

# *Sunrise at Campobello:*

# *Sundown at Yalta*

*A brilliant history of the summit conferences of World War II.*

HARRY ELMER BARNES

*Roosevelt's Road to Russia*, by George N. Crocker. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1959.

THIS IS A POWERFUL, absorbing, timely, and convincing book. It is the most brilliantly written and felicitously expressed of all revisionist books yet published on the second World War. Few novels are as engrossing, and only the best produce such brilliant phrasing and cogent allusions. The book is a masterpiece of picturesque but reliable narration. What could be more crisply illuminating and precisely descriptive than the characterization of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's strategy and oratory in lying the United States into the second World War than Mr. Crocker's phrase: "Demagoguery with a Groton accent"? Yet the book is factually thorough and accurate, and the author is acquainted with, and makes full use of, the best revisionist books and documentary sources. Indeed, it is his extraordinary command of the rele-

vant facts which make his book so impressive and convincing as well as exciting.

It is easily the most devastating exposure, analysis, and critique of the personality, methods, and public ethics of President Roosevelt, insofar as these were revealed by his personal intrigues and diplomatic "statecraft" during the second World War. It is the book which the "Blackout Boys" will turn heaven and earth to consign to a still birth and the silent treatment. It is too fundamentally dangerous to risk even a venomous smear lest by virtue of the very bitterness of the attack it might attract reader curiosity and interest.

It is also the book which those who believe that Anglo-American diplomacy from 1939 to 1949 was a planetary, if not cosmic, calamity must not ignore. If they pick it up they will not be able to put it down until the reading is completed. All too many of the leaders of the opposition to American entry into the second World War have by now tended to forget or neglect their earlier realistic activities and statesmanlike convictions of the period from the Chicago Bridge Speech of October, 1937,

to Pearl Harbor, and have become totally immersed in their current hostility to Soviet Russia. This book will enable them to combine their current obsession with a revival of their earlier interests and have the soundness of the latter amply confirmed.

Mr. Crocker is admirably equipped for the important task which he sets for himself. He specialized in history and political science as an undergraduate in a famous American university which is better equipped in documentary resources for the study of international relations than any other in the country. A graduate of Harvard Law School, a former law school teacher and dean, and a distinguished practicing lawyer, he was well trained and thoroughly experienced in the techniques of gathering historical evidence, analyzing its nature, and cogently and precisely stating its import.

A member of one of the oldest and most famous of California families, he exhibits the rhetorical refinement and literary good manners which would be expected of a man of both inherited and cultivated taste. However devastating his material, the indictment is always expressed with dignity and never exhibits vulgar hostility or crass prejudice. In a word, Mr. Crocker only holds that Franklin Delano Roosevelt does not stand above subjection to honest and searching historical analysis as one of the dominant figures of contemporary history. He fearlessly sets forth what he believes to be the conclusions to be drawn from such analysis, especially insofar as they affect the current interests and future prospects of the American people.

In the light of the great current interest in the Cold War, Russo-American relations, the proposed Summit Conference and lesser international meetings, and President Eisenhower's world tour, which appeared to be mainly designed to repair some of the damage done by the political and diplo-

matic mistakes and public crimes of the Allies during the second World War, the volume is as timely as it is readable and convincing. It makes voluminous and precisely relevant contributions to a better understanding of all of these events and problems. Indeed, that is its chief value as we move into the seventh decade of the twentieth century.

The main theme of the book is the manner in which President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill enabled Soviet Russia to win both the war and the peace and to become the dominant power in the Old World, if not on the whole planet. Incidentally, it reveals how this was concealed from the Anglo-American publics, who innocently believed that they were pouring out their blood and money in an idealistic "Holy War," designed to bring freedom, perpetual peace, and economic prosperity to the world. But the volume also includes an exposition and analysis of the more important actions and trickery by which Roosevelt and Churchill involved the United States in the war.

It exposes the deceptions and the serious and irretrievable political and military blunders which were involved in all this. In short, it is a substantial revisionist survey of the causes, merits, and results of the second World War, in addition to its lucid presentation of the fatal Anglo-American surrenders to Soviet Russia and Marshal Stalin.

In the light of the fact that the more important concessions to Russia occurred at the great Summit Conferences from Newfoundland to Potsdam, much of the book is given over to the exciting but dolorous story of what happened at these calamitous meetings. The material highlights the outstanding events and accomplishments of each of these great Conferences, which is what is needed in such a book. This task is performed with great

clarity and proper emphasis. Readers will carry away a vivid and lasting impression of what went on and of the characters present and operating. Those who wish more of the diplomatic details will do well to consult William L. Neumann's *Making the Peace, 1941-1945*, John L. Snell's *The Wartime Origins of the East-West Dilemma over Germany*, and more voluminous books of the kind.

