

**THE**  
**Freeman**

JULY 14, 1952 25¢

**ODE TO A  
HARVARD DON**

*Morrie Ryskind*

**MacArthur**

**The Tragedy of His Vindication**

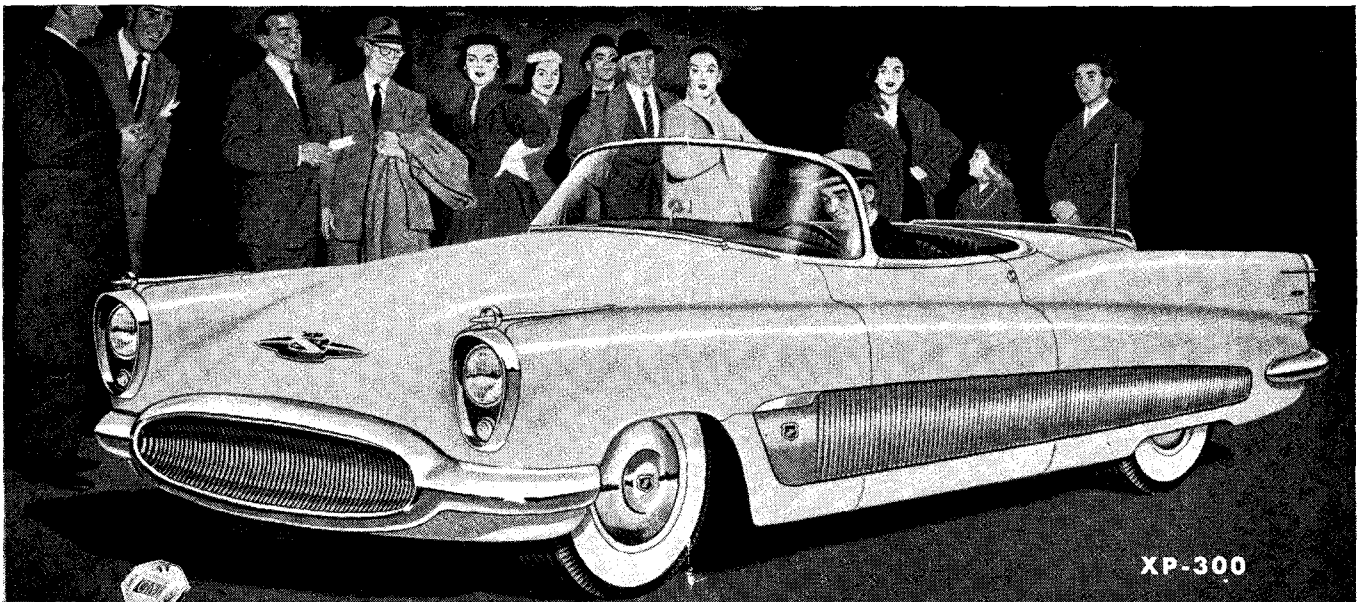
*Frazier Hunt*

**FEPC Is a Fraud**

*George S. Schuyler*

**A Trap for the GOP**

*J. Anthony Panuch*



XP-300



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*Your Key to Greater Value—the Key to a General Motors Car*

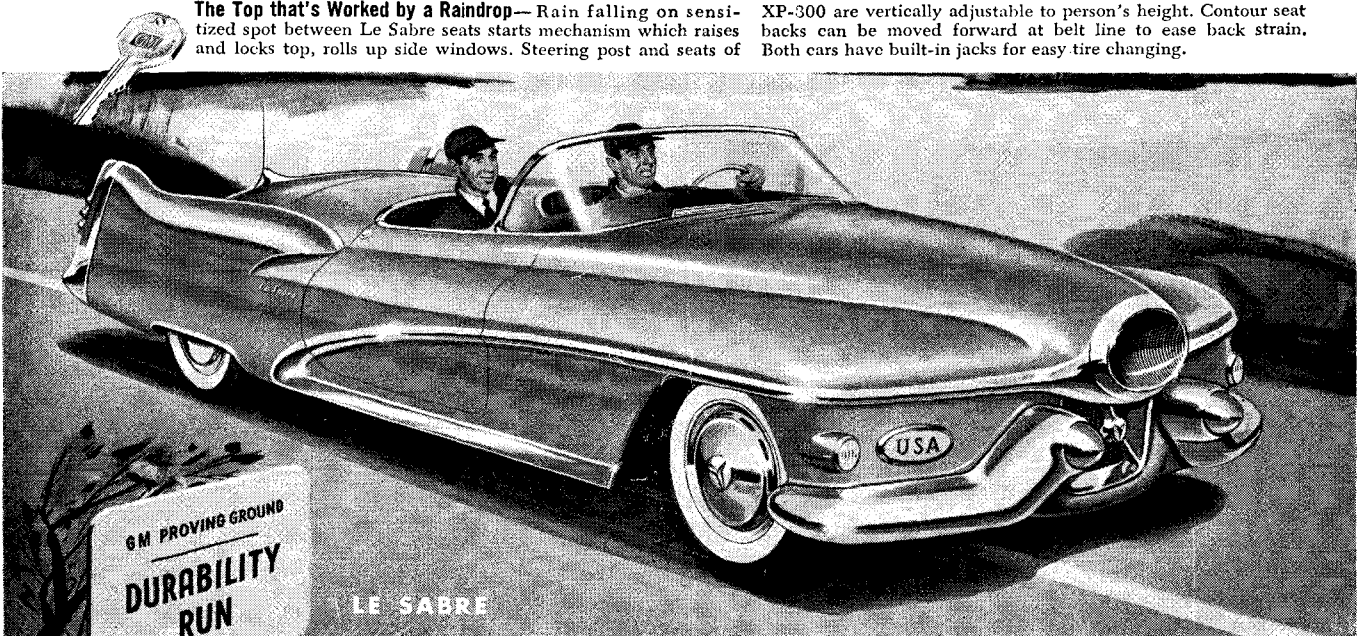
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XP-300 are vertically adjustable to person's height. Contour seat backs can be moved forward at belt line to ease back strain. Both cars have built-in jacks for easy tire changing.



# THE Freeman

A Fortnightly  
For  
Individualists

Editors JOHN CHAMBERLAIN FORREST DAVIS

HENRY HAZLITT\*

Managing Editor SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE

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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 emergence of General MacArthur as a prophet of Republicanism at Chicago prompted the article, "MacArthur's Tragic Vindication." That circumstance plus the fact verifiable by every newspaper reader that day by day MacArthur's judgment of the Korean situation is more clearly justified. What prompted the choice of the author, FRAZIER HUNT, was the fact that his association with MacArthur has been longer and more intimate than that of any other American journalist. They met in 1918 in France. Early in 1944 Hunt, a top-tier journalist, spent a month at MacArthur's headquarters in Brisbane and at Port Moresby covering with the General the great Hollandia campaign. Out of that came Hunt's book, "MacArthur and the War Against Japan." He is currently at work on further MacArthuriana. . . . J. ANTHONY PANUCH'S ("A Trap for the GOP") government service began in 1938 as special counsel for the SEC and ended in Germany, where as special assistant he was Lucius Clay's strong right arm. Meantime, among other things, he was security officer of the State Department under James J. Byrnes where he prosecuted and convicted Carl Marzani for lying about his Communist affiliations. . . . The gifted columnist of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, GEORGE S. SCHUYLER ("FEPC Is a Fraud"), is well known to *Freeman* readers. The father of the famous musical prodigy, Philippa Schuyler, he is the foremost Negro journalist of his day. . . . It is our measured opinion that MORRIE RYSKIND ("Ode to a Harvard Don"), known to you as a playwright ("Of Thee I Sing," etc.) is the most pungent satirist in current practice. GARET GARRETT ("A New Key to Power") needs neither introduction nor encomia from this corner.

## Among Ourselves

Every little while the *Freeman* acquires fresh evidence that its labors against totalitarianism, subversion and allied evils are not in vain. A reader from Altadena, California, E. W. Hiestand, writes that "partly due to the inspiration of your magazine" he ran for the Republican nomination for Congress in his district. He was nominated.

A Syracuse reader writes that, while in Washington during the recent steel crisis, he was discussing the situation in a taxicab with a friend. Whereupon the taxi driver (a paragon, we may add, among that wondrous breed, Washington hackmen) pulled out an order blank and took both their subscriptions to the *Freeman*. The hackman's name, bless him, is Myron W. Chamberlin. He lives at 3009 Erie Street, S. E., Washington, and may his tribe increase. Wrote our informant: "Let's forget the tycoons and concentrate on winning the cab drivers. They don't talk to themselves."

So it goes. The *Freeman* issue by issue wins a wider acceptance among the overwhelming hosts of Americans who believe the Republic worth saving.

# The distance to death

**R**EADERS who travel much are interested in how far their peregrinations may take them before the inherent risks in transportation bring their journeys to a too sudden stop.

By automobile, bus, air or rail are your chances best?

Travel statistics of the past five years indicate that you can go six times as far by rail as you can by air before being mathematically certain of meeting death.

Rail transportation is eight times safer than auto and taxi in terms of death, and seventeen times safer in terms of injury. The Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company, for example, has not suffered a passenger fatality in the last thirty-seven years.

Paradoxically, bus travel is slightly safer than rail travel. Statistics do not tell us why bus travel per passenger mile is eleven times as safe as travel by auto and taxi. We can be sure that among the reasons are: the bus has fewer drunken drivers than the auto, and when collision between them occurs it is more likely to be fatal to the occupants of the auto; when collision occurs between the bus and the truck they are more on equal terms.

Even two and one-tenth fatalities per 100 million passenger miles, as was the experience of autos and taxis, does not cause one to stop and listen unless it is expressed in more earthly figures.

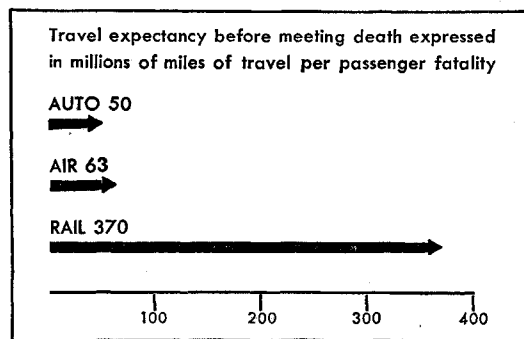
What interests the taxi driver is how many lifetimes he could spend in his daily stint behind the wheel before statistically being injured or killed. Assuming a forty-year working life a hundred miles a day, two hundred and fifty days a year, the taxi driver could expect to go fifty lifetimes without being killed, but only two-thirds of a lifetime without being injured.

When it comes to the distance to death we find that it is twenty-five hundred times around the earth by air and fifteen thousand times around the earth by rail. (And there are some commercial travelers who feel that they must be approaching these figures!)

The airplane pilot doing only nine hundred and fifty hours per year for only twenty years at two hundred and fifty miles per hour can expect to spend only thirteen working lifetimes before meeting death. There is the consolation of knowing, however, that there is very little prospect of his being merely injured.

The railway conductor, looking forward to a fifty-year working life one hundred and fifty miles per day, three hundred days per year, can reasonably expect to go one hundred and sixty-five lifetimes without death, but only five lifetimes without injury.

We office workers and non-commercial travelers may have a less glamorous existence than the airplane pilot, but before we cloister ourselves to escape the mathematical certainty of death by travel if continued long enough, we might remember that more accidents occur at home than any place else on earth. At home the distance to death may be only to a slippery bathtub.



*This is a column which appears in the July issue of Railway Progress Magazine, written by Robert R. Young, Chairman of the Federation for Railway Progress, and is reproduced here as a public service.*

## Chesapeake and Ohio Railway

*Terminal Tower, Cleveland 1, Ohio*

# THE Freeman

MONDAY, JULY 14, 1952

## The Fortnight

Independence Day, 1952, found the Department of State in sackcloth and ashes. First, Acheson apologized to Aneurin Bevan and the British neutralists, Labor and Conservative, for General Mark Clark's revival of MacArthurism in Korea. The Department made a solemn act of contrition to Owen Lattimore for the still puzzling train of events that ended in his clearance for foreign travel. As it turns out, the British government previously had approved the power plants south of the Yalu as legitimate air targets. Regarding Lattimore, we hear on unimpeachable authority that the McCarran subcommittee on internal security has recommended to the Department of Justice a grand jury inquiry on five alleged counts of perjury in Lattimore's testimony before that body. Is it too much to hope that the next Administration will get the Department of State off its knees?

Oxford University's public orator showed a shrewd insight into the public character of Dean Acheson when, eulogizing him *honoris causis*, he acclaimed him "a true friend of his friends." A certain inmate of the Lewisburg Federal penitentiary may have read that with sober gratitude.

An alarming note entered the Republican pre-convention campaign when, at the University of Virginia Institute of Public Affairs on June 28, James B. Carey of the CIO uttered a veiled threat of a labor revolt if Taft wins. "We are beginning," said Carey, "to sit on a volcano . . . If Taftism wins no union leader can predict what may happen . . . Organized labor may well decide to defend its democratic gains in its own way." He concluded ominously: "American unionists . . . would ponder with Jefferson in 1787: 'What country before ever existed a century and a half without a rebellion?'"

Our spies in Chicago tell us that Eisenhower partisans, led by no less a figure than the General himself, plan an attempt to blitz the Republican Convention with a deluge of "Taft Can't Win the Independent Vote" propaganda. They also plan to beat the tom-toms on the issue of the "great

Texas steal." We are not impressed with the Eisenhowerites' chances of converting anybody by high-pressure tactics. The truth is that the "independent vote" will be divided no matter who wins, and everybody knows it. The "independents" have made up their minds on everything already, including the lachrymose dubiety of Texas. As a candidate Ike would retain the loyalty of a limited number of ex-New Dealers, but he would hardly gather in the votes of the independent Polish-Americans who hate the name of Yalta. Nor can he make any ponderable inroads among American Catholics who are for Taft and/or MacArthur on the Communist issue. The whole business of estimating the behavior of the "independent vote" is a complicated one, and there is hardly a delegate to the Convention who doesn't know as much already. No "blitz" can materialize where knowledge is everyman's portion.

The *Freeman's* Washington grapevine, all but infallible, brings word that Truman would arrange his own draft against Ike; he will draft Adlai Stevenson against Taft. The current Stevenson boom reflects White House opinion that Taft is the sure winner at Chicago.

Amidst the spate of equivocal utterances from the country's campuses this June came one strong, unambiguous note. The trustees of Washington and Jefferson, the oldest college west of the Alleghenies, reaffirmed "this institution's position that a dynamic, enlightened system of free enterprise is the great hope for the future of this country and the world." Amen.

In his commencement address at the New School for Social Research, New York City, Justice William O. Douglas said: "It is time we cast away the false doctrine of guilt by association." Within a matter of days we had more of the same from Elmer Davis, Allen Barth and Zachariah Chafee, Jr. Isn't it time we cast away this self-serving buncombe, whose only discernible aim is to protect Communists, fellow-travelers and McLiberals in government posts? Bill Douglas is too good a lawyer not to know that this doctrine when applied to subversives in government is not only fraudulent and misleading but actually at odds with the

law of the matter. The obvious fact is that a public servant, official or bureaucrat, is not covered by the protective mantle cast by the common law over persons accused of felony. A far different principle of the common law applies to a public servant accused of wrongdoing: the principle of the trustee. A trustee charged with dereliction is not considered innocent until proved guilty; the burden of proof rests upon him. It is this principle that all those who wish to shelter subversives in government ignore and wish us to forget.

James Thurber, who ought to know better, has joined Brooks Atkinson in blaming the low estate of American comedy and culture on Joe McCarthy and Congressional "blatherskites." He says "everybody's scared to death of these blatherskites." The picture conjured up by Mr. Thurber is ineffable: it is a picture of a pore li'l bunch of cowering libruls who haven't the guts to stand up for what they believe—provided, of course, that they believe anything, which we doubt. As for Mr. Thurber himself, if he insists on staying on a letterhead with Paul Robeson we respect his courage but question his common sense. For the rest of the libruls—or the McLiberals—we have nothing but contempt. Men who are afraid of blatherskites, Congressional or otherwise, just aren't worth listening to anyway. Come to think of it, a humorist who can be frozen into silence by a Congressman is one of the funniest objects in the universe. Comedy is certainly not dead.

We confess to being avid readers of Al Capp's comic strip, "Li'l Abner." As at least 140 million of the American population know, Cartoonist Capp, in a dastardly repudiation of the canons of his profession, finally permitted Li'l Abner to marry his perpetual sweetheart, the curvacious Daisy Mae Scragg. That was some three months ago. The honeymoon (with fantastic interruptions) went on for nine or ten weeks before Li'l Abner summoned up enough courage to kiss his bride. We have no desire to tell Al Capp what he ought to do about his bashful Dogpatch swains, but we tremble to think what the Russians may be making of it all. A man who can't summon up the spunk to kiss a beautiful young morsel of female flesh after ten weeks of quite legal marriage will hardly impress *Pravda* as a brave defender of the Republic's ramparts.

Being accustomed to nibble with long teeth at any news turned up by the Brothers Alsop, we did not get unduly excited over their story of June 20 about Ambassador Kennan's alarm over an increased violence in Moscow's "hate America" campaign. But since the journalistic Gemini were elaborating on a theme introduced not so long ago by President Truman, we decided to do a little checking. So we called up Dr. David J. Dallin, than whom

there is no greater authority on Soviet skulduggery. And Dr. Dallin assured us that the "hate America" campaign has been proceeding with its usual virulence in recent Soviet publications—no more, no less. Could it be that Messrs. Truman, Kennan and the Brothers are sounding the alarm for the purposes of a don't-change-horses-in-midstream campaign?

