

The Director

March 30, 1952

D. H. Ladd

JAY DAVID WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, was., et al
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REFERENCE:

To present a review of Fred Rodoll's article
entitled, "Was Alger Hiss Framed?" appearing in the
April, 1952, issue of the "Progressive" magazine.

FRED RODOLL

Rodoll is a Professor of Law at Yale University.
He has written several books and many magazine and law
journal articles. He wrote the article, "What Should We
Do About the Comies?" which appeared in the January,
1948, issue of the "Progressive." In that article, he
complained of the witch hunts in Washington, D. C., and
referred to the FBI as "a potentially sinister secret
police force." He fought against the deportation of
Harry Bridges. He is known to have associated with Com-
munist Party members. His name has been associated with
alleged Communist front organization. Informants have
indicated that the Communists regard him as "truly progressive."
He has warned of the Communist danger and stated that "Com-
munists should be avoided like the plague." (100-354201;
14-1400)

"THE PROGRESSIVE"

In June, 1950, the Milwaukee Office advised that
this magazine was originally founded in 1909 by the late
Senator Robert H. LaFollette, Sr., of Wisconsin. It was
a publication of the LaFollette family, and the now defunct
Progressive Party in Wisconsin until about 1946. When
Robert H. LaFollette, Jr., was defeated in the Republican
primary senatorial contest and the Progressive Party of
the State of Wisconsin merged with the regular Republican
Party, the "Progressive" magazine was reorganized and be-
came a monthly publication issued by the Progressive,
Inc., 400 West Corban Street, Madison, Wisconsin. Morris
H. Rubin is its Editor. The "Progressive" has a general

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- Belmont _____
- Clegg _____
- Glavin _____
- Harbo _____
- Rosen _____
- Tracy _____
- Mohr _____
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reputation in Madison, Wisconsin, as that of a liberal and possibly socialist publication which sometimes supports liberal candidates in both major parties, and particularly in the Democratic Party. Milwaukee advised that there was no information available that the "Progressive" or its Editor, Mr. Rubin, are connected with any un-American organization or ideologies. (14-1460)

"WAS ALGER HISS FRAMED?"

Rodell begins this article by attacking the inept reporting of the defense motion for Alger Hiss. He states this event by the press rather summarily, with an "he at a" "heredim". He advises that he has seen the formal motion, the document which the stories were based upon. "And if ever there was a big story--whether inadvertently out of or deliberately out of cowardice--it surely was this. He interjects, in order to give what he feels is the force and credence, "I have never been a Hiss-lover or a Chambers-lover either);--" Rodell assumes that Chester T. Lane is completely honest and states that the facts contained in Lane's motion are, therefore, true. He assumes that the Government will not be able to demolish Lane's motion in its reply. After making these assumptions, he is convinced Alger Hiss is entitled, if not to a new trial, at least such help from the Court as the attorneys need to gather further evidence. He states "The granting of a new trial, plus even Hiss' acquittal if Lane can make his astounding stuff up in court, would not in itself clear up the Hiss-Chambers mystery (why, then, did Chambers accuse Hiss?)--nor, for that matter, would it conclusively prove that Hiss had never been a Communist. But it would properly make heroes--such as even the press could not ignore--out of Alger Hiss and especially Chester Lane, and bump out of Whittaker Chambers and perhaps--who knows?--the FBI."

Rodell states that after reading the formal papers making up the defense motion, and here again he assumes the facts contained in these papers to be true, he was convinced that regardless of Hiss' innocence or guilt,

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his conviction was procured in large part by the use of highly suspect and very possibly manufactured evidence. He states "I was convinced that there was something quite malodorous, to put it mildly, about certain FBI activities in connection with the case (is this perhaps why the press petered out on the story?);--."

Rodell reviews the facts contained in the defense motion. He mentions the FBI in connection with Chester Lane's search to determine when Hiss' father-in-law acquired the Woodstock typewriter, which Hiss later owned, "(and which was supposedly the trial typewriter)." He refers to Lane's efforts to establish when the Woodstock was acquired by the father-in-law and the fact that Lane was blocked in his efforts because the FBI had taken and returned the sales records of the dealer who sold the machine. He quotes Lane as saying "We search for records the FBI has them. We ask questions--the FBI will not let people talk to us... We ask people to certify information files they have shown us--they must consult counsel, and we hear no more from them." He also refers to Lane's statements in his affidavit that the FBI was sufficiently interested in Lane's investigations regarding the typewriter to keep them under surveillance and that the FBI had been looking for and might even have found, another Woodstock typewriter than the trial typewriter. He also referred to Lane's statement that there were indications that the FBI knew that the trial typewriter was not the regular Woodstock Hiss once owned but a planted fabrication on which Chambers could easily have forged the incriminating documents; that the FBI knew of this as either possibility or fact; that it was, therefore, worried about Lane's investigations to the point of watching and impeding them, and that meanwhile it had been looking for the real Hiss typewriter itself. Rodell states "On all of this--the whole of Lane's sworn story of what he found and couldn't find and why--the nation's press kept strangely mum."

OBSERVATIONS:

This article has no basis in fact. It can only be concluded that it is an unwarranted and vicious attack on the Bureau. The Bureau knows that Lane's allegations against it, which are reiterated and implemented by Rodell, are absolutely unfounded. If it were not for the fact that the Hiss motion is presently pending before Judge Goddard, it is believed that we should take aggressive steps to put Mr. Rodell and

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"The Progressive" magazine in their places. Since the matter is to be argued in court, it is not believed that we can take any action which will jeopardize the Government's case. The issue will be decided by the Courts.

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Founded in 1909

THE **Progressive**

APRIL 1952 35 CENTS

Was Alger Hiss Framed?

By Fred Rodell



FRIGHTENED AMERICA

William O. Douglas

SHADOWS OVER THE SATELLITES

G. E. R. Gedye

THE HOPE OF INDIA

Chester Bowles

A PLAN FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE

George W. Goble

BLACK MARKET BLUES

Milton Mayer

A NEGRO ABROAD

William Worthy

Other Articles and Reviews by Richard L. Neuberger,
Aldric Revell, Mary Sheridan, Carl Auerbach,
Elizabeth Brandeis, Richard Hofstadter

Office Memo

THE BEST series of personality studies carried by *The Progressive* in recent years will be turning up in the next three issues—May, June, and July—as we complete our gallery of campaign portraits.

Scheduled for early publication are these interpretations of major contenders for the Democratic and Republican nominations:

Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, by Richard Rovere, Washington correspondent for *The New Yorker*.

Gov. Earl Warren, by Richard L. Neuberger, the well-known Pacific Coast writer.

Sen. Robert A. Taft, by William V. Shannon, Washington correspondent of the *New York Post*.

Sen. Robert Kerr, by Willard Shelton, former Washington correspondent for *The Nation*.

During the past year we have carried special articles on other contenders: Walter F. Morse's "Stevenson of Illinois," in the *March Progressive*, and three by our former Washington correspondent, W. McNeil Lowry, who contributed "Jumping Harold Stassen" in December, "The Other Kefauver" in June, and "Boss of the Senate," a study of Sen. Richard Russell, in February, all 1951.

We had planned to devote Office Memo this month to an analysis of the mail we have received in response to the question we raised in the February number—how to evaluate the background and understanding of the average mythical reader in preparing material for *The Progressive*. But the letters are still coming in at a pretty lively clip, so we've postponed our report until the May issue.

The volume of mail for The People's Forum has increased by more than 50 per cent in recent months, which means that we're falling steadily behind in publishing letters. This is a good place to print in ten-point type what appears in fine print on the bottom of the adjoining column: We can't return articles or letters unless the writer so requests and encloses a stamped envelope.

NOTES—Milton Mayer interviewed Pastor Martin Niemoeller over the NBC's University of Chicago Round Table from Frankfurt, Germany, last month. . . . Fred Rodell tangled on "Author Meets the Critic," over television and radio, with William F. Buckley, Jr., whose book, *God and Man at Yale: the Superstitions of "Academic Freedom,"* Rodell lambasted in the February *Progressive* (see The People's Forum in this issue). . . . Alan Barth's *The Loyalty of Free Men* has been reprinted in a 35-cent Pocket Book edition. Barth wrote "The Age of Doubt" in the February *Progressive*. . . . Richard L. Neuberger's "Our Rotten Boroughs and Lawless Lawmakers," which appeared in the December *Progressive*, is being reprinted in the *Magazine Digest*. . . . Stuart Chase's "Language and Loyalty," which we carried last October, has now been reprinted in 16 magazines or newspapers that we know about.

The PROGRESSIVE

Founded in 1909 by Robert M. LaFollette, Sr.

April, 1952

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Everlasting Nature	<i>Henry Beston</i>

The Progressive makes no attempt to exact complete conformity from its contributors, but rather welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its general policies. Signed articles, therefore, do not necessarily represent the opinion of the Management of the Magazine.

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The Progressive

'Ye Shall Know the Truth and the Truth Shall Make You Free'

Volume 16

April, 1952

Number 4

First Choice

SEVERAL subscribers have inquired if Walter F. Morse's friendly portrait of Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson, in the March issue was intended to commit *The Progressive* to supporting the Illinois governor for President this year.

The answer is no.

We have an unusually high regard for Mr. Stevenson, and it's conceivable that we may yet turn up in his corner.

But we do have a basic quarrel with Mr. Stevenson—with what strikes us as uncritical acceptance of most of the major principles of the Truman-Acheson foreign policy: its distorted interpretation of the world conflict as an old-fashioned power struggle, its dangerous reliance, for this reason, on military power, and its resulting incapacity to produce and fight for a creative foreign policy in this age of revolution.

But it is only fair to emphasize right now that even if Mr. Stevenson saw things our way more than he does, he would not be our first choice. For our heart belongs to Douglas—William O. Douglas, that is.

It would be an unfair trifling with the political facts of life to imply that Justice Douglas is a contender for the Democratic nomination for President. He isn't.

Justice Douglas has done nothing to put himself in the race. He has eschewed the mush-mouthed ambiguities of the traditional Presidential hopeful. In fact, he has spoken up so clearly and courageously on most of the critical issues of our time that one might almost suspect he has purposely burned his political bridges behind him.

And yet that very clarity and courage have fanned afresh the hope

that he might make himself available, and that in this decisive moment in the Republic's history the liberal wing of the Democratic Party might bestir itself sufficiently to make an all-out fight for the man who has become the foremost spokesman of an indigenous American progressivism.

On the domestic front, Justice Douglas represents, eloquently and effectively, the best of the American tradition. He has demonstrated, again and again, a fighting faith in the capacity of a free people to safeguard their individual liberties while planning, in the words of the Constitution, for the general welfare.

In the all-important field of civil rights and liberties, Justice Douglas has proved himself our country's ablest and most resourceful champion of the Bill of Rights and the anti-racist amendments to the Constitution.

In the field of foreign policy—so overriding an issue today—Justice Douglas speaks the language of countless Americans who long for leaders who understand the true character of the menace of Communism and have the guts to stand up and fight for a program of affirmative action.

Justice Douglas rightly accepts the need for military preparedness in the face of an armed and threatening Soviet Union, but he rejects our government's sterile, negative program of seeking to contain Communism almost solely by building up positions of military strength. His is a positive approach which emphasizes the need to guide the revolution of our time along democratic lines and thus to combat Communism in the area of its greatest success—its appeal to the hunger of humanity for national independence, freedom from exploitation, and economic opportunity.

Certainly if the Democratic nom-

ination went to Douglas the country would have a clear-cut and meaningful choice, whomever the Republicans chose, and this, too, would be a healthy thing for a democracy which is beginning to show the first signs of a boredom or weariness which could be serious.

These are some of the reasons our heart belongs to Bill Douglas. On just about every count that matters he seems to us so far and away the best choice for 1952 that we're in no mood to consider anyone else until he is definitely removed from consideration.

Thought Control

THE United States Supreme Court carried the country another giant stride down the road toward thought control last month when it gave its judicial blessing to the un-American doctrine of "guilt by association."

Dividing six to three, the Court could find "no constitutional infirmity" in New York State's notorious Feinberg Law. The heart of the law is 1) its requirement that the Board of Regents, governing body of New York schools, "make a listing of organizations which it finds to be subversive" and 2) its mandate to the Board that "membership in any such organization . . . shall constitute *prima facie* evidence" of disqualification for any position within the public school system of the state.

Thus, a teacher whose competence is unchallenged and whose patriotism is impeccable is automatically disqualified if she belongs to an organization which the Regents in their wisdom conclude is "subversive." Contrary to the cherished principles of our legal code, the teacher would be assumed to be guilty, by the mere fact of member-

ship, unless she could prove her innocence. Writing the opinion for the Court majority, Justice Sherman Minton found nothing disturbing in the Feinberg Law:

"One's associates, past and present, as well as one's conduct, may properly be considered in determining fitness and loyalty. We know of no rule, constitutional or otherwise, that prevents the state, when determining the fitness and loyalty of such persons, from considering the organizations and persons with whom they associate."

The three justices who dissented were William O. Douglas, Hugo L. Black, and Felix Frankfurter, the first two on the basic issues involved, and Frankfurter on the much narrower ground that no real controversy had been submitted to the Court for settlement.

In a superb dissent, which will be studied and admired long after a return to national sanity exposes the majority's corruption of the Constitution, Justice Douglas wrote:

"The present [Feinberg] law proceeds on a principle repugnant to our society—guilt by association. A teacher is disqualified because of her membership in an organization found to be 'subversive.' The finding as to the 'subversive' character of the organization is made in a proceeding to which the teacher is not a party and in which it is not clear that she may even be heard. To be sure she may have a hearing when charges of disloyalty are leveled against her. But in that hearing the finding as to the 'subversive' character of the organization apparently may not be reopened in order to allow her to show the truth of the matter. . . .

"The very threat of such a procedure is certain to raise havoc with academic freedom. Any organization committed to a liberal cause, any group organized to revolt against an hysterical trend, any committee launched to sponsor an unpopular program becomes suspect. These are the organizations into which Communists often infiltrate. Their presence infects the whole, even though the project was not conceived in sin. A teacher caught in that mesh is almost certain to stand

condemned. Fearing condemnation, she will tend to shrink from any association that stirs controversy. In that manner freedom of expression will be stifled. . . .

"Supineness and dogmatism take the place of inquiry. A 'party line'—as dangerous as the 'party line' of the Communists—lays hold. It is the 'party line' of the orthodox view, of the conventional thought, of the accepted approach. . . . The teacher is no longer a stimulant to adventurous thinking; she becomes instead a pipe-line for safe and sound information.

"A deadening dogma takes the place of free inquiry. Instruction tends to become sterile. Pursuit of knowledge is discouraged; discussion often leaves off where it should begin. . . .

"A school system producing students trained as robots threatens to rob a generation of the versatility that has been perhaps our greatest distinction. The Framers knew the danger of dogmatism; they also knew the strength that comes when the mind is free, when ideas may be pursued wherever they lead. We forget these teachings of the First Amendment when we sustain this law."

Justice Douglas' dissent, we venture to predict, will be studied, admired, and followed when a return to national sanity exposes the ma-

jority opinion for what it is—a corruption of the Constitution and a debasement of what is noblest in the American idea of freedom.

Decisive Victory

THE DECISIVE action of the House of Representatives in refusing to adopt a program of Universal Military Training has been hailed as a great victory against the further militarization of America. And so it was. But even more significant to us was the lesson that emerged from the struggle—that an aroused, articulate citizenry can make its views prevail if it sheds the defeatist "What's the use?" attitude and organizes for action.

Too often, on other issues, too many of us have felt it was useless to speak up and fight because the cards seemed stacked against us. The odds seemed almost hopeless in this case, too, with the Administration, most of the press, and much of the Pentagon mobilized in favor of UMT.

Happily, however, the all too familiar mood of resignation was replaced by a militant determination to fight the issue out with Congress. Farm organizations, labor unions, educational groups, and the churches argued the case against UMT before the House Armed Forces Committee. Tens of thousands of individuals and organizations sent letters and resolutions to their Congressmen. The result was a handsome 236 to 162 vote against UMT.

Many powerful pleas were advanced against the adoption of universal military training, but the most effective was the argument that supporters of UMT were using the present emergency to fasten a permanent system of universal training on the nation.

Congress and the country have accepted the need for conscription while a hot war rages in Korea and a cold war in much of the rest of the world, but the country—and eventually, Congress—awakened to the fact that there was something phony about the drive for passing now a permanent UMT program while the draft was providing all the men—



"Do I Understand There's More Cooking?"

and more—the armed forces can use efficiently.

The victory against UMT was important in its own right. It will take on vastly greater significance if it emboldens those who fought and won this fight to use their great power of protest and petition on other, equally important issues. The chance may come soon—and on the same issue—if there is substance to Washington reports that UMT supporters are hoping to revive the measure and sneak it through Congress on a day when there are many absences.

Phony Hallelujahs

THE North Atlantic Treaty is three years old this week. In size and scope it has outgrown its original specifications, and today its mantle ranges southeastward, from the North Atlantic to Greece and Turkey, on the shores of the Mediterranean. But despite all the hallelujahs of its architects, that mantle is still mostly paper.

For evidence of this judgment one need only turn to the outcome of NATO's most recent and significant conference at Lisbon a month ago. There were some hopeful achievements at Lisbon—notably, in our reckoning, the agreement to embark on a modest beginning toward a political community which just barely might become the flowering seed of the long-dreamed-about United States of Europe.

But the diplomats at Lisbon, our own especially, were not content to emphasize modest beginnings toward long-run goals. A curious compulsion drove them to boast to the world that they would have 50 battle-ready divisions by the end of the year, and that they had pretty much whipped the problems associated with the rearmament of Germany.

But what are the facts behind the souped-up statements—statements which Seymour Freiden, the strongly pro-NATO correspondent for the *New York Post*, characterized as the "difficult ambiguity, reckless talk, and empty promises of American diplomats" and the cautious Lon-



"Now, You Said You Wanted To Be Heard?"

don Economist branded "downright dishonest"?

Regarding the first claim—that the NATO army would number 50 divisions by the end of the year—the rebuttal was swift and decisive. It came directly from Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Supreme Allied Headquarters. Speaking to the Associated Press, "sources" at Headquarters dismissed this promise as "fanciful, misleading, and unfortunate."

The *London Times* put its finger on the damage done by this circus-style exaggeration when it wrote:

"Presumably the announcement is meant to impress someone; but it will not impress the Russians, who know very well the true state of affairs. . . . Indeed this imaginative total, with the still more imaginative promise of 85 to 100 divisions in two years time, seems to contain the maximum amount of provocation with the minimum amount of deterrent effort."

The second disputed achievement of the Western diplomats was their alleged agreement on the terms on which Western Germany was to become a vital part of the army of the European community. But the statements of participants like Secretary of State Dean Acheson concealed more than they revealed. Actually, every barrier which blocked the way before the recent series of conferences at London and Lisbon was still there after the meetings.

It has been painfully apparent for many months that bull-headed American insistence on the immediate rearmament of Germany was doing more to split than to unify the community of Western Europe. The British have been luke-warm, the Germans cool, and the French cold to our pleas for arming West Germany, and the Russians, who are supposed to be deterred by all this, have indicated they would regard the rearmament of Germany as the most provocative step we could take in forcing a showdown.

It seems like only yesterday that our driving concern was to prevent forever the rearmament of Germany. Today, the people of West Germany are brooding about how they can prevent us from rearming them.

In a Bonn report the Associated Press quoted a "leading Allied official" as saying flatly: "Nobody in Germany wants to rearm except the old professional militarists"—certainly the one group that common sense insists must not be returned to power.

II

The affirmative alternative to the fear-creating rearmament of Germany is two-fold:

One—A revitalized program, on the political and economic levels, to bring France and Germany closer together. The Schuman Plan for economic integration in critical fields like coal, iron, and steel is precisely the right approach. Any attempt to force a union can be no more enduring than shot-gun weddings usually are.

Two—The launching of a carefully worked-out program for the unification of Germany—a free and disarmed Germany under United Nations auspices—to be submitted to the Soviet Union as the decisive test of whether the Soviets and the West can reach a live-and-let-live agreement. Norman Thomas, in *The Call*, recently summed up best the virtues of such a course: "A united and disarmed Germany might even, in a military sense, be safer for us than a divided, embittered, and rearmed Germany."

Was Alger Hiss Framed?

By Fred Rodell

SOME WEEKS ago, the nation's press reported rather summarily, with an almost audible air of boredom, that Alger Hiss' attorneys had asked that he be given a new trial because of newly discovered evidence.

The stories told how a typewriter had been built, at the lawyers' behest, that could imitate down to the last type-flaw the work turned out on the old Woodstock which played so large a part in convicting Hiss. Despite the fact that such a feat of typewriter engineering had heretofore been rated impossible, and despite recollection of Hiss' then desperately unconvincing claim that he had been the victim of "forgery by typewriter," the press treated this as an interesting but rather irrelevant phenomenon, as if to say: that it can be done by no means proves or indicates, in the absence of other evidence, that it was done to get Hiss convicted.

The newspaper stories also mentioned a couple of affidavits casting doubt on the veracity of the colored woman, the surprise witness, whose damaging testimony about seeing the Hisses as guests of the Chambers, when she worked for the Chambers in Baltimore, was sprung on the last day of the trial. The stories referred to the lawyers' use of confessed ex-Communist Lee Pressman's statement under oath, made since the Hiss trial, that Hiss was not a member of the Communist cell to which Chambers said Hiss belonged. That—in a tone of so-what?—is just about all the press reported.

I have recently read the formal motion for a new trial, filed in federal court by Hiss' lawyers—the document on which the newspaper stories were based. And if ever the press muffed a big story—whether inadvertently out of stupidity or

deliberately out of cowardice—it muffed this one:

Let me interject here a personal note in order to give what I next say more force and credence. I have never been a Hiss-lover (nor a Chambers-lover either); I have always thought that both men lied, or at least that neither ever told the whole truth; indeed, an article of mine in *The Progressive* for June, 1950, suggested that maybe Hiss, an ambitious man, had played both sides of the Washington street by *pretending* to the Communists for a time that he was really one of them.

