

to the United Kingdom, but has worked within the Union for reduction of travel barriers, the elimination of unnecessary frontier inspections for the tourist, and for the development of travel to Europe in general.

Another is Henri Ingrand, hero of the French resistance, who is now France's commissioner general for tourism. Not only does he see that 3,000,000 tourists are given a friendly welcome to France during the year, but he has been an advocate within the Union to establish an international research institute, now in the process of organization, which will through scientific study increase knowledge of

the nature and scope of the travel market and the impact of travel on the economic, social, and cultural life of a country. He is the new president of the IUOTO.

The honor roll is long and varied in the work of the Union. There are Dr. Pietro Romani, high commissioner of tourism for Italy, and his staff, including such capable officials as Foreign Director De Cesare, Count Dr. Fago-Golfarelli, and Dr. Guido Ricci. It would have to include such travel heads as Luis A. Bolin of Spain, Arthur Haulot of Belgium, Dr. Siegfried Bittel and Florian Niederr of Switzerland, Dr. Milan Apih of Yugoslavia, Commander C. P. Newton of the Union of South Africa, Colin Black of Southern Rhodesia, G. E. Lampe of Norway, Dr. Warner Bloch of Israel, Kevin O'Doherty of Ireland, D. Papaefstratiou of Greece, Mogens Lichtenberg of Denmark, Dr. D. Majima of Japan, and Francois Morin, secretary-general of the Union itself.

These officials and their counterparts in the other free countries of the earth are symbols of hope, of a day and time when men will be able to travel freely and share the heritage of their own land with their neighbors. As the year turns towards the spring and travel plans are made in countless homes across the United States, it may be that that day and time are not too far off, despite the headlines telling of war and fear and restrictions. At least, these men and the tourists are on the side of the future and freedom.

—WILLIAM D. PATTERSON.

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(Continued from page 20)

POLITICS

nocuous. If, however, one completely the social and economic and shaped, for instance, revolution and believes and plots of a band of fanatics in Shanghai were a "sive factor" in this terrible conspiracy, one will never be able to effectively with the world-wide threat of Communism; one merely walks into a trap—in Korea and elsewhere.

Scandalous History

HOW TO GET RICH IN WASHINGTON: *Rich Man's Division of the Welfare State.* By Blair Bolles. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. 309 pp. \$3.75.

By KARL SCHRIFTGIESSER

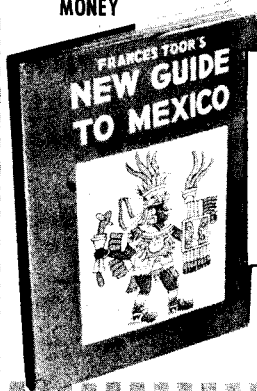
IN his scandalous history, "How to Get Rich in Washington," Blair Bolles retells in vivid detail the shocking story of corruption in Washington with which every newspaper reader is familiar. Its great value is not that it tells much that is new, but that it brings together in sequence the varied chapters as they have been set down by Congress and the press during the past two years. After examining all the available evidence Mr. Bolles reports sadly that today "we have government of the people, by corruption, for the privileged." What we have been witnessing is the "democratization of corruption," which is even worse than our "past epochs of political sin"—the Grant and Harding administrations among them—"in that today few can make a fortune, but thousands can wrest a fancy living from the capital."

This sorry state of affairs has come about, in Mr. Bolles's opinion, as an almost natural concomitance of the trend towards the welfare state. The national Government has taken the place of the great banking firm of J. P. Morgan & Company and, just as that banking house used to favor its friends, so now do those who handle the money in Washington favor theirs. In the old days of private enterprise if you knew a member of the House

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Karl Schriftgiesser, a former Washington correspondent, is the author of "The Lobbyists," a history of the practice of influencing legislatures in the United States.

of Morgan you could get your name on the list of privileged persons and end up with a profit. Now, if you know the right lawyer, or fixer, or lobbyist, you can get in ahead of the other fellow and grab off your share of RFC funds, or some surplus property loot, or a handful of tankers, or get yourself bailed out of a bad investment in Texas oil wells.

