fifth Column Amendment

If present procedures continue there is a fair prospect that the Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution will be rechristened the Fifth Column Amendment. For this amendment, with its provision that "no person shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself," is becoming the standard refuge of witnesses who are unwilling to tell Congressional investigating committees anything more than their names and the time of day, if that.

Individuals who seek shelter behind the Fifth Amendment are not displaying a very high degree of civic or moral courage. Can one imagine John Brown, or William Lloyd Garrison, or Wendell Phillips, subpoenaed by a pro-slavery congressional committee and asked to state their views about abolition, invoking the Fifth Amendment as an excuse for silence? The chances are that in such a case the committee would have been willing to call it quits long before the witness had finished stating his views.

It is a favorite theme of commencement addresses that congressional investigations (ritually referred to as "witch hunts") are blighting the spirit of free inquiry and free expression in America. But one need only refer to the records of these investigations to be satisfied that the members of the committees are willing to let the witnesses talk as much as they like. Voluminous testimony by Owen Lattimore is spread out on the records of the McCarran subcommittee. It is the witnesses, not the investigators, who cultivate the spirit of reticence.

Indeed, a good deal of oratorical ammunition seems to be fired away at straw-man targets. A prominent Presbyterian Church leader, following in the footsteps of a retired diplomat, has been warning us of the perils of vigorous anti-Communism as "a form of idolatry, a substitute religion."

Now there is doubtless a lunatic fringe among anti-Communists, as among other groups. But is it reasonable to suggest, given the present world situation, that most Americans are overly alert to the nature and extent of the Soviet Communist threat? Does it show a sense of fair perspective to assume that McCarthy is a greater enemy of American freedom than the men in the Kremlin?

Some Americans would find the answer to this question in a simple statement of fact. International Communist aggression cost us over 135,000 American casualties in Korea, with no assurance that the Korean aggression will be the last. Whatever may fairly be said in criticism of McCarthy, it would be difficult to prove that he has created or threatens to create any such havoc as this.

An eastern university president warns that "we cannot legislate loyalty." A true observation; but does anyone propose to "legislate" loyalty? What congressional investigators have been trying to do is to expose disloyalty, past and present, and to shed light on the scope and methods of Communist conspiracy in this country. The only free inquiry that is endangered by the investigations is the kind of "free inquiry" practiced by Alger Hiss when he sought out State Department secrets for the benefit of a Soviet spy ring; or by Klaus Fuchs, Alan Nunn May, the Rosenbergs, and other atomic spies.

The same kind of people who were cheering Alger Hiss and vilifying Whittaker Chambers a few years ago, who are to be found in Owen Lattimore's corner now, try to cast a halo of nobility and heroism about the invocers of the Fifth Amendment. One suspects that they will not succeed in convincing the court of public opinion.

For there is a widespread and pretty sound instinctive feeling that a man who "for fear of self-incrimination" will not say whether he has been or is engaged in spying against the United States, is distinctly expendable in the public service and has no right to hold a position of honor and trust in the community. When a man pleads self-incrimination

ination he is either acknowledging that he has committed some offense, or he is perjuring himself and testifying falsely if there is no real danger of "self-incrimination." On either assumption he does not appear to be a very desirable citizen.

The German Dilemma

Chancellor Konrad Adenauer has cast West Germany's lot solidly and successfully with the democratic Western world. But his program of integration with the West is running into serious trouble precisely because of the application of democratic procedures.

The Chancellor returned from a very successful trip to the United States. So far, this trip was the culmination of Germany's comeback. It symbolized regained prestige and good will. When his predecessor, Dr. Bruening, returned from what seemed Germany's greatest success—his first visit to England—he was met by the boos of the Nazi mob. But Adenauer was received triumphantly by his followers. Yet a few days later, the German Upper House, the Bundesrat, refused to vote for the ratification of the contractual agreements and the treaties providing for German participation in the defense of western Europe.

What had happened was that while the Chancellor was on his way to the United States (after the Lower House, the Bundestag, had voted for ratification) Moscow had launched its peace offensive.

It seemed probable to many Germans that one of the next steps in that offensive would be offers on German re-unification. Such offers are not new. They have been coming periodically from Moscow, either directly or via its East German satellite government in Berlin-Pankow. The new element was that this time the offers seemed to fit better into the picture of Soviet world policy. Faint as such hopes were, they were enough to make many Germans think twice before putting all their eggs into the Western basket.

The impression has been created abroad that the fight in Bonn was between the Chancellor's conservative camp and the Socialist opposition. In reality the front cuts through all existing party lines. It does so even within the Bundesrat. Bavaria, for instance, ruled by a Catholic-Socialist coalition, voted for the contracts, but the decision against them was brought about by the Minister-President of Wuerttemberg-Baden, who belongs to one of the coalition parties supporting Adenauer's government.

It is true that the opposition against the treaties centers around the Socialist Party, but it does so for two different reasons, one of which precludes the other: (1) the belief that Adenauer is "selling too cheaply," that Germany could get better terms, more security, more sovereignty, and possibly even

inclusion in NATO; and (2) the belief that by siding with the West and making the formation of a western European army possible, Germany would prejudice possible negotiations with Russia on the re-establishment of German unity. The Socialist Party has never made up its mind which line of reasoning to follow.

The decisive question in Germany is no longer *whether* one opposes Chancellor Adenauer's program but *for what reasons*. By no means all Socialists share the point of view expressed by the Minister-President of Hesse in the Bundesrat—that Germany cannot afford to ratify as long as there is any hope for Russian concessions on German unity. Unfortunately, there are also some members of the government camp who do not share Adenauer's conviction that Germany must side with the West.

Adenauer's position has been strengthened by his successes during his American visit, but it suffers from the basic weakness that so far no clear-cut decision has been forthcoming from other European countries, especially France. There, too, many hope that a change in the Russian attitude may make it unnecessary to accept western Germany as an ally. But while the hope in one case is that Russia will accept German unification, the hope in the other is that Russia will prevent the rearmament of Germany, unified or not.

Meanwhile time is running out, and no European defense community has been formed. That is the gain Russia has already made. It has done it not by actually launching a peace move in Germany but by merely hinting that it may.

The only governments that have taken a firm stand so far are those of Washington and Bonn. They stand ready to accept any reasonable Soviet offer based on free elections in eastern Germany, but meantime they are working for the unification of a western Europe able to defend itself.

Just as Bonn has to cope with its opposition at home, Washington has to cope at least with obstruction in Paris and London. There seems to be a vicious cross-alliance between the obstructionists both inside and outside of Germany. This alliance, as we have already pointed out, is illogical. One part is fervently for German unification, the other dreads it, and both put their hopes in Russia. A French attitude that pretends to be afraid of present-day western Germany but not of a re-unified Germany on Russian terms is either too dishonest or too illogical to be seriously considered.

The one hope for a constructive solution is to disentangle these contradictions. It must be made quite clear that European integration does not make German unification impossible, whereas a neutralized Germany, unified or not, does make a United Europe impossible.

There is no reason why Russia should always profit by the confusions and contradictions in the Western camp, instead of the other way around.

Italy's Tightrope

One of the top operators of the old Communist International was a man known as Ercoli. During the Spanish civil war, he was one of Moscow's most trusted agents on Spanish soil. While the Second World War was under way, Ercoli took part in the Comintern's postwar planning, while making broadcasts over the Moscow radio. He made these broadcasts in Italian, because his real name is Palmiro Togliatti and he is Secretary-General of the Italian Communist Party.

Shortly after American troops landed in southern Italy to begin their blood-letting campaign against the German armies, Ercoli-Togliatti arrived in Naples in a Soviet army plane. Since then he has emerged as one of the shrewdest, most successful Communist leaders. Outside the Soviet Union, he is second only to Mao Tse-tung of China among professional revolutionaries.

If the Reds should ever manage to gain power in Italy, Palmiro Togliatti would become Moscow's proconsul and local dictator. This June 7, Togliatti's chances for the job increased slightly. At Italy's parliamentary elections, which take place every five years, the Communist-controlled bloc managed to get 218 out of a total of 590 seats in the Chamber of Deputies. Togliatti called it "a victory that is greater than all forecasts."

Togliatti's Communists increased the number of their seats from 131 to 143. Their puppets, the left-wing Socialists, received 75 seats where they previously had held only 52. These left-wing Socialists are out-and-out Kremlin darlings. Their leader, Pietro Nenni, is so much Moscow's boy that last March he shared the rostrum atop Lenin's tomb with top Communist party leaders, when Premier Malenkov made his funeral oration for Stalin.

While the Communists and their stooges are pressing Italy's moderate Premier Alcide De Gasperi from the left, the neo-Fascists are advancing from the right. Their seats increased from 6 to 29. At the same time the Monarchists increased their representation from 9 to 40.

De Gasperi has governed Italy since the end of the war. The extreme parties managed to get 84 more seats, largely because it is human nature to want a change. De Gasperi has governed well, but there is no moderate alternative to his regime. That is where Italy's danger lies. The Italians can't just vote for a change, and expect to retain a non-tyrannical government. Whenever they turn from the center, they are lured by the extremists on the left and right.

In theory, De Gasperi might make a coalition with the Monarchists, but he resents the fact that they have split and weakened the moderate center; he blamed the election results on their "pettiness and selfish ambitions." Still, forty seats in the

Chamber are worth a good deal of post-election forgiveness.

Talk about a coalition illustrates that De Gasperi faces five challenging and dangerous years. Italy will have to walk a political tightrope if it wishes to retain the stability and relative prosperity it has achieved. Americans, who spent \$3,000,000,000 to put Italy on its feet, don't want to see this investment go up in the smoke of partisan fires.

De Gasperi once again faces the gray reality of responsible government, while Togliatti enjoys the golden opportunity of being a disloyal opposition.

Calling Mr. Stassen

The Senate Appropriations Committee was quite right when it asked the Mutual Security Agency to hold off on any new foreign aid ventures. Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, in particular, did well to question plans to push industrialization in a number of foreign countries. The senator said in his letter to Mutual Security Director Stassen that "the real issue in this presentation is whether the MSA falls within the objectives of foreign aid, which is now based on defense rather than general economic assistance."

For years the idea of industrialization has been flung about by socialist-minded economic planners here and abroad. Whenever and wherever a government wanted to make a show doing great things, it would start big, glossy industrialization plans. Dictators, with their personal or national megalomania, have usually been the first to push such plans. Usually, they try to impose industry upon countries that would be doing quite well if they just improved their agriculture and husbandry.

Argentina is a typical case. President Juan Perón tried to siphon enough money out of agricultural exports to finance showy industrial plants, run by the government and top-heavy with bureaucrats. This prideful, economically unjustified change in Argentina's way of life has led the country to the brink of financial disaster. Argentina was one of the world's greatest creditor nations at the end of the war. Now it finds itself in an economic morass of giant proportions.

The Mutual Security Agency and its successor outfit, the projected Foreign Operations Administration, are heirs to attitudes that developed during the years of the ECA, United Nations, and State Department technical aid programs—and the whole paraphernalia of New Deal foreign planning. It should be realized that some countries, particularly in the Near and Far East, have no business going into big-time industrialization. Where there is not any coal or steel, or other important metal deposits, the building of grandiose industries is utterly unsound; any foreign aid program that aids and abets such projects can do more harm than good.

The Truth about Fluoridation

By JAMES RORTY

The program urging fluoridation of municipal water supplies is premature, and the campaign methods of its proponents are questionable.

A substantial number of eminent and highly qualified scientists in this country and abroad believe that we are being sold a more or less lethal gold brick in the form of the fluoridation of municipal water, a public health measure designed to reduce the incidence of tooth decay in young children.

A much larger number of scientists, including thousands of highly competent and experienced physicians, dentists, biochemists, and water engineers take a somewhat less frightening view. They say, simply, that not enough is yet known about the cumulative and variable systemic effects of fluorine—a highly toxic element, hitherto best known for its effectiveness as a rat poison—to warrant introducing even as little as 1 to 1.5 parts per million into the tap water upon which all must depend: the young, the old, the well, the sickly, the allergic, the malnourished.

Another twenty years of research, say these scientists, will be needed before we can be sure, either that fluoridation is safe, or that it will accomplish any net improvement of the dental—and periodontal—health of the population. Meanwhile they are bewildered and outraged by the unscrupulous, authoritarian campaign methods of the fluoridators.

Fluoridation is the dubious bequest to the Eisenhower Administration of ex-Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing, whose former law firm has been employed by one of the principal commercial beneficiaries of the program. Mr. Ewing gave the program the green light four years ago, before the ten-year pilot plant studies that were to have tested the safety and effectiveness of fluoridation had even reached the halfway mark. Already more than 3,000,000 people of all ages in about 600 cities and towns are drinking fluoridated tap water. Important units of the food processing industry have been obliged to use deep wells, or to defluoridate expensively the tap water used in cities that have adopted the program.

In the April issue of the *Journal* of the American Waterworks Association, George S. Brattan, technical advisor of Anheuser-Busch, Inc. in St. Louis urges the citizens of Missouri to go slow on fluoridation, for reasons that apply equally to other cities. If fluoridation of municipal water supplies becomes general, many food processors will be obliged either to seek independent sources of water or risk prosecution by the Food and Drug Administration for exceeding the tolerance limits of

fluorine in their products. If fluoridated water is used in yeast culturing, the fluorine content of the yeast, according to Brattan, would exceed the limits set by at least one manufacturer of baby foods. If fluoridated water is used in the wet-milling of corn, the resulting concentration of fluorine in corn syrup would exceed five parts per million.