But when I finished reading the motion for a new Hiss trial I was deeply shaken. Not that I was convinced of Hiss' innocence. But—assuming always the complete honesty of the lawyer who drew up the motion (and Chester Lane is a thoroughly reputable citizen with no tags, so far as I can discover, that even Joe McCarthy could pin on him save only his courageous championing of Hiss)—I was convinced that, regardless of Hiss' innocence or guilt, his conviction was procured in

FRED RODELL, a graduate of Haverford and the Yale Law School, has been a professor of law at Yale for nineteen years. Before then he was a member of the staff of President Hoover's Commission on Social Trends and special legal adviser to the late Gov. Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania. His articles on public issues and personalities have appeared in many American magazines, including *Fortune*, *Life*, *Harper's*, *The American Mercury*, *Look*, and *The Reader's Digest*. He is the author of several books, among them "Woe Unto You, Lawyers" and "Fifty-Five Men: The Story of the Constitution," and has contributed to a number of law journals.



large part by the use of highly suspect and very possibly manufactured evidence; I was convinced that there was something quite malodorous, to put it mildly, about certain FBI activities in connection with the case (is this perhaps why the press petered out on the story?); and I was convinced that Hiss is entitled, if not to a new trial forthwith, at least to such help from the court as his attorneys need to round up further evidence to which they have leads, but which they now have no power to procure—evidence of a sort that would make a new trial clearly mandatory.

II

Lawyer Lane's motion—or, more technically, his long affidavit in support of the motion—reads like a detective story. And no fictional detective—and few if any real-life lawyers—ever searched out and tracked down clues more diligently and indefatigably than did Lane.

He tells first of the building of the "impossible" typewriter. The craftsman who built it wanted as a model the Woodstock used at the trial, which he was supposed to duplicate. This was the machine which Hiss' representative had found sometime before the trial; which Hiss and his lawyers then believed was the Woodstock Hiss once owned; which the defense—not the prosecution—exhibited in court; and on which the incriminating documents, Hiss allegedly gave to Chambers were presumably typed.

But Lane insisted that the craftsman work only from samples of typing done on the trial Woodstock. What Lane wanted to prove was that Chambers could have had this machine similarly constructed from samples of the work of the Woodstock that Hiss once owned (for, if Chambers had had the original machine, he would scarcely have needed a duplicate built to forge the papers Hiss said were forged). The success of Lane's experiment is attested by the attached affidavits of two recognized document experts, one of whom says that it makes the trial testimony of the government's expert witness—probably the most im-

portant testimony in the whole case—"absolutely worthless."

But if a duplicate typewriter could then have been built for purposes of forgery, was there any evidence that it had been built? Here is perhaps the most crucial point of Lane's motion. Here is where his detective work became most fabulous and where he turned up some evidence and many clues, only to be constantly stymied by the FBI or by people's fear of the FBI. And here too is where the entire press retired into silence, thus giving the impression that the typewriter experiment was an ingenious but empty gesture.

Lane's investigation here led to two related but separate lines of attack on the authenticity of the trial typewriter. Both were concerned with the serial number of that typewriter, Woodstock No. 230,099. Both were dependent on proving that a machine with such a serial number could not have been manufactured earlier than the first week of July, 1929 and this is one of the key points which Lane came very close to establishing conclusively before his informants suddenly clammed up on him, as by refusing "for fear of personal consequences" to swear to their own written statements.

Lane came similarly close to legal proof that the style of type used on the machine that helped convict Hiss had been abandoned by the Woodstock Co. some months before July, 1929. Proof of both these points—toward which Lane accumulated considerable and convincing information—would automatically show that the trial typewriter was not a regular Woodstock product but instead a subsequent fabrication.

Lane's other line of search was for the date when Hiss' father-in-law acquired the Woodstock which Hiss later owned (and which was supposedly the trial typewriter). He found evidence that the real Hiss machine was in use in the father-in-law's office in Philadelphia at almost precisely the earliest date when, it appeared, No. 230,099 could have been manufactured in Woodstock, Illinois—but again he was blocked in his efforts to pin all this down,



Alger Hiss

partly because the FBI had taken and never returned the sales records of the dealer who sold the machine.

The hunt for evidence ranged from Woodstock to Chicago to Philadelphia to Milwaukee (home office of the insurance company Hiss' father-in-law had worked for). And everywhere, as Lane swears in his affidavit: "We search for records—the FBI has them. We ask questions—the FBI will not let people talk to us. . . We ask people to certify information in files—they have shown us—they must consult counsel, and we hear no more from them."

Moreover, says Lane, his investigations turned up as by-products two other fascinating facts: (1) the FBI was sufficiently interested in those investigations to keep them under surveillance; and (2) the FBI had been looking for—and might even have found—another Woodstock typewriter than No. 230,099. In short, not only were there strong indications, according to Lane, that the trial typewriter was not the regular Woodstock Hiss once owned but a planted fabrication on which Chambers could easily have forged the incriminating documents; there were also indications, according to Lane, that the FBI knew of this as either possibility or fact, and therefore worried about Lane's investigations to the point of watching and impeding them, and that

meanwhile it had been looking for the real Hiss typewriter itself.

On all of this—the whole of Lane's sworn story of what he found and couldn't find and why—the nation's press kept strangely mum.

Nor did the press do justice to what Lane got hold of to contradict the trial testimony of Edith Murray, the Chambers' supposed one-time maid. Edith Murray was the only person ever produced by the prosecution (other than Chambers and his wife) who claimed to have seen the Hisses and Chambers' together—despite their allegedly intimate social relationship. The importance of her testimony is indicated by the fact that the government saved her as a last-day-of-the-trial bomb-shell—which also prevented Hiss' lawyers from investigating the truth of her story.

Now, Lane has acquired two affidavits—one from a constant visitor at one house in Baltimore where Edith Murray said she worked for the Chambers when they rented the third floor, and one from the custodian of the building next-door to the other Baltimore address where Edith Murray said she worked for the Chambers. Both affidavits are long and detailed and they read with a ring of authenticity. Both state flatly that the Chambers' (then known as "Cantwells") did not have any colored maid—and could not possibly have had such a maid without the affiants knowing it—at the times the Chambers' lived at the respective addresses.

III

Finally, the press completely ignored one further batch of new evidence produced by Lane. At the trial, Chambers testified that he quit the Communist Party around the middle of April, 1938—and that he then got a job translating a certain book into English and went into hiding from the Communists. But Lane is now able to establish, out of the files and records of the publisher of the book, that Chambers got his translating job no later than early March and probably before that; and Lane also has an affidavit from the

author of the translated book to the effect that Chambers did go into hiding as soon as he got the job, if not earlier.

The significance of all this is that the dates of the documents that Chambers said he, as a Communist courier, received from Hiss—the documents supposedly typed on Hiss' Woodstock typewriter—the

documents that were the backbone of the government's case—run up to and including April 1, 1938.

There, except for the reference to Pressman's testimony about Hiss before a Congressional committee (testimony to which I, personally, attach as little weight as I do to Nathaniel Weyl's contrary testimony a few weeks back) is a too

brief summary of the motion for a new trial for Alger Hiss. There is the story that the press failed or refused to tell.

But what the press can welsh on, whether out of incompetence or cowardice, a federal judge cannot. And Judge Goddard—who presided at the second Hiss trial and who will doubtless hear this motion—can scarcely fail to be impressed by the job Lane has done and deeply disturbed by the dark shadow of doubt he has cast on the evidence that convicted Hiss.

For if Hiss was convicted, even in part, on fabricated evidence, a fraud was perpetrated not just on Hiss but on the court as well. And Judge Goddard's duty is clear—in protection of the integrity of his court, and especially in so notorious a case as this one—to remove any taint or suspicion of fraud from the Hiss conviction.

I repeat that—assuming always the complete honesty of Chester Lane (which in turn assumes that the government will not be able to demolish his motion in its reply)—I do not see how the court can fail either to grant a new trial at once, or at least to give Lane the power to demand in legal form the information he had his hands on, especially about Woodstock typewriter No. 230,099—which information, once verified, would of course mean a new trial. Moreover, I have yet to talk to any lawyer who has read the motion and holds a different view—and I have talked to several.

The granting of a new trial, plus even Hiss' probable acquittal if Lane can make his astounding stuff stand up in court, would not in itself clear up the Hiss-Chambers mystery (why, then, did Chambers accuse Hiss?)—nor, for that matter, would it conclusively prove that Hiss had never been a Communist. But it would properly make heroes—such as even the press could not ignore—out of Alger Hiss and especially Chester Lane, and bums out of Whittaker Chambers and perhaps—who knows?—the FBI.

In this country, even Communists are not supposed to be framed.



My Plea for America

By George Kennan

(U. S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union)

PERHAPS our first need is a realistic appraisal of the danger confronting us. For example: Will the Soviets attack the West?

We do not know for sure.

But we do know that to act as though war were inevitable, and unavoidable, when we have no proof of that assumption, is the best way to substantiate the Soviet thesis that we are aggressors and planning war ourselves, and the best way to bring war nearer.

* * *

A second need is certainly the ability to keep cool and to rise above petty irritation. We must repudiate idle invective, empty gestures, and pinpricks in diplomacy; and reserve our power for things that are really necessary and that advance our interest. It should not surprise us that other nations have different interests and outlooks.

* * *

Thirdly we should exhibit some of this fairness and tolerance at home. We are dealing with extremely complicated problems in foreign affairs. The choices are not simple; they are not obvious. In consequence, no one has the right to certainty, to self-righteousness, to un-

charitableness toward others who do not think as he does; no one has the right to treat as reprobates or criminals those directing American policy because he does not agree with them.

* * *

I therefore plead for concepts of national interest more modest than those with which we are accustomed to flatter our sensibilities; for greater dignity, quietness, and self-discipline in implementation of those concepts.

I plead for cool nerves and a clear eye, for the husbanding of our strength and for an iron self-discipline in refusing to be provoked to use that strength where no plausible end is in sight.

I also plead for a return to comradeship and tolerance in public life and public debates, to a recognition that Americans may be wrong without being evil, and that the wrong ones may even conceivably be ourselves.

In such things lie the true glory and true interest of our nation.

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Condensed from

The Foreign Service Journal

Frightened America



By William O. Douglas

EDITOR'S NOTE: *This article is adapted from an address Justice Douglas gave recently at Brandeis University—an address which the Editors of The Progressive believe will survive as one of the most penetrating of our time.*

THERE is an ominous trend in this nation. We are developing tolerance only for the orthodox point of view on world affairs, intolerance for new or different approaches. As a people we have swung over the years from tolerance to intolerance and back again. There have been eras of intolerance when the views of minorities have been suppressed. But there probably has not been a period of greater intolerance than we witness today.

To understand this, I think one has to leave the country, go into the back regions of the world, lose himself there, and become absorbed in the problems of the peoples of different civilizations. When he returns to America after a few months, he probably will be shocked. He will be shocked not at the intentions or purposes or ideals of the American people. He will be shocked at the arrogance and intolerance of great segments of the American press, at the arrogance and intolerance of many leaders in public office, at the arrogance and intolerance reflected in many of our attitudes toward Asia. He will find that thought is being standardized, that the permissible area for calm discussion is being narrowed, that the range of ideas is being limited, that many minds are closed to the receipt of any idea from Asia.

This is alarming to one who loves his country. It means that the philosophy of strength through free speech is being forsaken for the

philosophy of fear through repression.

That choice in Russia is conscious. Under Lenin the ministers and officials were encouraged to debate, to advance new ideas and criticisms. Once the debate was over, however, no dissension or disagreement was permitted. But even that small degree of tolerance for free discussion that Lenin permitted disappeared under Stalin. Stalin maintains a tight system of control, permitting no free speech, no real clash in ideas, even in the inner circle. We are, of course, not emulating either Lenin or Stalin. But we are drifting in the direction of repression, drifting dangerously fast.

What is the cause of this drift? What are the forces behind it? It is only a drift, for certainly everything in our tradition would make the great majority of us reject that course as a conscious choice.

This drift goes back, I think, to the fact that we carried over to days of peace the military approach to world affairs. Diplomacy, certainly in our relations to Asia, took a back seat. The military approach conditioned our thinking and our planning. The military, in fact, determined our approach to the Asians and their problems. That has been a great tragedy in Asia. And the tragedy to us at home has been about as great.

Military thinking continued to play a dominant role in our domestic affairs. The conspiratorial

role of Soviet Communism in the world scene was apparent to all who could read. This conspiratorial role of Soviet Communism was, of course, backed by Russia's military strength. We, therefore, had to be strong in a military sense to hold off Russia. But we soon accepted the military role as the dominant one. We thought of Asia in terms of military bases, not in terms of peoples and their aspirations. We wanted the starving people of Asia to choose sides, to make up their minds whether they were for us or against us, to cast their lot with us and against Russia.

We did not realize that to millions of these people the difference between Soviet dictatorship and the dictatorship under which they presently live is not very great. We did not realize that in some regions of Asia it is the Communist party that has identified itself with the so-called reform programs, the other parties being mere instruments for keeping a ruling class in power. We did not realize that the choice between democracy and Communism is not in the eyes of millions of illiterates the critical choice it is for us.

II

We forgot that democracy in many lands is an empty word; that the appeal is hollow when made to illiterate people living at the subsistence level. We asked them to furnish staging grounds for a military operation whose outcome, in their eyes, had no perceptible relation to their own welfare. Those who rejected our overtures must be Communists, we said. Those who did not fall in with our military plans must be secretly aligning with Russia, we thought. This was the result of our military thinking, of our absorption in military affairs. In Asia it has brought us the lowest prestige in our existence.

The military effort has been involving more and more of our sons, more and more of our budget, more and more of our thinking. The military policy has so completely absorbed our thoughts that we have

mostly forgotten that our greatest strength, our enduring power is not in guns, but in ideas. Today in Asia we are identified not with ideas of freedom, but with guns. Today at home we are thinking less and less in terms of defeating Communism with ideas, more and more in terms of defeating Communism with military might.

The concentration on military means has helped to breed fear. It has bred fear and insecurity partly because of the horror of atomic war. But the real reason strikes deeper. In spite of our enormous expenditures, we see that Soviet imperialism continues to expand and that *the expansion proceeds without the Soviets firing a shot.* The free world continues to shrink without a battle for its survival having been fought. It becomes apparent, as country after country falls to Soviet imperialistic ambitions, that military policy alone is a weak one; that military policy alone will end in political bankruptcy and futility. Thus fear mounts.

Fear has many manifestations. The Communist threat inside the country has been magnified and exalted far beyond its realities. Irresponsible talk by irresponsible people has fanned the flames of fear. Accusations have been loosely made. Character assassinations have become common. Suspicion has taken the place of good will. Once we could debate with impunity along a wide range of inquiry. Once we could safely explore to the edges of a problem, challenge orthodoxy without qualms, and run the gamut of ideas in search of solutions to perplexing problems. Once we had confidence in each other. Now there is suspicion. Innocent acts become tell-tale marks of disloyalty. The

coincidence that an idea parallels Soviet Russia's policy for a moment of time settles an aura of suspicion around a person.

Suspicion grows until only the orthodox idea is the safe one. Suspicion grows until only the person who loudly proclaims the orthodox view, or who, once having been a Communist, has been converted, is trustworthy. Competition for embracing the new orthodoxy increases. Those who are unorthodox are suspect. Everyone who does not follow the military policy-makers is suspect. Everyone who voices opposition to the trend away from diplomacy and away from political tactics takes a chance. Some who are opposed are indeed "subversive." Therefore, the thundering edict commands that all who are opposed are "subversive." Fear is fanned to a fury. Good and honest men are pilloried. Character is assassinated. Fear runs rampant.

Fear even strikes at lawyers and the bar. Those accused of illegal Communist activity—all presumed innocent, of course, until found guilty—have difficulty getting reputable lawyers to defend them. Lawyers have talked with me about it. Many are worried. Some could not volunteer their services, for if they did they would lose clients and their firms would suffer. Others could not volunteer because if they did they would be dubbed "subversive" by their community and put in the same category as those they would defend. This is a dark tragedy. Lawyers are the first to be aware of the bar's great historic role—the role of the defender. They know that the law's brightest days have been when an Erskine stepped forward to defend an unpopular person accused of an ugly or infa-

mous crime. Yet such has been the temper of opinion in recent years that good men have been reluctant to undertake this great historic role.

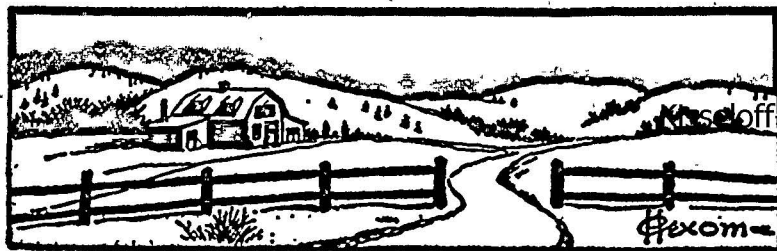
Fear has driven more and more men and women in all walks of life either to silence or to the folds of the orthodox. Fear has mounted—fear of losing one's job, fear of being investigated, fear of being pilloried. This wear has stereotyped our thinking, narrowed the range of free public discussion, and driven many thoughtful people to despair. This fear has even entered universities, great citadels of our spiritual strength, and corrupted them. We have the spectacle of university officials lending themselves to one of the worst kinds of witch hunts we have seen since early days.

III

This fear has affected the youngsters. Youth has played a very important role in our national affairs. It has usually been the oncoming generation—full of enthusiasm, full of idealism, full of energy—that has challenged its elders and the status quo. It is from this young group that the country has received much of its moral power. They have always been prone to question the stewardship of their fathers, to doubt the wisdom of traditional practices, to explode cliches, to quarrel with the management of public affairs.

Youth—like the opposition party in a parliamentary system—has served a powerful role. It has cast doubts on our policies, challenged our inarticulate major premises, put the light on our prejudices, and exposed our inconsistencies. Youth has made each generation indulge in self-examination. Its criticisms have been searching and productive. Changes have been propelled by the opinion which they have generated. They have until now felt free to discuss, to argue, to campaign, to embrace radical ideas, and to harass the orthodox school with a barrage of ideas.

But a great change has taken place. Youth is still rebellious; but it is largely holding its tongue. There



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is the fear of being labeled a "subversive" if one departs from the orthodox party line. That charge—if leveled against a young man or young woman—may have profound effects. It may ruin a youngster's business or professional career. No one wants a Communist, nor any one who is suspect, in his organization.

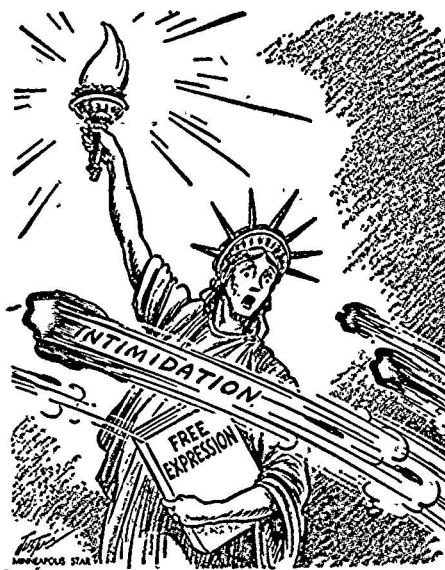
And so the lips of the younger generation have become more and more sealed. Repression of ideas has taken the place of debate. There may not be a swelling crowd of converts to the orthodox, military view. But the voice of the opposition is more and more stilled; and youth, the mainstay in early days of the revolt against orthodoxy, is largely immobilized.

This pattern of orthodoxy that is shaping our thinking has dangerous implications. No one man, no one group can have the answer to the many perplexing problems that today confront the management of world affairs. The scene is a troubled and complicated one. The problems require the pooling of many ideas, the exposure of different points of view, the hammering out in public discussion of the pros and cons of this policy or of that.

There are few who know firsthand the conditions in the villages of Asia, the South Pacific, South America, and Africa. There are few who really know the powerful forces operating from the grass roots in those areas—forces that are reflected in the attitudes of the men who head up the governments in those countries. But unless we know those attitudes, we cannot manage intelligently. Unless we know, we will waste our energies and our resources. Unless we know, we are not in position to win even political alliances of an enduring nature.

There are those who think that our present policy towards Asia will lead to disaster—for us. There are those who believe that in Asia we are fast becoming the symbol of what the people of Asia fear and hate. There are those who believe that the most effective bases we can get in Asia are bases in the hearts of Asia's millions, not bases on their lands. There are those who believe

—and the Home of the Brave



Justus in The Minneapolis Star

that we must substitute a political for a military strategy in Asia; that when there is a cease fire in Korea, we must make a political settlement with Red China; that if we apply to China the attitude we are now brilliantly exploiting in Yugoslavia, we can manage to make Soviet imperialism crumble.

There are those who are deeply opposed, many of whom put that issue beyond the pale of discussion. There are even some who make the crucial test of one's loyalty or sanity his acceptance or rejection of our present policy toward Asia.

The question of our Asian policy illustrates the need for a wide range of free public discussion. Asia poses probably the most critical issues of the day. Certain it is that if Asia, like China, is swept into the political orbit of Soviet Russia, the Soviets will then command or be able to immobilize

—the bulk of the people of the world

—the bulk of the wealth of the world.

If that happens, it is doubtful if we, with all our atomic bombs, could win a war.

The great danger of this period is not inflation, nor the national debt, nor atomic warfare. The great, the critical danger is that we will so limit or narrow the range of per-

missible discussion and permissible thought that we will become victims of the orthodox school.

If we do, we will lose flexibility. We will lose the capacity for expert management. We will then become wedded to a few techniques, to a few devices. They will define our policy and at the same time limit our ability to alter or modify it. Once we narrow the range of thought and discussion, we will surrender a great deal of our power. We will become like the man on the toboggan who can ride it but who can neither steer it nor stop it.

The mind of man must always be free. The strong society is one that sanctions and encourages freedom of thought and expression. When there is that freedom, a nation has resiliency and adaptability. When freedom of expression is supreme, a nation will keep its balance.

Our real power is our spiritual strength, and that spiritual strength stems from our civil liberties. If we are true to our traditions, if we are tolerant of the whole market place of ideas, we will always be strong. Our weakness grows when we become intolerant of opposing ideas, depart from our standards of civil liberties, and borrow the policeman's philosophy from the enemy we detest.

That has been the direction of our drift. It is dangerous to the morale of our people; it is destructive of the influence and prestige of our country. We have lost much of our resiliency, much of our inventive genius. The demands of orthodoxy already have begun to sap our strength—and to deprive us of power. One sees it from far off Asia. From Asia one sees an America that is losing its humanity, its idealism, and its Christian character. From Asia one sees an America that is strong and rich and powerful, and yet crippled and ineffective because of its limited vision.

