



An evening of theater  
becomes an event at

**Cafe  
Chauveron**

Winner 1964  
Holiday Magazine Award

Pre-theater table d'hôte  
dinner to 7 p.m.

Res. PL 1-6480 139 E. 53rd St., N. Y. C.

"C. P. SNOW'S MESSAGE — that all sensible people believe Britain should renounce its independent deterrent—is disputable. Quite apart from the need to own a bomb with which to threaten and, in the last resort, to blow up the French, I should like to think that possession of the Bomb is in itself an edifying exercise, just as mediaeval scholars used to keep skulls on their desks to remind them of Mortality."

For the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW, send 25¢ to Dept. P-6, 150 E. 35 St., New York 16, N. Y.

## SHOES FROM ENGLAND



at a fraction of  
their American  
retail price!

DELIVERY IN  
10 DAYS FROM  
RECEIPT OF  
ORDER

\$11.95

Includes  
all import  
charges

STEVEN WILLIAMS, LTD. R 10  
37 East Willow St., Millburn, N. J.  
Gentlemen: Please send me your free 16  
page catalog.  
Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_

trist, to Nehru, Martin Luther King, Willie Sutton, and Nietzsche. His final letter is addressed to God, Whom he wishes Peace. His ordinary experience and knowledge, if he can recover them, are relevant to all large issues. He proves all issues in himself. "One way or another," he writes to one of his correspondents, "the no doubt mad idea entered my mind that my own actions had historic importance . . ." and it follows that his fate is the public fate.

The consequence of the assertion for Bellow is a discourse liberated almost entirely from fiction. In the assertion is his whole plot. Herzog's adventure is the rhetoric with which again and again he assaults all dead abstractions, making vital connections between the life of his own person and all universals. In fact none of Bellow's novels, excepting perhaps *The Victim*, has been made in the usual mode of fiction, proceeding from exposition to climax to resolution, and Bellow has spoken of his distrust of literary symbols. With *Herzog* he has invented a mode in which almost all obliquenesses of storytelling—and incidentally almost all personal disguises—have dropped away. He has freed himself for the universal pursuit of universals. Bellow has heretofore been a brilliant stylist. The language of *Herzog* is dazzling—by turns lyric, lofty, pierced by ironies, tart, witty, and terrifically urgent. The language is the character and the action. To say that *Herzog* is written in the first person would be like saying that *Genesis* is written in the first person. The voice is the whole case; it contains everything.

BUT THEN it must be said that God had the advantage of not having to carry the case to the end. Ironically enough, just because there are few obliquenesses of storytelling, because Herzog is a prophet more than he is a character, the couple of actual events in the novel are arbitrary and out of character, and it comes to rest in a few arbitrary, conventional literary symbols. Herzog visits his ex-wife and her lover with a loaded pistol in his pocket. Of course he does not take it out and fire it. Then he is in-

volved in an automobile accident. The episodes are seemingly designed to exorcise the violence within Herzog, but in truth violence has never been his problem. Herzog's convalescence takes place in June. His little daughter is named June. He is being aided in his convalescence by a lady whose religion is sex but who is by calling a florist. At the end of the novel he moves into a decrepit old house he owns in the Berkshires, and when his florist friend comes to visit him, he brings her wildflowers. At this point the knowledge comes to him suddenly that he is done with letter writing, that he may or may not be able to *connais les hommes* but in any event he is content just to be, that he has no more messages for anyone. What have the flowers to do with the matter? Without them there would be no way to accomplish this holistic peace.

But then it must be said that Moses, too, probably thought he was a flop at this line of endeavor, which didn't prove there was no Promised Land. If the ending of *Herzog* is a little suspect, only a baiting of a resolution, the material hardly permits of any resolution except death. Meanwhile, Moses Herzog's obsessed renewing of universal connections is profound and it is radiant. Indeed, it is the only way to live.

## 311 East 100th

C. W. GRIFFIN, JR.

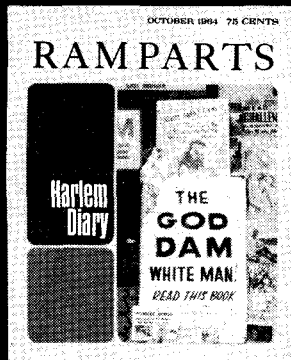
LET IN THE SUN, by Woody Klein.  
Macmillan. \$5.95.