Belatedly, the Chambers of Commerce in major cities like Chicago are realizing that the impressive official "front" of the fluoridators, which boasts endorsements by the United States Public Health Service [USPHS], the American Dental Association [A.D.A.], the American Public Health Association, and other professional organizations conceals an incredible lack of the long-term research that should precede the adoption of so grandiose a program.

But although Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis, and New York have all taken a look at fluoridation and decided to do without—for the present at least—the fluoridators have recently been successful in Milwaukee and Cincinnati.

Experts Get the Brush-off

Perhaps the most astonishing episode in the history of the great fluoridation promotion is the insolent brush-off which the professional fluoridators administered a year ago to the House Select Committee to Investigate the Use of Chemicals in Foods and Cosmetics. In hearings lasting from January to March 1952, Chairman James J. Delaney and his seven-man committee heard both sides of the fluoridation controversy. Among the witnesses were one or more representatives of all the organizations that have endorsed the program: the United States Public Health Service, the American Dental Association, the American Medical Association, the American Public Health Association, the Association of State and Territorial Health officers, and the National Research Council.

The committee was exceptionally well qualified. It included two physicians: Dr. A. L. Miller, former state health officer of Nebraska, and Dr. E. H. Hedrick of West Virginia. Its counsel, Vincent Kleinfeld, is recognized as one of the ablest and most experienced food and drug attorneys in Washington.

When all the witnesses had been heard, the committee, which had split wide open on all its other

reports dealing with food, fertilizers, and cosmetics, recommended *unanimously* that "a sufficient number of unanswered questions concerning the safety of the fluoridation program exists to warrant a conservative attitude."

This "go slow" recommendation was too mild for Dr. Miller, who felt that he had been taken in by the Public Health Service when it persuaded him, the year before, to sponsor the bill authorizing the fluoridation of the District of Columbia water supply. In his "additional views" Dr. Miller wrote:

In my opinion the United States Public Health Service has been premature in urging universal use of fluorides in water. They have gone beyond the scope of their duties, or what is expected of them by Congress and the people, in urging communities to adopt the universal fluoridation of water without knowing the results of experiments that are now in progress. . . .

I am convinced that further experiments should be carried on to ascertain what effects fluorides may have upon the child who is ill or upon the adult who has chronic illness . . . I am convinced that many of the groups who now endorse fluorides in water are merely parroting each other's opinions. They have done no original research work themselves . . . In my opinion there is no urgency about the matter.

Normally, the Delaney Committee's "go slow" report would have been enough to halt the program, pending further research. But seemingly the fluoridators are in such haste that they cannot afford to follow accepted standards of political, or for that matter, ethical behavior.

Propaganda Mills Grind Faster

Instead, both the Public Health Service and the Dental Association redoubled their promotional drive. And in the September 1952 issue of the *Journal of the American Dental Association* came the fluoridators' reply to the Delaney Committee, signed by Dr. J. Roy Doty and Dr. W. Philip Phair, respectively Secretary and Assistant Secretary of the Association's Council on Dental Health:

It is our opinion that the Congressional Committee report suffers from a lack of adherence to the proper standards of investigative procedure as evidenced especially by its failure to substantiate many statements which it accepted as fact. The committee also accepted misgivings of a few individuals who appeared as witnesses in spite of the weight of evidence furnished by such organizations as the American Dental Association, the A.M.A., the USPHS, the National Research Council, and the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers.

The "few individuals" referred to by Doctors Doty and Phair numbered seven scientists whose breadth of training and experience as toxicologists, clinicians, biochemists, nutritionists, and research dentists qualified them to appraise all the issues of public health and safety involved in the fluoridation program. In contrast, most of the eleven witnesses who testified for fluoridation were qualified to talk

about only teeth. Being neither toxicologists nor doctors of medicine they were hardly qualified to appraise the total physiological effects of fluorine on the human body.

Dr. Robert S. Harris, who urged delay and further research before fluoridation is generally adopted, is Director of the Nutritional Biochemistry Laboratory at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He listed nineteen basic questions which have not been answered by the proponents of water fluoridation. Most of them have not even been posed by the current pilot plant studies in Newburgh, New York, Grand Rapids, Michigan, and elsewhere, all of which still have from two to five more years to run. Dependable answers, declared Dr. Harris, can be obtained only by long-term laboratory and clinical studies; meanwhile there is plenty of evidence in the research on fluorine toxicosis showing that when even such minute quantities as little more than one part per million are added to drinking water, fluorine interferes with enzyme systems which are involved in the growth of bones and in the functioning of nerve tissues.

Fluorine Causes Mottled Teeth

For nearly a century mottled teeth, also known as "Texas teeth," have been recognized as one of the health hazards of living in the Southwest. It is significant that the two American scientists who in 1930 discovered that fluorine in the drinking water was the cause of this distressing phenomenon are both vigorously opposed to fluoridation. They are Margaret Cammach Smith and Howard V. Smith, biochemists at the University of Arizona. The Smiths have made the study of dental fluorosis their life work. Their investigations in the naturally fluoridated areas of Arizona have shown that the low incidence of caries in young children in these areas increases sharply after the age of twenty-one; moreover, that the decay of fluorized teeth is exceptionally severe and difficult to repair.

Dr. Margaret Smith challenged the Public Health Service "optimum" level of 1 to 1.5 parts per million by citing evidence that the continuous use of domestic water supplies with a fluorine content of one part per million causes at least mild mottling in the teeth of 10 to 12 per cent of the inhabitants of the community.

Other scientists in this country and in England have put the threshold of mottling much lower—to as little as .5 parts per million in the water. Actually, as Dr. F. N. Exner of Seattle has pointed out, it is futile to try to regulate the concentration of fluorine in the water, since it is impossible to control the intake of water or of fluorine-containing food, and since the effects of three glasses of water with 1 ppm are quite like those of one glass containing 3 ppm.

One of the oldest and best known dental research

institutions in America is the Forsythe Dental Infirmary in Boston. Its clinical research director is Dr. Veikko Oscar Hurme. His objections to the fluoridation program, as presented to the Delaney Committee, are much more than "misgivings." Dr. Hurme declared that fluoridation is neither a public health measure nor a preventive procedure; that it is mass medication, undertaken without anything approaching adequate knowledge of fluorine toxicosis or the widely varying tolerances of young and old in health and disease. Moreover, said Dr. Hurme, the claims for the reduction of caries in the communities now fluoridating water—from 20 to 65 per cent—vary so widely as to call into question the methods and the objectivity of the examiners.

Dr. Hurme also challenged the basic assumption on which the whole case of the fluoridators is based: that sodium fluoride, sodium silico-fluoride, or hydrofluoric acid added to drinking water is the precise equivalent of similar concentrations of naturally occurring fluorine compounds in water and foods.

The same challenge was repeated and amplified by three other opponents of fluoridation who appeared before the Delaney Committee: Dr. E. B. Hart, Emeritus Professor of Biochemistry at the University of Wisconsin; Dr. Alfred Taylor, for the past eleven years research scientist at the Biochemical Institute of the University of Texas; Dr. Hans H. Neumann, a Viennese clinician well known as a student of tropical diseases and now engaged in dental research at Columbia University.

Human Guinea Pigs

Epidemiological studies by the U. S. Public Health Service indicate no unusual incidence of cancer, heart disease, nephritis, or other chronic disease in the naturally fluoridated areas of the United States, although these findings have been questioned by the opponents of fluoridation.

But what about the long-term effects, especially on kidney-deficient adults and malnourished children, of adding sodium fluoride, sodium silico-fluoride or hydrofluoric acid to water supplies of widely varying chemical composition? The incredible fact is that nobody knows the answer to this question. Nobody will know until the current grandiose experiments with millions of human guinea pigs have lasted at least twenty years—long enough for fluorine, a cumulative poison, to register its ultimate systemic effects!

Despite their defiance of the Delaney Committee's "go slow" recommendation, the fluoridators have in fact been obliged to slow down, because they have encountered mounting resistance from an increasingly informed public, from a more and more articulate and alarmed group of research dentists, physicians, biochemists, pharmacologists, and water engineers, and also from lawyers concerned with

the invasion of constitutional liberties represented by a program of mass medication. But this opposition has also served to spur the fluoridators into new furies of hurry-up salesmanship, new propaganda enormities, and new attempts to suppress and smear their opponents.

In November 1952, the Council on Dental Health of the American Dental Association issued a pamphlet entitled "Fluoridation Facts: Answers to Criticisms of Fluoridation." The "facts" are an amazing mixture of truth, outright falsehood, half-truth, distortion, and evasion. The "answers" are calculated to reassure the leaders of Parent Teacher Associations and other civic groups that have been persuaded to endorse fluoridation—and to outrage informed professional critics of the program.

Recent Research

During the past twelve months new research reports have served but to deepen the "misgivings" of these critics and to reinforce their opposition by that of a growing number of equally well-qualified scientists.

One of these scientists is Dr. Reuben Feltman, research dentist at the Passaic, New Jersey, General Hospital. Dr. Feltman has spent the past four years conducting studies of children and pregnant women to whom fluoride tablets have been administered in daily doses designed to provide an equivalent of the 1 to 1.5 ppm water fluoridation program, now in effect in some 600 American cities and towns. Some of the pregnant women, Dr. Feltman reports, had such bad reactions in the form of skin inflammation and vomiting that even this small dosage had to be discontinued. Dr. Feltman feels that there are many questions still to be answered, and that when and if fluoridation is adopted it should be done on a study basis.

Neither the United States Public Health Service nor the American Dental Association seems likely to heed such counsels. Experiments by Dr. Alfred Taylor with cancer-susceptible rats showed that rats given fluoridated water had a shorter life span than the controls. Experiments by Dr. A. E. Sobel indicated that the effect of fluoridation in preventing tooth decay is interfered with by the presence of magnesium in the ground water. When challenged by the Public Health Service on technical grounds both scientists took account of the criticisms, repeated their experiments, got precisely the same results—and again, the same brush-off by the fluoridators.

In England the momentum of the fluoridation campaign has been checked by the studies of Dr. Charles Dillon. He found that sodium fluoride reacts upon bone progressively in extremely low concentrations, while calcium fluoride—the usual form in which fluorine is found in ground water—does not react but is progressively absorbed. This, as Dr. Dillon points out:

... is a completely new statement of the facts which has not even been touched upon by those who are ready to consider their work so satisfactorily complete that they are now prepared to fluoridate the water supplies of the world.

In the Spring 1953 issue of *The Land*, Dr. Jonathan Forman notes that it has been shown in the experimental laboratory that the mental reactions in mice and rats who have had fluorides is greatly lessened. "No such studies have been made so far as I know," writes Dr. Forman, "of human youngsters."

Can the Use of Fluorides Retard Memory?

The fact is that precisely such studies, undertaken without benefit of the USPHS or the A.D.A., are now in progress in this country, and that the preliminary findings of these studies are distinctly ominous.

A few years ago the effects of fluorides *other than on tooth decay* became the concern of Dr. Jacob A. Saffir, a member of the American Dental Association and a Fellow of the American Institute of Chemists. At his own expense Dr. Saffir established an office and laboratory in a locality where the drinking water for miles around contained fluorides. Patients and townspeople who came to him were observed from many angles. Soon he felt that one group of patients seemed to vary from similar groups observed in other surroundings—the school children seemed to have more than customary difficulty in the exercise of memory.

Dr. Saffir decided to concentrate his efforts on determining whether he could establish a connection between this difficulty and the use of fluorides. Consultations were had with school teachers and parents, and other avenues of investigation were explored.

As a result of these studies Dr. Saffir believes that fluorides probably cause some mental retardation in children drinking fluoridated water, but he is not yet prepared to publish his results. There should be other such studies, he feels, subsidized by research grants that would make possible rapid progress. Meanwhile, he writes, "In this field, where the proponents of fluoridation will often go to extremes to impose their beliefs, it may be well to exercise care that the proof against fluoridation is overwhelming before it is presented."

This writer has found no reason thus far to believe that the crusaders—as distinguished from the commercial beneficiaries of the program—are motivated by anything except professional zeal, plus the inertia of an ideological commitment which they are unwilling even to examine, let alone retreat from. But the intolerance of the fluoridators and their reckless slander of their opponents—all this is disturbing, to say the least.

In vain does Congressman Miller, one-time fluoridation advocate and now one of its most de-

termined opponents, demand a clarification of the Grand Rapids health statistics, which despite all official discounting, seem to show an abnormal increase of heart and kidney disease since the initiation of the fluoridation program in that city.

In vain do the opponents of fluoridation point out the *ad hoc* tendency of the U. S. Public Health Service reports: item, the minimizing of the Ottawa, Kansas, results, which failed to show the expected reduction of caries as a result of fluoridation; item, the glaring errors in the reports from the Marshall, Texas, pilot plant. One of these errors, which was hastily corrected in a subsequent release, transformed an actual *increase* in dental caries after fluoridation into a purported decrease.