When we view this problem full face we are following the American tradition. The times demand a renaissance in freedom of thought and freedom of expression, a renaissance that will end the orthodoxy that threatens to devitalize us.

Deepening Shadows

Over the Satellites

By G.E.R. Gedye

DISTRESS SIGNALS are flashing with greater frequency behind the Iron-Curtain. In recent weeks three different signs of economic sickness have been revealed in three different parts of the Soviet bloc—Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Rumania. The gravity of each case was admitted only when further concealment was impossible.

• In Czechoslovakia the obvious breakdown in food production and the inflationary trend were denied to the outside world until the Government and Communist Party were forced to admit some of the facts regarding food in mid-February.

• In Hungary, top-Communist Mattyas Rakosi made a holiday gesture to the population with the announcement that foodstuffs and other products were coming off the ration list while wages were being increased. The practical result was that the actual cost of living, allowing for wage increase, shot up by some 20 to 40 per cent. Now peasant opposition to collectivization has forced him to suspend the setting up of new *kolkhoses*—farm collectives—until further notice.

• In Rumania the government put through an overnight "currency reform" in January, with the State playing the role of highwayman and emptying the nation's pockets.

These three apparently quite separate dislocations are symptoms of the same incurable disease affecting the Soviet body politic—chronic indigestion, brought about by gluttonous devouring of unassimilable non-Communist, non-Russian, European populations.

Russia's failure to digest her new satellites has led her to try one quack Muscovite remedy after an-

other, including repeated purges. But while repeated doses of this horse-doctor treatment during thirty years have kept the Soviet Union from collapse, they have only aggravated the trouble in the annexed countries. The exigencies of the cold war, and of the breathless Soviet extensions of an already vast armament program in preparation for a possible shooting war, have produced the twin disorders of inflation and agricultural chaos which lie behind the various symptoms in each of these three satellites.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Food supplies began to go wrong in Czechoslovakia even before the *Putsch* of 1948 which put the Communists in full control. Ever since the country came under Russian reins in 1948, food had been falling off. The indigent Russians were understandably shocked to see the standard of life demanded by the average Czechoslovak, in sharp contrast to the wretched conditions prevailing in their fatherland. Continual pressure was maintained to achieve

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a reduction of Czechoslovak food imports in favor of strategic raw materials for processing by heavy industry and delivery to Russia. As a result, the output of consumer goods by light industry was drastically reduced.

Within a year of the *Putsch*, the real reign of terror, hardship, and slavery set in under the new Premier, Antonin Zapotocky. Following months of mass arrests, political prisoners were drafted to the mines. Food imports were drastically cut. Deliveries of grain promised from Russia fell heavily into arrears. Tea and coffee disappeared, sugar ran short, milk and butter were almost unobtainable, meat became scarce and dear. This, more or less, has been the prevailing pattern ever since.

The campaign to force the peasantry into collectives encountered sullen, hardening resistance, and with it home production of food fell off. As supplies of food and consumer goods decreased, absenteeism in the mines went up. One Minister after another angrily denounced the "industrial slackers." Penalties were invoked, and then came waves of arrests of foremen and managers who failed to drive their workmen harder, on transparently bogus charges of sabotage. At the same time that the lash cracked across the backs of miners and heavy industrial workers, sugar plums in the shape of extra pay and bonuses were dangled before their eyes. But those who responded soon found their pockets stuffed with Czech crowns that counted for little because of the famine in consumer goods.

In 1950 there was a new food crisis coupled with rising prices and plan failures. Moscow cried "faster, faster" to the factories. Even bread, formerly the one abundant foodstuff, ran so short that rationing had to be resumed. One experiment after another was tried without success. To the women and children in the mines were added drafted peasants and civil servants. "Conspiracies" were discovered at ministerial level. Tremendous compulsory delivery quotas were set for non-collectivized peasants. But the more Moscow insisted on the persecution

of the non-existent "Kulaks," the worse the situation grew.

The failure of Rudolf Slansky, all-powerful Secretary-General of the Communist Party, to produce food and thus to induce workers to fulfill Moscow's demands, was one of the principal causes of his downfall and arrest at the end of last year, as I reported in the February *Progressive*.

During December the murmuring about food and consumer goods shortages gained greatly in volume. Both shortages were blandly denied in the press, and the slogan was launched that increased export of heavy industrial products was alone the key to national well-being. The usual cash bonuses at Christmas were abolished, and at last Zapotocky and others began to use the dreaded word "inflation." No use, he said, to demand more wages — to pay them without a great increase in output would simply mean inflation and price increases.

"I had," Zapotocky said in a Christmas speech, "to reject unjust and exaggerated demands by those who expect the State to fulfill all their wishes," i.e. those who expected real reward for their labor in the shape of purchasable supplies, food, and clothing instead of worthless paper. "Those who will not help the Republic," he said, "we shall crush."

Desperately, a new rationing system was introduced in January, cutting supplies for large categories and cancelling ration cards for a still larger number. The Minister of Manpower, Dr. Havelka, insisted again on withdrawing still more workers from light industry and other jobs to increase the number of heavy industry workers. On Jan. 27, it was triumphantly stated that the number of peasant cooperatives was 1,011 more than in 1950 and that the "meat plan" for 1951 had been fulfilled.

Then came the pay-off. On Feb. 10 it was announced:

"The Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Czechoslovak Government find that there were deficiencies in the supply to the people of meat and meat-products last year.

Workers' demands could not be satisfied and it was even necessary to limit the free market, to increase its prices, and to issue rice and sugar on food cards in place of 300 grams of meat.

"The reasons were, firstly, the nonfulfilment of agricultural tasks, under-production of fodder, insufficient care of cattle. The cattle and pig birth-rate fell, and deaths and compulsory slaughtering increased."

This was only the introduction to a string of complaints of shop wastage, swindling, concealment of stocks, and misappropriation of rations. Of the chronic grain, potato, vegetable, and other food shortages, there has still been no official admission. But despite all previous denials, part of the disastrous situation had now to be revealed to scare the public and get a hearing for an imposing string of remedies.

Since these included neither the dissolution of the hated and ineffectual collective farms, the cessation of peasant persecution, nor checking inflation by letting up on heavy industry and military preparations in favor of the production of the urgent necessities of life, it may safely be predicted that they will achieve precisely nothing. The symptoms may be camouflaged but the disease remains.

HUNGARY

In Hungary, food shortages and inflation were better camouflaged and more skillfully dealt with. Though the Magyar lacks the stubbornness which marks the Czech, the resentment of collectivization is no less strong among the peasantry because of their wretched plight under their feudal overlords up to 1945. The millions of formerly landless peasants bitterly resent the efforts to deprive them of the longed-for patch of land which they secured in 1945.

Until last December the food situation in this very rich agricultural country, which was the granary of the Hapsburg Monarchy, was much like that in Czechoslovakia — mentioned food-stuffs cheap on paper, but never properly available owing to peasant resistance, and black mar-

Same Line-up, Another Location



Herblock in The Washington Post

ket supplies so expensive as to be out of the normal worker's reach. It was then that Rakosi, the top-Communist, announced his "courageous gesture." Rationing would be abolished, the peasants would disgorge at higher prices, and wages would go up. What happened?

Prices for meat and butter went up 100 per cent; lard 200 per cent; textiles and public services, from 25 to 100 per cent. The wage increases to cope with this were fixed at 15 to 21 per cent. The result, of course, was a new and disastrous drop in the standard of living.

The State scooped in huge amounts of inflated currency over the deal and made a big profit. The entire stocks accumulated by the State—the only wholesaler—at very low rationed prices were passed on to retailers and their worker customers at the new inflated prices. Peasants were further ordered to hand over to the State "the difference between the old and new prices of any stocks they hold." Once again, the State was as highwayman. Or, perhaps it would be more accurate to say the Russian state, for in December Hungary's monthly reparations deliveries to Russia included:

120 freight-car-loads of wheat, 100 each of barley and oats, 85 of maize, 20 of canned foodstuff, two barge-loads of unspecified grain.

Little wonder that Hungary de-

faults on her treaty obligations to sell foodstuff to Austria.

One thing the abolition of rationing on Nov. 30 failed to effect was a permanent improvement in the food supply. Within four weeks the Minister of Agriculture, Erdei, was again storming at the peasants; both "free" and "collectivized." The latter were charged with slacking, sabotage, and deserting their posts whenever possible. Savage penalties were imposed. It was announced that the compulsory production quota for peasants on collectives would be raised by 50 per cent, the earnings of anyone leaving a *kolkhose* confiscated, and two days' remuneration withheld for every working-day missed.

II

But the every next day Rakosi sounded retreat. Nobody, he said, must be over-persuaded "or perhaps even threatened" into joining a *kolkhose*. On Jan. 6 there was another desperate effort to straighten things out. A new "Ministry for the Delivery of Agrarian Products" was created—but the products remained in arrears. Then came another panic concession; all agitation in favor of the *kolkhoses* was stopped at once and the formation of new farm collectives forbidden as from March 10.

This move was made in the hope that the peasants would now stop their agitation and get on with the spring sowing. But this year the peasants know that once the harvest is safe, the *kolkhose* whip will crack again. For in March 1951, Rakosi "forbade" the formation of new collectives—on the silly plea that the enthusiasm of the peasants was out-running organizational facilities. That was also a measure of sheer panic, for only three days before, Rakosi had declared that the enforced collectivization was to be greatly speeded up! The peasant answer to that was widespread sabotage, destruction of stocks, and unmistakable preparations for revolt.

On July 21, when it was seen that the harvest was secure, Rakosi cancelled this order, and the col-

lectivization lash again descended on the peasantry. By December 1951, Rakosi had increased the areas "collectivized" and "state-cultivated" from six and seven per cent a year earlier to 16 and 8.5 per cent respectively of the country's total arable land. Thus nearly 25 per cent is now "communized."

Meanwhile the "free" markets for "surplus" products legalized by Rakosi on Nov. 30 have been practically closed again by an order doubling the quota to be yielded to the State before any "surplus" can be sold. The peasants have already proved that neither crippling ordinances nor the terror of the AVH (secret police) can force them to provide the normal food supplies without which the workers will not perform their terribly hard tasks. For their part, as the Communist newspapers constantly bear witness, the workers continue to prove unsatisfactory—even in the face of such measures as the shooting of 80 recalcitrant miners in Tata Banya last autumn. If the imperturbable Rakosi shows signs of losing his nerve over the sequence—peasant-resistance, food-shortage, currency-inflation, workers'-resistance—surely no one recalling, as he must, the fate of Czechoslovakia's Slansky, can be surprised.

RUMANIA

The inflation resulting from peasant resistance and under-production of consumer goods has had to be admitted even more openly in Rumania. At the end of January, it was announced without warning that the leu would no longer have a dollar basis, but would be tied to the rouble at 280 lei to one rouble. At the same time, the Rumanian Communists decreed that the old leu must be exchanged at the fantastic rate of 100 old to one new leu, up to 2,000 lei; over 3,000 lei the rate would be 400:1. State concerns were allowed to change unlimited sums at 200:1.

The effect of this Kisseloff 625186 population of almost their entire cash in hand; the few favored Communists who dared deposit money in the banks could get one new for

50 old lei. Even this was robbery, as the twenty to one rate paid to foreign diplomats and that fixed for future wages showed. Thus the last remaining independent small traders and handicraftsmen are being wiped out. Price reductions simultaneously announced were too petty to soften the blow to the despoiled population.

This is the second time the Rumanians have been mulcted in the name of currency reform, but this time the operation was much more drastic. How little this is going to help against the chronic satellite inflation is shown by the intensive drive to increase heavy industrial output which has followed.

Under stern orders, the State undertakings have filled their windows with long-hoarded goods for which they will now get "gold-rouble lei," but the ruined private shops are rapidly closing. Thus the distribution of such consumer goods as there are becomes a monopoly of the State, which can allot them as Party interests dictate. Instead of the workers being enabled to buy more, they are urged to "invest" their new wages in industrial undertakings—presumably until they also vanish with the next currency reform.

Neither in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, nor Rumania has the problem been solved of how to get the last ounce of energy out of the workers to satisfy Russian needs, when the peasants hold out on food and the State on consumer needs. Nor has any worker yet discovered how to make a square meal out of a gun barrel or to walk a mile shod in tank spares.



The Hope Of India



By Chester Bowles

I BELIEVE it was Paul Hoffman who once remarked that it was possible to pick up fifty per cent of the information about a new country during the first three months of your stay there, but that it would take at least thirty years to learn the remaining fifty per cent.

I've been in India more than three months and if I have 50 per cent of the answers about that vast, fascinating, and complex country, I am at least on schedule. I have had a rare opportunity to get around India and talk with the people as well as the government officials in New Delhi. I've already traveled some 7,000 miles by plane and another 1,800 by auto. I've had half a dozen illuminating interviews with Prime Minister Nehru and hundreds of roadside conversations with the farmers in the country and with the people in the great cities. I suppose I have drunk tea in at least 35 village houses.

It is in the villages of India that the great underlying issue that challenges us all will be hammered out. We have learned from experience that tanks and machine guns are not the most effective weapons in fighting Communism. Communism got its hold in China on the village level. It must be beaten in India on the village level by proving that free men working together can obtain more of the good things of life than can the victims of regimentation.

The next five years may determine which system—free democratic government or Communist dictatorship—proves the more successful. If the Indian economy stagnates while China with its brutal methods succeeds in providing even moderately improved living standards for its masses—and whether we like it or

not China has already made progress in that direction—the Communist appeal throughout Asia will become almost irresistible.

Even though the leaders of free nations contend that China's gains were achieved only through the ruthless destruction of human life and human values, this viewpoint will be thrust aside by people impatient to improve their own situation.

On the other hand, a victory for democracy in India will enable tens of millions of Asiatic peoples to develop a robust new faith in themselves, in their ancient cultures, and in the ideals of the free world.

We must not allow the natural differences which arise between the United States and Indian Governments to obscure the fact that India is definitely aligned on the side of the free nations. Prime Minister Nehru has stated in clear terms that India would defend itself against outside aggression.

Indians deplore the word "neutrality" as applied to their foreign policy. In recent sessions of the United Nations General Assembly, India voted as the United States did on 38 occasions, and differed from the American stand only twice.

Sometimes I believe we Americans often fall into the easy rationalization that other nations must be either 100 per cent for us or 100 per cent against us. The Indian people do

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not accept the theory that they are sinners because they do not always agree with our policies.

I am often asked about India's attitude toward the U.S.S.R. The people of India and the Indian Government generally started out with a sympathetic attitude toward the U.S.S.R., which went back to the period of World War II. This feeling was based on the fact that Russia's material gains started more or less from scratch—the background of an agricultural country increasing its productivity.

The disillusionment with the Soviet Union began when the Communist Party in India broke with the Congress Party on the issue of supporting Great Britain in the last war. The Communist Party in India was playing the game, of course, that it has always played, that whatever is good enough for the Soviet Union is good enough for it.

A second factor was the armed Communist revolts that took place in 1947 and 1948 in Travancore and Cochin and other parts of India when many people were killed and there was a great deal of violence.

II

Today I find that few of the Indian people are pro-Soviet. Some of the young people in the colleges and universities are dangerously pro-Soviet and I should estimate the percentage runs as high as 40 or 50 per cent in some sections. However, among the leaders in government there are certainly none. They aren't always clear as to what the Soviet is trying to do; they have a sort of disillusioned attitude. They had hoped it would be different. They had hoped the brutality they admitted was there was just a quirk of the Russian temperament and not part of the system itself. When they began to appreciate it was part of the thing itself, the Soviet Union slipped sharply in the estimation of the Indian people.

Vishinsky's speech on disarmament, in which he said he laughed all night, was quoted in practically every paper in India and it was the cause of real shock to the people.

The most effective Soviet propa-

ganda in India is paper-covered books. The Communists have an ingenious way of handling them. The Soviet Government presents these books to the local Communist parties as a gift. The local Communist parties then sell them and in that way finance their local Communist activities, with no apparent direct subsidy.

The Indian attitude towards Red China is most complex. The Soviet Union has done a successful job of trying to convince people all through this area that the Americans will not accept the Asian people as equals. The Kremlin's game has been simplified, of course, by the widespread conviction that Asia in general and India in particular have long been victims of Western exploitation.

Moreover, both India and China face huge economic difficulties as countries with quite substantial resources still in a low agricultural stage of development, and they feel some community of interest in how those problems can be licked.

Another factor is the behavior of the Chinese in India. Unlike the Russians, they have handled themselves with great skill. The Chinese cultural delegation which visited India recently was a big success. A fairly typical conversation, of a Chinese delegate to an Indian in the government, would run something like this:

"Let us not argue about the U.S.S.R. We are not necessarily in partnership with them. We feel indebted to them because they have taken up our cause, but you don't like them, so let us not argue about them and let us not argue about America. We have our views. You don't share all of them. Let us spend our time talking about our mutual problems. We are a great Asian nation like yourself—the two most heavily populated countries in the world. We are trying to solve our problems through a people's democracy."

This approach tells the Indians what they want to hear—that China has no designs on India. Still, I believe there is a growing disillusionment in India with China—a growing fear of what China has on its mind as far as aggression is con-

cerned. There is a great deal of talk and fear about Tibet. The Indian people are concerned about the fact that there are many troops in Tibet—many more than are needed to hold down a docile people. There is also concern about the northern boundary of Nepal.

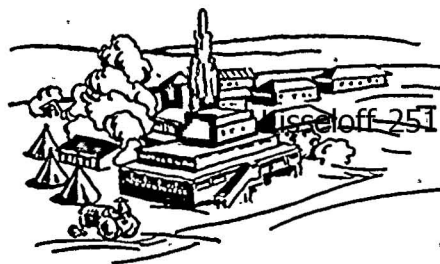
Despite the problems and tensions of India, I am optimistic about its future. The great test of democratic government will succeed. On the other hand, I recognize that many mistakes may be made. If success is achieved and free India overcomes its problems, the victory will be a victory for the Indian people, not for assistance which the United States has given and—I hope—will continue to give India.

If democratic government fails in India, the entire free world will suffer a catastrophic setback all through Asia. This setback will be even greater, in my opinion, than the reverse the free world suffered when China was conquered by Communism. The lesson of China forewarned us of what could happen in India. If we cannot profit from this lesson, the future is dark indeed.

What can we Americans do to prevent this catastrophe?

One—We must give the Indian people a much clearer picture of the United States and the American people. Most Indians have an unbalanced conception of Americans. They often exaggerate racial discrimination. The Cold War often makes it necessary for us to talk in world strategy military terms, and this irritates the Indians. Furthermore, many of them still believe that the Western nations will revert to the policies of the 19th Century colonial period.

India must see the best in Ameri-



ca. We do not make friends by boasting of our material comforts. Talk of bath tubs, radios, and television sets does not make it easier for people in other lands to know and like us.

We have a great democratic tradition. It embodies the ideas of Jefferson, of Jackson and Lincoln, Teddy Roosevelt and Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie. One great idea runs through the philosophies of these men—every individual is important; governments exist for him. He does not live to serve the state.

We are carrying a tremendous burden in our struggle for a free world. We are often uncertain, and, in spirit, I think, we are humble in the face of this responsibility. We have made mistakes. We shall probably make more. We must get across to India our deep and grave concern with these problems, our anxiety to preserve democratic freedoms as we search for answers. We should welcome their help and search out the contributions they can make in their own way.

We are making progress with this need to inform India about ourselves. Most of the kinks in our information service have been ironed out in the last year, and the information program is now moving along in high gear.

Two—We must face up to the fact that we must increase aid to India. This will cost money, but it is a small fraction of what we spend in the rest of the world.

Three—We must never lose sight of the fact that when we deal with India we are dealing with an Asiatic country. By shirking the difficult task of recognizing India as a part of Asia and thus refusing to recognize the realities of 1952, the free nations will surely alienate all of Asia and perhaps even bring about their own downfall.

The rest depends largely on India. I'm an optimist. I believe India will meet the challenge. The next five years may tell the story. Everyone who believes in human freedom and ultimate dignity of man will be affected by the outcome.

How to End the High Cost of Strikes

By George W. Goble

DURING the five year period following World War II (1946-51) the United States had 20,546 work stoppages caused by labor-management disputes. These strikes involved 14,170,000 workers and resulted in a loss of 274,000,000 man-days of working time. The dollar loss of these work stoppages to labor, the owners, and the public is astronomical, but impossible to calculate accurately. The steel strike of 1949 alone cost workers \$210,000,000 in wages and the owners \$50,000,000 in maintenance charges.

This tragic loss, involving great injury to the public, can be prevented or greatly reduced, and what is equally significant, this result can be achieved without impairing labor's power to obtain its justifiable demands from management or management's ability to resist unjustifiable demands by labor.

The way to do it is to legalize contracts between management and labor providing for a non-stoppage strike plan under which financial penalties would be substituted for the losses now caused by work stoppages.

Here is how it would be done: The National Labor Relations Act would be amended to permit collective bargaining contracts to contain a clause providing that in the event of a dispute between management and labor, management would be required to deposit weekly with the National Labor Relations Board an amount equal to the company's average weekly net profits, and 25 per cent of the salaries of officers and executives. Labor would be required to submit to a weekly deduction of 25 per cent of wages, also deposited with the Board.

The plant would be required to continue to operate and the parties

to continue to negotiate. If the parties settled their dispute within 90 days, all amounts paid to the Board would be returned. If they did not reach an agreement within 90 days, the entire deposit would be forfeited to the U. S. Government. The same procedure would then be repeated for the next 90 days and so on until the parties reached an agreement.

In cases where it is found inappropriate to use net profits for determining the amount of the company's forfeiture, the plan would permit the parties to agree to a stipulated amount instead of net profits. The company would not be permitted to pay dividends during the period that the strike continued beyond 90 days.

A bill (H.R. 5449) incorporating the non-stoppage strike plan has been introduced in Congress. Hearings before the House Committee on Education and Labor are planned during the present session.

The operating details of the plan are not inflexible. The whole approach is grounded on awareness that experience will be required to iron out flaws. Thus, there is a high degree of elasticity allowed the contracting parties in setting percentages of wages and salaries to be forfeited, in permitting stipulated amounts to be substituted for net profits made subject to forfeiture, and in making adjustments for a

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variety of operating conditions. Goals of the non-stoppage strike are:

1. Substitute a new sanction (or method of coercion) for the traditional strike and lockout in management-labor disputes.