As we go to press the Truman price control insanity has been continued by a group of faint-hearted legislators who were scared into doubting their reviving common sense on the subject. We wish they had pondered the behavior of potato prices after the recent lapse in potato controls. When Price Stabilizer Ellis Arnall removed potato ceilings on June 5 (the government ceiling price was 38 cents for five pounds) the price of spuds dropped to five pounds for 25 cents. We venture to predict that prices would fall on most things if Ellis Arnall and his boys in the Office of Price Supports and Price Stimulation could be persuaded to resign and go home. Ten months, the period of the new price control law, is too long a period to wait for Price Stimulation to cease.

[The most recent affaire Lattimore has evoked the following comment from our valued contributor, Eugene Lyons.]

THE EDITORS.]

The ordeal of our country's number one martyr, Owen Lattimore, continues. Another bloody twig has been added to the crown of thorns he wears with jaunty arrogance. According to his own estimate, he has just been subjected to a "monstrous un-American injustice"—to an act of persecution so heinous that it proves a "lynch mob" is on the loose and our Republic close to "destruction of basic principles of democracy."

Surely, anyone who hasn't followed the episode in the news dispatches would suppose that the horror visited upon the Far East expert must have been infamous and depraved to justify such apocalyptic conclusions and alarms. But the rest of us know that Lattimore—and a portion of the press—have magnified a molehill of official error into a mountain of alleged injustice.

What happened? Government agencies received information that the Johns Hopkins professor was planning to fly to the Soviet Union. Since his passport, like all American passports today, is not valid for that destination unless the journey is authorized, the State Department took the obvious normal and minimal precaution. It notified customs officials to stop him should he attempt to leave. Then, to everybody's embarrassment, it turned out that the information was false, and the notification was duly cancelled.

There we have the sum and substance of the monstrous injustice and the lynch mob fury. The tip on Lattimore, it happens, came from a travel

agent. It referred to a man whose long associations with the country he was alleged to be about to visit are a matter of record. The State Department might have had some alibi for inaction in the case of a Joe Blow. It had none at all in the case of Lattimore. But we may be sure that those who echo the Communist line to the effect that America is in the throes of hysteria, with lynch mobs running amok, will stir up a first-rate propaganda tempest in the teacup of a trivial mistake.

## Facing the Convention

The Republican Convention is upon us, and when it is over we editors of the *Freeman* will know at least one relief: we shall be able to escape from an enflaming fire that has been nicking up the ground all around us. Pro-Eisenhower readers have been accusing us, in rather bitter terms, of everything from *lèse majesté* to barratry; pro-Taft readers, on the other hand, have expressed burning disappointment that we have not come out "in forthright support of Robert A. Taft for President of the United States."

The explanation for the *Freeman's* position during the Republican pre-convention campaign is simple: it is to be found in the statement on the contents page, that the magazine is "a fortnightly for individualists." Being extreme individualists themselves, the editors have had no uniform cookie-cutter approach to the problem of nominating and electing a libertarian President. In the earlier days of the pre-convention campaigns, one *Freeman* editor was for Taft, another was for MacArthur (with Taft as second choice), while a third was for Harry Byrd or (in default of his nomination) for holding the scales even between Taft and Eisenhower. When Forrest Davis joined the editorial staff, that made it two for Taft. However, the *Freeman* has not been able to take a group position for Taft without doing violence to the conscience of one of its four editors.

Since, as individualists, we respect the rights of other individualists, we have no quarrel with correspondents who think we should have presented an editorial united front to the world. But we can not see, in our hearts, that we have let personalities destroy our judgment during the pre-convention fight. We have had a lot to say against the Eisenhower campaign methods, which for weeks on end precluded the opportunity of finding out what Eisenhower is all about. As for our "failure" to present Taft's views, we would deny it. Long ago we published editorials on Taft's foreign policy and on his ability as a vote-getter. And the *Freeman's* position in foreign and military policy, stated off and on at length, has been so close to Bob Taft's that we might logically be accused of following him as a bench-mark. We have been for a two-front

strategy, for a sane disposal of American energy, and for a policy that would make an American Air Force the equivalent of the British Navy in the palmy days of William Pitt the Younger. Only a short-sighted Europe Firster would call that "isolationist."

Purely aside from the personal preferences of four editors, there is the question of Communist infiltration and influence in Washington. The *Freeman's* position is that a good candidate must grasp the Communist nettle firmly: he must be willing to take a stand against the whole Lattimore-IPR "technique of persuasion" that has led the Truman Administration into cooperation with concealed pro-Stalinism. Harry Byrd, if he could possibly achieve the Democratic nomination, would fit the *Freeman's* specifications on the anti-Communist score. Among the Republican candidates, Taft is far more satisfactory than Eisenhower on the Communist issue. Indeed, Eisenhower, in his refusal to attack the Achesonian policies, has been paltering where he should have been forthright.

From all this, it should be rather obvious how the *Freeman* editors face the Republican Convention. At least three of us will cheer lustily if Taft wins. If Eisenhower wins, all of us will do our utmost to sell him a real two-front strategy and a real anti-Communist knowledge and conviction.

## Europe Looks at Taft

Properly or not, Europe's taste in American Presidents has become a dominant factor in their selection. The pressure works in two ways. One, the so-called foreign vote (partly a myth and partly a shameful artifact chiseled by big-city machines) allegedly responds to what political bosses present as Europe's current preferences. Two, the national preoccupation with foreign policy makes both parties understandably anxious to assess European attitudes toward a new Administration.

This concern has influenced, perhaps for the first time, even the selective councils of the Republican Party which, by tradition and indigenous structure, is normally indifferent to stratagems of that nature. If there is any rationale at all for the weird passions that have embittered the pre-convention feud, it is the belief of the Eisenhower faction that any other Republican President but the General would throw western Europe into jitters over the "isolationist" portent of such a choice.

This thesis is considerably more disputable than Eisenhower's popularity on the Continent. In fact, anyone who knows Europe's inside just one whit more intimately than John Gunther, and one shade less subjectively than Walter Lippmann, is aware of an important school of European thought which would prefer a so-called "nationalist" to a so-called "internationalist" American Administration. Ad-

mittedly, this school of thought does not, at the moment, determine governmental action in the Western capitals. But it comprises some of the best European brains and it has, above all, the kind of arguments on its side which could swing public opinion on the Continent fast and decisively.

The first argument is simple and refers to America's role in the Atlantic Alliance. Realistic European statesmen have begun to understand that five divisions promised them by, say, Taft are a stronger guarantee of final American participation in a European showdown than ten divisions promised by, say, Eisenhower. For while America might resent the gamble of an "internationalist" Administration, a unified nation would firmly support even interventionist acts of a "nationalist" President. Because he is so clearly beyond suspicion of having *asked* for trouble, the most reluctant segments of American opinion would trust his decisions in a genuine crisis. So the truly sophisticated statesmen on the Continent prefer the commitment of reticent Americans to the infatuation of committed "internationalists."

The second argument is more complex and refers to *Europe's* role in the Atlantic Alliance. Wise men understand in Europe as well as here that the defense of Europe is the Europeans' business. The Continent can be destroyed and perhaps "liberated" by an American force, but only a European force can *secure* it against the fatal Eastern thrust. So far as Europe is concerned, the American effort remains secondary—even if this statement of fact does not jibe with the fashionable cliché of the high-strung metropolitan press that the world's total burden has fallen on our shoulders. Informed Europeans are rather proudly aware that western Europe is itself a tremendous powerhouse; and that, unless these energies are fully released, the isolated American power establishment would prove inadequate to guarantee the non-American world.

Consequently, thoughtful Europeans have begun to question the ECA philosophy of our "internationalists." These Europeans are of course human enough to take any kind of coin we are willing to pass around, but they have increasingly grave doubts whether they should. And their mind is even more troubled than their conscience. American aid, they have found out, is habit-forming and stiffens Europe's joints. To recover the full size of her congenital strength Europe, they realize, must throw away the golden crutches. In short, though they do not yet dare say it very loud, smart Europeans have begun to count the blessings a "nationalist" American Administration might offer them.

To summarize, not all Europeans are so dumb as Mr. Lippmann thinks most Americans are. In Europe as well as in this country there is a new toughening of mental fiber and a growing comprehension that the roads to a truly isolationist hell are paved with "internationalist" intentions.

## The Greed for Taxes

On one question of public policy, Mr. Truman has been and remains thoroughly consistent. He always wants higher taxes. This is the theme he has adhered to from the time he took office. It is his reply to the arguments of Messrs. Taft and Eisenhower that they propose to cut taxes by reducing government spending, both military and civil. The President will have none of this loose talk. Taxes must be raised even though American citizens pay to their various governments today twice what they paid at the peak of war taxation.

These tax views of the President and his advisers are precisely what we have a right to expect. They are the typical response of a political Administration bent on amassing power and holding on to it once it has been won. Such an Administration must constantly be on the lookout for additional benefits to confer, or more ways of spending more and more money. Every appetite must be indulged, and every day brings new proposals for assuming new functions or expanding old ones. Under this policy one form of expenditure is as good as another and appropriations for military or civilian, for domestic or foreign purposes all serve the same political ends. They all make employment, widely disperse public funds, and end up in growing tax burdens, rising public debt, and depreciating currency. Since all of these consequences do not follow simultaneously or affect all people equally, it is possible for a government to pursue such policies long after they have done a nation and its citizens deep and abiding damage.

All the time, of course, evidences of the failure of these financial policies accumulate. The tax burden grows and spreads constantly to new classes and activities, so that in time no one is free from taxes and everyone's taxes are destined to go higher still. However heavily they may already be taxed, the rich under the circumstances will of necessity pay a diminishing proportion of the total tax take. Expenditures, like taxes, get out of control and the party in power finds it physically impossible to save money and drop activities. Every item of expenditure becomes a necessity, and doing away with it will precipitate a crisis or an emergency, international or internal. Meanwhile the growing army of beneficiaries have become so incapable of appraising the ultimate worth of the benefits they receive that they succumb to the evil persuasions of a political machine which it is their vital interest to displace.

At the same time these forces act as powerful incentives to tax evasion and the reduction of tax yields. Such are the classic consequences of excessive and rising tax burdens. They account for the policies of several foreign countries which reduced tax rates in order to increase tax income, knowing from long experience that at the higher rates peo-



ple would fail to declare and pay the taxes they owed. Strangely enough, Americans appear in this regard to be among the most disciplined peoples of the world. But even in the United States the yields of steeply mounting excise taxes have fallen sharply below the estimates, partly because purchasers buy less and partly because, as in the liquor business, consumers are again resorting to bootleggers.

Spending, taxes and the growth of government are one of the issues we shall all have a chance to pass on next November. It is to be hoped that the coming campaign will produce more enlightenment than has our vast and expensive educational system.

## Murder on Sunday

What we like to call "McLiberalism"—the reckless fury with which our certified anti-anti-Communists assault the nation's recuperating intelligence—still monopolizes the Sunday Book Reviews. For the last ten years a clique of leftist partisans, underwritten by the editors of the staid *New York Times* and the avowedly Republican *Herald Tribune*, has determined which political books are to have effective sales and which must be stopped from reaching the public. How scandalously this veritable ring of "experts" has favored America's defeat in Asia has been heavily documented in John T. Flynn's "While You Slept." Of 23 pro-Communist books on China, concluded Mr. Flynn's devastating statistical analysis,

. . . all of them . . . received glowing approval in the literary reviews I have mentioned—that is the *New York Times*, the *Herald Tribune*, the *Nation*, the *New Republic* and the *Saturday Review of Literature*. And every one of the anti-Communist books was either roundly condemned or ignored in these same reviews.

After that, it looked for a while as if the perpetrators of this sensationally successful fraud had been scared into laying off. No longer was Edgar Snow invited by the *Times Book Review* to vouch for Owen Lattimore's scholastic virtue, and *vice versa*. But the strategists who direct the era's literary battles from respectable newspaper offices had retreated merely to regroup their forces. Now the commandos who so spectacularly penetrated the national mind in the forties, but have since been decimated, have been retired. And rested reserves are moving up to the firing line. The new expendables seem to be the papers' regular staff members. As it is no longer safe to have anti-Communist books strangled by free-lance hangmen whose pro-Communist bias has been exposed, the new tactics require that the job be done by regulars whose professionalism may remove the tint of partisanship.

How this new trick operates can be profitably studied in a recent case—the reception Ralph de Toledano's "Spies, Dupes and Diplomats" got in

the *Times* and *Herald Tribune* Book Reviews. That the *Freeman's* impression of the book (see page 704) differs from that of New York's two leading Sunday book supplements is of little importance in this context. What matters is the editorial policy they demonstrated in parallel, deliberate action.

Mr. de Toledano, himself associated with another reputable publication, *Newsweek*, has an enviable professional record for knowingness and meticulous veracity. He co-authored "Seeds of Treason," the memorable and best-selling exploration of the Hiss case, a book which tackled the most controversial affair of this generation and yet was never accused of having manipulated a single fact. We are saying this not to praise Mr. de Toledano, but to sketch the map for any responsible editor of a literary review: who but another established student in Mr. de Toledano's field of special knowledge should be asked to appraise his second book?

Well, the *Times* asked Mr. Anthony Leviero, its own ambassador to the court of Harry S. Truman, and the *Herald Tribune* asked Mr. Harry W. Baehr, one of its own editorial writers. Neither gentleman has heretofore been known for any specialized studies of the Communist underground, or even for an average curiosity about that confusing area. On the other hand, an accredited White House reporter must maintain pleasant relations with his chief source of news, the President; how then could he be expected to appreciate a book which Mr. Truman would of necessity abhor? Mr. Baehr authors some of those notorious *Herald Tribune* editorials which adore the State Department's every move; how then could he be expected to appraise a book which presents the very same State Department as a conglomeration not so much of diplomats as of spies and dupes?

Now the editors of the *Herald Tribune Book Review* can not very well plead that it is their policy to let a book be discussed by one of its author's established opponents. For instance, they invited Mr. John K. Fairbank to write the paper's ecstatic front-page review of Owen Lattimore's "Ordeal by Slander." And who is Mr. Fairbank? Mr. Lattimore identifies him on page 203 of the very same book as the man who masterminded Lattimore's crusade against the Senate investigation. ("John Fairbank, at Harvard, sent out telegrams to a long list of Far Eastern experts all over the country, suggesting that they write to Senator Tydings . . .") It is, in other words, the policy of the *Herald Tribune* to have Lattimoresque literature reviewed by intimate associates of the Lattimores, but anti-Communist books by accredited anti-anti-Communists.

The scandal, in short, grows worse. For every exposed pro-Communist the Sunday Book Reviews have been forced to retire, they employ two critics whose vested interests require the annihilation of the exposing authors. Incoherently shouting "Stop McCarthy!," New York's party organs of McLib-

eralism every Sunday commit murder of reputations and the crudest sabotage of ideas this country has witnessed in a long time.

## The Shame of It

*[For two generations A. G. Keller taught sociology at Yale, first as a young assistant to the great William Graham Sumner, pioneer student of the folkways, and latterly as William Graham Sumner Professor of the Science of Society. Now in retirement, Professor Keller has brought his long experience in studying the social virtues to bear on the subject of the 1952 campaign for the Presidency. His communication, an apt tract for the times, is offered as a guest editorial in our pre-convention issue.]*

THE EDITORS]

**T**he critical issue of 1952 is one of morality. For twenty years the American electorate has been demoralized in the original sense of that term: befooled, bamboozled. What has happened to the indispensable social virtues—thrift, independence, resentment of bribery and effrontery—whose practice has made us what we have been? Where is our old mordant sense of the ridiculous? If Mr. Dooley had lived into the Deals-Era, he would have found targets far more inviting than the innocent pomposities of his days.

It is to be taken to heart that young voters of today can have had no personal experience of conditions of a half-century ago, but have breathed, from the cradle up, the insidious atmosphere of the last decades. To them, the showy "successes" of men in high places seem to be natural features of the landscape, like the eternal hills. Mendacity and hypocrisy have become political assets. Corruption has always attended power; but the enveloping social atmosphere, domestically and also in the world at large, has been vitiated as never before on such a grand scale.

Mr. Dooley lived to see no Brain Trust that boasted, "We are making our own history," in feather-headed contempt of everything that a study of past experience might teach us. Young-men-in-a-hurry have, in their naiveté, attacked superficial symptoms of disease. They have monkeyed with prices and deliberately destroyed wealth in assassinating shoats, vying with the Dutch who were once abhorred for cutting down East Indian trees lest prices fall. Chicken raisers have been called in to tamper with the currency, debasing the dollar on the frivolous turning of a coin, and repudiating the word of government by refusal to redeem that dollar in gold.

There has been senseless expenditure that magniloquently depletes the resources which once enriched us; a concept of the State as a sublime entity, reigning by raining down stolen benefactions. Yet there are men still living who will recall that, not many decades ago, there was no income tax, with its attendant prying into private affairs; no

crushing levies to discourage investment and provision against death and old age; no astronomical public debt to be paid by succeeding generations, or repudiated, to national dishonor.

As regards our international record, it has been a flat failure. Stalin has raked in every jackpot in his game of bluff. He has scared our pseudo-statesmen into abject timidity. Even members of our Big Brass are scared.