In vain do physicians and health officers with long memories recall the red faces and the scarred reputations that have followed the collapse of similar crusades in the past. For example, twenty years ago it was urged that all water supplies be iodized as a preventive of goiter.

Oscar Ewing's Water Baby

In vain, finally, do critics of the fluoridation program demand an answer to the \$64 question of this extraordinary controversy: Why all the hurry? The fact is that there isn't or shouldn't be any hurry. Parents whose children are "being denied the benefits of fluoridation," as the current American Dental Association propaganda puts it, can give their children these benefits, for whatever they may be worth, and without risk of harmful systemic effects, by having their children's teeth painted with fluoride by the dentist. Or if they discount the possibility of systemic damage, they can have the children swallow a fluoride tablet a day, thereby accurately controlling the dosage, which is impossible when drinking water is fluoridated.

Better still, prevention-minded parents can take the advice of dentists like Dr. Fred M. Miller of Altoona, who estimates that 95 per cent of tooth decay could be eliminated and the general health improved if parents would control their children's diet sensibly, eliminating sweets, pastries, soft drinks, and refined carbohydrates.

The U. S. Public Health Service could end the fluoridation controversy overnight by suspending the program pending further research and shifting its zeal to the development of one or more of these alternative programs. Why it doesn't do this, in view of all that still remains to be known about fluorides, and the disturbing import of what is beginning to be known, is a mystery that might well attract the interest of Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, our new Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. The Eisenhower Administration has enough troubles without being embarrassed by the presence on its doorstep of Oscar Ewing's potentially scandalous water baby.

How to Regain Purse Control

By **CHRISTIAN A. HERTER**

The Governor of Massachusetts, a former member of the House of Representatives, explains what Congress must do to give us a responsible budget.

Nothing is more unanimous among Americans today than the wish that it were possible to cut the federal budget enough to permit substantial tax reduction. Enough members of Congress have joined the same chorus to make it seem probable that there is a clear majority of both branches in favor of reductions at least to the point of budget balance in the fiscal year 1953-54, with tax cuts to follow in the future.

But budget balance and tax reduction are very far indeed from realization. As time passes there are more and more signs that the Administration and the Congressional leadership are confronted with a major dilemma—the emerging realization that mere reduction of the Truman budget will neither produce “balance” nor point the easy way to tax reduction.

The sobering fact is that the fiscal policies of the United States in the past twenty years have been such as to create a situation under which Congress not only has lost control of expenditures, but lacks the necessary tools with which to regain it. Today not even meat-axe slashing of current budget requests would radically affect the over-all dimensions of federal spending.

Why the Problem Exists

The challenge confronting Congress now is no less than to devise the machinery for effectively reasserting its ancient power to control the purse and thus the public tax bill. It is well to review some of the major contributions to this dilemma. Most competent observers would agree that among them would be:

1. Two decades of inflationary deficit financing without provision for debt retirement.

2. The creation of a backlog of more than \$80,000,000,000 of “authorizations” to spend, for which appropriations are in effect pledged.

3. The establishment of broad, continuing, and costly programs which may not be abandoned overnight without greatly endangering the domestic and foreign economic and political balance.

4. A Congressional procedure with respect to financing government operations which, while deeply rooted in tradition, currently displays unique qualities of confusion and frustration in dealing with the acute problem of expenditure control.

There are, of course, many other factors of great

importance, including bureaucratic resistance to economy. But brief consideration of these alone will merely demonstrate that the Administration and Congress are in a far worse position than are the governors and legislatures of the several states in meeting the public clamor for less spending.

Most of the states have always operated with balanced budgets because their constitutions demand it. What is equally important, their debt is almost entirely in serial, revenue, or sinking fund bonds. Term bonds of any dimensions are virtually unknown among the states. Thus the states have a controllable present and a predictable future.

Not so the federal government. Congress confronts an immense debt incurred not only to wage wars, both hot and cold, but to pay part of the ordinary annual operating cost of government as well. When portions of the debt become due, new bonds are issued for old. The total debt swings constantly upward. The destructive inflationary effect of such a policy, long apparent to many economists, is now becoming apparent to everybody.

The “Authorizations” Dilemma

The roots of this policy are deep—and strong, as President Eisenhower is discovering. To a little-understood degree they rest in Congress itself. They grow out of the ancient Congressional custom of “authorizing” future expenditures without facing up at the time to the problem of revenue to meet them.

Under some circumstances, particularly when revenues are large and stable in relation to government needs, such a course may be defended. But when “authorizations” begin measurably and continuously to exceed revenues, the only recourse is to printing-press money in the form of bonds sold to the banks. It is no small part of the dilemma of Congress and the President that the existence of such “authorizations” to an amount somewhere between \$80-100,000,000,000 forbids (or at least inhibits) immediate and substantial tax reduction.

Of course, Congress can repeal authorizations; but the chances of wiping the slate clean to give this Administration a fresh start are remote if not nonexistent. Contracts entered into must be fulfilled and partially executed, whether such contracts are with suppliers of armaments and goods, or with the states. However, there does certainly

exist a large area in which both authorizations and appropriations may be reviewed. And here we come to the crux of the matter:

Congress must approach the problem of budget and security balance as a prelude to tax reduction almost literally without tools and under procedural handicaps which hamstring even the best-intentioned representatives and senators. While some gestures have been made toward supplying analytical staffs for the committees which must make expenditure recommendations, progress in this direction has been slow and faltering, whereas the spending agencies lack for nothing in preparing defense of their demands for money. Many of the more responsible members of Congress are deeply concerned that there is inadequate machinery for their use in a critical appraisal of the budget. Obviously, the first step in regaining Congressional control of expenditures must be to enlarge and strengthen such informational facilities.

Joint Congressional Committees Needed

The next step should be to break down some of the procedural barriers which now load the dice in favor of the spenders. The greatest of these is the traditional complete separation of the House and Senate in every stage of the legislative process. Long ago the states learned that joint committees of House and Senate members sitting together to study important legislative proposals were sound and profitable. Not so Congress. Thus far it has rebelled against even the employment of a common staff for budget purposes. Each branch insists upon separate committees dealing separately with every proposal regardless of its national impact. The sad result is that not even the most fundamentally important legislation is likely to be considered by the House and Senate on the same terms within the same informational framework. This means that legislation is often written by conference committees on a trading basis rather than by concurrent action of both Houses after competent and similar consideration of the issues.

The obvious third step Congress should take is to find the means of seeing the federal fiscal picture as a whole, rather than as a series of jig-saw pieces not always related to each other. Long ago the states recognized this necessity, and undoubtedly many of them, including my own State of Massachusetts, owe their current solvency to this wise course.

So vast and complicated is the federal machinery that devising a method to pull the expenditure pattern into focus on the one hand, and the revenue probabilities on the other, will not be easy. But easy or not, Congressional control of spending will not be accomplished unless it is done.

Several proposals in these directions have been made by earnest members of both House and Senate. They have not had the consideration they de-

serve. They have been laid aside or ignored by all but a minority of members because inevitably old procedures, prerogatives, and privileges would go by the board. Where to make the necessary start is of course a matter for debate. A half-dozen plans worthy of consideration are currently before the House and Senate. None of them appears to have significant support.

It is reasonable to forecast that change will come—because it must. Meanwhile the door must not be closed to progress toward restoration of Congressional control. A simple proposal by Congressman Frederic R. Coudert, Jr. of New York seems to point the way. His bill (HR 2) would merely require that except in real emergencies Congress impose upon itself the restriction that it not appropriate in any year more money than revenue estimates show will be available, and it would authorize the President to hold expenditures within revenues.

This procedure is neither radical nor revolutionary. Its adoption would automatically resolve the question of which comes first, the tax cuts or expenditure reductions. Moreover, a long clear look by Congress at income and outgo at the same time will be the greatest deterrent to extravagance and the sharpest guide to sound fiscal policy the country has had in many years. Once the harsh facts are apparent, the forging of the necessary tools to control them will be undertaken.

“Free Port of the World”

Mexico is a land of plans. In the course of its history many plans, mostly identified by the name of the city in which they originated, have been proclaimed as programs for the country's future political, social, and economic evolution. A small collection of essays by Luis Montes de Oca, Mexico's eminent economist, banker, and statesman (recently published in *Informador Economico*, Mexico City) does not claim for itself the pretentious designation of a plan. Actually, every page of it sketches the outlines of the economic policies the country should adopt. The spirit that pervades these proposals is aptly illustrated by this brief paragraph:

If we really wish to make Mexico a great country, to hasten the day when our people may enjoy a higher standard of living and to bring about lasting abundance, we should abolish all the paralyzing restrictions now prevailing in our relations with the outside world. Perhaps most European nations—oppressed as they are by an economic and social philosophy which is annihilating them—could enrich Mexico, in these times so adverse to them, with their agricultural experience, their technical knowledge, and their capital in flight from insecurity and destruction, if only they could find us ready and able to make our nation into the free port of the world, where undreamed-of wealth and prosperity would flourish in the coming quarter of a century.

LUDWIG VON MISES

A Satellite that Can Be Freed

By ALEXANDER T. JORDAN

In the case of Albania the means are available, the situation ideal for the President to fulfill his pledge on the liberation of oppressed nations.

Both in his campaign pledges and in recent statements, President Eisenhower has taken a firm stand on the liberation of oppressed nations, to be realized, he has promised, as soon as the means are at hand. In the case of one satellite at least, the means of liberation have been available for some time. But they have not yet been used. To do so would lift the morale of other nations within the Soviet orbit more than any other single action the United States could take today.

That country is Albania. To realize how anomalous its situation is, one has only to visualize its opposite: a free country situated behind the Iron Curtain and surrounded by Soviet-controlled territory. Berlin does not offer an analogy, since it is protected by special agreements.

It is possible that the Eisenhower Administration is already planning to remedy this oversight. Failure to do so within the year would seriously undermine the entire campaign of psychological warfare aimed at captive populations in Europe and elsewhere. If the United States cannot even liberate Albania, what chance is there for Poland or Hungary?

Albania was the first of the countries freed from Nazi rule to be taken over by the Communists. It was, in fact, a model. The machinery was all prepared in advance, and there was scarcely a hitch in establishing within a few short months after the end of the war a Communist regime with General Enver Hoxha as prime minister. In November 1945, even before elections had been held, Hoxha's regime had secured recognition by Britain, the United States, and of course the Soviet Union. (The first two broke off relations in 1948, when Albania joined the Cominform, and refused admission of it to the United Nations.)

The particular importance of Albania, from the point of view of its liberation, is its geographical location. It is a small mountainous country stretching about two hundred miles north and south along the Adriatic Sea and about sixty miles inland to meet the borders of Yugoslavia and Greece. It has a population of 1,200,000—largely pastoral and agricultural. Transportation is primitive, there is hardly any industry, and illiteracy is widespread among the Moslem peasants. Albania does possess, however, important mineral wealth: oil and chrome. There are no refining facilities and the small quantity of motor fuel required by Albania is imported from Rumania, while Albanian crude oil goes to

Russia. Oil output has been increased by the efficient if ruthless methods introduced by the Hoxha regime. When oil production dropped off in 1949, for example, the director of the oil combine, Shukri Kellezi, and the party official responsible for its supervision, Abedin Shebu, were both promptly executed. Since that time there has been no lack of zeal among managers, and production has risen steadily. Chrome ore extraction in the Bulcizi mines is encouraged with similar methods. Miners work eight hours a day, plus a ninth hour free—formerly “for Stalin,” now probably for Malenkov. They are paid 100 leks—about two dollars—a day, while the cost of food at the works canteen amounts to about twenty-four dollars per month, and butter in the free market costs \$7.25 a pound. Not surprisingly, 40 per cent of the population suffers from tuberculosis.

The peasants are no better off than the workers. They have to deliver their produce to the government at low prices and then buy it back at a higher rate. There is no need to elaborate on the methods of repression, which follow the now familiar pattern of Communist rule. In 1950 the government was demanding from each peasant twelve kilograms of meat per head of sheep. The farmers must also deliver 1.2 kilograms of wool per head. Those without livestock are assessed on their acreage—at 4.7 kilograms of meat and 1.5 kilograms of wool per hectare. They have to buy these commodities in the free market, at exorbitant prices.

Terror by Remote Control

The Communist terror in Albania has reached proportions found in few of the other satellite countries. More than 30,000 have been liquidated since 1945. This would be paralleled by the execution of nearly 4,000,000 persons in the United States in the same period. Many of the victims were, of course, Communists of earlier vintage. No less than 12,000 members of the Communist Party have been purged since the country's “liberation” by the Soviets.

The Albanian equivalent of the M.V.D. is known as the Sigurimi, and its head, Mehmet Shehu—a Soviet citizen and a graduate of the Moscow Military Academy—has been for some time a rival of Hoxha. The entire mechanism of terror and economic exploitation is operated from Moscow by re-

mote control, through sea and air communication.

Albania has an army of 50,000 men—an establishment corresponding to a standing army of 6,250,000 in the United States if the same degree of mobilization were carried out. That figure does not include the secret police, which is also disproportionately large. There are three divisions, stationed at Tirana, the capital, and at Scutari and Vlone, respectively. The troops are armed with the Russian Tokarev rifle, long discarded by the Red Army. There are also two motorized brigades, eight battalions of frontier guards, and some miscellaneous heavy artillery, coast artillery, mortar, anti-tank, and communication brigades. It is significant that the armor of the Albanian army includes some American Sherman tanks, probably of Soviet Lend-Lease origin, some German tanks, and a small number of Soviet T-34's. Spare parts are lacking and repair facilities are extremely inadequate.

