

policymakers to devise serious plans so that we will not again be caught by surprise.

In fact, it is his hope that we take fuller advantage of troubles behind the iron and bamboo curtains.

In virtually every chapter, he outlines, sometimes in remarkable detail, a course of positive action which might have been followed—or which is still open to us—in the unfolding crises. For example, shortly after the Berlin wall, he proposed (1) the immediate suspension of all shipments of machine tools and industrial equipment to the Communist bloc; (2) a threat of a total trade embargo if the Reds persisted in provocations; (3) a “Truth Airlift” of newsmen from around the world to Berlin; (4) the recall of our Ambassadors from the satellite nations, and a warning of even more stringent diplomatic sanctions; and (5) raising the Berlin issue in the U.N.

All of these measures were open to us. None of them involved a risk of military confrontation. And Senator Dodd may well be right in believing that, had the Allies taken these measures in concert, the Soviets would have backed down.

Certainly the Senator’s judgment has been proved correct time after time. Since the “Spirit of Geneva” in 1955, he has warned that summit conferences would be used by the Communists as soporifics and smoke screens to lull and blind the free world while they prepared new aggressions.

Those who have been urging a commitment to total victory in the cold war will find in “Freedom and Foreign Policy” a most persuasive presentation of their case. It is a book that, as Judge Simon H. Rifkind has said, “will surely compel the reader to rethink his views on American fundamentals.”

2. The Means

By WILLIAM WINTER

FEW MEN enjoy having their public utterances recalled from the distant past because ideas change with time. In this collection of twenty-one speeches and articles we see contradictions and inconsistencies within a period of only two or three years.

That is the odd thing about Senator Dodd: just when you think you understand him he seems to go off in another direction. At times he is on the side of the angels, and then suddenly he pops up at the side of Marie Antoinette.

Normally, the Senator’s logic is keen and penetrating. He is articulate, persuasive, liberal, and humanist—except on one subject, “Communism.” There

he loses touch with reality and drenches himself with frenzied passion that denies reason. Behold his all-too-familiar catechism (Chapter II):

Communism is total evil. It is all black. There is nothing gray about it. There is nothing good about it. Its ends are evil. Its means to those ends are evil.

If, by force of circumstance, Communists are for something right, it is only as an expedient to advance their evil ends.

If they occasionally appear in a worthy light, it is because they must make some appeal to human needs and aspirations.

When they educate the ignorant, it is to perfect their apparatus of enslavement.

When they industrialize, it is to strengthen their capacity for aggression.

When they talk peace, it is just another means of waging war. . . .

There is no evil so appalling that Communists would shrink from it, if it would effectively advance their ends. There is no atrocity so hideous that they would not willingly commit it if it served their purposes.

Seldom does one find so polarized a diatribe of hate. It is the kind of hate one develops during a war: the enemy represents evil and we represent good, and if only we would destroy the evil enemy, then we the good, virtuous people would prevail and all would be well in the world. War enables people to relieve themselves of guilt and frustration and identify all that is unpleasant with the enemy. Senator Dodd is at war with Communism and wants us all to join him in hating.

But then Chapter XX tells us this: “The reigning idea of Christian civilization is love; the reigning idea of Communism is hate.”

Perhaps it is not fair to expect logic and consistency from a man at war, because there is no logic in war, only passion. When the Senator can divorce himself from his almost religious fanaticism on that subject, he demonstrates commendable logic and clarity. He strikes out nobly against such blights on our society as anti-Semitism, race prejudice, juvenile delinquency, and crime; he abhors Nazism, denounces the Hitlerian barbarisms, and is a steadfast supporter of the United Nations (he spoke out vigorously for passage of the U.N. bond bill); he supports foreign aid, Alliance for Progress, and in general is a loyal Administration Democrat.

Chapter IV—“Our Missed Opportunities in Hungary”—is an example of a lucid and thoroughly factual argument against the Eisenhower Administra-

tion’s condemnation of our friends while permitting the Russians to suppress the people’s uprising in Hungary. In October 1956, British, French, and Israeli forces invaded Egypt; at the same time the Hungarian people revolted against their Soviet masters and installed Imre Nagy as their Prime Minister. That was the time, as the Senator wisely points out, for our government to have rushed to the support of Nagy, to urge the U.N. to send a mission to Budapest to make sure there would be no dirty work, and let the world know we stand beside the people and against imperialism.

History now tells us that had the Eisenhower Administration acted promptly in Hungary while there was still time and before the Russians double-crossed Imre Nagy and restored their power with a blood bath, there would have been simultaneous Titoist uprisings in Sofia, Bucharest, and Prague. The Russians would have been forced to dissipate their strength; the United Nations—and all the leading neutrals—would have stormed with indignation, and Soviet power would have been weakened either by the breakup of the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe or at least by some liberalization of the régimes in the satellites.

Instead, President Eisenhower ignored Hungary while he defended Nasser against our friends. Hungary became a *fait accompli*, and it was written out for all the world to see that Arab oil was more influential in Washington than Magyar blood.

