

eign aid, which badly needs overhauling; to the rising expectations of the ex-colonial world and the Alliance for Progress; to desegregation, the American economic growth rate, administered prices, school programs, housing programs, medical care for the aged, the reform of government. There is a nostalgic article about the author's home town of Essex, Connecticut, population 3,500. Here, too, is a remarkable address, given at Freedom House in January 1947, which anticipated the Marshall Plan.

There are a number of excellent pieces on foreign aid, Point Four programs, and the like; but I could not find any careful examination of the effects of the population explosion. This factor, it seems to me, is central to the whole discussion, and I wish it had been treated at length.

Perhaps the most significant contribution in the book is the author's analysis of the arms race, delivered at the Los Angeles Modern Forum in 1960. Bowles gives priority to the control of nuclear arms over every other problem facing mankind. He quotes Thomas E. Murray, former AEC Commissioner: "Nuclear energy has to a certain extent developed according to a dialectic of its own . . . we have allowed military technology to shape our strategic policy . . . we have become caught in the grip of a technological runaway."

Russia, Bowles believes, is similarly caught. "The outlook is for an endless series of attempts to unbalance new temporary balances, with over-all costs in money and danger projecting upward geometrically." Miscalculation and accident are inherent in this swaying balance. Adding to the peril, Cold War strategists on both sides of the Iron Curtain feverishly try to psychoanalyze one another's intentions as to what is "credible" and how many million dead are "acceptable." It is hard to imagine, Bowles says, a greater element of instability.

BOWLES is aware of the profound effect of cultural lag in power politics. The same old patterns that motivated Metternich and Disraeli are still dominant in Washington and Moscow. It is as if Hiroshima had never happened. Weapons are rattled, non-negotiable positions are taken, the enemy is reviled, and the arms race spirals, as though wars could still be won or lost.

From the viewpoint of traditional nationalism, says Bowles, the problem is how to intensify our armaments; but 'viewed from the human perspective on survival, our problem is how to curtail them.' He does not believe in unilateral disarmament, but he knows that if "the contest continues unabated,

the end of the road will be the end of the world." He hopes that the Russians are becoming aware of this, too, and that fruitful negotiations can at last begin.

The author is a deeply loyal American, but he makes it clear that the world must be saved from nuclear war if America is to continue as a viable society. This qualifies him as what I call a "world man." Lest that term seem somehow unpatriotic, Commager

reminds us that Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine, Jean Monnet, Dag Hammarskjöld, and Adlai Stevenson are or were "large spirits who thought of themselves as servants of humanity."

"The shape of the future," says Commager, "depends on the wisdom, the imagination, and the generosity which the West displays in this crisis of history." Bowles, in his testimony over the years, offers a good sample of such wisdom and imagination.

Primer for Conservatives

"The Republican Opportunity," by Raymond Moley (Duell, Sloan & Pearce. 272 pp. \$4.95), upholds the GOP as the party home for reasonable conservatives. William H. Chamberlin is editorial correspondent of the Wall Street Journal.

By WILLIAM H. CHAMBERLIN

RAYMOND MOLEY has composed a conservative's hardhitting tract for the times which is broader in scope than the title would indicate. He is convinced that the Republican Party in America represents the only instrument through which conservative political objectives may be realized, and he devotes several chapters to an exposition of the requirements and exigencies of practical politics. He has little patience with conservatives who are so disillusioned with Republican acceptance of many aspects of the New Deal that they would like to create a brand-new conservative party.

The author notes that no effective, permanent new party has come into existence in America for over a century, and he believes that the only result of setting up doctrinally pure conservative splinter groups or parties is to help the Democrats. He cites the records of the two parties in Congress to prove that there is a difference in their attitude toward what he considers the overriding issue of our time: the centralization and enlargement of the power of the Federal Government, with all its implications in the way of higher government spending, diminution of local initiative and responsibility, and substitution of state help for the old American tradition of self-help. All reasonable conservatives, he believes, can and should find a party home with the Republicans. Those who are still irreconcilable must remain not only hopeless but impotent.

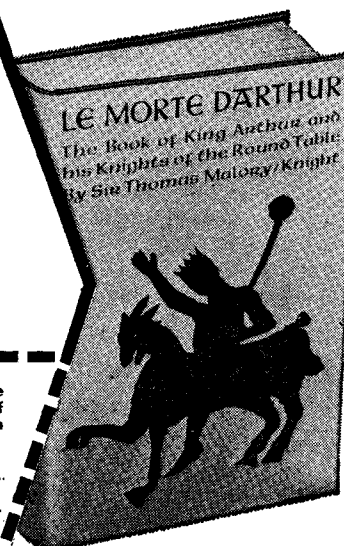
There is so much semantic confusion about the significance, in America, of the words liberal and conservative, especially the former, that Mr. Moley is entitled to a vote of thanks for offer-

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ing this brief, crisp, and lucid definition of the issue that divides the two camps:

In its present American context I would define liberalism as support of greater Federal power, more intervention by government in economic life, greatly expanded welfare programs and general hospitality to experiments and change of all sorts. The American conservative seeks more decentralization, the lessening of government intervention in personal and economic life, and adherence to the traditional principles of the Constitution.