Soviet Bases in Albania

There are many Soviet officers serving at staff headquarters, but hardly any at the regimental level. These Soviet "experts" are paid 25,000 to 35,000 leks (\$500-700) per month, while Albanians of the same rank get 5,000 leks (\$100). The food allotments for Soviet officers are correspondingly higher than those for Albanians. The feelings of the Albanian soldiers for their Russian comrades can easily be imagined; they are eloquently illustrated by the fact that the wives of the Soviet "experts" must be provided with a police escort when they go shopping in Tirana.

At Vlone there is a Soviet naval and air base. It is manned by two regiments of Russian marines and a Soviet air force division, altogether about 5,000 men, under Vice Admiral Igor Rzhevsky. Reports about the establishment of a major Soviet submarine base, however, have been disproved. There are at Vlone ten midget submarines of the "M" type, which were transported in parts on Soviet freighters and assembled in Vlone. Their crews are Russian. Albania has practically no navy or air force of her own. It is interesting to note that when invasion landing exercises were held on the Albanian coast in June 1952, the invading forces won an easy victory. The officers commanding the defense forces were, of course, severely reprimanded.

Moscow has evidently decided that Albania's position is too exposed to be worth the investment of heavy armament. Furthermore, the loyalty of the Albanian army is doubtful, and there are a hundred desertions to Yugoslavia every month. All the supplies and ammunition have to be transported over seas controlled by enemy navies, and in consequence the strength of Albania either as an offensive base, or a defense bastion, is negligible. The country could therefore quite easily be cut off from Soviet power simply by interrupting the sea traffic, since

the Russians could hardly operate an air bridge of Berlin proportions with planes flying over Yugoslav territory.

There are only two non-Communist legations in Tirana: the French and the Italian. The Soviet Legation is the actual seat of the government, and cabinet meetings are often held there for the convenience of the Minister, Dmitri Chuvakhin, who in the approved manner plays off Enver Hoxha against his police chief, Mehmet Shehu, and vice versa. Both Albania's neighbors, Yugoslavia and Greece, have territorial claims against that country, while Britain has a judgment for \$2,363,000 awarded by the International Court for the loss of forty-four British sailors and damage to two destroyers by Albanian-laid mines in the Corfu channel in 1946. Naturally there are no Albanian assets abroad against which this judgment could be secured. In 1948 the Albanian Legation was expelled from Belgrade, and diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia were severed.

Relations with the Vatican and with Italy have suffered as a result of the brutal persecution of the Catholic Church in Albania. Out of eighty Catholic priests in the country in 1946, no less than fifty-four were killed by the Communists, nineteen are imprisoned, and only a few old prelates are still permitted to carry on their duties. Monsignor Nicholas Vincent Prennushi, Archbishop of Durazzo, was arrested in 1947 and died after torture. The breaking of bones, rubbing salt into wounds, immersion of feet in scalding water, application of hot irons, and electric shock are among the favorite torture devices of the Hoxha regime.

Avoid the Lesser Evil

In considering the liberation of Albania, a Titoist solution offers the greatest temptation. Tito himself might help in carrying out such a plan—after all, he is an old friend of Enver Hoxha. Very little outside pressure would be needed and diplomatic proprieties would be observed. Such an idea may well appeal to those who want to steer a middle course between containment and liberation. All the dirty work would be done by Hoxha or his successor, while Tito would at one stroke enlarge his sphere of influence in the Balkans and appear to the West in the role of the liberator of a sister nation.

The Albanian exiles might welcome such a solution, since a Titoist Albania would be the lesser of two evils. But the effect on the other enslaved nations—and indeed among all the genuine anti-Communists throughout the world—would be disastrous. All the moral values of a Crusade for Freedom would be denied by such a cynical policy, while the people of Albania would continue to be deprived of individual liberty, as are the Yugoslavs under Tito.

If the United States should become, directly or

indirectly, a party to a "liberation" confined to a shift from one Communist regime to another, the loss of confidence in American motives could be greater than if nothing was done and the present situation continued indefinitely. How could America continue to appeal to satellite nations—and to the Russians themselves—to rise against the Communists if such a deal were to be consummated?

On the other hand, a real liberation of Albania could have a world significance out of proportion to the size of this country. It would be the first case of a Communist-dominated country set free by the forces of the West. The economic reconstruction of Albania would not be a costly task, and with its natural wealth of oil and chrome ore the country could soon become not only self-supporting, but comparatively prosperous. Its example would give tremendous encouragement to other oppressed nations. In terms of psychological warfare alone the liberation of Albania would pay vast dividends and would be a conclusive evidence of the sincerity of the United States in advocating a policy of liberation.

Naturally, there is no reason why a free, democratic Albania should not enter into close cooperation with Yugoslavia, on the same terms as Greece and Turkey. But there would be a vast difference between having in the Balkans another country, even as small as Albania, under wholly Western influence and having there another dissident Communist dictatorship.

Effect on the Kremlin

The liberation of Albania would inevitably involve a clash with the Soviet Union. But it is most unlikely that Moscow, in its present state of interregnum, would risk all-out atomic war for the sake of a million shepherds in the hills of Albania. When Malenkov and his advisers are ready for such a conflict, they will start it regardless of what is done or not done in Albania. The theory of "provocation" of Moscow is inspired by abysmal ignorance of Soviet psychology and tactics. In fact, there is good reason to think that such an initiative might halt Soviet war plans for a while by revising the Kremlin's estimate of the moral courage of the enemy—an estimate which is at present singularly low.

There are several possible methods of liberating Albania. As far as purely military operations are concerned, the task would not be unduly difficult. The fact that the Communist regime relies almost entirely on sea transport for its link with Soviet Russia opens obvious opportunities. A blockade of the Albanian coast could be extremely effective and probably sufficient to secure the fall of the Hoxha government. There are in Yugoslavia about 10,000 Albanian exiles; there are others in Italy and elsewhere; while in America there is an Albanian National Committee. Once the resistance of the Com-

unist regime was weakened by blockade, a small armed force would probably be sufficient to seize the country. That force could be spearheaded by a legion of anti-Communist exiles. If there were not enough Albanians, it is very likely that Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, and others would volunteer for such a mission. With full naval support from the NATO fleets in the Mediterranean, such a force could probably capture Tirana within a few days. The important thing is that such a force and not Tito's Communist army should be the decisive factor in any plan for liberation.

The settlement of the territorial disputes between Albania and Yugoslavia and Greece would be a thorny problem, as would the choice of a government for the liberated country. A free election would naturally be held, but in view of the unfamiliarity of the population with the democratic process, it is clear that the quality of the new government would depend on the liberators rather than the liberated. The importance of what could be done in Albania would lie in the fact that a precedent and a pattern would thus be set for other, larger satellite countries.

If the United States, in concert with its North Atlantic Treaty allies, brought freedom and prosperity to Albania, the effect on world opinion would be immense. The landing of United States Marines at Vlone would do more for American prestige and win more friends for America than the thirty billion dollars spent on foreign aid since the war.

Cockcrow

O come, announcer, tell me once again
That the sun rises, that the moon will wane
And yet still wax, soothe me against the shock
In veins less lasting than a vein of rock.

Ancestral world, face me, I face you.
This is your bounden duty and mine too.
Open that dumb great mouth and speak at last
The secret which we both have held too fast.

Eyes, eyes, I see you, raindrops gleaming by,
Stars in the far, unconscionable sky
And people, people, most of them in love.
What is this death that we are thinking of?

Give me the clasp that everybody wants
But not the clutch too close that ever haunts
Each one of us and leaves us with a stare
Into our ancestry and into air.

My own estate I leave to the insane,
To any fond possessor of a brain,
That useless instrument, that ticking clock
Less certain than the crowing of a cock.

WITTER BYNNER

Denationalize Electric Power

By O. GLENN SAXON

Nationalization of our public utilities has gone forward by leaps and bounds since 1933, but the present Administration can reverse this trend.

America's most decided advance toward collectivism to date has been the phenomenal rise, in the past twenty years, of socialized electric power. One of the oldest vote-getting devices in modern history has been the demagogue's promise to the people to nationalize first the public utilities, then all other natural resource industries. In other nations such programs have commonly led to expanded national debt, uncontrollable inflation, and national insolvency. With the new Administration in Washington, it may now be possible at last to halt this dangerous trend in the United States.

In this country prior to 1933 only a negligible percentage of total electric power was produced by public authorities—chiefly state and municipal agencies. In 1930 the federal government owned an annual generating capacity of only 227,000 kilowatts of electric power—less than 1 per cent of the total generating capacity of the nation. This federal production had been developed as strictly incidental to federal reclamation projects. Great care was taken to prevent unfair competition with private power enterprises.

In 1928 the first federal multiple-purpose dam for flood control and water power was authorized by a Congressional grant of a \$140,000,000 loan to construct the Hoover (formerly Boulder) Dam on the Colorado River. This project was the result of a five-state compact. Before construction began, long-term contracts were negotiated assuring revenues from the sale of water and power sufficient to repay within fifty years the original capital and all costs of the project, including an annual interest charge of 4 per cent, as well as all maintenance and operating costs. In addition, provision was made for full payments to the states in lieu of taxes. Since 1935, when the dam was completed, power and water rates have been held sufficiently high to protect the federal government's full investment at a fair interest rate. This has been done without unfair charges to consumers or jeopardy to competing private enterprises. The program established a clear precedent and pattern by which federal funds could be used beneficially, where necessary, to develop any number of river valley projects on a sound, self-sustaining, self-liquidating, taxpaying, and non-socialistic basis.

Since 1933 the New and Fair Deals have totally ignored the tested principles of the Hoover Dam project, and engaged, instead, in a program of de-

liberate socialization. It was in 1933 that the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) was created. Hydro-electric power was to be produced in huge quantities, but only as a "by-product" of a necessary conservation program (to give the project the semblance of constitutionality). The government itself was to sell this "by-product" power at "cost" as a "national yardstick" of value. This "cost," however, did not include recapture of the true costs, such as real construction costs, interest charges, taxes, etc.

So TVA started with one hydro-electric plant having a capacity of 184,000 kilowatts. The original outlay was \$47,000,000. Before long, steam power plants, which have nothing to do with flood control, were added. The government was now openly in the power business. Today TVA operates twenty-six hydro plants and eleven steam plants with a combined capacity of over 4,000,000 kilowatts. The over-all cost to the taxpayers has been more than \$1,600,000,000.

The New-Fair Deal Socialization Program

Since 1933, federal river valley projects involving outlays of many billions of dollars of taxpayers' funds have been developed without the consent of the states. The table below (taken from government documents and Congressional hearings) shows how the early estimates given Congress grossly misrepresented the final costs or present estimate of costs of these eight socialistic federal power projects:

PROJECT	EARLY ESTIMATE	FINAL COST OR PRESENT EST.
Central Valley, Cal.	\$170,000,000	\$2,300,000,000
Hungry Horse, Mont.	39,000,000	102,900,000
Detroit Reservoir, Ore.	20,530,000	67,460,000
Bugs Island, Va.	31,730,000	84,860,000
Garrison, N. D.	130,000,000	302,356,000
Oahe, S. D.	50,000,000	317,500,000
Grand Coulee, Wash.	63,000,000	754,500,000
TVA	310,000,000	2,500,000,000
TOTAL	\$814,260,000	\$6,429,576,000

In the past twenty years federal power capacity has grown from 300,000 horsepower to 15,000,000. It now represents 12 per cent of the total power capacity of the country. This tax-subsidized and tax-exempt federal power is being sold below pro-

duction costs in twenty-seven states in direct competition with private companies that pay all taxes at local, state, and federal levels and receive no tax subsidies from any source.

Federal generating plants, including those now under construction or authorized by Congress, when completed at a further cost of more than \$4,000,000,000, will supply close to 25 per cent of the nation's total electric power generating capacity. The completion of this already authorized program will increase the number of federal plants to more than two hundred, and will raise their generating capacity to 37,000,000 horsepower. This will equal the total capacity of the nation in 1927, and bring the total cost of all federal power projects—in capital outlays alone—to more than \$10,000,000,000.

The federal government, in addition, not content with its own socialization program between 1933 and 1939, made outright free grants and low-interest loans totaling more than \$200,000,000 to municipalities, to encourage their development of electric generating and distributing plants in competition with existing private taxpaying enterprises. More than 14,000 miles of transmission and distribution lines have been developed by these federal and local projects. The Hoover Commission¹ found that "these . . . lines duplicate existing power facilities." The House Committee on Appropriations also found that "the federal . . . transmission lines to power markets frequently duplicate and tend to threaten existing and prospective private investments which do and could further serve the public adequately and as full taxpayers."

The Bonneville Power Administration (in the State of Washington) is already generating 57 per cent of all power consumed in the Pacific Northwest. It has spent with Congressional authorization, more than \$25,000,000 to build competing transmission systems. Many private companies in that area have already sold out parts of their systems to federal and municipal generating or distributing plants, or to tax-free electric cooperatives. To all of them the U. S. Department of the Interior has given preference. It has refused to negotiate long-term contracts to supply power to private companies. It has built extensive transmission systems to serve federal power directly to any public or cooperative body that pays no taxes.