Perhaps profiting from the lamentable experience with the passenger pigeon, we have taken few pains to encourage the economic extinction of that purest surviving specimen of nineteenth-century capitalism, the slumlord. The Federal income-tax laws, local tax-assessing policies, and condemnation pricing procedures all seem calculated to ensure the survival of those modern real-estate robber barons. Last year the citizens of Phoenix, Arizona, went so far as to abolish a housing code that required indoor toilets, hot and cold running

# "the Communist Party is a white man's party..."

— HARLEM DIARY, RAMPARTS, Oct., 1964

A raging Negro report on the Harlem riots, looking out at a hostile white world.



## RAMPARTS

The Catholic Journal of Independent Opinion

*Fiercely independent.* RAMPARTS speaks out unequivocally on the issues of the day—political, literary, social, religious. We take sides. And name names. Our contributors are Jews, Protestants, Catholics, Agnostics—or what have you. Our readers are just as catholic. The only faith we all share is a passionate devotion to free, responsible discourse. We at RAMPARTS are committed to our times and our society as Catholics and citizens. We don't see any conflict in this. Maybe that's why we've been the center of controversy since our first issue.

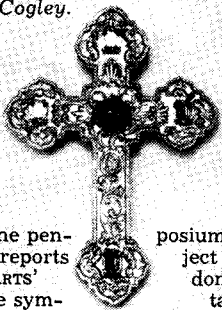
*Edward M. Keating*

RAMPARTS flays clerical tyranny in Los Angeles, where Cardinal McIntyre won't allow his priests to preach against racism.

SIC SEMPER TYRANNIS



The Catholic Church and the  
**JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY**  
by John Cogley.



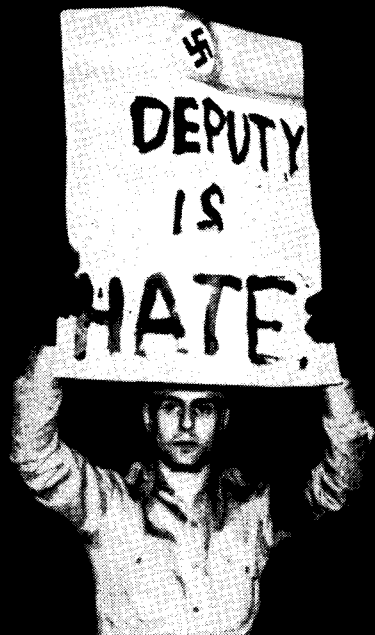
One of the penetrating reports in RAMPARTS' explosive sym-

posium on a subject Catholics don't care to talk about.

The literature of Goldwaterism. Maxwell Geismar joins European contributors in a mordant assessment of rabid Goldwaterism — at home and abroad.



RAMPARTS' editor, Edward M. Keating, formed the first interreligious committee to support the play... RAMPARTS published the first American interview with Rolf Hochhuth.



## PRO & CON

"Front rank literary and scholarship excellence!"—*New York Times*

"...assuming in my cultural life the role of what Partisan Review was in my Trotskyite days."—*C.D.*

"Mr. Keating is a black-hearted, mind-poisoned mammal in human form!"—letter in the *Los Angeles Times*.

"You are automatically excommunicated!"—letter from a Catholic housewife.



RAMPARTS Magazine Editorial Board  
Editor-in-Chief: Edward M. Keating.  
Executive Editor: Warren Hinckle.  
Associate Editors: Robert McAfee Brown, Leslie Fiedler, Wallace Fowle, Maxwell Geismar, John Howard Griffin, Louis Lomax, Martin Turnell.



*Fiercely Independent*

Share the opinions of RAMPARTS. A full year of RAMPARTS (10 issues) is only \$6.50. Address: RAMPARTS, Dept. L, Menlo Park, California.

☐ Check Enclosed ☐ Please Bill Me

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_



**New, from Oxford**

## **Ideas and Diplomacy**

### **Readings in the Intellectual Tradition of American Foreign Policy**

*Edited with commentary by* NORMAN A. GRAEBNER. These 180 significant statements by virtually every leading figure in American history spotlight the basic issues and ideas that have influenced foreign policy from the French and Indian War down through the Kennedy Administration. The various trends and tensions that have characterized our diplomatic history are clearly reflected in the selections.

\$12.50

## **The Democratic Civilization**

*By* LESLIE LIPSON. At a time of powerful challenge to democracy both from without and within, Professor Lipson's all-encompassing study demonstrates anew its inherent strengths and its limitations. From classical times to the present he examines, separately and in interaction, the elements of the democratic state — the ideas which have created it and underlie it, the kind of societies it has fostered, the ways and varieties of its politics and government, and the values which have sustained it.