For one, I am deeply ashamed of our record, both domestic and international. To correct the former is our first concern; for, if we are not strong at home, we can be strong nowhere. And again for one, I can see but one recourse: to elect men of character this coming fall; figures of integrity, honor, dignity, ability, experience, incorruptibility and courage. There are such, and on the ground that a voter should cast his ballot as if it alone were decisive, I shall cast mine for one of them. My Hall of Fame includes statesmen only: Taft, MacArthur, Byrd, for example, who have talked straight from the shoulder and have demonstrated by action their qualities.

Take a non-candidate, to relieve what I have to say of the personal. Take MacArthur, for example. Has he ever failed us? In Japan he demoted a god and made the god like it. I am pleased that MacArthur supports a possible candidate whom I regard as eminently qualified on the counts which I regard as fundamental. I look upon the pair as a twin moral force.

Anybody with a spark of intelligence should be able to figure the disillusionment of a man who voted for the model Democratic platform of 1932, then to encounter the incredible series of Deals (really Stacks) as they have moved toward socialistic Statism and general demoralization, with decline of the sense of honor, under politicians intent only upon retaining power. One comes to believe, with Lincoln, that politicians are "a set of men who have interests aside from the interest of the people, and who, to say the most of them, are, taken as a mass, at least one long step removed from honest men." We need a moral awakening; we must reassert that saving endowment upon which Lincoln counted to render the people foolproof against nonsense and hypocrisy.

That endowment will remain latent until evoked by the leadership of fearless men of principle. Not reconcilers of the irreconcilable, for this is no time for middle-of-the-roaders, but for leaders who stand fast upon principle whether they smile or not; men who have spoken out irrespective of personal peril. In short, men who are lacking in no one of the qualities of integrity, incorruptibility, intelligence, experience, dignity and dauntless courage. That is the only type of leader who has ever carried us through our genuine crisis-times. And we face no staged, equivocal or managed crisis this time, but one that involves not only our own destiny but also that of the world. A. G. KELLER

# MacArthur's Tragic Vindication

By FRAZIER HUNT

*A seasoned foreign correspondent and radio commentator recounts the terrible price all America has paid for the Administration's refusal to heed and to act upon the counsel of our foremost soldier.*

Toward the end of Douglas MacArthur's half-dozen days in Tokyo between his sudden recall and his departure in April 1951, a friend telephoned him from Washington. The purpose of the call was to warn him that in the remarks he would make before the Congress he must bear in mind the possibility of an early armistice and peace with the Soviets' Chinese and North Korean puppets. The friend believed that the Truman-Acheson-Marshall triumvirate would go to almost any lengths, including a hasty surrender in Korea, in order to embarrass and destroy the general they had dismissed.

MacArthur replied that there could be no armistice or early peace.

"The opportunity," he said, "has gone."

On the eve of the Republican convention at Chicago, where the keynoting General will formally don the mantle of elder statesman, it is tragically clear to all beholders how correct his judgment was in Tokyo. Instead of peace in Korea and eastern Asia, we now face the dread prospect of a Red offensive which might drive our forces into the Sea of Japan.

General MacArthur's conduct of the war in Korea, his diplomacy and his judgment have been vindicated, but at what a price for America! It is a tragic vindication. In the fifteen dreary months since MacArthur's relief, the Administration clique that brought about his recall has continued to drag the national honor through the dust and mud of Korea. The stalemate still persists, to our dismay and bewilderment.

The forces of Soviet imperialism have been steadily augmented during these fifteen months. The best Red jet fighters now outnumber our own Sabre jet F-86s five to one. The latest available figures show that the Soviet air force, safely sheltered in the "privileged sanctuary" of Manchuria, now comprises 1500 to 2000 battle planes in all. Thus is the air situation reversed from the strategic moment when MacArthur urged pursuit of enemy aircraft and destruction of enemy strongholds north of the Yalu.

The year of humiliation that opened with Jacob Malik's peace bait has given the Communists time to reform their ground divisions, to bring up vast quantities of equipment, supplies and fresh troops. Today they have probably a million ground troops

below the Yalu and enormous reserves above the sacred river line. And of equal importance, according to General Van Fleet the enemy has now overcome his original lack of artillery by a buildup which gives him a two-to-one superiority over us. Moreover, the North Koreans and their Chinese masters have installed ample anti-aircraft defenses, with the latest fire-control and detection devices, around their vital areas—and far back of the lines in such important centers as Mukden and Harbin.

No man has suffered more keenly from this debacle of American honor and might than the man whom the deadly measure of time has proved so right. For above all else Douglas MacArthur is a true American. Every day of his adult life has been dedicated to the power and glory of his country. He would be the last to rejoice at the present sad turn of affairs that has given him final and popular vindication. Indeed, he probably would reject the term "vindication" as an expression of what has happened to establish the correctness of his course and the errors of the White House, the Pentagon and the State Department.

## The Anti-MacArthur Campaign

It is necessary to understand at least something of the depth and bitterness of this home-front campaign that has been leveled against him for no less than twelve years. A lesser man, a selfish or self-centered man, would have long ago been destroyed. His hard courage and his pure military genius—and the loyalty of a few uncompromising friends—enabled him eventually to win the Pacific war, despite the road blocks constantly set against him at home.

The anti-MacArthur captains, in the early days of 1940 and '41—the Europe Firsters—numbered such men as the power-loving Roosevelt, George Marshall, Harry Hopkins's inner circle and one or two of the top Navy brass. MacArthur stood almost alone against them in his intuition that the coming war in the Pacific was of the utmost significance. And from Pearl Harbor on, for almost four years of actual war, he had to fight constantly on the two fronts.

Few could question his vast knowledge of the sprawling Far East—of China and Russia and Japan. Yet so powerful were his Washington de-

tractors that never once in all the war years was his advice sought; nor was he invited to any of the several conferences where the fate of the world was decided. There was a place at Yalta for Alger Hiss, but none for Douglas MacArthur.

V-J Day won him the difficult task of Supreme Commander of the Japanese occupation. He had been in Tokyo less than a month when Dean Acheson, shortly to become Under Secretary of State, and his pro-Soviet underlings began their first sharpshooting. The Russians must share in the

administration of Japan. They must be permitted to get a foot in the Japanese door. MacArthur grimly resisted. Through a hundred skirmishes he held his ground against the Communists and their Washington agents and friends. Largely through his personal efforts, the Russian objectives in Japan were thwarted and the country saved from the Reds.

This was during the years that the Marshall-Truman-Acheson trio betrayed Free China into Stalin's hands—the greatest single tragedy that

## Ode to a Harvard Don

### The Vital Center's Vital Center

By MORRIE RYSKIND

I give you Arthur Schlesinger,  
Jehovah's Little Messenger!  
(I trust the *g* is soft in Schlesy—  
Or else the triple rhyme is messy.  
Yet if the *g* be hard—as Harding—  
That shall not stop this bard from barding:  
Bless Harvard and keep blessing her:  
She gave us Arthur Schlesinger!)

I speak, of course, of Arthur, Jr.,  
The Vital Center's Pet Petuniar;  
The Darling of the ADA'ers;  
The soothingest of all soothsayers.  
If Yalta rankles, he, with deft ease,  
Explains it to the Liberal Lefties  
So well that, in their Ivory Tower,  
It's known as Franklin's Finest Hour.

Though some, misled by Fascist plots, damn  
Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam—  
By no such bug can I be bitten,  
For I have read what Arthur's written.  
I know the source: McCarthyism,  
Intended to create a schism.  
So I am deaf when Tory sots damn  
Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam.

From Mounts Olympus and Parnassus,  
Art views (through Roosevelt-colored glasses)  
The antics of the lower classes,  
And passes judgment for the masses.  
Objective, crystal-clear, impartial,  
He hands the laurel wreath to Marshall  
And gives his enemies the bird.  
(MacArthur is a dirty word.)

I thought MacArthur patriotic,  
But now I know that was psychotic;  
Thought Wedemeyer knew the score—  
But now I swear by Lattimore!  
The very thought of John S. Service

Would start my stomach acting nervous—  
But Junior's cleared up my confusions  
And washed my brain of these delusions.

MacArthur right about Korea?  
Says Junior, "Perish the idea!",  
And proves, by Harvard's lucid lore,  
MacArthur would have brought us War.  
How better far the Lovely Truce  
Since Truman cut MacArthur loose!  
Men might be dying in the East now—  
How nice that all the fighting's ceased now!

Are you depressed by mortal ills?  
Use Arthur's Little Liver Pills!  
Must you arise, perforce, at night?  
Let Little Arthur set you right!  
Do you have spots before your eyes?  
Let Little Arthur put you wise!  
Does Jessup keep you from your slumber?  
Call Arthur at his Cambridge number!

Let Arthur Schlesinger appease your  
Misgivings on the Truman seizure;  
Let him point out instead the barren  
And empty workings of McCarran.  
Let Arthur S. shampoo your brain  
And you'll be innocent again  
And ready for the Vital Center—  
Where no Republican may enter.

Though some detect a Leftist Odor,  
He is a Middle-of-the-Roader:  
Yes, there he stands, right in the middle  
Between Hank Wallace and Frank Biddle!

SO

I give you Arthur Schlesinger,  
Jehovah's Little Messenger!

OR

Bless Harvard and keep blessing her:  
She gave us Arthur Schlesinger!

has ever befallen America. The Triumvirate lost China, while MacArthur saved Japan. It is the blunt verdict of time. Little wonder that the Washington junta hated him and bided their time.

### Korea—Bridge to Japan

The Korean story has been too well and too often told to need more than a swift survey here. The unconcern and ignorance in high Administration circles regarding the importance of this strategic peninsula was matched only by the shrewd cunning of Mr. Acheson's young men and advisers—notably the dexterous and omnipresent Owen D. Lattimore, who on July 17, 1949 suggestively wrote in the pink *New York Daily Compass*: "The thing to do is to let South Korea fall, but not let it look as if we pushed it."

Douglas MacArthur had crossed the rugged terrain of this tragic land of thirty million souls during service as his father's aide in 1905, when General Arthur MacArthur was our senior military observer with the Japanese Army in its war against Russia. For hundreds of years the mountainous land had been fought over by Chinese, Manchurian and Japanese armies. It was the land bridge that connected Asia with the Kingdom of the Rising Sun. Its ports are warm-water harbors, and its western and southern tips dominate the entrances to the Yellow Sea and the Sea of Japan, and the water highway to Vladivostok. It was the true prize of the Russo-Japanese War; and 45 years later it was again the objective of the Soviet dreams of conquest in the Asiatic world following the betrayal of free China into Stalin's hands.

On Saturday June 24, Tokyo time, the Russian-trained and equipped North Korean Army drove across the 38th Parallel and sent the inadequate South Koreans reeling in pathetic disorder before it. Months earlier the U. S. State Department had maneuvered its way to complete control over all Korean matters; it did not bother to transmit to the Tokyo Headquarters the warnings it received concerning affairs in the former Hermit Kingdom.

Early Sunday morning MacArthur was awakened to receive a message directing him to use the naval and air forces under his command to assist in the evacuation of civilians fleeing before the North Korean invaders. More than 2000 Americans were taken out without a single loss of life. The following day he was ordered to use his sea and air forces to aid the demoralized South Korean Army, and specifically to hold a beachhead at Pusan.

The old soldier flew in his unarmed plane over the battlefields, and reported to the Pentagon that nothing of consequence could be accomplished unless American ground forces were thrown immediately into the rapidly deteriorating situation. He was told to go ahead.

MacArthur air-ferried such fighting units as he could concentrate overnight; a battalion, then a

regiment; and finally he had a division in the line. The valor and fire power of his handful was enough to cause the North Korean leaders, until then victorious, to deploy their forces and thus slow their advance. He made good in his role of a modern King Canute, commanding the human sea to stop. He performed the miracle although by feeding in his scant units piecemeal he was violating every tenet of warfare. Only the true master dares write his own rules.

Exactly eighteen months to a day after the North Koreans drove headlong across the 38th Parallel, Major General Frank Lowe, who had served faithfully as President Truman's personal representative in Korea, said in an interview with Jim Lucas of Scripps-Howard:

I think MacArthur is the greatest general—strategically and tactically—this world has ever known. It takes fifty years to write history. You and I will not live to read the final verdict, but I'll bet that history fifty years from now will so record. Our people have never gotten so much for so little. In my opinion, his Korean campaign was a masterpiece of strategy and tactics.

### European Isolationists Stage a Comeback

MacArthur's genius for the moment had full expression. Yet he sensed clearly, for the second time, that he must fight a bitter little war at the end of the earth while the Europe Firsters again were being pulled off balance by the magnet of a Europe that had largely lost the will to fight for itself.

He had brooded silently through the long and fertile years of the Japanese occupation. A bare six months before the Reds struck he had read how Dean Acheson, in a speech before the National Press Club, had bluntly excluded Korea from our Pacific defense line. And no lesser authority than the President himself was shortly to declare his Administration's complete disinterest in the fate of Formosa.

And now MacArthur was sent to fight his lonely battles in Korea while the great island of free Chinese refuge with its reservoir of a quarter-million Nationalist troops under Chiang Kai-shek, was blockaded by a U. S. Fleet as though it were a Pacific pesthouse filled with our enemies.

MacArthur's battle-scarred "Bataan" flew him there, and the Acheson clique and the Pretorian Guard of the Pentagon openly began their reprisals. MacArthur did not mind their rebukes. Formosa and its friendly troops must be saved from the Reds at any cost. He was too good an American not to fight for his country with every weapon he could muster.

Only the brilliant Inchon landing saved him from the sharpshooters. Even the President and George Marshall, at that moment Secretary of National Defense, were extravagant in their praise.

From there on it was a hit-and-run drama for MacArthur. He had bagged 100,000 North Koreans

as a result of the Inchon bypass, and an air-drop netted him 30,000 more. On October 20 he crossed the 38th Parallel, victory-bound. The North Koreans were exhausted and impotent when he began his great pursuit. Within a month the leading elements of his troops could look down on the frozen Yalu and a fabulous victory was his. He had known from the start the gamble he was taking, but if he would win he had no other course than this calculated risk.

Then came the night when massed regiments of Red Chinese crossed the ice bridges on a wide front. MacArthur's one hope now was to pierce the human wall and disrupt its plans to envelop him before it could get set. This was the moment to un-wrap his bombers and blast the enemy bases and supply lines, but the UN flunkies forbade him, and forced him to fight against these deadly odds with his best hand tied behind his back.

Feinting, striking, retreating, holding, delaying, counterattacking, he saved his armies—and at the same time pulled the Red hordes deep to the southward, exposing them to his restricted bombing and interdiction. He had turned the trick. He could still have won.

A single bitter paragraph adequately covers that lost opportunity. It records the views of MacArthur's air commander, Lt. General George E. Stratemeyer:

We could have smashed the enemy forces completely if we could have sent our aircraft across the Yalu River at the right time. I had the planes and the boys were anxious to cut loose. General MacArthur wanted me to go ahead. We had control of the air and practically no opposition, except some anti-aircraft. We were prepared to pulverize the Communist airdromes, supply lines and depots so completely that they could not have moved any sufficient number of troops southward. General MacArthur had complete victory within his grasp if they had given him the green light and supported him reasonably.

That was the situation when MacArthur handed the news that his aide, Colonel Sid Huff, had caught by chance on a stateside broadcast: the news of his midnight recall. The reading in the House of a private letter to Joseph Martin had furnished the pretext. At last the Triumvirate had screwed up enough nerve to meat-axe MacArthur—with all the subtlety of an official executioner of Henry VIII.

Only George Marshall remained of the original anti-MacArthur, anti-Pacific Roosevelt-Hopkins-Marshall war trio; the new gang included the names of Acheson and Truman. But it was largely backed by the same crowd: the Europe Firsters, the State Department's Far East Division and UN errand boys, and the Pretorian Guard intriguing in the vast hollow of the Pentagon.

Guns and planes, tanks and men for Europe FIRST. Korea must take second place. The 19,000 dead and the 110,000 battle casualties must wait

to be avenged. As the unintimidated General Lowe remarked when he said that the Joint Chiefs of Staff could think only in terms of Europe, "they want to fight their wars from chateaus." And he added that they resent any diversion of thought or effort to Asia.

Our men on the Korean front can no more understand why we did not aid them with the unlimited use of our air power at the time when it would have swung the scales, than the men of Bataan and Corregidor could understand why no determined attempt was ever made to rescue them. The danger of the present Korean stalemate is deadly clear to these fighting men who face little prospect but frustration and defeat. They sense the year and a quarter of military and political bungling. They know they can be destroyed. This is the tragic price of MacArthur's vindication.

What American has a better right than MacArthur to lay down in Chicago the broad lines for a victory in November? He has never faltered in his Americanism. He has no black marks against him: he has been guilty of no capitulation to the Communist enemy, no betrayal of loyal allies and his own fellow-citizens. No man has a better right to reiterate George Washington's stern and realistic order made at another crisis in America's past: "Let none but Americans stand guard tonight."

## Night Mood, Korea

Tonight there is no moon, no stars  
only clouds lying black and somber  
across the sky  
and land clothed in lenten dress:  
silent, moody. The mood of darkness  
broken only by the sudden flash of guns.  
Then, like the awaited clap of thunder  
the onrush of night conceals men and guns.

