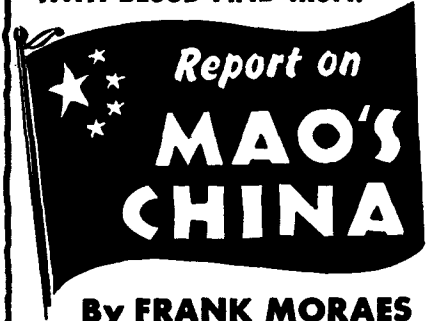


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WHO— WHAT— WHY—

IN THIS ISSUE "The Ramparts We Watch" are discussed. The editorial looks at the diplomatic posture of the United States and at causes which paralyze foreign policy. Following articles deal with concrete problems of preparedness.

A BOXER trains and makes the weight, but when a fight is postponed indefinitely a man breaks training. That is also how it is with armies. An army can be trained and sent into combat, but in time of peace it is supremely difficult to keep it at the ready. Gibbon tells what happens when you don't and an emergency arises: The Praetorians "quitted, with a sigh, the pleasures of the baths and theatres, to put on arms, whose use they had almost forgotten, and beneath the weight of which they were oppressed. The unpractised elephants . . . threw their unskilful riders . . ." The Praetorians were defeated. It is not impossible, however, to keep troops fit and ready; and the Big Red One and its brother divisions standing guard in Germany are being kept in combat trim. Our correspondent, **Theodore H. White**, describes the U.S. First Infantry Division's proud spirit.

No clear-cut formula can ever cover the kind and amount of armament this nation must have, but as **Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.**, points out, the problem cannot even be discussed unless one is aware of the relationship between armament and diplomacy. Only a balanced and flexible military power can provide our diplomacy with the freedom of maneuver it needs to meet the changing nature of the enemy threat.

WHY, in the recent Italian elections, did the Communists gain votes precisely in those regions of the south where the De Gasperi Government had tried hardest to better the lot of the peasants? Staff writer **Claire Sterling** traveled through eroded

Apulia and barren Calabria to talk with government engineers at work there, and with the land-starved population they were attempting to help. Her report shows what difficulties hamper land reform.

It seems probable that James Madison, fourth President of the United States and framer of the Bill of Rights, would have some pretty pointed things to say to Senator John W. Bricker of Ohio in regard to the latter's proposal to limit the President's powers. Their imaginary dialogue is recorded by **William H. Hessler**.

IF HIGH TARIFFS were in fact vital to the life of the American economy, all arguments against them would be somewhat academic. **Bruno Foa**, who during the war was on the staff of the Federal Reserve Board, argues that high tariffs do not really help the things they are supposed to help and in some cases actually harm our economy. This being so, international economic co-operation rather than a philanthropic dream is the only basis on which our nation can continue to prosper.

Helen Hill Miller, until recently Washington representative of the *Economist* of London, knows the teeming world of Washington government employees at first hand. In "D.P.s in D.C." she reports results of the new economy drive.

In our "Views and Reviews" section, **Marya Mannes** continues her discussion of how our major networks handle the news; **H. B. David** recalls some of Colonel McCormick's earlier European adventures; and **James Munves** writes about a typical small-town newspaper; **Daniel Aaron** about Sinclair Lewis.

Our cover, which shows U.S. First Infantry Division troops assaulting OMAHA Beach on June 6, 1944, is by a painter who knows what action is — **John McDermott**, four years a combat artist with the Marine Corps.

Lincoln's Nation

THE ECLIPSE of foreign policy seems to be a common pattern of the events that have been happening thick and fast in several sections of the world. The Germans, we are told, after the workers' insurrections in the Communist-held part of their country, have no cause closer to their hearts than the speediest possible achievement of national unity. Syngman Rhee cares now, as always throughout his long life, about nothing but Korea. Soviet Russia has gone back to its old game of catching its deadliest enemy agents right in the Kremlin.

In our own country, foreign policy appears to a number of ingenuous and disingenuous people as a foreigners' policy—a policy from which only foreigners benefit. The Bricker amendment, the two- or three-year limit set for the winding up of our economic and military aid to the Allies, the unrelenting campaign against the State Department—all this points to the same conclusion: Foreign policy is a shady thing that attracts only shady characters.

Lately, among skillful professional analysts of political affairs an inclination has developed to consider the various eruptions of exasperated nationalisms as a force of nature beyond the control of American or Allied statesmanship.

FOR SOME strange reason, other peoples' nationalisms exert a mesmerizing influence on us. This applies particularly to the juvenile nationalisms flourishing in lands that still are or recently were colonies. The claim to self-determination, no matter who raises it or under what conditions, is always likely to strike a responsive chord in many an American heart. Whenever the leader or would-be leader of a nationalist movement anywhere on

earth speaks in the name of Thomas Jefferson and of the Declaration of Independence, his argument becomes well-nigh unanswerable. Recently, on the floor of the Senate, the advocates of complete sovereignty for Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia reached a pitch of contagious enthusiasm. The defiant attitude of His Majesty Norodom Sihanouk found a warm response in this country—unmarred by any knowledge of Cambodian affairs and unassisted by any Cambodian Lobby.

IT is proper and right that this country take a friendly attitude toward the self-determination of peoples everywhere. However, this country overcame the greatest threat to its existence thanks to Abraham Lincoln, who at the cost of a fratricidal war denied the right of self-determination to the Southern states. To Lincoln, the Union was not the jewel of a crown that a benign sovereign could reluctantly yet gracefully dispose of. The Union was the people's patrimony, and it had to be maintained against all passions fanned by sectional interests or by ideologies.

It is strange indeed that Lincoln's lesson is not considered in our days as the one from which we must derive guidance in the conduct of our affairs, for Lincoln is the one President who, by preserving the Union, made America the world power it is today. In the public square of every Latin-American capital there is the statue of a local Washington or Jefferson. But there is only one Lincoln in the world. Ever since it was founded, this country has been the most successful example of self-determination. Since Lincoln, it has become also the most successful example of union.

The people—our own and all the

others—are best served when united in compacts strong and broad enough to make their self-government effective. In our days, nations old and new, juvenile and senile, serve the people's need when they have their independence defined and limited by their partnership in larger compacts. It is the function of a great democratic power like ours to see to it that the new nations do not waste their newly acquired freedom by making it an end in itself.

As to the old nations—Germany foremost, since it is in Germany that the people are fighting now for their freedom—it is up to our country to prove that the causes of national independence, of justice toward the workers, and of European union are but different aspects of one great cause: the establishment of a free united Europe—a responsible and vital partner of the free world. Why shouldn't our government prepare, together with the government of West Germany, for the absorption of the impoverished eastern section into a reunited, prosperous country? Why shouldn't our government set as its goal in Europe the ultimate reintegration of the eastern nations into a Europe of the European people, run by them for their own interests?

BUT, it has been said, this is the era of rampaging, unchecked nationalisms. This is also the era, it has been said by somebody else on Capitol Hill, when we should put a definite stop to our concern with other people's welfare. So we should say farewell to our system of interlocking alliances, farewell to the Atlantic community and to the hope of a united Europe, farewell to everything our country has worked for since the end of the war—and how do you do nothing.