

THE *Freeman*

Second Anniversary Issue

OCTOBER 20, 1952 25¢

How to Reduce Your Income Tax

A. A. Imberman

The UN Has a Rule for It

Alice Widener



Democracy in Europe

F. A. Hayek

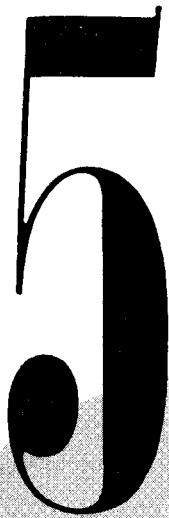
Our Left-Handed Colleges

E. Merrill Root

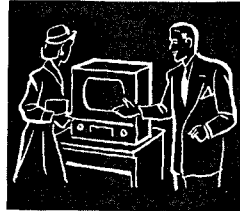
Bad Little Black Sambo

William F. Buckley, Jr.

ways to shop at Sears and save . . .



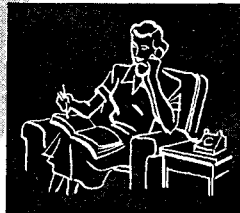
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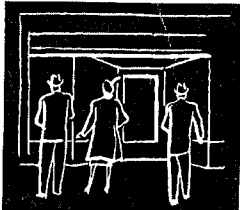
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THE Freeman

A Fortnightly
For
Individualists

Editors JOHN CHAMBERLAIN FORREST DAVIS
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It is not to be understood that articles signed with a name, pseudonym, or initials necessarily represent the opinion of the editors, either as to substance or style. They are printed because, in the editors' judgment, they are intrinsically worth reading.

Our Contributors

The *Freeman's* second anniversary number brings us one of the most important pieces of reportage, in the judgment of the editors, that we ever have presented. ALICE WIDENER has labored steadfastly for the last three months on the research for this astonishing revelation concerning the vast international apparatus that centers in New York City. Mrs. Widener's article is the first of several by her on the same theme.

E. MERRILL ROOT, professor of English at Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana, has published two works of prose, "The Way of All Spirit" and "Frank Harris," and six books of poetry, of which the latest is "Ulysses to Penelope." . . . WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR. is, of course, the author of last year's sensational "God and Man at Yale." Mr. Buckley, who was chairman of the *Yale Daily News*, is at work on a scholarly, book-length treatment of the phenomenon known as "McCarthyism." . . . A. A. IMBERMAN has written for the *Freeman*, for *Public Opinion Quarterly* and the *Harvard Business Review*. He is head of the Chicago public relations firm of Imberman and DeForest. . . . JOSEPH ZACK was the chief Comintern agent for South America until he broke with communism during the Great Purge. He wrote "Stalin's New World Strategy" for the *Freeman* of December 25, 1950.

F. A. HAYEK, world-famous economist, is author of the best-selling "The Road to Serfdom." His "A Rebirth of Liberalism" appeared in the *Freeman* of July 28, 1952. . . . FRANCES BECK lives in Oklahoma, writes fiction and was author of "What's Happening to Our Magazine Fiction?" in the *Freeman* of December 17, 1951.

Correction: In a recent issue Dr. Anthony Trawick Bouscaren was identified erroneously here as teaching at the University of California. He actually is associate professor of political science at the University of San Francisco.

Among Ourselves

The forthcoming issues of the *Freeman*, as we wheel confidently into our third year, promise an even more exciting fare for our readers. We intend to devote considerable attention to the neglected savannas of higher education. Besides articles by experts in that field, we have in store an ingenuous and beguiling article by Miss Nancy Fellers, in which she recounts her experiences as an undergraduate among the monoliths of "liberalism" on the Vassar faculty. . . . Under the heading of literary treats, we have a stout defense by J. Donald Adams of the right of every American, including the intellectuals, to be conservative; also a characteristic essay by Stanley Walker on the "blovating" journalists who have recently taken to touring the lecture circuits. . . . Ralph de Toledano has contributed for an early issue a testament of his faith, as set down in a bar-racks during World War II, which is, we believe, one of the finest pieces of prose ever to fall under our eyes.

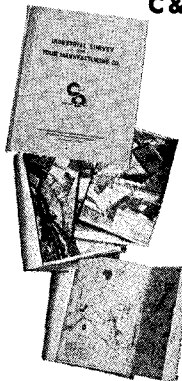


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THE *Freeman*

MONDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1952

The Fortnight

We have always admired the Eskimos for their lack of guile and their heartwarming honesty in calling an igloo an igloo. Consequently, we are not at all surprised to read in the *City Press* of London that 8000 Eskimos in the Canadian Antarctic are abandoning fish and seal spearing as a result of the Canadian government's welfare legislation. Under the Canadian "security" schemes, an Eskimo family receives more in state cash subsidies than it could ever make in the normal pursuits of Antarctic life. Unspoiled people such as the Eskimos get to the roots of Keynesian "welfare" economics much faster than Harvard professors.

Few people will begrudge the coal miners that new pay increase of \$1.90 a day, and we are not among those few. In fact, we are even ready to congratulate John L. Lewis—not so much on his bargaining strategy (which, as usual, was thoroughly contemptuous of national interest and economic sense) as on his skill in showing up the Wage Stabilization Board for what it is: an evil political fatuity. The Board, under its own rules, could not possibly approve more than about one-third of the increase; yet no one doubts that the Truman Administration will direct the Board to grant the full \$1.90. For this, of course, is an election year. And so the same Administration that swears at every whistle stop that the country's survival depends on the strictest economic controls wants, of course, to purchase the miners' votes with the most blatant violation of its own rules.

When this issue reaches our readers, they will have been exposed to the first reports and running commentaries on the Nineteenth Bolshevik Party Congress in Moscow. The Western chancelleries and pundits, sold on the notion that history is what the Soviets are going to do to us, are even now engaged in a game of anxious guessing. The *Freeman*, on the other hand, can keep its moderate suspense under firm control. As it happens, we are in possession of a tremendous bit of confidential information which will prove more decisive than

any speculations of the metropolitan press: Stalin, we have learned from unimpeachable sources, is a member of the Communist Party.

If Western statesmen could only discipline themselves to at least a minimum of homework, they would be surprised to learn what an excellent substitute it is for guesswork. The press has made a big play of Stalin's recent fifty-page advance publicity for the impending Congress in the magazine *Bolshevik*. The most important part of it was his "thesis" that there is danger of war between capitalist countries rather than between capitalism and socialism. If statesmen had been plucking the grass to know where sits the wind, they wouldn't have to guess that there, in that statement, is the new party line discussed by Candide in this issue (p. 62).

George Santayana, who never liked to be called a philosopher, was exactly what the term once implied—a lover of wisdom (and of little else). This superb flame of intellect burned with a strangely low heat, but now that it is extinct the world feels chillier. This is so, we guess, because Santayana was perhaps the last intellectual in the great Western tradition—Man Thinking without the slightest sense of obligation to any "cause." To recall that such a man, dedicated neither to Progress nor to Society, was once permitted to teach at Harvard fills us with incredulous awe. Was there really a time when American universities conditioned minds rather than reflexes, educated gentlemen rather than partisans? But just as we were ready to shed tears for such a golden yesteryear we remembered that one of the young Harvard men who sat, enraptured, at Santayana's feet was Felix Frankfurter. And we realized in the nick of time that the *Zeitgeist* has more formative power over brains than the most illustrious teacher, and that not even George Santayana could immunize a vulnerable generation against the collectivist bug.

The really horrifying part of General Walter Bedell Smith's recent statement was of course not his moral certainty that Communist spies have infiltrated the Central Intelligence Agency. The country (with the exception of the McLiberal press and Park Avenue's friends of Alger Hiss) took

that pretty much for granted. It would have been rather surprised if CIA alone had escaped the invasion. What sent the shivers down our spines was General Smith's honest admission that he, the chief of our most elaborate and most costly intelligence service, has simply no idea how to identify Communist spies in his own agency. As to ourselves, we would no doubt flop the most elementary CIA aptitude tests for counter-espionage. But even we can give the General a tip: the moment a CIA man shows the slightest sympathy for anti-anti-communism he had better be immediately transferred to the one agency no CIA officer in his right mind would supply with secret information anyway—the State Department.

The United Nations, whose stated ambition is to develop a new breed of men (namely, "truly international civil servants" of complete neutrality toward the issues that will decide the fate of the world), seem to be also succeeding in creating a new type of mind. One such laboratory product was recently introduced on television. It belonged to a Dr. Ivan Kern, until September 19, 1952, assistant secretary-general of the UN. Dr. Kern has decided not to return to Communist Czechoslovakia but to withdraw into, we hope, pleasant retirement in the United States. When interviewed on TV, he explained that the fate of his country proved in 1948 that "you can make no deals with dictators." Asked why it took him so long to utter the obvious, Dr. Kern acted rather hurt and said with proud solemnity: "I had to conform with UN staff regulations and to reserve my opinion." So far as we can make out, this means: a UN assistant secretary-general is a person who, when full of conviction that you can make no deals with dictators, goes ahead trying to do just that.

In a front-page story on the McCarthy victory in Wisconsin, the *New York Times* spoke of it being a "big surprise" that Joe could win over five Republican and two Democratic rivals by a combined margin exceeding 100,000. Yet on the same page the *Times* printed a story about seven teachers who balked at a Senate inquiry when asked about their ties to the Reds. If the *Times* were in the habit of putting two and two together, it might cease to be surprised that two and two make four, or that Red teachers make for McCarthy victories.

This may surprise M-G-M (and it has surprised even us), but the largest movie producer this side of Sovkino is the U. S. government. Its Printing Office in Washington has just issued a booklet, prepared by the Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, which carries its truly sensational revelation right in the title "3434 U. S. Government Films." The publication undertakes to inform us how we can rent or purchase these films, but we are not interested. Our sole concern is with the re-

volting fact that our tax money is being used for propagandizing us. As it happens, the Library of Congress has just finished a monumental catalogue of 1256 pages which lists all motion pictures, regardless of length and country of origin, for which copyrights were filed between 1912 and 1939. The total world production of those 29 years was slightly more than 50,000 motion pictures. Our Democratic Administration alone is guilty of 3434 films—i.e., 7 per cent of the world's total production for 29 years. This is a greater scandal than any item Hedda Hopper has ever dug up in Hollywood.

Americans, thought uncouth in England, might want to learn how a notoriously well-bred British newspaper speaks of an allied government. And the most hilarious aspect of the following comments, reprinted from the *Manchester Guardian*, is that they refer to the same Mr. Acheson whose burning desire in life is to be appreciated by Britons:

The U. S. Secretary of State of course was talking nonsense and he knows it. Under him the State Department has cut a sorry figure in its weak resistance to McCarthyism and McCarranism. It is sad to think that the totalitarian spirit should have taken so much hold in the United States. Senator McCarran has his own brand of craziness.

In other words, the kind of leftism Mr. Acheson would have to practice to please a dignified right-of-center British newspaper staggers an uncouth American imagination. But we are glad that the *Manchester Guardian's* American correspondent, Mr. Alistair Cooke of Alger-Hiss fame, has been selected by the Ford Foundation to preside over its new educational TV program which is to teach uncivilized American audiences good manners and the King's English.

Following hard upon the report from Moscow that America had stolen the game of beizbol from the ancient Russian village sport of lapta and made a beastly, bloody spectacle of it, a *New York Herald Tribune* sports writer turned out a delicious front-page yarn about the slaughter of the Djiantz by the Kubz at the Polov Graundz. The story was so miraculous in its lacework of humor that it made us wish the whole *Herald Tribune* could be turned over to the sports writers. They might save us from the dreary McLiberal guff put out by *Trib* columnists about midwest Senators hanging on Eisenhower's coattails, when the truth is that Ike and the local boys have at least achieved the dignity of a reciprocal relationship.

Political economy note from the *Wall Street Journal*: "Slim fashions, as attested by political gift-givers, favor the mink and other short-haired furs over fox. Federal fur men report less than 500 commercial fox farms in the U. S. this year, compared with 6000 in the 1930s."

Birthday Greetings

The leading editorial for this, our second anniversary, issue has been written by our friends. We began our first year with an editorial outlining "The Faith of the *Freeman*." But a faith is a flabby thing unless it can enlist the devotion of the faithful; and a magazine's function requires above all an active audience to carry it out. Entering the third year of publication, the editors of the *Freeman* are gratified to discover that their faith has found responsive hearts and minds; and that *Freeman* subscribers, the most dedicated band of readers in the Western world, are functioning overtime to the end that the philosophy behind the *Freeman* may prevail.

Herewith our leading editorial. We are particularly pleased by the wide geographical and occupational range of these birthday greetings: from Hollywood to New York and Ohio, from movie stars to a retired admiral, from a business executive to famous novelists, from a great Harvard scholar of the law and a great Yale sociologist to United States Senators, generals and leading journalists.

Dr. Ruth Alexander:

To me, the *Freeman* is the true Voice of America. It speaks for those millions of hitherto voiceless Americans who have watched their country slide surreptitiously into the socialism of the "Welfare" State. If anything can save the United States at this late date it will be the circulation of the *Freeman* far and wide so that the uninformed may be informed and the confused may become clear. I recommend it often in my column "Our America"—but not often enough!

Admiral W. H. P. Blandy (Ret.):

Unlike most infants, you had plenty of teeth when you started, and you have taken some husky bites into the country's toughest problems. May your influence be wide and your birthdays many.

Ward Bond:

In my humble opinion the *Freeman* stands foremost among publications dedicated to give a true picture, an intelligent pro-American picture, of the political condition of our country today. It has been of immeasurable help in exposing the Communist conspiracy to overthrow our government and in giving to its readers a forthright appraisal of the precarious situation in American national politics.

Senator John W. Bricker

The *Freeman* is rejuvenating faith in the political and moral principles upon which America was founded. No other faith can prevent communism from becoming the universal way of life.

It took many years for Marxist intellectuals to corrupt the language, undermine belief in natural law, and weaken respect for patriotic traditions. The *Freeman's* two-year fight in opposition has accomplished results which, I think, will be regarded on its tenth anniversary as far more important than could be realized on its second.

Louis Bromfield:

The establishment of the *Freeman* will prove to be an event in American history, for it has clarified and fortified true American liberalism and filtered off the dross of central European Marxism. Its notable progress and success have demonstrated the response of thoughtful Americans everywhere.

Senator Harry F. Byrd:

I am glad to take this opportunity to felicitate the *Freeman* on its second anniversary. During its brief career, the *Freeman* has filled an important spot in America's literary life. It is a well-edited publication that deserves encouragement.

Hit hard and straight, *Freeman!* May you develop and prosper—and continue your effective presentation of articles of importance to the American way of life.

Taylor Caldwell:

The *Freeman* is one of a very small group of periodicals actively and strongly concerned over the determined destruction, by evil and cynical men, of our Constitution and our Republic. The *Freeman* stands at the gates of our liberty like a heroic watchman, unafraid and dedicated. . . . For the sake of America, the watchman must be ably supported by us who are not sleeping. He must have many "birthdays," or there'll be no birthdays any longer for this nation, but only the long night, timeless and violent, of slavery.

John Dos Passos:

The *Freeman* has all my good wishes. At first I feared there was some danger of your becoming a little chapel of dissenters, but I think I see signs of a healthy broadening process. I read Willi Schlamm's disquisitions on the theater and Edward Dahlberg's heretical reviews with a great deal of pleasure. Occasionally you come up with a startling fact. It is a great relief to read a page that shows signs of independent thought amid the dreary stodginess of the journalism of these years of despair.

Rupert Hughes:

The whole art and business of American journalism are more sane, more wise, more patriotic in the highest sense, and more honorable, because of the *Freeman*. It is both solid and brilliant, and its anniversaries should be gratefully celebrated every year "from now on."

B. E. Hutchinson:

Congratulations to the *Freeman* on the occasion of the second anniversary of its founding. Few publications have achieved so much with so little in so short a time. No publication ever faced a greater opportunity to contribute to the promotion of a greater cause than confronts the *Freeman* today. May your success continue and your influence in the promotion of the cause of freedom be ever more widely extended!

A. G. Keller:

I read your issues, along with those of the *U. S. News*, with satisfaction—the kind of edification that I got from the *Nation* of old before it alienated me, while it was edited by Messrs. Garrison Villard, Lamont, More and Fuller of long ago. The *Freeman* has followed the norm set by Grover Cleveland: “Tell the truth,” and deserves Nevins’s subtitle to his “Life of Cleveland”: “A study in courage.” I am proud of you and your associates, no matter whether I have criticized this and that to Chamberlain, privately, as to a former student and friend.