Somewhere in the distance  
men tense as the whistling whine  
closes tightly on the ear.  
A phosphorus cauliflower spreads and breaks  
spashing on the hillside.  
Then silence again.  
In the silence of prayer—  
thought-prayer and answer—  
I stand alone on the hilltop.  
My mind with you, brought close to you  
by your latest letter lately arrived.

My eyes see the plain, faint in the dark  
and strain for the sea beyond.  
Thought travels far past sight range  
to you at home.  
The gunflash returns me to the unreal present  
and I descend the hills, my thoughts  
caught half-way between yesterday and tomorrow.

CAPTAIN R. D. CONNOLLY

# A Trap for the GOP

By J. ANTHONY PANUCH

*A former State Department official considers President Truman's latest demand for a two-party foreign policy and finds it calculated to help the Democrats win the election by eliminating the issue of foreign relations from the campaign.*

The Democrats are getting set to win the election and to make their record six straight. They expect to turn the trick with their "national unity" strategy, unveiled recently by President Truman in a political speech before the Americans for Democratic Action. Declaring that the "survival of our country" depends on a foreign policy of "international cooperation" based on a nonpartisan foundation, he equated dissent from a foreign policy *thus defined* with Republican isolationism, which in turn he identified with national disaster. "And the prospect is beginning to scare the voters. And it ought to scare 'em," he warned his audience.

Sold in these terms, foreign policy becomes a sacred cow. Any attack on it is *ipso facto* an attempt to undermine "national unity." It becomes almost impossible for the Republicans to come to grips with the great controversial domestic issues that divide the nation today and involve the survival of our dynamic economy and our way of life. For issues such as socialization through perpetual national emergency and the invocation of "inherent powers," destruction of initiative and incentive through crushing taxation and all-pervasive controls, ruinous military waste, even corruption, can all be explained away as temporary measures or byproducts incident to the requirements of a bipartisan foreign policy. This brilliant strategy is designed to convert the national election into a sort of mass loyalty proceeding in which Republicans can cleanse themselves from charges of isolationism by taking the "me too" pledge on the Administration's foreign policy.

The "national unity" technique may be a sure-fire method of winning elections, but instead of achieving real unity through a great debate on issues involving our security, if not our survival, it freezes the elements of discord in our national life. The divisive character of Mr. Truman's attempt to pin the isolationist tag on the Republican Party is evident when one views its efforts to extricate the country from the Yalta-Potsdam disaster.

It is an ironic fact that the 80th Congress which serves as Mr. Truman's political whipping boy managed, during its tenure, to stem the tide of appeasement. In 1947 its committees made surveys of the recovery requirements of the European countries west of the Iron Curtain. These were led

by Senator (then Congressman) Dirksen and Congressman Herter. The European Recovery Program enacted in 1948 under the leadership of Senator Vandenberg was based on these surveys. It was the 80th Congress which gave wholehearted support to and made possible General Clay's sponsorship of the plan to organize West Germany—now recognized (but only after the bitter lesson of Korea) as the indispensable military anchor of the North Atlantic Pact.

Senator Vandenberg, with Republican Under Secretary of State Lovett, initiated the negotiation of the North Atlantic Pact in 1948. The Administration would have been impotent to follow through with the North Atlantic Treaty military organization had not General Eisenhower taken on the job. The Japanese Treaty and the Pacific Security Pact are due almost entirely to the efforts of John Foster Dulles. Governor Dewey, Congressman Judd and Senator Bridges tried desperately to ward off the catastrophic denouement of our appeasement policy in China in 1948. Had they succeeded, our entry into the disastrous Korean War two years later might have been avoided.

## Diversionsary Propaganda

It is obvious, therefore, that the foreign policy question in the coming election does not involve "bipartisanship," "internationalism" or "isolationism." These are slogans which divert attention from the real question whether or not our policy is achieving national security and world peace. All the term "bipartisan" means is the degree of consultation which the Administration accords the opposition party in the process of policy-formulation. Once adopted, a bipartisan foreign policy is as much a misnomer as a bipartisan income-tax law. Good or bad, everybody is stuck with it; and its day-to-day administration is in the hands of the enormous bureaucracy at the seat of government and overseas.

In his speech before the ADA, Mr. Truman did not talk about the necessity of building up our military striking power to provide a deterrent against Soviet aggression. He said that our "survival" depended on a foreign policy of "international cooperation." A revealing insight into the

sort of policy and the kind of survival Mr. Truman was talking about was provided by one of his chief aides and intimates, Mr. W. Averell Harriman, in his address to another session of the ADA. His remarks were reported by a friend and admirer, Mrs. Dorothy Schiff, publisher of the *New York Post*, in her column of May 25, 1952:

He said with great conviction that although the Kremlin had made great strides around the world in the last five years, they were now on the run. We've got to keep them on the run. The danger to our survival is here, not abroad. McCarthyism must be wiped out. We must move forward without hesitation. We must have Federal Aid for Education, increased medical services, civil rights legislation, control of our waters, more Point-Four aid to underdeveloped countries. Well-equipped allies will keep our boys at home.

Averell isn't worried about an unbalanced budget. We must have an expanding economy. Taxes are an investment in security. *We must plan.* "I don't care," said this former banker, "who calls me a Socialist for using that word!"

Even Democratic skeptics may wonder how we can have the Kremlin "on the run" while one of its minor satellites has us tied up in knots in a bloody and futile war in Korea. With the addition of an international WPA feature, this is the same combination of appeasement and military weakness which dragged us down from our 1945 peak of military, moral and political preeminence to our present low estate. It is the *only* policy which has had bitter and persistent resistance *within* the Administration itself from its very inception.

The way to national unity in a democracy is for its people to understand, to face and to decide the issues that divide them. The supreme mission of our two-party system is to make this matchless regenerative process of democracy function.

### The Real Issue in Foreign Policy

For the past seven years the people of the United States have been deeply divided and confused on the issue of our foreign policy and the men responsible for it. Their doubts have been deepened by the massive propaganda effort made by the Administration and its apologists to "sell" them a policy contrived by the Lattimores, the Harry Whites and the Alger Hisses. They have been shocked by the fact that opposition to this policy within the Administration itself has been consistently and ruthlessly crushed. No amount of high-power propaganda will sell the plain people of this country on the proposition that soldiers like MacArthur and Wedemeyer, diplomats like Bullitt, Hurley, Grew and Lane, New Deal intellectuals like Adolf Berle, hardbitten politicians like Louis Johnson, distinguished public servants like Forrestal and Draper were wrong or insubordinate or activated by ulterior motives in opposing this particular policy. These men had access to vital sources of secret intelligence and policy. Their competence,

character and patriotism have always been and are beyond question.

The foreign policy issue in this election is not isolationism versus internationalism; nor Europe First versus Asia First; nor Air Power versus Balanced Forces; nor Balance of Power versus Collective Security. These are important matters but they are all subordinate to the crucial and all-controlling issue of whether the people of the United States are getting global and domestic social reform in a "rearmament" wrapper, instead of national security. This is a "sleeper" issue which the bipartisan strategy is designed to keep out of the election, at all costs.

But brilliant strategy can not indefinitely postpone popular decision on an issue so vital as national security or social reform. If the great threat to our national security—if not to our survival—is the armed might and aggressive imperialism of the Soviet Union, the nature of the menace is essentially military. It must be held in check by the requisite armed striking power, based on economic solvency coupled with an accommodating diplomacy. Everything else must be subordinate. Judged by these criteria, our foreign policy is a ghastly failure, as its Korean debacle proves.

### National Security or Social Reform

In fact, it can only be explained on the theory that despite the bloody and futile war in Korea, the men who influence our national policy regard the Soviet menace as essentially ideological. On this hypothesis, its threat to our way of life by the promise of a better life under communism must be "contained" not by military means, but by social reform of that part of the world which has not yet experienced Stalin's beneficence. At home, its menace must be combated by a stepped-up program of domestic social reform. The role of the rearmament effort, in this unique approach to the problem of our survival, is twofold: first, to provide a patriotic front for the reform program and the national emergency setting. Second, to generate the productive anarchy, the "stretchouts," the controls, the social tensions, and the industrial warfare and unrest which the technique for the social reform of the United States requires.

The Hon. H. R. S. Crossman, Labor member of the British Parliament and an editor of the socialist *New Statesman and Nation*, published an explicit blueprint of the program of reform as envisaged by the British Socialists and the Fair Dealers. What he says is regarded as *ex cathedra* by both groups. In the *Nation* (U. S.) of December 16, 1950, he wrote:

Theoretically, there is no reason why American capitalism should not come to some sort of arrangement with Moscow, and hold to it, as Hitler foolishly refused to do. . . .

We are coming to realize in Britain that the Cold War . . . is a struggle of ideas in which free enter-



prise is not the protagonist of the Western side but the chief obstacle to our victory. . . . The cold war, in fact, is not only a menace but a creative force. If the Fair Dealer and the Socialist understand their job, the cold war will enable us to reconstruct the non-Communist world in a way that would have been totally impossible had the Russians been willing to work with us peacefully in 1945. . . .

The American people alone have the right to decide whether their survival shall depend on real military security or on global and domestic reform as depicted by the Messrs. Crossman and Harriman;

whether they wish to have their free economy liquidated as a necessary prerequisite to Fair Deal success in gaining an ideological victory over Stalin's brand of Marxism; whether they want any part of this program or of the messianic bureaucrats who are trying to saddle it on the country. They can decide only if the Republican platform recognizes that the real issue in the coming election is national security or social reform; and if the Republican nominee takes that issue to the country, backed by a united party.

# A New Key to Power

By GARET GARRETT

*A well-known political economist finds that the Administration's frequent shift of emphasis from defense to civilian production—and back—is a new leverage of power over the American economy.*

The news of war and peace and foreign policy and what happens on the production lines is now a running cryptogram to which the key is like a military secret. You are not expected to react to it in the spirit of a willing and intelligent citizen. You couldn't if you would. What your government expects is that you will react automatically to something it does with Regulation W.

Take it for six months. The situation at the beginning of 1952 was that butter had won over guns. From a marvelous increase in the productive power of the country the net result was that while civilian life had been hurt not at all, the rearmament program was in the lurch. Not one of its first goals was in sight. For every three planes that had been expected only one had appeared: tanks were 40 per cent behind schedule, electronics 30 per cent behind, and so on; and the Senate's Preparedness Committee was making such a scandal about it that the Defense Mobilizer flew to Key West to reassure the President. The program, he said, was up to *his* schedules, because his had been realistic, whereas people were talking about the Pentagon's schedules, which had been wishful thinking.

However that might be, the one clear fact was that the national economy was rich and resourceful enough to stand a much faster rate of preparation for war.

In his annual Economic Report, January 16, the President said:

As 1952 opens we face a period during which the burden of the defense program will increase greatly—both in absolute terms and relative to the total size and strength of the economy. This increasing

burden, while indispensable to our security, will place an additional strain upon our manpower, our physical plant, our natural resources and our standard of living.

Now suppose at that time you had reacted by taking your belt in three holes, saying to yourself, "I will do my part." A month later you would have felt absurd, because in February the news was that by decision of the President the schedules of the Air Force program had been revised downward. The goal of 143 wings had been pushed forward two years. Why? Not for want of money, but to avoid putting an undue strain upon the economy. This was called a calculated risk—that is, a gamble on the chance that we should have two more years to get ready. And this notwithstanding some very ominous statements from the military authorities—one by the Secretary of the Air Force, saying the Russians were building planes faster than we were, and another from the Chief of Staff of the Air Force saying we were in danger of losing air supremacy over Korea.

From that time until now, trying to make sense of the news has been a losing struggle for the citizen who wants only to know what the truth is.

Men from the Pentagon and the State Department appearing at the Capitol to defend the Administration's military budget, all of them asking for more billions than they can spend, have intoned the theme of fear. The people, they have said, do not seem to realize that civilization is in jeopardy, that the crisis is present, that time is running out, that the implacable enemy is closing in.

At the same time the planners, controlling the stops on the economic organ, have been playing

another tune. Their theme has been that first of all the civilian economy must prosper, else we shall not have the strength to overcome the enemy. Therefore, the restraints upon it have been progressively relaxed. Materials that had been scarce have become suddenly almost plentiful. There would be enough steel and aluminum for everybody after all. Then credit restrictions began to be eased. States and municipalities were again free to sell bonds for public works. Plans for a voluntary rationing of credit by the banks went back on the shelf. Then at length, in order to increase the consumer's immediate buying power, the light in Regulation W was switched from red to green, which meant go ahead, since of course if production for civilian use was going to increase the people must have either the money or the credit to buy the goods.

### Which Side of the News?

With what result? With this perfectly mad sequence—that on a day in May, when the department stores in full-page ads were offering nearly every kind of thing to satisfy the wants of a civilian with “no down payment and two years to pay,” the Army Chief of Staff said to a Senate Committee:

Some of the more important ammunition types have been rationed because World War II stocks are just about gone and production still does not equal normal battle expenditures. If combat in Korea should continue, or if our troops in Europe were attacked, we would have no reserves of some of the most important types of ammunition.

Now what is the news? Civilization in the balance, ammunition running out, a booming civilian economy deliberately stimulated from Washington with easy credit.

How shall the citizen react? Shall he buy ice boxes and television sets and motor cars to support civilian prosperity, as evidently the government wishes him to do? Shall he stop reading the other side of the news? Or shall he take it from General MacArthur, who says:

Talk of imminent threat to our national security through the application of external force is pure nonsense . . . Indeed, it is a part of the general pattern of misguided policy that our country is now geared to an arms economy which was bred in an artificially induced psychosis of war hysteria and nurtured upon an incessant propaganda of fear. While such an economy may produce a sense of seeming prosperity for the moment, it rests on an illusionary foundation of complete unreliability and renders among our political leaders *almost a greater fear of peace than is their fear of war.* [Italics supplied.]

Nevertheless, there is a key to this confusion. To suppose it were meaningless would be stupid. There is purpose in it, and Machiavellian calculation, and the concealment of a new technique of

power in the hands of government to control the economy. It would not be the first time that what happens had already happened and was acting before it could be identified by the people as a revolutionary thing.

Go back to the beginning of the year, when the decision was made to stretch out the defense program and give the civilian economy a boom. What was the problem then? The problem was that, contrary to government plans, all markets were turning soft. Prices were falling. Briefly, there was danger of deflation.

Now for a government that has staked its life on the undertaking to maintain full employment, to keep the economy in a state of equilibrium and to banish depression from the list of human evils, signs of deflation are terrifying. And nothing, not even a war for which we were ill prepared, could be more disastrous politically than deflation in an election year. Therefore, it must not be.

There was a choice between two lines of action. One way to prevent a bad fall in prices was to speed up the defense program. The effect of that would be to increase the money supply, with no increase—with, in fact, a decrease—in the production of goods for civilian use. Thus, more money in the hands of the people and fewer goods to spend it for. But that would mean simply more inflation, and more inflation with a scarcity of goods would be a serious political liability in an election year.

The other way to prevent a bad fall in prices was to let wages rise, open the credit gates and start the civilian economy on a buying spree. That was the course adopted.

And it worked. Shortly before mid-year it appeared that the recession had been stopped in its tracks. But suppose it had not worked. Or suppose even now it should cease to work, with deflationary forces rising again. What then? Would the planners be defeated? Not at all. The alternative is as it was. The other course is still open. At any time the defense program may be stepped up, with such effects as have been indicated, namely, an increase of the money supply from greater military disbursements and no increase of civilian goods to spend it for.

### Answer to a Riddle

So we come to the key.

Hitherto the means by which the government acted upon the economy were such as price control, wage control, subsidies, credit control, allocation of materials, monetary policy and—more or less compensatory spending by government.

The limitation, as every planner knew, was that for purposes of compensatory spending by government there was never anything big enough. Roads, irrigation works, regional valley developments like TVA, all the WPA projects anybody could think up

—none of these things nor all of them together was ever big enough. It was for that reason, among others, that the New Deal's scheme of compensatory spending broke down, so that Recovery was in trouble and a new depression was on its way when the defense program of 1938-1939 began. Then came World War II, and that certainly was big enough, but of course only while it lasted. Furthermore, for purposes of compensatory spending you not only need something that is big enough, and something that will be continuous, but also something that will touch the economy not just here and there but everywhere, to absorb all kinds of materials and every kind of labor. *The one ideal solution is perpetual war.*

There we have it.

On the instrument panel of government control there now is one great dial marked WAR. It can be set for any degree of war that may be deemed necessary. The pressure behind it is constant. The pressure of course is money, and it is constant owing to the way military appropriations are made. The appropriations annually made by Congress for the military establishment do not represent money that shall be spent in the next twelve months; they represent instead the estimated cost of programs running for two, three and four years into the future, so that at any given time the military establishment has on hand tens of billions of unexpended balances. These unexpended balances are the pressure behind the dial marked WAR. In May when the Army Chief of Staff was telling Congress that ammunition was being rationed in Korea because production was not equal to the normal battle expenditure of ammunition—at that time the military establishment had on hand unexpended balances estimated at \$60 billion.

At a convocation of eminent economists several weeks ago the consensus was that nobody could make an intelligent guess as to the probable course of prices for the last half of the year for the reason that nobody could say what the government was going to spend for war—mark you, not what the size of the military budget was, since that was known, but what the government actually would spend for armaments. That is to say, the set of the dial marked WAR.

Who set it back last February? You do not know. Certainly Congress did not do it. It was an act of Executive Government. Who may set it ahead in July? Again, Executive Government, not Congress. Neither Congress nor the citizen may know until afterward that it has been changed. You may only feel it.

