



THE REPORTER'S NOTES

When Godlessness Pays Off

Now we know it, and from the highest possible authority. Isaiah said it: "and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." Isaiah used the future tense. But now the time for a triumphant, permanent "is" has come. Or just about.

The announcement was made by President Eisenhower on February 20, at 9 p.m. (E.S.T.) He told his people and the world that if only the present culprit is punished, peace is here, and that the institution designed to maintain peace is here too. This institution, if we understand it correctly, is what Hegel might truly have called the embodiment of ethics or the absolute idea. Its laws are to be obeyed—or just about. The President repeated the name of that institution fifty-three times during his twenty-two-minute speech. Never in its short but tumultuous history has the United Nations been the object of such fealty, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The way to achieve the eternal dream of mankind seems to be, according to what we have heard and read, astonishingly simple. The *status quo* among nations must be maintained, and, above all, no force must be used—ever. The unlawful, and therefore punishable, use of force can be detected whenever the users of force wear a uniform and advance in some kind of a military formation. When this happens, the U.N.—preferably the General Assembly—is alerted, a resolution is debated and voted, and the aggressors are told to go back where they came from. Should they be slothful in complying, then a so-called police force is set up, a symbolic army which is actually supposed not to fire or be fired upon.

Within the General Assembly of the U.N. our country, we were told, is quite ready and happy to play its role. Every course of action we may suggest, every promise we may make, has to be subjected to the vote of the seventy-nine other nations.

THE WHOLE SCHEME is so extraordinarily simple that one wonders how mankind managed for so long not to stumble upon it. As it is with everything human, there are a few bugs to be gotten out of the thing.

The President could not have been more emphatic or insistent in his condemnation of force as a means of settling international disputes. Yet the Eighteenth Amendment has taught us what the results of any drastic prohibition can be—particularly when what is prohibited has been in use for quite a while. Some prospects are unquestionably disturbing: for instance, that warfare may be, as the saying goes, driven underground, may be fought by gangs rather than by armies, and with no respect for the traditional soldierly honor.

It is reassuring, however, to know, and from such an authoritative source, that moral means will prevail at the U.N.—at least among member nations of high moral standards. Here is probably the worst bug. For, we fear, there is the danger of a duality of moral criteria in the United Nations. Member states that are very big or very powerful, or impervious to moral pressures, or godless, are immune from its strictures or sanctions.

Certainly the President was right to deprecate "atheistic despotism." Yet, if we look at Hungary and Soviet Russia, we don't know how the conclusion can be escaped that "atheistic despotism" pays off. One can almost see the godless Communists chuckle: It serves the Jews, those peddlers of godliness, just right, they must be saying.

The President himself, while campaigning for re-election, said: "We cannot—in the world, any more than in our own nation—subscribe to one law for the weak, another law for the strong; one law for those opposing us, another for those allied with us." We cannot, he said then. But now it looks as if there were two laws and that we are choosing the harsher one to impose on a weak nation that happens to be on our side.

MUCH as we would like to, we just cannot rejoice at the good tidings the President has brought us. Perhaps his speech can be attributed to the languor still prevailing in Washington that our editorial describes. But certainly we would be much happier if that speech had never been made.

Some Peachy Ideas

It is not always easy to tell the proceedings of the Georgia Legislature from the finale of one of those Gilbert and Sullivan comic operas in which the comic heavy comes up with an ingenious last-minute twist that unravels all knots and enables the principals to live happily ever after. The lawmakers in Atlanta have just hit upon a pair of devices that can miraculously take care of the Supreme Court, wipe out all civil-rights legislation since Appomattox, and enable the Peach State to adjust in its own way to the Emancipation Proclamation.

First the Georgia senate discovered, in a blinding revelation, that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution don't really exist because the Congresses that proposed them were "improperly constituted." Scrap them, it urges the present Congress. At one stroke the country will be rid of Negro citizenship, the troublesome "due-process" clause, and the whole nightmare of civil rights. A few days later, anticipating perhaps

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that the Supreme Court might not join with David Lawrence in accepting this reconstruction of Reconstruction, Georgia's lower house requested the impeachment of six of the nine Justices for "high crimes and misdemeanors."

Distributing crimes for all, the legislators found Justices Frankfurter, Douglas, and Black guilty of helping or taking "awards of money and things of value" from "Communist-front" organizations like the N.A.A.C.P. and the Sidney Hillman Foundation. Frankfurter, Reed, Clark, and Chief Justice Warren were charged with "specious" reasoning in their opinions and with having "usurped powers reserved to the states," judicial crimes that presumably are now reversed by Georgia's representatives sitting as a Court of Ultimate Review.