Senator Dodd reaches heights of statesmanship when he deplores that missed opportunity when we should have supported Nagy. As everyone knows, Imre Nagy was a Communist, which suggests that the Senator opposes only the Soviet-empire variety of Communists and would support those who break away.

Yet he opposes aid to Tito—who is as far from the Soviet empire as any Communist leader can get—and Gomulka, whose people staged what the Poles like to call their October Revolution in 1957, and he opposes British Guiana’s Cheddi Jagan because they are all “Communists.”

Chapter XIV is a Senate speech reporting on a visit to the Congo last fall. This is welcome reading since the Senator had somehow been identified with Moise Tshombe’s secession from the central government of Cyrille Adoula. If memory serves right, Senator Dodd, when he appeared on television with Dr. Schwartz’s “Christian Anti-Communist Crusade,” lauded Tshombe as “anti-Communist” and “pro-American.” Now the Senator says:

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Super Tourist Diplomacy

“Just Friends and Brave Enemies,” by Robert F. Kennedy (Harper & Row. 211 pp. \$3.95), is the Attorney General's account of the trip he and his wife made around the world early this year. It is reviewed here by Fillmore Calhoun, who is a writer on international and national affairs.

By FILLMORE CALHOUN

THE AWKWARD-SOUNDING title of this book is taken from a letter written by Thomas Jefferson to Andrew Jackson on December 3, 1806: “We must meet our duty and convince the world that we are just friends and brave enemies.” It was sound advice then and, in the opinion of Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, it is of transcendent importance that we actually do something about it now.

This theme Mr. Kennedy pursues within the narrative framework of the one-month, semi-official, round-the-world trip on which he and his wife, Ethel, embarked from Washington February 1st. They were taking the New Frontier to faraway places, and they did so with the Kennedy clan's characteristic vigor. The two of them

appear to have been up at dawn each day and either talking, singing, arguing, speech-making, wreath-laying, shopping, or traveling until past midnight.

The book that has popped out of these experiences was hastily written during the Attorney General's subsequent off-working hours and is not marked by any Jeffersonian prose style. It also shows the stitching in of tape-recorded interviews and official speeches, including a rousing Ernst Reuter Lecture at the Free University in Berlin. Yet it is well worth reading for the insight it gives into the present Administration's foreign policy and as a sort of super tourist guide for the swarms of Americans now traveling all over the face of the earth.

The Kennedys, of course, were not ordinary tourists. They went at the urging of Dr. Gunji Hosono, director of the Japan Institute of Foreign Affairs, with the blessing of the State Department and the cooperation of embassy staffs. Their first stop—after both were dunked in the Pacific off Hawaii when their sailboat capsized—was Japan. Here they rushed through meetings with government officials, businessmen, trade unionists, and students. They were not greeted with the same sort of anti-American demonstrations that postponed the Eisenhower trip to Japan in

1960, but they did have one riotous meeting with students at Waseda University. It was a give-and-take forum on U.S. attitudes and policies that got out of hand when the lights and the loudspeaker system went dead but was brought back under control by the students themselves. One of them concluded the meeting by leading in the singing of the school hymn, swinging his arms in such wide and grandiose gestures that he inadvertently whacked poor Ethel Kennedy smack in the pit of her stomach.

A resilient woman, Mrs. Kennedy recovered from this blow and went on to new experiences with her husband, who appears to have more than held his own in subsequent forums and debates with still other students. He talked to them whenever he could, refuting the old Communist dogma that J. P. Morgan still runs the entire U.S. economy. Shrewdly he noted that there is a vast reservoir of good will toward the U.S. and that tapping it through young students is one of the most effective ways of improving our “image.” He states, for instance, that today there are some 75,000 university students in Indonesia as compared to only a few hundred at the time the Dutch ruled it.

VERBATIM accounts of what these students said—and the answers they got—are of definite value for any American traveling abroad, or for those staying home and wondering why some people don't like us. “Capitalism,” as Mr. Kennedy points out, “is the dirty word of the Orient,” and there remains a vast confusion about “Colonialism” as well. But we have a case to make and the arguments to refute the propaganda of organized minority groups.

The book also is valuable for its well-briefed appraisal of the basic problems facing the countries that the Kennedys visited, and it has some light moments as well—usually involving further adventures of Mrs. Kennedy. She went through a harrowing night in a Russian plane that could not get over the mountains to Bandung in Indonesia, was nearly dunked in a canal in Saigon, and had a wild ride on a Vespa that was given to her in Rome by news correspondents who went along on the trip.

Now it has been reported by the *Seattle Times* that she fell into a mountain stream while on a camping trip with her husband in the wilderness of the Olympic National Park. It seems only fitting then that the main dedication of the book (the profits of which go to university scholarships) should be “To Ethel—Ruth, 1: 16-17” (“Whither thou goest. . .”).



—From the book.

Robert Kennedy in Japan—the New Frontier in faraway places.