So now the mechanism of control is complete. And whereas it was foreseen that when Executive Government is resolved to control the economy it will come to have a vested interest in the power of inflation, so now we may perceive that it will come to have a kind of proprietary interest also in the institution of perpetual war.

## This Is What They Said

Owen Lattimore did his own thinking and look how his services were appreciated.

ZACHARIAH CHAFEE, JR., "Civil Liberties Under Attack," 1952

He [Stalin] is a human fellow to deal with. He has a keen sense of humor, which he allowed full play even in conference.

W. AVERELL HARRIMAN, quoted in *Newsweek*, November 3, 1941

Who started the [Korean] war and how was still a mystery, as it is still a mystery just how we got into the Spanish-American War.

I. F. STONE, "Hidden History of the Korean War," 1952

The more Howard Fast writes about history, the wider, deeper and truer his understanding of its inner meaning.

DOROTHY CANFIELD, "Book of the Month Club News," May 1943

I have the greatest admiration for your famous leader, my good friend, President Trujillo. He did away with chaos and disorder, had foresight and principles, and his words were as good as his actions. . . . I have now found that his work has been a triumph, and that progress is on the march under the guidance of a great man. I can tell you that you have one of the greatest men in the world, a great man in any age.

JOSEPH E. DAVIES, banquet speech in Cuidad Trujillo, reported in the *Dominican Republic*, October 1946

If there is to be a profound change in the economic system, no doubt the Russians would expect it to come by revolutionary methods, as would many people. But this does not in the least mean that they want to use their political influence to start revolutions in other countries. In fact, just the opposite is the case. This I can say with certainty, as I have had it direct from Mr. Stalin himself and it has been stated publicly by the Soviet Government on more than one occasion recently. The Russians do not want to interfere with the internal affairs of other countries. They wish to follow a policy of live and let live.

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS, "Twenty Russian Questions," *Life*, September 3, 1942

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

# Bishop Oxnam vs. Dr. Haushalter

[In the Freeman of June 2 and June 16, The Rev. Walter M. Haushalter was sharply critical of clergymen so dazzled by the humanitarian window-dressing of communism that they fail to see the inhuman, anti-religious terror behind it. In that connection he mentioned Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam (late of the New York Methodist area, now of Washington) who promptly objected. Below we print Bishop Oxnam's letter, followed by Dr. Haushalter's bill of particulars.

THE EDITORS]

My attention has been brought to an article that appeared in the June 2, 1952 number of the *Freeman* entitled, "Our Leftist Clergy," written by Dr. Walter M. Haushalter. He states:

Liberal American churchmen talk glibly of "the new man created by the Communist state where capitalism and the profit motive have been abolished." This statement, used by one of them, could be attributed to any of a dozen of their leaders, such as Bishop Bromley Oxnam and Dr. Harry Ward.

Will you be good enough to request Dr. Haushalter to give the source of his information? I have never made any such statement at any time, and the statement completely misrepresents me. The least we can expect, it seems to me, of a clergyman is sufficient of the brotherly spirit to make inquiry before making a statement. Since his statement in my case is false, I would appreciate it very much if you would request him to make proper correction in your paper.

G. BROMLEY OXNAM  
Bishop of the Methodist  
Church, The New York Area

New York City

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam sends me a carbon of his letter calling on you to require of me a correction of the statement I made about him in my recent articles in the *Freeman*. So far from correcting the statement, I reaffirm it, and offer documentation. When the Bishop says I did not have the "brotherly spirit" to inquire before making my statement, he is off key. I have read his writings with painful concern for ten years. On rereading them I find that his socialistic, pro-communistic pronouncements are shockingly stronger than I intimated in my articles.

Bishop Oxnam's books prohibit verbatim citation of his communistic sentiments. "No part of the text may be reproduced in any form without written permission of the publishers." With this prohibition on quotation, my only alternative is to refer to pages and lines of his books. This I do with the assurance that every rational mind will come up with the same answer that I now submit.

In Bishop Oxnam's "Labor and Tomorrow's World" (1944), in the chapter, "The Worker Speaks—the Communist," he does precisely what I described the liberal-Communist as doing: he dodges (page 132, lines 3-8) the Communist horrors and atrocities. What elicits his praise is the spirit of the Russian Communist. The Communist spirit he rhapsodizes over as heroic and willing to die for its ends, non-profit and living for vast human purposes.

Any clergyman who can not recognize a wolf is no safe custodian for Christ's flock. This bloody Russian wolf emerges from his Kremlin den, and has devoured and is devouring millions of Christ's lambs and sheep. Bishop Oxnam rises above these bloody details to praise the heroism, devotion, world-emancipating evangelism of this non-profit, bloody-jawed, Christian-killing wolf. Read pages 130-136, concluding with the Bishop's endorsement of Laski's eulogy to the Soviet, and you must conclude that Bishop Oxnam is a positive advocate for communism as he defines communism on page 111, line 30. Not permitted to quote his precise words, I refer you to these passages, and will furnish many more references to his other works if you request, all heavily loaded, I regret to relate, with pro-communism.

What makes Bishop Oxnam's communistic leanings so distasteful are his oft-repeated slurs on American industry. Read his "Preaching in a Revolutionary Age" (pp. 74, 132, 133), his indictment of the "unjust economic order" as cursed with the sin of profit-making, money-making, and you will understand why American businessmen, newsboys, bankers, preachers, coal miners, coal operators and all, get mad. American business is not founded on profit, but SERVICE. Only as a newsboy, oil operator, or even a Bishop, renders a service, does he reap profit. And there are millions of American businessmen from newsboys to coal operators who render great service and get no profit, because they are caught between the high taxes and the depreciated dollar of Bishop Oxnam's welfare state.

Add to all this Bishop Oxnam's record as public sponsor for pro-Communist fronts. Eleven times he has been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities for connections with pro-Soviet, pro-Communist, and subversive groups.

Meantime the Russian wolf goes on frightfully devouring Christ's flock behind the Iron Curtain. Bishop Oxnam says it is a non-capitalistic, non-profit, and in a cosmic way a humanity-loving wolf. But as this bloody-jawed wolf looks toward my side of the world, I wanted that my fellow-clergy and I might develop a technique for the recognizing of wolves and the proper treatment of wolves who would destroy Christ's flock. To this intent I wrote my articles.

WALTER M. HAUSHALTER  
Rector, Episcopal Church of  
St. Luke and the Epiphany

Philadelphia, Pa.

# FEPC Is a Fraud

By **GEORGE S. SCHUYLER**

*The brilliant Negro journalist whose Freeman article "The Phantom American Negro" attained world-wide circulation unmasks the totalitarian motive behind the demand for a Federal FEPC.*

However posterity may rank Dr. Truman as a President, there is unanimous agreement that his reputation as a demagogue is secure. The civil rights controversy which he cannily launched in time for the crucial 1948 campaign (but never mentioned in Dixie speeches) stirred such a cacophony of obfuscating propaganda as has rarely flabbergasted *homo Americanus*. Pragmatically it was a natural because it saved the New-Fair Deal by a narrow margin despite the Dixiecrat insurrection.

Politicians fearful of losing their places at the government trough or panting to get into it were frightened or fascinated, depending upon the size of their Black-and-Tan constituencies or the prevalence of Negrophobia in their bailiwicks. The Ethiops (whose balloting increasingly makes the difference between political victory and defeat) unanimously espoused it. That amorphous collection of Planners, Leftists, self-proclaimed intellectuals, professional Race hustlers, assorted welfarists and global good-willers yclept Liberals were solidly behind it, fearful that the Danes and Okinawans might dislike us despite our generous handouts. Save in the regions of endemic Kluxery, the run of the reverend clergy were for it. Indeed, all who bowed three times daily toward the sacred memorial at Hyde Park gurgled their praise. Surely no more effective political gimmick had been concocted since the Wagner Act made "Labor" a Democratic captive.

Simultaneously its most vocal opponents, largely from the malarial wastes of the Southern steppes and piedmont, only half-heartedly attacked it. Their old-time bigoted virulence enervated by a generation of unprecedented patronage and graft, they tempered their strictures with hasty professions of undying love for old Mammy Chloe who once sang them to sleep after fourteen hours of drudgery for four bits a day—plus leftovers. It was indicative of the changed racial atmosphere in the Land of the Free that the idea of fair play for the lowly Moor was so generally accepted despite the serious shortcomings in practice. The Commander-in-Chief was canny enough to case the trend and cash in on it.

Some visiting refugee miraculously escaped from the Gulag camps of Kamchatka might well be puzzled by the strident clamor for civil rights upon

learning that these are already embodied in the Federal and state constitutions and progressively implemented by legislation over the past ninety years to protect the colored citizen, although too often honored in the breach. Undoubtedly he would find the explanation for the sudden Fair Deal interest in the illuminating admission of the haberdasher from the Pendergast badlands, made privately to Representative Boykin of Alabama during the hectic 1948 campaign: "I don't believe in this thing any more than you do, Frank, but we need it in order to win."

The President has certainly grown in his affection for our largest minority since the 1944 election campaign. Interviewed in Independence, Missouri, by Morris Milgram, then secretary of the Workers Defense League, the Vice-Presidential nominee expressed the fear that Negroes had grown too uppity. They had, he said, started "push days" in St. Louis and Washington, D. C., when they jostled white folks off street cars, and for that reason he was reluctant to send Margaret downtown on Thursdays. He was dubious about the early arrival of interracial justice in Independence, asserting that there never would be a time when Negroes would eat in the local lunchrooms. He was undoubtedly correct there, since no one has reported any such phenomenon.

## **A Package Deal of Special Legislation**

Since 1947 when the civil rights program was unveiled, it has been tossed around like a basketball by the Harlem Globetrotters. This year it is causing aspirants for public office to shake like an Arkansas hillbilly with the ague, especially where there is a sizable colored constituency goading them for absolute commitments. Mere mention of FEPC makes the politicians jump like harpooned souls in Dante's Inferno. Political platforms being the sucker bait they are, there is likely to be a plank in each one genuflecting to civil rights and promising to enact an FEPC law instanter.

Aside from this proposed law which will be discussed later, the two principal civil rights measures are an anti-lynching and an anti-poll-tax law, along with ancillary legislation to end segregation and discrimination based on race and color in the defense forces, the District of Columbia, and so

forth. In short, the civil rights program is a package deal of all the special legislation pressed on Congress for decades to aid the colored brethren in their long upward climb to equality. This is surely a sincere, commendable and desirable goal, but one may be excused for wondering if the best way to reach it is to loose an additional swarm of bureaucrats upon the innumerable private businesses and labor organizations already paralyzed by red tape and regulation.

The anti-lynching proposal would make mob violence a Federal crime, punishing negligent law officers and benighted counties in which hapless citizens are done to death by two or more killers. Hypocritical politicians, aware of the measure's unconstitutionality but gandering the Aframerican vote, have mooded for years for its enactment. All states have laws against murder, and lynching is murder, whether committed by two or two hundred persons. Naturally all good citizens are against murder as they are against all sin, but the more inquisitive want to know what becomes of state sovereignty when local police power is superseded. They wonder also if a dangerous precedent is not established when Washington can step in and nab sheriffs and district attorneys who fail to collar murderers. Knowing of the President's seizure of the steel companies *without* legal precedent or sanction (and the subsequent frantic effort to find one), they may be pardoned for being dubious about the uses to which a Federal anti-lynching law might be put by some Chief Executive as impatient of Constitutional and Congressional restraints as Dr. Truman.

It is well to recall that laws enacted for one purpose have frequently been used for another quite unrelated. From 1868 to 1911, the U. S. Supreme Court handed down 604 decisions in cases involving the Fourteenth Amendment, bulwark of Negro rights; but only 28 of them affected Negro rights, and 22 of these were against Negro interests.

It is indeed desirable to protect the unfortunate colored fallen among Nordic Neanderthals, but this proposed legislation would seem to encompass also the far more numerous unsolved killings resulting from industrial conflicts. Is Uncle Sam to step in whenever a mob on the Brooklyn docks ventilates a rival hood and the cops can not collar the culprits? Is Cook County, Illinois, to be docked \$10,000 because its gendarmes can find no witnesses to the unfortunate demise of a foreman or "scab" whose neck was cracked by the overturn of his coupe at the factory gates? From removing officials and fining counties for tolerating these heinous crimes, would it be such a long step to ousting and fining them for *any* dereliction offensive to Washington? Would this be democratic? Clearly such a law would be greatly to the liking of those who find local autonomy an irksome and intolerable obstacle to the fruition of totalitarian schemes.

But aside from these ominous speculations, what

compelling necessity is there today for a Federal anti-lynching law? Does mob murder currently constitute a national menace? At the turn of the century it claimed a victim every four days; now it takes one, sometimes two a year. While this still is deplorable, it is scarcely cause for undue alarm in a nation of 155 million diverse people scattered over an area the size of Europe.

Again, is a Federal measure to outlaw payment of a poll tax as a requirement for voting necessary or wise? Whatever may have been the design of those who enacted poll-tax laws, it can not be gainsaid that this is a right of the states which can not constitutionally be taken away. In no case is a poll tax more than a couple of dollars, and there is no record of politicians anywhere refusing payment. Moreover, only five of the 48 states levy poll taxes. Meanwhile, thanks to extensive public education, favorable court decisions and the effectiveness of Negro newspapers and organizations, the colored vote everywhere increases, and it is estimated that two million Southern Negroes will vote in the forthcoming election. The problem now, as with the white citizens, is to get them to the polls.

### Dictator's Delight

Turning now to FEPC, perusal of the several bills cluttering the Congressional committee pigeon-holes discloses that they would authorize a Presidential fair employment practices commission of from five to seven members getting from \$10,000 to \$20,000 annually, with power further to curtail the freedom of private businesses and labor unions. This would be accomplished by investigative, regulatory and punitive powers as to employment and membership policies. Failure to post the FEPC notice in factory, store or union hall would get a \$500 fine, and there would be a similar fine plus a year in the hoosegow for anybody who would "forcibly resist, oppose, impede, intimidate or interfere with a member, agent, or employee of the Commission" which, incidentally, would have "authority from time to time to issue, amend, or rescind suitable regulations to carry out the provisions of this Act." Would it be too difficult to amend such an act to apply to businesses with *less* than the fifty employees which all the bills stipulate?

What a dictator's delight! No wonder the Planners are so avid for FEPC. Marching under its shielding protection they could sap the foundations of free enterprise and free labor under guise of protecting the underprivileged. Who could ask for more? These people have never recovered from the heavy slugs of totalitarian hooch they guzzled during the halcyon days of the Blue Eagle, the WPA, the PWA, the plowing up of cotton rows and the slaughter of little pigs. They yearn for a return to those heady draughts of the Roosevelt Era. They want another hair of the dog that bit them.

FEPC is just what the Fabians ordered. The

new swarm of desk-scarring functionaries required to police all private business and unions could easily be amended to produce the desired results. The Commission sitting in Washington with tentacles in every state and territory would be as helpful politically to the Administration as its other tax-fed machines. It is to be noted, in passing, that the bills define "commerce" as meaning "trade, traffic, commerce, transportation, or communication among the several States; or between any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia and any place outside thereof; or within the District of Columbia or any Territory; or between points in the same State but through any point outside thereof." By "employer" is meant not only actual bosses of fifty or more workers but "any person acting in the interest of an employer, directly or indirectly."

Of course this excludes a whole lot of businesses, perhaps the majority of them, and would thereby seem to be discriminatory. Why should a boss hiring thirty workers be permitted to discriminate against Jews, Negroes, Mexicans, Finns or Puerto Ricans, while one with fifty employees is haled before the Commission for doing so? Is a candy store with six workers to be permitted to hire only white clerks while a candy factory with a hundred employees is not? Is this a plot against big business? How ironical that a proposed law against discrimination should be based on discrimination!

The bills for punitive FEPC say: "This Act shall not apply to any State or municipality or political subdivision thereof, or to any religious, charitable, fraternal, social, educational, or sectarian corporation or association, *not organized for private profit* [italics mine], other than labor organizations."

Why the discrimination against private business? The various states, counties and towns together are the largest employers of labor after the Federal government. Apparently they can discriminate as much as they choose for purposes of political expediency, racial animosity or religious bigotry, but the private employer with fifty workers can not.

Consider a hypothetical religious publishing house which employs only Catholics, Protestants, Mormons or Jews. Regardless of the number of workers, it can continue to exclude from jobs whomsoever it chooses; but a newspaper across the street with fifty employees does not have this privilege. What is fair about such practice?

Similarly, a university owns a laundry, factory, publishing house and perhaps other enterprises employing hundreds of workers, but the FEPC law does not touch it. This is not true, however, where a labor union owns identical enterprises. Why the discrimination against labor unions? There are fraternal, religious, charitable and sectarian organizations owning millions of dollars worth of enterprises whose products are in commerce, but they can discriminate on the basis of

color, race, religion or nationality as much as they choose under the proposed law. Would those who want to discriminate have to be legal Einsteins to find ways and means of getting around such a law?

### The Obstacle of Traditional Prejudice

If we are to judge by the experience of the eleven states and score of communities having FEPC laws, the amount of relief the victims of job discrimination would get is problematical. New York pioneered with State FEPC and its law became effective July 1, 1945. Its State Commission Against Discrimination (SCAD), copied elsewhere, relies very heavily upon education, although it has strong punitive powers.