Eugene Lyons:

My heartfelt congratulations on your second anniversary. The *Freeman* has at last broken the virtual monopoly of opinion journalism heretofore held by the totalitarian Left. Its continued existence will be a guarantee that the memory of truly liberal values, as distinguished from the phony varieties, will not be utterly expunged in our land. I think you’ve done a highly effective job under difficult conditions.

Adolphe Menjou:

Congratulations on your second birthday! A giant at two years of age. I have no suggestions or criticisms. Please just keep rolling along.

Senator Eugene D. Millikin

Let me please offer my congratulations on your Second Anniversary. It lifts the heart to know that you are dedicated to the advancement of good sound American principles and that you have assembled so many able writers who impart a new and thrilling interest in precious things which we have allowed to grow tarnished through disuse.

Raymond Moley:

It seemed to me one of the most significant and constructive steps in the whole history of recent journalism to have a substantial conservative magazine presented to an eagerly receptive public. It is my judgment that this country is trying to grope out of the delusions that have so cruelly injured and frustrated it in the past few years. It is time to get back to some basic principles, and the

Freeman is a mighty instrument to assist that quest.

Dean Roscoe Pound:

If I remember the mortality tables aright one’s expectancy is lowest in the early years of infancy. If one survives that period in good health an expectancy of at least a reasonably long life may be counted on. It is good to know that the *Freeman* has come through well its critical first years so that those of us who believe in American values, and in the institutions which have made ours a country to which men have sought and still seek to come from all parts of the world in search of opportunity, may predict for it a long and useful existence.

Lieut. Gen. Robert C. Richardson, Jr. (Ret.):

Please accept my warm congratulations on the second birthday of the *Freeman*. In two short years, your magazine has attained an enviable stature, because of its courage, its accuracy, and its honesty. To me it is like a refreshing moral breeze blowing through the nation. Its influence grows with each issue, expressing for thousands the thoughts that each one would like to express himself. May it continue to grow, and always place the interests of our country first.

Mary Roberts Rinehart:

As a subscriber to the *Freeman*, I am happy to say that I think it one of the very best publications of its sort of which I know. I read each issue carefully from cover to cover, and I agree entirely with its editorial policy. It is highly informative, and as an old-line Republican myself, I think it fills a very real need in the political chaos of today. After all, the leftist side has had and still has a very loud voice in the press of today; it is time the conservative right should speak.

Morrie Ryskind:

I know not what course others may take, but I regard the *Freeman* as the greatest contribution toward civilized living since the discovery of sex. Many happy returns.

F. A. Voigt:

Greetings to the *Freeman*, for it has sound principles, it has personality, it has patriotism, and it has a high sense of honour! To me it is the more encouraging as I have been reduced to great isolation in this country [England] and would be strongly tempted, were it not for the *Freeman*, to give up writing altogether.

Lieut. Gen. A. C. Wedemeyer (Ret.):

May I extend congratulations to the editors and staff on this the second anniversary of my favorite

magazine, the *Freeman*. It is my conviction that no other periodical in the country has presented so objectively and accurately the world panorama and the implications of developments in the domestic and foreign fields.

I recommend to all readers of the *Freeman* that they send yearly subscriptions to at least ten of their friends in December. This would not only provide the deserved support to your magazine, but it would indeed make a realistic contribution to the enlightenment of our people concerning major issues confronting freedom-loving peoples.

Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby (Ret.):

In a country that has the most intensive per capita coverage in the world in information media, in every category of dissemination, real, impartial presentation of facts and ideas is unfortunately not uniformly available. . . . The time was over-ripe for an independent publication that not only digests news but analyzes motivations. The *Freeman* is filling this empty niche—in the best liberal tradition, a badge of honor that has been outrageously misused by phonies, leftists, Fabian Marxists and the twilight zone fraternity that has become the avant garde of communism. More power to the *Freeman*.

Shouts from Padded Cells

We have never understood why it should be wrong to hunt witches. What else is one to do with evil and restless creatures who put the hex on livestock and journalists, ride on broomsticks and, in general, make a darned nuisance of themselves? On the other hand, we have nothing but sympathy for the poor beings who, pursued by witches, are driven into an anxious state of irresponsibility.

For instance, the other day we saw these words printed in an American newspaper: "But the whole complex that is summed up in the word 'McCarthyism' he can not understand. That any American should not only approve Gestapo methods, but demand their application in this country is a mystery he can not probe." The "he" referred to was William L. Shirer whose new book, "Midcentury Journey," stimulated a reviewer into the quoted contortion. Or rather, the witches must have done it. For the reviewer was Gerald W. Johnson, a frequent contributor to the country's best papers. And the paper that published that bit of sheer lunacy was the *New York Herald Tribune*.

Now obviously Mr. Johnson did not know what he was doing. No person, unless possessed by witches, could have actually meant to say that Senator McCarthy approves Gestapo methods and demands their application in this country. For, as a regular contributor to the *New York Times* and

the *Herald Tribune* must have heard at one time or other, the methods of the Gestapo were the scientific use of torture, the breaking of spines and the burning of children. So Mr. Johnson could not possibly have known what he was doing. Witches must have chased him into a padded cell and he was just shouting. He can not be held responsible. But how about the copyreader, the editor, the proofreader of the distinguished Republican paper? Were they haunted by witches too?

There have lately been many more shouts from padded cells—and they all broke into print! Here, for instance, is what we read in the *New York Post*: "It [McCarthyism] has robbed people of their ability to make a living *and forced American citizens into exile. . . .*" This was signed by Dr. Frank Kingdon, but the good doctor could not possibly have realized what he was saying. For he could not name a single American citizen whom McCarthy has forced into exile. There is none, of course. How could Dr. Kingdon, unless witches were chasing him, have duplicated and multiplied the same transgression of elementary ethics of which he suspects the Senator—namely, to make sinister accusations without a shred of evidence? No, this was no articulate statement. This was just another shout from a padded cell. But how about the copyreader, the proofreader, the editor who sent it promptly to press?

For heaven's sake, let us hunt and soon catch the witches who are putting a hex on New York, or the whole place will go crazy!

The Neurosis of Timidity

Reflecting upon the record of the last twenty years, one can only marvel at the hardihood of the modern Democratic claim of lineal descent from Jefferson, Jackson and Cleveland. One recalls Jefferson's warning about government encroachment (the least government, the better); Jackson's surplus revenue of 1837; and one notes and applauds Nevins's subtitle to his "Grover Cleveland: A Study in Courage."

It can not be charged to any one of the above trio that they scared easily. At Cleveland's death, he was identified with "that tower of strength that stood four-square to all the winds that blew." How could he have begotten a regime of Policy by Fright, an Administration characterized by one of our best observers as shaken by recurrent "spasms of fright"? The specific reference was to foreign policy; but might have been extended to cover not a few exhibitions of domestic timorousness and obsequious subservience—combined, as usual, with cowardice and with arrogance toward the disorganized, "too damned dumb," defenseless citizen.

And yet we were once, and pontifically, assured that we had nothing to fear but Fear itself. How

is it, then, that after twenty years we find ourselves to have been inculcated with a timidity-neurosis at which our enemies openly sneer? Have our representatives not turned the other cheek when repeatedly, rudely and publicly clouted by Russian and Russophile representatives? Have we not ingratiatingly shelled out resources even to professed enemies, instead of accumulatings shells against the implementation of their various shell games? And have our amenities won for us, or for our democratic Republic, much else than charges of imperialism, with attendant false assertions of barbarous practice?

It is true that a parliamentary government, in comparison with an autocracy, is slow to wrath and action. It is characteristically peaceable, and may have to be scared into violence. It is too well satisfied with—call it “too proud” of—its constructive accomplishments to revert otherwise than reluctantly to the destructiveness of what the Romans called the last resort (*ultima ratio*) of war, unless it sees at stake its very existence under a challenge to the ways of life with which it has become contentedly familiar.

The way to stir a people like ours out of its natural inertia into action, all the way from casting ballots to casting bullets, is by the instillation of fear, whether or not no man pursueth. This is a lesson that the schooled politician has learned; and he has sought to apply it by fostering crises on grand or local scale. In truth, he has strung along red lights so closely together that they look like a chronic crisis (which is a plain contradiction in terms); and the manipulator has profited thereby. He has even succeeded in scaring himself into cringing jitters (the “spasms of fright” that our cool observer has reported), ever crooking a defensive sleeve over his eyes.

What else could account for that abject attitude of foreign, and largely also of domestic, policy?

Courage has always impressed both foe and potential friend. One of our great soldiers, when asked what we could do if our allies flunked out, replied: “Go it alone.” That reply was shocking to the timorous, as just another reckless exhibition of personality, whereas it voiced an attitude that has, in history, won the hearts of soldiers and the enthusiasm of wavering potential friends. How was it that England got by, when all alone after shattering reverses? Was it for his timidity or his resolution, as he faced a crisis of crises, that his nation followed Churchill through blood, sweat and tears to world alliances and victory? And what matter if, as an English writer put it, those who were rescued “ratted on the man who saved them” and remanded him to the dog-house? Resolution had worked, at any rate, what was widely hailed as a miracle.

One can readily imagine “Good Old Joe” facing, say, the austere MacArthur or the keen-witted Al

Smith across a conference table, and concluding that there were present no legs to pull, no brows to beat. Theodore Roosevelt had accesses of impetuosity, but neither Germany nor Britain got much change out of him. Nobody ever saw Andrew Jackson intimidated; nor could many of this country’s Fathers be fooled, much less terrified, despite the desperate odds against them, by any form of *Schrecklichkeit*. And Lincoln was immune to any “spasmodic fright” over minor or imaginary crises. He faced a genuine and gigantic crisis; ignored the little, manufactured scares, and focused his eye upon the ball of principle, undistracted by noisy irrelevance.

Timidity spots the record, not only of the foreign, but also of the domestic administration of the last two decades: our government has been as timid and appeasing when afraid as it has been belligerent and imperious when confident. An even-handed attitude toward all, despite recurrent attitudinizing, has not been in evidence. There has been gross favoritism. That injustice (alias “social justice”) has not been as raw a Deal as in some other reputedly civilized countries, is cold comfort, after all. The politician is always with us, and is always on the spoor of power. He is an inevitable excrement from which no society is immune. He is often, in reality, the State. He fears and cajoles purveyors of votes; to him it is the strongly organized special interest that best repays sycophancy. He has long cringed before Capital; and now he kowtows before Labor, employing the same craven ingratiating that was effective with Capital in its heyday of power.

Though Justice is always social, the term “social justice” has been invented to prettify various specious departures from even-handed Justice under the guise of equalization, division of wealth, and other pious ideologies calculated to impose upon dumb credulity. Not a little of this scare-technique has been attended by bribery, even though promissory rather than in terms of raw cash.

A great Democrat of not long ago, when faced by a crisis, had always at the end of his tongue the laconic phrase: “Tell the truth.” His was also the apothegm: “Public office is a public trust.” Grover Cleveland was not to be intimidated. Leaving his high office under the execration of former supporters whom his uprightness had enraged, he had become, before he died, the foremost citizen of his country. And yet this symbol of intellectual integrity and of sensitive and unyielding conscience has been represented as a patron saint of the nonsense and worse of the last two pestilential decades of our government.

Jefferson, Jackson and Cleveland belong with those who currently mouth their names most loudly as little as do all the eminences of history derive from the Nordic race or the Muscovite-Marxist strain.

A. G. KELLER

The UN Has a Rule for It

By ALICE WIDENER

The nature of U. S. participation in the United Nations Secretariat is assessed by a well-known Freeman writer in this and succeeding articles.

Six American officials of the United Nations Secretariat were called before a Federal Grand Jury in New York City in May 1952. Evidence was presented that the six had been associated with pro-Communist and/or Communist organizations or had been named in connection with three spy rings that operated in the United States before, during and after World War II.

According to the *New York Times*, they were notified by the UN that their contracts had been terminated effective June 15 and June 30, 1952, on the ground that their services were no longer required. An informed UN source denied this, the *Times* said, but admitted that three Americans had recently left UN employment: two by termination and one by resignation.

It was also learned by the press that David Weintraub, director of Economic Stability and Development in the UN Division of Economic Affairs and Alfred Van Tassel, Acting Chief of the Information Section in the Technical Assistance Administration, had been subpoenaed for reappearance before the Grand Jury. Van Tassel had refused on privilege of not incriminating himself, to state whether he was a member of the Communist Party. Weintraub's recall was partly in connection with the dismissal of his UN assistant, Irving Kaplan, who "had declined on privilege of the fifth amendment to answer whether *he was currently engaged in espionage.*" (Italics added.)

Up to the time of his testimony, Weintraub was a leading candidate for a higher UN post. But the *Times* reported, "It is said his selection has been blocked for the time being as a result of the Grand Jury investigation. He has acknowledged that he was responsible for getting Mr. Kaplan his position with the UN."

Mr. Weintraub also acknowledged under oath that during World War II, while he himself was working for the U. S. government, he gave references for several of the alleged spy-ring members when they were seeking employment with various government agencies in Washington.

At a UN Headquarters press conference, June 6, 1952, several correspondents asked questions designed to elicit a statement of United Nations policy on the matter of hiring American Communists as members of the Secretariat, a body often described as "an international civil service" which enjoys certain privileges and immunities.

"Secretary General Trygve Lie said today that the UN did not have a policy to discharge all U. S. Communists on its staff," the *Times* correspondent reported, "but he insisted on the right to get rid of any employee in the 'best interests' of the world organization." Both Lie and his chief administrative officer, Byron Price, insisted that Kaplan was the only employee whose name had *appeared in print* in connection with the Grand Jury hearings who had been dismissed. But, said the *Times*, it was learned that at least five others involved but *not mentioned in print* had been discharged or permitted to resign.

Official sources in the U. S. government have said that ever since 1946 certain of its agencies have been trying to induce the UN Secretariat to rid itself of subversive Americans, but that satisfactory action in the matter had been "blocked and postponed" until the UN heard reports that the outraged Grand Jury was about to make a public presentment of the charges.

"Poor Security Risks"

The story smoldered for a while longer. Then, on June 18, it exploded in the press. "UN Plans to Oust 30 More of U. S. Aides for Red Work," the *Times* reported, quoting highly reliable sources as saying that because of illegal Communist activities

... about 15 members of the Secretariat already have been dismissed or have been asked to resign. At least twice that number still are scheduled for removal from the UN rolls. The dismissals—some here call them a "housecleaning" others a "purge"—have been going on at the UN for several months. The estimate is that they will continue until the end of 1952. . . . The answer—always unofficial and informal since the UN officials will not discuss the situation—is that the world organization must clean its lists of highly suspect persons "before a spy scandal" rocks its structure.

There are approximately 377 American members of the UN's administrative, professional and technical staff. Of these, according to the press, 45 were removed or about to be removed as poor security risks. And the *Chicago Tribune Press Service* reported in an article by Chesly Manly on July 27, 1952, that more than a third of the 377 "are believed to have had Communist affiliations before or since coming to the UN."

It is the UN administrative officials' point of

view that membership in the Communist Party of the U. S. is not in itself sufficient reason to dismiss an American from the UN staff. "The Communist Party is a legal political party in this country," declared Trygve Lie. He neglected to add that in New York State, for example, even the German-American Bund—with enough signed petitions to get on the ballot—could today be a political party. But under the Smith Act of 1940—a statute designed to protect U. S. internal security—it is a felony for an American to plot to advocate the overthrow of our government by force and violence. Moreover, under United States law any person falsely publicized as "a Communist" may sue for libel and recover damages.

Some of the top American officials in the UN appeared to tolerate and even to try to shield several American staff members who, according to undisputed sworn testimony, had been engaged in or associated with activities held to be criminal in their country.

On June 20, 1952, the UN dismissed Eugene Wallach, an American citizen, from his post in its Language Services Division after he had appeared three times before the Grand Jury. It had learned facts concerning Wallach's career which the UN Bureau of Personnel claim they hadn't discovered during the six years of his employment. The truth, as reported in the *New York Journal American* by Howard Rushmore, is that in 1946 "Wallach quit a \$100 a month job as a full-time Communist Party functionary in New York State to take his present post in the UN." Though the UN paid Wallach approximately \$9000 (U. S. tax exempt) a year, its officials described him as only "a stenographic reporter."

Wallach could have got his UN job even if the Bureau of Personnel had known all about his Communist connection. On June 21, 1952, a brief *New York Times* news item about his dismissal stated: "Under United Nations rules former Nazis or Fascists are barred from employment but Communists are not included in the ban."