2. Elimination of the stop-work or lockout procedure as a factor in collective bargaining.

3. Maintenance of the present balance in economic bargaining power as between management and labor.

4. Maintenance of a higher level of production and stabilize the national economy by eliminating work stoppages.

II

Obviously, labor won't agree even to a suspension of the right to strike if suspension will result in a net impairment of the economic power it may exert against management. The non-stoppage strike plan would result in no such impairment. Under it labor would retain the most potent attribute of the regular strike itself—the power to cause the employer to lose all net profits.

In addition, labor would acquire the right to compel the forfeiture of a percentage of salaries of company executives, and during the continuance of the strike beyond 90 days, to prevent the payment of dividends to stockholders—two powers labor does not now possess. And while inflicting these injuries upon management, labor would continue to draw a major portion, if not all of its wages, which is not the case during a regular strike.

But if the plan is so beneficial to labor, how can it also be advantageous to management? The answer is simple enough. The employer would be exempt from the considerable losses that result from a closed plant, such as shutdown expenses and maintenance costs. He would gain protection from the loss of his competitive position in the market by being able to continue to supply his customers, and he would receive enough income to continue to pay current costs, taxes, interest,

and other fixed charges, which he does not now get in the event of a conventional strike.

Moreover, both sides would gain because the plan encourages the settlement of disputes without requiring any actual loss by either side.

The 90-day provision makes it possible for large sums of money to be collected from both parties and impounded by the Labor Board. Failure to settle the controversy by the 91st day would result in the forfeiture of these funds to the government. Settlement before that date would prevent it, thus providing a powerful inducement to both parties to settle their dispute before the loss occurs.

The forfeiture of net profits and the prohibition of dividend payments during a non-stoppage strike injures the stockholders. What, you may wonder, is the justification for injuring these "innocent" people who are not responsible for the management of the company? There are three answers.

One—The stockholders are the real owners and the real employer. The strike in reality is against them. The officers and executives are only their representatives.

Two—The stockholders are now hurt by a regular strike. The proposed law leaves this loss where it is, except that it makes it possible for the loss to be mitigated or avoided by a prompt settlement.

Three—It is not essential that net profits be received by the company or dividends be paid to stockholders in order that the plant be kept running during a wage controversy. The only purpose of the proposed law is to prevent work stoppage.

The creation of the corporation and the development of the factory system and mass production made the birth and growth of the labor union inevitable. Concentration of power in the hands of ownership just as surely made necessary the organization of balancing power on the side of labor. Labor's principal weapon in its fight for union recognition, improved working conditions, and a higher standard of living has been the strike.

Conciliation, mediation, and arbitration have proved useful as auxiliaries in the settlement of labor disputes, but none has served or can serve as a substitute for the strike. The only alternative previously proposed has been the establishment of a system of compulsory arbitration. It is suggested that if we can have courts to settle ordinary disputes between man and man, why can't we have boards of arbitration to settle labor disputes?

The answer isn't too difficult. Through the centuries rules of law have been developed for deciding most disputes between persons. By the use of these rules courts are able

to reach results generally accepted by all classes of society. However, there is no comparable acceptable body of rules governing labor relations.

There are no rules for determining the thorniest problem of all—what is a fair wage? Is it the wage based upon the industry's profits, value of the product, standard of living of the community, difficulty of performing the work, competition in the labor market, or the employee's need, length of service, education and training, or some combination of all of these?

A labor court of arbitration would have no accepted or recognized standard for deciding a case. Its decision would necessarily have to be an expedient or only a guess as to what would be fair or acceptable to the parties or to society. And there is no chance of developing a system of rules so long as there is no agreement on basic principles and so long as there is a risk of organized resistance to each decision.

The strike, with all its faults, therefore has been accepted as inevitable. With labor it has become sacrosanct. The law neither recognizes nor offers an effective alternative. So far we have closed our minds to the consideration of a substitute:

Under present laws neither management nor labor can be said to have a decided dominance over the other. A workable balance in economic power has been achieved. The maintenance of this balance seems to me vitally important if democracy and our present economy are to be preserved. The compelling challenge is the development of a substitute for the strike which will, without work stoppage, preserve this balance. The non-stoppage strike is my answer. It removes power from both sides without impairing the relative bargaining power of either. At present each contestant is armed with a gun, with which he may kill or permanently maim not only his opponent but also innocent bystanders. The proposal would take away the gun and let the contestants wres-

Our Fearful Teachers

One of the most disturbing reports on academic freedom this year has been an 86-page study by the National Education Association. Its main theme is that a growing censorship in public schools has made "insidious inroads" into the teaching profession.

The report charges that teachers are afraid to tackle almost any controversial subject. School boards and superintendents bow to outside pressure groups, even though the groups may be against the best interests of education. The whole idea is to avoid a row with "troublemakers."

The result of all this is that teachers now take for granted the policy of not offending anybody. They try to keep peace in the ranks, and stay away from any controversial issue that might upset a member of the school board or of the community. Textbooks are removed even though they have been used for 20 years, simply to avoid getting into a row.

N.E.A. has adopted a resolution suggesting that each school should set up a joint committee of community members to consider all pressure-group complaints.

The Open Forum,
California paper of the
American Civil Liberties Union

tle it out without endangering the health and safety of the public.

The regular strike is such a powerful weapon because of the economic injury it enables labor to inflict upon management. That injury comes about, however, not so much because the plant is closed, as because the company's income is stopped. The main target of the strike is the employer's profits. The purpose of the non-stoppage strike plan is to enable labor to reduce or eliminate the net profits of management without interrupting the operation of the plant.

But the regular strike cuts both ways. It injures labor as well as management. During a strike wages stop. Under the proposed plan, to maintain the existing balance of power between the parties, labor must suffer an economic loss commensurate with that of management. The plan subjects labor to the possible loss of part of its wage.

Thus, under the proposed law, each party has the power to inflict an economic injury upon the other as a means of enforcing its demands. Yet, a striking group of laborers is in a better position than at present because, instead of receiving no wages at all, at the worst it receives 75 per cent of its wages. Management is in a better position because instead of losing all its income, at the worst, its executives lose 25 per cent of their salaries and the company loses only net profits and is able to continue the operation of its plant. The public is in a better position because full employment is maintained and the production of goods is continued without interruption, thus contributing toward a lower price level, a higher standard of living, and the stabilization of the national economy.

The non-stoppage strike plan also includes the added advantage of enhancing the scope and prestige of the democratic device of collective bargaining. It will tend to shift the focus of attention and effort from the picket line to the conference table, encourage calm and reasoned discussion of demands, and minimize personal antagonisms. Is not such a plan worth trying?

Germany:

Black Market Blues

By Milton Mayer

Marburg/Lahn, Germany

"I KNEW it was wrong," said Frau McGillicuddy, fingering the tablecloth she'd got with a 60-cent can of Nescafe, "but I couldn't resist it."

"Those," I said, "are the very words of the Mademoiselle from Armentieres."

"We haven't spent much time in France," said Frau McGillicuddy, "but we've had some wonderful trips in Italy and Spain."

"I suppose," I said, "that we'll be doing it, too, after we're here a while, but it does seem wrong."

"Of course you will," said Frau McGillicuddy, "and," sighing deeply, "I suppose it is wrong. I never did anything like it in Pittsburgh, never in my whole life. But nobody does anything like that in Pittsburgh, and everybody does it here. We've been here five years, and I haven't met an American housewife who doesn't—not one."

"But what will you say when you get back to Pittsburgh, about the tablecloths, and the silver, and all?"

"Oh, pooh," said Frau McGillicuddy, "that's nothing. I'll simply say we got some wonderful bargains here in Germany."

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"You did," I said.

"That's just it," said Frau McGillicuddy. "The candlesticks—just imagine, twenty pounds of coffee. At 65 cents a pound. And the coffee was worth \$60 to him. He'd rather have the coffee than the money. That's the thing about it—everybody is satisfied."

"Twenty pounds of coffee," said I, looking at the candlesticks, "and who suggested it, you or the shopkeeper?"

"Why, I don't remember," said Frau McGillicuddy. "I guess it was—no, I don't remember. You ask them if they'd like some coffee, or they ask you if you have any extra coffee—I just don't remember, about the candlesticks."

"And what does Joe say?" said I.

"He never says a word. When we first came over, he said he'd send me home if I did it. He said that of all the positions in the Occupation, his was the worst. He said if he got mixed up in it, the Germans wouldn't have any respect for American authority. I asked him how the Germans would know, and he said they knew everything. He was right about that. You can't turn around in your own house before it's all over town."

"That's certainly true," I said.

"Naturally, they're interested," said Frau McGillicuddy, "because they're all in it themselves, every one of them. I haven't met one, in all these five years, who wasn't in it, one way or another. And if they're willing to take it—and show me one who isn't—they're just as bad as we are. Isn't that so?"

"It certainly is," I said, "and yet the temptation must be worse for them, with German coffee at \$5 a pound. They're always reminding me it was 95 cents under Hitler."

"Under Hitler, under Hitler," that's all you hear," said Frau McGillicuddy. "They forget that Hitler was responsible for all their troubles, and of course they forget that they murdered six million Jews themselves. They deserve what they're getting. They deserve a lot worse than they're getting."

"They're getting your coffee at \$3 a pound," I said, "and it's better than the German coffee at \$5. If you look at it that way, they're doing all right."

"That's just what I say," said Frau McGillicuddy. "We're helping them, and they're helping us. Though I must say, I don't know why we should break our necks to help them, not after what they did to the Jews."

"It was certainly terrible," I said.

"Joe says it undermines the German economy," said Frau McGillicuddy, "but I never was any good in economics, I must admit."

"Me, too," I said, "but what worries me more is that it undermines their morals."

"The Germans?" said Frau McGillicuddy. "Their morals? You seem to forget the six million Jews they murdered. Morals! I'm so sick of hearing about German morals, you'd think there'd never been anything like Dachau or Buchenwald. German honesty, German honesty, that's all you hear, how honest the Germans used to be. They certainly aren't now. There isn't one of them that isn't in the gray market, one way or another. Not one."

"Why do you call it 'gray' instead of 'black'?" I said.

"Oh," said Frau McGillicuddy, "the black market is different. The black marketeers are the Jews, the ones who come to your house on Wednesday, that's commissary day, and buy the rations from you. That's different from using the things yourself. When I give a girl a can of Nescafe for two days' washing and ironing, she's happy and I'm happy. She gets almost two dollars worth of Nescafe, and it costs me 60 cents. She couldn't get two dollars for two days washing, not from the Germans. They



Mary Jean McGrath

just can't afford to pay that much."

"But if you have plenty of stuff left over," I said, "I don't see why you don't sell it to the Wednesday man."

"The Wednesday man?"

"The man who comes on Wednesday," I said.

"Oh, you mean the Jew. Well, I sell him what I have left, there's no sense in letting it go to waste. Do you know, we used to get 50 pounds of coffee a month at the commissary, ten pounds for each member of the family, including the children. Plus a pound a week for each adult at the PX. Of course it costs 90 cents at the PX and 65 at the commissary, but the very least you ever got was eight Marks a pound—that's two dollars."

"Fifty pounds a month!" I said. "That's a lot of coffee."

"Well, that's because we had Army status," Frau McGillicuddy explained. "The civilian officials just got their pound a person a week at the PX, plus two cans of Nescafe. But you can get all the tea you want at the PX, unless they're short at the moment, and tea is as high as coffee in the German stores. And pepper—they'll pay anything for pepper in the fall, when they're making Kesseloff. And at Christmas they're fighting for cocoa—you can get all the cocoa you want at the PX—for their Christmas cakes. You know how

the Germans are about Christmas—when they're not murdering people."

"Fifty pounds a month," I said. "No wonder it goes into the bl—gray market."

"We used to get it," said Frau McGillicuddy. "Since last summer we only get ten pounds a month, but that's still more than enough. And you can always pick up a little Nescafe at the PX, because a lot of people don't bother getting it on their rations."

"How come you get less now?" I said. "Is there a shortage?"

"Oh, no," said Frau McGillicuddy. "That was the big fight between Mr. McCloy and the Army. Didn't you know about that?—It wasn't in the papers, of course, but Mr. McCloy, he's the high commissioner, you know, and he and Joe are very friendly, Mr. McCloy was fighting the Army all the time to get the rations cut so as to cut down the black market—the real black market, I mean."

"You see," Frau McGillicuddy went on, "the real black market isn't our fault at all. It's the soldiers' fault."

"The German soldiers?"

"No, of course not: the American soldiers. There are almost 300,000 of them here now—and they're mostly in barracks, where they get all the coffee they want. But they get coffee rations besides, and of course they sell them. The Army's idea is to improve their morale, you know, to keep them happy when they're so far away from home. The black market is really what you might call a bonus for them. And it's really a good idea, in a way, because it doesn't cost anybody anything and it makes it possible for our boys to earn a lot of extra money."

"In their spare time," I said.

"Yes," said Frau McGillicuddy, "in their spare time. Of course the draftees in America all hear about it by word of mouth, and it makes a lot of them more willing to come over here, and even to re-enlist. So it's a good idea, really. If we have to have an Army, that is."

"Oh," I said, "and was Mr. McCloy against our having an Army? Was that it?"

"Of course not," said Frau McGillicuddy. "His idea is that the Germans would get a bad impression of Americans with so many American soldiers in the black market."

"And what does the Army say?" I said.

"Oh, the Army," said Frau McGillicuddy, "the Army doesn't care what kind of an impression the Germans get. You know the Army."

"Not very well," I said. "And so Mr. McCloy got the rations cut?"

"Yes, but it was a terrible fight. And I just say, I don't see why they should have cut the civilians' rations too. The soldiers were doing most of it."

II

I had traveled one hundred miles to see Frau McGillicuddy, and, as you can see, it was worth it. Frau McGillicuddy is an American, and, like all Americans, good-hearted and open-handed. The first time I met her—we had a letter to her from mutual friends in Pittsburgh—she told me I must let her buy all our German railroad tickets for us.

"You see," she said, "all American government people, soldiers, civilians, everybody, get a 90 per cent discount on the German trains, and it's perfectly open and above-board and it doesn't really cost the Germans anything—the trains are running anyway. Of course the Germans kick; but the Germans kick about everything, they're so abused after all they did was to murder millions. Now here you are over here for a year, with your family of five, and there is simply no reason why you should lay out a fortune for railroad tickets, just because you're a private person. After all, you're an American, too."

That was ten minutes after I first met Frau McGillicuddy. Thirty-five Marks to take my family to Munich, instead of 350—boy! And wasn't it all open and above board? Of course, it wouldn't have been, for Frau McGillicuddy to have bought the tickets that way for me; but wasn't it all right for the McGillicuddys? That wasn't black market;

that was an official privilege, an official American privilege in Germany.

And it didn't cost anyone anything, and it wasn't black market at all. I wanted to tell Frau McG. that I thought it was wrong, wrong not merely for her to buy tickets for me, but for the McG.'s themselves to use German facilities that way, wrong for one category of persons, and that category the rich, to ride cheap, while another category, and that one the poor, rode expensive.

It was just what was wrong with Nazism; categorical discrimination, master-racism. And the privileges, all of them open and above-board, rested on naked force, just as they did under Nazism. I wanted to tell Frau McG. that we couldn't denazify the Germans that way, and that I had come to Germany to denazify the Germans, over, if necessary, the dead body of the U.S. Government. But it was all so righteous—and would have sounded, therefore, so self-righteous—that I didn't say it.

Besides, wasn't I myself tarred with the same brush? Wasn't every American over here, just as Frau McGillicuddy said? When every desperate effort to find housing on the German market had failed, hadn't I eagerly accepted rooms, at a low rent, in one of the hundreds (or thousands) of "requisitioned" houses, standing empty in American hands while their owners, Nazis, non-Nazis, and anti-Nazis, crowded together in tenements? And because my work was so terribly important—*wasn't the Army's work important, too?*—hadn't I sought temporary PX privileges for myself, in order, of course, to give provisions to needy Germans—and to consume a few myself?

The Germans were paying, every German, including the newborn baby, was paying the price for the evils he had done, and how cheaply they were getting off, including the new-born babies, for the millions of murders, the millions of murders of innocent Jews that preoccupied Frau McG. every time ~~Kesseloffe~~ 25 193 the black marketeers as Jews. The Americans were paying, too. They were paying a token amount, as

tax-payers, for the tax-free status of the groceries, liquor, tobacco, and gasoline in the PX. But they were paying, along with the Germans, in another kind of coin, the harder to come by (and more easily lost) coin of integrity.

The fact of American wealth—entirely apart from either the special privilege or the black market—is demoralizing because it is set so sharply against a background of poverty. You must, and you will, understand that the West Germans are desperately poor in spite of the fact that they are rich compared with their East German brothers or their fellow-men in the Communist countries, in Africa, or in Asia. I suppose that the Russians always froze, but the Germans once were warm.

There are the cruel little needs; I see my friend Prof. Hermann, carefully sifting the ashes from his pipe for unburned bits, while American ash-trays fill with half- or one-third-smoked cigarettes. And there are the crueler big needs. Average monthly income is about DM. 200 (\$84) with prices of everything except rent (which is controlled) averaging not more than 25 per cent under American prices.

III

You are two worlds; between you and your closest German friends the gulf is wider than it is between them and their chance acquaintances. When they see you serving bread without butter, they take it, amiably or resentfully, as a display of that rarefied morality which makes the little sister of the poor (with her mink coat in the closet at home) so deservedly objectionable in song and story.

So you might as well come down to earth, lay off the pretense, and swill in the manner to which God's country has accustomed you. But no; though the Germans themselves will tell you that they are used to it, that, after all, they lost the war, or even that they deserved it (as a very few do), you know that your doing without is at least a symbol, and as such useful, of some small

good intention; as swilling (even with Germans as your guests) is not.

Forget about morality and propaganda, and remember only the history of the entire human race gone by: He who will not say No early cannot say No late. You have to draw the line somewhere, don't you? If you start with American cigarettes—under the counter in any store—where will you end? If you start buying coffee, you will end selling money. And why not, if your character is normally bad? It is all so easy, and so universally acceptable.

I hesitate to say that I know only two Americans, among the hundreds I have met (outside religious circles), who are not in the racket, buying, selling, trading, or just paying off in coffee which rises in value from 60 cents to two dollars as it passes from your hand to a German washerwoman's. And I hesitate still more to say that maybe even these two Americans are fooling me. For the rest, just how, even as Frau McGillicuddy said, is an ordinary, good-hearted, open-handed American from Pittsburgh to withstand the temptation?

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania — or Pittsburg, Kansas—does not prepare you for this. The Americans did not invent the black market; they found it here, the age-old creation of European statism. On a continent whose populace cannot buy luxuries in any case, the tax on genuine luxuries produces no return, so the burden falls on the indispensable amenities, such as coffee and tobacco. Germans will drink coffee, however bad it is, so coffee will sell at from four to five dollars a pound, with importation forbidden; and so there will be a black market, since the free market value of coffee is between 50 and 75 cents.

Hitler began the conversion of the dumb, methodical, duty-driven Germans to lives of distrust and dishonesty. War, occupation, and the black market have finished the job. The phenomenon of the traditional German incorruptibility lives side by side with flagrant corruption, gradually yielding to it. The black market is open, everywhere. There

is no real attempt made to control it, obviously for the reason that it is impossible to control. Only a healthy economy and another kind of German, the really responsible adult citizen, would help. And a free currency.

IV

What consummates the ruin of Americans like Frau McGillicuddy is the buying and selling of money. Americans, and only Americans, have never seen the likes of this practice.

"It is unnatural," said Aristotle, the Big Greek, "to make money with money," and the Christian Church agreed. Interest, called usury, was forbidden Christians. The Jew, historically a shepherd, now, under the first "Christian" emperor of Rome, a pariah, was forced into the filthy sacrilegious occupation called banking. A few centuries later, the Christians, having abandoned Christianity, threw the Jews out of the banks and reduced them to the practice of usury.

The Nazis finished the job the Christians began, by reducing the Jews from usurers to fertilizer. But any Jew who had a chance to be anything else was not a usurer anyway; the Nazis, exterminating Jews at random, caught those who, by their honorable lives and professions, gave the lie to the Nazis. When Nazism was over, it was not the honorable Jews who returned; they were dead. It was the Jew who had survived in the only way a Jew could—by cunning. This was the Jew the Nazis had first invented and then produced—the Jew who did not love Germany.

As a minority, the Jews are a minority among the black marketers. But Frau McGillicuddy, who bleeds for the six million killed by the Nazis, waxes fat and bejeweled on the black market, and, rather than accuse the McGillicuddys of Pittsburgh, she will accuse, as she does, the Germans who killed the Jews—and the Jews.

"I suppose we ought to go back," said Frau McG. "I can't say that I like Germany or the Germans—

though once in a while you find a very nice one. But Joe likes his work here, and we're certainly more comfortably situated than we ever were at home, I'll say that. To be perfectly frank with you, Joe always wanted the job at home that he's got over here, but he belonged to the wrong party in Pittsburgh, so he never got it. When we go back, he'll have to go back where he was. So will we all."

"I guess it won't be easy," I said.

"I suppose," said Frau McGillicuddy, "that I'm a little afraid to go back, and so is Joe. And we're not the only ones. Most of the really best people who came over here have gone back. It's the worst who stay, I'll have to admit. Though"—unselfconsciously—"there are plenty of exceptions."

Did Joe know that she was in the black market?

"Does he know? Why, of course he knows. Joe never asks me where things come from, like the candlesticks, or how we finance our trips. He leaves all that to me, and he knows we couldn't do any of it, all this silver and stuff, on his salary. He isn't really so high-and-mighty; nobody is. He likes to have all these things. We just don't talk to each other about it."

Frau McG. and I talked on and on, and Joe came home from the office.

"Herr McGillicuddy," I said, "I have a currency problem, and I don't know what to do about it because I haven't got on to the ropes yet. Is it true that Germans are not allowed to have greenbacks?"

"It certainly is," said Herr McG.

"Why?"

"Because they're prime in the black market, and the black market is the American's private preserve. It's against the law for a German to have a greenback."

"Well," I said, "there's a country girl named Ilse who does our washing, and her fiance has an uncle in Milwaukee, and the uncle had a friend who was coming over here on a trip and the uncle gave him a 50-dollar bill to give Ilse and her fiance for a wedding present. So

one day the friend walks into Ilse's house, shakes hands, gives them the 50-dollar bill, drinks a glass of wine, and hops the midnight flyer. Ilse and her boy-friend don't know what to do."

