

ONE WORLDISM and the UNITED NATIONS

Robert S. Byfield
John Chamberlain
W. H. Chamberlin
W. M. Curtiss
John T. Flynn
F. A. Harper
Frank E. Holman
Suzanne La Follette

Chesly Manly
W. L. McGrath
Frank S. Meyer
Raymond Moley
Edmund A. Opitz
Cy Peterman
William H. Peterson
Dean Russell

Charles Callan Tansill



**“Now here's a
difference I can feel!...”**



**what this Full-time Power Steering
does for me at the wheel!”**

THE *FORWARD LOOK*  does things for you

no other cars can do! For instance, power steering that works the *instant you move your wheel!* Even if you've tried other power steering, you'll feel the big difference at once! With other kinds, you have to exert 5 pounds of pressure before the power cuts in. Chrysler Corporation's exclusive Coaxial power steering requires less wheel motion . . . fewer wheel turns . . . and gives you unmatched control over rough roads, soft shoulders, tracks, ruts and sand. After a full day of driving and parking, you feel fresh as a daisy. Only Plymouth, Dodge, De Soto, Chrysler and Imperial have this and many other wonderful new features. See and drive THE FORWARD LOOK at your dealer's soon!

**PLYMOUTH • DODGE • DE SOTO • CHRYSLER • IMPERIAL
CHRYSLER CORPORATION**

"CHEAP" TOOLS SHACKLE INDUSTRY AND TRADE



Use of "cheap" metal-cutting tools proves the adage of "Penny Wise, Pound Foolish." Their performance is unreliable and inconsistent.

Sound, durable cutting tools are worth the price. A few pennies additional cost will save dollars of ultimate cost—in grinding, tool inventory, set-up time, and idle machine time, with the result that production is reliable and sustained.

Innumerable performance records continue to demonstrate the superior worth of

Kennametal* tools in their ability to reduce over-all costs for tooling and production—and do this consistently. Kennametal has an extra measure of value. Exclusive processing, scientifically controlled, assures maintenance of a sound physical structure having trustworthy properties of high hardness and great strength.

Use of cheap money tools has likewise proved to be "Penny Wise, Pound Foolish." Their purchasing value is uncertain and erratic.

Sound money is a trustworthy tool of measurement that serves to evaluate accurately the relative worth of goods and services in all sorts of exchange activities. With a stabilized currency an individual knows assuredly the worth of his earning and reserves—savings, insurance, pensions. A businessman is able to make firm, fair contracts, meet current and future obligations with certainty, and engage safely in creative ventures.

Innumerable historic examples have proved that the convertible Gold Standard is the most useful money system ever devised. Managed currency, initiated 22 years ago in the United States, has impaired our

* Registered trademark

money tool and made it untrustworthy. A return to the historic honest dollar will have a stabilizing effect on our economic life.

The right to redeem currency for gold will help keep America free . . . ask your Senators and Congressman to work and vote to restore the Gold Coin Standard.

5511

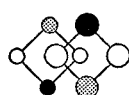
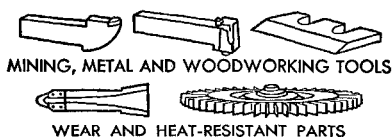
"... our aim . . . a dollar on a fully convertible gold basis"



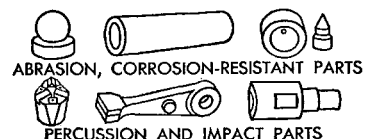
Excerpt from Republican "Monetary Policy" Plan

While you are waiting for the return of 100 cent dollars, Kennametal tools, of premium value, are waiting for you. They are one technological development that can help mitigate the ill effects of inflation.