Mr. Schachter Explains

On assignment from the *Freeman*, this writer—who believes that all totalitarians are equally undesirable—interviewed Mr. Oscar Schachter, Deputy Director of the UN General Legal Division, about UN rules for hiring personnel. He courteously granted permission to take notes in his presence for quotation.

"A United Nations staff member is similar in certain respects to a private employee," Mr. Schachter explained. "He or she is not an employee of the United States government or of any government. The best way to put it is set out in the UN Staff Regulations, particularly the First Article and the Oath."

The First Article may be summarized as stating

that members of the UN Secretariat are international civil servants whose responsibilities are exclusively international. Staff members "are not expected to give up their national sentiments or their political and religious convictions," and the immunities and privileges they enjoy by virtue of the United Nations Charter furnish no excuse for non-performance of private obligations "or failure to observe laws and police regulations."

The chief requirements for all employees are "competence, efficiency and *integrity*" and according to the Oath they solemnly swear "not to seek or accept instruction" in regard to the performance of duties "from any government or *other authority external to the Organization.*" (Italics added.)

It is difficult to see how Communists can possibly abide by the UN loyalty oath in view of the fact that the Communist Party requires them to disregard any other authority and to act only in what Lenin and Stalin called "submission to the single will of the Soviet director, of the dictator." Outside the UN, Communists are among the most zealous organizers of groups objecting to loyalty oaths.

Your reporter showed Mr. Schachter the *Times* clipping stating that the UN has an employment rule banning Fascists and Nazis.

"Is there any definition of terms in the ruling?" I asked. "Has it a regional or national or individual application? What, for example, would be the UN Bureau of Personnel view of a British Mosleyite or French *Croix de Feu* applicant for a job?"

"We've never had that problem, to my knowledge," Mr. Schachter replied. "I don't think it has ever come up."

Asked for the exact wording of the rule, Mr. Schachter took the trouble to look it up. "Apparently," he said, "this rule was set by the Preparatory Commission for the United Nations in London way back in 1945-46. If you remember, Stettinius was there, and next in line were Adlai Stevenson and Abe Feller. According to what it says here, the rule was discussed by the General Assembly in February 1946 and then interpreted into what is here." He read:

Rule 56: No persons shall be appointed who have discredited themselves by their activities or connections with fascism or nazism.

After another request for an expression of his opinion on the vagueness of Rule 56, Mr. Schachter said: "Apparently this is a bad rule."

I inquired if there had been any official discussion of it lately at the UN—except for the anonymous statement to the *Times*—and whether it might perhaps be a good idea to reconsider the rule, especially if it is a bad one.

"Oh, I didn't mean to say it's a bad rule," Mr. Schachter explained. "After all, it was recommended by the Preparatory Commission—that's where it originated—and you've got to look at the thing in the light of historical political perspective. It

was long ago, just after the war, and I suppose they meant Germany, Italy, Japan and Franco's Spain."

Following Mr. Schachter's advice and looking at things in the revealing light of historical perspective, it is interesting to note that, in addition to the part that Secretary of State Stettinius, Adlai Stevenson and Dr. Abraham H. Feller (now UN General Counsel) played in organizing the UN, another American acted as first Secretary-General at the UN San Francisco Conference, and as principal adviser to the U. S. Delegation at the first General Assembly of the United Nations in London. His name is Alger Hiss.

Red Totalitarians Not Barred

A look at the historical political situation in Germany, Japan, Italy and other countries leads a realistic observer to conclude that the UN's Staff Rule 56 might be used arbitrarily to bar from UN employment those nationals who associated with Nazis or Fascists—innocently or otherwise—but not nationals who associated with Communists or who actually belong to the Communist Party.

What would be UN personnel policy, I asked, in the following hypothetical case: A naturalized American (of German or Italian or Japanese extraction) applies for a job. This person had or is accused of having had "connections with fascism," and is or can be barred from the UN by Rule 56. However, if a naturalized American applies for a UN position and admits Communist Party membership, he or she can't be barred from employment.

"That's purely theoretical," Mr. Schachter answered. "Of course, such a case hasn't ever to my knowledge come up. I don't know exactly what the situation would be. I don't know exactly how this thing operates. But the main thing is to keep in mind it was an early rule and really applies, I suppose to Germans, Italians, Japanese, etc."

(The rules concerning permanent employment status on the UN Secretariat have the effect, I later learned from several UN press correspondents, of solidifying tenure and rendering the dismissal of undesirables, including subversive staff members and espionage agents, a difficult affair.)

Concerning the dismissals of Irving Kaplan and Eugene Wallach, Mr. Schachter explained: "Wallach was up for dismissal quite some time before the present situation developed. But a Special Committee reinstated him."

(It was well known at that time, I was later told, that the UN Appeals Board declared itself incompetent to reach a decision in Wallach's case. Thereupon, the Secretary-General appointed a three-man Special Committee to consider the matter. David Weintraub was a member of this Committee and concurred in its decision to reinstate Wallach.)

Mr. Schachter ended the interview with the statement: "Our personnel doesn't inquire into

people's political beliefs." This assertion doesn't appear to jibe with UN Rule 56 which is specifically aimed at some people's undesirable political beliefs.

Nevertheless, when David Weintraub appeared under subpoena before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in Washington, May 15, 1952, there was the following colloquy:

SENATOR FERGUSON: Could I ask there, do I understand from your answers previously in executive session that the question of a person's political belief is not a qualification for employment with the United Nations?

MR. WEINTRAUB: That so far as I know is correct.

SENATOR FERGUSON: A person's political belief is not a question of employment in your particular branch?

MR. WEINTRAUB: That is correct.

SENATOR FERGUSON: So that if all of them were Communists that would be within the scope of the employment there, or if they were all capitalists, that would be within the scope, is that correct?

MR. WEINTRAUB: Yes, that is correct theoretically.

The Senator then asked if there were an endeavor in the United Nations to match the Communists and anti-Communists "so that you have a ratio." Mr. Weintraub didn't answer yes or no, but referred to a UN Charter provision that Secretariat members should be selected primarily on competence but, insofar as possible, to reflect the *geographic distribution* of the world.

SENATOR FERGUSON: In other words, it would not make any difference to the United Nations that a person was a citizen of the United States and believed in communism and not capitalism as far as getting a job . . . was concerned. . . .

MR. WEINTRAUB: To my knowledge that is not a factor.

Thus it is clear, according to the United Nations Charter and Rule 56, that theoretically *and legally* all American employees in the Secretariat could be Communist.

In view of Rule 56, Mr. Weintraub's sworn statement concerning people's political beliefs was apparently inaccurate. But concerning the UN's view of American Communists, his testimony was accurate. That view was recently supported—both morally and materially—by the UN Staff Association, whose Council has been recognized by the General Assembly as "an official entity" of the United Nations.

In November 1951 Craig Thompson, in a *Saturday Evening Post* article, "Sinister Doings at the UN," said there was strong evidence that a group of Communist wreckers had penetrated the UN staff "clear down to the level of junior typists and janitors." He described a strange battle, complete with name-calling and knife-in-the-back tactics, that has the surface appearance of a labor dispute but is in reality "a Communist effort to sabotage the Secretary-Generalship of Trygve Lie and gain control of the UN Secretariat." "The principal instrument used against Lie," said Mr. Thompson, "is a thing of his own creation . . . the Staff Association . . ." which he brought into

existence in 1946. It rapidly became the instrument of such distrust and tension that, by the autumn of 1950, Byron Price handed the Staff Committee a written statement amounting to an indictment for malicious mischief and for "disloyalty and self-seeking." A few weeks later Lie himself backed up Price's charges of employees' disloyalty to the UN. The *Post* article continued:

Nowhere, on either side, was the term "Communist" or "Communist Party" used. With complete sincerity, and utter unreality, UN staffers regard communism as a word without meaning to them since they are all internationalists together.

According to pattern and by means of classic Red technique, the UN Staff Association on July 10, 1952, passed by a "majority" of 43 votes out of a possible 4368 a resolution "to support" and "to collect funds for the legal assistance" of recently dismissed staff members, including those who refused to say before a New York Grand Jury and a Senate Committee whether they had been or were currently engaged in espionage.

It appears that causes for bitter internecine strife are inherent in the United Nations Charter and in its interpretation by the General Assembly. Despite the UN Administration's protestations of unconcern with people's political beliefs, members of the first session of the General Assembly—acting on the advice of international legal experts and of Alger Hiss—adopted Rule 56. It is a measure so "illegal" that it can be used as a means to establish an applicant's ineligibility for service in the United Nations solely on imputation of guilt by association.

In reality, Rule 56 is a tricky kind of cold-war weapon forged in the heat of post-World War II passions, when well-intentioned peoples were misled into joining forces with their betrayers and implacable enemies. Today, Americans and other free peoples appear weakly to tolerate the UN employment policy of not barring Communist nationals from non-Communist countries. As a result, the UN Secretariat is highly vulnerable to the Kremlin-organized political spoils system.

Our Left-Handed Colleges

By E. MERRILL ROOT

A college professor known to our readers for his poems, refutes the "liberal" contention that conservatives dominate American colleges.

The public-address system of the Left, from the educational columns of the *New York Times* to the ukases of the Civil Liberties Union, forever dins into our ears the unrealistic cliché that American colleges are dominated by conservatives. To those of us who know, this is a fantastic inversion of truth. In American colleges today the political and cultural Left is militant and ruthless—blatantly speaking, eagerly heard, while the political and cultural Right is ridiculed and patronized, and (to its own shame) inarticulate and passive.

Amazingly, the many professors who would normally form on the Right allow themselves to be lulled or cowed into conformity. (Are they not "liberals," too, and therefore ready to tolerate the intolerable?) They are cowed by the power wielded by the collectivists in textbooks, in the great metropolitan papers, in the literary organs of the Brainy Boys, in the general din of doubtful talk where professors gather and chatter. They are cowed by their fear of verbal stones—"old-fashioned," "reactionary," "illiberal"—which, if they do not break professorial bones, do wound professorial vanity. They are lulled by their own dignity as gentlemen and scholars: they are averse to the din of the forum and the blood of the battlefield. Whatever

the reason, the result is clear: the majority of professors of the Right let a noisy minority, ruthless and sophisticated, usurp the academic megaphone. In so doing, they are as culpable as the decent people of Germany who hated Hitler but did nothing about it. The inarticulate professors of the Right must attack, attack, and again attack. Why leave all the audacity to Owen Lattimore?

All the current blather broadcast by the academic bleeding-hearts, that radical and even liberal professors are "silenced" and "frightened" is camouflage for the infiltrating tanks of One Big Government. Who actually gets more space on the air, in the press, in textbooks, magazines, even twenty-five cent books (what price "Ordeal by Slander"?), than these Sons of the Left, from Schlesinger to Lattimore? Today the McLiberals are the fair-haired boys of the academic world, who can do no wrong and to whom no outraged parent may say scat. Even in a Christian seminary Neibuhr is applauded when he says that communism is "a Christian heresy."

One is led to believe that every "liberal" professor in the country is a frightened, innocent little rabbit, panting his heart out in an academic bunny-hole. But does this truly describe the way in which

Professor Lattimore (to quote a characteristic "liberal" headline) "Strikes Back"? Does it describe the almost unanimous furor against Buckley at Yale; the chorus of the pack from Pasadena to Poughkeepsie, giving tongue against any son (or daughter) of the Right?

The facts of academic life are vastly different from the alarms and excursions of the McLiberals. Long ago the former President of Earlham College, Dr. William Cullen Dennis, one of the wisest and most tolerant presidents I have known, made a remark which then seemed to me extreme, but which I have found increasingly true. He said that any radical professor in an American college, no matter how incompetent, had better chance of tenure than a conservative—for the president and the trustees are aware of the shrieks that will arise if he is dismissed. A conservative professor of like inability is certain to go. Who will protest? When do you hear complaints from these academic bleeding-hearts if an English professor is forbidden to teach "Darkness at Noon," or if a Republican is called on the academic carpet because he refuses to teach collectivism?

The Axioms of Prejudice

You can know the dominant teachers in American colleges by noting the *axioms of thinking* so deeply planted in students (and even in normally conservative professors) that they have become unconscious prejudices. Consider a few of these straws that indicate the secret wind of prejudice. Consider their prevalence, their unconscious habituality, and then ask if, like Topsy, they "just grewed."

One omnipresent axiom in the consensus of academic thinking is that Senator McCarthy is an assassin of character, a political demon dealing in "smears" and "lies." At any academic gathering you will find such castigation of the Senator implicit, and if you linger long you will find it explicit. Yet I have never heard in private or in public one word of academic criticism of the smears and lies of a Joliot-Curie or a Red Dean, charging America with germ warfare in Korea. And the scientist and the cleric are *academic figures* who should be criticized by *academic courts* as traitors to the intellectual life. They never are. Why?

Again, the usual academic reaction to "Red Channels" is hostile. It is considered "unfair" in colleges to list artists or teachers according to their own free choice of associates. Yet I have never heard in colleges any private or public disgust at the unfairness of the *Nation* listing in its anniversary issue the evils of America, with a few thrown in to make a baker's dozen. "Red Channels" is "illiberal" to see straws moving in a single direction and suggest a single wind; the *Nation* is "liberal" to list an army of straw-men, and to charge that its ragged perversions prove America "close

to fascism." This is the odd tendency of the academic mind, whether of faculty or students, all over the country. To notice what is wrong with Communists or what is right with America is "illiberal"; to notice what is right with Communists or what is wrong with America is "liberal." Why?

Again, an abnormal number of college teachers of English praise the slick, sterile wasp-poetry of Ezra Pound, and patronize the fruitful, timeless American poetry of Robert Frost. The Indiana Association of College Teachers of English, in the spring of 1952, selected as their annual speaker a known disintegrator of art and life, with a long record of fronts, Dr. William Carlos Williams. These tendencies—so habitual as to be unconscious with the professors of the Right—prove that the academic Right hand does not know what the academic Left hand is doing. That is "being liberal." But it always happens that the Right hand pulls the chestnuts out of the fire, and the Left hand pockets them. Why?

Again, a visiting dim-wit at a college chapel (how many? too many!) who says he wishes he "lived in England" because there he could get his false teeth, his toupees, and his pince-nez "absolutely free," is somehow supposed in academic circles (even by the professors who disagree) to be "liberal." But a speaker who ventures to object to the high taxes, the low wages, the queues and rationings and controls, the economic Puritanism, of England, is supposed somehow (even by the professors who agree with him) to be "reactionary." Such is the habitual bias, the unconscious prejudice, that has for a generation been soaking into the academic mind.

In spite of the well-known horrors of the Great Reaction, a stubborn germ still infects the minds of students and professors that communism—that torture-chamber of the human soul—is somehow (at least in genesis and intention) "a Christian heresy." If reactionary, it is still a champion of revolution, a wave of the best possible future for man. Why?

Smearing from the Left

If all this were a spirited half of a great debate, one might say: "Truth will win." But it is as dictatorial as a column of tanks moving up to occupy a country. The design of the McLiberals is to flatten out all opposition and to reduce the minds of students and colleagues of the Right to inarticulate subservience that must not make reply. (Witness how they ganged up on Buckley!) In the academic life, you *must* believe all this phony bathos, or you are a "reactionary" and one of the Republicans and sinners. Because you oppose Red fascism, they call you a "Fascist." They whisper it, behind your back, to your students, where it will hurt most. But this, of course, is not "smearing," not "assassination of character."

Anyone who knows this college generation, knows that it has somehow and somewhere been conditioned into such axioms of error. Students believe (without knowing why or where they learned it) that capitalism is "immoral" and socialism is "moral"; that America is always secretly "imperialistic," and Soviet Russia always (quite secretly) an emancipator (God save Czechoslovakia and China!) They suppose that it is "liberal" to tolerate the intolerable, to acquiesce in the murder of liberty, to present your willing jugular to the stab of "the smiler with the knife" (how well Chaucer knew communism!). Who is to blame for the fact that they approach this crisis of history with the intellectual equipment of babes-in-the-wood?