"They certainly don't," said Herr McGillicuddy. "They have no way of proving that they came by it honestly. I'll tell you what to do, if you think Ilse's telling you the truth. Take a run out there, and take the bill off her hands. Bring it to me the next time you come this way, and I'll run it through our clerk's office and get the Marks for you. The law wasn't meant to trap Ilse."

I thanked Herr McG., and took my leave. Frau McG. accompanied me to, and through, the door. In the outer hall she said, "Don't bring the bill to Joe, bring it to me. He won't mention it to you—he'll know what became of it. The legal rate is 4.2 for a dollar and I'll get 300 Marks for it instead of 210—that's better than the five for a dollar you get in front of the Carlton in Frankfurt."

I was waxing wroth, but I wax slow, and Frau McG. must have taken my waxing for waning.

"I'll tell you what," she said, "I'll split with you. You and I might as well get it instead of Joe's clerk—or the Jews."

"Thanks," I said, and I may even say that I said it drily.

"And by the way," she said, "here's two cans—if you don't mind carrying them—of that wonderful whole milk they're putting up in the States now. We just got it as a gift, and we've got more milk than we know what to do with. Give it to one of those terribly poor families the Quakers have found in Marburg, will you? We Americans are really too well off."

Ilse came the next day to do the washing, and I told her I'd go home with her and get the 50-dollar bill and get the 210 Marks for her in a week or so.

"Oh," said Ilse, in broken German (all German is broken), "don't bother. My fiance found a Jew yesterday, and he gave us 360 Marks for it. We're going to get a stove."

Your Money's Worth

By MARY SHERIDAN

SO FAR, apathy has been the country's principal reaction to President Truman's demand on Congress for extension and strengthening of the price control legislation which expires June 30.

The President recommended repeal of the Caphart amendment (which allows manufacturers to raise prices to cover all cost increases of the first year of the Korean war), repeal of the Butler-Hope amendment (which bans the use of slaughtering quotas on livestock), and repeal of the Herlong amendment (which guarantees business the same profit percentages of the pre-Korean period).

We still don't know the full effect of the Caphart amendment, for of some 5,000 requests to the Office of Price Stabilization for price increases, only a fraction have been acted on. What we do know isn't good. The President cited, as one example, a metal manufacturing company scheduled for price reductions of 2 million dollars which, thanks to the Caphart amendment, won, instead, price increases of $7\frac{1}{2}$ million dollars.

It's an election year, and all of us, businessmen, farmers, politicians, and individual consumers, seem mostly to be watching and waiting. About the best we can hope for, apparently, is a one-year extension of the legislation now on the books.

As consumers, we are continuing to baffle business and government with our increased savings and restraint in buying cars, clothes, and household equipment. A lot of current income, of course, is going out for installment debts and the continued high cost of eating, but despite these overwhelming concerns of ordinary families, we have shown ourselves, for months now, indisposed to buy. It's good sense to watch and wait, and in the long run, we may, as consumers, achieve by watchful waiting and cautious buy-

ing the kind of price stability Congress denies us. Actually, consumer restraint has worried some of our more volatile economic analysts into fear that we may be moving into a deflationary spiral.

Those Philip Morris Ads

Advertising campaigns over the years have made even casual ad readers conscious of the cigarettes "preferred by men who know tobacco best" and those whose "superiority is recognized by eminent medical authorities," to mention just two brands. Lucky Strikes, Camels, and Old Golds have had some of their more preposterous advertising claims punctured and banned as false and misleading by the Federal Trade Commission. Last month the FTC cracked down on the claims that Philip Morris cigarettes are "definitely less irritating" and their "superiority is recognized by eminent medical authorities."

The heart of this case involves Philip Morris' use of diethylene glycol as a moistening agent instead of glycerin, the common moistener used by other cigarette makers. The moistener is added to tobacco to keep cigarettes soft and in good smoking condition. Philip Morris has touted that use of diethylene glycol makes its cigarettes less irritating than other brands.

The FTC, in banning this and other Philip Morris claims, contends that all cigarettes are irritating, no matter what the brand or what the moistening agent.

Philip Morris has appealed the FTC's decision, charging that "adverse testimony" was influenced by competitors and the glycerin agency, the American Association of Soap and Glycerin Products. Its appeal will prolong the case and the current Philip Morris advertising.

In its probing of cigarette ad-

vertising, the FTC has emphasized that there is very little difference in the amount of nicotine or effect of individual brands—very little difference, in short, between one brand and any other. Irritation from cigarettes, says the FTC, depends on an individual's tolerance for tobacco, the frequency and rapidity of his smoking, the length to which he smokes a cigarette, and the extent of his inhaling.

As individuals we are free to buy and smoke any brand we choose. Thanks to the Federal Trade Commission, we now choose without at least some of the more flagrantly false and misleading nonsense about T-zones and some of the fantastic testimonials of previous years. But the cigarette industry and advertising profession being what they are, the FTC's constant vigilance in this field will certainly be needed for a long time.

The Good Design Exhibit

The current Good Design exhibit on the 11th floor of the Merchandise Mart in Chicago is one of the best of the series co-sponsored by the Museum of Modern Art and the Mart. In its variety of home furnishings, from necessary glassware to accessory bowls, there is a greater emphasis than in previous exhibits of furnishings within middle income reach.

Among the many notable items which impressed me are:

- The lovely new glasses, flaired from a heavy bottom to a wide top, designed in clear crystal by Freda Diamond for the Libbey Glass Co. Available in 6, 8, 10, and 14 ounce sizes, at about \$1.20 for a set of 8, they are one of the most attractive designs in a practical, inexpensive form yet produced. Called "Flair," these glasses should be turning up any day in department and hardware stores.

- Relatively inexpensive (compared to all-wool) carpeting: Rugs made of Fiber E (the new rayon derivative) and cotton, rugs of rayon-wool-and-cotton, rugs of all-rayon, and rugs of improved cotton weave that are good to look at and are backed by manufacturers' guarantees for durability ex-

plain the quiet revolution going on in the rug industry. We can hope that their competition with all-wool carpeting will help bring rug prices down.

- Armchairs and sofas of practical wood- and -fabric construction, lighter in appearance than their over-stuffed forebears and easier to keep clean and cheaper to re-upholster.

Making the Most of Color

Planning to paint, inside or outside the house, this spring? Remember the truth of the old saying that cheap paint is, in the long run, the most expensive. It's worth the time to shop around among paint dealers, for the better ones have good paint color charts and experienced personnel glad to give advice.

Color, says William S. Pusey of the University of Illinois' Small Homes Council, "is the first thing a person notices and the thing he remembers longest about any object." Here are some of his and other experts' suggestions for effective use of paint:

Too many colors, like too many materials, make a house look smaller.

A house of dark color is usually improved with the use of white trim, especially if trim and siding are of different materials. On white houses, don't paint the trim of windows too bright a color; this gives a choppy appearance.

Inside a house, varying shades of grays, off-whites, eggshells, and sand form a background for any color of furniture and draperies you want.

Painting a room, and particularly adjoining rooms, all one color makes the space seem larger.

If you want a wall to recede, paint it a cool color.

Ceilings seem higher and rooms better lighted if ceilings are painted white.

When a room faces north, with little natural light, paint it in bright colors.

Large areas of white kitchen equipment and cabinets look best against a background of vermillion, yellow, brown, or maroon walls. The

warm colors make the white areas seem less cold.

Most important, even if you flout these sound principles, is to choose colors you like.

Blackstrap Is Dregs

Blackstrap molasses, called a wonder health food by Gayelord Hauser (*Look Younger, Live Longer*), is one of the food fads of our time. What is blackstrap, anyway? If more consumers of the stuff knew, it seems likely that their consumption would drop. Blackstrap is what is left over from sugar making and often contains machinery scrapings and rust. While it does contain iron and some vitamin B—so does edible molasses and so do liver and some of the green vegetables—it would have to be consumed by the pints to give a person the daily minimum requirements of vitamin B.

A recent article in *Fortune* on the American Molasses Co., the largest U.S. producer of edible molasses, reports the remarkable failure of this large manufacturer to jump on the blackstrap wagon. American Molasses takes the position, "We are inalterably opposed to the edible use of blackstrap." It calls blackstrap dregs and compares it to the water left over from washing clothes.

American Molasses, it's true, does sell its own blackstrap brand ("Henry Adams, Jr., Inc.") and does sell blackstrap to other companies which bottle it under their own trade names. It remains remarkable, however, that American Molasses has refused to promote blackstrap and, instead, has continued to push its quality molasses, where the profit margin is small.

According to the *Fortune* article, only one out of every seven blackstrap buyers ever re-purchases; that is reassuring confirmation of American Molasses' position against a food fad.

Eating Well for Health

Food fads are just one of the matters that Ruth M. Leverton talks about, lightly but authoritatively, in a new book, *Food Becomes You* (University of Nebraska Press.

\$3.50). The well-known nutritionist says, "The quack's diet is easily recognized. It is far removed from a normal varied diet or insists on the addition of special health foods or formulas. It often makes spectacular claims, cites fantastic testimonials, and suggests self-diagnosis—all of them dangerous."

Food lore (like "milk shouldn't be drunk with fresh or acid fruits" and "meat is hard on the kidneys") and food prejudices and vitamin pills come in for a penetrating look under Miss Leverton's clear eye, but all these negative matters are secondary to her discussion of food in positive terms of better nutrition and well-being.

Miss Leverton emphasizes that vitamins, vital for anyone's health, are more desirable from foods than from pills. The pills supply amounts of specific vitamins in excess of human daily requirements for good health; a well-balanced diet supplies a variety of more vitamins and minerals than we have yet been able to classify.

The Nebraska nutritionist offers specific suggestions on diets for losing weight, diets for pregnant women, and, above all, does a fine bit of pleading for a balanced diet (including, daily, milk, lean meat or fish or fowl, green and yellow vegetables, citrus juice and natural fruit, an egg). Miss Leverton writes with zest and love for good nutrition, and her readable book is decorated with David M. Seyler's witty drawings.

New Products

A new paint which turns a surface into a chalkboard writing slate, will be useful in children's and recreation rooms and kitchens. One coat of this "Rite-On" paint (available only in a restful green) is sufficient for most surfaces. The paint can be washed many times, and a chalk eraser can be used on it. "Rite-On" costs \$1.15 a pint, \$2.10 a quart, and is made by Sapolin Paints, 229 E. 42nd St., New York.

"Easy-Off Oven and Grille Cleaner" is a short cut to clean up neglected ovens. The liquid is brushed on, left on for two or three hours, then washed off. It will dis-

solve even long-standing grease deposits and won't harm oven surfaces. A 16-ounce jar costs 98 cents from Sage & Allen, Hartford, Conn.

"Ziprite," which looks like a little styptic stick, makes balky zippers work smoothly. You draw the tip over each side of a zipper. 25 cents in drugstores or at notion counters.

Pamphlet Parade

Modern Hooked Rugs. Designs and instructions for making hooked rugs. Free. Cornell Miscellaneous Bulletin 11. Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

The Way of All Cookies. A collection of 22 favorite cookie recipes. Free. Consumer Service Department, Western Beet Sugar Producers, 2 Pine St., San Francisco 11, Calif.

How to Diet Delightfully. Sample menus and recipes for low calorie, low carbohydrate, and low sodium diets. 23 pages. Free. Richmond-Chase Co., San Jose, Calif.

Fitting Coats and Suits. Margaret Smith, clothing specialist in the Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics, has written a new publication on common fitting problems. She recommends making up a trial garment in cheap material before cutting into expensive fabric and doing all fitting with the clothing right side out. This is 15 cents a copy (coin, not stamps) from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington 25, D. C.

Financing the Home. A sound analysis of what you can afford for housing. It covers the necessary outlay for down payment, interest, taxes, insurance, and upkeep; preliminary costs like appraisal fees, legal fees, architectural services, inspection fees; the annual expense of home ownership for every thousand dollars borrowed, and the types of housing loans. The bulletin emphasizes, "Do not overbuild or overbuy. If you spend more for housing than your budget will support, you may have to forego necessities as well as comforts." A single copy of *Financing the Home* (issue off-25419) April 1 (after that, 10 cents) from the Small Homes Council, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

Freezing Vegetables and Fruits. This bulletin (Circular 357) is free from the Bulletin Mailing Room, College of Agriculture, University of Wisconsin, Madison 6, Wis.

Notes

Urging gardeners, old and new, to get their vegetable and flower seed and plant orders in early is not, as several friends have twitted me, just free publicity for seedhouses and nurseries. With some 17 million gardens in the country (the figure is a 1951 estimate made by the American Institute of Public Opinion), there's a terrible rush at planting time to fill orders. Ordering ahead of the season assures the varieties you want, particularly in roses, new introductions, some shrubs and trees, and assures being ready to plant when the soil and weather are ready. . . U. S. corporations have reported record cash dividends of \$8,053,000,000 for 1951, according to the Commerce Department. That 8½-billion dollar figure is 2% higher than the previous high, in 1950. Some of the biggest gains were in oil refinery, mining, gas utilities, railroads, non-ferrous metals, and paper and printing. . . In this column in February, in the "Notes" section, I mentioned that the individual American consumed an average of 248 pounds of beef in 1951. The statistic, despite the reputable source, was a horrible error. According to the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the average American ate approximately 58 pounds of beef last year. . . The best food buys at the moment are eggs, oranges, broilers and fryers, dry beans, cottage cheese, and dry skim milk. . . The latest issue of the Housing and Home Finance Agency's quarterly, *Housing Research*, reports on that subject of concern to many northern home owners, "Prevention of Cold Weather Roof Leaks." Proper placing of insulation and eave ventilation, relatively easy in new construction, will prevent the ice dams that usually cause winter roof leaks. This winter issue of *Housing Research* is available for 30 cents from the Superintendent of Documents.

A Negro Abroad

By William Worthy

TWO RECENT episodes throw revealing light on Europe's impression of race relations in the United States.

Scene One is aboard the S.S. *Stavangerfjord*, in a Norwegian port. A friendly Norwegian newspaper reporter asked a group of Negro students: "How did you manage to get out of the United States?"

Scene Two is at a student party at the University of Oslo. Introduced to a white student from South Carolina, a Norwegian student's first question was: "When did you last participate in the lynching of a Negro?"

I did not come to Europe to apologize for American prejudices, nor to condone the widespread practice of racial discrimination. It is too pleasant to be in a country where skin color makes no difference. For the first time in my life I am treated like everyone else. When the time comes for me to return to America, I shall leave this new-found freedom reluctantly, and only because I would solve nothing by running away from the race problem at home. After a brief period of this refreshing atmosphere, I do not propose to forget what, in contrast, America is like—for a Negro.

But there is no need to exaggerate the problem at home. Racial discrimination in the 48 states is sufficiently degrading and brutalizing so that an observer can stick to the facts and still communicate the horrible urgency of the situation. In that spirit, then, one can undertake to clear up the misconceptions embodied in the two questions above.

How did we, the half-dozen Ne-

gro students in Oslo, "manage to get out of the United States?" Simply, I explained, by filling out an application for a passport like any other citizen and paying \$10 to the State Department. In other words, the federal government—as distinguished from governments of different states—has no official policy of racial inequality.

Unofficially, as the whole world knows, Negroes are denied jobs in many federal agencies unless they are porters or messengers; the famed FBI closes its eyes to most cases of mob violence against Negroes in which the Bureau has legal jurisdiction to act; the U.S. Army treats Negro soldiers with varying degrees of abuse and humiliation. But except for one or two Negroes like Paul Robeson, who loudly follow the Communists' line, any colored American can get a federal passport to travel abroad. I explained to inquiring Norwegians.

I have tried to make it clear to Europeans that Negroes leaving the States are not in the same role as were Jews escaping from Nazi Germany. We are second-class citizens, to be sure, but we do not have to sneak past the Statue of Liberty in the dead of the night. America is not a police state—for Negroes or for whites.

Nor, to correct the second misconception, does every white Southerner participate in lynchings that are becoming ever less frequent.

WILLIAM WORTHY, Jr., a native of Boston and a graduate of Bates College in Maine, is studying ~~various~~ ^{various} methods in Norway and Denmark. He has worked for several labor unions and the Workers Defense League. His articles have appeared in *Crisis*, *Politics*, and a number of dailies in Europe.

My guess would be that at least 75 per cent of whites in the South today disapprove of mob violence against Negroes, partly, of course, because of the fear that if lynchings continue at a time when America needs the support of colored peoples abroad, Congress will have to "crack down" on the South and pass federal legislation to protect the civil rights of Negroes.

There is the case, for instance, of the Southern sheriff who successfully appealed to a night-riding mob outside his jail to go home peacefully and spare the life of the Negro they had come to lynch. The "far-sighted" and expedient sheriff reminded the mob that at that very moment in Washington the Southern members of Congress were waging a hard fight against an anti-lynching bill. If they lynched this Negro at that dramatic moment, he said, public opinion across the nation might force the enactment of the bill within a few days.

II

Europeans are puzzled over conflicting motivations and confused by inconsistencies in the pattern of American race relations. But so are American Negroes who find diversity and uncertainty of reception a baffling problem.

If a Negro is driving a car in the North, he has no way of knowing which restaurants and hotels will admit him and which will refuse to serve him or will falsely claim that "we are all filled up." In Maine, where I went to school for four years, I was never barred from any theater, restaurant, or hotel. But in Des Moines, Iowa, I once had to threaten a YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) secretary with a suit under the state's civil rights law in order to get a room. The Negro traveler's only consolation in the North is that he is safe from mob violence if he enters the "wrong" hotel or cafe. Only his spirit will be humiliated.

If white Americans seem torn between a genuine abhorrence of lynching Negroes' bodies and an acceptance of lynching their souls

through discriminatory education, jobs, housing, and medical care, this split personality reflects "the American dilemma." In his monumental study of the race problem in the United States, Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish scholar, points to the American creed of equality, justice, fair play, and decency. This creed, he says, has the firm *intellectual* allegiance of almost all Americans.

But the people also pay *emotional* homage to the prejudices and racial antipathies which have been passed on to them as children. Such deep-rooted bias is beyond the reach of logical argument, and a mixture of fear and anxiety inevitably crowds in to complicate matters. Yet deep in their hearts they know that Negroes are not being treated properly and that sooner or later a day of reckoning will come. Hence the dilemma. Hence the mental conflict. Hence the ultimate moral collapse if America clings to this double standard.

Frankly, white America, with its guilt complex and its policy of drift, is afraid to learn the full extent of Negro bitterness. I shall never forget how angry and loud-spoken President Truman became in 1948 when a delegation of anti-Communist Negroes, headed by A. Philip Randolph, informed him that many young Negroes were not inclined to shoulder a gun to fight for democracy abroad until they won democracy at home. As the late Charles Houston once expressed it, it is difficult for a Negro to feel strongly about far-away Russian tyranny while riding in a separate colored railroad car in Mississippi.

It is a tribute to the common sense of Negroes that up to now they have not succumbed to Stalin's demagogic enticements and pretensions of friendship. Nevertheless, persons high in American political life would not be surprised if Negroes, in utter disgust and in an effort to wrest concessions from a fearful government, turned away from the Democrats and Republicans who jointly make a cruel political joke out of racial injustices, and listened to the blandishments of the Communists.

Florida's Contribution To Radio Moscow



Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

It would be difficult to predict how vigorous Negroes may become in their own behalf in the next few years. At present there is no single figure in America comparable in experience and moral stature to a Gandhi or a Nehru. Perhaps because Negroes live in a twilight zone of limited democracy and heavy-handed discrimination, perhaps because Negroes in America do have a crust of bread to eat every day, they have not yet launched a full-blown resistance movement, violent or passive, and have not developed revolutionary leaders.

My own conviction is that Negroes should not cooperate in perpetuating discrimination, but that their resistance should be non-violent, and, in the words of Gandhi, free of hatred, retaliation, revenge, and fear, because "hatred begets hatred and fear begets fear, and a person or a nation gripped with fear is capable of committing any crime."

But in the turbulent days ahead, when mobilization brings a declining standard of living and the burden of rearmament falls unequally on the least privileged, who can tell what 15 million Negroes will do? And who can tell how much Negroes in America will be influenced by the revolutionary struggles of the colonial peoples in Asia

and Africa? It is doubtful if even unprejudiced persons in the States perceive the potential of racial unrest. For if they did realize the explosive potentialities of this intolerable social pattern, they might begin to work with a missionary spirit to avert what could become a disastrous era of physical conflict.

It is good to report that some white persons do have this zeal of the crusader. Unfortunately they are a tiny minority of the 135 million whites. Most white "liberals" in the States go only a limited distance in insisting effectively on civil rights for Negroes. Economically, an uncompromising fight does not pay dividends—and since the articulate liberals in America as a rule earn a comfortable livelihood, they do not want to change radically the economic relationships which are so disadvantageous and unfavorable to Negroes.

Socially, many a white person, North and South, faces ostracism and pressures if he indicates a sustained and Christian determination to abolish all racial distinctions. Politically, it is dangerous these days because Dixiecrats indiscriminately call such a person a "Communist."

III

Hence at the moment Negroes cannot realistically expect any massive number of white allies in America. In hysterical America, with its new and impudent "loyalty oaths," integrity and courage have too high a price for most people to afford these days. At the most I hope that a considerable number of Americans can be shamed into personally refraining from overt discrimination and bigoted language and into at least remaining neutral in the inevitable clashes between Negroes wearing economic chains and forces in the business and political world, with a "vested interest" in discrimination.

To Europeans who seem eager to understand and help I say: "Tell every white American tourist that you disapprove of the treatment of the Negro in the United States and that they *individually* share the re-

sponsibility for the discrimination practiced today.

"Tell the white ministers that there are not two Gods and hence there should not be the farce of two churches in America—the white church and the colored church.

"Tell the visiting educators that separate schools for Negro youth and racial quotas are an abomination in the eyes of scholars.

"Tell American trade unionists that you can see no justification for job discrimination in America and that separate unions for whites and Negroes in the South violate the most rudimentary concept of working-class solidarity.

"And especially tell the visiting Congressmen and Gen. Eisenhower that Europe and the rest of the world cannot follow any leadership that acquiesces in aggression in the form of Dixieland lynchings, police brutality in Negro neighborhoods from coast to coast, and the race riot of the Cicero type.

"Tell the roving ambassadors from ECA and the State Department that time is running out; that America is courting isolation and a moral quarantine if she keeps her mind enslaved.