Prejudice Against Free Enterprise

The extent to which prejudice against private capital has been carried is evidenced by the fact that the last Secretary of the Interior under the Truman Administration influenced the Federal Power Commission against granting a license to a private company to spend up to \$200,000,000 to build a power dam on the Snake River in Idaho. He declared: "It is my duty to prevent private

¹This committee of twelve men functioned from 1947 to 1949 as a research and advisory body to the President on matters of organization.

power companies from developing sites which might be used for public power supply." In fact, the federal government was planning a much more ambitious project to seek Congressional authority to spend \$800,000,000 on the Snake River. Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay, however, has reversed that decision for the sake of economy. The license to the private company has been granted—a major step in carrying out President Eisenhower's pre-election pledge to halt further socialization of industry.

Since 1933 the federal government has directly advanced in outright grants or low-interest loans, or authorized by commitments to the Rural Electrification Administration, more than \$2,750,000,000 for the financing of 120 tax-exempt cooperative generating stations with an annual capacity of 1,142,000 kilowatts. In addition, there are seventy-five state and other local or regional public power districts that are locally tax-exempt, and are subsidized wholly or in part by federal funds.

Loss of Tax Revenues

Tax-exemption of private profit-making cooperatives and governmental projects was not too serious when federal tax rates on corporate incomes were only 1 per cent (as in 1913) or even 12 to 25 per cent (as in the 1920s). But when they rose to 38 per cent in the New Deal prewar era, and to 52 per cent at present, with a graduated "excess profits" tax which has raised the over-all rate in many cases to 82 per cent of net income, tax-exemption of public power projects means certain destruction of all taxpaying competitors. Though cooperatives doubtless have a proper place in rural electrification, even when and where they compete with existing private taxpaying power companies, it is hard to find any justification for tax-exemption of their profit-making operations.

Federal agencies, the Hoover Commission reported, have recommended many other federal power projects to Congress, and their reports contain blueprints for still more. The Hoover Commission stated that all these contemplated but as yet unauthorized projects, "if constructed, would involve an expenditure of over \$35,000,000,000 and would have an installed generating capacity almost equal to the whole of the actual capacity of the country in 1947." Speaking in Cleveland on April 11, former President Herbert Hoover estimated that "if they were all undertaken, it would bring the total [federal capacity] to almost 90,000,000 horsepower" (compared to 37,500,000 on completion of all presently *authorized* projects).

These contemplated projects, if constructed even at their estimated costs, would raise the total capital investment in federal power projects to more than \$45,000,000,000—equal to the total federal debt of 1939.

In the last fiscal year private power companies

paid more than \$750,000,000 in taxes to the federal government and almost \$470,000,000 to state and local governments. Federal power projects paid less than \$5,000,000 in lieu of taxes to the state and local governments—and none to the federal government. With federal projects now producing one-eighth of our total generating capacity, the probable tax revenues lost to the federal government last year exceeded \$90,000,000, and the loss to state and local governments approximated \$60,000,000, a total of almost \$150,000,000. These figures do not include the losses in revenues due to tax-exemption of state and local power projects and power co-operatives. Nor do they include interest charges on capital investment that are not now being fully paid by all these public projects.

Under these circumstances, it is only reasonable that the President and Congress act promptly on Mr. Hoover's proposal that all federal power projects be denationalized wherever practicable. Where their denationalization is not feasible, in view of the functions of flood-control, national defense, etc., Mr. Hoover proposes that they be leased on long-term contracts to private enterprises, or that their products be sold to private enterprises at rates which, where private competition permits, will recoup all costs properly chargeable to power production, including amortization of original investments, interest on capital, and all federal, state, and local taxes.

The electric and power companies have surpassed all other American industries in weathering the storms of two wars, spiraling inflation, deflation, high taxation, and governmental interference. Today there is no power shortage in any area served primarily by these companies. While living costs have almost doubled since 1939, the cost of electricity has steadily declined. In 1940 the average cost of electricity to the U. S. domestic consumer was 3.84 cents per kilowatt. In 1952 this average had been reduced to 2.77 cents, a decrease of 28 per cent, in spite of the fact that during this period average weekly wages to electric light and power employees had more than doubled, fuel costs had nearly doubled, and federal, state, and local taxes had increased to the point where they now take about 23 cents out of every revenue dollar paid by customers for electricity.

This remarkable record of service to the public has not resulted from federal invasion of the power business. It was largely the result of intelligent planning and increased efficiency of operation on the part of the private power companies, along with steady technological improvements in generating facilities and new uses for electricity developed by our large privately owned manufacturers of electric equipment.

During the last five years alone these companies have raised more than \$7,000,000,000 in new capital. Approximately 65 per cent of this was derived from sale of bonds, 14 per cent from preferred

stocks, and 21 per cent from common stocks. The bonds and preferred stocks were sold largely to institutional investors. The common stocks were sold primarily to individuals, including especially the customers of the companies in their respective areas.

The new capital requirements of the privately owned electric power and light companies for the foreseeable future are estimated at \$1,500,000,000 to \$2,000,000,000 annually.

Can Private Industry Take Over?

Private companies can, without doubt, raise over the next few years all the capital necessary to their own expansion, as well as the several billions needed for purchase of that portion of the government's power facilities that can be sold.

In the first place, it must be remembered that additional national savings will not be required. If proceeds received by the government from sales of power projects are used for retirement of government debt, there need be no net increase in the volume of the people's savings. A substantial portion of the government's facilities might be leased by, rather than sold to, private industry. If the private power companies were to finance 75 per cent of the purchase price of the government's present power properties by sale of their bonds and preferred stocks, institutional investors could readily absorb the billions involved, especially if their holding of government bonds was reduced simultaneously.

The power companies were able to raise approximately \$450,000,000 from sale of common stocks during the past year. It does not seem unreasonable to expect that individuals, investment companies, and other investors could absorb double this amount each year—and especially with the new investor confidence that would be generated by government withdrawal from the power field. Barring various unforeseeable contingencies, it should be possible to have the federal government withdraw completely from the power field just as rapidly as necessary legislation and contractual negotiations would permit. In the meantime, all plans for government-owned, single-purpose power plants should be abandoned. Private industry will build these plants if they are economically justified. All unexpended appropriations for multi-purpose projects should be withheld, wherever practicable, and no new projects started, unless provision is made for distribution of their power by privately owned tax-paying corporations, with no preferences to co-operatives or other non-taxpaying entities.

There are five basic reasons why the federal government should get out of the power business. They are as follows:

1. To reduce its debt;
2. To reduce its expenditures, including payroll;
3. To provide a new source of tax revenues to

aid in balancing federal, state, and local budgets and reducing tax rates;

4. To give consumers the benefit of the more efficient and lower cost service which the record here and abroad clearly shows private management invariably provides;

5. To reverse the trend toward socialism and big government in business which, if continued on the scale contemplated, will lead to socialization of other fields and, finally, to national bankruptcy and the Welfare State.

Our Diplomacy Strangled "Operation Strangle"

By **ROBERT DONLEVIN**

The highly advertised U. S. Air Force plan, "Operation Strangle," was launched in Korea on August 18, 1951. Its general purpose was to isolate the enemy's front lines from supply centers in the rear. But its results provide a footnote to General James A. Van Fleet's recent description in his *Life* articles of our pussyfooting diplomacy in Korea.

In the spring of 1951 General Van Fleet's vastly outnumbered forces had smashed two major enemy offensives. The brilliant former commander of our Eighth Army has pointed out: "Though we could readily have followed up our successes and defeated the enemy, that was not the intention in Washington; our State Department had already let the Reds know that we were willing to settle on the 38th parallel."

A barrage of criticism greeted Operation Strangle. Foot-slogging ground troops were disturbed by the idea that the plan would divert combat aircraft from tactical support of their operations to strategic rear-area targets of allegedly dubious value. Other opponents of the plan asserted that the Air Force could not have much effect on the primitive means of transportation used by the enemy in this stage of the campaign.

Nevertheless, Air Force spokesmen repeatedly insisted that the operation was paying off. In a dispatch from Tokyo on December 26, 1951, Lieutenant General Otto Weyland, commanding general of the Far East Air Force, gave notice that Operation Strangle would be continued at top priority and not ended after ninety days as had originally been intended. He characterized it as a "remarkable air campaign" that had shattered rail transportation in North Korea and caused the destruction of, or damage to, 40,000 Communist trucks, preventing the enemy from building up for an offensive.

Brigadier General Dudley Hale, vice-commander of the Fifth Air Force in Korea at the time, was

not so optimistic. In an unreported speech I heard him make recently in Paris, he described "Operation Strangle" as a misnomer. "The operation," he said, "was supposed to be patterned after a similar operation used in Italy in World War Two with considerable success. The object of a strangle operation is to cut the supply lines feeding the enemy's fighting troops, but for the operation to succeed the enemy must be forced to use those lines to the maximum.

"In other words, it is not simply an air operation, as the public had been led to believe, but an air-ground operation which, to succeed, should catch the enemy in a pincers made up of the two participating arms. To defend himself against the coordinated ground offensive the enemy is forced to draw deep breaths on his supply lines which are simultaneously pounded mercilessly from the air. If there is no coordinating ground offensive, and the front is quiet, the enemy can husband his supplies. The trickle that comes through on the backs of coolies is sufficient to keep him going and even to build up a stockpile. No pincer action is possible because one of the jaws of the pincers is missing."

Doomed to Failure

This was precisely the situation in Operation Strangle. What was lacking in Korea was a coordinated ground offensive. General Van Fleet wrote:

"Instead of getting directives for offensive action, we found our activities more and more proscribed as time went on. Even in the matter of straightening out our lines for greater protection, or capturing hills where the Reds were looking down our throats, we were limited by orders from the Far East Command in Japan, presumably acting on directives from Washington. First we were permitted to use a single division, then the number of troops was lowered until about all we could take was patrol action."

Operation Strangle, by the testimony of both generals, was doomed to failure from the start. Even this half-baked substitute for a full-fledged policy commensurate with our military strength and our aims for an independent, united Korea was hamstrung by weak-kneed diplomacy.

Today at Panmunjom we are reaping the whirlwind. Agreement has now been reached on the prisoner-of-war issue, with at least some assurance that the 48,500 Chinese and North Korean prisoners who rejected Communism will not be sent back to death and torture. But North and South Korea are to remain divided; worse, there is no guarantee that Chinese Communist troops will be required to withdraw from North Korea. So we have settled nothing; Operation Strangle is but a typical instance of our general, shameful failure in strategy and diplomacy.

Russia's Privileged Class

By **MARTIN EBON**

The utopian blueprint for a dictatorship of the proletariat has been slightly revised by Soviet bureaucrats, who have developed a bourgeois craving for champagne and Cadillacs.

When the new Premier of the Soviet Union, Georgi M. Malenkov, addressed the pseudo-parliamentary Supreme Soviet on March 15, he promised "to increase the material well-being of the workers, collective farmers, and the intelligentsia." In these words he identified the three classes in the far from "classless society" of the Soviet state.

Of the three, the so-called intelligentsia is the ruling class. It includes the whole political, economic, and cultural hierarchy that runs the Soviet Union. It is this bureaucratic top level that has hugged the slender privileges the Soviet state has to offer—better food, clothes, and housing than is given the other classes. Whichever clique loses out in the game of Kremlin power politics loses also its tightly held privileges.

The Soviet Union was supposed to be a "dictatorship of the proletariat," a state of the "workers and peasants." What happened to this utopian blueprint was this: Once the Communist hierarchy had entrenched itself, it quickly developed the predatory practices common to all uncontrolled bureaucracies. Behind a pious facade, behind a lot of talk about "Communist ethics" and the "new Soviet man," this bureaucracy adds to its special privileges, manages to enrich itself by corruption, and to drain into its black markets the food, clothes, and housing of which the 200,000,000 people in the Soviet Union are desperately short. Corruption in high places is hushed up, of course. But in the lower ranks of the Soviet bureaucracy lack of proper "Communist ethics" does get into public print.

Let us take a closer look at the case of one greedy ragweed inspector, as reported in the Soviet press. The time: early last year. The place: the city of Stavropol. The villain: Chief Inspector Solovyev. It all began when Inspector Solovyev, as a member of the privileged bureaucracy, was given a car for his private use. Only one in ten thousand Soviet citizens can sport a car, and so workers at the plant quarantine station at Stavropol gathered around, with admiration and envy, as Solovyev's sedan rolled into the courtyard. It was a moment of triumph in the inspector's life. But it did not take long for the distinction to lose its luster. Solovyev started to yearn for greater things. "How would it be," he mused, "if I got me a private chauffeur?"

Inspector Solovyev, a keen mind at governmental

bookkeeping, asked his chief accountant: "Which of our budget items is the least strained?"

The accountant caught on fast. "Yes," he said, "I understand. You need a chauffeur, but it is very difficult to get one for a private car. We might, however, charge it against the ragweed control account."

A chauffeur named Yakovenko was hired at the equivalent of two hundred dollars a month. On the books the chauffeur was given the imposing title of "Technician-Fumigator." Dipping into the ragweed kitty, however, was like eating salted peanuts. Solovyev just couldn't stop. The car had to be maintained, repairs made, gasoline paid for. The inspector dipped again into the ragweed fund—this time for 3,500 rubles.