Fundamentally the issue reduces itself to a question of *values*. All culture rests on certain premises, axioms, choices of the spirit: else there can be no action or thought. A people, at a great creative moment, through its greatest creative spirits, chooses certain values, qualities and meanings to give form and content to its life: these are its soul, its shaping dream, its Aristotelian "entelechy." These are that "faith and love" which (as Nietzsche said) the great creators hang like a star above a people. The great critics may and must clarify these, purge them of confusions and contradictions, develop them, even question details if they become idols that hold us back from God. But even the greatest critics must not destroy these values—only help to fulfill them. And most teachers are not, and should not seek to be, philosophers or critics—they have not the genius it requires. Teachers are *conservers and transmitters* of values, qualities and meanings. The people whom they serve have the right to say that the great values, qualities and meanings shall be conserved and transmitted by those who have been chosen because they are talented for, and should be dedicated to, such transmission. It is pretty to prate of the "academic freedom" of teachers to miseducate youth, but what of the freedom of parents to have their children taught the values by which they may live and not the perversions by which they will die?

The American dream has always insisted on the rights of the individual against the group, of the citizen against the state; of liberty to endure the least possible government. Teachers who reduce the individual to the hideous caricature known as "the Common Man," who slyly or blatantly uphold the encroachments of the total state, do not teach the values, qualities and meanings which parents wish taught. Parents have the right to say to such teachers: "If you wish to teach your own children these things, or if there are parents who wish you to teach such things and will support you while you do so, teach as you wish. But *we* are not going to support you with our taxes or our private tuition while you infect our children with the opposite of what we consider truth."

The pity is that parents are too humble and passive and do not say this often enough. They are awed by the spectacled Wise Men, the Pooh-Bahs of education. When they do revolt (as at Pasadena), the pundits of collectivism, being a reactionary vested interest, lobby, gang up, and cry havoc. *They* must have the "freedom" to pursue their own profitable monopoly.

The Collectivists and the Nihilists have too long monopolized a revolutionary role—in order to bring about reaction. It is time for the many professors who have been gagged and trampled by the Left, for the parents who have been mocked and milked by the Left, for the students who have been hoodwinked and played for suckers by the Left, to rally against the Tories of collectivism, the Red Coats of socialism. Certainly if we fight the battle of freedom to the end, we can make the Tories capitulate.

Even if we should not win the fight for freedom and the soul of man, gallant youth will yet waken and start an underground against Big Brother and his nightmare state of 1984. As for the professors of the Left, who bring death and all our woe, what of them? As usual, Shakespeare has the great word: "Foolish curs that run winking into the mouth of the Russian bear, and have their heads crushed like rotten apples."

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 of the *Freeman Magazine* with which is combined the magazine *Plain Talk*, published fortnightly at Orange, Connecticut, for October 1, 1952. 1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: *Publisher*, The Freeman Magazine, Inc., 240 Madison Avenue; *Editors*: John Chamberlain, Forrest Davis, Henry Hazlitt, 240 Madison Avenue; *Managing Editor*, Suzanne La Follette, 240 Madison Avenue; *Business Manager*, Kurt M. Lassen, 240 Madison Avenue. 2. The owners are: The Freeman Magazine, Inc., 240 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.; John Chamberlain, Cheshire, Conn.; Henry Hazlitt, 37 Washington Square West, New York 11, N. Y.; Dr. Ludwig von Mises, 777 West End Avenue, New York 25, N. Y.; Leonard Read, Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.; Miss Suzanne La Follette, 222 West 23 Street, New York 11, N. Y.; H. C. Cornuelle, 1521 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, Cal.; Dr. Donald J. Cowling, 444 Otis Avenue, St. Paul 4, Minn.; Dr. Stewart M. Robinson, Pastor, Second Presbyterian Church, Elizabeth, N. J.; Henning W. Prentis, Jr., Chairman of the Board, Armstrong Cork Company, Inc., Lancaster, Pa.; Dr. Leo Wolman, Prof. of Economics, Columbia University, New York 27, N. Y.; Alfred Kohlberg, 84 Dellwood Road, Bronxville, N. Y.; W. F. Peter, Vice President and General Counsel, Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad, Chicago 3, Ill.; Dr. Roscoe Pound, Dean Emeritus, Harvard Law School, School of Law, University of California, Los Angeles, Cal.; Lawrence Fertig, 2 Sutton Place South, New York, N. Y.; Dr. Claude Robinson, President, Opinion Research Corporation, 44 Nassau Street, Princeton, N. J.; John Hill, Hill & Knowlton, Empire State Bldg., New York 1, N. Y.; Alex L. Hillman, Hillman Periodicals, Inc., 535 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.; Forrest Davis, 400 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. 3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders, owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None. 4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

Kurt M. Lassen, *Circulation Manager*, Sworn to and subscribed before me this 11th day of September, 1952. Pasquale J. Fenico, *Notary Public*. Seal (My commission expires March 30, 1954).

How to Reduce Your Income Tax

By A. A. IMBERMAN

Recent public opinion polls show wide popular support for a limit on the Federal taxing power. How the Western Tax Council has fought toward this end is told by a public relations expert.

On Sunday, February 24, 1952, newspapers carried a long story, quoting Washington to the effect that a proposed Constitutional amendment limiting Federal income, gift and inheritance taxes to 25 per cent, if enacted, would halt the war effort and throw an unconscionable burden on "the mass of workers and farmers."¹ Little noticed was the fact that responsible for this amendment was the Western Tax Council (WTC) and that under the Council's urging 28 states had already acted positively on the proposal.

The movement to limit Federal income taxes to 25 per cent and cut all lesser income taxes in proportion, harks back to the middle 1930s. At that time, President Roosevelt was demanding more Federal revenue, and the cardinal article of his credo was that the money must come from income taxes. Those who attended the first meetings of the Western Tax Council refused to accept FDR's credo and flirted with the daring idea of a ceiling on Federal (individual and corporate) income taxes.

This was in the American tradition: the constitutions of 17 states limit the taxing power, and 43 states limit the right to borrow. All local governments, by law or charter, operate under restrictions limiting their taxing power in relation to local wealth. Only the Federal taxing powers are boundless.

The figure of 25 per cent as a safe ceiling was based on the discovery that in the late 1920s the top income tax bracket was 24 per cent, with liberal deductions. Despite that seemingly modest figure, Washington had been able to balance the budget, to pay off about one-third of the national debt and to cancel several billions in loans to foreign countries. If a 24 per cent income tax ceiling had allowed all that, there was a powerful plausibility for sticking to that limit.

With this settled, the Council faced the ramparts of the Constitution. There are two ways to amend the Constitution, according to Article V:

1. By a two-thirds vote of both Houses, Congress can submit an amendment for ratification, and three-fourths (36) of the states must ratify it.

2. Two-thirds (32) of the states can petition Congress by resolution, asking that a given proposal be submitted for ratification. Then Congress "shall" call a convention to propose the amendment and submit it for ratification. Again 36 states are needed for ratification.

The WTC's efforts to persuade Congress to submit its proposed amendment were met with New Deal sniffs and sneers. The proposal never got out of committee. Faced with this impasse, the Council bravely took the other route—i.e., to ask two-thirds (32) of the state legislatures to petition Congress to submit the amendment for ratification. This arduous task was undertaken in 1939, and by February 21, 1952, when the Virginia Legislature added its voice, 28 states had complied. If four more take affirmative action in 1953, the states will have an opportunity to vote on a Constitutional amendment limiting income taxes.

The 28 states which have passed such resolutions (with minor deviations in language) are: Wyoming, Rhode Island, Mississippi, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Arkansas, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Hampshire, Texas, Illinois, Wisconsin, Alabama, Kentucky, New Jersey, Nebraska, Louisiana, Montana, New Mexico, Nevada, Kansas, Florida, Utah, Georgia and Virginia.

The Consumer Would Benefit

Would businessmen and the rich be the only direct beneficiaries of this proposed income tax limitation? Most corporate income tax levies are packaged for consumers in the form of higher prices. These hidden taxes, plus all other levies, penalize the average family about \$700 a year, according to the best estimates. Of that sum, about \$300 is due to the corporate income tax burden which is loaded onto prices of all manufactured goods.

Despite the luxuriant demonology of Washington economists, some of them do not believe that all business taxes, especially the corporation income tax, come out of the consumers' pockets. But avoiding an abyss of statistics, the evidence is impressive.

G. Sidney Houston, Minnesota banker, writing in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November 1949, points out that

¹ "Constitutional Limitation on Federal Income, Estate and Gift Tax Rates," by the Committee Staffs of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report and the Select Committee on Small Business, Government Printing Office, 1952.

in the three prosperous years 1927-1929, net income after taxes of corporations reporting a profit, amounted to 7.45 per cent of gross income. By 1946, there had been a *three-and-a-half-fold* leap in corporation income tax rates, and a huge grist of other business taxes had been enacted. Yet in that year, despite price controls, profits after taxes were 6.89 per cent of gross income. Houston concludes:

It seems rather clear that corporations did everything in their power to pass on to their customers practically all tax increases.

As Crawford H. Greenewalt, president of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., pointed out in a recent book:

It has been said also that the corporate income tax is a tax on stockholders, that it comes out of profits, and that its impact is limited to a relatively small group. Anyone who has been concerned with practical business operations knows that this is not so. The corporate income tax is no more than an element of cost in the production of goods and services. In normal times, . . . Corporate taxes are simply transferred to the price of the goods offered for sale, and in the last analysis are paid by the consumer at retail.

This is most clearly seen in public utility operations, where rate-fixing bodies openly weigh the effect of all taxes on operations, and adjust rates accordingly. There is no pretense that the consumers do not pay the utility's taxes. A ceiling on Federal income taxes would therefore lead to lower prices and greatly decrease the average family's hidden tax burden.

High Taxes Hamper Business

But if industry passes on its taxes to its customers, why then the hysteria among businessmen to have these levies cut, halved, limited or eliminated? The answer is simple.

1. High taxes lead to high prices, and customers resist high prices. For example, liquid savings in 1951 accumulated to a total of \$17 billion; the highest rate since the war, when people oozed money but couldn't buy anything. Today everything is available—except eager buyers. The last Federal Reserve Board survey of consumer buying plans, recently released, politely hints that price is the major deterrent. So long as taxes stay high, so will prices; and no businessman in his sane mind likes high prices.

2. High taxes, just like high labor costs, high raw material costs, etc., are a strain on capital. For example, to manufacture and sell 1000 widgets in 1952, takes at least twice as much capital as was required for the same unit production in 1939. That may be no inconvenience to the larger corporations which have easy recourse to the capital securities market; but the current pressure on the capital of small and medium-size business, because

of the impact of inflationary taxes, is pitiable. Banks are timid about lending capital, and many a smaller business has been hobbled because taxes have prevented any sizeable addition to capital. At the same time, taxes have helped elevate the price of everything (including labor) so that more capital is mandatory.

This situation accounts for all the latter-day prattle about setting up governmental bodies to lend money to smaller business. The truth is that a reduction in income taxes would do more for smaller business and employment than all the high-falutin' schemes for government aid.

Despite the fact that business passes on its tax burdens to customers, those taxes have a skyrocketing effect on prices, depress sales, and weaken a company's capital position.

Would limiting Federal income tax rates cripple Federal operations? Not necessarily. The record reveals that higher tax yields often go hand in hand with lower tax rates. In 1926, for example, the maximum rate of tax on individual income was hacked from 46 to 25 per cent, and in 1929 to 24 per cent. Taxes paid by individuals for each of the years 1927, 1928 and 1929, under the reduced rates, were greater than the total for 1924 when higher rates prevailed. Moreover, during that period the corporation income tax was at a flat rate of 10 per cent, and we forgave billions of dollars of foreign indebtedness.

These reductions were also coupled with increased tax exemptions which, for the married taxpayer, went from \$2000 to \$2500 to \$3500. Still the tax yield went up during this Golden Age, the Federal debt went down, and all this without any corn-dog magic in the White House.

The paradox of larger tax yields on lower tax rates need not befuddle anyone. A tax system which weighs too heavily upon production thereby cuts down the amount of productive effort, labor and capital we employ and, in the long run, cuts down the tax yield. On the other hand, a tax system which encourages the use of more money in producing goods and services, which permits more capital for employment, for purchase of machinery and for expansion and sales—such a system gives more tax yield because it stimulates production, the only possible source of all taxes.

In estimating the effect of its proposed amendment upon Federal revenues, the WTC took into account that the proposed tax ceiling is specifically tailored to operate *only in peacetime*. Hence they took as a base the last peacetime fiscal year.

Before the Korean war, in the fiscal year 1950, Federal revenues from all sources were in the neighborhood of \$40 billion, of which corporate and individual income taxes accounted for approximately \$29 billion. It was estimated that a tax ceiling of 25 per cent, plus a proportionate scaling down of all other income taxes, would have decreased Federal revenues by a net of \$6.25 billion, leaving

our government a mere \$33.75 billion on which to live in the fiscal 1950. This net was computed from an \$11 billion gross loss, which was partly offset by a \$4.75 billion gain from expansion of business and employment due to tax decreases. Since the 25 per cent limitation applies only in time of peace, the question then becomes: Was \$33.75 billion sufficient for all purposes of the Federal government in the fiscal year 1950, without throwing any burden on the states?

Hoover Commission Report Ignored

The Hoover Commission in 1949, after sweating the \$38 billion Federal budget of that year, reported that from \$3 to \$5 billion could be saved by governmental reorganization alone. In December 1949, Senator Byrd of Virginia, Chairman of the Joint Committee on Reduction of Non-essential Federal Expenditures, made public a report dredging amazing things out of the proposed 1951 budget and showing how some \$7 billion could be saved in non-essential expenditures. In January 1950, Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois dished up nine ways of cutting \$4.5 billion out of the same budget without threatening the curtailment of any essential services.

Nothing was done. But had the prudent utterances of either senator or of Mr. Hoover been heeded, the Federal government could easily have lived within an income of \$33.75 billion for peacetime purposes, *without substitute taxes*.

The Washington document criticizing the proposed amendment was published as if it were a conclusion flowing from some committee hearings. The truth is that a group of government rhetoricians, locked in a closet with the radio blaring, hacked out this masterpiece, without benefit of hearings, arguments, debate, or free inquiry, and released it to the press as if it were the massed wisdom of the chosen elders of the nation.

One of the hobgoblins trotted out was that enactment of this proposed amendment would hamper the current war effort. Section 4 of the proposed amendment says clearly:

The limitations upon the rates of said taxes . . . shall, however, be subject to the qualification that in the event of a war in which the United States is engaged, creating a grave national emergency, the Congress by a vote of three-fourths of each House may for a period not exceeding one year increase beyond the limits above prescribed the maximum rate of any such tax upon income . . . [and] while the United States is actively engaged in such war, to repeat such action as often as such emergency may require.

This is broad enough to include "a police action," since in 1941 in the case of *Verano vs. DeAngelis Coal Company*, the District Court of the United States for the Middle District of Pennsylvania held that ". . . a formal declaration of war is not necessary before it can be said that a condition of

war exists. . . ." If this amendment were on the statute books today and Congress thought we were at war, it could, by a three-fourths vote, suspend the tax limit for a year, and repeat the process as long as the situation required. This shouldn't hamper our war effort, if Congress were convinced of the gravity of the situation.

Even the remotest hamlet stands to gain by limiting Federal taxes. In the 1930s, Washington took 10¢ out of every tax dollar, while the states took 45¢ and the cities and counties took 45¢. In 1939, the Federal government began grabbing 33¢ and today it gulps 82¢, leaving only 18¢ for the states, counties, and local governments to live on.

The states of course, are said to derive some benefit from grants-in-aid, i.e., monies paid back to the states by an altruistic Federal government. As the Washington report says:

Confronted by a large revenue loss, the Federal government might . . . find it difficult to continue on the present scale grants-in-aid to the states and localities for such purposes as education and highways.

Before a great sobbing ensues, it might be well to look at the price the states pay for these beneficent grants-in-aid.

Two years ago, the WTC studied all Federal tax collections from state areas, and all Federal payments to those states. It found that in the last peacetime year (fiscal year 1950), Washington took in \$6.68 in Federal taxes for every dollar it paid back to the states in grants-in-aid, shared revenue and regular expenditures. Only one state government—Mississippi—got back more than its citizens paid to the Federal government. How the rest fared may be illustrated by these typical examples cited from the fiscal year 1950: Alabama paid to the Federal government \$209,904,000 and got back \$141,886,000 or \$1.00 out of \$1.47. California paid \$2,611,194,000 and got back \$376,150,000 or \$1.00 out of \$6.94. Maryland paid \$1,053,741,000 and got back \$108,836,000 or \$1.00 out of \$9.68. Arkansas broke even, but Delaware paid \$37.00 for every dollar returned; the Federal take there was \$345,320,000, Federal payments only \$9,315,000.

Because of pressing expenses, 33 states had larger over-all expenditures than revenues in this same fiscal year 1950, according to the Council on State Governments. Even excluding debt-retirement requirements, 28 states spent amounts in excess of what they took in.

