

values he has lived by all his life are undergoing tremendous onslaughts. In the midst of their collapse he tries all the more stubbornly to keep his. Michaud is an intensely human creation, made all the more so by the author's seeming detachment from his problems.

It is his son, sixteen-year-old Antoine, who causes the eventual change in Michaud. Antoine is a precocious youngster who has already been introduced to some of the ways of the black market; he can earn in a few days, by little effort, more than his father earns in a month. With his illegal earnings Antoine keeps a twenty-eight-year-old mistress in near-luxury, meanwhile experiencing twinges of conscience when he looks at the penny-pinching that goes on in his own household. Ironically, it is through Michaud's discovery of Antoine's secret activities and his attempts to return him to the family fold that his own corruption is brought about. He does succeed in parting Antoine from Yvette, manages to stop his dabbling in the black market, but in accomplishing these victories he receives his own introduction to the economic underworld. It is an easy pit to fall into, and Michaud falls.

These happenings are coalesced into a few weeks of time, but M. Aymé has an interesting way of broadening the time range of his story without interfering unduly with the dramatic tension. He makes use of author's footnotes to record the fortunes of certain of the characters through the succeeding years. These footnotes are little masterpieces in themselves, filled with shrewd, biting commentary on the way accidental events affect for good or ill the lives of individuals.

One can only admire the sheer ease with which the dramatic pattern of the story is developed. His style is clean and evocative. And minor personages, people like Yvette and Michaud's partner, Lolivier, are fully as real and vividly drawn as Michaud or Antoine. A whole host of characters is brought unobtrusively into the scheme of the work: the rich, the poor, prostitutes, and black-market businessmen. They are hardly types, but they do give the impression of being representative, and through them one is made distressingly aware of the effects of the defeat and the occupation, the moral bankruptcy they brought, perhaps only temporarily, to the French.

But there is no moralizing on the part of M. Aymé; his is a sophisticated point of view and what he offers us is matters as they appear to him. He is on his own, looking with ironic de-

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Wallace. Since he has given birth to a third party, we feel that Henry Wallace, like Dr. Kinsey, deserves a category all his own. William B. Hesseltine's *"The Rise and Fall of Third Parties,"* published last month, gives a timely description of American minority parties. Most recent of third-party ventures was Theodore Roosevelt's "Bull Moose" campaign of 1912. T.R.—like Wallace today—led a whirlwind campaign on issues of social justice (although the crucial emphasis on foreign affairs was missing), raised a dust-storm of controversy, but succeeded only in losing the election for his party. . . . For the campaigning Wallace of today, read Dwight Macdonald's *"Henry Wallace: The Man and the Myth"* (reviewed in SRL March 6). For background on Wallace the agricultural pioneer, who is now growing hybrid corn outside his New York headquarters, see last year's *"The Wallaces of Iowa."*

1. Stroking a Tiger

TOWARD WORLD PEACE. By Henry Wallace. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock. 1948. 121 pp. \$1.75.

Reviewed by FRANK ALTSCHUL

IN A SLENDER political tract entitled "Toward World Peace," Henry Wallace follows a time-worn pattern. If he has nothing to say that is strikingly new, he is at least unhampered by that foolish consistency which Emerson described as the hobgoblin of little minds. Possibly it is on this account that he consigns to history the task of passing judgment upon those Americans "who could never see any difference between a totalitarian Russia and a totalitarian Germany." That he should prefer the verdict of history to the verdict of his contemporaries need occasion no wonder. For only a little more than a decade ago he declared, "Communism and Fascism have a striking similarity. . . . Like war, they begin and end with physical force and their final outcome is likely to be as futile and devastating."

"The greatest danger to the United States and the world peace today," according to Mr. Wallace, lies in the tendency to obscure "real issues with false issues." Yet apart from the exhalations regularly emanating from the propagandists of the Kremlin, it would be hard to find a better example of this tendency than Mr. Wallace himself has furnished. Clearly he is no Communist; for he reveals a woe-ful ignorance of the fundamentals of the Communist creed. But it is none the less apparent that with all the authority of a former Vice President of the United States and a former member of the Cabinet of two Presidents, he is now engaged in peddling the party line for the confusion of the naive and the ill-informed.

It is a matter of regret, though it has long since ceased to be a matter of surprise, to find Henry Wallace echoing so faithfully the editorial column of the *Daily Worker*. He presents a totally distorted picture of the American scene. In his jaundiced view, policy is largely determined by reactionary capitalists eager to send their sons into the holocaust of war. The Administration in Washington is dominated by "the military and the men who operate those larger financial and manufacturing concerns which are vitally interested in profits . . ."—by a "Wall Street-military" clique "so obsessed with fear and hatred of Russia that it is certain, sooner or later, to make war." This has a familiar ring. According to the *Daily Worker*:

the Wall Street dominated old parties [are] rushing for war . . . because they are afraid of the coming economic crisis. . . . They want guaranteed war profits, not a program to advance the living standard of the people. . . . They want to turn back the clock of history and drown the new People's Democracy, colonial liberation, and Socialism in a sea of blood—American blood.