Perhaps it is foolish to debate with the legislators when one of their own number suggested, "We're making ourselves ridiculous before the world." We think he is right. But who ever said that absurdity is necessarily self-defeating?

The Double Life (Cont'd)

Preparing for West Germany's coming Federal elections this fall, the parties behind Chancellor Adenauer are taking their stand on the maintenance of Bonn's ties to NATO as a *sine qua non* for German reunification, while the opposing Social Democrats are ready to bargain this away in order to achieve the all-German goal. At least that's how it appears on the surface.

In its January 10 issue, *The Reporter* published an article ("The Double Life in Washington and Bonn") presenting indications that underneath our all-out support of Adenauer and his all-out support of NATO, impulses were at work in both capitals toward a modification of these positions with a view to a general settlement for Germany. Outwardly, Adenauer's coalition went on preserving an almost united front. But how close to the Chancellor's own seat these second or alternate thoughts were now coming was confirmed late in February when his Minister of Defense and party colleague, Franz Josef Strauss, a powerful operator understood to be grooming himself for the succe-

sion at Bonn, published an article on Germany's future that sounded half Socialist, half Bismarckian, and altogether out of line with his aging chief's ideas.

Strauss's theme, as the man in charge of raising and organizing the long-awaited German Army as a component of NATO, was that his country should play from a position of strength and not "automatically" ally itself with NATO. Nobody in Bonn's governing coalition, he asserted frankly and disarmingly, actually held the view that a reunified Germany should necessarily play this role. On the contrary, German strength—something that America has been particularly bent on restoring with dollars and military support—should be used as a bargaining lever between East and West, Germany remaining independent of both. "Germany must be so indispensable to its western friends and so respectable for the potential enemy that both sides would find it worth while to talk with Germany," he said. In other words, let both sides bid for our benevolence, when aware of our new-found Teutonic power.

In justice to Defense Minister Strauss, it should be reported that he regards his present suggestions as purely "theoretical." But ever since the time of Hegel, German theory—no matter how impenetrable—has had a surprising way of converting itself into German practice.

Blue Monday, Cold Wednesday

The James M. Vicary Company, a market-research firm, has been trying to find out why some theater audiences are cold and some are

warm toward the same play or musical comedy at different times, and a number of actors and actresses have obliged them by rating the relative temperatures of their respective audiences over a two-week period.

It is hardly surprising that the greatest warmth was generated on Friday and Saturday nights: The assurance of morning sleep has a euphoric effect on most of us drudges. Nor is it remarkable that Monday night favors only comedy. But the conclusion that Tuesday is cool to drama and Wednesday to musicals revives in some of us youthful attitudes toward the days of the week—not as colorless parcels of time but as seven quite different emotional stages, like bands in a spectrum.

Sunday was white, turning gray with foreboding (school or work) after five.

Monday was a shrunken day, a dark gray entity, devoid of hope.

Tuesday was a lighter gray: You had survived Monday and faced the world.

But Wednesday was merely beige and formless—the middle of the week; warming only toward evening in faint anticipation of the infinitely preferable Thursday.

Thursday, dear chap, broke the back of the week: The worst was over, light flooded in, the heart rose.

Friday was flame-color. No matter what happened on Friday, Saturday was waiting. And Saturday night was quite clearly the reason for existence.

This is probably no help to Mr. Vicary and his audience problem, but it might serve as one indication of the latent brotherhood in man.

ON CHARLES VAN DOREN

Eggheads, it seems, have come into their own:
They now make money like the rest of us,
And memory of what a mind has known
Becomes a profitable omnibus.
A teacher's a tycoon if he can name
A naval battle date or Priam's wife,
The library is premise for acclaim,
And blessed is the intellectual life.
The scholar, once resigned to solitude,
Can thank the fortunes of this gifted youth
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The UN Security Council unanimously adopted Jan. 19 the Western-sponsored resolution condemning the Israeli raid on Syria Dec. 11, 1955. The measure adopted by the Council charged Israel with "a flagrant violation" of the Council's 1948 Palestine cease-fire resolution, the 1949 Syrian-Israeli armistice agreement and "Israel's obligations under the [UN] Charter." It called upon Israel "to comply with its obligations . . . in the future, in default of which the Council will have to consider what further . . . Charter are re-

The French Forgive
Jan. 20 the White Paper that demilitarized Sharm el-Sheikh to France for scrap were & re-exported, despite promises to Britain that to be done. "The importance of the material concealed, perfectly regularized in conditions which leave any doubts as to the continuation of the material a French communiqué. The British Foreign Jan. 20 its statement assurances on re-export-