As M. L. Seidman, New York tax consultant, pointed out in the *New York Times* of July 9, 1951:

The Federal government has put a first lien on our national income, with the states and localities having the privilege of taking the leavings. . . . Our Founding Fathers foresaw this danger when they placed clear-cut limitations on the Federal government's power to impose direct taxes on the people. If it is within the power of the Federal government to tax incomes at any rate it wishes, then obviously it can completely deprive the states of the very means of their existence.

For this oppressive situation, there is no remedy except a ceiling on Federal income taxes.

Is the man in the street convinced about this move to limit income taxes? The Gallup Poll on September 28, 1951 showed that the ordinary citizen no longer plans to march docilely to the tune of the Federal Fife and Drum Corps. Here is Mr. Gallup's account of the poll as released to the press of that date:

A drive to limit Federal taxes to a maximum of 25 per cent of income is winning the approval of the American public. . . . Persons in the upper income brackets have . . . long been in favor of a tax limit. . . . Whether the general public, living on modest incomes, would approve the idea . . . has always been a question.

To find the answer, the American Institute of Public Opinion put this issue before the country: "It has been suggested that a law be passed so the Federal government could not take more than 25 per cent, or one-fourth, of any person's income in taxes except in wartime. Would you favor or oppose this 25 per cent top limit?" Here is the vote:

Favor limit	59%
Oppose	31
No opinion	10
	<hr/>
	100%

The Gallup poll released on July 11, 1952, gave a later vote on the proposed 25 per cent tax ceiling:

Favor limit	68%
Oppose	25
No opinion	7
	<hr/>
	100%

The path ahead for this proposed amendment is full of roadblocks and booby-traps. The issue is still in doubt, and will remain in doubt until 36 states ratify the proposed amendment. My own guess is that it will take about three years more to complete the task—submission, ratification and all—if enough people concentrate on the business, and grapple with the legislative realities in a forthright and energetic manner.

On Dancing Quietlai in a Clean If Dimlai Lighted Street

We like (and we say it
gladlai)
The glamorous, witty, unpredictable
Adlai.
But the country needs Ike, and needs him
badlai.
We only wish (and we say it
sادلai)
We could go all out and back him
madlai.

JOHN ABBOT CLARK

This Is What They Said

London need no more lie awake at night fearing that Douglas MacArthur will start W. W. III in Manchuria by bombing across the Yalu without prior consultation with London—or Washington.

JOSEPH C. HARSCH, *United Nations World*,
September 1952

Despite the overwhelming margin of Senator McCarthy's victory in last week's primary—a victory in which many Democrats as well as Republicans seem clearly to have participated—we find it difficult to believe that the voters of Wisconsin have chosen deliberately to put their stamp of approval on . . . "McCarthyism."

NEW YORK TIMES editorial, September 14, 1952

One gets the feeling as one reads the newspaper accounts that Mr. Chambers is on trial and not Mr. Hiss.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, "My Day," June 8, 1949

Korea is a perfectly normal place and there is no cause for alarm. Nothing has occurred to justify fear that we're going to war in Korea or that Korea itself will be plunged into civil war.

LOUIS K. BENJAMIN, former director of joint service for the U. S. at Seoul, quoted in the *Cincinnati Times-Star*, May 16, 1950

For us to continue to support Chiang Kai-shek is, then, senseless. Nor is there any point in not recognizing Mao Tse-tung's government as the government of China. . . . By the same token there is no logic in not admitting the representatives of Communist China into the United Nations—after the Korea affair is settled, of course. . . . We had better forget about Formosa.

PROF. NATHANIEL PEPPER of Columbia University, *Foreign Policy Bulletin* of the Foreign Policy Association, September 15, 1951

As a matter of fact, the agreement [Chinese-Soviet Treaty of August 15, 1945] could never have been negotiated but for the confidence which both Chiang Kai-shek and Stalin have in President Truman. . . . The Russians have shown that they would like to make friendly relations with America the cornerstone of their world policy.

OWEN LATTIMORE, "Our New Frontier with Russia," *Collier's*, November 3, 1945

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

THE EDITORS

Red Plan for Labor

By JOSEPH ZACK

How Moscow plans to use labor unions in its economic war on the United States is revealed by a one-time Comintern agent and graduate of the Lenin School.

When I was in Moscow (1927-1930) as an American Communist leader learning Comintern tactics, I put a rather naive question to Solomon Losowsky, Stalin's specialist in international labor-union manipulations: "Why are the demands of Communist-controlled unions usually so extreme as to provoke defeat? Don't we liquidate our hard effort at organization by demanding so much?"

Losowsky smiled. "My dear comrade," he said. "We are not trade unionists; we are revolutionaries. Our purpose in controlling unions is to use them as instruments of political and economic sabotage, and of economic warfare against capitalist society. We can not compete with capitalism, but we can disrupt production and morale through strikes and propaganda. Thus we may be able to increase the cost of operation and reduce productive capacity at least in part. In some countries that may be decisive."

This did not entirely answer my query, so I pressed the point. "But isn't it more effective to organize a whole industry in a strategic field, make reasonable demands, and hold our blows in reserve for the time when they will count for most—let's say during a war against the Soviet Union?"

Losowsky replied: "Yes, such exceptions are possible, but they must conform to the strategic purpose of the operation as a whole, which is to weaken capitalism by any means in order to soften it up for conquest."

From Losowsky, a prolific and incendiary talker who used but little of the Communists' typical "Aesopian" language for camouflage, I learned the thing it is most difficult to get from reading Communist speeches or texts—the inner intentions of a particular maneuver or tactic. I remember vividly, for example, a discussion we had in Losowsky's apartment about the penetration of the maritime industry, on which Moscow was spending a fortune. My contention was that all this effort could be spent to greater advantage on such strategic inland industries as steel, oil and transport.

With a show of impatience Losowsky replied: "Yes, but in case of war with the great maritime powers, what could our answer be? We have no fleet, but if we can organize cells on the enemy ships, we shall have something to fight with. We can organize mutinies, cripple their transport efforts, blow up some of their ships or take them over. Can you think of anything better?"

Losowsky specialized in strike strategy. He told us how to transform a strike into a miniature civil war with strong-arm commandos operating as a "defense" corps, engaging the police and killing "scabs," and raiding for provisions and weapons. We also learned how to organize "wildcat" strikes, initiated in opposition to the reformist leadership of a union by Communist-created secret rank-and-file committees when and where they would most hurt the enemy.

The struggle for an "adequate" share in the returns of capitalist production has been the foundation-stone of all labor union philosophy. What an "adequate" share might be has, of course, been a perennial subject of disputes into which, Trojan-horse fashion, the Red unionism of the Kremlin has moved. The theories of Marx and Engels did not consider a mere share or even a lion's share as adequate, but claimed everything, thus transforming unionism into a political movement aiming at the abolition of a free society.

We have, roughly speaking, three types of unionism. First, there is unionism proper, the type represented by the AFL, which aims merely at an adequate share of production returns within existing relations of society. Then we have Socialist unionism as represented by the labor unions of western Europe and in part by the CIO here. Socialism, in spite of its revolutionary anti-capitalist doctrine, seeks in the labor-union field to crowd or "reform" capitalism out of existence, instead of destroying it through civil war. Thirdly, we have Stalinist "unionism" as represented by the Communist-controlled unions here and abroad.

Chameleon-like, the Communists take on the protective coloring of labor unionism just as they do that of liberalism and other "isms," not for the purpose of getting a greater share of production for the workers, but to destroy the system that makes such sharing possible. "Reforms," in the Communist manual of warfare, serve the purpose of creating strife, hatred and chaos, the indispensable ingredients of civil war. As Stalin puts it in his "Problems of Leninism":

To a reformist reforms are everything. . . . To a revolutionist, on the contrary . . . reforms serve as instruments that disintegrate the regime.

When, back in 1930, I was assigned to organize a Communist movement in Colombia and Venezuela,

I asked Guralsky, the Russian in charge of operations in South America, why Moscow should be so interested in these two minor countries. "Oil, my friend, oil," said he. "But we can't just come here and say that. We have to go at it in roundabout fashion—split the radicals and liberals, create a Comintern organization, set up a "new" labor movement and then organize the oil fields. It may take longer that way, but we have plenty of time."

Since those days the Communists have learned and applied new tricks of political warfare—infiltration of capitalist governments and large-scale espionage. They have learned how to divert a country's whole foreign policy for Moscow's benefit—as they influenced United States policy to favor the Chinese Communists.

Stalin's Strength in American Labor

In American labor Moscow's influence has declined as far as numbers are concerned. The Communist unions of the early thirties (Trade Union Unity League) had about 60,000 members. The unemployed councils, Communist-controlled, had about twice that number. In the succeeding ten years Communist control, mostly inside the CIO, was extended to about two million workers, many of them in strategic industries. Today only about 500,000 union members are under Communist control, and the number is still declining.

The decline is due, at least in part, to over-extension; there was no time to assimilate these workers ideologically, and wealth of this sort, if not nailed down, is easily lost. But let us not crow prematurely. Before this, Communists have been obliged to retreat only to advance again, and in this case only the skirmish line within our own territory has had to retreat, while the Kremlin's armies, as yet unscathed, are poised for attack.

For that reason, the quality of the retreat is more significant than the numbers involved. The Communists at the height of their labor control dominated the following strategic unions: 1. electrical appliance manufacturing and associated trades (UE); 2. sea transport (National Maritime, West Coast dockers, etc.); 3. mine, mill and smelter (copper mining and processing); 4. automobile and associated lines. In addition, they held important pockets in land and air transport, communications, steel, metal machinery, rubber, oil, fisheries, packing houses, etc.

The party's greatest loss has been in the sea transport and automobile industries, though pockets are retained there. In all the others, including those where there were only pockets, enough control has been retained to make possible sabotage operations and a quick revival.

In the Kremlin scheme a number of less strategic or non-strategic unions are considered as supporting points to back up or sustain operations in the more vital fields. Listed in the order of their im-

portance, these are: 1. Chemists, technicians, engineers, architects and associated groups (for technological espionage and sabotage); 2. office and professional workers, and Federal, state, county and municipal employees (for infiltration of government, political and economic espionage and sabotage); 3. wood and furniture workers; 4. shoe, leather and associated trades; 5. warehouse and department store employees (East and West Coast). Important pockets have been held in the following trades: food, building, needle (AFL), amusement, printing, education and public relations (teachers, writers, commentators, etc.).

In all the above trades the Communists' losses have been heavier than in the strategic industries. Their influence in white-collar unions is waning. With the exception of the Furriers union, still sunk in a trade depression, the whole field of light industry has been lost.

The most important nodal points still left to the Communists are in electrical manufacturing and copper mining, plus the dockers (longshoremen) in San Francisco and a few other spots on the West Coast. All these unions could be used for wartime sabotage against the United States. Also strategic is the Communications union (international cables), which could be used for purposes of espionage, sabotage and diversion. The pockets remaining in the strategic industries could also be exploited effectively.

It is not an accident, of course, that the party retains that much reserve power in critical industries. It made a supreme effort to do so. It appeased the employers in these fields at the expense of the workers. It concentrated there all of its efforts, personnel and resources. It even permitted party members heading these unions to sign affidavits attesting that they were not Communists, as required by the Taft-Hartley Law—so they could remain in the unions and bide their time. For the Kremlin perjury, too, works according to plan and ties the perjurers closer to the party.

With all the effort the CIO made and is still making to free itself of the Red incubus, it could not have been half so successful were it not for the considerable moral disintegration inside the Communist movement here and abroad. Without that disintegration the CIO could not have taken over intact such unions as Joe Curran's National Maritime Workers, the Transport Workers of Mike Quill, the Furniture Workers and others. The same is true of important pockets inside the AFL, such as the food unions. Many of the leading Communists in these unions, including some old timers, turned on the party in favor of the CIO—a phenomenon of which we surely have not heard the last, because former Communists' knowledge of how to fight Stalinism is likely to show results in a widening arena.

The latest defection, the Distributive, Processing and Office Workers Union (Osman, Livingstone,

etc.), is particularly startling. Solidly Communist-controlled, the union had defied the CIO. Its "goons" were notorious in the Kremlin plan of trade-union warfare. It and the Furriers were the strongest cogwheels of the Stalinist labor-union machine in New York City. Then unexpectedly its leadership split from the inside and gave the Communist Party the gate.

The chain reaction upon the Red cadres in the labor ranks can hardly be overestimated. With a little coordination on the part of all who are interested in this fight, it could lead to a renewed offensive, engulfing whatever is left of open Communist unionism in industry as a whole.

The party's losses are not confined to the labor union field. The whole galaxy of resplendent fronts through which it garnered in the innocents are a shambles, with "for rent" signs on many a formerly busy headquarters. Especially significant is the decline of the International Workers Order, which pretended to be an insurance society but was actually an adjunct of the Communist Party with some 160,000 members among foreign-language groups.

What will come next? Thus far the Communist losses have been due mainly to public disfavor and very little to government intervention. In fact, most of the party's newspapers, book stores and other centers of propaganda are still operating in the open. The government's action has been confined to harassment and exposure. If a few jail sentences after elaborate trials and a few deportation orders—the first storm warnings—have produced that much panic, is the party not likely to disintegrate when the storm really strikes?

That the party is taking to cover is clear from the testimony of John Lautner, formerly chairman of its Control Commission in New York State, who quit the Communists in 1950. He believes that the party is reorganizing underground according to a new pattern from Moscow. If the plan Lautner outlined is compared with the text of the instructions issued by the Kremlin to the Japanese Communist Party, the pattern is clear. Ruthless opportunism and intrigue will be combined with guerrilla tactics applied to industrial centers, somewhat like the activities of the Communist-directed *Maquis* in France under the Nazi occupation.

That Moscow wants that type of underground and is doing its utmost to bring it about, I have no doubt. The question is how many of the 34,000 party members in the United States it may be able to inveigle into this type of activity. Assuming that a hard core of only about 10,000 would participate, and only half of them were guerrillas using any means from incendiarism and assassination to bacteriological warfare, it would still be a worthwhile force from Moscow's point of view. And among this force the most dangerous would be the Communist-dominated unions and pockets in strategic industry.

Bad Little Black Sambo

By WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

A note in a recent issue of the *Publisher's Weekly* arrested my attention. It appears that "Little Black Sambo" had been barred from the public schools of Rochester, New York, in deference to complaints from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (which Heywood Brown once tabbed as the National Association for the Prevention of Christians and Jews). This seemed like pretty frenetic business, and I was interested to know if Rochester was a pathbeater on the road to racial tolerance, or just doing what comes naturally these days. To find out, I turned, of course, to the august, policy-setting New York City Board of Education, where I conferred with Miss Ethel Huggard, Associate Superintendent, and Mr. Herman Brown, Secretary of the Committee on Textbooks and Supplies.

Briefly, Miss Huggard explained, the Board of Education insists that textbooks be "factually accurate, free of commercialism and bias, scholarly, and in harmony with the objectives of democratic education. . . . The principal criterion to be used in evaluating content with cultural or racial background should be that of the recognition of the worth and dignity of each person, regardless of his creed, color, race or economic status."

Such credenda leave little to be desired. But since they are nowhere spelled out more specifically, they suffer from one of the most aggravating curses that afflict our talkative civilization: they settle very little. What about specific cases? What about Little Black Sambo?

I asked Miss Huggard some straightforward questions: Does the NYC Board disapprove "Little Black Sambo"? It does. What are some examples of allusions to racial and religious minorities that are considered offensive, and hence unfit for use? Well, "Negro" must be capitalized, as also "Jew." "Colored" is not permitted, and neither is "black," nor is the stereotype of the "banjo-strumming" Negro. Jews must not be described as "wily," or "shrewd," or "commercial." "Negroid features" is out; so is "dago." "The context of the statement—what the author is trying to say," Miss Huggard explained—"is of first importance. It is the treatment that counts. We object to any attempt to control the thinking or to direct children to improper conclusions."

Most of this makes sense, of course, but I was especially anxious to put my finger on the *working, precedent-setting* criteria the Board uses in disqualifying textbooks. There's a difference between gratuitous and unfair statements about "lazy niggers," and such sober and historical statements as that ". . . the Klansmen struck terror into the hearts of the superstitious Negroes." Yet both have

been objected to as inimical to interracial harmony.

