

**The World.** *What we commonly call modern history began when the national states rose to challenge the hegemony of the Church of Rome. Never during the past five centuries has the struggle between Church and State ceased completely. At times and in places the Church has allied itself with the State, at others it has opposed it. Now, in mid-twentieth century, it is warring openly on the most completely monolithic state in modern times, Communist Russia. Four books we review here illuminate this theme: Edward L. Heston's "The Holy See at Work," Camille M. Cianfarra's "The Vatican and the Kremlin," Charles Pinchon's "The Vatican and Its Role in World Affairs," and (less directly) Cyril Garbett's "Church and State in England." . . . John Dos Passos's "The Prospect Before Us" is a stirring call for decision and action.*



—Illustrations from the book.

## Liberty & Democratic Participation

**THE PROSPECT BEFORE US.** By John Dos Passos. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 375 pp. \$3.75.

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

**I**F JOHN DOS PASSOS ever founds a political party he can count on me as a charter member. I do not share his enthusiasm for the sociological approach to situations but I do share his respect for facts and for freedom. His latest book is dedicated to the twin causes of liberty and democratic participation, both of which are essential if human life is to remain worth living wholeheartedly.

Here is a thesis which this reviewer likes. Bigness, centralization, being done for rather than doing—these are the enemies. Whether it is the Soviet Communist state or the

British Socialist state or the giant American corporation, the result tends to be the same—the dwarfing and frustrating of the individual and the loss of his freedom and interest. In many respects these three entities are more like than unlike.

Always inclined to exotic techniques, this time John Dos Passos has dreamed up the picture of a lecturer delivering a free series of addresses to a small but typical American public that serves him as a foil. Before getting to these addresses the author himself sets out the predicament of modern man, namely, the likeness of all industrial societies. If self-government is to continue, “the knot which our society must untie, or at least partly untie, if it is not to sink into the stagnation of slavery, is the problem of controlling the power over men’s lives of these stratified corporations, which, whether their top management calls itself capitalist or Socialist, are so admirably adapted by the pull of centralization to the uses of despotism.”

The five lectures demonstrate the argument and point to the remedy.

First comes an admirable description of the voluntary collective self-discipline of the British people during World War II.

The second lecture—“Ordeal by Government”—is a description of Britain under Socialism since the end of that war:

Six years have passed. . . . Britain and the United States . . . have been trapped by their ally the Great Stalin into a peace as disastrous for the victors as it is disastrous for the miserable peoples of Eastern Europe who were turned over by the millions to the imperial purposes of a Kremlin regime which

honored neither faith nor charity nor pity, nor practised any of the humane palliatives which alone make life in society tolerable for man.

Quite so.

In Socialist Britain the lecturer found the food so bad as to comment that the “class-war victors are giving themselves the crowning triumph of poisoning the last remnants of the dethroned bourgeoisie.” (Not to be taken literally.)

“Today the entrenched prejudices are on the side of labor. The unions have no more real respect for liberty than the capitalists once showed. What they wanted is state-controlled equality.” As a result everybody “except the lowest-paid third of the population was reduced by high taxes to a bare subsistence level. . . . The people of the lowest third were raised to that level. . . . Socialism has accomplished very little more than to freeze the bankrupt capitalist economy at its point of collapse.” Therefore, “under cover of Socialist and Communist illusions, the masses of mankind are being plunged back into a regime of servitude such as has not existed in the West for thousands of years.”

In Part Two, entitled “Principles of Power,” the lecturer describes how in the backward societies of South America industrialism is leading toward forms of tyranny, Fascist or Communist. This conclusion is based on first-class reporting in several countries—Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Peru. What John Dos Passos found in these places alarmed him. With people in their present condition any stalwart tyrant who offers some immediate advantages and promises heaven can get a big follow-



ing. (Since this was written Dictator Vargas has been overwhelmingly elected to the presidency of Brazil.) Uruguay's genuine democracy is threatened. In Argentina the incredible Perón couple is popular despite their vulgarity and their despotism. In Chile democracy tried to cooperate with Communism and is now threatened by it. And so on.

"Political tendencies in South America are much more Fascist than Communist but as time goes on there gets to be less and less conflict between the adherents of the two systems. They help each other against the common enemy, which is freedom. Once you've mastered the technique of tyranny, it doesn't matter what you call the result." (Paging the Hitler-Stalin alliance of 1939!)