In an attempt to furnish a historical groundwork for the philosophy of modern conservatism, Mr. Moley ranges rather discursively through ages of human experience. This part of the book is somewhat loosely conceived and there are occasional slips, as when he intimates that extreme inflation "in Weimar Germany facilitated a seizure of power by one of the most ruthless dictatorships in history." As a matter of record, Germany survived its great postwar inflation, which reached its height in 1923, without lapsing into Hitlerism. It succumbed to the opposite economic malady, extreme deflation with industrial stagnation and mass unemployment.

But there are some excellent citations, notably of one of the most brilliant and seminal passages in Alexis de Tocqueville's "Democracy in America." Here the brilliant French political thinker, who might be characterized as either a conservative liberal or a liberal conservative, imagines a time when "above this race of men stands an immense and tutelary power" which will not be obviously cruel or oppressive, but will so regulate the conduct of human beings as to "spare them all the care of thinking and all the trouble of living," and thus reduce each nation to "nothing better than a flock of timid and industrious animals, of which the government is the shepherd."

Moley sees in this vision the outline of the bureaucratic state, which he assails in this book with every weapon in his power, from caustic satire to rows of facts and figures purporting to prove the incompetence, wastefulness, and general undesirability of far-flung government enterprise and mounting government spending.

While there is no suggestion of extremist conservatism in this book, Mr. Moley never leaves his readers in any doubt as to where he stands on the central issue of Big Government. His work will be applauded by those who accept his premises, disapproved of by those who do not. It will repay the thoughtful study and consideration of both friends and critics.

Creativity

Continued from page 69

had been the beginning of two or three powerful themes to strengthen them." During this year Wolfe had expanded his self-consciousness into national consciousness and become "a self-crowned American laureate." "Of Time and the River" is thus seen as an important advance over "Look Homeward, Angel."

THE two unfinished final novels did not fully reveal this further progress because their author died before his controlling choices of point of view and style had been made, but there is now enough evidence for conjecture on what might have resulted as well as for evaluation of what his editors could salvage. We know now that, even more than Mr. Perkins and Mrs. Bernstein had been earlier, Miss Nowell and Mr. Aswell were active partners in the published product, but we know also that Wolfe had approved exactly this kind of collaboration in working with Miss Nowell and that he had sent Mr. Aswell a confused and tempestuous manuscript with full expectation of creative

aid. The surviving texts, with their marginal comments, allow Mr. Kennedy to tell us exactly what was done without any judgment on whether or not it should have been done. What we have in Wolfe is therefore something of a composite author, like Homer or the poet of Beowulf, and we can only be glad that he had the kind of assistance that he so obviously needed.

Such knowledge should set Wolfe's vast prose epic in critical focus and point out the problem of just what kind of artist he was and what his work is worth. Was he or was he not what he hoped to be: an American Bard? If so, the problems of the use or misuse of autobiographical materials and of the loose structure and inflated style of much of his work are comparatively irrelevant. The central issue is whether, like Whitman and Melville, he captured in his creative vision something of the soul of the American people. The epic of composite authorship does not lend itself to the same kind of exacting and analytical criticism that is demanded by the complex and intellectual poem or short story. Now that we know better what we are dealing with, perhaps a sounder evaluation of Wolfe can be undertaken.

Your Literary I. Q.

Conducted by John T. Winterich

FISHERMAN'S CREEL

In Winchester Cathedral the great memorial window to Izaak Walton, most literary of all fishermen, bears the admonition "Study to Be Quiet." Mabel Irene Huggins of Topeka, Kansas, tells us that if the armchair fisherman will quietly study the following list of words, he will be able to catch a fish to fill the blanks in each. (Example, TUNable, melodious.) Get off the hook on page 83.

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. de _____ ed | converted into ordinary language |
| 2. _____ et | hunting dog |
| 3. _____ ance | perhaps |
| 4. cock _____ | unpleasant insect |
| 5. _____ ing | wallowing |
| 6. re _____ d | esteem |
| 7. _____ er | furnaceman |
| 8. _____ owy | spectral |
| 9. _____ er | important part of a vessel |
| 10. de _____ | tyrant |
| 11. _____ ling | young pig |
| 12. s _____ s | large, strong nails |
| 13. _____ ge | offense |
| 14. _____ chick | small grebe |
| 15. _____ on | kind of fabric |
| 16. goat _____ | kind of bird |
| 17. _____ per | opening for water drainage |
| 18. h _____ | part of a shoe |
| 19. _____ graphy | handwriting |
| 20. s _____ | steep descent |
| 21. con _____ s | comforts |
| 22. moon _____ | person engaged in illicit distilling |
| 23. s _____ | vibrate, tremble |
| 24. _____ ed | cheated, duped |
| 25. s _____ | pear-shaped citrus fruit |
| 26. pre _____ ous | predatory |