Despite the Empire State's deserved reputation for tolerance and liberality, SCAD from the beginning appreciated the dangers in getting too tough in the face of traditional patterns of behavior. In its 1948 report it admitted that "It would be of little avail if compulsive action on the basis of individual complaints resulted in temporary compliance which could only be maintained by a policing operation that in the end would assume formidable proportions."

How much truer would this be in states where the proportion of Negroes is greater, racial liberality less and traditional patterns more rigid and unyielding? Certainly the policing operation would be far more extensive nationally than anything we have known. Since all FEPC bills specify that officials in the various regions and states be residents thereof, they would certainly not be uninfluenced by local mores. They would be likely to make decisions in accordance with what they and their friends deemed best.

In its first five and one-half years of operation, SCAD had a total of only 1860 complaints, with two-thirds thrown out for insufficient evidence. Two-thirds of the complaints were based on color. Of the 986 respondents dealt with during this period, 617 were found guilty and desisted. Resistance came more from foremen and superintendents than owners or workers. Nevertheless it is significant that SCAD admits that minority group workers know which types of jobs, firms and industries are closed to them, and avoid making applications for such work. Moreover these workers are admitted to be skeptical of the law, with only 8 per cent even aware of its existence. Only 69 per cent of the Jews and 52 per cent of the Negroes quizzed believed the law to be efficient.

After two and one-half years' operation it required three months to dispose of a case. By that time the average worker, if he survived hunger, would have another job. Only 243 persons during this period actually obtained jobs after filing complaints. Some idea of what an operation of this kind would cost on a nation-wide scale can be gathered from the fact that during 1947 when

SCAD had a case load of 458 and a staff of 22, it cost New York's taxpayers \$420,000, or almost \$900 a case. Moreover, for every complaint this agency received, the New York State Employment Service continued to get dozens of illegal requests for workers, with over 80 per cent involving discrimination against Negroes and over 10 per cent against Jews. Significantly SCAD refrains from commenting on this phenomenon in its annual reports. How would this work nationally, especially in more racially bigoted areas? How much more force would a Federal Commission have to use to get results?

One of the difficulties SCAD has encountered has been the widespread lack of industrial training among Negroes and Puerto Ricans who come largely from agricultural and industrially retarded areas. This facilitates a discrimination which is not always motivated by consideration of race, creed or color but sometimes by incapacity. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that without any Federal law, colored workers (now 95 per cent employed) are being progressively trained and integrated in industry and commerce. In April 1950 the proportion of whites in manufacturing was 50 per cent greater than that of Negroes; a year later it was only 30 per cent, and in durable goods only 13 per cent.

The proportion of non-whites employed as operatives rose from 21.9 per cent in April 1950 to 24.5 per cent a year later. Although Negro employment rose 15 per cent, gains ranging from 75 to 95 per cent were recorded in trade, manufacturing and construction. In the same period employment of whites in these fields rose only 26 per cent. While employment in manufacturing rose 31 per cent among whites, it went up 81 per cent among Negroes. Employment of colored folk as salesmen, craftsmen, foremen and operatives doubled, while in clerical and kindred occupations it quadrupled. In the meantime whites in sales jobs went up only 28 per cent, and in clerical pursuits 52 per cent. In 1940 Negroes got 9 per cent of total placements in trade; they got 30 per cent 11 years later.

These statistics from the U. S. Department of Labor scarcely bear out the horrendous propaganda about doors being closed in the faces of capable and ambitious Negroes, which is the basis of the bid for FEPC.

If New York's law, while admittedly productive of some effect in ending job discrimination, has fallen considerably short of expectations, would a Federal law be more effective? Even so, would it be worth the risk of strengthening the bureaucratic clutch on business without appreciably improving the employment status of minorities?

### Sanity or Stampede?

Since admittedly there is still widespread job discrimination based on color, race, religion and nationality, can nothing be done about it? Most

assuredly there can, and without the serious risk of a Federal law. First, there are already eleven states with FEPC laws and they contain 40 per cent of the American population, mostly industrial. Such laws have at least compelled some of the big companies to liberalize their employment policies. And they have at least been brought about through the will of the states.

Again, there is the long and effective campaign of the interracial National Urban League over the last forty years to find wider employment for capable Negro workers. This has resulted in the placement of thousands of colored men and women in skilled, technical and administrative positions. The League recently organized a commerce and industry council, headed by Winthrop Rockefeller, which seeks to encourage business and industry to make much fuller use of the tremendous Negro labor potential. Functioning in all industrial centers, it should prove an effective stimulant.

There is also the recently formed National Negro Labor Committee composed of colored and white labor leaders working toward the same end. Since all of the proposed FEPC legislation relies heavily upon education and persuasion through local and state voluntary councils, why can not existing private agencies eventually produce the results anticipated from a Federal law?

If it is felt that progress is too slow and that the prestige of the Federal government is needed to stimulate reluctant businesses and labor unions to lift the color bar, why not enact the bill introduced by Representative Hays of Arkansas?

The Hays bill would enact a Minorities Employment Act to function through the Secretary of Labor with the cooperation of the United States Employment Service, with a paid Director, with local, regional and state advisory councils, and a National Advisory Council on Minority Problems with seven members representing employers, employees, and the public. This set-up would receive and investigate complaints charging discrimination and seek to eliminate them by mediation and conciliation. It would "investigate and study the character, causes, and extent of discrimination in general" and seek the best methods of eliminating it by cooperation "with employers, labor organizations, and other private and public agencies." It would require no huge bureaucracy, no big bite of the taxpayer's shrinking dollar, no court cases with fines and imprisonment for offenders.

Naturally such gradualism does not appeal to demagogues and totalitarians bent on pushing through a punitive law tightening centralized controls over free enterprise and free labor unions in the name of justice and fair play for minorities—a measure which would be ineffective, expensive, discriminatory, and perhaps unconstitutional.

Can sane considerations prevail over the well-organized stampede for this latest political fraud? Perhaps, but don't be too sanguine.





# Arts and Entertainments



By WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

There are in history moments of shock when a dreadful emptiness of culture, long sensed by the few, suddenly becomes visible to all. And then there is horror because the humblest of men knows in his heart that societies can survive potato famines but must die of cultural starvation.

We are going through just such a moment. No year in living memory was so barren, so void of artistic quality, so painfully vulgar on stage and screen and in the novel, as this incredible season of 1951-52. There is not even the consolation that the debacle was confined to America, nor the kind of relief a sick man gets from conflicting diagnoses: the entire civilized world is compelled to mark the past year as one of unparalleled sterility.

Some of my neighbors, pious and searching souls, take that cultural atrophy merely as one more sign of the approaching doom—social doom if they happen to believe in secular scriptures, and quite literal doom if they are moved by the authentic apocalypse. The evidence in favor of the apocalyptic hypothesis is impressive (especially the prophesied complacency of culture's *arrivé* officeholders in the face of the unmistakable bust), but I see no need for either the sociological or the teleological interpretation of the debacle. Until further notice, I am satisfied with this rather simple private theory of mine:

The mechanistic cliché that only great societies and great moments of history produce great art seems to me demonstrably false. Art is not the thermometer of social climate. It grows from the character and self-discipline of talented individuals. Tomorrow we might learn that a great novel had been written in Buffalo, New York. And today our arts are dying because our artists are spoiled brats: the arts have dried out because the artists have ruined their characters with greed for negotiable applause, and have soiled their talents with infantile cynicism.

This, I realize, is a somewhat bold if not primitive generalization which I shall have to validate on subsequent returns to the subject. But before I do, I should like to call your attention to a lucid essay by Mrs. Diana Trilling in the *New York Times Book Review* (June 15) on the corruption of the contemporary novel. Inquiring what must happen "when a whole artistic generation suddenly goes childish," she finds: "Our present novels . . . are fashion-drawings of what the sophisticated modern mind wears in its misery—and it is no

accident that their authors are so welcome in the pages of our expensive fashion magazines."

Anything but an accident. Ours is the most futile *avant garde* of all time precisely because it is the most prosperous. I do not mean to say, of course, that the artist, to succeed, must be kept in the garret. But his creativeness begins to sicken the moment he treats it primarily as a means of plushy income; and it dies dependably when he fashions it to fit the market. The fall of the contemporary artist occurred when he formed the monstrous notion that he is *entitled* to sell his soul.

In prosperous journalism (the lowest but perhaps most characteristic level of creativeness) I have observed the perverse consequences of that cynicism. Talented journalists deem it not only permissible to work for enterprises whose tone and stated purpose they despise, but deeply suspect the few who happen to agree with what they are doing. (When the gifted begin to consider prostitution their inalienable right, how far away can doomsday be?) For the first time in history, I think, atheists deem it entirely proper to enhance the effectiveness of publications dedicated to religious revivals, leftists proudly insist on their God-given right to edit conservative journals; and the only debt they all admit they owe to their talents is their claim to a career. For child psychologists, the diagnosis is a cinch: spoiled, cynical youngsters with all the earmarks of chronic immaturity.

But in this the journalists have merely been the pace-setters for the entire creative breed. And because no one has a deadlier instinct for the depravity of the conforming highbrow than the sincere lowbrow, Mr. Louis B. Mayer has made himself immortal with an outbreak which, I predict, will become a classic. In a *New Yorker* series that gives a sadistic blow-by-blow account of how an arty picture was botched in Hollywood, Miss Lillian Ross reports that Mr. Mayer thus exploded in the face of a self-pitying producer:

You want to be an artist! Would you work as an artist for one hundred dollars a week? You want to make money. Why don't you want the studio to make money? Are you willing to *starve* for your art? You want to be the artist, but you want *other* people to starve for your art!

My admiration for Mr. Mayer's marksmanship is limited only by the fact, known to all collectors of mixed metaphors, that it is easy to hit a bull's-eye on a sitting duck.



# A Reviewer's Notebook

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

If you happen to be one of the fortunate 28,712 people who are on the mailing list of the Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., you know all about the vital pamphlets and releases proclaiming liberty that issue periodically from its editorial sanctum at Irvington-on-Hudson. The Foundation is by any count a remarkable institution. It was founded six years ago by Leonard E. Read, formerly the Manager of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce and Executive Vice President of the National Industrial Conference Board. Mr. Read is a curious mixture of American go-getter, Tolstoyan Christian, Herbert Spencer libertarian and dedicated medieval monk. Every strand of his personality is entwined in his Foundation, which, in Emersonian terms, is simply the lengthened shadow of the man. The Foundation, which has a most capable staff of economists and libertarian thinkers, lives on voluntary contributions, which it never solicits. Mr. Read holds to the Emersonian belief that a good mouse trap advertises itself by its own goodness—and the world of people who wish to see all totalitarians, Statists, Welfare Staters and believers in political compulsion at the bottom of the ocean (figuratively speaking, of course) has been beating a path to his door.

Recently the Foundation published a book, "Essays on Liberty" (\$2.50 cloth-bound, \$1.50 paper-covered). Consisting of the cream of the Foundation's releases to date, this book is the definitive answer to the captive intellectuals of the New-Fair Deal in America and to the various issues of Fabian Essays which have, over the course of three or four generations, rotted out the entire social fabric of Great Britain. In this book we have such notable things as Dean Russell's discovery that the first Leftists in the French Revolutionary National Constituent Assembly in 1789 were libertarians who were pledged to free their economy from government-guaranteed special privileges of guilds, unions and associations whose members were banded together to interfere with the work-

ings of the free market. These first Leftists, as Mr. Russell succinctly tells the story, held a slim majority in their parliament for two years. They did a remarkable job of confounding authoritarians. Then they were bowled over by the Jacobins, the terroristic Leninists of their day. The tragedy that flowed from Robespierre's and Marat's despicable Statist counter-revolution has bedeviled the world ever since. Not only did it pervert the whole vocabulary of freedom; it also established the theory of the totalitarian "general will" which permits any majority, whether "transient" or not, to ride roughshod over the God-given natural rights of the minority. In the guise of killing royal totalitarianism it popularized the totalitarianism of 51 per cent of the population—and the supposedly individualistic peoples of western Europe have been kowtowing to this totalitarian conception since that evil day when the first head spurted blood under the guillotine that was set up in the name of liberty, equality and fraternity.

In America, as Betty Knowles Hunt and other contributors to Mr. Read's book make plain, the complex of ideas flowing from the Robespierrean counter-revolution never managed to become domesticated until after 1933. In Europe they had rent control and a concomitant shortage of houses, as Bertrand de Jouvenal shows in an excellent paper in this book, but in America a people free of rent control could rebuild the entire city of San Francisco after an earthquake in what amounts to the twinkling of a gnat's eye. In England, as Sir Ernest Benn says in an essay called "Rights for Robots," the Webbs and the other Fabians robbed the people of their Christian heritage of individual responsibility (which nurtures the divine, or the creative, spark), but in America (see W. M. Curtis's amusing "Athletes, Taxes, Inflation") a Babe Ruth who climbed out of an orphanage to hit sixty homeruns in a single year could reap the full reward for a highly individualized skill. The period of Babe Ruth's development and

## Lest You Forget

THE CAXTON LIBRARY OF  
BOOKS FOR LIBERTARIANS

(Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho)

- Our Enemy the State, by Albert Jay Nock
- Land, Labor and Wealth, by Ellen Winsor and Rebecca Winsor Evans
- The Return of Adam Smith, by George S. Montgomery, Jr.
- Letters from Albert Jay Nock
- The Man vs. the State, by Herbert Spencer

ascendancy preceded, of course, the reign of Franklin I. After 1933 came the deluge, which is measured accurately by the cosmic water meters operated by Maxwell Anderson, C. L. Dickenson, Russell Clinchy, W. M. Curtiss, F. A. Harper and other contributors to Mr. Read's volume.

**Not that these people** deal in personalities: Mr. Read's genius is for collecting writers whose self-imposed duty is patiently to explain the principles (or the perversions of principles) that underlie the antics and the convolutions of the various saints and devils who have been struggling for the control of our destiny. The approach in "Essays on Liberty" is not that of daily, weekly or fortnightly journalism, which must inevitably deal to some extent in the personalities that make or mar principles. Mr. Read's idea is to plant seeds that will mature in the fullness of time; he doesn't aspire to compete in immediacy with the editors of papers and magazines.

**Nevertheless, Mr. Read** is a journalist on a high level: he knows how to ask the relevant journalistic questions, and he knows that principles (or their lack) are at the bottom of elections, wars, and legislative and administrative acts. The thing that distinguishes Mr. Read from most of our journalists is that he seeks to assess personalities in terms of their basic philosophies. Long ago, as a young Chamber of Commerce man in the San Francisco region of California, Mr. Read was a Light Brigade soldier who simply executed the commands from on high. In those days the national Chamber of Commerce, under Henry Harriman, was promoting what amounted to trade association fascism. (It was the Harriman thinking that created the Blue-Eagled NRA, that ill-starred adventure in price-wage-and-production fixing that had us all salaaming to Iron Pants Johnson in the days of the First New Deal.) A crusader then as now, Mr. Read went down from San Francisco to Los Angeles in 1932 to lecture W. C. Mullendore of the Southern California Edison Company on the virtues of NRA-ism. The trip south was his Road to Damascus, for in the space of an hour the persuasive Mr. Mullendore tore all of Mr. Read's thinking apart. The new Saul-become-Paul emerged from the Mullendore presence a changed man, a firm believer in freedom and voluntarism in all their phases, social, political and economic. The session with Mr. Mullendore was a pedagogical revelation to the young Mr. Read. It started him thinking about techniques and means of bringing collectivists of one stripe or another to a full realization of the Slave State implications of their position. As Mr. Read thinks back on it, the Foundation for Economic Education—and the "Essays on Liberty"—were really born in Mr. Mullendore's office that day.

**Like most men** of individualistic distinction, Mr. Read is not a mere product of our more conventional educational institutions. He learned the rough way. In World War I he was dumped from the torpedoed *Tuscania* into the Irish Sea. Saved from a watery grave, he knocked about England in war camps as a rigger in America's pioneer air force, learning the truth that you can't fake or fudge a problem in mechanics. He came home to take on Chamber of Commerce jobs in Palo Alto and San Francisco. During his years with the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce he had a wonderful time fighting the myriad versions of collectivist lunacy that flourished on the Pacific Coast in the wake of Ham-and-Eggism, Townsendism, and Upton Sinclair's attempt to hornswoggle the voters with his EPIC (End Poverty in California) platform. With Mullendore and others he started the Freeman Pamphleteers, a group which gaily revived such forgotten individualistic worthies as Bastiat and William Graham Sumner. Meanwhile, as a hobby, Mr. Read was exploring the fascinations of good food, and making himself into a *cor-don bleu* cook. He can look at a complicated recipe in a cookbook and taste the thing accurately in his mind. Since he can also smell a believer in State compulsion fifty or even a hundred miles away, Mr. Read is a fit candidate for some of Professor Rhine's future investigations into extra-sensory perception. He is a canny and extremely perceptive man with a vested interest in other people's variations, and if his assembled "Essays on Liberty" were to be made even an elective part of our school curriculum America might have a new birth of freedom virtually overnight.

## Answer to Keynes

**Away from Freedom: The Revolt of the College Economists**, by V. Orval Watts. Los Angeles: Foundation for Social Research. \$1.00

This is a vigorous answer to Keynesism, from an uncompromising advocate of free enterprise.

According to a survey in the *American Economic Review* for December 1950, nearly 80 per cent of the college teachers questioned were then teaching economics from the point of view of the "new economics." These teachers once called themselves "Keynesians." Recently most of them have preferred to call their view the "national income approach," or "the national income determination-full employment approach."