I asked, therefore, for sample passages from books that had been disqualified, so that I might bring my own critical judgment to bear on whether the Board was in fact using "reasonable" criteria. But here I ran head-on into the jut-jawed resolution of a Yankee schoolmaster: no actual examples would be given me. In explanation, Miss Huggard stated that when complaints are received about a book in use, the Board, after evaluating them, advises publishers and authors concerning the nature of the offensive material. "In almost 100 per cent of the cases," both the author and the publisher consent to make the changes necessary to meet the objections. In the circumstances, Miss Huggard believes, to divulge the books and the passages in their original and objectionable forms would be unfriendly to the publishers.

The door closed, therefore, to any purposive inquiry into the reasonableness of the Board's actions on complaints against discriminatory material. But Miss Huggard did branch out to offer examples of "objectionable" material other than racial or religious. She mentioned that a child's story, widely used for twenty years, has recently been discarded because its hero is a strikebreaker, and labor unions objected to it for this reason.

What About Everyone's Rights?

This opened up a new and tantalizing avenue of inquiry: to what extent does the Board of Education, and to what extent should the Board of Education, honor complaints against special pleading, against the idealization of one economic, political or social value as opposed to another? How does the Board behave in the light of its commitment to further the "objectives of democratic education," and to "promote loyalty and Americanism"? To ascertain this, I asked for a list of textbooks and made a hasty survey.

One book, approved for use in high school economics courses, tackles the problem of "Unequal Distribution of Wealth," and asserts that "approximate estimates prepared by the Federal Trade Commission tend to show that one per cent of the people own 59 per cent of the wealth or property of the country." Further, "to achieve a fair distribution" of wealth, the United States should resort to "steeply graduated inheritance taxes," "a system of organized medical care . . . as widespread and acceptable as our public school system," etc. Another book first praises government activity in general, and then summarizes by stating that "it is generally conceded that the primary function of government is to furnish security to its citizens." A book on government in effect dates the beginning of civilization at 1932, and calls stridently for Federal aid to education, public health measures, public housing—in short, for effusive hospitality to burgeoning Federal government.

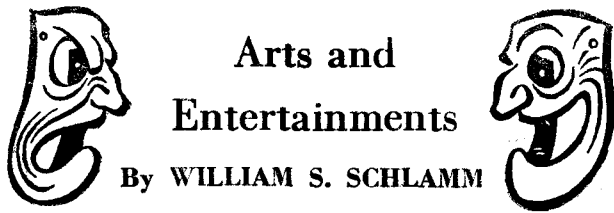
This isn't all, by any means. Under the category of "Social Studies," the Board of Education lists no fewer than eleven Public Affairs Pamphlets ranging in scope from "Peace in the Making" to "Loan Sharks and Their Victims," put out, appropriately, by the Public Affairs Committee and edited by Maxwell S. Stewart. Mr. Stewart was recently identified by Professor Louis Budenz, testifying under oath to a Senate Committee, as a Communist—no particular surprise to anyone who knew that Appendix IX of the Report of the Committee on Un-American Activities lists 52 citations on Mr. Stewart. This is the man whose editorial judgment is supposed to conduce to the "objectives of democratic education."

Another series of pamphlets, nineteen in number and varying in subject matter from "Forging a New China" to "Socialism in Western Europe," are the output of the unapologetically left-wing Foreign Policy Association. Presumably the writings of the One Worlders, International Welfarists, and Share-American-Wealth Philanthropists "promote loyalty and Americanism."

A visit with representatives of the Board of Education gives rise to a lot of homework. One lesson to be learned is that the Board has enlightened notions as to the rights of the taxpayers, for whom they serve *in loco parentis*. Board members are sensitive to the public demand that they face up to the fact that education molds the minds and attitudes of citizens. In the circumstances, and again quite properly, the Board refuses to spend citizens' money on textbooks that undermine some of the acknowledged purposes of education, interracial and religious harmony. In so refusing, whether they realize it or not, they are infusing a purpose, an ideal into education, something which causes a great many academic freedomites to vaporize in primordial frenzy.

The second lesson is nothing new but always worth noting. Religious groups insist on their rights. Labor insists on its rights. Collectivists insist on their rights. But the smug, inert conservative does nothing but stammer wistfully as articulate spokesmen of socialism, welfarism, and other brands of totalitarianism ride herd on the new generation.

In refusing to assert themselves to rid their public school system of welfare-state propaganda, the citizens of the City of New York are guilty by default of a grievous crime—far worse than the toleration of a thousand Little Black Sambos, running around every tree in the city's playgrounds and perpetuating the stereotype of the "lazy, good-for-nothing nigger." For if material unfriendly to Negroes is circulated in the school system, the result, deplorable as it is, can be prejudicial only to Negroes. But the circulation of material designed to promote the substitution of totalitarian state "unity" for our free economy imperils not only Negroes but everyone else as well.



Arts and Entertainments

By WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

To Jimmy, With Love

To write about Jimmy Durante is to write a love letter—which is exactly what I am setting out to do. I have searched my mind, during long years of a happy infatuation, for an intellectually presentable justification of my sentiment but, as always in affairs of the heart, the mind has little to offer. What matters, and makes the phenomenon more remarkable than ever, is Durante's magic capacity to move my heart even on television. He has just returned to that dreadful screen (for monthly appearances on the "All Star Revue," Saturdays 8 P.M., on WNTB) and with him there returned hope that somehow we all may yet survive another year.

The first show of this season, I hasten to add, was atrocious—which leads me straight into a discussion of Jimmy's enigmatic kind of humor. For, in general, his taste is not even questionable. It is downright bad. Yet he is wonderful, consistently so, and I know of no more fascinating subject for esthetic criticism than this triumph of comical essence over moronic material. In strange fact, the esthetics of humor might just as well be defined as a complete set of all the rules Jimmy Durante violates in the course of a single evening.

He repetitiously exploits (a capital offense against the nature of humor) his anatomical deficiencies; he is corny, loud and explicit; he laughs at his own jokes; he literally throws the kitchen sink (or, at any rate, the piano) at the audience. And the net result of all this boisterous butchery is that I, at least, part from him each time with a glow in my heart, my faith in the loveliness of the human race restored for several hours, my disgust with the vulgar times tenderized to the point of mercy.

How he does it, neither of us knows. Durante, I assume, is related to that proverbial centipede who, when asked which foot he used first, stopped moving altogether: Jimmy's comedy recedes at the touch of analysis. His astronomic remoteness from any form of intellectual life (another deficiency on which he shamelessly capitalizes) is genuine and, in fact, a main reason of his artistic strength. He trespasses into the neighborhood of the mind strictly as a sleepwalker, but he returns to his nocturnal abode with precious loot.

For example, he is the demonstrably innocent author of the most lucid epitaph ever coined for the Prohibition era. In his famous speakeasy cabaret he once trustingly ordered a drink for a notorious

stoolpigeon he had known since childhood, was promptly denounced by the rascal and, two weeks later, leniently fined. On leaving the courtroom, he turned to a friend and mumbled in hushed and honest distress: "Brandied for life!"

A professional wit (even assuming that the conscious mind could ever be capable of such deadly markmanship) would have served that pearl with the trimmings of a mere pun. Jimmy, God love him, did not know what he was saying—and thus said it so well. Nor could anybody have arrived at his "a catastrastroke!" through any known process of the mind. Jimmy's fantastic adventures with the English language, outside the three-syllable coastal zone, have such healthy offspring only because these are honestly blind dates. And each time the rendezvous is arranged by mercenary gag writers, Jimmy is just as embarrassed as his audience; and nothing happens at all.

The essence of his genius, I guess, is frenzy. His resolve to kill the audience is desperate. Like every true and honest pro, he tears himself to pieces every minute he is on, puts the last ounce of his power into every punch and has infinite contempt for that foolish modern notion of "underplaying": anything worth saying at all is worth shouting. When he plays the piano (and how he plays it!), his every muscle trembles in disciplined abandon to the chopstick rhythm. When he sings, his rasping staccato rises to the highest pitch of true jubilation. When he pants through a farcial dance number with teen-age chorus girls, that wisp of an old man works harder than the entire male section of the *Ballet Russe*. In his honest economy of means, the dollar is still worth one hundred old-fashioned copper pennies.

This miniature of a man strives for the largest dimensions only. His strut and his swagger shake the stage, his bragging puts Paul Bunyan to shame, his jokes (and significantly he has "a million of them—a million!") are dressed to kill. And a true knack for superlatives working both ways, his "Good night, Mrs. Calabash, wherever you are!" is the most tender whisper in a universe horribly amplified by coarse mikes.

All this even breaks through the phoniness of a luscious TV show. The last one, with Margaret Truman as Jimmy's traditional lady stooge, was almost suffocated by the topical rubbish TV gag writers would unavoidably gather for such an occasion, and in an election year to boot. An equally serious mistake in casting was to let Phil Harris match his own noisy bragging against the perfect master of the art. But worse than anything else was that inherent error of contemporary show-business—its restless search for "new material."

To force "new material" on Jimmy Durante is about as bright as to restage the Grand Canyon. Any one who has truly inhaled "Inka-dinka-doo" once will want to hear Jimmy sing it till the end of time. Any "new" song of Jimmy's gives me a

pain in the heart which is endlessly craving for "Inka-dinka-doo" and, yes, "Umbriago" and "Jimmy, the Patron of the Arts." Any one tuned to Jimmy's unique wave-length can no more tire of his "old" routine than an unspoiled palate could ever tire of the wonder of good bread. As to the others (and they must be a ludicrous minority anyway), not even a daily change of menu could teach them to appreciate the divine cuisine.

However, television must have its own, unfathomably wasteful way even with Jimmy Durante. But he, thank God, is stronger than any stupid machine. There he is, beating the keys, and Eddie Jackson (of the immortal Clayton, Jackson and Durante brotherhood) bounces along, and old Jack Roth himself pounds the drum, and I know happiness again.

Foreign Trends

Now: "Popular Front"

The French Communist Party is still Moscow's political show window for the West and, more than ever, the one authentic Prophet to Allah Stalin: the turns and jerks of French communism indicate reliably what the Cominform is concocting for the rest of the world. (You will recall how a single article by Comrade Jacques Duclos in a Parisian party sheet sealed the fate of Browder in the United States.) The purge of Marty and Tillon, two perennial "extremists" in the French party, is no exception. It signifies a general overhauling of Cominform tactics everywhere.

The explanation of the purge was Marty's and Tillon's alleged reluctance to underwrite the "popular front" policies personified by Maurice Thorez who, on his return from a long stay in Moscow, is to resume full control of the French party. This explanation, though official, happens to be true. The Cominform has decided on another spectacular switch from rambunctious go-it-alone "class warfare" to an alliance with "liberals" and Socialists. And any one who thinks that the incredible thirties could not possibly be revived had better take a look at some amazing events in France.

A few days after the Cominform's sacrificial offering of "bloody Marty," no less a figure of French liberalism than Edouard Daladier enthusiastically endorsed the pivotal points of the Communist "peace program." For a while in the past it had looked as if Daladier were bent on some sort of principled opposition to the official leader of his Radical-Socialist Party, the fantastically opportunistic Edouard Herriot (for many years Stalin's perhaps most valuable "contact man" with the Quai d'Orsay, Downing Street and the White House). But Daladier's prompt response to the Kremlin's newest come-on is a measure of the frightening

French readiness to desert NATO the moment Stalin offers a bilateral deal.

Such a deal, one hears in Parisian political salons, is precisely what was at the bottom of the Marty purge. The Kremlin seems to have decided that the "liberal" West is ripe for another binge of appeasement—if only Moscow makes a few gestures of conciliation. In what Stalin considers a rapid dissolution of Western "liberal" fiber, France, as usual, is most advanced. And so the reactivated East-West romance is set to start in the cozy corridors of the French Parliament where Daladier's Radical-Socialist Party hopes to recover its traditional key position, if it can only present itself as the manifest guarantor of peace with the Soviets.

If successful in Paris, the new Soviet policy is meant to spread throughout all other NATO areas. The Kremlin has been encouraged by recent evidence that a growing left wing of the Social Democratic Party in West Germany desires a "united front" for the sake of German unification. Churchill's fatal decision to dismember the British rearmament program was interpreted in Moscow as a significant concession to the rising tides of Bevanism in particular and British "neutralism" in general. And excited attention is being paid in Cominform circles to Governor Stevenson's solemn promise that, if elected, he will be only too anxious to negotiate "a settlement" with Moscow. Walter Lippmann's concurrent sermonizing on the same subject is taken in Moscow, rightly or wrongly, as a reassuring hint that such sentiments are at work in Eisenhower's camp, too.

In sum, the Kremlin has arrived at the conclusion that the West is once more a sitting duck for a "popular front" drive; and the Cominform is turning accordingly. The forthcoming General Session of the UN, it is believed in Europe, will be the stage for Vishinsky to enact the "conciliatory" gestures which, to incurable liberals of the West, are all that is needed to initiate the Big Deal.

Fit to Print—in London

The malignant habit of Europe's right-of-center press of reporting the U. S. with an unabashed leftist bias (see "Baiting America," issue of October 6) is almost farcically exemplified by the London *Economist's* coverage of the American Presidential campaign. In one of his recent dispatches, its Washington correspondent was discussing the U. S. public's allegedly growing disgust with the quality of the Republican candidates whom an Eisenhower victory would carry into the Senate. The *Economist* cited in evidence three authoritative voices of U. S. public opinion, one fleetingly (the *New York Times*) and two most extensively. The periodicals which the *Economist's* U. S. correspondent considered truly representative of American public opinion were—the *Reporter* and the *New Republic!*

CANDIDE



A Reviewer's Notebook

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Most people—and nations—have found that if you give a Communist an even break, he will repay your gallantry and fair-mindedness by cutting you off right below the hips. But even in the face of huge mountains of evidence bearing on Communist strategy and tactics there are those among us who refuse to face this most glaringly obvious of facts. We learn too late, or if we learn in time we idiotically tie ourselves up in knots by refusing to “blame” or to retire from office those who persist in defending their past mistakes. While the Yalta and let-the-dust-settle-in-China boys go on wasting their energies in a futile attempt to defend their place in history, history itself rushes on over the maimed bodies of soldiers fallen in Korea. There is only one nation in the world that has correctly diagnosed the nature of Soviet dynamism and how to stand up against it, and that nation is the collective hero of David Hinshaw's enlightening and heartening book, “Heroic Finland” (Putnam, \$4.50).

The whole secret of dealing with the Soviet Russians is provided by two stories which Mr. Hinshaw relates with great relish. The first story involves the character of Finland's national hero, General Mannerheim. According to an article of the Paris treaty of 1945, which brought the second Finnish-Russian war to a *de jure* end, Finland was bound to apprehend and try persons accused of “having committed, ordered or abetted war crimes.” The Soviet government forthwith presented General Mannerheim, the President of Finland, with a list of “war criminals” along with an ultimatum that he sign it. Mannerheim, the old soldier, scrutinized the list carefully and saw that his name was not included. He thereupon took up his pen, wrote his own name at the very top of the list and signed the order.

The second story told by Mr. Hinshaw is about a passage of remarks between a Norwegian and a

Finnish representative at a Scandinavian conference just after the war. The Norwegian expressed some doubt about the propriety of Finland's presence at the conference, since she had fought on the side of the Germans against the Russians in World War II. Taking umbrage, the Finnish representative asked the Norwegian, “What did you do? At the start you didn't put up much fight against Germany!” The Norwegian said, “The Germans seized all of our war matériel and our soldiers. What could we do?” “Yes, that is true,” said the Finn, “but you still had your knives, didn't you?”

A willingness to fight even when reduced to knives, and a willingness to die if necessary—these are the basic ingredients of Finland's success in handling the Communists. But there is a little more to it than *siz*, which is the Finns' word for guts. Finns are willing to work, and they trust voluntary organizations far more than they trust government to provide them with wealth and security. They have the habit of looking to themselves, not to others, for help. As Topelius, a Helsinki professor of history, says, Finns are unwilling to become angry, but when they do become angry they have a tendency to indulge in unmeasured wrath. They are willing to defer, to wait, to live for the day, but when the time comes they are capable of perhaps unseasonable haste. They are cautious and quiet and seem to be passive in nature, but when they are aroused they strike hard and their words flow eloquently.