Mr. Crocker wisely does not accuse President Roosevelt of any deliberate espousal of Communist ideas or policy as such. Nor does he remotely allege that Roosevelt consciously sought to betray the interests of the United States for the benefit of Soviet policy and ambitions. Indeed, he does not even make any such charges against Harry Hopkins, who was Roosevelt's "Man Friday" in devising and promoting the policies and actions which played into the hands of Stalin and Russia. It was a gradual process, compounded of political and historical superficiality, and ever mounting ambition, pride, vanity, and megalomania on the part of Roosevelt which Hopkins nursed along, General Marshall defended on the military level, and Stalin successfully exploited. In the light of the prominent role of Harry Hopkins in inspiring and promoting Roosevelt's pro-Russian policies—in fact acting as Roosevelt's chauffeur on "the road to Russia"—Mr. Crocker's book may well be regarded as another volume on "Roosevelt and Hopkins." It will do much to reinterpret the vast amount of material in Robert E. Sherwood's voluminous work and to correct the misleading statements and conclusions therein.

The increasingly pro-Soviet orientation of Roosevelt policy was a natural development out of the trends from 1937 to 1941—from the Chicago Bridge Speech to Pearl Harbor. Anti-interventionists in the United States before Pearl Harbor charged that it

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was British propaganda, Democratic New Deal self-interest, Roosevelt's ambition to become a war president, Jewish hatred of Hitler, and other factors which involved the United States in the war. But more thorough study has amply proved that, although the above factors and influences played a powerful role in the total result, it was primarily "the Communist line," compounded of anti-Fascism, collective security, and the benign pacifism of Russia, as developed by Litvinov at Geneva, inflated by the Popular Front Movement in Western Europe, and adopted by the Liberal-Leftist war groups in Britain and the United States, which inflamed and guided the American war party from 1937 to 1941 and brought this country into the war. Hence, it was easy and logical to carry over this impulse and ideology into the war period.

So far as Roosevelt's personal participation was concerned, the process culminated

in the disastrous Conference at Yalta in February, 1945. Both the immediate and the ultimate consequences of Yalta are eloquently and discerningly appraised by Mr. Crocker in the following paragraph:

Yalta was more than the unhappy culmination of Roosevelt's long series of blunders in *Weltpolitik*. It was a moral debacle of unimaginable evil to the world. Not the least calamity was the dissipation of mankind's faith in America. Disillusionment and cynicism are the dross that remains where a high reputation for integrity once flourished. In their present bewilderment and frustration, the American people have too quickly forgotten that their dazzling wartime President gave away more than the lands and freedoms of people in Europe and Asia; he tossed away something just as precious, that was theirs alone. Perhaps in the long run that was Franklin D. Roosevelt's most tragic disservice to his fellow countrymen.

# From Congressional to Presidential Government

FRANCIS GRAHAM WILSON

*At long last the liberal distortion of American history is being corrected.*

***Congress and the American Tradition***,  
by James Burnham. Chicago: Henry  
Regnery Company. 1959.

IT IS SELDOM one encounters in these days of pragmatism and status-seeking a book that is animated by affection and scholarly enthusiasm for the great men and the political wisdom of another day. James Burnham's *Congress and the American Tradition* is, however, such a book. It is in one sense a labor of appreciation of the learning and the wisdom of those who drafted and brought about the ratification of the Constitution. But it is also an effort in sober and scientific scholarship, in the midst of ideological views that claim the right to interpret the American tradition in favor of exaggerated forms of liberalism and irresponsible claims upon the future. In his work Burnham searches out the quality of the notable men who were the American political leaders at the beginning of our republic. Because the core of their political philosophy was a belief that human nature is limited and imperfect, "the Fathers did not suppose that all social and political problems can be fully solved" (p.

19). They did not believe there was a transition from a political system to utopian order.

In contrast to such a view, the simple and vulgar economic materialism or determinism of the liberal criticism proves too much. Motives are assumed and not proved, and the egoistic motivation of those who assert the economic interpretation of politics must also be included. The economic interpretation of the Constitution is the corruption introduced into American scholarship by Charles A. Beard, who wrote *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* in 1913. Generation after generation of undergraduates who have studied American government have been inoculated with the Beardian toxin, though it must be said in candor that Beard himself turned to other topics. The early Beard, however, was only one of a triad of Progressive intellectuals. J. Allen Smith, in *The Spirit of American Government* in 1907, was the first to begin the formulation of the intellectual and Progressive interpretation of American history and institutions. Smith influenced Vernon L. Parrington, whose *Main Currents in American Thought* is the indispensable scripture for liberal exegesis. In Smith one finds an argument for the aristocratic and corrupt motives of the Framers, and it was thought for long that