With commendable reportorial skill Mr. Bolles plows through the mass of testimony that various members of Congress have set upon the record. He ranges from the all-too-well-known affairs of the mink coats and deep freezers to the less well-known, but even more startling, affair of Texmass. This latter is one of the most hilarious (and at the same time most shocking) in the book, for its cast of characters are a select group of Proper Bostonians who were taken over by a slick character from Texas who sold them stock in some almost non-producing oil wells. In turn these Proper Bostonians shifted the burden of their mistaken judgment to two of the country's big insurance companies. When these realized they had been sucked in they shed their coat of private enterprise, snuck around the back way, talked out of the corner of their mouth with a fixer—and got the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to save the day. Cost the taxpayers a few million dollars, too.

"How to Get Rich in Washington" is replete with documented accounts of how individuals, small and large businessmen, wise guys, and just plain fools have taken advantage of men in the so-called independent agencies of government who have "treated their public office as a trust for private interests." These characters range from such eminent gentlemen as Ma-

jour General John Merryman Franklin, president of the United States Lines (read the book and see how much the new superliner—"America's answer to the *Queen Mary*," to be launched this spring—cost you, as a taxpayer), on the asking end—to such small fry as John Maragon, the ex-bootblack, on the fixing or giving end. Altogether these accounts go far toward justifying Mr. Bolles's broad assertion that the misuse of the Federal Government in our era exceeds the evils of the Grant or Harding eras, even if no "thieves of the first magnitude like Secretary of War Belknap or Secretary of the Interior Fall" have yet been found.

Although Mr. Bolles puts some of the blame for the breakdown of morals squarely at the door of President Truman, "How to Get Rich in Washington" does not posit the theory that the only way to save the day is to "throw rascals out." This is not essentially a campaign document. It is a reasonably objective book whose great virtue is that it tries to get below the surface and find the basic answers to the eternal problem of how to save public men from private pressures. That he succeeds in finding the final answer is questionable, but he does set forth some interesting suggestions for a course to be taken.

Congress should write the laws setting up and regulating the money-spending agencies with more regard to the public welfare. These agencies should be strictly accountable to the Chief Executive. Their administrators, from top to bottom, should be selected for ability and integrity and not for party loyalty. And the lawyers should stop making deals to thwart the purpose for which these agencies are set up. How to go about achieving this laudable aim? Mr. Bolles saith not.

Up Silver Stairsteps

By Jesse Stuart

UP silver stairsteps of the wind we rise,
Our great ship leaves the earth's substantial floor;
We climb up in the spacious moonlit skies
Behind four trusted engines' mighty roar ...
Higher we climb until the lights below
Are golden eggs down in a velvet nest
And motor cars are bugs with lights aglow
On arteries north, south and east and west ...
What do these matter when we zoom through space
Where clouds sleep on bright mountains of the wind,
When the full moon climbs through clouds and tries to race
And our ship cannot leave the moon behind?
Reach out and throw a rock to slow the moon,
Reach out and grab myself a falling star ...
From Knoxville to Chicago is too soon,
To coast from Heaven down where the world things are.



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Questioning Domestic Controls

HOW TO KEEP OUR LIBERTY: A Program for Political Action. By Raymond Moley. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 339 pp. \$4.

By HAROLD D. LASSWELL

HERE is a book that deserves to have been written by an unknown. Too many Americans know Raymond Moley, or imagine they know him, to read his book even if they buy it. Moley is class-typed as a political commentator who soured on Roosevelt and the New Deal. So the Roosevelt-haters love him automatically, and the Roosevelt-admirers treat him with automatic contempt.

These stereotyped images do scant justice to the author and no little disservice to the potential audience. For Moley is a scholarly, experienced, and thoughtful public figure. The present publication is a sober addition to the growing literature of the "new conservatism," which should perhaps be called the "new Federalism." It is part of the great re-assessment of the aims and methods of our American policy that is going forward as the world crisis continues and grows more intense.

The thesis with which Moley is concerned makes no claim to originality. It expounds the familiar doctrine that our individual liberties are menaced by the progressive governmentalizing of human affairs and that prompt and continuing action on the part of an aroused citizenry, acting through committees created for the purpose, can reasonably hope to preserve our freedoms.