Other men on the Chief Inspector's staff began to put their fingers in the till. The bookkeeper took 5,800 rubles; an inspector helped himself to 800 rubles, charged against "fumigation of the orchards in Pyatigorsk." All told, more than 40,000 rubles were taken by members of the fumigation bureaucracy and charged to the ragweed account.

Ragweed Nepotism

Meanwhile, ragweed was flourishing all over the place. Inspector Solovyev knew the answer to this: take a trip to Moscow and consult with top brains in the anti-ragweed drive. His travel expenses, and those of his wife, came from the ragweed account. This was only the initiation of ragweed nepotism. Solovyev began to put friends and relatives on the ragweed payroll; they in turn hired wives, sisters-in-law, and cousins as "fumigators" and ragweed officials.

Finally, the whole scheme caught up with Solovyev, who thereupon hired a lawyer for his defense—appropriately listed as a "fumigator."

Judging from the Soviet press, the Solovyev ragweed affair is not at all an isolated case. Juggling the books, in one way or another, appears to be the manner in which a large percentage of Soviet officials add to their salaries. Most of the cases publicly reported deal with plant directors and smaller officials. Rarely do cases of corruption within the Communist Party itself leak out.

One case, however, was apparently too flagrant to be hushed up. It happened in the Karelo-Finnish Republic, on the borders of Finland. Fish industry

officials had been guilty of large-scale embezzlement. Nevertheless, they were so thick with local Communist bigwigs that they almost succeeded in having the investigation squashed.

The chief bookkeeper in one fishery office tried in vain to draw attention to the juggling of books that was going on. He went to several officials in the local party hierarchy. He was fired.

Finally the whole fishy business came to Moscow's attention. As a result, the Minister and the Deputy Chairman of the Republic's Council of Ministers were kicked out of the Communist Party and dismissed from their ministerial posts. Other party bosses received "severe reprimands." When, a few months later, Moscow took a second look, the chief of the Karelo-Finnish Communist Party was fired, too. Thus, the public got a rare glimpse of corruption within the Communist bureaucracy.

How Widespread Is Corruption?

How widespread is this corruption among Soviet officials? In Lavrenti Beria's home state, the Georgian Republic, official statistics give a clue to the over-all picture. In 1948 the Georgian Communist Party expelled three thousand of its members; 12 per cent of the cases involved "embezzlement and other criminal offenses." A similar indication comes from one of the smallest Soviet regions, the Moldavian Republic. There, in 1949, twelve hundred cases of embezzlement were reported from a single branch of the bureaucracy.

The facts of Soviet life are particularly conducive to illegal dealings. Bureaucratic inefficiency, lack of public supervision over government functions, and lack of consumer goods encourage shady practices. The bleakness of daily life creates enormous pressure toward corruption in order to obtain the bare essentials of human existence. In Russia the housing shortage overshadows everything else. Small wonder, therefore, that Soviet bureaucrats use their official prerogatives to get the jump on the average citizen who has no high-level pull. The new industrial area beyond the Ural Mountains is particularly short; much of Russia's coal is now being mined there. Like every other outfit, the Korkino Coal Mining Trust was handed a building schedule. During the first eight months of 1951, however, the Korkino management reported that it had been able to fulfill only 34 per cent of its housing plan. How did that happen?

According to *Pravda*, the Korkino boys had taken materials and manpower from the workers' housing program and used it to build themselves a cozy little suburban community. This is the way the Moscow paper described it:

Many three-ton trucks loaded with Trust-owned timber, bricks, and cement were coming to the site selected by Ivan Poluektovich. A Trust architect with rolls of blueprint paper under his arm became a frequent visitor in Poluektovich's private office. Carpenters, bricklayers, and plasterers, diverted

from the Trust construction sites, made their appearance on the high-speed construction job for Ivan Poluektovich. Outlines of a magnificent two-story building became visible beyond an impressive fence. His wife, a strong-minded woman, had proved most able as supervisor of the construction job, whereby she managed to get for herself a two-story house, a two-story shed, a dog kennel in modern style, and a fancy flower bed. She was displeased with only one thing—that her house was built on a lonely spot, which meant that there were no neighbors handy with whom she could gossip or who could come to visit her.

So Ivan Poluektovich went further in order to please his energetic and demanding wife:

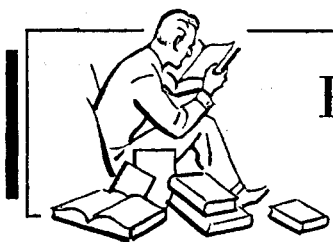
Stacks of bricks and lumber were ordered to neighboring sites, and other houses and cottages were thrown up with lightning speed. Thus the new Novaya Rakitnaya Street came into being in the center of the mining town of Korkino. At the party conference someone asked: "Whose street and whose houses are these?" The party secretary simply replied: "The managers of the Trust have built a separate street for themselves." The Trust's workers were employed in the construction of the houses, and the best building materials were used!

One of the latest stories coming out of Moscow provides a curious sidelight on the manners and mores of the Soviet ruling class. It is the story of the missing champagne. It seems that quite a large quantity of alcoholic beverages was being written off as lost or wasted, but the manner of loss or wastage was not known. The Moscow paper *Trud* wrote that "thousands of bottles of champagne disappear in a mysterious fashion from the champagne factories." Specifically mentioned were the champagne combines in the Don and Bessarabian regions; and so the Soviet Ministry of Food set up "norms," fixing how much might legally be "lost."

Wine and Champagne Racket

Trud didn't think the Ministry's "norm" order was going to make much difference. Apparently, investigations into the disappearance of wine and champagne had been made each year, but no change had taken place. As the paper put it: "Up to the present time, the norms for loss and wastage have been such as to create favorable conditions for those who love easy profit."

It would appear that the Soviet liquor bureaucracy works a neat wine and champagne racket. Officials claim maximum wastage permitted by industry rules, regardless of whether any wine or champagne has actually been lost. The top losses permissible are automatically entered into the books of the champagne combines, and the difference is either sold or guzzled. *Trud* reports that, out of every hundred bottles of champagne, twenty-six officially disappear; out of every hundred barrels of wine, sixteen are used to moisten the throats or line the pockets of the liquor bureaucracy. "What an overflowing sea for lovers of the bubbly liquid!" adds *Trud*, with ill-concealed thirst.



Romantic Statesmanship

By MAX EASTMAN

Sir Winston Churchill first won distinction among his fellows as the stupidest boy in school. For his entrance examination in Latin he handed in a single sheet of paper containing a figure 1 in brackets, two smudges, and a blot. He was admitted on the assumption that the son of Lord Randolph Churchill, a brilliant if erratic orator-politician, could not be completely devoid of intelligence—it must be a case of “originality.” But Winston did nothing to justify this assumption. He “passed into Harrow the lowest boy in the lowest form, and he never moved out of the Lower School the whole five years he was there.”

I learn these encouraging facts—encouraging to other boys with an allergy against education—from *Winston Churchill: The Era and the Man*, by Virginia Cowles (378 pp., Harper & Brothers, \$5.00). A blurb on the jacket quotes the *London Times* as calling this book “the most useful portrait of Mr. Churchill yet made.” “Useful” seems a strange adjective for so fascinating a book, a political history of our times so concisely and clearly conceived as to make almost a metallic setting for the many-faceted gem of individual genius she has adroitly placed in it. It takes a wealth of knowledge and an uncommon agility of judgment to make a man shine out of an era like that.

However, I did find the book useful also. It helped to solve a problem that has troubled my mind these last ten years: the problem, namely, how a man of Churchill’s dry ironical intelligence, prolonged experience, and true sense of responsibility for the defense of “civilization and freedom,” could permit himself to say such recklessly blind and foolish things as he has said at critical moments about Soviet Communism and about Stalin. Some of his statements have been foolish enough to suggest that he was as ignorant as Roosevelt of the things a world statesman needed to know. But that would hardly be possible—and he wasn’t. He knew all about Russian Communism, and in its practical aspect knew it right down to the ground. You could hardly find in the anti-Communist press today a better explanation of what we are up against than was written by Winston Churchill around 1930, republished in his *Great Contemporaries* in 1937:

Communism is not only a creed. It is a plan of campaign. A Communist is not only the holder of certain opinions; he is the pledged adept of a well-thought-out means of enforcing them. The anatomy of dis-

content and revolution has been studied in every phase and aspect, and a veritable drill book prepared in a scientific spirit for subverting all existing institutions. The method of enforcement is as much a part of the Communist faith as the doctrine itself. At first the time-honored principles of Liberalism and Democracy are invoked to shelter the infant organism. Free speech, the right of public meeting, every form of lawful political agitation and constitutional right are paraded and asserted. Alliance is sought with every popular movement toward the left.

The creation of a mild liberal or socialist regime in some period of convulsion is the first milestone. But no sooner is this created than it is to be overthrown. Woes and scarcity resulting from confusion must be exploited, collisions, if possible attended with bloodshed, are to be arranged between the agents of the New Government and the working people. Martyrs are to be manufactured. An apologetic attitude in the rulers should be turned to profit. Pacific propaganda may be made the mask of hatreds never before manifested among men. No faith need be, indeed may be, kept with non-Communists. Every act of good will, of tolerance, of conciliation, of mercy, of magnanimity on the part of governments or statesmen is to be utilized for their ruin. Then when the time is ripe and the moment opportune, every form of lethal violence from mob revolt to private assassination must be used without stint or compunction. The citadel will be stormed under the banners of Liberty and Democracy, and once the apparatus of power is in the hands of the Brotherhood, all opposition, all contrary opinions, must be extinguished by death.

How shall we reconcile this penetrating wisdom, this warning to the free world against every mistake its leaders have made in the last twelve years, with the part Churchill played, and is still playing, in making those mistakes? How shall we reconcile it with his saying to the House of Commons in November 1944, when Stalin was already preparing to use “every act of good will, of tolerance, of conciliation, of magnanimity” on the part of the democratic statesmen for their ruin:

I believe with deep conviction that the warrior statesman at the head of Russia will lead the Russian peoples, all the people of Russia . . . into the sunlight of a broader and happier age for all, and with him in this task will march the British Commonwealth of Nations and the mighty U. S. A.

Whence came this deep “belief”? Merely from Stalin’s adroit pursuit of that policy of deception which Churchill himself had so clearly seen to be a part of the very definition of Communism? And what could have led him to say—he who had seen

so many citadels "stormed under the banner of Liberty and Democracy" and then "all opposition, all contrary opinion extinguished by death"—what could have led him to utter these words: "We are not sure [the French Committee of National Liberation] represents the French nation in the same way as the governments of Britain, the United States and Soviet Russia represent the whole body of their people" [italics added].

Miss Cowles does not allude to these monumental follies, nor to the earlier wisdoms which were eclipsed by them. But she does explain in her boldly spoken book how such a thing could happen. She says of her hero:

Endowed with a highly emotional nature, he usually acts on impulse and intuition rather than on calculation or even logic. He is incapable of assessing a situation dispassionately, but once he has taken a stand he has never been at a loss to find arguments to support it. . . . This apparent contradiction has always perplexed his contemporaries, who regard him as the most incalculable figure in public life.

Yet there is one constant note in his character which is the very essence of his nature and his genius as well. That is his Romanticism.

This trait explains, of course, his seeming stupidity in school. He would not study anything, or pay any attention to it, until or unless it aroused his emotions. He never did learn any Latin, or any Greek either, but because his father was an orator and he adored his father intemperately, he studied English words and the structure of English sentences with rapture. He was passionately fond of declaiming, and astonished the headmaster by reciting twelve hundred lines of Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome* without an error. And because of his other great ancestor, the Duke of Marlborough, he studied military affairs also. He studied them all his life long, being in his heart's dreams a soldier rather than a statesman. It was the combination of these two passions and these two kinds of knowledge that enabled him to play the truly heroic part he did in the Second World War. As Miss Cowles says: "Marlborough was a commander who assumed the role of statesman, while Churchill was a statesman who assumed the role of commander." As to the commander—the inspiring leader also—the world will never have a doubt. But what shall we say of the statesman?

Miss Cowles corrects the opinion of Chester Wilnot in his powerful book, *The Struggle for Europe*, that, "during 1943 . . . Churchill became increasingly concerned about the necessity of restraining Stalin's ambitions," and "sought to devise a plan of campaign that would . . . ensure that victory did not leave the democratic cause politically weaker in any sphere." "There was no foundation for this statement," she says. "The truth is that it was not

until 1944, when the great invasion was only a matter of a few months, that Churchill seriously concerned himself with the design of the postwar world."

On another page, she says of Stalin: "From the very beginning he kept his political objectives well in view. Seven months after his country was invaded he formally asked Britain and the United States to recognize . . . the great territorial gains he had seized, as Germany's ally. . . . It was remarkable that he could remain calculating enough to make these requests at a time when his armies were being hurled back, and the very existence of his country was at stake."

Miss Cowles does not juxtapose these two remarks, or seem aware of the crucial significance of their contrast. If Romanticism was "the essence of Churchill's nature and genius," cold rational calculation was the essence of Stalin's. And that, precisely, is what lost us the peace—helped out, as it was, by Roosevelt's more fatuous romanticism.