"But above all retain a spirit of compassion. For since ten per cent of your population is not composed of a minority group, and since your North never fought your South in a bitter and impoverishing civil war, would it not be fitting for each of your countrymen, even as he properly condemns the fearful and unhappy American Dixiecrat (and his blood brothers up North) for grievous crimes, to say to himself in all humility: "There but for the grace of God go I?"

This is what one American Negro is telling his friends in Europe as he reflects on the problems to which he must one day soon return.



THE MOOD OF AMERICA

Notes on Issues in the Middle West

And a Boom in the Northwest

The People Fool GOP Issue-Makers

By Aldric Revell

Madison, Wis.

REPUBLICAN Presidential candidates who have recently visited Wisconsin with satchels full of tirades against big government, corruption, oppressive taxation, inflation, and "creeping socialism" have been shocked to discover that, in this part of the country, audience reaction ranged from cool to cold.

I have just finished covering two tours made by Sen. Robert A. Taft in more than a dozen Wisconsin communities where he spoke to thousands of people. Taft was making an all-out fight to win the state's 30 delegates to the GOP national convention and frequently conceded that the outcome of the Wisconsin primary was of vital importance to his Presidential ambitions.

Everywhere he spoke the response was the same, as though the identical audience faced him rather than varying audiences made up of chamber of commerce business men, farmers, school teachers, and ordinary people in all walks of life.

From closely observing these audiences and watching Taft shift his emphasis to keep the applause coming, I conclude that:

One—People in this area are cold to self-righteous condemnation of corruption in government—even though they may guffaw at mention of mink coats.

Two—They remain stone and unmoved when exposed to warnings that their government is rapidly going socialistic—though they do voice a mild tut-tut when treated

to reports of vast, bureaucratic government.

Three—Descriptions of governmental waste and top-heavy budgets find them shifting to more comfortable positions in their seats—though they manage a frown at mention of heavier taxes to come.

Four—Dire predictions of the perils of inflation find them indifferent—though they titter at horse-meat stories.

In short, the strategists who lay out the major campaign issues for their candidates to discuss have drawn a blank, at least in this area of America. The issues conceived by a Washington brain-trust as paramount just don't come alive on the platform.

On the other hand, there are issues which caused the audiences Taft addressed to beat their hands together in enthusiastic approval—a reaction much appreciated by Taft, whose type of oratory belongs more to the chapel than the court house.

These issues are:

One—Praise for Sen. Joseph McCarthy for "ridding the State Department of Communism," and a pledge of support to him in the continuance of his "crusade."

Two—Condemnation of President Truman for firing Gen. Douglas MacArthur and the promise that the general would be restored to his office in the event of a Taft victory.

Three—Denunciation of the Korean war as having been utterly unnecessary and characterization of the conflict as the "Truman War."

These points, and almost solely these points, caused the Taft audiences to stir from polite boredom to noisy approval. Taft himself soon

realized these were the popular themes, and devoted an ever growing proportion of his speech to them.

To give Taft credit, however, he did not entirely cater to the emotional reactions of his audiences because he spent long (and applause free) minutes describing why the Taft-Hartley Act was good, how he got the support of labor in Ohio, how big government was taking freedom away from Americans, and why increased taxes would soon bring socialism to America.

For the most part these Taft audiences were overwhelmingly Republican, and they were in large measure organization Republicans wholeheartedly supporting Taft in his bid for the state's delegates. That is why it is especially significant that these audiences in such typical Wisconsin communities as Elkhorn, Delavan, Janesville, Beloit, Monroe, Whitewater, Beaver Dam, Oconomowoc, Watertown, and Fort Atkinson are indifferent to what Taft considers the outstanding issues of the day—the threat of big government to the liberties of the people.

True, this is McCarthy's home state and he has an emotional, if uninformed, following. And this is also the home state claimed by Gen. MacArthur.

But whatever the reason, the feeling of Wisconsin audiences among Republican ranks is definitely that Communist spies in government are more important to them than big government, MacArthur more important than taxation, and the Korean war more important than the threat of "creeping" socialism.

If you begin to detect a shift in the content of campaign speeches and over-all strategy in your own area, it may well be that the political grape-vine has passed the word that typical Republican audiences in Wisconsin are not really afraid of the things that frighten Taft and other GOP die-hards, but are reacting emotionally to such spokesmen of their discontent as McCarthy and MacArthur, and expressing their frustration over a war they cannot understand.

Northwest Revives Boom for Douglas

By Richard L. Neuberger

Portland, Ore.

ONCE AGAIN talk is heard in the Pacific Northwest of the lean, vigorous man who so often has been a bridesmaid but never a bride in the country's Presidential match-making.



This man is William O. Douglas, associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, whose recent best-selling book, *Strange Lands and Friendly People*, has impressed millions of Americans who believe that living standards in Asia and the Middle East must be improved.

In October Douglas will be 54 years old. This means that, unlike many other national figures, he need not regard the year 1952 as his last chance for an office he narrowly missed on two different occasions. A person in good health and sound mind can reasonably think of being President until he reaches the old-age assistance bracket, which is 65. Thus, Justice Douglas has two and possibly even three Presidential elections ahead after this one.

Certainly no other living individual has come as close to the White House as this lawyer who was born in Minnesota, brought up in the state of Washington, appointed to the Supreme Court from Connecticut, and now makes his summer home in Oregon.

In 1944, President Roosevelt's coast-bound train stopped briefly in the Chicago railroad yards, and Mr. Roosevelt handed Bob Hannegan a letter declaring he would be glad to run for reelection with either Bill Douglas or Harry Truman as his running mate. The sequence of these names has been a raging controversy for years.

Hannegan released the letter with the name of Harry Truman, his Missouri crony, first. But Grace

Tully, private secretary to Mr. Roosevelt, later said that the President had listed Justice Douglas ahead of the Senator from Missouri. As the episode fades into the murkiness of the past, the details are lost. Yet there can be no doubt that the appearance in the public prints of Truman's name ostensibly first in the esteem of FDR had a powerful impact on the 1944 Democratic convention delegates. Original New Dealers will contend until doomsday that Douglas actually was the President's real choice as his running mate and eventual successor.

In 1948 destiny again flirted with Douglas.

President Truman, harassed by a revolt of liberals, phoned Douglas in Oregon and urged him to be his running mate. Like nearly every newspaper correspondent in the nation, Douglas was wrong that year. He frankly expected Truman to lose. He respectfully declined the invitation. A lifetime position on the U. S. Supreme Court did not seem worth bartering for second place on a Presidential ticket consigned to defeat in every straw poll and betting parlor. Had Douglas run with Truman, it is inconceivable that now he would not be heir-apparent to the 1952 Democratic Presidential nomination.

II

Yet, in spite of these near misses, Douglas still captivates many liberals and New Dealers as a candidate who would be most closely a return to the era of the original New Deal. Furthermore, his recent speeches and articles boldly challenge the ascendancy of the military mentality and the military personality in America. This qualifies him admirably, in the opinion of his backers, to challenge a Republican ticket which very possibly might be headed by either Gen. Dwight Eisenhower or Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

Unfortunately for Douglas, some of his current admirers in the West seem to include those Communist fellow-travelers who four years ago enthusiastically supported Henry A.

Wallace, now currently on their blacklist. It could be that the left-wingers are entranced with the fact that Douglas, on his return from the Orient last September, told San Francisco correspondents that Red China should be admitted to the United Nations.

Regardless of the reason for the embrace of the fellow-travelers, their affection is a source of embarrassment to any embryonic candidacy inspired by Douglas's *bona fide* supporters. In the past, enthusiasm for him has come largely from a group anchored root and branch in the sod of America—public power advocates, early New Dealers, George Norris liberals, and the remnants of the old original Progressives who stood with Teddy Roosevelt at Armageddon in 1912 and with the elder La Follette against Coolidge normalcy in 1924. The attempted infiltration of Communist fellow-travelers has not been welcomed by real friends of Douglas.

In recent months Justice Douglas has become the intellectual leader of the forces fighting for freedom of expression in America. For the protection of this position, many of Douglas' liberal friends hope his name will not be on the Oregon ballot. They fear that he might run poorly because of sponsorship by the ex-Henry Wallace crowd, and that the result would weaken the ideas he is espousing. They also feel it would be unfair to Douglas for his name to be entered without his actual approval or encouragement, especially because he would be opposing men active in politics and thus free to bolster their campaigns.

III

Many people in the Northwest feel that Truman is the weakest candidate the Democrats could run this year. The mink coats and other well-publicized scandals are blamed on him but not on any other of the party's possibilities. The potentials besides Justice Douglas are Sen. Estes Kefauver, Gov. Adlai Stevenson of Illinois, and Sen. Paul Douglas of Illinois.

Sen. Douglas has insisted he

would not consider being a candidate. Justice Douglas also has renounced any Presidential intentions in a public letter. It could be that his feelings in this respect have been fortified by an article in the *Washington Post* claiming that Chief Justice Vinson would not run because "of a strong belief in the independence of the Supreme Court." It could be that Douglas would not want to open himself to the charge that he had involved the Court in politics. Yet he would be less than human if the Presidency did not have a siren-lure for someone with his obvious political assets.

Many of Douglas' personal intimates in the Northwest were distressed in January when Drew Pearson broadcast that Douglas and his wife would soon be divorced. Mildred Douglas, a former school teacher in La Grande, Ore., is extremely popular in the region, where her family is well known. Should the Pearson report materialize, such an event, of course, would affect any future political speculations surrounding Justice Douglas.

Drew Pearson's claim that the Supreme Court Douglasses were considering a divorce brought vividly to fore the fact that this shadow also hangs over two other prospective Democratic candidacies. When he was still a comparatively young man, Paul Douglas was divorced from his first wife. And last year Gov. Adlai Stevenson and his wife, Ellen, agreed to a divorce because the tension and strain of a public career were distasteful to her.

It is not impossible that, at the moment, Kefauver is the strongest of the possible Democratic nominees in the Northwest. His name and Truman's probably will be entered in the Oregon Presidential preference primary May 16. This was the strategic primary in which Dewey dealt a hay-maker to Stassen's

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glassy chin in 1948. At the present time, Kefauver would seem a likely bet to get more votes than Truman in Oregon. Kefauver's active role in TVA would appeal to Oregon Democrats and so would his pursuit of gamblers and criminals, for Oregon has been plagued with Republican-sponsored dog racing ever since 1933.

IV

Gov. Stevenson, right now, is not so well known as Kefauver in the Western states. Of course, should he inherit Truman's backing, with all that Presidential approval implies, he speedily would become a household by-word. Not forgotten is the campaign of 1940 in which Wendell Willkie sputtered from comparative obscurity to international fame in a few short months. This could happen for Stevenson under the proper circumstances. However, to enter him in the Oregon primary against Kefauver without this preliminary buildup, would be unfair to his future hopes. His well-meaning backers are considering just this blunder.

A group of leading Oregon liberals has started circulation of Stevenson petitions. If they are filed, his name will appear on the ballot opposing Kefauver and possibly Truman. Because Stevenson has received comparatively little national fanfare, some of his admirers wonder if this move does justice to an outstanding man.

Oregon is different from nearly all other states in one fundamental respect—a candidate himself cannot get his name off the Presidential preference ballot. Charles Evans Hughes tried to do so in 1916 and the Oregon Supreme Court ruled against him. This invariably makes the Oregon race a frenzied free-for-all.

One result of the whole spectacle has been an editorial in the *Oregon Daily Journal* declaring that if a man can take his own name off the ballot for coroner or constable or the state legislature, he should have the same privilege when he is promoted against his will for the highest office in the world, the Presidency of the United States.

The Good and Bad Germans

By Martin S. Dworkin

THERE came a time, after World War I, when there were "good" Germans once again. The beastly Hun had gone from the popular mind; in the movies and the pulp magazines, Germans were not only presented favorably, but even as heroic protagonists. In a spectrum broken only into black and white, the Germans were now white. The villain was War, not Wilhelm II.

Of course the villain was War. Sergeant Kat was clear on that, in *All Quiet On The Western Front*, and the way for agreement with him had already been prepared by Zweig and Barbusse, Hasek and Dos Passos, Ford Madox Ford, and every other novelist, poet, and artist who had watched the shells, the mud, the horror of the trenches eating into the moral substructure of our civilization.

Now, war is no longer immoral, but a perennial problem of mankind, a perennial evil following from perennial sin. The artist today cannot say that war is bad, but only that man is bad, and is bad in the way of war among other ways.

The Desert Fox and *Decision Before Dawn* are productions of the same studio—20th Century-Fox—and are about the same Germans in the same war. But they are as unlike as confusions about problems and principles can make them. *The Desert Fox* attempts to reconstruct the last days of Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, as a "good German" who finally conspired against Hitler because Germany was losing the war. *Decision Before Dawn* is principally concerned with a young German prisoner of war, a good man, who becomes a spy against his own countrymen because Germany deserved to lose the war.

Both films are introduced as being "true" to the facts; they are "based upon" actual happenings, and are meticulously accurate as to details. In the case of *The Desert Fox* especially, it is important to recognize the historical—the interpretative or fictional—matrix in which actual events and people move.

Field Marshal Rommel must have been a great general—surely one of the finest field tacticians of World War II. As a soldier, he must have suffered under the unprofessional intuitions upon which Hitler based his military decisions. He was apparently involved in the unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Hitler. The film Rommel, played by James Mason, is a simpering ineffectual who cannot make up his mind, and—most patently—a man who so little knows how to distinguish good and evil that we truly cannot judge him responsible for his acts.

The film's conception of a good German is that of a man who regards Hitler as a great, misjudged leader unfortunately surrounded by evil persons, until continual defeats of the *Wehrmacht* force him to change his mind. Apparently the only thing Hitler was guilty of was losing the war.

II

If *The Desert Fox* shows a boastful admiration for the defeated enemy, *Decision Before Dawn* shows understanding—which is quite another thing. "Happy," the German prisoner who spies upon his countrymen, is a traitor like the one who plotted against Hitler. But here we are told clearly that there are higher duties than those of the

soldier and patriot, that loyalty alone is not its own-justification, but must be measured against standards of individual conscience which define loyalty as a virtue to begin with.

In *The Desert Fox* there are two kinds of Germans—one good, one bad, in the manner of the Western movies. *Decision Before Dawn* shows many kinds, and many motivations for conduct that is German to be sure, in a historical sense, but comprehensively human first of all.

There are the unregenerate Nazis: a sinister SS courier, who befriends and betrays "Happy," his bitter fellow prisoners, who carry their blind loyalty to beastliness into captivity.

There are the derelicts of moral degeneration: "Tiger," another prisoner, who has turned spy in frank self-interest, to be on the winning side; a girl in a *Wehrmacht* entertainment troupe, spiritually broken, but reaching for kindness as more real than the glorious fictions being pounded to rubble all about her. There are those upon whom Germany must build its hope: not "Happy," who finally must sacrifice his life, but a young boy, a Hitler-youth wearing his Nazi brassard in the teeth of defeat, his blind patriotism yielding at last to the kindness shown him by an American officer, whom he saves from capture.

This is the lesson of the film, and the measure of its superiority over the other. The tragedy of the good and bad Germans is that the new Germany may not be built by those who were good, who were traitors against an evil state that happened to be their own. But the clarity of this theme, which is enhanced by the remarkable authenticity of every detail of Germany's last days of war, is clouded over by the weak, unresolved presentation of the Americans. They, the victors, appear themselves to have no loyalty except to victory. And this is also a lesson of the film: that it is symbolic of the paradoxes of the problem of total war and total allegiance that once we set out to understand our enemy, we bring ourselves under a kind of question that will be long in the answering.

THE PEOPLE'S FORUM

Eastman Claims He Was Misrepresented

Dear Sirs:

May I have space to correct an extreme misrepresentation of me in Fred Rodell's article, "That Book About Yale," in your February number? Rodell attributes to me a "lyrical eulogy" of Buckley's book *God And Man At Yale*, and says I "shower the book with adulatory adjectives." As he says little else except that I reject the part about religion, his readers inevitably conclude that I have gone all out for Buckley's thesis about academic freedom, his proposal to have the Yale alumni kick out the collectivist professors, and all the rest of what Rodell rants against in the young man's book.

The facts are these: I rejected, together with the section on religion, a good two-thirds of the rest of Buckley's book. I kidded the notion of a "march on New Haven by the Yale alumni." I said that when it came to suggesting remedies, the author's extreme youth made him "dangerous." I rejected absolutely his proposal to "narrow the range of academic freedom."

I expressed, on the other hand, my admiration for his force and audacity, his daring to sass his professors, and I said that his book convinced me, in spite of Bundy's attack in the *Atlantic*, that the debate between the state-planned and the free-market economy was not fairly conducted at Yale.

"The conclusion I draw from all this," I said, "is modest: namely that the debate should be fairly conducted." And I added: "I am optimistic enough to believe that this will happen in the near future, as a direct result of Buckley's book. And that is high praise for the book, which is . . ." Then followed the shower of adjectives, "brilliant, informed, sincere, keenly reasoned, exciting to read." Too many, I guess, but no one of them *took back* any of my objections, or endorsed any part of the book that I had not endorsed.

I don't suppose Rodell deliberately intended to misrepresent me. I judge he was in such a rage against what he calls Buckley's "barbarian bleat against his alma mater," that he was incapable of deliberation.

The following sentence about me I find both barbarian and bewildering: "I deem it irresponsible, in a scholar like Max Eastman, to shower the book with adulatory adjectives, and to credulously swallow and whoop it up for Buckley's stuff about economics, even while he pooh-poohs the stuff on religion." I did not "pooh-pooh" Buckley's concern about religion—I merely remarked that I thought God could take care of Himself at Yale, or even for that matter at Harvard. And I added the opinion that

in discussing education, the two subjects, religion and public policy, ought to be rigidly separated.

Nor did I "whoop it up for Buckley's stuff about economics." I endorsed it earnestly, and said that I found it not only convincing but devastating. What on earth is "irresponsible" about that? It seems to me far less irresponsible than to say, as Rodell does, that Buckley wants to fire all faculty members who do not teach "the economic gospel according to Adam Smith." "So help me, I do not exaggerate," he cries. I think he not only exaggerates, but damagingly misrepresents the man he is enraged at.

However, this is not a complaint. I merely want to set the record straight, and forestall my getting any more letters like the one that just came from Upton Sinclair, enclosing Rodell's article (not mine!) and saying: "You have saddened your old

friend." The comments of old friends who read my article (not Rodell's) ran like this: "Congratulations on your deft handling of the Buckley book"; "I liked your fatherly way of educating this youth." Only yesterday someone described my review as "a very gentlemanly way of saying the author is wrong!"

What kind of teachers can these men, Rodell and Bundy, be, I wonder, to jump on an industrious and spirited young student in this excited and unseemly way? If I had had a pupil at Columbia who would tear through the textbooks, devouring brainfuls of them like a forest fire, and coming up with a rebellious thesis thoroughly and brilliantly lambasting me, and the university, and the universe, and anything else he didn't happen to like, I should have been delighted beyond measure.

Fred wants the American college student taught "intellectual humility." Shades of Emerson, Thoreau, Walt Whitman! Shades of all great men! I can more easily believe Buckley's anguished cry, "Individualism is dying at Yale!" after reading this ecstatically irate harangue against a rebellious Yale student by a distinguished Yale professor. And I can more easily believe that the teachers, as well as the times, are to blame.

MAX EASTMAN
Chilmark, Mass.

Fred Rodell Replies To Max Eastman

Dear Sirs:

No doubt about it, somebody has committed "an extreme misrepresentation" of Max Eastman. But I'm awfully afraid the deed was done by Max Eastman and not by me. To wit:

Eastman states, as one of "the facts," that he rejected, along with the religious stuff, "a good two-thirds of the rest of Buckley's book." But among "the facts" he does not state are these: that "a good two-thirds" and more of his article in the *Mercury* was ardently pro-Buckley; that the article both began and ended with ecstatic encomia of the book; that the criticisms were so interlarded and underplayed, in space and tone, as scarcely to detract from the over-all air of open enthusiasm; that among the adjectives showered on Buckley—along with the concluding quintet—were "original," "challenging," "charming," "stimulating," and (on the economic stuff) "mature." I still say "lyrical eulogy."

And a word about the "original" and the "challenging." Do they sound like *pro* or like *con* adjectives? Here's why I ask: It is true that I did not mention Eastman's brief disagreement, late in his article, with Buckley's would-be substitution of alumni control for academic freedom—and perhaps in fairness I should have ~~mentioned~~ ^{mentioned} it. For in his opening paragraph Eastman said: "Mr. Buckley's most original and challenging idea is that essential freedom is the freedom of the customer to buy what he wants on the market. The alumni of a

college who support it, and the parents who pay their children's tuition, are customers . . ." "Original" and "challenging"—and no word of protest from Eastman here. So I wondered a little.

But I didn't wonder about Eastman on Buckley on religion. Eastman now complains that he "did not pooh-pooh" Buckley's concern about religion" (and note the Buckley-like switch from my "stuff on" to his "concern about";—is the disease contagious?); he "merely remarked that . . . God could take care of Himself at Yale . . ." Well, the very next sentence in Eastman's article reads like this: "To me it is ridiculous to see little, two-legged fanatics running around the earth fighting and arguing in behalf of a Deity whom they profess to consider omnipotent."

I still say Eastman pooh-poohed Buckley's stuff on religion—and I'll add that Eastman also pooh-poohed Buckley's "concern about" religion—and I'll further add that if there's anything worse than distorting other writers by quoting them out of context, a la Buckley, it is distorting yourself by quoting yourself out of context, a la Eastman.

The reason why I called Eastman irresponsible should be pretty clear, *in context*, from my article. I deplored the fact that Buckley's touts, Eastman among them, had added fuel to his Philistine crusade by calling attention to his book and by praising it, even with self-saving reservations. For

Eastman's benefit, I'll now state that I also thought it irresponsible of him to swallow—with eager credulity and with no apparent checking whatsoever—Buckley's twisted and often deliberately dishonest picture of the Yale economics department and the textbooks it uses. (And I'm amused that Eastman now gags at, even while completely confirming, my "whoop it up" but seems to swallow my "swallow.")

