

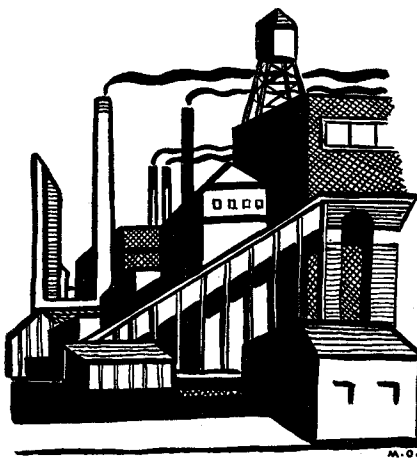
deed, says Mr. Wallace, only with sixty million jobs will it be possible to balance the federal budget at all, and begin to reduce our post-war public debt of more than 300 billion dollars. Secretary Wallace definitely does not choose to be identified with the new philosophy of the public debt which holds that the size of the national debt doesn't matter and that government deficit spending is the quickest shortcut there is to full employment.

Most liberals and progressives will acclaim "Sixty Million Jobs" with unstinted enthusiasm. But some who esteem and admire Henry Wallace will find themselves in the awkward position of having to say "Well done, sir, but not enough! Your proposals certainly constitute a big step forward which must be taken if large-scale unemployment is to be avoided. But they seem quite insufficient to achieve and maintain sixty million jobs by 1950."

To this reviewer, for example, the basic flaw of the national budget approach to full employment is its too facile equation of spending with employment. Money is homogeneous; labor and capital equipment are not. Any dollar can be spent anywhere for anything. But workers in an unregimented society are willing to do only certain kinds of work, and only in a restricted number of localities. Similarly, factories can turn out only certain types of goods. There is thus no assurance that millions spent on a public works project in the Missouri Valley will provide jobs for unemployed workers and idle factories in Connecticut. It is entirely possible to have overspending and bottlenecks in certain areas of the economy with simultaneous unemployment in other sectors.

Accordingly, it is a delusion to expect that, if there is a ten or twenty billion dollar gap between normally anticipated expenditures and the amount theoretically required for full employment, ten or twenty billions of additional spending by consumers, businessmen, or the government will of itself create full employment. As Beveridge has pointed out, adequate total outlay is only one of the conditions of full employment. The second is the controlled expansion and location of industry. The third is the organized mobility of labor from industry to industry and from locality to locality.

These three conditions mean that the initial direction and secondary repercussions of compensatory spending must be worked out carefully and specifically in terms of the types of labor and facilities currently and potentially available. The piece-by-piece patterns of demand and supply must be made to correspond, not merely their total monetary equivalents. This may well require far more detailed government



planning and supervision over the economy than either Mr. Wallace or many supporters of the Full Employment Bill seem willing to admit.

Staunch advocates of full employment must, therefore, be prepared for the eventuality that something more than ounces of government stimulation will be required to produce pounds of needed employment. A national full employment budget is not so magical

a catalyst. It may often take a quarter or half a pound of active government participation in the economy to create a pound of jobs.

This prospect of more government supplementation of private enterprise than Mr. Wallace, as Secretary of Commerce, is ready to accept does not imply that, by accepting it, we must foreswear a free society. To the contrary, thoroughgoing government controls over the economy that serve to achieve full employment are surely more conducive to a free society than ineffective peripheral actions which do not. In the coming crusade for full employment, progressives should not for a moment forget that the failure of half-hearted measures may permanently discredit liberalism. The result of such failure may well be either reversion to the "boom and bust" free enterprise dogma of the twenties or exposure to the germs of even more dangerous totalitarianism.

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Jews on the Fighting Fronts

THE FIGHTING JEW. By Ralph Nunberg. New York: Creative Age Press Inc. 1945. 295 pp. \$2.50.

Reviewed by HENRY B. KRANZ

HERE is the accurate and persuasive story of the fighting Jew from the times of the Roman Empire to our days. It is no footnoted tract. Mr. Nunberg tells in simple, touching words of Josephus, Bar Kochba, the Maccabees, of David Salisbury Franks (Benedict Arnold's adjutant), Uria P. Levy who was Commodore in the U. S. Navy, and of the Jews who received the Congressional Medal of Honor in the Civil War. He speaks of Napoleon's friend, Marshall Andrea Massena, of Joseph Trumpeldor, the hero of Port Arthur and Palestine, and of the British Brigadier General Kish. Climaxing his story is a vividly written account of the battle put up by 40,000 Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto against the Nazis in May and June 1944—all but a few were killed.

This book had to be written although the debunking of a two-thousand-year-old legend, that of Jewish cowardice today, in this country, would seem to be unnecessary. According to available statistics the population of the United States includes 3.6 per cent Jews of whom five per cent are in the armed forces. Jewish soldiers have been wherever the American flag waved, at Pearl Harbor and Okinawa, in Africa, Italy, France, and Germany. Sergeant Meyer Levi, Major General

Maurice Rose are but two names out of thousands which will not soon be forgotten here, nor will the thousands of heroes be forgotten in Great Britain, France, Australia, and Russia who fought and died for a great cause. How did this affect the Jewish problem? Anti-Semitism, we are warned, is rapidly increasing in the United States, and is increasing in England, France, Italy, even in Czechoslovakia. Astonishing?