\$10.00

## **Nazi Propaganda**

*By* Z. A. B. ZEMAN. The poverty of the Nazi's ideology was marked, yet they managed to persuade a nation that it was being led to a great destiny in a great universal movement. There is no doubt that they used propaganda with remarkable skill, but neither its success nor its ultimate failure can be fully understood without a detailed examination of what "propaganda" meant to the Nazis themselves. The great value of Mr. Zeman's study is that it shows how this persuasion operated not only in a highly industrialized state but also in Nazi Germany's relations with the outside world — and how it nearly succeeded. \$7.00

At all bookstores

**Oxford University Press**

water, and other decadent luxuries expected by pampered tenants.

As an introduction to the corrosive despair of slum life, Mr. Klein, who took up residence in some of New York's most squalid areas on assignment from the *World-Telegram and Sun*, records the dismal history of 311 East 100th Street. Built during the O. Henry era, the six-story brick building was one of New York's early "new-law" tenements. These buildings were erected under the state's Tenement House Law, enacted in 1901 after a half century of crusading by reformers like journalist Jacob Riis. Unlike the old-law tenements depicted by Riis and Stephen Crane (forty-three thousand of which survive today), new-law tenements could have no windowless rooms, no water closets in public halls, no timber-wall construction. Before the First World War, East 100th Street was a pleasant street in a lively neighborhood of Jewish and Italian craftsmen, small businessmen, and white-collar workers. These immigrants were following earlier German and Irish immigrants up the ladder of respectability and success. Within a few years, however, with the herding of Negroes into East Harlem, 311 East 100th Street began disintegrating under the corrosive despair that has come to typify the area. Today, 139 people are packed into seventy-two rooms of this rat-infested ruin.

**F**OR ALL his polemical fervor, Klein scrupulously records and weighs the suspects' testimony before rendering his verdict. He finds us all guilty, with government officials and landlords guiltiest of all. Having witnessed such unlovely sights as garbage thrown from windows, he suffers no illusions about slum dwellers and convicts them as accessories in the crime against themselves. He also convicts the "silent partner," the prosperous American from the antiseptic suburbs or the respectable parts of the city who blandly tolerates the exploitation and unknowingly subsidizes it.

Race prejudice compounds the slum problem in several ways. For slum-dwelling Negroes it makes a mockery of Horatio Alger sermons preached by "conservatives" like Barry Goldwater, who apparently

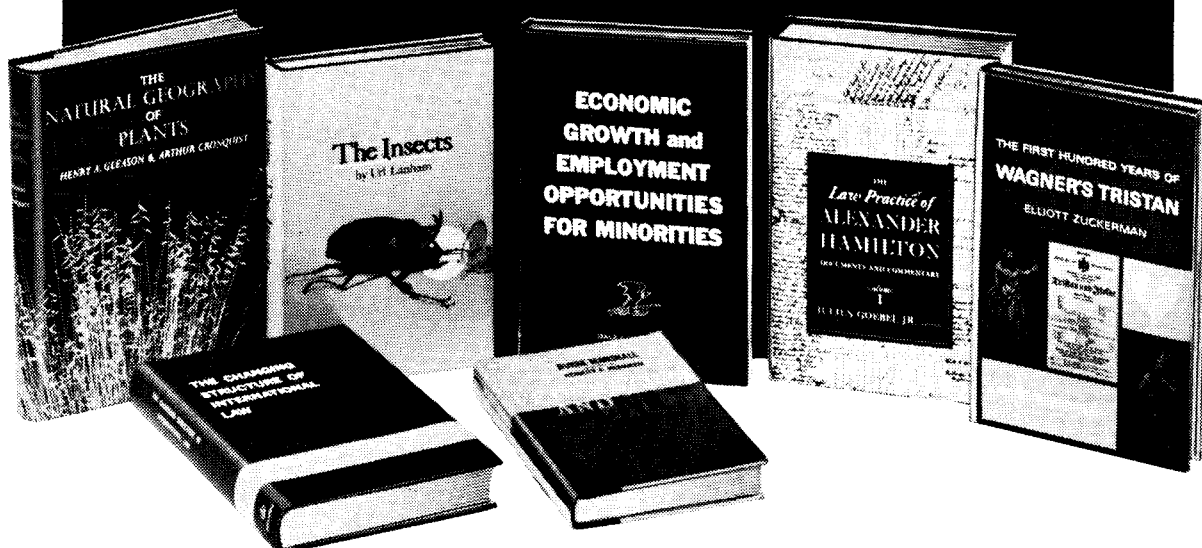
can't comprehend the loss of opportunity attributable to black skin and the shrinking economic demand for low-order skills. Like the earlier German, Italian, and Jewish immigrants, urban Negroes occupy the bottom rung of the ladder to success, but for them the rungs above have been sawed off. In effect, race prejudice destroys the free market in housing and helps make slum investment a lucrative enterprise. Dorothy S. Montgomery, managing director of the Philadelphia Housing Association, has declared that only a Federal financial commitment on the scale of agriculture and space expenditures can eradicate slums in this century. Reducing the exorbitant profits extracted by the most unscrupulous slumlords would be a logical start for any massive housing program. Slum profiteering sustains a group of parasites determined to preserve the status quo. It also raises the public costs of slum clearance, urban renewal, and public housing.