One of a series of advertisements published in the public interest



INDUSTRY AND
KENNAMETAL
... Partners in Progress



THE Freeman

Editor
Managing Editor
Business Manager

A Monthly

For

Libertarians

FRANK CHODOROV
MABEL WOOD
JAMES M. ROGERS

Contents

MARCH 1955 VOL. 5, NO. 9

Editorials

- One Worldism 334
Interventionism *Is* War 336

Articles

- How We Got Where We Are ... CHARLES CALLAN TANSILL 337
Alone In the UN ROBERT S. BYFIELD 342
History's Greatest Breach of Promise ... CHESLY MANLY 345
The Wages of Hissism SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE 349
UNdermining the Free Economy RAYMOND MOLEY 352
Stockpiles of Money FRANK CHODOROV 355
To Save the Constitution FRANK E. HOLMAN 359
Union by Freedom Only DEAN RUSSELL 363
UN Versus US WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN 365
Two Rackets of the UN JOHN T. FLYNN 368
The Omelet Has No Rights F. A. HARPER 371
They Sell UN to the World CY PETERMAN 374
The Real UNESCO FRANK S. MEYER 378
Religious Propagandists for the UN
REV. EDMUND A. OPITZ 381
ILO: Pipeline to Socialism W. L. MC GRATH 383
A Tale of Two Leagues WILLIAM H. PETERSON 387
Trade Under a World Government W. M. CURTISS 389

Books

- A Reviewer's Notebook JOHN CHAMBERLAIN 391
Modern Barbarism FRED A. UTLEY 393
Government vs. Liberty LUDWIG VON MISES 394
Out of Their Own Mouths E. MERRILL ROOT 396
Precise Prophet SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL 400
The UN Adds to World Tension
C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS 400
Well-Tried Failure PAUL L. POIROT 401
If They Only Would C. O. STEELE 401
World Affairs Reading List BETTINA BIEN 402

- Washington, D.C. FRANK C. HANIGHEN 357

THE FREEMAN is published monthly. Publication Office, Orange, Conn. Editorial and General Offices, Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y. Copyrighted in the United States, 1955, by The Irvington Press, Inc. Leonard E. Read, President; Fred Rogers Fairchild, Vice President; Claude Robinson, Secretary; Lawrence Fertig, Treasurer; Henry Hazlitt and Leo Wolman.

Entered as second class matter at the Post Office at Orange, Conn. Rates: Fifty cents the copy; five dollars a year; nine dollars for two years.

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Manuscripts must be typed double-spaced.

Articles signed with a name, pseudonym or initials do not necessarily represent the opinion of the editors.

Printed in U.S.A. by Wilson H. Lee Co., Orange, Conn.

The Writers

The names of most of the contributors to this special issue of the FREEMAN will be recognized by our readers, not only because they have previously appeared in our table of contents, but because they have graced the pages of other publications as well as the flyleaves of books. The roster reads like a page from a Who's Who in libertarianism.

It was a pleasure to work with these authors. They took to their several assignments in the spirit of volunteers, putting aside other commitments in order to do their bit in a worthy cause. Each essay was done *con amore*.

Sometimes they overdid it, as when in their eagerness to nail down their arguments they made use of lengthy documentary evidence; space limitations made deletions necessary. A bigger problem was repetition—one writer using facts to support his thesis which another writer found necessary to support his. This was unavoidable, for the "source book" of any critical analysis of the United Nations, from any point of view, is the record of its activities. Wherever possible, the repetitions were deleted, but sometimes the argument called for the reiterated facts, and the blue pencil could not be used. The reader may accept these repetitions with less annoyance than did the editor.

In accordance with custom, we identify here with only the few authors who have not previously or recently had articles in the FREEMAN: CHARLES CALLAN TANSILL is Professor of History at Georgetown University. He is best known for his latest book, *Back Door to War*.

It is not exactly correct to list SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE as a "new" contributor. She is, in fact, deeply rooted in the FREEMAN tradition, having been an integral part of the first publication of that name, edited by Albert Jay Nock, and one of the editors when the FREEMAN was revived as a bi-weekly. The monthly FREEMAN is proud to list her as a contributor.