Moreover, the book lays no formal claim to scholarship. However, the framework comes straight from the author's professional familiarity with the great tradition of classical and American political thought. Re-editing Aristotle's thesis about the significance of the middle-class elements in a popular polity, Moley addresses the "middle interests" of the American nation. The middle interests are "truly national," they cut across "so-called class lines."

Scanning the American social structure in this perspective Moley draws upon consultants to demonstrate that our economy is essentially an economy of the middle interests, and that the distorting impact of monopoly has

been grossly exaggerated for partisan purposes. He draws upon the same consultants to establish the degree to which "statism," as expressed through the "welfare state," is transforming our society and laying the foundation for colossal concentrations of despotic power.

It is not necessary to agree with many of Moley's detailed contentions to accept his central recommendation that American citizens ought to engage in serious study and discussion of the present penetration of government into our society. It is of the utmost importance for Americans to insist upon questioning every new expansion of authority and control, and for that matter to challenge every considerable extension of government in the past. To challenge is not to prejudice. An overwhelming case can be made out for many of the existing enlargements of the scope of our national state. But the questioning needs to proceed with vigor and faithfulness not only today but between elections.

Every discussion group can benefit by taking some of the pages of Moley's manual as a take-off point for dissection. Moley has gone to the trouble of making provisional statements of principle, together with recommended applications, in many important spheres of government action. This applies to agricultural policy, labor-management relations, taxation, business regulations, and above all perhaps to the area of interstate control of natural resources.

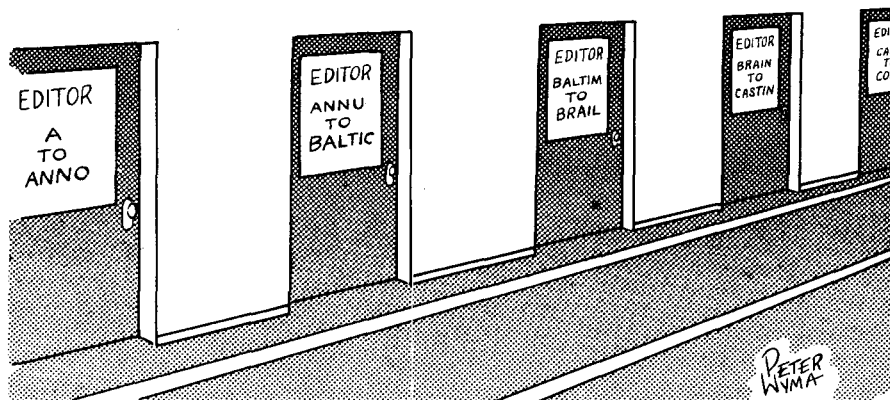
I suspect that one reason that Moley's book will fail to accomplish what the author hopes for is this: Moley has not mastered the techniques of thinking persuasively and

imaginatively in terms of goal. Goal-thinking is not to be confused with "planning" in the pejorative sense, since national objectives for achievement can be proposed for the commonwealth and not only for the government. Moley does not put his affirmative ideals for America in concrete terms, nor does he succeed in finding clear standards by which to delimit the spheres of governmental and non-governmental channels of action. Hence the impact of the book, despite its rational aim, is to encourage a blind "bucking of government" instead of a blind "bucking of business." Workable standards are still buried beneath the threshold of consciousness, so far as this book is concerned.

Perhaps it is a notable feat of self-restraint for the author to have composed an entire book on liberty in the middle of the twentieth century without paying more than passing attention to the national security crisis. Obviously this is a deliberate choice rooted in the conviction that our most direct assurance of eventual strength is the putting of our house in order by putting a stop to the governmentalizing trend. Admirable as this may be on pedagogical grounds, it contributes an other-worldly air to the treatment of liberty.

Mr. Moley's book calls to mind the persistence with which many of the New Dealers overlooked the Nazi menace in the Thirties on the theory that if our domestic institutions were sufficiently strong, our eventual security would be assured. Owing in part to this choice, another body of potential readers will exempt themselves from the opportunity to do more than scan the bright red hindering in which Mr. Moley's somber message has been encased for the market.

ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANUS



Harold D. Lasswell, professor of law at Yale University, is the author of "The Analysis of Political Behavior" and other books.