The same concept of property rights that shielded Cicero and other real-estate speculators who exploited the mobs packed in the ten-story firetraps of ancient Rome makes slums profitable today for slumlords who violate the law. When a slum building is condemned for a public project (under a city's power of eminent domain), the owner is often rewarded for exceeding the occupancy standards set in the housing code. If he bloats profits by illegally crowding six families into a converted single-family residence, then he raises his property's capitalized value, the basic factor in setting condemnation prices. (Condemnation prices awarded by courts are generally ten to twenty per cent above market value.) Slumlords who may be extracting gross annual rents up to fifty per cent of capital cost are allowed depreciation allowances that, in the life of a slum building, may far exceed its original value, and each of the normally frequent changes in ownership starts the depreciation cycle anew. To aid slumlords further, American cities' archaic tax-assessing policies reward them with a lower tax bill for letting their property deteriorate. Slums return in taxes as little as one-tenth of their service costs to a municipality, and part of this tre-



# IMPORTANT

(İM PÖR'TANT), adj. 1. OF CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE OR AUTHORITY.  
2. AN EXCELLENT DESCRIPTION OF THESE COLUMBIA BOOKS.



## *Law — today and yesterday*

### **FEDERALISM AND CIVIL RIGHTS**

by **Burke Marshall**. Foreword by **Robert F. Kennedy**. The Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Division of Civil Rights appraises the problems of enforcing the Civil Rights law. "... gives insight and perspective to one of the most difficult problems facing our country."—**ROBERT F. KENNEDY** \$3.50

### **THE LAW PRACTICE OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON**

**Documents and Commentary: Volume I**

**Julius Goebel Jr., Editor.**

**Associate Editors: Francis K. Decker Jr., Hugh M. Dougan, Dorothy Burne Goebel, Paul E. Roberts, Winnifred Bowers.** One of the few works on legal practice in the U.S. in the late 1700's and one of the rare efforts ever made to present a set of legal papers in their historical context. "This is one of the most magnificent and truly noble works to be published ... in many years. ... It is destined to become one of the rare enduring classics."

—**LAWYERS' LITERARY CLUB** \$18.50

### **THE CHANGING STRUCTURE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW**

by **Wolfgang Friedmann**. The basic thesis of this book — the growing importance of international co-operative law concerned with the common interests of men in survival, security, and welfare — is essential reading for all concerned with the future of mankind.

\$8.75

## *Nature nearby*

### **THE NATURAL GEOGRAPHY OF PLANTS**

by **Henry Allan Gleason and Arthur Cronquist**. Why don't beech trees grow west of Illinois? Why do certain plants tend to grow around others? What do plants tell you about the land areas in which you are driving by in your car? These are but a few of the fascinating questions answered in this handsomely illustrated book. More than 250 photos. \$10.00

### **THE INSECTS**

by **Uri N. Lanham**. All the fascinating facts of insect life, from the so-called "primitive" types to the highly evolved orders. Beautifully illustrated and written in non-technical language. \$6.95

## *Love and words and music*

### **THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS OF WAGNER'S "TRISTAN"**

by **Elliott Zuckerman**. The "dangerous fascination", as Nietzsche called it, of *Tristan and Isolde* — and the ensuing effect of "Tristanism" on the world of music, literature, and art — is skillfully traced. "Superb ... music, history, biography, and psychology are fused into a narrative that tells us in effect how western man has felt and thought about art, love, and ideas since 1859."—**JACQUES BARZUN** \$6.00

## *How things stand*

### **ECONOMIC GROWTH AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR MINORITIES**

by **Dale L. Hiestand**. These new findings on the employment opportunities for Negro men, Negro women, and white women challenge many accepted assumptions. \$6.00

At all bookstores

**COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS**

Publishers of The Columbia Encyclopedia  
2960 Broadway  
New York, N. Y. 10027



mendous public subsidy goes into slumlords' pocketbooks.