Lest You Forget

SOME RECENT BOOKS FOR LIBERTARIANS

Brain-Washing in Red China, by Edward Hunter (Vanguard)

The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover: The Great Depression, 1929-1941 (Macmillan)

The Old Man and the Sea, by Ernest Hemingway (Scribner)

Spies, Dupes and Diplomats, by Ralph de Toledano (Duell, Sloan and Pearce-Little, Brown)

From Major Jordan's Diaries: The Inside Story of Soviet Lend-Lease, by George Racey Jordan in collaboration with Richard L. Stokes (Harcourt, Brace)

Since foreign policy methods—and results—flow from the character of a people and a people's negotiators, it is scant wonder that no Finn has ever been duped into letting the Soviets gain an inch in the eternal Communist struggle to infiltrate and soften up the Finnish foreign office, or the Finnish army, or the organs by which the Finns rule their own nation. Finns have had no

truck with "coalitionists," and Fifth Columns have hardly had the opportunity to come to birth in the Finnish countryside. When pressed to the wall and forced into peace negotiations with the Russian government, the Finns have yielded territory and agreed to reparations. But they have always insisted on remaining masters in what has been left of their own house.

Mr. Hinshaw visited Finland in 1946, when he went there to inspect Quaker feeding and work projects. He fell in love with the Finns. Finland seemed to him to be basically poor in soil resources (France is far richer), and its merchant marine is dilapidated when put alongside England's. The Finnish growing season is short where Italy's is long. Finland has wood, but it is deficient in coal and metals. Fish do not thrive in the brackish Baltic as they do in the salty Atlantic, so Finnish fishermen are at a disadvantage when they stay in home waters. But where the British, French and Italians have all whined about the "dollar gap," or the need for money to keep the Communists from winning, or the necessity of keeping the standard of living up while rearmament was in progress, the Finns simply went to work with what they had.

The Finns have a law that requires their government to balance the budget. Their *Lex Kallio*, passed in 1927, provides an easy way for farm tenants to become farm owners. The Finnish labor unions don't run to government for one-sided "arbitration" favors; instead, they bargain in good faith with employers who are generally willing to meet them with open minds. The Finnish government operates an unemployment fund which comes from the public treasury, but no benefits are paid to citizens who are engaged in a strike or a lock-out, or who have left their employment for no valid reason, or who have refused to accept offers of suitable work.

In brief, the Finns have proved to the world that even the most disadvantageously situated people can live without hand-outs. What makes the Finnish record even more amazing is the fulfillment, completed as Mr. Hinshaw's book was on the presses, of the fantastic reparations exacted by Soviet Russia. In September of this year, "the last little screw" demanded by the Russians crossed the border to Leningrad, and the Finns were relieved at last of a most onerous burden. The tacit message of Mr. Hinshaw's book is that if little Finland could do what she has done, the British, the French and the Italians could be great powers once more if they merely availed themselves of a modicum of Finnish *sizuu*, or guts.

Mr. Hinshaw is the man who persuaded the American Congress to use Finland's payments on

its debt to bring Finnish students to America. In Finland, they speak of the "David Hinshaw scholarships." I can think of only one better use for the money, and that would be to drill the American government, including the State Department, in the rudiments of the Finnish character. If all the free nations were to emulate Finland the Soviet menace would cease to exist.

Poet of the Year

Collected Poems, by Marianne Moore. New York: Macmillan. \$3.00

The poet of the year is unmistakably Marianne Moore. Her "Collected Poems" appeared last December, and in the course of 1952 the book has received three major awards—the Bollingen Prize, the National Book Award, and the Pulitzer Prize for Poetry. This formidable surge of recognition is remarkable, however, mainly in its byproduct, the accompanying publicity, for Miss Moore has long had devoted and eminent critical admirers. T. S. Eliot in 1935 in his introduction to "Selected Poems" wrote:

And in asserting that what I call *genuineness* is a more important thing to recognize in a contemporary than *greatness*, I am distinguishing between his function while living and his function when dead. Living, the poet is carrying on that struggle for the maintenance of a living language, for the maintenance of its strength, its subtlety, for the preservation of quality of feeling, which must be kept up in every generation; dead, he provides standards for those who take up the struggle after him. Miss Moore is, I believe, one of those who have done the language some service in my lifetime.

H. D. and Winifred Ellerman felt so favorably disposed to her work that in 1921 they published Miss Moore's first book, "Poems," without her knowledge, and her poetry has subsequently aroused the intense admiration of critics like Louise Bogan and W. H. Auden, as well as Ezra Pound. It has also resulted—although this is by no means the same thing—in her being elected in 1947 to the National Institute of Arts and Letters.

Miss Moore is a poet ill adapted to the ceremonials of public recognition. "I don't like diamonds," she writes, "and unobtrusiveness is dazzling, upon occasion. Some kinds of gratitude are trying." A poet of the intelligence, of precise, minuscule observations, she sees even a house cat in a web of fine-spun interrelationships:

. . . the detached first claw on the foreleg, which corresponds to the thumb, retracted to its tip; the small tuft of fronds or katydid-legs above each eye, still numbering the units in each group; the shadbones regularly set about the mouth, to droop or rise in unison like the porcupine's quills—motionless. . . .

... one need not try to stir him up; his prune-shaped head and alligator eyes are not a party to the joke
 ... to lengthen out, divide the air—to purloin, to pursue.
 To tell the hen: fly over the fence, go in the wrong way in your perturbation—this is life; to do less would be nothing but dishonesty.

Miss Moore, following her graduation from Bryn Mawr, taught stenography at what was then the United States Indian School at Carlisle. She was later a librarian and then again a teacher. These are occupations that permit (if one has a mind for them) concentration upon sounds and meanings, the accumulation of book learning, the collecting of rare facts and quotations, and often the leisure to savor them. At any rate, this is what Miss Moore has been able and willing to do, and in the high ivory tower of her mind there are no evidences of loud noises as of empires falling or slick new worlds abuilding. Although these poems span the time of the great depression, of brutality, war, and duplicity on a global scale, none of the world's grossnesses or spells has intruded into her music or philosophy. When any of these phenomena do appear they are filtered in the clear, dustless realms of her intelligence where they become something coherent:

Hate-hardened heart, O heart of iron,
 Iron is iron till it is rust.
 There never was a war that was
 not inward; . . .

Miss Moore's technique has been often commented on. It exhibits the flexibility of modern poetry at its best, being able to absorb all kinds of statements, some as flat as a telephone number, but they are immediately caught up into the complicated formal structure of her verse and transformed. Here, for example, is one of the slackest lines in all literature, "or Mr. J. O. Jackson tell us," but in the poem where it appears, "The Icosasphere," the metrics and meaning of the whole lift it entirely from its lank state. The endless and effortless fluidity of her verse forms enables her to include whatever is necessary from the most commonplace reports—witness the quotations from sources such as a Bell Telephone leaflet, the *New York Times*, the Department of the Interior Rules and Regulations, and a commencement speech—to lines as polished as the following:

a not long
 sparrow-song
 of hayseed
 magnitude—

Miss Moore's habit of quoting seems to have diminished somewhat in the later work. It is a device basically of secondary observation, a reliance upon technique and wide reading rather than upon the direct view of the thing itself. There is something removed and dominantly cerebral in much of

her work. Even her well-observed animals, described with such exactness, tend to be literary creatures, and her elephants are seen in a film rather than in a zoo. In her poem on marriage she writes:

She loves herself so much,
 she cannot see herself enough—
 a statuette of ivory on ivory,
 the logical last touch
 to an expansive splendour
 earned as wages for work done:
 one is not rich but poor
 when one can always seem so right.
 What can one do for them—
 these savages
 condemned to disaffect
 all those who are not visionaries
 alert to undertake the silly task
 of making people noble?

These are shrewd abstractions, contrived with more malice than passion. She is reticent, disclosing only enough for the reader to work on, rarely spelling out the implications. Her descriptions are often marvelously accurate, and she is always uncompromising in her opinions when they bear on essentials. She writes of poetry, for example:

I, too, dislike it: there are things that are important
 beyond all this fiddle.
 Reading it, however, with a perfect contempt for it,
 one discovers in
 it after all, a place for the genuine.
 Hands that can grasp, eyes
 that can dilate, hair that can rise
 if it must, these things are important . . .

The concentration of her verse is remarkable; everything is done economically except the spelling where Miss Moore prefers the extra *u*'s of English habits in words like "color" and "armor." There is no opulence, no word magic independent of the form. The colors are bright, the objects she likes reappear—her jades and crystals and spiders—the wit is wry, and she does not tolerate presumption.

Miss Moore's ignoring of the events of state is easily defended. Her mind and talents have been devoted to those scenes and signs that evidence the vitality of living things and of art. She has rejected the loud and spurious and the events that in any case can only reflect the struggle to maintain their integrity that some men share with some animals. When she has turned her calm and penetrating gaze on the politics that have very nearly ruined us, as in the poem "To Statecraft Embalmed":

. . . you'll see the wrenched distortion
 Of suicidal dreams
 Go
 Staggering toward itself and with its bill
 Attack its own identity, until
 Foe seems friend and friend seems
 Foe

—she has been prophetic. She can scarcely at the time have had Cordell Hull in mind, but it is not to

be doubted that she foretold the advent of Mr. Acheson. Her attack is feminine, oblique; she tunnels under the enemy; the reader may fill in the name and nationality if he likes. She can state plainly that she knows

that the Negro is not brutal,
that the Jew is not greedy,
that the Oriental is not immoral,
that the German is not a Hun . . .

and her foe is the one who thinks they are.

With her delicacy, her fastidiousness, she is, despite her sharp critical faculties, open to accepting the notion of a purer and more virtuous past. There was justice once, she says; she quotes the pleasantry that pure Sanskrit was used before speech degenerated; she refers to "the spontaneous unforced passion of the Hebrew language," and in her delightful poem "A Carriage from Sweden" she asks that "Washington and Gustavus Adolphus, forgive our decay." But the cry for justice needs to be uttered in every generation, every language shows the wear and tear of heavy use, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries men needed to be reminded of the unparalleled virtues of the Romans.

This collection has been made with great care. In it are represented "Selected Poems," 1935, "What Are Years," 1941, "Nevertheless," 1944, and nine new poems. There has been a ruthless casting aside of work that presumably has not worn as well with the author as that represented—perfection being her aim.

EUGENE DAVIDSON

Democracy In Europe

Liberty or Equality: The Challenge of our Time,
by Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn. Caldwell, Idaho:
Caxton. \$6.00

To any American who is aware that one's inherited political prejudices are likely to create gaps in his intellectual equipment, this should be a welcome book. I neither expect nor wish that he should be convinced by its main thesis. But it is not the conclusions which the author reaches but the material which he presents which make it one of the most instructive books on the basic political issues published in recent years.

Dr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn is an Austrian Catholic and monarchist who directs his guns against those features of democracy which he regards as the greatest danger to personal liberty. He is a man of cosmopolitan experience, tremendous learning, and pleasant intellectual manners, who combines subtlety of argument with a simple faith. And since he has spared no pains in supporting a conviction which is little known and still less understood in the English-speaking

world with careful historical analysis and with arguments drawn from the profoundest political thinkers, there is much food for thought in this book even for those who will remain unconvinced.

Apart from the short final chapter in which the author formulates his conclusions, the book is a series of essays on closely related themes in history and politics rather than a systematic argument. The first major theme, that democracy is not necessarily a safeguard and may even become a greater danger to personal liberty than other political systems, is argued very effectively. The direct critique of democracy which follows also makes some very strong points against those who regard democracy as an end in itself rather than as the only tolerably successful device for peaceful change which man has yet discovered. But it is far from clear whether what the author regards as the necessary defects of democracy are really the consequences of this form of government, and not of beliefs about the aims of government which are likely to be as fatal under a benevolent autocracy or aristocracy as under democracy. Dr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn's many accomplishments unfortunately do not seem to include an adequate understanding of economics: and his few asides about capitalism and its alleged similarity with socialism do not give the impression that he has quite grasped the source of the totalitarian danger. Perhaps, *if* one regards the trend toward increased government control of economic life as inevitable, the case against democratic and in favor of authoritarian control may be quite strong. But while we are now familiar with the dangers which increased government control of economic activity produces under a democratic system, it has yet to be shown that, given the present economic policies, they would be smaller under any other.

One of the most interesting parts of the book is the author's candid attempt to answer the question why, on the whole, democracy has prospered only in Protestant countries and why "the political temper of Catholic nations is singularly unfit for parliamentary government." Whether the argument here is correct in all details or not there can be no question that the book makes an important contribution to the understanding of the political temper of the Catholic countries of Europe. The treatment here is remarkably detached, and the picture which emerges not entirely flattering yet probably just. One may still wonder, however, whether the author attaches too much importance to differences in the moral atmosphere and not enough to the fact that the ideal of democracy arrived in Catholic parts of the world not in its Anglo-Saxon form but in the very different form which it had been given by Rousseau.

Scarcely less interesting, though perhaps less

sympathetic, is the analysis, in the final chapters of the book, of the connection between German Protestantism and National Socialism. The statistical maps showing the extraordinary negative correlation between the geographical distribution of the Catholic population and the percentage of Nazi votes alone make this part of the book highly instructive. Altogether, the book should help the American reader in the understanding of European affairs just where he is most likely to go wrong.

F. A. HAYEK

McFerberism

Giant, by Edna Ferber. New York: Doubleday. \$3.95

With the publication of "Giant" a new word, along with some unprintable old ones, is being heard in Texas. That state's citizens are talking about "McFerberism," and they don't smile when they say it.

The theme of this incredible novel was succinctly disclosed by a brief but significant paragraph which appeared in the magazine serialization but does not appear in the book. Because of its significance and its monumental untruth, it seems fitting that this short paragraph be reproduced here.

A half century earlier the American robber baron enjoyed the plush luxury of private railroad trains for his jaunts. The Texas cattle, oil or cotton king had his private DC-6.

To this and to other distortions and exaggerations as palpably false as the statement that rich Texans create "aerial stampedes" over Texas in their privately owned DC-6 planes, Edna Ferber devotes 438 pages. (Actually, there is only *one* privately owned DC-6 in the entire United States; information from an office of the U. S. Civil Aeronautics Administration.)

The novel begins with the opening of an airport given by a rich, dissolute Texan to the fictional city of Hermosa, a little clambake to which came all Texans "possessed of more than ten millions" in cash, cattle, cotton, wheat, or oil. "Thus was created an aerial stampede. Monsters in a Jovian quadrille," the planes converged from every corner of the state. In the detailed account of this extravaganza the political overtone of the book is established: the robber barons, the filthy rich, the racial bigots.

Although the author dives omnisciently into various minds, even a flag's—the Stars and Stripes fly "but grudgingly" above the Texas flag—the protagonist is Leslie Benedict, the cool, lovely, gracious little Miss Fix-it who has come to Texas as the bride of robber baron Bick Benedict, come especially to reform that barbaric province as well as her new husband.

Repeatedly, we are reminded that the lovely

Leslie is not a Texan, heavens no! Our little reformer is the epitome of gentility and political enlightenment, while practically all the solvent Anglo-Saxon Texans are characterized by crudity, cruelty, cupidity, and ignorance.

The Mexican Texans, however, are handled with loving care. These gentle people are the helpless, exploited victims of such "feudal overlords" as Bick Benedict and his family and friends. Indeed, Leslie tells us that Texas was stolen from Mexico, and Uncle Bawley, the one Benedict who is *en rapport* with Leslie, says that the whole of Texas was built "on the bent backs of Mexicans." Leslie is out to right these wrongs.

She charms and bullies her way through twenty-five years of the book, crossing her husband at every turn, interfering with the business of Reata Ranch and with the local customs, conditions, and traditions until, on the final page, she has the now ill Bick Benedict so beaten down that he admits failure for himself and for the whole Benedict family. Only then does the noble Leslie relax.

Fictional license is to be expected, but in "Giant" Miss Ferber has used it with an abandonment that approaches intoxication—or fury. Were it not for the ever-present political theme one might assume that she had a personal score to settle with Texas—especially with its women, for it is in her treatment of them that she becomes particularly feline.

These Texas women, with but one dubious exception (Adarene), are portrayed as crude, ignorant, gluttonous, shrill-voiced bigots clothed in vulgarly expensive garments from Neiman-Marcus, riding the skies in their privately owned four-engine planes. Not once but twenty-five times (perhaps more; I stopped counting at twenty-five) their voices are described as "shrill." Culture, they know not; there is lacking in Texas women "an almost indefinable quality that was inherent in the women of the Eastern and Midwestern United States." Says a favored character, "You'll never hear a word of talk about books or music or sculpture or painting in Texas."

It would be less exasperating to believe that Miss Ferber produced this smear of Texas, in which even the climate becomes an obscenity, simply for money—that filthy stuff that is so wrong in Texas and so right in New York—but its persistent political implications suggest a still more compelling motive.