Mr. Wallace shares this stereotyped enthusiasm for "the new People's Democracy, colonial liberation, and Socialism." He hopes that "America will forsake the exploiters and vie with Russia in saving the peoples of this world." And he seems untroubled by the thought that the peoples of this

SOLUTION OF LAST WEEK'S DOUBLE-CROSTIC (No. 733)

HAROLD E. STASSEN:
WHERE I STAND

I believe that an open discussion of vital issues is wholesome and constructive for a free people and I am willing to expose my views to public debate. . . . The political fate of the advocate is incidental to the spread of ideas. . . .

world which have so far been saved by the Red Army or by its Communist vanguard have exhibited a strange reluctance to accept salvation in this form. The callous manner in which, at a recent press conference, he dealt with the tragic suicide of Jan Masaryk, merely serves to indicate the tenacity with which he clings to his pet illusions.

Notable among these is the thesis so assiduously cultivated by the Communists that the Truman Doctrine was the cause rather than the direct consequence of our difficulties with the Soviet Union. This is an interpretation of recent history which Mr. Wallace finds it convenient first to accept and then to exploit. The menacing development of Soviet policy during the period between the adoption of the United Nations Charter at San Francisco and the formulation of the Administration program of aid to Greece and Turkey arouses in him no misgivings.

Russia has been criticized for the part she has taken in the Balkan States and particularly for refusing to permit Western observation and supervision of the elections in those countries. I have not joined in that criticism, for the simple reason that I know if the shoe were on the other foot . . . we would act as Russia has, if not more drastically. . . . Russia simply will not permit us to run the politics of that area no matter what was said at Yalta.

It is only right, in other words, that the Soviet Union should feel free to violate its solemn commitment as if it were just another "scrap of paper."

This is but one example selected from many of the readiness of Mr. Wallace to sacrifice principle on the altar of fancied expediency. Presumably he has forgotten the admonition of Franklin Delano Roosevelt: "No man can tame a tiger into a kitten by stroking it." For he has written an authentic handbook on the stroking of tigers. His program for peace is little more than a plea for capitulation to the most extreme Soviet demands. Seemingly unaware of the challenge offered by an aggressive and advancing Russian imperialism to the most fundamental beliefs and aspirations of the Western World, he indulges in a veritable orgy of appeasement. But to those who still attach overriding importance to the freedom of the individual he offers the prospect of no peace more inviting than the peace of the tomb.

Frank Altschul, author of "Let No Wave Engulf Us," is president of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and director of The Council of Foreign Relations.

2. "Party of Hope"

TOWARD WORLD PEACE. By Henry A. Wallace. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock. 1948. 121 pp. \$1.75.

Reviewed by SAUL K. PADOVER

THIS is a campaign book, a fighting pamphlet, a call to action. It is 121 pages of dynamite.

I have rarely read a book that is so quotable, so glowing with a righteous cause. It is packed with true observations and frequently rises to heights of eloquence.

Much in "Toward World Peace" is in the great tradition of American political writing. Again and again certain Wallace phrases reminded me of the letters of Jefferson, the pamphlets of Paine, and the anti-slavery speeches of Lincoln. I am not comparing Henry Wallace to any of these men; I am only saying that he frequently sounds like them. He does not have Jefferson's philosophic coolness or Lincoln's devastating logic, but what he lacks in depth and cogency he makes up in moral fervor. Wallace does not try, at least in this book, to propound systems based upon cold reason. He is a man afire with a crusade for peace and plenty in the world, and he makes his points with hammer blows.

His thoughts are sparks, and, like sparks, difficult to sum up. If I understand him correctly, this is what he says:

People all over the world are crying for a share of the good things of life. They get sympathy from the Russians but not from the Americans, who tend to identify themselves with foreign exploiters, money men, and military men. Americans do not realize the nature of the world crisis,

nor that unplanned capitalism must lead to depression, and depression to war. This is particularly tragic today because the United States is the richest and most powerful country on earth. Instead of working for peace, for an understanding with Russia, for one-world, the United States is embarking upon militarism at home and war abroad. Instead of billions for peaceful reconstruction, the United States is undermining the peace of the world with the Truman Doctrine and with the support of reaction in Greece, Turkey, and China.

Wallace proposes that the United States help the world through a Reconstruction Fund to be administered by a strengthened United Nations. Five billion dollars a year for ten years, he says, would be a small price to pay for peace. "In no case will the cost be as great as war." Moreover, that amount of money would result in undreamt-of productivity and develop great foreign areas which have untapped resources. This, in Wallace's eyes, would be a boon both for expanding American capitalism and world prosperity.

For his own New Party—which he speaks of as the "party of hope"—Wallace advocates a nine-point program: (1) Freedom of expression without fear. (2) Peace with Russia. (3) Elimination of Wall Street-militaristic control of the government. (4) Lower prices. (5) Repeal of the Taft-Hartley law (why does he refer to it as "Act"?). (6) Control of business monopoly. (7) A social welfare program, including a \$100-a-month old-age pension. (8) Federal aid to education. (9) Government planning to eliminate the business cycle and unemployment.

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"My wife wins 'em on radio programs, and I sell 'em."