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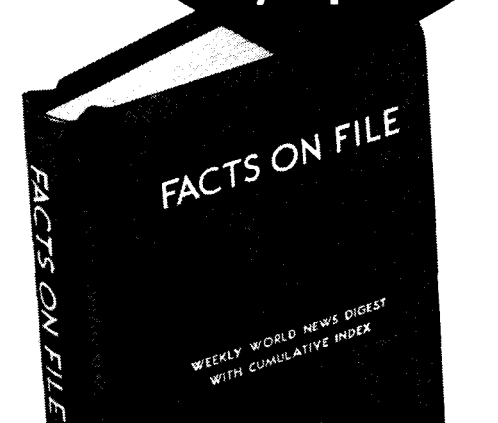
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CORRESPONDENCE

HOFFA

To the Editor: You have done a great and courageous service in printing Paul Jacobs's admirable study of James Hoffa and the Teamsters (*The Reporter*, January 24 and February 7). Our modern men of power are by no means all corporation heads and it is important that we should know who they are and how they work. The more one believes in the necessity of labor organization, the more must one deplore the kind of labor unionism for which Hoffa has stood.

NORMAN THOMAS
New York City

To the Editor: The paragraph on the proposed loan of \$400,000 by Hoffa to the ILA is misleading. Actually the deal never went through. According to report, George Meany was determined to suspend the Teamsters on the issue. Dave Beck did not show up for the Executive Council meeting.

WILLIAM J. SMITH, S.J.
St. Peter's Institute
of Industrial Relations
Jersey City

To the Editor: The article on the Teamsters is indeed most interesting, and I think very fair. I believe this is an organization with great potential strength for good, but with the exception of people like Harold Gibbons, I am not sure that they have fully realized their public responsibility.

JAMES ROOSEVELT
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

To the Editor: Paul Jacobs's "The World of Jimmy Hoffa" highlights what is becoming more and more evident. Unions need much more Federal regulation than they've been getting.

What is needed now is a Federal commission, such as exists in other fields, backed by a law powerful enough to usher the gangsters and racketeers right out of the "labor business."

DONALD C. SKONE-PALMER
North Hollywood, California

DOGS

To the Editor: In your issue of December 27, E. E. Edwards reviews with loud applause the recent book by W. H. Whyte, *The Organization Man*. The burden of the piece is that we should all go underground in seeming conformity in an age of conformity, and alas for individuality.

This current hue and cry among liberals for freedom from social restraint appears increasingly sophomoric, and constitutes something of a form of mediocrity of the thought process in its own right. Mr. Edwards will have to go a long way to demonstrate that a susceptibility to social pressure is a new-found ailment in the body politic. Was the small-town businessman of the last generation, for example, really able to express his convictions? To me, it is a nice question whether, unlike the modern corporation employee, he did not have to bow to the whims

and prejudices of every potential customer who heard him speak. Is the tendency of people to pretend that what they have to do is what they want to do a new phenomenon in the twentieth century? Machiavelli noticed this a long time ago.

The voices in the wilderness of cracked Martini glasses may do all the moaning they wish, but there are a few fundamental facts about which they have no choice at all. One is that with increase in population size and interdependence, larger and larger agglomerates adequately co-ordinated have greater survival value. In such agglomerates, bureaucratization is the only feasible, rational administrative pattern. The prices paid for this in human values are not so high as under some other systems, so this is the way the world tends.

On one point I heartily agree with Mr. Edwards: The world is obviously going to the dogs. The point at issue would appear to be whether we really know where the dogs are. I don't, and I don't think your reviewer does, either.

NORMAN POLANSKY
Cleveland Heights, Ohio

To the Editor: I found that E. E. Edwards's review of William H. Whyte's *The Organization Man* set a new standard in quality of reviewing social-science materials.

WILTON S. DILLON, Director
Clearinghouse for Research in
Human Organization
New York City

TEXAS

To the Editor: I read with great interest your "Note" on the Senate race in Texas, "All Eyes on Texas" (*The Reporter*, February 21). I was somewhat surprised that you made no mention of the candidacy of Judge Ralph Yarborough. Furthermore, in my opinion and in view of the state-wide Beldon Poll, you greatly overrated the chances of the Republican candidate.

The Pool bill, which attempts to set up a primary and a runoff for the Senate seat, is nothing more than another attempt by the Shivers-Daniel-Dixiecrats to defeat Ralph Yarborough and elect one of their ilk, in this case Martin Dies. As you probably know, Republicans and Dixiecrats have been voting in the Democratic primary in Texas for years and nominating Republicans and Dixiecrats on the Democratic ticket. The Pool bill is designed to let them do this again in the Senate election.

DAVID L. SHAPIRO
Austin, Texas

BRITAIN

To the Editor: Difficult as it may be for some of us to understand America, I gather from the *Reporter* issues I have so far received that it is equally difficult for some of your people to understand us.