As for my own allegedly irresponsible statement about Buckley wanting Yale to fire all faculty members who don't teach (where it's relevant) the economic gospel according to Adam Smith, let's see: (1) Buckley in his book includes under "collectivism" not only Communism and Socialism but New Dealism, Fair Dealism, Keynesism, advocacy of graduated income taxes, and literally just about every economic idea to the left of old Adam Smith's outdated orthodoxies. (2) Eastman, in his article, says of Buckley: "He would fire the professors who teach insidious collectivism . . ." (3) I still say—

The rest of Eastman's not-a-complaint is devoted to trivia (does the man want to match fan letters?) and to uninformed personal comments. If he wants to know "what kind" of teacher I "can be" he can find out easily by asking—instead of snidely implying that intellectual humility, in student or in teacher, is incompatible with intellectual curiosity (which I also mentioned) or with intellectual courage. If he wants to know what breed of student Buckley was, he can find that out too—and it might not quite fit with his long-distance analysis of Buckley's "cry" as coming (this quote is from the *Mercury* article) "out of an honestly anguished heart."

And if Max Eastman—a scholar and an honorable man—is really concerned about the teachers as well as the times, about education as well as economics, about free inquiry as well as free enterprise, he had better be a bit more discerning in future as to just whose "rebellious" banner he elects to salute—and in just what direction the man with the banner is marching.

FRED RODELL
New Haven, Conn.

A Catholic Comment on Rodell and Buckley

Dear Sirs:

May I be permitted a comment on Fred Rodell's article in the February *Progressive* on William F. Buckley's *God and Man at Yale*?

The intellectual humility of Mr. Buckley in reference to his alma mater is exceeded only by the intellectual humility of Mr. Rodell in dealing (in the Blanshardian tradition of dark and ghostly innuendo) with Buckley's "very relevant church affiliation." Actually, quite a case can be made for the proposition that "church affiliation" is the alma mater of Mr. Rodell and of all democrats and liberals.

Quite apart from that, I think we Catholics have a right to be weary of this sort of thing: the self-conscious emancipation complex of those who prefer the small world

of greenbacks and test-tubes and double-entry ledgers to the large world of faith. And, along with it, the smug assumption that Catholicity invests the state or custom or simply reaction in general with the same authority that, oddly enough, it does not deny God.

It is a puerile idea of religion and one that can be corrected by a quick scanning of an elementary catechism. The fact that it appears so often in the speech and writings of otherwise well-informed people betrays boundaries to their intellectual curiosity and honesty which they would not admit and of which they may not be aware.

Among Catholics, it makes the task of the socially conscious and awake much more difficult, by its identification of progressive trends and movements with a superficial materialism. Among non-Catholics, to put it in the simplest terms, it forces an unnatural wedge between the love of God and the love of man, and therefore places before the truth-seeker a false dilemma.

As a voter for Norman Thomas in the two national elections in which I have legally marked ballots, and as a member of the American Civil Liberties Union (despite its occasional prattling and making causes of some of Mr. Rodell's prejudices), I can hardly be accused of being a partisan of Bill Buckley. I would not want to see Mr. Rodell burned, nor his essays.

But I am a Catholic. And Catholics believe that there are realities that are not colored green, and indeed that have no color at all. Mr. Rodell and others may not have that conviction. That is their loss. Because they can see no further than political parties and groups and pressures, they are naturally prone to regard the church as a political party or group or pressure.

I would never deny that there are Catholics—and many—who have no social or political sense at all. And that these same people have often sought, sometimes successfully, to ally prominent members of the Church with their particular blindness, whether it be Franco or royalism or Coughlinism or Adam Smith or Marx or a thousand other escapes.

May I suggest that this lack of reason in the social, political, and economic orders is due, not to their religion, but to their membership in a race which has spawned the present host of catalogers, categorizers, pigeon-holders, and stereotypers.

Best wishes to *The Progressive*.

FATHER ROBERT HOVDA
St. Mary's Cathedral
Fargo, N. Dak.

Douglas for President

Dear Sirs:

Recent political statements have revealed that there is but one man among the many mentioned for the nomination for the Presidency who possesses the wisdom and courage to grapple with the complex international and domestic problems that beset us. That man is Associate Justice William O. Douglas of the U. S. Supreme Court.

Mr. Justice Douglas' views, stated on the bench and off, have consistently evoked tremendous amounts of favorable comment throughout the nation. In spite of this, there has been little inclination by political leaders to consider him seriously for the nomination.

Independent Voters for Douglas has been organized as a rallying point for Americans of all political faiths who feel that it is time that our nation dispense with mediocre political leadership and once more elect men of stature and maturity to our high office.

We of Independent Voters for Douglas call upon the thousands of Americans who feel as we do to join with us in the fight to elect William O. Douglas President of the United States.

BERNARD R. SORKIN
GERARD M. WEISBERG
SEYMOUR VALL
Independent Voters
for Douglas
Box 1572,
Grand Central Station
New York 17, N. Y.

Gedye Accused

Dear Sirs:

It would seem to be most unbecoming of Mr. Gedye to brandish accusations of "anti-Semitism" in the direction of Moscow, for he has apparently become infected with this truly social disease himself.

In his article on Czech communism in the February *Progressive* he repeats a canard regarding "Continental Jews" made famous by Dr. Goebbels: namely, that the Communists and Jewry are somehow linked. According to Mr. Gedye, "so many continental Jews" have an "ever-present sense of insecurity, of 'not belonging,' of sneer, smear, and persecution waiting round the corner. . ." They are "obsessed" by these things. So much so that they are easy prey for the machinations of Moscow, which "welcomes their unstable equilibrium and flexibility [but] . . . does not trust them . . ."

Personally, I find such racist generalizations offensive in the extreme, especially in a magazine bearing the proud title of *Progressive*.

DANIEL S. GILLMOR
New York, N. Y.

Gedye Replies

Dear Sirs:

It is hardly necessary to reply further to Mr. Gillmor's somewhat petulant letter than to quote his charge that "Mr. Gedye . . . in his article . . . repeats a canard made famous by Dr. Goebbels that the Communists and Jewry are somehow linked." If Mr. Gillmor or anyone else can spot this canard in my article, I will gladly present him with a copy of my book *Betrayal in Central Europe*, to give him a chance of studying my notorious anti-Semitic views *in extenso*.

On reflection he must surely see that it was rather silly to quote, in support of his

charges, phrases of mine which pointed out that Stalin exploits the precarious position and anxieties of the Jews, but "does not trust them" and (Mr. Gillmor might have been correct enough to finish the quotation) discards them when he can. It would call for the ingenuity of Dr. Goebbels himself to contend that these phrases not only do not support but completely invalidate the alleged Goebbels canard which he puts into my mouth.

Perhaps I should have inserted after "continental Jews" the words "behind the Iron Curtain"—but as the whole article deals exclusively with that part of the world, it should hardly have been necessary for any reasonable reader.

Obviously Mr. Gillmor is not one of these Jews, or he would endorse my description of their mentality and perilous position as giving a correct picture of why Stalin feels he can exploit (and then throw aside) those of them he can use. And surely my explanatory reference, "Slansky's father was murdered by Nazis," accords ill with the anti-Semitism Mr. Gillmor attributes to me.

My article was a study of Slansky, and the many factors which contributed to his downfall, referring in passing to one of many being that he is a Jew. Does Mr. Gillmor feel that I should have suppressed this fact, or that I should have eagerly added "but Gottwald and Clementis are not Jews"? Is he defending Moscow against my reference to its anti-Semitism, or Slansky because, although a Communist, he was, after all, a Jew? Or is he just attacking my article without really grasping what it is all about?

G. E. R. GEDYE
Vienna, Austria

Anguish at the Waldorf

Dear Sirs:

I hope that every ex-GI has taken note of the breast-beatings and cries of foul play that came from the MacArthur outpost at the Waldorf when Army Secretary Frank Pace reduced the number of uniformed flunkies from eight to three. What, no major to escort Arthur to the ball game!

BERNARD HARKNESS
Moravia, N. Y.

Crisis in TV

Dear Sirs:

The March *Progressive* has some stirring articles, but none so timely as "The Time Is Now" by Diane Shieler. Most people will agree there is nothing more important than education (if we have the right kind, other things will come to us), and right there we have the strongest weapon against the dreadful things the Russians do.

Today television is the most powerful medium for teaching people, yet some in charge of this great medium tell us, "We give the people what they want. We believe in a fifth freedom—freedom from culture."

Of course, if educators had a commodity

to sell like cigarettes, that brought them as much income to pay for the kind of talent people want—they, too, would succeed. To change the desires of people is a terrific task. The beginning should be in the home where most desires are formulated.

I can see where Miss Hennock has her hands full; we are fortunate in having a woman of her caliber on the Federal Communications Commission, and we should give her all the help we can, but we need more drastic means to equalize unbalanced situations than she can bring to bear. We need in the Cabinet a Secretary of Education to control, among other matters, radio and television.

HELEN KERBER
Linden, Mich.

Memorial

Dear Sirs:

We are enclosing a check to *The Progressive* as a memorial to Mr. John Aaron Johnson, 436 Carney Blvd., Marinette, Wisconsin.

Mr. Johnson, who came to this country from Sweden as a young man, was a lifelong liberal, choosing to support grange, union, consumer cooperative, and liberal political groups. He enjoyed reading *The Progressive*.

MR. AND MRS. E. J. OSTEN
Falls Church, Va.

Stevenson's Record On Civil Rights

Dear Sirs:

Walter F. Morse's article on "The Man from Illinois" in your March issue did not discuss Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson's record in the field of race relations. His record on civil rights has been so outstanding, compared with his predecessor and compared with other city and state officials in Illinois, that a summary may be helpful to readers of *The Progressive* as they follow the primary campaigns.

The Governor has appointed associates who have for the most part been "straight" on problems of civil rights. Some of these top appointive officials have selected Negroes, with the Governor's approval, to fill high positions. Unlike his predecessor, Gov. Stevenson wholeheartedly urged the passage of fair employment practice legislation during the past two sessions of the Illinois General Assembly.

That Illinois does not yet have a state FEPC is not the fault of the Governor; it is the fault of unconcerned rural representatives aided in their unconcern by pressure from business. In lieu of a FEPC, the Department of Labor recently issued orders against accepting discriminatory orders in the State Employment Service.

It was in Stevenson's regime that the General Assembly passed legislation which would cut off state funds to those public school systems which continued to segregate Negro and white pupils. In the past few years, a number of Illinois com-

munities have eliminated long-time school segregation.

Although the recent threats and actual violence in Cairo are tragic and inexcusable, certainly Gov. Stevenson has devoted the facilities of his office, of the State Police, and of the Illinois Human Relations Commission to the task of eliminating segregation without violence.

Perhaps the most spectacular action of the Governor in this field was his instant agreement to call out the National Guard to quell the racial violence in Cicero. Many an official would have equivocated; but Stevenson took fast action and, in his public utterances and actions, stood completely on the side of enforcing the right of allowing Negroes to move anywhere.

A Governor single-handedly cannot make over the racial patterns of a whole state. And no state executive can ever do enough in the face of long-time aggressions and discriminatory practices. But Gov. Stevenson's attitude and actions in the field of race relations give even the most impatient defender of civil rights the assurance that the Governor can be relied upon in the field of civil rights should he someday be given even larger responsibilities.

HOMER A. JACK
Minister, Unitarian Church
Evanston, Ill.

Huber's Report Criticized

Dear Sirs:

I would like to take issue with a number of Mr. Huber's statements in his February article, "Reds and Red Salmon."

I have lived on the coast all my life and keep informed about the activities of the unions Mr. Huber mentions. Moreover, I am acquainted with many of their members.

Mr. Huber's basic premise that the salmon industry leaders are pro-ILWU due to economic opportunism is a laugh. Any objective person who examines and compares working conditions and wage scales under ILWU, FTA, etc., with Lundeberg's outfit will find ILWU far ahead. In addition to this, Lundeberg's lily-white SUP discriminates against Negroes and minorities. Any issue of his union's paper displays rank chauvinism and name-calling.

If the employers favor Bridges' union and the cannery workers (FTA now merged with ILWU) they have a strange way of showing it. They have been trying since 1935 to deport Bridges and smash his union, and they are trying to deport a number of the cannery worker leaders and break the union. But the members of these unions still prefer their leaders to a phony Lundeberg. Strange, isn't it?

Lundeberg was not interested in organizing the cannery workers in the early '30s when the Filipinos worked under deplorable conditions and at miserable wages. His favorite tactic is to raid an already established and legitimate union, and make back door agreements with the employer.

The issue is decidedly not "Communism versus Christian civilization" but honest, democratic, and militant unionism as against the dictatorial, goon squad type of union-

ism Mr. Lundberg represents. In case you haven't heard, he was recently ordered by the court to reinstate some 97 members whom he had expelled without cause or trial.

Let's stick to the facts, brother Huber.
MRS. EUGENE ROBEL
Kennydale, Wash.

Hat off to Huber

Dear Sirs:

Most of the authors who write about Alaska stay up here a few weeks, go back to the states, and become self-appointed experts on our problems. Mostly the stuff they write is hogwash.

So when I came across Huber's "Reds and Red Salmon," I said "Oh, oh, another 14-day wonder." But I must admit it took me one hour to read and re-read the 5-minute article just to find one minor mistake. I take my hat off to Mr. Louis Huber and a bouquet of roses to *The Progressive* for printing it. It's just about letter-A-perfect in history, opinion, and Bristol Bay sentiment.

ALFRED ANDREE
Dillingham, Alaska

Hope in Germany

Dear Sirs:

With great satisfaction I read Melvin J. Lasky's letter, "Facts and Mayer" in the February *Progressive* about Milton Mayer's December "Report from Yugoslavia." Lasky is absolutely right when he said, "But the political bugs have gotten to him [Mayer] worse." I greatly hope Lasky will answer Mayer's article in the February *Progressive*, "Germany: Underneath the Stones." I am sure Mayer is highly exaggerating the whole German situation.

It will surely take an entirely new German generation before democratic thoughts and ideas are able to take root in the German political and economic soil. So why should Mr. Mayer get so alarmed and hysterical if there are still Nazi trends surviving at present? Certainly this is an absolutely logical aftermath, given Germany's past.

But we find at the same time a strong democratic movement in Germany. If we give those democrats every help and encouragement, the German people will overcome in time this terrible disease which Hitler injected into the German nation.

WALTER WENDERICH
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Ambassadors Wanted

Dear Sirs:

I was especially grateful for the article in your December issue by Robert Reuman, "Inside Red China." I have a Chinese letter-friend in Shanghai. It has been a little difficult for me to understand all of her comments. Mr. Reuman's article throws new light on her letters.

I acquired my Chinese friend through

Youth of All Nations—an organization that some of your readers might find interesting and valuable. The aim of YOAN is to help make it possible for young people of many nationalities, races, and creeds to exchange ideas and experiences with one another and work together for better understanding in a free world of larger happiness than mankind enjoys now. This is an independent, non-profit, non-sectarian, non-political, membership organization. Members' ages range from about 14 to 34.

Anyone interested in becoming a correspondence-ambassador or in supporting this type of program may write Miss Clara Leiser, Youth of All Nations, Inc., 16 St. Luke's Place, New York 14, N. Y., or me.

MRS. ROBERT E. GREENWOOD
Milwaukee, Wis.

Funke Lauded

Dear Sirs:

Please accept our warmest appreciation for so able and civilized a commentary on the contemporary stage as Lewis C. Funke's "Shaw and Shakespeare" in your March issue. I hope we shall have much more of this type of presentation.

RALPH K. JAMES
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Big Fat Question

Dear Sirs:

After reading the March issue straight through practically the minute it arrived—with only the expected interruptions of a learning-to-crawl baby, and leaving the ironing to ripen all afternoon—I have one great big fat question: What's to do? What can any of us little shmoes do!

Your feature article was on Adlai Stevenson, and a good one—but your most important, thought-provoking offering was Mordecai Johnson's constructive vision of hope. The whole issue tied together into a maddening, sick-making frustration for me.

Stuart Chase tells us as how we dassn't use certain words any more because they're either meaningless or taboo; if even blue-eyed, simon-pure Americans can't understand each other, how in the world can we hope to find a common frame of reference with the German and French and Egyptians and Malaysians—not to mention the Russians!

Sen. Humphrey points out coldly that the likes of me is being over-taxed while the likes of the upper income brackets have things called loop-holes. This, when I don't approve of the destination of some 85 per cent of tax money (military purposes) anyhow.

Further, I read yet another atrocity story on Life, U. S. Version: the American Legion Does It Again.

Finally, I hear that TV will be sold down the river unless educators act now.

This is 1952. I say I don't like your March issue. It was terrific! With Milton Mayer for leaven, this month presented a graphic picture of our going straight to hell in a handbasket—no words left, no freedom, no

money, and nuthin' on TV but Milton Berle and politicians. Unless, that is, someone great enough could be found to act on Mordecai Johnson's proposal!

BETTY JANE PECKHAM
Pasadena, Calif.

Dr. Johnson Superb

Dear Sirs:

Thanks for that superb article in the March issue by Dr. Mordecai Johnson. He has truly gone to the heart of the matter and expressed views which I, and many others, have felt for some time.

BERGER JOHNSON, SR.
Joplin, Mont.

Mayer's Insight

Dear Sirs:

I hope that Milton Mayer will find yet other sources than Zillertal Man equally inspirational of *snog*. He possesses a keen insight into people—ordinary people—accompanied by a sympathetic understanding, and his telling of what he sees and feels is a felicitous and contagious *sniging*.

COL. W. A. CALLAWAY
Charlottesville, Va.

On Top

Dear Sirs:

I would like to express my appreciation to the editorial staff of *The Progressive* for their efforts in the production of high caliber, forthright journalism. I rate *The Progressive* with the *New York Times* on the top of my periodical list.

J. CHARLES FOX
Sidney, Neb.

The Progressive
is still
the best
for the least!

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BOOKS

Capitalism at Stake

CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM ON TRIAL, by Fritz Sternberg. Translated from the German by Edward Fitzgerald. John Day. 603 pp. \$6.50.

Reviewed by

Carl A. Auerbach

IN THIS massive volume, which takes the form of a synoptic world history of the economic and political development of "Capitalism" since the 19th Century, Fritz Sternberg makes it clear that he thinks Marxism still has much to teach but little to learn.

Marx and his followers were the first to point out that the maldistribution of income was inherent in the capitalist system and was the basic cause of its periodic breakdowns. It is true that non-Marxian economists have come to accept this view, or, like Lord Keynes, have arrived at it independently. Whether it follows, as Sternberg here maintains, that "Capitalism" is doomed is quite another matter.

"Capitalism" did not collapse in the second half of the 19th Century, as Marx predicted, only because, says Sternberg, it was saved by Imperialism, defined as the expansion of "Capitalism" into colonial and semi-colonial areas under its economic and political control. Sternberg's analysis of Imperialism's significance for world "Capitalism," elaborating the work of Otto Bauer, Rudolf Hilferding, and Rosa Luxemburg, constitutes his major contribution to Marxist thought.

In the long run, Sternberg argues, "Capitalism's" imperialist policy was self-defeating because it led to World Wars I and II which permanently weakened its foundations, and Western "Capitalism" was incapable of promoting the in-

dustrial development of the colonial areas for fear of building up potential competition.

With the decline of capitalist Imperialism, so marked since the end of World War II, "Capitalism," Sternberg insists, cannot resolve its contradictions, and the "latent crisis" would already have broken out had not the gigantic armament program provided a respite. In any case, Sternberg concludes, "Capitalism" will hardly survive the 20th Century, for either the need for armament will disappear, or a third world war will plunge the world into barbarism.

This is not the place to argue the validity of Sternberg's major thesis that while the economic system of "Capitalism" is the cause of war, the economic system of "Socialism" will bring peace. Suffice to mention that Norman Thomas, in a recent article which once again demonstrated the youthful vigor of his inquiring mind, challenged this dogmatic assertion of so many socialists because it slights nationalism and absolutism as "primary" causes of war. Indeed, how on economic grounds alone can we explain the ruthless external expansion of the Soviet Union which threatens the peace and which Sternberg himself emphasizes is not an absolute necessity arising from the nature of the Soviet economic system?

II

Sternberg's approach to Imperialist economics is likewise questionable. Could not the industrialization of Asia and Africa have opened up sufficiently vast possibilities for capital investment to submerge the crisis tendencies in "Capitalism" at least throughout the 20th Century? And may not the specific relations between the imperialist country and its colonies which foreclosed this possibility have been as much the

result, as Hannah Arendt has suggested, of irrational race thinking and the lust for domination as of capitalist economics?

His economic determinism also prevents Sternberg from grasping the full import of political democracy and the opportunities it affords to offset and control economic power. It is no accident that in all of these 600 pages the reader will find no definition of either "Capitalism" or "Socialism." By "Capitalism" Sternberg means mainly "pure" or "laissez-faire" capitalism. By "Socialism" he means a social system which not only has never been approximated on earth but which he never even explains.

Sternberg regards the Soviet Union as neither "Capitalist" nor "Socialist" and in a modern version of Trotsky's theory that "Socialism" cannot exist in one country, asserts that Britain, by itself, even under a Labor Government, can never become a "Socialist" state.

Had Sternberg attempted to clear up this semantic confusion, he would have jeopardized his whole analysis. For once it is recognized that the fulfillment of democracy requires both the abandonment of "pure" or "laissez-faire" capitalism and the rejection of all-out collectivism, the orthodox, absolute meanings of "Capitalism" and "Socialism" become untenable, and the terms themselves lose much of their meaning. And so does Sternberg's analysis.

Interestingly enough, Sternberg singles out as most characteristically "socialist" the exercise by Britain's Labor Government of its tax and spending powers to equalize the distribution of income. He also makes the point that the Labor Government found it difficult to persuade the ordinary worker that nationalization, in and of itself, meant any real change in his status. May we not conclude that the basic tendencies toward social justice in a Labor Britain or New Deal America are products, not of any absolutely ideal economic system, but of democracy, just as social injustice in the Soviet Union is the result, not of a planned economy, but of the suppression of democracy?

Is it necessary, therefore, to insist, as Sternberg does, that the United States of Europe, for which he calls as a bulwark of peace, be not only "democratic" but also "socialist"?

Would not the cause of a United Europe be better served if the socialists were prepared to accept a democratic United States of Europe, which, to use the phrase of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, was "progressing toward social equity," while exercising the right to argue that even if the nationalization of particular industries in particular countries was not the only way to achieve social equity, it was the best way?

A Critic's Flight

THE CONFIDENT YEARS, 1885-1915, by Van Wyck Brooks. E. P. Dutton. 627 pp. \$6.