This reviewer remembers a discussion in Berlin in 1920 between newspapermen and artists. It was generally agreed that the war had greatly helped to solve the Jewish problem in Germany. No longer—they thought—would any German dare to accuse Jews of being cowards. They pointed out that there had been more than 100,000 Jews in the German Army, 17.7 per cent of the Jewish population. The "Aryan" Germans had sent only sixteen per cent. Fifteen thousand German Jews (fifteen per cent) had been killed while only fourteen per cent of the other Germans had failed to return. Only few of the men at the table were skeptical. But they were Zionists and Zionists are rather pessimistic whenever any solution of the Jewish problem besides Palestine is mentioned. Well—anti-Semitism increased in Germany and Hitler came. Books like "The Fighting Jew" were not read in Germany. In this country, among many, a Senator from Mississippi might be an appreciative reader.

A Backward Glance at the League

THE KILLING OF THE PEACE. By Alan Cranston. New York: The Viking Press. 1945. 304 pp. \$2.50.

Reviewed by ALLAN NEVINS

RISING in the Senate to make his first prepared address since that body had received the Versailles Treaty, Henry Cabot Lodge on August 12, 1919, began with a reference to Charles Lamb. One of the most delightful parts of the "Essays of Elia," he remarked, dealt with "Popular Fallacies." "There is one very popular fallacy, however, which Lamb did not include in his list and that is the common saying that history repeats itself." The statement that World War I, if the League died, would be followed by World War II, was—Lodge went on—pure tosh; unmitigated nonsense. "We are told that we shall 'break the heart of the world' if we do not take this League just as it stands. I fear that the hearts of the vast majority of mankind would beat on strongly and steadily and without any quickening if the League were to perish altogether." Lodge little thought that, when history *did* repeat itself, when World War II followed World War I and when America was once more involved in the bloody struggle, his words would be recalled as a painful and ironic commentary on his lack of statesmanship.

It is not necessary now to gird at Lodge; in the recent Senate debate on the United Nations Charter none was so mean as to do him reverence. But there is a great deal in the struggle over the League Covenant, both inside and outside Washington, which still repays a backward glance. Of analytical treatments of Woodrow Wilson's work and the means used by a Senate minority to destroy it we now have a considerable shelf; the best book written from the Wilsonian point of view probably being D. F. Fleming's, and the best from the opposing standpoint (or at least from a very critical standpoint) being Thomas A. Bailey's. This volume by Mr. Cranston, an experienced newspaper correspondent who occupied an important post in the O.W.I. before entering the Army, is not analytical. It is pure narrative, and is in fact cast in day-to-day diary form. It begins, in essentials, with Theodore Roosevelt's call of October 24, 1918, for Senatorial repudiation of the Fourteen Points "in their entirety"; it ends on March 19, 1920, with the final Senate vote rejecting the Versailles Treaty.

By his diary form, Mr. Cranston obviously loses much, but he also gains



—Cassel in the New York Evening World
Why Wait Till 1920! [1919.]

something. He loses "coherence," the opportunity to mass his material about vital points, and all the higher elements of literary form. But he gains a certain immediacy and vividness that give his book vitality and interest, and his strict attention to chronology builds up a suspense that is lacking in topical history. Needless to say, Mr. Cranston has sought far and wide for his material, and has presented it with enough selectivity to avoid giving us a mere jumble of facts. In certain sections, indeed, he has so arranged his diary-chronicle that it falls into a neat pattern. Take the series of headings, for the dates running from November 5, 1918, to February 19, 1919, which covers the formation of the irreconcilable Republican conspiracy against the League. They include: "Chairman Henry Cabot Lodge"; "Wilson Has

No Authority. . . ."; "A Secret Memorandum"; "We Shall Win"; "A Council of War"; "Lodge and the *Chicago Tribune*"; "Lodge Outlines the Strategy"; "Senator Jim Watson Accepts an Assignment"; "Borah and Johnson for the Defense"; "A Frankenstein and a Farce"; "Scapegoat No. 1—A British League." All this presents a fairly continuous story; and interwoven with it is the story of Wilson's early adventures in Europe.

Mr. Cranston's publishers tell us that: "Anyone who thinks he knows the story of the League fight will be astonished to reread the record today. It reads like a murder story—murder involving the lives and hopes of millions." The chief fault of the book, once we accept its primitive design, is that it does make sober history read rather too much like the narrative of a vast E. Phillips Oppenheim-Francis Beeding crime. In making up a running diary of this sort, certain complexities, intricacies, and fine shadings have to be omitted. But the author, using materials as old as the newspapers of 1918 and as recent as Stephen Bonsal's book, has presented much that is worth remembering in a form that is equally convenient for casual reading or for reference. He has dug up many a little-known item about all the half-incredible figures of the melodrama—Bullitt, Jim Watson, Albert Fall, Borah, Colonel Harvey, Moses, Brandegee, Hearst, Medill McCormick; and he has put down most of the vital facts in their due order. For a study presenting the deeper relationships of facts and forces we shall have to look elsewhere, but Mr. Cranston has given us a useful and lively piece of narrative.

Alarum

By Lawrence P. Spingarn

IT is time again. I leave the town,
Drawn forth by the burning of the trees;
No other follows my footsteps down
Those flaming paths. I go where I please.

No sirens sound, so I look behind,
Seeing staid elms, a careful steeple,
But out of sight is out of the mind:
Town is enjoyed by the stolid people.

Yet the fires rage, and my feet will scorch
If I stand long under any tree
I must find whose hand applied this torch
To the slumbering woods so guilefully.

I must pump all hope to quench my doubt
That the summer will survive this spite,
For my dawdling townsmen put flames out
With the snowflakes of a winter night.