Despite some improvements in enforcement of housing codes, American cities have never cracked down on slumlords. Even when they are caught violating codes, slumlords generally treat the trivial fines as a cheap business expense, an insignificant fraction of the cost of required repairs. With such generous financial rewards for breaking the law, it is scarcely surprising that the law holds no terrors for a species that seems to combine the single-minded avarice extolled by Adam Smith with the morality of a slave trader.

«»

## Stars, But No Bench Warmers

HAL HIGDON

**B**ASEBALL HAS DONE IT, by Jackie Robinson. Lippincott. \$2.95.

Negroes have come a long way in athletics since 1947, when Branch Rickey and Jackie Robinson integrated major-league baseball, but the color line has not completely vanished from the sports world. What baseball "has done," according to Robinson, is to have successfully integrated the playing field. But, as his series of interviews with prominent Negro and white baseball stars demonstrates, there are still many areas where improvement is long overdue.

To be sure, baseball's record in human relations, at least on the surface, has been reasonably good. In June *Ebony* magazine published the estimated salaries of the ninety-three Negro athletes in the major leagues. They averaged \$22,800, with superstar Willie Mays of the San Francisco Giants topping the list at \$105,000. That puts Mays in the same base-salary tax bracket as Mickey Mantle, which is as it should be.

Indeed, you have to look beyond mere salaries to discover that a professional Negro athlete doesn't equal the earning potential of his white counterpart. It's quite common to

see a Ken Boyer, or in football a Bart Starr, advising us not to use that greasy kid stuff, but you're more likely to encounter Mays grinning at you from a billboard in Harlem: "Say hey! Love that Alaga Syrup," and probably for a much smaller endorsement fee.

Another lucrative source of off-season income for professional athletes is touring the post-season "chicken à la king" circuit talking and showing game films for large fees. But few colored athletes do much except wait for the next season. One Negro athlete who led the majors in batting most of the early part of this season estimated that winning the batting title would mean \$25,000 in outside income—if he were white, that is.

Despite the presence of a Negro on a major league roster seven years before the Supreme Court school-desegregation decision, no Negro appears even on the verge of becoming a major league manager. Once the Negro ceases to operate as a player, his days in baseball end. And his days as a player may end as soon as his batting average dips significantly below .300. "Generally the Negroes on the roster are only the stars," one Negro sports editor told me recently. "There's no place in baseball for the only average. They don't carry a benchwarmer."

**B**YOND the great professional domains of baseball and football, integration in sports often conforms to social patterns. Most Northern colleges gladly prop their athletic programs by recruiting Negro athletes. Southern colleges, however, have only begun to integrate their playing fields. Last season, Maryland in the Atlantic Coast Conference and West Virginia in the Southern Conference had Negroes on their squads, the first ever in those conferences. Southern schools now have even begun to recruit Negro stars who previously went to all-Negro schools such as Florida A&M and Grambling College in Louisiana.

While they have made notable advances in many sports, Negroes have gone backward in at least one—horse racing. Prior to 1900, many jockeys were Negro; then gradually white jockeys began to replace them.

Today there are only a few Negro jockeys, and they seldom get the better mounts. Horse racing means big money, and as many as ten jockeys in a season may make more than \$100,000 a year. "If you want to see prejudice against us in sports," a Negro athlete recently told me, "just follow the dollar."

Tennis and golf, of course, are country-club sports. Althea Gibson rose from the public courts in Harlem to become a world tennis champion, but she is the exception. Charlie Sifford has for years competed successfully if unspectacularly in the same tournaments with Jack Nicklaus and Arnold Palmer, but mainly at his own expense. The average white pro golfer of equal or less ability often is sponsored on tour by a country club or equipment manufacturer.

Negroes have competed in boxing and track since the turn of the century. Yet boxing is a dying sport, and while some people blame television, others blame its death on too many Negro champions. Conversely, many Negroes feel that professional basketball operates under a system that limits Negroes to four out of the ten players that make up a squad.

**A**BOVE ALL, the Negro athlete, even though he commands a large salary and white children pester him for autographs, still is a Negro. He can lead the way, as Robinson did, in desegregating an occasional hotel or restaurant, but he cannot completely retreat from prejudice, any more than can a well-salaried Negro lawyer or doctor living comfortably, yet ill at ease, in an all-white neighborhood. In Robinson's book, the former Milwaukee Braves' outfielder Billy Bruton tells the story of stopping one night at a motel in Wisconsin and being refused a room. He drove on and at the first telephone called the motel back: "This is Billy Bruton. . . . Do you have a room for me?"

The answer was yes, and when Bruton drove back to the motel, the clerk apologized for his previous blunder: "Gee, I'm awful sorry, Billy. I didn't recognize you before." The point was that the clerk *had* recognized him before—not as a baseball star but as a Negro.