Part Three ("Dedicated to a Proposition") offers a "solution" based on a close scrutiny of what is going on within these United States. Some basic facts:

(a) When the U. S. soldiers got home from World War II they found they could hardly "go into business for themselves because of the discriminations of the tax structure against new enterprises" and, I would add, against new fortunes;

(b) whereas conditions in corporate industry are morally unsatisfactory, in certain profit-sharing or employee-owned businesses management and labor are really cooperating to raise output and income;

(c) most farming is becoming big industry with ramifications all through the economy—and getting bigger.

Conclusion: whether it's big government or big industry or big farming or big labor the result is much the same. "Do you want power or do you want a good society?"

Thesis: "Our basic difficulty lies in the fact that we have slipped from one type of obsolete thinking—old-fashioned, laissez-faire capitalism . . . into a camouflaged Socialism which is equally obsolete. . . . We are drifting toward a dangerous merger of political and economic power.

"The cure lies in increased participation. . . . The problem is how to bring it about. Every society has to be born again from time to time. . . . There are only rare moments in history when a community of men finds itself in a position to choose alternatives. We are in that position."

Maybe you see now why I want to vote for the Dos Passos Party.

Nine drawings by Micky Strobel admirably reinforce the text.

Edgar Ansel Mowrer, writer of a syndicated column on world affairs, is the author of a just-published book, "Challenge and Decision."

# The Thunder of Bulls & Encyclicals

THE VATICAN AND THE KREMLIN. By Camille M. Cianfarra. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 250 pp. \$3.

By WILLIAM S. LYNCH

THERE is a good story told somewhere of Joe Stalin's sardonic brushing aside of the Pope's claim to a place in discussions of international settlements with the question "How many divisions has he?" Winston Churchill is said to have reminded Joe of some of the rather heavily armored spiritual legions which a goodly number of people believe are on the Holy Father's side. Whatever the value of the Vatican's nonmundane resources, the militant Catholicism of Central and Eastern Europe is one of the major shields behind which Western Europe is resisting Russian Communism.

Traditionally the satellite countries behind the Iron Curtain are Christian, and in that section of the world the majority of Christians have been Catholic, some Roman, some Eastern rite, some Orthodox. In Poland almost the whole population is historically Roman Catholic; in Bulgaria, either Orthodox or Moham-medan. The bitter enemy of atheistic Communism is therefore Catholicism, and since Roman Catholicism is the best organized it becomes the bitterest. This accounts for the relentlessness with which the Kremlin persecutes the Catholic Church in these nations. It is this which explains the particular drama of a Mindszenty. That the fight is inherent in Communism was shown in 1946 by the trial and imprisonment of Archbishop Stepinatz in Yugoslavia and the continuation of antireligious action even after Tito was drummed out of the Party.

Camille Cianfarra has been the Vatican correspondent of *The New York Times* since before World War II. He wrote a book about the Vatican and the war, in which he traced the Vatican's fight against Fascism and Mussolini. Now he has done it for the Vatican's present struggle against Communism. If anything, the fight is more intense, for this foe has learned from the mistakes of the previous one, has learned, too, from the methods of the other. Like so many things about Communism and Fascism the likenesses exceed the differences.

As Cianfarra tells it, this is essentially a journalist's narrative, as you would expect. In fact, much of what is here has appeared in the columns of the *Times* and other periodicals at one time or another. In this form we get a clear account of those incidents of the last five years or so which have marked the handling of religious groups by the Russian-dominated governments of Europe. Committed to the basic faith that religion has no place in modern society of the type it wants, the Kremlin has stopped at nothing to extirpate it from the lands it holds in bondage. And, it would appear, not without some success. Trimming its sails to the practical exigencies of the political situations as they differ in various places, the Kremlin has been brutal where it thought it could get away with it, has coerced in others, and wheedled in still others. For the old it has done everything to make worship difficult; for the young it has

denied religious training and substituted militant atheism. Where it has seemed wise, the Communists have used the Orthodox Church, some members of whose clergy have compromised with Russian Communism, to weaken the other forms of

Christianity, Catholic or Protestant. Aiming at the spiritual, it works to strip the Roman Catholic Church of its temporal powers. The big enemy here is the Vatican, one opponent which does not scare easy. And while its military power may not go any farther than the halberds of the Swiss guards, the thunder of bulls and encyclicals has something of the force of very heavy artillery.

The frequency with which the clergy are charged with being spies and agents for American and British capitalists is one clue to the interest which this book should have to those who are interested in the current struggle with Russia. We are constantly being told that the current wars, both hot and cold, are for the minds of men. It would appear that they are for the hearts and souls as well. Whether we like it or not, democracy and religion are on the same side. We will be stronger in so far as we know this and in so far as we know the nature of Communism's ways of attacking both. "The Vatican and the Kremlin" tells us something about it, an appalling story in a time of incredibly appalling things.