Reviewed by

Richard Hofstadter

WITH *The Confident Years* Van Wyck Brooks has brought to a close the five-volume cycle which began with *The Flowering of New England*, and which he now describes in his title for the entire series as *Makers and Finders: A History of the Writer in America*. This is the first enterprise of its kind since V. L. Parrington published, 25 years ago, the first two volumes of his *Main Currents in American Thought*. Although it is doubtful for several reasons that Brooks' work can have the same impact as Parrington's, its scope is greater, its touch surer, its scholarship broader and sounder.

Indeed, the most impressive aspect of the series is its immense erudition. Brooks has steeped himself in Americana; he has read not only all the major writers but an immense and perhaps a gratuitous number of the minor ones. His intimacy with the nooks and crannies of our literary topography is nothing short of astonishing, and there are times when the series takes on the aspect of a detailed reliving of American

literary experience—but not, regrettably, of that experience at its highest pitch or at the supreme peaks of its achievement.

In the first phase of his career Brooks was a notably stern critic of American society and of the impact of that society on its literature. During that phase he may have struck some shrill notes, but he also produced such vital books as *America's Coming of Age*, which was a landmark in the development of our literary self-consciousness, and that wonderful and moving work, *The Ordeal of Mark Twain*.

This series, a monumental atonement for the earlier Brooks, embodies a flight from criticism and at many points from ideas. No writer of Brooks' stature could write at length about things he knows so well without being continuously perceptive and informing; but he has for the most part wilfully trained his perceptions on small things—the reaction, perhaps, of a man who feels that he has in the past committed himself to too many big ideas, too many big negations.

It is interesting in a small way to hear that Frank R. Stockton foresaw the atomic bomb; that the elder Holmes profited from S. Weir Mitchell's researches on rattlesnake poison; that the very, very minor poet Madison Cawein worked as a cashier in a poolroom; or that Josiah Flynt, the literary hobo, was a nephew of Frances E. Willard. But such trivia, which might go down easily enough as the incidental trappings of a work of major insights and major criticism, fall of their own weight when they occupy, as they do here, an important, at times a central, place. I fear that *Makers and Finders* is destined to be the favorite literary history of those who like to read about writers but are not over-curious about what went on in their minds.

Brooks is at his best when he pauses, in his mellifluous and rapid passage from writer to writer, to deal at some length with a single object of criticism, as he does in 25209 passages on Norris, London, Mencken, and Sinclair Lewis. But the fundamental unit of literary history,

as he practices it, is neither the writer, the idea, nor the literary form, but geography. He suffers from a curious compulsion to deal with all writers as though their importance was roughly the same and as though the most meaningful way of grouping them was regional.

Like Parrington, Brooks is devoted to a thesis, although it is not, as in Parrington's sustained affirmation of Jeffersonian liberalism, ingenuously present in miniature in every single sequence. Brooks is attempting to strengthen certain humanistic values which he insists have been more or less uniformly deserted by such writers as Eliot, Pound, Joyce, Proust, Lawrence, and Gertrude Stein. There seems, however, to be no really necessary connection between his long and affectionate narration of the lives and times of American writers and the peroration that closes these volumes.

That literature should embrace and affirm life is the essence of the argument with which *Makers and Finders* ends. Many readers would have found this argument more effective if it had not been made at the cost of an unnecessarily harsh restriction of literary sympathies, and if it had climaxed an enterprise which itself asserted some of Brooks' old faith in the power and value of serious criticism.

How to Talk It Over

NEGOTIATING WITH THE RUSSIANS, edited by Raymond Denet and Joseph E. Johnson. World Peace Foundation. 310 pp. \$3.50.

Reviewed by

George Fischer

DESPITE the cruel lessons of the Cold War, most Americans continue to be strikingly naive about dealings with the rest of the world. That this is true of many U. S. representatives abroad as much as of the average person is brought out in this collection of essays.

Its authors are eleven Americans who negotiated with the Soviets dur-

ing and since World War II. They range from Maj. Gen. John R. Deane, wartime Chief of the U. S. Military Mission in Moscow, to business men and publishers drafted into government service.

The tone of the entire volume is calm, factual, non-sensational—a welcome relief from most current writings on the problem. Although at the time most of the authors were guilty of the same illusions about the U.S.S.R. as were most other Americans, they agree in retrospect that to the Soviets international negotiations mean something radically different from Western practices. No Soviet stand, however minor, is changed without Moscow approval. Moscow policy itself is exceptionally inflexible and devious. Above all, it is consistently and fundamentally skeptical about the actions and intentions of non-Communist governments.

At the present stage of the Cold War, these conclusions are not at all new. But the book is most timely in showing quite specifically when and how the United States still can—and should—rely on negotiating with the U.S.S.R. Let us hope that future American negotiators will have learned their predecessors' lessons ahead of time. And may they be backed up not solely by military might, but also by greater political and ideological skill and success throughout the world than the United States has had to date.

Mary Anderson

WOMAN AT WORK. The autobiography of Mary Anderson as told to Mary Winslow. University of Minnesota Press. 266 pp. \$3.50.

Reviewed by

Elizabeth Brandeis

WHEN Mary Anderson visited Sweden for the first time since she had left as an emigrant nearly 35 years earlier, a Swedish paper carried the headline, "A Swedish Peasant Girl—An American Government Official," and under it the story:

"Miss Mary Anderson has back

of her a very romantic history, not romantic in the sense of adventure and experience but in her development and achievement. Surely it is not an ordinary career that has brought a little Swedish peasant girl past the stages of the immigrant, the servant, the factory worker, the trade union leader to a high position in the Department of Labor of the United States of America."

It is this "romantic history" which is contained in Miss Anderson's autobiography. Mary Winslow, to whom she told her story, has been remarkably successful in preserving the quality of the woman who came to America in the steerage, started life as a maid of all work at a dollar and a half a week, and became the first head of the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor, a prominent official in Washington.

II

At first sight this is the familiar American success story, an example of what can happen in our "land of opportunity," where there has really been a ladder which could be climbed by one who started from the very bottom. But Mary Anderson's life did not follow the conventional "rags to riches" pattern. The position she reached was not one of wealth. When she became head of the Women's Bureau, her salary was \$5,000 a year; when it was raised to \$7,500, she reports she felt secure for the first time—she could start buying annuities for her old age.

No, the success she achieved was not of the conventional kind, for she did not in any real sense move out of the working class. She remained a trade unionist, a member of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, a leader of wage-earning women. This was her strength in her government position.

Mary Anderson's kind of success is still possible today, despite the fact that modern large-scale corporate enterprise makes it increasingly unlikely that even the most ambitious and hard working office boy will rise in the future to become

head of the business. Her story, we may hope, foreshadows the new success stories of 20th Century America. For it is clear that in our democratic society there are unlimited opportunities for people like her—challenging, creative, responsible jobs to be done in every labor union in the country, in countless other organizations, and even in government service—if only bureaucratic formalism can be avoided. In this sense America is still, perhaps more than ever, the land of opportunity.

In her first six years in the United States, Mary progressed from housework to a skilled job in the shoe industry. Then she joined the Boot and Shoe Makers Union and immediately became immersed in trade union work. Her story shows what qualities are needed in such work, and perhaps explains why many labor leaders die young. "One of the hardest things I had to learn," she writes, "was to be patient at a meeting when everyone had to make a speech. A good deal of time is wasted at every labor meeting . . . I think patience is one of the greatest disciplines in working with human beings."

Long hours of hard work are another essential of union leadership. After working ten hours a day in the shoe factory, Mary put in "all her spare time" in union activity.

III

When she quit her factory job to work for the Women's Trade Union League, her hours were if anything longer. At first she was helping the garment workers in Hart, Schaffner and Marx. The firm had asked Mrs. Robins, president of the League, to be a co-signer of the first agreement they made with a union, to help assure that their workers lived up to its terms. Mrs. Robins asked Mary Anderson, who had been helping actively in the big strike which preceded, to take on this assignment for the League. Miss Anderson rates this work as the most interesting and important of her life. Perhaps it was; for the pattern of union-

management relations developed in Hart, Schaffner and Marx became a model for "industrial government" in other cities and other industries.

It was in those years in Chicago that Mary Anderson wrote something which she declares is as true today as it was then. In urging women to join unions she said: "The union movement means better wages and shorter hours . . . But the best part of the union is that it makes you think. And we working women have got to do some thinking."

This book chronicles Miss Anderson's life as a factory hand and a union organizer. It tells of the multifold activities incident to her position as head of the Women's Bureau; of international congresses of working women; of the Bryn Mawr Summer School, an experiment in workers' education; of the fight for equal pay and the removal of discriminations against working women; of opposition to the so-called equal rights amendment; and of her relations with the presidents and secretaries of labor under whom she served. It is a rich story of her share in the social movements of the last forty years.

IV

Mary Winslow in her foreword warns, "It has not been an easy task to extract from her the personal account which brings her to life for the reader. As she herself said when I asked her to describe her conversation with her brothers when she saw them again after 35 years, 'Swedes don't talk much.'" But the reader will, I believe, find the simple, wholesome fare which this book provides a welcome change from many more highly spiced biographies.

The woman we came to know and admire as we read these pages is the kind we desperately need today. We close the book with the sobering thought: Can we find enough people like Mary Anderson, willing to work as hard, with such integrity and unending perseverance? For without them we cannot hope to preserve and strengthen the kind of society we want in these United States.

Loyalty Hunts

THE TENNEY COMMITTEE, by Edward L. Barrett, Jr. Cornell University Press. 400 pp. \$5.

LOYALTY AND LEGISLATIVE ACTION, by Lawrence H. Chamberlain. Cornell University Press. 254 pp. \$4.

UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON, by Vern Countryman. Cornell University Press. 405 pp. \$5.

Reviewed by

Richard W. Taylor

THESE BOOKS deal with investigations of "subversion" by legislative committees in California, New York, and Washington. Sponsored by Cornell University, they are part of a timely series of studies on the impact upon civil rights of governmental attempts to ensure loyalty. Other books in the series cover such aspects of the problem as the President's loyalty program, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the implications of government-imposed secrecy for scientific development.

The studies are under the direction of Robert E. Cushman, professor of political science at Cornell and an authority on civil rights and the law. Each volume stands alone as an investigation of a particular phase of the problem, and the conclusions in each case are the individual author's. Barrett and Countryman are on the law faculties of the University of California and Yale respectively; Chamberlain is dean of Columbia College and a political scientist by profession.

The Tenney Committee deals with the history of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the California Legislature. This committee was authorized to deal with subversion generally, but at the outset its efforts were directed to "alleged radicalism in the state university." Barrett's book covers the relationship of the committee to the groups that wished to place Japanese-Americans in concentration camps during the war, with the

zoot-suit riots, FBI counter-espionage, Hollywood, fad organizations, schools and sex, and the loyalty of professors. The study, however, does not cover the loyalty oath dispute between faculty members and Board of Regents at the University of California.

Most interesting is the personal story of the chairman, Rep. Tenney, whose prior claim to fame was that as an officer of the Musicians Union he had written the song, *Mexicali Rose*. In 1937, as a first-term member of the legislature, he proposed repeal of the California Criminal Syndicalism Act, a law put on the books to stop revolutionary union activity. Perhaps in order to secure re-election, or because of an internal fight in his union against the Communists he switched to "Americanism." He became chairman of the legislative committee in 1951, and tried subsequently to use the committee as a means of personal advancement.

Chamberlain's *Loyalty and Legislative Action* treats of similar experiences in New York between the years 1919 and 1949, the irresponsible charges and raids of the Lusk Committee in 1919, the investigation of the McNaboe Committee (which "no one took . . . seriously enough for great harm to be done"), and the efforts of the Rapp-Coudert Committee.

Un-American Activities in the State of Washington by Vern Countryman covers the activities of the Canwell Committee between 1947 and 1949, and the resultant investigation and trial before the University of Washington Faculty Committee on Tenure of alleged and admitted Communists with a view toward their dismissal. Countryman ably shows the legal mind at work. Because his period of investigation covers only two years, Countryman treats his material with greater attention to detail.

Readers of *The Progressive* will remember Richard Neuberger's "Canyon Creek Lodge: 1938" [January, 1950 issue], which dealt with the unsubstantiated charges against Prof. Melvin Rader. The facts on

this case are brought up to date in Countryman's careful study.

On the basis of the three studies one may conclude:

1. Legislative committees have tended to be more interested in lurid charges than adequate documentation.

2. The major concern of investigations appears to have been unorthodox opinions rather than subversive acts.

3. Perhaps the major concern has not been with subversion.

Of all the committees, the Rapp-Coudert investigation in New York was the most careful. Of this committee's work Chamberlain says, "Here was an investigation tarnished by none of the hypocrisy or buffoonery of its two predecessors." It "was conducted by reasonable people with a high sense of personal honor." Yet in spite of this, it "proceeded from challengeable assumptions, employed procedures that produced unnecessary personal hardship . . . and established precedents which weakened traditional principles of civil liberties and academic freedom."

Although each of the authors deals competently with legal and factual problems, a book still has to be written on the moral questions arising out of such investigations and relating to the whole loyalty problem. It may be asked why schools of higher learning are particularly subjected to this type of inquiry. Is it because free inquiry is the fundamental basis of academic

THE REVIEWERS

CARL A. AUERBACH is an associate professor at the University of Wisconsin Law School. RICHARD HOFSTADTER, an associate professor of history at Columbia University, wrote "The American Political Tradition" and is at work on a history of American thought since 1890. ELIZABETH BRANDEIS teaches economics at the University of Wisconsin. HENRY BESTON is the distinguished naturalist; his most recent book is "Northern Farm." RICHARD W. TAYLOR teaches political science at the University of Minnesota. GEORGE FISCHER is on the staff of the Russian Research Center at Harvard.

life? Is there fear that free inquiry will undermine the institutional structure of America? Certainly the products of our public education system have not been notoriously subversive or even noted for a questioning attitude toward the institutions of American government.

Everlasting Nature

JOHN BURROUGHS' AMERICA. Edited by Farida A. Wiley. Illustrated by Frances Lee Jaques. Devin-Adair. 304 pp. \$4.

NORTH WITH THE SPRING; by Edwin Way Teale. Dodd, Mead. 366 pp. \$5.

Reviewed by

Henry Beston

FORTUNATE is the naturalist as a literary figure. Those writers who concern themselves with the contemporary scene are almost sure to see the world of which they write recede in history, both its manners and morals becoming as curious and unintelligible as that of the earliest Chaldeans. How alien and even displeasing, for instance, seems the Scott Fitzgerald world when it is resurrected for us today! But the sun the naturalist writes of in any age remains the sun of all human history, the sea remains the sea, and the lightning the lightning. The incomparable nature descriptions of the Hebrew prophets remain as valid today as when they were first set down in Judea, and the wind still soars up mountain sides as it does in the solemn hexameters of Virgil. Nature changes, of course, but even local and catastrophic change does not alter the essential pattern by which man lives and will live as long as our violent and aspiring race exists beneath the moon.

Here are two "nature books" of our own North America, one edited from material written down in the last half of the 19th Century, in an age which has politically gone over the Niagara of time, the other a contemporary study. Both books are interested in the same aspect of human existence, both are concerned

with that which is beyond the measure of human calendars and clocks. What does change is the mood in which such books are written.

An example of the older mood of American "nature-writing" may be found in *John Burroughs' America*. The volume is a kind of Burroughs' reader, selections from Burroughs' books and essays chosen and assembled with great skill by Farida Wiley.

Burroughs was a good naturalist who set down what he saw in a sound, readable prose of the magazine-essay kind admired in the later 19th Century. It was something of a genteel age—to use Santayana's word—and the nature Burroughs saw is something of a genteel nature. Of the terror, of the demoniac quality of Nature and the occasional touch of nightmare which exists along with the splendor, good old John either saw nothing or preferred not to write.

One must not look here for poetic insight or the divine fire, but if you want a careful essay description of the nest building of some bird, Burroughs will give it to you both with accuracy and old-fashioned charm. He well deserves to go down in our literature and have a place on a naturalist's shelf, and Miss Wiley cannot be too commended for her effort to preserve Burroughs' work and for her editorial ability. It is a pleasant and valuable book.

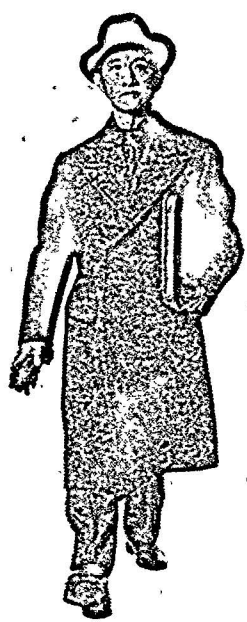
II

With Edwin Way Teale, one comes into a different world. The genteel mood having worn thin and blown away in the winds of time, the modern naturalist has replaced it with a modern mood founded on modern scientific knowledge. The danger of such a mood is that it may have a sniff of the modern scientific textbook, but it is Teale's distinction to avoid this pitfall and, while grounding *North with the Spring* in modern knowledge, to make it literature as well as a tract. He writes from the larger awareness, does not disdain the poetic spirit, and he writes well. It is no easy task to combine the spirit of modern science and the spirit of beauty, but Teale is

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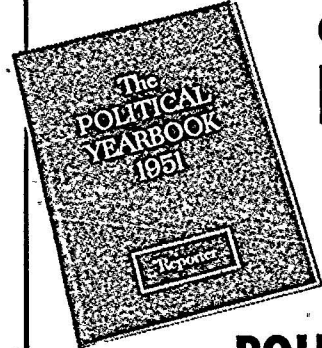


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BOOKS BRIEFLY

Non-Fiction

THE ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS, by George Dangerfield (Harcourt, Brace, 525 pp. \$6). Under an ironical title, Dangerfield recounts not just the administrations of James Monroe, to which the phrase traditionally has been applied, but the whole period from 1812 to 1829, the years of transition from Jeffersonian to Jacksonian democracy. High points in the narrative are the Peace of Ghent, the Panic of 1819, the Missouri Compromise, the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine, and the elections of 1824-25 and 1828. These are treated not as abstract events but as the work of human beings who are made to live for the reader. Perceptive, thoroughly informed, and witty, it sometimes wordy, Dangerfield has achieved a near masterpiece of literature and sophisticated popularization.

DANCE TO THE PIPER, by Agnes de Mille (Little, Brown, 335 pp. \$3.50). This autobiography of America's great dancer-choreographer gives in detail the trials and frustrations of lifetime devotion to a cause—the dance. The writer's experiential physical endurance and artistic anguish cover both her own country and Europe before her London recognition, stemming from associations made at Marie Rambert's Ballet Club. Since her purpose is solely one of recounting personal history as it reflects an intimate insight into the realm of dance, two facets of Miss de Mille's life, her parent's divorce and her own courtship, gain in importance by her restrained treatment of them. This restraint disappears, however, when Miss de Mille's artistic empathy shows itself in her portraits of Anna Pavlova, of the past, and Martha Graham, of the present.

NEW HOPES FOR A CHANGING WORLD, by Bertrand Russell (Simon and Schuster, 213 pp. \$3). It is heartening to find a philosopher

as distinguished as Bertrand Russell undertaking to present a view of life "which can give certainty and hope together with the completest understanding of the moods, the despairs, and the maddening doubts that beset modern man." The reader may notice that the optimism of the author is not founded upon his facts, for the world he observes is a grim one, but upon the *importance* attached to this humanistic conception of the happy life. Whether or not Mr. Russell has grounds for expecting his ideals (population control, interracial harmony, economic cooperation, world government, mental health) to take concrete form is a challenging question.

HOW TO CONDUCT A COMMUNITY SELF-SURVEY OF CIVIL RIGHTS, by Margot Haas Wormser and Claire Selltiz (Association Press, 271 pp. \$3.75). This volume was written to provide help with the technical problems faced when civic organizations band together and attempt, primarily with volunteer workers, to find the facts of discriminatory practices in their community. Detailed, factual, and clear, the study should be an invaluable handbook to leaders of such a survey. It is based on experience actually encountered in Minneapolis and an unnamed New Jersey community. It provides such specific aids as suggested questions, training of workers, and charts for timing each job from organizing the original survey committee to writing the final report a year later.

Fiction

MITTEE, by Daphne Rooke (Houghton Mifflin, 312 pp. \$3). A South African mulatto girl, Selina, tells this story of her life with Mittee, an aristocratic mistress. The relationship fluctuates from loyal companionship to disloyal competition. Why the book wasn't called *Selina* instead of *Mittee* is not clear, for the uneducated servant dominates the pages, and Mittee remains an enigmatic, cloudy person. Daphne Rooke's skillful presentation of South African background and the race-caste problem is blurred by

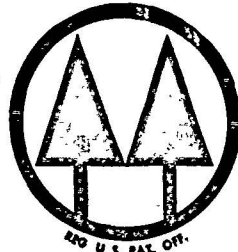
over-attention to the flesh and by the lack of a compelling story.

THE BRIGAND, by Giuseppe Berto (New Directions. 224 pp. \$2.75). The rights-for-the-poor problem is hustled dramatically, but unconvincingly, into this postwar novel of Italian peasant life. Unjustly accused of a local murder, scrappy Michele Rende leaves prison, fights in the war, returns to his hostile village, and attempts to organize the poor against absentee landlords. Paradoxically, he brings sorrow and death to those he loves and tries to help. Nino, sympathetically narrating the story, reveals Berto's skill in unfolding the peasant boy's response to the confusing demands of life in a quiet countryside which turns out to be a disenchanting shelter.

THE GRASS HARP, by Truman Capote. (Random House. 181 pp. \$2.75). This a fanciful and touching story of three odd, endearing people who leave a small Southern town to find refuge and freedom in a tree house. Their home, seemingly fragile, soon includes two additional outcasts, and survives assaults by righteous, brutal town residents. Warmly humorous and sensitive, Capote skilfully portrays the crucial harmonizing function of the love shared by the three main characters. Tree house life is made to appear

gentler, more loving, and eminently more civilized than life in the nearby town.

WINDS OF MORNING, by H. L. Davis (Morrow. 344 pp. \$3.50). There is an invigorating flavor about this novel, with its outdoor Northwest background, people involved in a mesh of evil goings-on, and a restrained love story, all brought in focus with the trek of an old horse herder and a young sheriff's assistant. The old timer's reminiscing often stalls the story, and the book, despite its authentic background, is by no means in a league with Walter van Tilburg Clark's *The Ox-Bow Incident*, of which it may remind you.



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