Dr. Watts takes off from the criticisms of Keynesism already made by such writers as L. Albert Hahn, Ludwig von Mises, and the late Benjamin M. Anderson. His analysis of some of the technical aspects of Keynesism is not wholly satisfactory. He properly emphasizes the qualitative aspects of bank credit, for example, but unduly neglects its

quantitative aspects. This reduces the force of his otherwise sound discussion of what happens with a paper money and "compensatory" fiscal policy.

But his discussion of the political and moral weaknesses of Keynesism is admirable. He points out in detail how Keynesism teaches disregard for property rights, disparages self-reliance, foresight, thrift and enterprise, puts its faith in bureaucracy and coercive authority, and is fundamentally hostile to free trade, free markets and individual liberty.

His reasoning leads him, in fact, to question the faith in central bank policy that many of the most outspoken opponents of Keynesism still retain. "Was it a mere accident," he asks, "that the control over the Federal Reserve system [from 1924 to 1929] was in the hands of 'weak' men? Will any administration long tolerate government officials (e. g., members of the Federal Reserve Board) who show good financial judgment instead of good political judgment?"

It is an uncomfortable question. Until the present, most monetary economists have not only failed to answer it; they have been afraid to ask it.

HENRY HAZLITT

## Into the Night

**Spies, Dupes, and Diplomats**, by Ralph de Toledano. New York and Boston: Duell, Sloan and Pearce-Little, Brown. \$3.50

One way to judge the importance of a book on the Soviet conspiracy is by the silence or hatchet work of metropolitan reviewers. By this criterion, "Spies, Dupes and Diplomats" rates very high. By any standard, however, Mr. de Toledano has written an extremely important book—far more important than his previous "Seeds of Treason," excellent and useful as it was. He has performed a Herculean labor among "fresh and/or ignored documentation"—the mountainous records of the Hobbs, Tydings, Russell, McCarran and Un-American Activities Committees, and other sources. And he has emerged with a masterfully organized and written book; a political Whodunit in which a mystery is unraveled—in its essentials if not in every detail—that concerns you, me, several million victims of World War II and the Korean "police action," 400 million enslaved Chinese and the fate of the United States and Asia—i.e., of the whole world.

It is chiefly the story of the origins, activity and interplay of the Sorge spy ring in Japan and the pro-Soviet elements which ran the American Institute of Pacific Relations in the United States behind a front of prominent innocents. The services rendered to the Soviet government by these two groups were important enough to change the course of world history.

As Mr. de Toledano shows, the value to Stalin of

the Sorge Ring alone can hardly be overestimated. Its head, Richard Sorge, in the guise of a Nazi newspaper correspondent in Tokyo, managed to insinuate himself into the confidence of Hitler's Tokyo Embassy and eventually to become its press attaché. So highly was he esteemed by the Ambassador that he was able to see to it that the "loaded pistol" of the Anti-Comintern Pact was aimed at the United States rather than Russia. He was even able to inform Stalin on May 20, 1941, of the impending German invasion.

Through his chief collaborator Ozaki Hozumi, a Japanese aristocrat who succeeded in penetrating the inner councils of the Japanese government, Sorge was also able to inform the Kremlin of every development in Japanese policy and even to influence the Japanese war party, after Hitler invaded Russia, to turn its aggressive ambitions southward against the United States and Britain instead of westward against Russia. When in October 1941 Sorge was able to inform the Kremlin of the impending Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Stalin could safely transfer his Siberian army to his western front, thus changing the course of the war and the fate of Europe. Ironically, all these services, staggering in their magnitude, were rendered at a total cost of \$40,000 to the Soviet government. American services came much higher, but were paid for by American innocents.

Stalin's agents in Tokyo and Washington had worked overtime to bring about Pearl Harbor. Readers of this magazine will remember Mr. de Toledano's abridged chapter (June 2) on the desperate efforts of the Konoye government to arrive at a peaceful settlement with the United States, and the equally desperate efforts of the Sorge Ring in Tokyo and the IPR crowd in Washington to forestall it. The Sorge Ring had close relations with the IPR; one of its members, Prince Saionji Kin-kazu, was secretary of IPR's Japanese branch. A member of the American branch, the ubiquitous Owen Lattimore, then Roosevelt's personal representative in Chungking, contributed to the fatal pressure on Washington a cable urging Chiang's objection to the *modus vivendi*—Japan's offer of a ninety-day truce during which the two countries would attempt to arrive at a peaceful settlement. It included important concessions, among them acceptance of President Roosevelt's offer to mediate the Sino-Japanese War. One may seriously doubt whether Lattimore ever informed Chiang of the *modus vivendi*—if for no other reason because it would have been highly advantageous to China.

Sorge's announcement of Pearl Harbor was his last service to his Soviet masters; he was arrested on October 18. But his ring had done its work, and one of its early members still had an important role to perform. That member was Agnes Smedley, whose story suggests that she could have taught Dale Carnegie a thing or two about how to make

friends and influence people. Just how much Miss Smedley had to do with shaping our State Department's postwar Far Eastern policy must remain a matter of conjecture; but Mr. de Toledano adduces evidence that her influence was important. Among the devoted friends whom she helped to indoctrinate on Chinese "agrarianism" were John Stewart Service, John Carter Vincent, John P. Davies, Jr., John Emmerson and Raymond P. Ludden, diplomats who "cooked up the stew of America's suicidal China Policy and served it steaming hot to Dean Acheson."

The *dramatis personae*, the drama and the official attitude now become familiar. The thread of conspiracy, and Mr. de Toledano's story, leads straight into the IPR and the Administration by way of the infamous and still mysterious *Amerasia* case, which might have become our own Gouzenko case if obscure forces had not been able to make it, instead, the occasion for a State Department "housecleaning" along lines imperiously laid down by the Communist *Daily Worker*.

It took another seven years for the anti-American role of the IPR to be spread on the public records, against savage opposition from a deeply compromised Administration. The facts Mr. de Toledano has gleaned from the records strengthen this reader's conviction that the Administration party—which calls itself Democratic—is simply a popular front. Whether it be or not, such is its influence on our media of information that if it were not for such patient and devoted labors as Mr. de Toledano's, evidence of its involvement in subversion would now be gathering dust in the archives of Congressional committees, almost wholly ignored by the press and unknown to the American people.

SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE

## Incitement to Surrender

**The Irony of American History**, by Reinhold Niebuhr. New York: Scribner. \$2.50

Prior to the French Revolution, Christian leftism had more than once spread its havoc in Western society. The Joachimist millenarians of the high Middle Ages, the Lollards and the Renaissance Anabaptists all preached that the Christian faith promised the appearance of God's Kingdom here on this natural earth and that it was a Christian's duty to destroy worldly society as a prerequisite for founding the heavenly. The irreligious style of the French Revolution seems to have removed the Christian wash from these schemes, and only in our own day has Christian leftism reappeared or been deliberately reintroduced for tactical purposes by the atheist managers of world revolution.

The modern Christian leftists, of whom Niebuhr is one of the more noted, have set themselves the task, to which this particular book is devoted, of

spreading a psychic disorder: the moral delirium that proclaims the defense of the West against Soviet imperialism to be contrary to Christian ethics; to be, in Niebuhr's own words, "morally hazardous." Like all the proponents of this disorder, he does not say that the Soviet course has been virtuous. He confines himself to identifying the aim of communism with Christian teaching, but is willing to concede that the monopoly of power held by the lords of the Soviet Empire has perverted a profound good into a great evil. He also avoids declaring that in principle it would be ethically wrong for us to defend ourselves. But it is a pointless avoidance since he is unable to note any means of defense that can be both effective and ethically right.

This conclusion is somewhat masked by the lofty height from which Niebuhr ponders the flow of history. "The modern man," he writes, "lacks the humility to accept the fact that the whole drama of history is enacted in a frame of meaning too large for human comprehension or management." Since he himself comprehends this, he can detect the irony of the American position in modern world politics. The irony is that we believe our motives as a nation have always been reasonably unselfish and our civilization possessed of a strong ethical foundation while the fact of the matter is "that the so-called free world must cover itself with guilt in order to ward off the peril of communism."

Nor is Niebuhr willing that even in an ultimate crisis we should incur this guilt in order to survive. He does not bluntly say this, but he so manipulates his definition of "preventive war"—which is assumed to be morally unforgivable—that we are allowed no possibility of fighting with a good conscience even in our own defense. To Niebuhr any war with the Soviet Union would seem to be a "preventive war" because "military leadership can heighten crises to the point where war becomes inevitable." Since the outbreak of every war, past or future, is covered by this carefully phrased definition, what Niebuhr is saying—with just a shade of caution—is that if we do not yield to Soviet demands point by point we will heighten the crisis and incur the guilt of waging preventive war.

This incitement to surrender, Niebuhr offers in the name of Christian ethics. But he must really know better. He must have read the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. He must have followed the long controversy from Weiss and Loisy to Schweitzer clearing the history of early Christianity from the merely pietistic conventions that had accumulated unquestioned since the Middle Ages. He must know that the ethics of Jesus, and after him those of Paul and even Augustine, were not directed to the economic or political reformation of this world, to pacifism, equality, social justice or equal opportunity, but solely to fit a man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. It is true that this Christianity of Sep-

tuagint Jewry foresaw the Heavenly Kingdom arising here on earth, but by a magical transformation that was to bring all history and nature to an end. "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom . . . We shall not all sleep but we shall all be changed . . . the trumpet shall sound and the dead shall be raised incorruptible. . . ." (*I Cor. XV, 50-52*) But Niebuhr has no compunction in correcting St. Paul about the "genius" of Christianity.

The medieval West took a different view of this matter. In Western Christianity, the Kingdom of Heaven ceased to be thought of as a future though magical reality on the historical earth, but the abode of the blessed dead whither they went currently as they died. Equality was the status of men before God, not before terrestrial powers, and the ethical duty of man was to save not his flesh but his soul. He was under no ethical duty to level society or to found a mockery of God's Kingdom on earth. His duty was to control and humble his own terrestrial passions and ambitions.

Certainly there has been a long difficulty in fitting into the pattern of Western earthly interests, the other-worldly passions of Septuagint Christianity. Perhaps it can never be successfully accomplished but this does not entitle anyone to reject the reality of all transcendental interests and then demand that we live and act—solely to the benefit of the intrigues and earthly ambitions of our enemies—by standards whose only considerations are other-worldly. There is not the slightest historical warrant for arguing that Christian ethics are directed to any purpose but the salvation of the soul. They do not teach that war is the greatest evil nor that treachery and cowardice are virtues in alternative to the "guilt" of armed resistance.

If Niebuhr did not pretend to possess such a profound comprehension of human history it would be possible, in disagreeing with him, merely to argue with his viewpoint. Many men, confused between this world and the next, embarrassed to distinguish ancient Septuagint Christianity from Medieval and modern Western, have supposed as Niebuhr says he does, that Christian ideals are the core of communism even if its political expressions are corrupted. But Niebuhr has no claim to the benefits of the old and valid tradition of Western scholarship which allows attack on a man's facts or conclusions but not on his honor. When scholarship becomes only a mask for propaganda, it has no claim on the protection of this tradition. And because the propaganda is so evident in his treatment of history it is reasonable to assume that his superficial theology is no more honest than his superficial history, that both alike are consciously contrived to wheedle the reader into moral surrender before the power of the Soviet Empire.

Even the loftiest philosophy of history is not an adequate substitute for the facts of history. Yet all the vulgar details of the twenty-year rise of

Communist imperialism pass unmentioned by him, though it is our struggle with this Empire which supplies the entire "moral" problem of this book. The complex facts of the Soviet conquest of China, for instance, are dismissed with the remark that "Certainly the Communist revolution in China gained its success because the previous regime could not establish tolerable justice or order." Similarly he tells us that to draw any conclusions from the co-existence of American policy and Soviet expansion is the action of a biased mind. Thus all the strategic decisions in Europe and Asia—Yalta and Teheran, UNRRA, the slovenly counterespionage guard on atomic developments, the Chinese embargo—since all involved decisions by the American government and all aided Soviet expansion, all are ignored. The rise of the Soviet Empire seems to have been merely external necessity as Niebuhr pictures it.

Again, it could be said that many are as ignorant of these matters as Niebuhr pretends to be. Many really do believe these superficial absurdities. But Niebuhr is not the average literate liberal of non-existent scholarship. He knows that the fabric of history is a tissue of vast complexity in which all the human errors of self-justification and self-glorification are never absent. He can hardly fail to know that the inner history of events never resembles the particular version of one of the parties at interest. When such a man proclaims as the factual basis of a supposedly lofty, philosophical and Christian outlook on so complex a process a version of events that agrees item by item with the self-serving statements of politicians and the propaganda of the alien imperialism whose attacks he declares it immoral to resist, we have reason to doubt either his intelligence or his honor. Niebuhr's intelligence is beyond question.

We have high warrant for judging a tree by its fruits and need not pretend to ignore where Niebuhr gathered his.

LAWRENCE R. BROWN

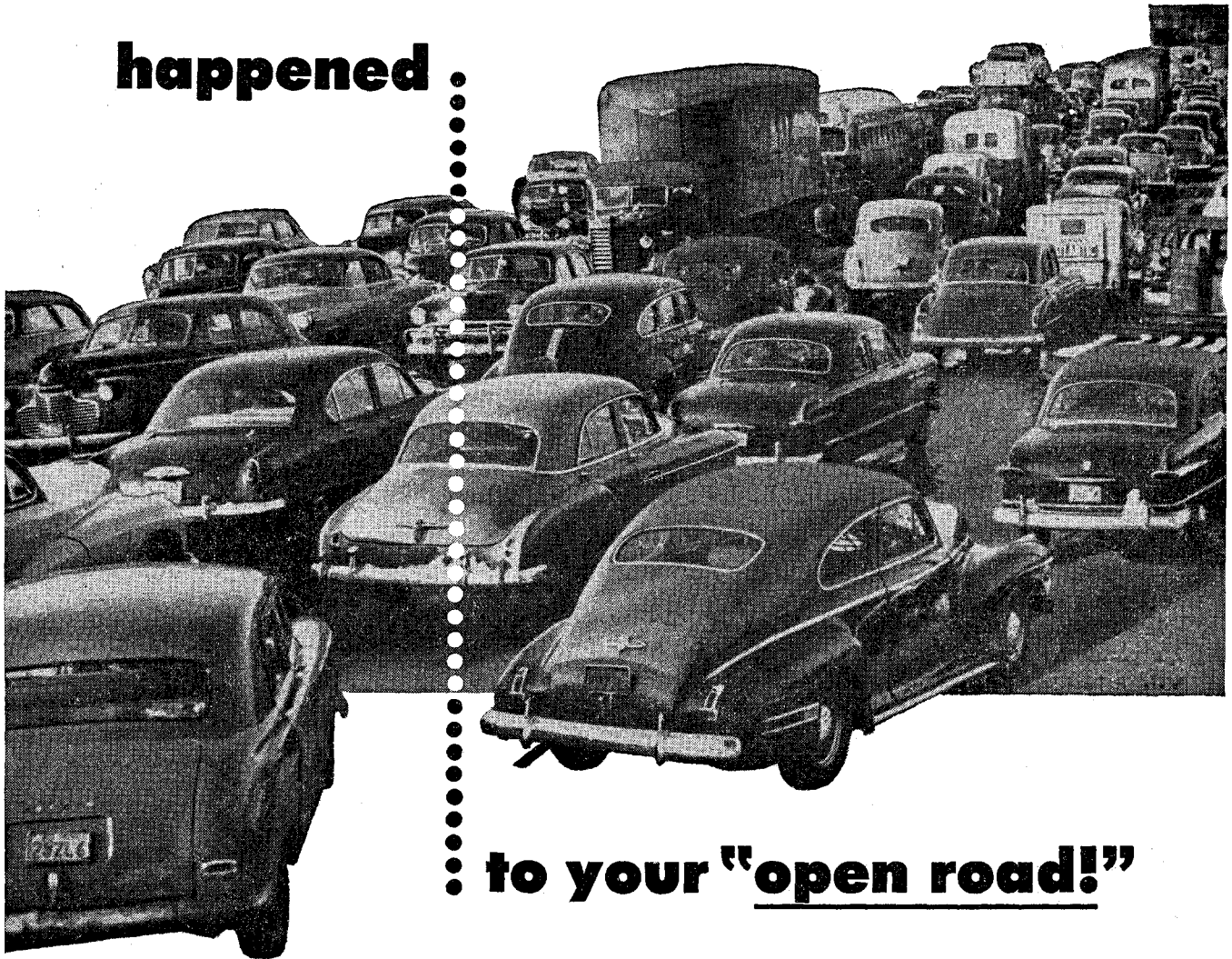
## Shelley, the Radical

**The Young Shelley**, by Kenneth Neill Cameron.  
New York: Macmillan. \$6.00

To most of us Shelley is Ariel. Mr. Cameron gives us a Shelley whirling in ideological maelstroms. In other words, it is Shelley the radical and revolutionary thinker rather than Shelley the poet who is the subject of this biography.

That Mr. Cameron barely escapes dullness at times is due to the energetic Mr. Shelley himself. Before he had attained his majority this astonishing young man had already passed from Whigism and Republicanism to Godwinian radicalism, struggled through deism to atheism and become an ardent promulgator of a set of convictions which embraced everything from vegetarianism to free love.