Thus with all my admiration for her magnificently executed portrait of the man, I am compelled to dissent from Miss Cowles' conclusion that Winston Churchill will be remembered as a great world statesman. Statesmen are judged usually by their achievements, or at least by the continuity and tenacity of their efforts. Churchill went blindly along with our own government, whose attitude toward Russia Miss Cowles correctly, if restrainedly, describes as "appallingly ingenuous," on the "great adventure" of giving half the world to Communism in process of rescuing a sixteenth of it from Nazism. He went along, at least, up to the point of handing over Berlin and Prague to the Red Army. That crowning insanity he did, indeed, valiantly if vainly resist. But it was too little and too late.

Before the war Churchill described Stalin as "inferior in wit if not in crime." After nothing had intervened but a military alliance forced on the criminal by Hitler, he said: "Personally I cannot feel anything but the most lively admiration for this truly great man, the father of his country. . . ." "I assure the House that I have a solid faith in the wisdom and good faith of this outstanding man." "I reached the Kremlin and met for the first time the great revolutionary chief and profound Russian statesman. . . ." If Stalin was a profound statesman, then Churchill was certainly not. For in this mood of exalted admiration for a scheming and blood-dripping tyrant, he was sucked in and bamboozled as no British prime minister had ever been before him. Far from being remembered as a great world statesman, I think Churchill will be remembered as an abandoned romantic who brought to an end the great classic tradition of British diplomacy.

Security By Air Power

Wings For Peace, by Bonner Fellers, Brigadier General USA, Ret. 248 pp. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. \$3.50

Drawing upon his vast experience, Brigadier General Bonner Fellers has written a provocative book on the threat to the survival of the American people and the free world, if we should engage in a war with Russia. It is a passionate appeal for immediate review of our present military and foreign policies. He is alarmed at our danger, and dismayed by the stereotyped, outdated conception of warfare. He would make an about-face and exploit the enormous potentialities of air power. The Air Force should be put into first place, relegating the Army and the Navy to supporting roles, and it should be overwhelmingly strong. Such a concept would guarantee the security of America; it would offer greater aid and security to our allies; it is in fact the only means we have of defeating Russia; and it would provide adequate defense of this country without bankruptcy.

Since General Fellers is not an air man, his arguments carry particular weight. The author is a professional officer of high military attainments who has thought this problem through, and he supplies startling statistics to prove his thesis. We cannot defeat Russia with ground armies; neither we nor our allies have the necessary manpower, and we do not wish to have our youth needlessly slaughtered. It is, therefore, senseless to waste money, time, and effort in supporting NATO. The latter merely adds to our insecurity, because its costs reduce the possibility of having a larger air force. It is such a drain on the resources of all nations that our allies are dragging their feet and not doing their full share. NATO is a ground army conception and in that kind of war against Russia and her satellites the odds are against the free world.

Many officers, both American and otherwise, feel as does the author. Last year in Europe I heard air officers state that our Air Force would disappear from the skies after twenty-four hours of war, while everyone agreed that the ground forces would melt like snow on top of a stove.

The author discusses present military realities, treating in turn the ominous threat of the Red Air Force; the futility of the policy of containment (propounded by a civilian) which violates a fundamental principle of war that dispersion of forces is to be avoided at all costs; and the stubborn military tradition which causes the Pentagon planners to cling to a type of warfare practiced in both World Wars under completely different conditions. By contrast, he shows persuasively the new military capabilities which the airplane offers; our genius for producing aircraft in quantity and quality, the unique role of the airplane as the only military weapon which would be able to penetrate the heart

of Russia and thus destroy its war industry.

Wings For Peace is like a clear beacon of thought in the rather murky and confused thinking that appears to dominate the universal military world. It carries a message of vital importance to the American people.

ROBERT C. RICHARDSON

The Industrial Age

Ford at Fifty: An American Story. 108 pp. New York: Simon and Schuster. \$2.95

"The only history that is worth a tinker's damn is the history we make today," Henry Ford once said. This was a large statement, but Ford's pronouncements were not notable for their diffidence. A man who out of nothing can build an astronomic industrial empire, set up a near-billion-dollar foundation on the side, and revolutionize the living habits of a nation is not the sort of man who hesitates to speak his piece.

Ford at Fifty speaks the piece of the Ford Motor Company and of Henry Ford rather eloquently. "Two flies can manufacture 48,876,552,154 new flies in six months, but they haven't got anything on two Ford factories," wrote a humorist in 1913. By that time Henry Ford was well on the way to realizing his dream of a car that *all* Americans could buy. It had not been without difficulties and considerable opposition. When he started tinkering in the woodshed of his house, an automobile was considered the work of the devil. Proposals were seriously entertained that anyone driving at night should stop every mile and send up warning rockets. Farmers, now so completely motorized that it is hard to remember the era of the horse and buggy, in those days thought differently. "If a horse is unwilling to pass an automobile," recommended the Farmers' Anti-Automobile Society of Pennsylvania, "the driver should take the machine apart as rapidly as possible and conceal the parts in the bushes."

Ford brushed all such tiresome nonsense imperiously aside, survived a couple of false starts, and in the end made his name a household word. Though a fair number of foreigners in the twenties might have had difficulty naming the President of the United States, they knew who Ford was. When I was traveling before the war in Morocco my Arab driver, who spoke some French, always referred to our car as "*un ford*," and it was useless for me to explain that this particular automobile was *not* a Ford. It went on wheels, blew out puffs of smoke from the rear end, and came from America. Therefore it was "*un ford*."

The present book has its hub in the town of Sacramento in California—where the inhabitants seem to require roughly one car to every one-and-a-half persons—but it is actually a commentary on the changes brought about in our social history

by the mass production of automobiles. It is full of interesting and often surprising facts, figures, and people. A number of famous editors, writers, and photographers collaborated to bring it out, and unlike certain other all-star casts they have produced a winner.

Ford at Fifty might be termed a tribute to free enterprise. Only in a truly free economy, and perhaps only in America, could such things have happened. Though the book is ostensibly concerned with the fifty years of the Ford Motor Company, the tall lean figure of Henry Ford the man inevitably strides through it. One of his remarks struck me as having in these times an almost nostalgic simplicity. He made it when General Hugh Johnson was sent up from Washington to try and talk Ford into the NRA. Henry Ford listened silently to a couple of hours' dissertation on "economics." Then he stood up. "All I know," he said, "is that you people are making it awfully hard for a young man who is trying to get ahead in business these days."

JOHN VERNON TABERNER

Quiet Mysticism

The Explicit Flower, by Louise Townsend Nicholl.
49 pp. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. \$2.75

Louise Townsend Nicholl writes poetry so restrained as to seem heard from a great distance. The title of her book comes from a poem called "Organist Practicing," and is characteristic of her competence and point of view:

Organ, over and over go,
Until the explicit flower blow,
The flower that the stillness makes,
Music the shape that silence takes
When saturate.

Hers is a poetry of quietness and of the spirit, where the unseen as well as the unheard give meaning to the objects contemplated. It is a difficult kind of poetry to write and, as in the title poem, most of the verses succeed only moderately well in conveying the sense of regions and forms that are surely vivid enough to the writer. In "Empathy at Evening" she writes:

At evening everything—a bush, a chair—
Becomes aware;
. . . the great world turns luminous and thin
And sudden fragrance rises from the flower.

The fragrance of the flower is asserted, but it is not in the poem. And yet the poem as a whole does succeed in suggesting the delicate links between human beings and the rest of the animate and inanimate world with which they surround themselves and which they share in.

We pass from room to room
And what's not wood
Partakes the purely human view
Of what is good:

The night takes over and the imagery continues:

. . . the great world again is massed
Between us and the mystery.
Even the brooding house will hardly keep
Its vigil now, and beauty must abide
Only within the mind, where soon will slide
The paneled silk integument of sleep.

It is on the whole mystical poetry of a somewhat prosaic kind: "brooding house," "beauty must abide"—these are familiar tokens for such voyagings into the ultimate mysteries.

EUGENE DAVIDSON

Cardboard Hero

The Eagle and the Rock, by Frances Winwar. 371 pp. New York: Harper and Bros. \$3.95

With the facile fluency which has endeared her to the readers of her earlier historical novels, Miss Winwar gives us the grand romance of Napoleon's life from his grave—the story starts at St. Helena—to his cradle at Corsica, as witnessed and told by Victor de Laurestan. A fictitious childhood friend of Napoleon and his confidant to his death, Victor has the happy ubiquity of a Lanny Budd. He is at Napoleon's elbow on the battlefield and in the bedroom, when he is crowned by the Pope and seduces Maria Walewska, when he has his last meeting with Josephine and his first with Marie-Louise, when he makes his futile attempt at suicide, when he is defeated at Waterloo.

More power to Victor! The novelist needs his like. However, he is rather a displaced character in this novel. As things are, the extreme loneliness of Napoleon's exile is an intrinsic part of his tragedy. His companions there were latecomers to his destiny; none of them knew the youth from Corsica or the victor of Italy or even the consul. The Rock of St. Helena wouldn't have been quite so rocky for the Eagle had there really been a Victor from the glorious past around—one who knew how everything had come about because he was in on it right from the start.

However, the real trouble with Victor is that he never sees beneath the surface. Presented as a scholar, he is distressingly short on thought and lacking in insight. Also his tale is reduced to a cartoon of the more flamboyant Napoleonic episodes; his Napoleon is a mere cardboard hero, as flat and static as they come.

For the last one hundred and fifty years historians and novelists have tried to understand and interpret Napoleon's puzzling genius and the meaning of his rise and fall. De Maistre thought that "he came directly from heaven like lightning." Chateaubriand called him the "Michelangelo of politics and war." To Léon Bloy his story was "the face of God in tenebrosity." Unfortunately Miss Winwar's novel at no point conveys such wonder

and grandeur. The prodigious rapidity with which Napoleon played the entire keyboard of human thought, the incredible ascendancy he gained over men's spirits, the formidable energy with which he made the task of governing the main function of his life, completely elude her. So do the great lines of his tremendous career. There is nothing in this novel to indicate the mysterious change that took place in him after 1807; nothing to demonstrate how, in that fusion of light and darkness in him, darkness finally prevailed. There is no hint of that demonic force that made him undo everything he had done.

Still, even when brought down to the level of a pageant, the heroic legend of the penniless boy from Corsica who conquered Europe, made his brothers and sisters kings and queens, and ended up on a small island in the Atlantic appeals to the imagination. And it's soothing to find the classical phrases of "The-Old-Guard-Dies, It-Does-Not-Sur-render" variety just where they belong.

R. G. WALDECK

Time Study

Economic Change: Selected Essays in Business Cycles, National Income, and Economic Growth, by Simon Kuznets. 333 pp. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. \$4.50

It is a pleasant and heartening experience to read, or reread, these highly intelligent and clearly written papers; their publication in book form is a service to general enlightenment in an area where it is badly needed. Those who have heard of Professor Kuznets only as a statistician may be reassured; algebraic exposition is limited to some two pages in an appendix to one of the papers, and while some use is made of illustrative tables, the argument, as well as the conclusions, is clear without them.

The note of propaganda or ideology is also largely absent, though the first two papers to some extent "advocate" the quantitative method or approach in economics, as opposed to old-fashioned economic theory. Cooperation, not competition or conflict, is certainly the proper relation between these modes of attack on economic problems. However, the attentive reader will find the limitations of the one and the merits of the other clearly stated. The reviewer would take exception to the argument that the use of equilibrium-analysis forces one to assume "rigidity" in economic motives—any more than is involved in making any statement whatever, and especially any quantitative statement. But a few pages later the author states quite generously the capacity of abstract qualitative analysis to answer those questions of interpretation and policy for which any reasonable claim can be made. Further, he admits that "there is no parallel in

studies produced at present (1930) by use of quantitative methods." The "at present" is noteworthy, as the author repeatedly stresses the need for more knowledge, further research. This is well and good, but it is also important not to expect too much from science. Human beings are addicted to changing their minds unpredictably and disconcertingly, in the mass as well as individually, whereas science has been well defined as the search for invariants.

Some of the papers in the present book are now considerably dated, and there is some overlapping of content, but no one will condemn their publication substantially as originally written. One of them is particularly interesting to this reviewer; it is the longest, and was hitherto "buried" in *Proceedings of International Statistical Conferences* published in Calcutta in 1951. The title, "National Income and Industrial Structure," is technically descriptive, but the paper is in fact a careful examination of the import of statistical differences in per capita national income or product, at the extremes of the scale. It is some consolation to find that the ratio of a dozen or more to one (comparing China or India with the United States) can be reduced by half or more by taking account of various intangibles. However, living at a fifth of the average American income is still not pleasant to contemplate, remembering that the vast majority of the population in all countries actually consume far less than their numerical fraction of the national product. The papers dealing with business cycle theory and economic growth are but little more technical in content and appeal.