The socialist doctrines expounded, such as land reforms (where have we heard that one before?) and the evil of private wealth, will be acceptable to some Americans. And certainly the portrayal, *by an American*, of the great state of Texas as a commonwealth ruled by imperialistic robber barons, "feudal overlords" grown fat and sleek on the exploitation of helpless Mexican workers, will be more than acceptable to the Kremlin propagandists. That is the danger of such a book as "Giant."

FRANCES BECK

Second Harvest

By EDWARD DAHLBERG

The Letters of Anthony Trollope, edited by Bradford Allen Booth. New York: Oxford

An Autobiography, by Anthony Trollope. Preface by Frederick Page. New York: Oxford

North America, by Anthony Trollope. Edited and with introductory notes by Donald Smalley and Bradford Allen Booth. New York: Knopf. \$6.00

The Art of Singing in Poetry, by Martinus Scriblerus. Edited by Edna Leake Steeves. New York: King's Crown Press. \$4.50

The Prologues and Epilogues of John Dryden, by William Bradford Gardner. New York: Columbia. \$4.50

The Best of Defoe's Reviews, compiled and edited by William L. Payne. New York: Columbia. \$4.00

The Great Digest: Unwobbling Pivot, by Confucius. Translation and Commentary by Ezra Pound. New York: New Directions. \$3.50

Anthony Trollope wrote no great letters. The Trollope matter in Mr. Booth's book has a great deal of ledgerbook sense and strong, penny judgment, but it is not likely to raise either the spleen or the spirits. The epistles of famous authors are usually a property for the auction house rather than the heritage of a people.

Trollope wrote some spiritless notes to George Henry Lewes, who is better remembered for his relationship with George Eliot than for his Goethe book. Trollope advises the young Lewes that it is possible to remain alive and still be a writer, which is doubtful. Trollope expressed some misgivings about sending a young Englishman to the Continent to be educated because there he would falter in spelling and in ordinary English idioms.

There is one Trollope letter, offered a decade ago for sale in a Southby catalogue, which created much moral doubt in the minds of the owners. I cite the letter which Trollope obviously meant for a quip and some civil raillery:

My Dearest Miss Dorothea Sankey: My affectionate & most excellent wife is as you are aware, still living—and I am proud to say her health is good. Nevertheless it is always well to take time by the forelock and be prepared for all events. Should anything happen to her, will you supply her place—as soon as the proper period of decent mourning is over.

The best letters are written by men of a crabbed and soured temper; a line or two of Dean Swift humbles us, though it steals everything out of our souls and pockets; "I do not think life is of much value, but health is worth everything. . . . For my own part I labor for daily health as often and almost as many hours as a workman does for daily bread."

Trollope's "Autobiography" has a pedestrian gait, and his "North America" is not nearly as good as

his mother's precise asperities in her scandalous nineteenth-century book on American customs. Trollope was not as incautious as his mother, and for that reason no better than an engaging dullard. The mother came to America in the Andrew Jackson era, and the son during the Civil War years. Their experience was very much the same. Both regarded Americans as braggarts, and the women as unruly and rude.

Despite my vast regard for Jonathan Swift, there is little to relish in Martinus Scriblerus which was the pseudonym for Pope, Swift, Dr. Arbuthnot, Gay, and Parnell. The whole book is no more than the easy, slattern scribbblings of men given to their ale; the wit has more ink and paper and library to it than tavern and gamin horseplay.

"The Prologues and Epilogues of John Dryden" are elegancies drawn from the head rather than the loins or the weak flesh. Nor is it plain what benefit any can have from reading a book filled with such tedious and saucy esprit. This is a typical kneel to Shakespeare:

Shakespeare, who (taught by none) did first impart
To Fletcher Wit, to labouring Johnson Art.

"The best of Defoe's Review" is better, because the author had a plainer humor, though it is by no means worth a whole book. Defoe had small patience with bombastic jakes and asses, and regarded himself as a gentleman, which is a euphemism for the timorous, the poltroon and the passionless. Defoe's opposition to dueling was that it might kill him. This sounds more like Aristotle's logic than his view of the gentleman.

Though the editor has found it necessary to amend the punctuation of the author of "Moll Flanders," some may care for the quick fooleries of Defoe. Defoe is almost as *bad* a writer as was Captain John Smith in his Virginia chronicles, which is full of marvelous misspellings and bizarre punctuations.

Ezra Pound has rendered Confucius in a disordered, mock vulgate. Despite its fossil, rabble patois, much is to be learned from this volume. Today, when people seek rush nostrums in more laws and in quacksalver politicians, it is good to go to the roots of acts. Confucius writes:

. . . wanting good government in their states, they first established order in their own families; wanting order in the home, they first disciplined themselves; desiring self-discipline, they rectified their own hearts; and wanting to rectify their hearts, they sought precise verbal definitions of their inarticulate thoughts.

If justice, morals, love, and friendship are to be no more than words in the dictionary, we can not battle for them by lessening or increasing taxes, ushering out one churl to let in another, or changing laws and governments, but by making the greatest exactions upon our hearts whenever we salute a friend, bow to a mother, kiss a child, or make a promise.

Success Story

A MEMORANDUM

From: The *Freeman's* Editors
To: The *Freeman's* Readers

Our magazine, yours and ours, celebrates its second birthday this month. Two years are nothing in the life of a society; they are a significant span in the history of opinion journalism in America. It is a curious paradox that in this country, so deeply concerned with its past and ostensibly dedicated to freedom of the market place as well as the polling places, few journals celebrating our free traditions on intellectual grounds have long survived.

The *Freeman* entered its pilot plant stage two years ago with the usual misgivings attaching to a new publishing venture. In our original editorial, "The Faith of the *Freeman*," we expressed the hope that there was room in the intellectual life of our country for an individualistic, traditional fortnightly review that would swim resolutely against the currents of fashionable "liberalism," of Fabianism, the nihilistic pragmatism of the schools and the encroachments of Big Government upon our social and economic life. In attempting to realize this hope, we have tried to edit the *Freeman* without conscious compromise as a journal of principle: challenging but not intemperate, pungent in its judgments of men and measures but not ill-natured.

Where do we stand at the end of two years? The *Freeman* has won a far wider reader acceptance than was envisaged in our swaddling days. Then it was hoped we might have 15,000 subscribers at the end of two and one-half years. Actually, we have 21,000 net paid circulation. What makes this figure remarkable is that it has been reached without any substantial pro-

motion effort of the kind put at large cost into every other successful magazine. We have lacked the funds for such effort. We owe this accomplishment to you, the most devoted body of magazine readers in America.

But that is not the full measure of our success story. Our success lies also in the ever-widening impact of the *Freeman's* editorial influence. Measured also by the fact, cited as one example of many, that last year on two occasions a Maryland professor supplied copies of the magazine to his classes as a corrective to the collectivist material they were otherwise being flooded with.

We believe that, thanks to you, we have made a go of the pilot plant. We want now to get into real production. In order to make the impact we should like to make upon thoughtful America, we need a far wider readership. Our next step is to double our circulation. We want your help not for our own sakes, not from motives of pride or revenue, but solely in order that the principles in which we all believe shall have enlarged hearing in the intellectual life of our country—among the universities, the professional groups, the formers of opinion.

It is, of course, clearly evident that if each of you were to solicit one reader, we could double our subscription lists in no time. That is, in truth, our goal. What we hope is that each of you will obtain one new subscriber within this, our anniversary month—or, if that is not possible for all of you, we hope that some of you will obtain two or three new readers. We ask this as a birthday gift not to us, not even to the *Freeman*, but to the cause in which we all believe. We are appending a birthday subscription coupon to make the task easier for you. Knowing of your dedication in the past, we trust your judgment in what you are about to do.

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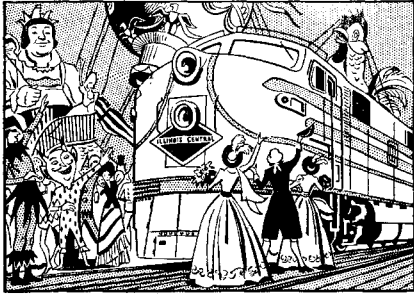
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THE FREEMAN, 240 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

The trip that's Mardi Gras all the way



YOUR TRIP between Chicago and New Orleans on the Illinois Central's streamlined "City of New Orleans" is a Mardi Gras itself. Car names read like a tour of New Orleans' famed streets and places. Murals honor its romantic past.

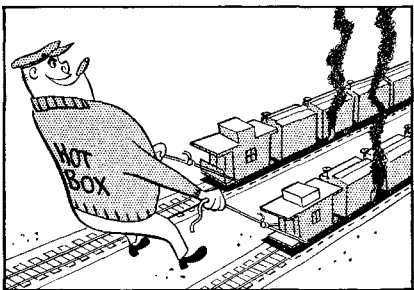


THE WAR OF 1812 still rages along the docks of New Orleans; stern-wheelers still chug up the Mississippi—in the tavern-loungemurals. As you study them, enjoy a dish of the fresh Gulf shrimp that also made New Orleans famous.

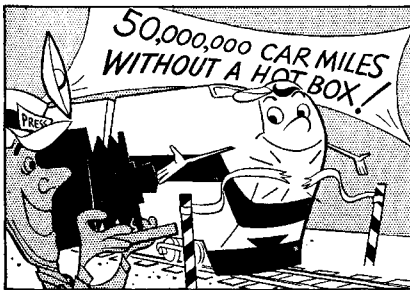


SUNK IN THE COMFORT of air-foam rubber chairs, you'll ride over a 9½-mile curve—longest on any U.S. railroad. And you'll ride it smoothly with axles on Timken® roller bearings that made streamliners practical.

Now here's the next great step in railroading!



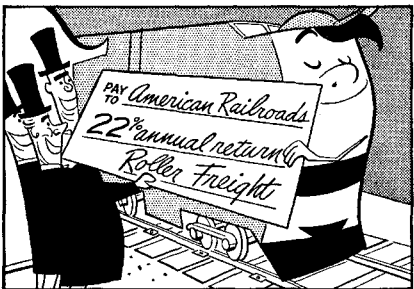
WORKING TO IMPROVE freight service, too, the railroads are concentrating on the "hot box"—biggest cause of freight train delays. And they're finding the answer in "Roller Freight"—cars with Timken roller bearings.



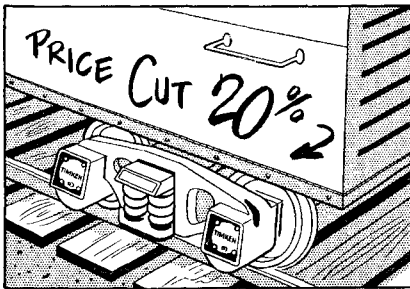
ONE RAILROAD'S "Roller Freight" has gone 50,000,000 car-miles without a "hot box". By contrast, freight cars with old-style friction bearings average only 212,000 car-miles between set-outs for "hot boxes".



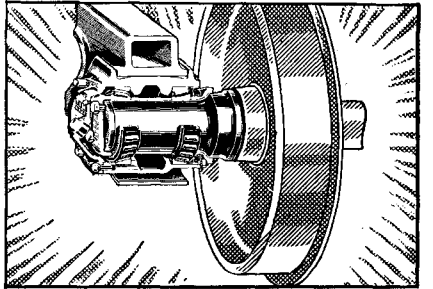
YOUR MELONS and other goods marked "rush" will reach you faster, fresher by "Roller Freight". "Roller Freight" upped one railroad's livestock business 30%. It can be the railroads' big talking point in going after more freight business.



WHEN ALL RAILROADS go "Roller Freight", they'll net 22% a year on their investment, save \$190,000,000 annually. Timken bearings can cut lube costs 89%, reduce terminal inspection man-hours 90%. Starting resistance is cut 88%, permitting jolt-free starts.



COMPLETE ASSEMBLIES of cartridge journal box and Timken bearings for freight cars cost 20% less than applications of six years ago. Applications are available for existing cars. Other products of the Timken Company: alloy steel and tubing, removable rock bits.

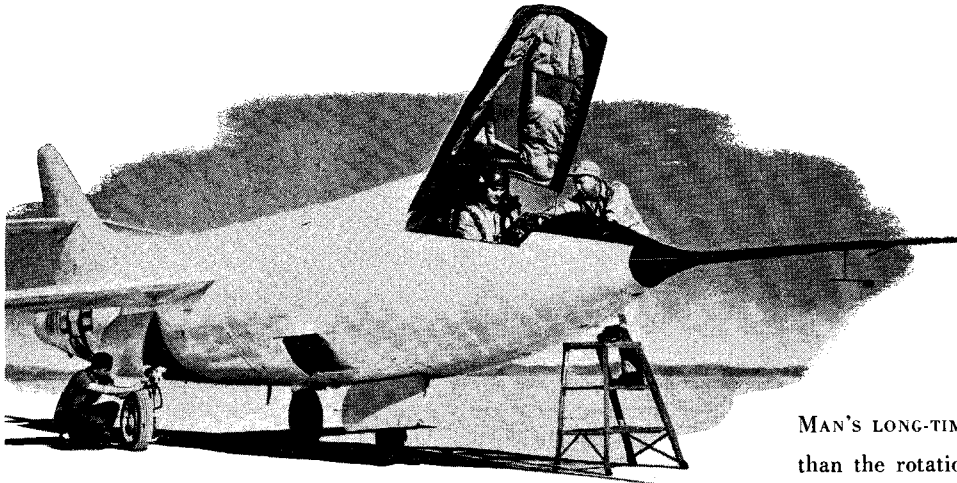


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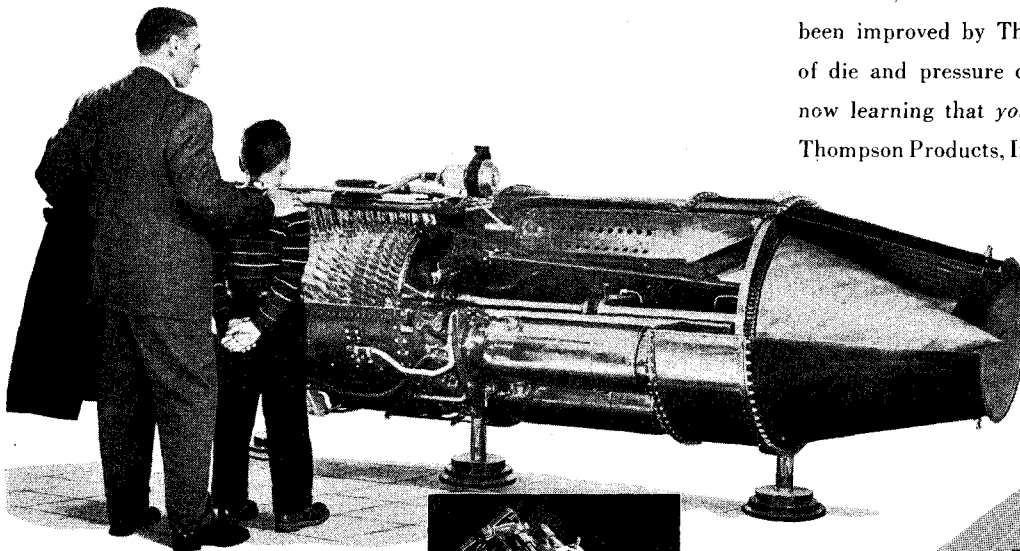


Catching up with the Sun

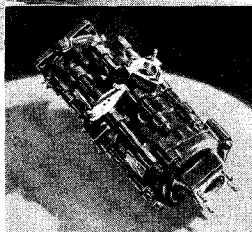
MAN'S LONG-TIME DREAM of flying faster than the rotation of the earth has now come true. A Navy plane has flown to an altitude of 13 miles, travelled 1,300 miles per hour, far exceeding the speed of sound. Far faster than the spin of the earth.

Ever since the Wright brothers first left the ground, the goal of the aviation industry has been to make flying faster and safer. Thompson Products has been part and parcel of this industry, striving always to make manufacture more precise and cheaper—to discover new ways to use new metals, to introduce new processes and teach craftsmen new, valuable skills. Today Thompson makes parts and accessories for virtually every plane that flies, every vehicle on farm, rail and highway—and for ships on and under the sea, too.

But Thompson's contributions to industry are not to transportation alone. For example, washing machines, oil burners and garbage disposal units have been improved by Thompson's advanced methods of die and pressure casting. All industry is now learning that *you can count on Thompson*. Thompson Products, Inc., General Offices, Cleveland 17.



This new, boosted gear pump is designed to handle jet engine fuel pressures up to 800 pounds per square inch—with highest efficiency. It is typical of the advanced engineering and production methods of *Thompson Products' Accessories Division*.



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