I am most anxious that the contribution in your issue of December 27 by Graham Hutton should not be regarded as an "aver-

age Englishman's view." Mr. Hutton, on the basis of the latest Gallup Poll, would appear to speak for less than half his fellow countrymen. Whatever may have happened under the stress of the beating of the war drums in the "patriotic" press to give the "rocketing rise" for Mr. Eden which Mr. Hutton cites, the latest Gallup Poll I have seen, published January 16, shows that if a general election were held now, the Labour Party would be returned to office.

BERNARD HENRY
Ruislip, Middlesex
England

CALIFORNIA

To the Editor: Mary Ellen Leary's article ("The Two-Party System Comes to California," *The Reporter*, February 7) was a tip-top combination of a newspaper's timely reporting and a political scientist's factual lecturing. There was one major error in it, however, and it was made in the title. The wording "Comes to California" indicates a *j'ai accompli*. "May Come to California" would be more like it.

EDWARD H. GUYOT
Los Angeles

To the Editor: Mary Ellen Leary's article is mostly hokey. There are more Democrats than Republicans in this state, but we have elected the Republican candidate because, even though he is both objectionable and a Republican, the Democratic candidate has been intolerable.

HELEN TOWER
Berkeley

To the Editor: The article by Miss Leary on California politics is factually correct in the main. However, there is one startling misstatement: "... businessmen of a community banding together on a nonpartisan basis to search for candidates, as they did in Whittier in the quest that sent young Richard Nixon to Congress."

The facts were that Whittier had a liberal Democratic Congressman—Jerry Voorhis. A group of wealthy conservatives formed a committee to select a conservative Republican who would look after their interests (oil and real estate in the main). Possibly one or two of this "Committee of One Hundred" were registered as Democrats. We have a few of these in California. But all were definitely partisan and ran the gamut from conservative to reactionary.

They selected shrewd Dick Nixon, who proceeded to get elected by insinuating, with an anonymous telephone campaign, that his opponent was a Communist. "Smear" tactics were popular in those days.

Why Miss Leary gives the opposite impression is difficult to comprehend. Is this another of the clever angles that are being used by newspapers and their writers to "brain-wash" us? Do they hope that by 1960 the odor of oil around Mr. Nixon will have turned into a halo?

RALPH B. HOGAN
San Francisco



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WHO—

WHAT—

WHY—

HAIR CURLING is the fashion these days, a new look launched by Secretary Humphrey and ex-President Hoover—two gentlemen who, incidentally, are distinctly hairless. A first group of articles and **Max Ascoli's** editorial admit that we have major economic problems in our country but insist that they are a picnic compared to those which—bless their souls—harass the Russians. Russia's economic troubles are described by our regular contributor **Isaac Deutscher**, whose book *Russia in Transition and Other Essays* will soon be published by Coward-McCann. **Paul A. Samuelson**, professor at M.I.T., looks at our own economy and finds that while there is probably some inflation there is nothing to get overexcited about. Taking no chances with economic prophecy, we publish the somewhat more pessimistic view of another economist, **Ruby Turner Norris**, Chairman, Department of Economics, Connecticut College, New London, who is bold enough to suggest reasonable measures to combat the effects of the inflationary budget.

Lionel Birch, British free-lance writer, tells us about the present migratory wave from Britain. We stress the word "present": It is an undoubted fact that many Britishers are leaving home, mostly for the Commonwealth nations, but we are sure that as the end result of the present flurry the civilization of the English-speaking countries will not suffer. **George Bailey** gives us an accurate report on the heartbreaking Hungarian migration. **Senator Clifford P. Case** (R., New Jersey) discusses the President's proposals to make our immigration laws more elastic, while **Judith Laikin**, who served in our London consular office, cites chapter and verse to prove how inelastic and indeed nonsensical the present laws are. **Reinhold Niebuhr**, with his unique authority, gives his views on the U.N. and on the tonnage this precious ship anchored in the East River can carry. Our European Correspondent, **Edmond Taylor**, sends us notes for a story he felt he could skip writing. **Flora Lewis** tells what she recently saw in Prague.

Kildare Dobbs's article is taken from a series of talks he gave over the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. **Nora Magid** is a member of our staff. **Ralph Russell** is a free-lance writer. **Hortense Calisher**, short-story writer, teaches at Barnard.

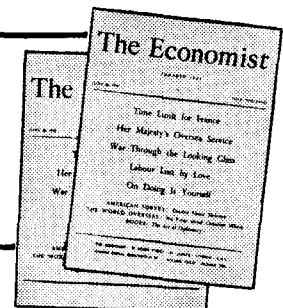
John Kenneth Galbraith is the Galbraith of Harvard. Our cover, a view of Budapest, is by **Robert Shore**.

March 7, 1957

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