FRANK H. KNIGHT

The Ancient South

The Cotton Kingdom: A Traveller's Observations on Cotton and Slavery in the American Slave States, by Frederick Law Olmsted. Edited, with an introduction, by Arthur M. Schlesinger. 642 pp. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$6.75

It is a long, long trip back from the South of 1953 to the South of 1853. The intervening century melts away quickly in the company of observant and conscientious Frederick Law Olmsted, Connecticut Yankee landscape architect turned reporter. Once again, as in 1861, his book *The Cotton Kingdom* guides the inquiring stranger through the Southern states. For reissuing this excellent contemporary account of the Old South as it was on the eve of the War for Southern Independence, the publisher, Alfred A. Knopf, and the editor of the new edition, Arthur M. Schlesinger, deserve applause.

The South today is an area of ample electrical power, hydrogen and atom-bomb installations, and accelerating industrial growth. New plant construction since and during World War Two has changed

its rural countenance. Defense contracts and military training camps since 1941 have made regional cash registers jingle.

Full parity with the rest of the nation has not yet been achieved. But progress has been steady in recent years. Racial tensions, for example, have eased considerably in response to time, local efforts by Southern leaders, and Supreme Court decisions. This process has been hastened by mid-century preoccupation with ideas of abstract democracy born of the world ideological conflict.

Gunnar Myrdal's study of the Southern Negro, *An American Dilemma*, only a decade old, already needs updating. Howard Odum's mighty statistical effort, *Southern Regions*, rooted in the 1930 census, must be termed past history. With far less assurance than in the depressed 1930s can the South be called the nation's "number one" economic problem.

A present-day meaning creeps into the famous words of Southern orator Henry W. Grady, addressed in 1886 to a Yankee audience: "There is a New South, not through protest against the old, but because of new conditions, new adjustments, and, if you please, new ideas and aspirations."

Also new, and more appropriate than when spoken, are the powerful judgments of Georgia's Benjamin Harvey Hill, made to a Tammany Hall audience in 1866: "There was a South of slavery and secession—that South is dead. There is a South of union and freedom—that South, thank God, is living, breathing, growing every hour."

The book readers of a reunited nation will relive with Olmsted his journeys through the Cotton States. They will read, as though of another people and another world, about the magnolias and the malaria, the contented household servants-in-bondage and the runaway slaves, and the other striking contrasts of the Old South. In some of its white-columned plantation homes, to be sure, were the unmistakable signs of the culture of England and ancient Athens. Yet in shacks of the lowly it was all too possible to study "astronomy" through the roof and "geology" through the floor. Good and evil were curiously blended in that South of slavery—that *ancient* South. The mixed picture emerges inexorably from the pages of *The Cotton Kingdom*.

That was as young Olmsted, seeker after the truth, intended it. The Progressive Republican biographer of Lincoln, Albert J. Beveridge, who made it a practice to choose his words with great care, significantly found Olmsted's comment "intelligent, without intentional bias, and trustworthy." Most major historians would agree fully in this evaluation.

To such high technical praise should be added the words engrossing, readable, informative, and entertaining. The South as it was before the firing on Fort Sumter lives on in the descriptive prose of this chronicle of a vanished civilization.

VAUGHN D. BORNET

In Brief

The Seventh Trumpet, by Peter Julian. 278 pp. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$3.00

A distinguished physicist, ridden by fear and ambition, sells out to one of the Communist satellites. No treachery is too much for him until one comes along that involves his son. Slick melodrama.

Some Faces in the Crowd, by Budd Schulberg. 308 pp. New York: Random House. \$3.00

A collection of twenty short stories about such characters as successful disc jockeys, amiable four-flushers on the make, and prizefighters down on their luck, told in the fast but smooth manner of *What Makes Sammy Run* and *The Disenchanted*.

The Undersea Adventure, by Philippe Diolé. 236 pp. New York: Julian Messner, Inc. \$4.50

The world below the top of the ocean has plenty that is new and fascinating to tell us. In this account there are too many literary allusions, but the story is vividly told. It is especially good on the reactions of men under water. Magnificent photographs.

U. S. 40, by George R. Stewart. 311 pp. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$5.00

A trip across the continent in a car. More interesting than the trip itself and less tiring. With globules of history and scenery. A handsome book with lively photographs.

The Great American Parade, by H.-J. Duteil. Translated by Fletcher Pratt. 321 pp. New York: Twayne Publishers. \$3.75

Many Europeans are reading this book to get its picture of American life. Amusing, with many hits and few errors. The author says, for instance, that when Europeans go on about the Negro in America, he stops them by asking what nation has done more for the Negro than the United States. On the other hand, he makes the mistake of thinking the comics are funny. A little biased by "liberals," but not much. A conversation piece.

The World of Robert Flaherty, by Richard Griffith. 165 pp. New York and Boston: Duell, Sloan and Pearce-Little, Brown & Co. \$5.00

Flaherty is called the father of the documentary, a dry title to give a man who did such exciting pictures as *Nanook of the North*, *Moana*, *Man of Aran*, and *Louisiana Story*. This conscientious biography unfortunately lacks the space and poetic feeling of Flaherty's work and life. Even the extracts from his journals are dull. The photographs are good.

HELEN WOODWARD



Lautrec & Cie.

By NICOLAS MONJO



When a young artist made a pilgrimage to Paris in the nineties, it amounted to a declaration of faith in the international consanguinity of art, while at the same time it suggested possibilities of heroic dissipation. Today neither Paris nor any other city can boast such common meeting ground: the artists have scattered into various dreary isms which have robbed them of their earlier zest and purpose.

The contemporary Toulouse-Lautrec boom is part of a larger veneration of the Paris that symbolized our grandfathers' catholicity. By honoring his life and work, we honor a more civilized age—or at least a more comfortable one to live in. The arrival of the musical *Can-Can* on Broadway swells to flood level the current tribute to *fin-de-siècle* Paris. And behind the torrent of high kicks, stage-property cafés, and tinsel lies a profound nostalgia.

Although Toulouse-Lautrec lends himself to diverse interpretations, he bridges more contradictions than he creates. Descendant of a thousand-year line of artistocrats, he consorted only with drabs. He could move, unhindered and uninhibited, from the bawdy *quadrilles réalistes* of the Moulin Rouge to the frosty summits of Proustian snobbery in the ducal *hôtels* of St. Germain. He was a popular painter of commercial posters, yet Dégas and the highbrow critics admired him and saw that he was hung in the Louvre. His instincts were aggressively convivial and gregarious—he loved circuses, bullfights, race tracks, and *bals musettes*—but his ugliness and deformity “isolated” and embittered him. His work combines astringent satire with unexpected flashes of beauty. His subject is usually hell, painted with heavenly care and dispassion.

In 1951, fifty years after his death, a great collection of Toulouse-Lautrec paintings traveled through the United States. Many smaller exhibitions followed in New York galleries. In that year also, *Art News Annual* devoted its cover and most of its space to him. Biographies, a novel, and a stream of magazine articles took up the discussion. Last year Cornelia Otis Skinner impersonated four of his most famous subjects in *Paris '90*.

At this moment the film *Moulin Rouge*, directed by John Huston and starring José Ferrer as Lautrec, pays homage to the creative victories of the crippled genius and provides as well a restrained catalogue of his emotional defeats. The genesis of his mordant wit and caustic line is explained by his failure to find love. His lifelong search for happiness in a world of balladiers, “night-birds,” and race-track touts achieves the stature of myth that is both luminous and modern. It is further en-

hanced by Eliot Elisofon's remarkable use of color; this alone makes the movie outstanding.

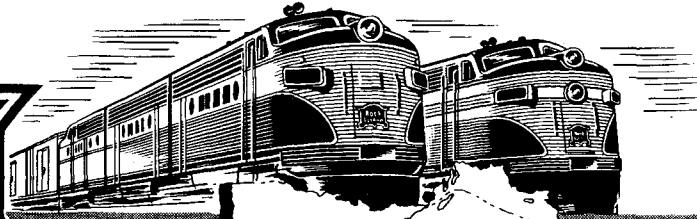
And then there is *Can-Can*. Strictly speaking, this musical has no connection with Toulouse-Lautrec except that it takes place in his beloved Montmartre, circa 1893. Everyone now agrees that Abe Burrows' book is rather dejected, and that Cole Porter has written better scores. The plot is a typically improbable trinket involving La Môme Pistache (the actress Lilo), the proprietress of a dance hall, in a brush with the police. The latter materialize chiefly in the person of Judge Aristide Forestier (Peter Cookson), who first badgers, and then marries Pistache.

The subplot relates the rivalry of a sculptor, Boris Adzinidzinadze (Hans Conried), and an art critic for the favors of Boris' mistress Claudine (Gwen Verdon). The nearest thing to comedy in the show is the duel that results. But I cannot help thinking what a mistake this Boris is. He shares a garret studio with a painter, a poet, and an architect, and the whole business is tiresomely reminiscent of *La Bohème*, without its redeeming melodies. The bohemians assemble for the Quatz'Arts Ball (Lautrec often attended the real thing), which gives the designers Motley a chance to put on a brilliant display of costumes. Michael Kidd's clever “Garden of Eden” ballet choreography herds on stage an amusing menagerie of male and female inchworms, herons, seahorses, and toads—all suitably arranged in pairs—for one of the best-behaved interludes in a truant evening.

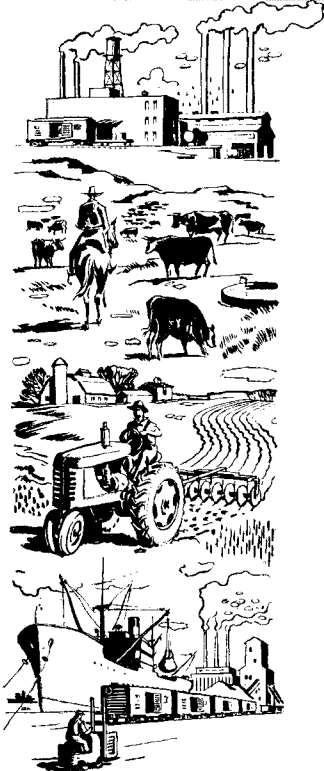
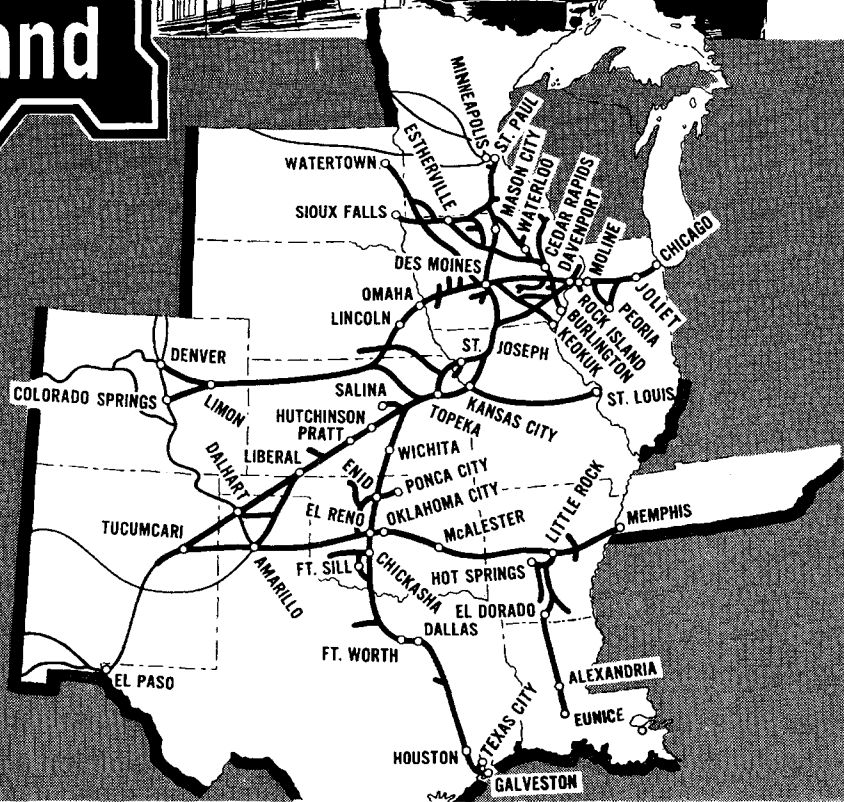
But the oddest thing about the evening is the ghost of Toulouse-Lautrec, which insists on appearing and reappearing though (reportedly by order of the producers) it has been sternly forbidden the premises. He pops up in the lettering and drawings of the ads and posters, he is lurking somewhere in the sets and décor. The play is *not* about Lautrec, say the show's press agents—but there he is. His friend Aristide Bruant (who was a singer at Les Ambassadeurs) has given the hero his Christian name. His model La Goulue, who used to dance the quadrille at the Moulin Rouge, was a laundress; *Can-Can's* Claudine and chorus are also part-time laundresses. Even the character of the cowardly and Philistine Boris flickers through as a weird, inverted travesty of Toulouse-Lautrec.

The relentlessly lighthearted Montmartre of *Can-Can* is spurious; we find ourselves comparing it unfavorably with the real and much more credible world which Toulouse-Lautrec captured in his posters and paintings. Jane Avril, singer and “butterfly”; La Goulue doing the split and exposing the heart embroidered on her ruffled posterior; Yvette Guilbert, *disease*, in her eternal elbow-length black gloves: these are the incorrigibles of the wicked Paris which has for us an enduring reality. John Huston and José Ferrer understand this. Consequently we are not likely to be satisfied with the banalities of *Can-Can* when the downright scandals of *Moulin Rouge* are only an *arrondissement* away.

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