# Look what's happened



**to your "open road!"**

We'd all love to climb into our automobiles for a restful drive on the open road!

But where will that be today? You know how it is on the road . . . cars and more cars . . . congestion on all sides.

Passenger cars and motor trucks are essential, of course. It's simply that our road system is not equal to the job of handling them all!

From 1940 to 1951, the number of vehicles on American roads increased from 32 million to more than 52 million. But the miles of road for them to operate on increased only from 3 million miles to about 3½ million miles. While the number of vehicles increased 63%, miles of roads increased only 14%.

Some new roads have been built recently. Others have been remodeled. But the plain fact is there for all to see,

every time we take a trip, that America has a serious road problem.

We suffer from hardening of the highway arteries. Our roads may have been good enough and well-built enough for the kind and number of automobiles and trucks that used them in 1928. But these same roads are not good enough or well-built enough for the kind and number of cars and trucks that use them in 1952.

Today's roads must meet not only today's but tomorrow's needs. They must be designed and built for adequacy, safety, and convenience, with such things as an extra lane on grades for trucks and other slower-moving traffic.

The money that is wasted through the inadequacy of our present road system would go a long way toward paying the cost of a modern road system for America.

#### Here are some little-known facts:

8 million trucks serve American business, farm, and home

Trucks move 88% of the nation's livestock to market

Trucks move 97% of the fluid milk to urban areas

Trucks handle 75% of materials and supplies shipped to and from defense plants

Trucks haul 66% of all sand and gravel

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*Builders of products that pay for themselves in use . . .*

*International Trucks • McCormick Farm Equipment and Farmall Tractors  
Crawler Tractors and Power Units • Refrigerators and Freezers*

The fact that his grandfather was born in Newark, New Jersey and that his great-grandmother was an American may have had something to do with it. His father was a country gentleman and a Whig. He planned a career for his son in politics, but young Shelley was a passionate reformer from the start. He was intensely interested in the American and French revolutions and in such causes as freedom for Ireland. At Oxford he indulged in extra-curricular activities, shunned sports, published two books of verse and a romantic novel and in collaboration with another young man, Thomas Jefferson Hogg, wrote a pamphlet entitled "The Necessity of Atheism" for which they were both expelled.

It was then Shelley abandoned his Ivory Tower romanticism and became an all-out political radical. He gave credit for this to Godwin whose book "Political Justice" made a deep impression on him. He advocated the abolition of the monarchy and urged that England transform herself into a democratic republic on the American model. He was enthusiastic about Ben Franklin and Tom Paine, but next to Paine's "The Rights of Man" it was Godwin's book which most influenced Shelley. However, Godwin rejected political organization. The essence of his plan was a society of small agricultural units, with a common sharing of produce and a minimum of government direction. Whereas Paine's ideas could produce results, as the American and French revolutions proved, Godwin's produced nothing. It was here that Shelley and Godwin parted company. Shelley believed in political organization.

In 1812 Shelley published his long poem "Queen Mab." Its concept was the relation of man to society and society to nature. Its over-all political theory drew upon Paine, Godwin, Condorcet and Volney. Its metaphysics combined concepts from the skepticism of Hume, the dualism of Pope, and the idealism of William Drummond. Its literary style was influenced by Southey, Campbell and Milton. It is the cry of an angry young revolutionary. Some of the things Shelley cried out against are still with us—economic evils, religious intolerance, prostitution, political dictatorships and war. He is especially bitter about dictatorships. He says:

The child

Ere he can lisp his mother's sacred name,  
Swells with unnatural pride of crime, and lifts  
His baby sword even in a hero's mood.

One is reminded of the Hitler Youth and of Mussolini's children drilling with wooden guns.

"Queen Mab" is a revolutionary document rather than a poem. It decried evils which have not even now been remedied and foretold much that has already come to pass. We are advancing full tilt to that part of the future which Shelley hoped would be the millenium. Whether it is the millenium or annihilation is anybody's guess—or is it?

ALIX DU POY

## Brief Mention

**Masterpieces of Victorian Photography**, by Helmut Gernsheim. New York: Oxford (A Phaidon Press Book). \$6.00

These mid-Victorian photographs of water scenes, boats, a piano with a girl student and her Poesque music master, have the halcyon charm which no longer exists in our citified culture. Two portraits stand out. There is the lovely wife of William Morris, the Utopian Socialist, and the camera-portrait of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, the pre-Raphaelite romantic who introduced Walt Whitman to English readers. These are quiet solace to those accustomed to the dour, faceless pedestrian who walks our streets.

**The Marquis and the Chevalier**, by James Cleugh. New York and Boston: Duell, Sloan & Pearce-Little, Brown. \$4.50

This is an account of the Marquis de Sade, from whom the word sadism derives, and of the Chevalier von Sacher-Masoch, from whose name came masochism. The Marquis de Sade was a nobleman of the time of Louis XVI in France. Though the French libertine was the man of fashion, de Sade went to prison frequently, spending twelve years in jail at one time for his excesses. His story and that of the Chevalier illuminate the extremes that bound the modern conceptions of psychology.

**Oswald Spengler**, by H. Stuart Hughes. New York: Scribner. \$2.00

This is one of the Twentieth Century Library series which includes critical brochures on William James and Dostoevski. The trouble with this type of book is that the intelligent reader, impatient with the drab remarks of the author, hurries to the quotations. Spengler, of a lowly North German family, wrote apocalyptic history very much after the manner of the two Johns of the New Testament. Like Nietzsche, Spengler was deeply moved by Heraclitus, who thought in terms of symbols and cultural rhythms. Whatever Spengler's flaws may be, there is small doubt that his "Decline of the West" is the book of a dithyrambic sage.

**The Call of the Western Prairie**, by Elizabeth Jane Leonard. New York: Library Publishers. \$6.00

This book is written by an amateur who is neither a serious annalist nor a creative artist. The great inland seas, which we call the mesas or the prairies, are the secret Eldorados of the Americas. Our primeval inceptions are so marvelous that one can not help but suggest to Miss Leonard that she ought to read Prescott, Parkman, Father Sahagun, Diego de Landa. Then she might profitably return to the Nebraskan prairie as a serious historian.



# Letters

## Socialism from the Pulpit

I read with great interest "Religion is a Free Response" in your issue of May 5. It would seem that the Rev. Russell J. Clinchy writes so well that we ought to have more of his articles. It is my recollection that there are many more arguments for the free enterprise system available from St. Matthew than have been used by the Rev. Dr. Clinchy.

It is unfortunate, but as a Protestant I can say it: many businessmen and community leaders believe that too many Protestant ministers have been on the Socialist side of social problems. I recall a Sunday chapel service in Princeton in 1937 when the Rev. Dean Wicks extolled the virtues of the great humanitarian governor of Michigan who condoned the sit-down strike and refused protection to either owners or those who wanted to work, etc. (He didn't think far enough to realize that respect for property rights made his pulpit secure, or that the strike was Communist-led.)

That kept me away for many months. So help me if on another return to a Sunday chapel service I didn't hear the same Dean excoriate General Motors for having at one time curtailed production abruptly to "save a profit" and for thus letting out thousands of workers. The Dean's faulty economics didn't tell him they were probably trying to cut losses—not save a profit.

Trenton, N. J.

F. E. SCHULTER

## What High Taxes Do

There is and has been for some years past, due in part to the high cost of building, a serious shortage of warehouse space in Davenport. A local distributor firm, about to build a second building for its own use, was asked to make the building larger to accommodate also the entire needs of another distributor firm. Such a structure would cost over three times as much as the smaller building.

The smaller building only will be built. The constantly mounting real estate taxes, plus the high income taxes, would require too many years for the larger investment to pay out.

Distributor firms desiring to locate in Davenport are unable to find space. This means a loss of jobs as

well as taxes in the City and County Treasurers' offices. The high taxes are taking a hidden toll in our economic life. A steady Federal budget of \$80 billion or more in peacetime will rewrite the economic history of the United States.

Davenport, Ia.

JOSEPH S. KIMMEL

## The Republican Candidates

Your publication is noted, in my estimation, for its very sound editorials. However, in a recent issue [June 2] I read that up to the present time your staff had not taken a stand in favor of Eisenhower or Taft. I was dumfounded to know that there was any question at all in your minds as to which of these candidates should be nominated. Just why anyone should believe that Eisenhower is qualified to become President is beyond my comprehension. It is a fact he has been promoted in his military life by the New Deal. He has concurred in the foreign policy of the Democratic Party. . . . He is being sponsored by the left-wing "me-too" branch of the Republican Party.

Goshen, Ind.

ALBERT PENN

I have been gravely disappointed in the failure of the *Freeman* to come out in forthright support of Robert A. Taft for President.

This is not a mere popularity contest between Taft and Eisenhower. If that were the case your explanation of a divided editorial board would be quite acceptable. Although even then your readers would have a right to expect the article on Taft to set forth with considerable enthusiasm the many high qualifications of the Senator which fit him preeminently for the position. . . . Instead we get this half-hearted critical article of Forrest Davis [May 19] which labors a point, which while conceded, is something Taft might well be trusted to take care of at the right time. . . .

No, the warm appreciation that should have been given Taft at the time to do him some good, the *Freeman* accorded to Eisenhower in the buildup by John H. Crider . . . [who] was touchy as a New Dealer on any reference to "Ike's" past record. "Do we have to try that case here?" asked Mr. Crider with some petulance. You bet we do.

Seattle, Wash.

HELEN ROSS DURKIN

(Continued on page 710)

# Nothing for Nothing No, Not Even Medicine!

Available to you now is the 24-page booklet "How Sick is State Medicine?", reprinted from Dr. Melchior Palyi's comprehensive article in the *FREEMAN* of June 16. Dr. Palyi convincingly points out the vast difference between the rosy promises of socialized medicine and the grim realities that exist wherever it has been implemented.

President Truman's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation may be the American forerunner of a scheme which would further threaten our economy with the ruinous costs of mass medicine under control of the Federal government and its bureaucrats.

## READ!

Anyone who reads carefully this well documented article on the dangers inherent in socialized medicine can not help but be disturbed by the economic implications of such a scheme, as well as its demoralizing effect on both doctor and patient. READ the booklet, then distribute copies to your friends, relatives, associates, employees so that they too may know the truth about the newest collectivist menace—socialized medicine.

Single copies 10¢; Twelve copies \$1.00; 100 copies \$7.00; 1,000 copies \$60.00; Prices for larger quantities on request.

Send your order to

**The Freeman, Dept. P-30**  
**240 Madison Avenue**  
**New York 16, N. Y.**

# Pushing back frontiers . . .

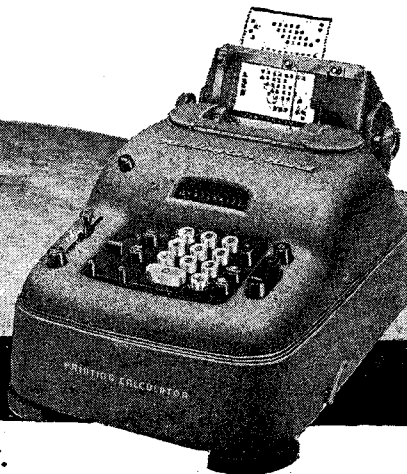
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materials and methods . . . faster,  
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## Letters

(Continued from page 709)

### The Armament Program

George Allen, in his "Presidents Who Have Known Me," relates Vice President Barkley's story of the man who was being ridden out of a Kentucky town on a rail and replied to a bystander who asked him how he liked it: "If it wasn't for the honor of the thing, I'd just as soon walk."

That's pretty much how I feel about the otherwise gratifying reference to me and to my critique of the 1950-52 armament program by my good friend Harold Taylor [*Freeman*, June 2]. I believe that the way to arm is to have an armament program and civilian control over it; and that the present program can and must be reformed. Taylor holds that we should and can arm without controls; that we can abandon controls and still keep a program; and, consequently, that our present mobilization system can not be reformed but must be scrapped.

If Taylor and the *Freeman* could persuade any Administration to adopt this program—and I find it encouraging that they have not persuaded Senator Taft to do so—they would turn the civilian economy over to the military, which could take us from the frying-pan into the fire. I venture to suggest that the *Freeman* would render a more constructive contribution to genuine freedom of inquiry and enterprise if it faced this issue squarely . . .

New York City ELIOT JANEWAY

### Failure of State Medicine

Socialized medicine is sick, according to Melchior Palyi [June 16], and we want none of it here. What was to have cost \$12 a person in Britain is now costing about \$26. Free medical attention in Britain? Eighty-six per cent of the cost is met by general tax revenue; payroll tax deductions pay ten per cent, and the balance comes from local property taxes. The Labor Party objected strenuously to the new charge of fourteen cents for a prescription except to those on relief or with war-connected disabilities. It doesn't speak well for economic conditions under socialism when workers can not earn enough to pay that charge.  
Brooklyn, N. Y. HOWARD W. TONER



*Amazing*

~~EXTRAORDINARY~~

*Wonderful*

~~SENSATIONAL~~

~~TERRIFIC~~

*Outstanding*

~~MARVELOUS~~

# You can't build anything with adjectives . . .

To Sears way of thinking, the place for superlatives is in the Merchandise!

We try hard to give you good value.

Sears merchandise is made to the rigid specifications laid down by our own engineers, chemists, metallurgists, designers, and merchandise specialists.

Everything goes through competent and repeated inspection. Anything which doesn't measure up, is thrown out.

So far, so good. But we don't stop with inspection. Sears merchandise is brutally Laboratory-Tested. Punished cruelly—much more cruelly than you could ever punish it in actual usage.

There's no question about the quality of your money—so we

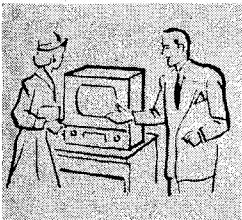
try to make the quality of Sears merchandise just as certain. But, in spite of everything we can do, once in a blue moon you may get something, even from Sears, which does not quite satisfy you. So, to cover you on that risk, slight as it is, years ago Sears invented the "Money Back Guarantee".

Remember, if anything you ever get from Sears doesn't make good—SEARS WILL! Without quibbling—promptly and cheerfully.

We hope you and your family find Sears increasingly helpful, year after year, after year. That you all enjoy more of the good things of life, and have more money left in the bank because of—

**SEARS, ROEBUCK AND CO.**

## FIVE WAYS TO SHOP AT SEARS AND SAVE



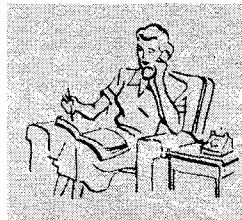
### 1. SHOP AT SEARS RETAIL STORES

Buy "over the counter" in more than 600 nearby, friendly Sears stores all over America.



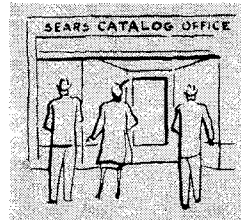
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Take your time . . . relax. Select from over 100,000 items. Your "catalog-store" never closes.



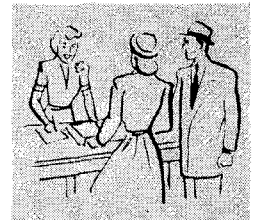
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Quick and easy, available in many places. Just phone in your catalog order for prompt service.



### 4. AT SEARS CATALOG SALES OFFICES

Save letter postage and money order fees. Salespeople will help you shop from all latest catalogs.



### 5. AT CATALOG SALES DEPARTMENT

Place catalog orders with helpful salespeople at your nearby Sears retail stores . . . by phone or in person.

*"Satisfaction guaranteed or your money back"* **SEARS**

# THE DAY NIAGARA FALLS

## bubbled over

It began suddenly that morning of April 1.

**FLASH: NIAGARA RIVER BELOW FALLS COVERED WITH SUDS LIKE WHIPPED CREAM A YARD THICK. (CORRECTION TO EDITORS) NOW TEN YARDS THICK!**

The boys on Goat Island emptied the last of their stolen drums of Santomerse No. 1 into the river above the cataract.

**MAID OF THE MIST SIGHTSEEING BOAT HAS DOCKED SAFELY. ALL PASSENGERS HAVE FOUGHT WAY TO TOP OF GORGE IN A CLOUD OF BUBBLES.**

One youngster on Goat Island grinned to the others, "Boy, this'll be the biggest April Fool joke on record."

**GORGE BUBBLING OVER. SUDS BACKED UP TO HORSESHOE FALLS. DOWN RIVER, WHIRLPOOL LOOKS LIKE A GIANT WASHING MACHINE. CAUSE STILL UNKNOWN.**

★ ★ ★

This prank-that-never-happened *could* happen if the pranksters were to be wasteful enough to dump into the Niagara some drums of Santomerse No. 1, Monsanto's all-purpose detergent and wetting agent.

Whether the water is rain-soft or ocean-hard, river-cold or geyser-hot, Santomerse No. 1 (flakes, granules, powder) makes billows of rich suds. Its applications in household and industrial cleaning compounds are almost without limit. (Three densities for any bulking need. Available from 13 handy warehouses.)

Few detergent formulators or manufacturers want to fill the Niagara gorge with bubbles . . . but who among them isn't interested in attaining comparatively spectacular results in commercial or household cleaning compounds? To them all, we urge, write us for the technical information in our free booklet, "Santomerse No. 1 All-purpose wetting agent and detergent."

Monsanto Chemical Company, 1700 South Second Street, St. Louis 4, Missouri. Monsanto Canada Limited, Montreal and Vancouver.

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