RAYMOND MOLEY is the well-known contributing editor and columnist of *Newsweek*.

W. L. MC GRATH is President of the Williamson Heater Company. From 1949 through 1952 he was employer adviser at the annual conferences of the International Labor Organization, and at the 1954 conference he was U. S. Employer Delegate. He is a member of the ILO Governing Body.

For nearly nine years, IVAN H. (CY) PETERMAN "covered" the United Nations for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, in which paper his column appears regularly.

BETTINA BIEN is one of those vital though unpublicized factors of an editorial office—the indefatigable and uncontroversial research worker.

The FREEMAN is devoted to the promulgation of the libertarian philosophy: the free market place, limited government and the dignity of the individual.

Keeping America on the GO...with **TIMKEN**® Tapered Roller Bearings



Where 1,995,672 farmers disappeared without a trace

WHILE you weren't looking, almost two million American farmers have been quietly dropping out of sight. In 1940, there were 8,833,324 farmers. Today, at latest report, only 6,837,652. Where did they go? And who's been feeding our growing population in the meantime?

Farm help of a different sort has taken their place. Tractors that save two billion man-hours a year. Mechanical pickers that do the work of 40 men. Grain combines that cut labor 85%. Millions of machines that help

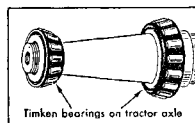
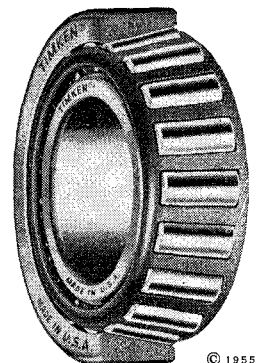
today's fewer farmers produce 40% more crops, feed 17 million more Americans.

Today's farmer is the most mechanized in the world. And his tremendous output depends upon the trouble-free operation of his machines. That's why every make of farm tractor uses Timken® tapered roller bearings; why more and more implements are using them, too.

Timken bearings reduce breakdowns because they roll the load, practically eliminate friction. They last and last—normally as long as the machines.

Timken bearings are designed to roll true, and they're made with microscopic accuracy to live up to their design. We even make our own steel to further insure quality. No other U. S. bearing maker does.

That's why farm machinery manufacturers choose Timken bearings to help keep America on the go. The Timken Roller Bearing Company, Canton 6, Ohio. Cable address: "TIMROSCO".



© 1955
THE TRB CO.

Only **TIMKEN**® bearings roll so true, have such quality thru-&-thru

THE Freeman

M A R C H 1 9 5 5

One Worldism

TEN YEARS AGO the United Nations was ushered into the world as the guarantor of peace. It has failed. Despite that obvious fact, there are many whose faith in some sort of Superstate as an instrument of peace is unshaken, and who lay the failure of the UN to the limitations put upon it by the autonomy of its members. That is to say, they believe in peace through coercion; the more coercion, the more peace.

History cannot give this faith the slightest support. The grandeur that was Rome did not prevent the parts of that empire from coming into conflict with one another nor from rising up against the central authority. Even our American coalition of commonwealths came near breaking up in war, and uprisings have all but disintegrated the British Empire. Centralization of power has never been a guarantor of peace.

The best that can be said of any coalition of nations is that it can keep smoldering fires from breaking out only so long as one of its members can dominate the others. It can maintain an armed truce. The UN has not done even that, simply because no one State has shown sufficient strength to take control. The two most powerful members have been in contention since its beginning and are now flexing their muscles for a test of strength.

The UN—it is moonshine to think otherwise—consists of two hostile camps, one held together by the American dollar, the other by fear of the Soviet army. Neither law, morality nor ideology is a cementing influence. If the American dollar is withdrawn the West will break up, its members entering into new alignments dictated by expediency; if the Soviet power shows weakness, the Red Empire will splinter.

In short, it is evident now—even as it always was to anyone familiar with the history of political alliances—that the high moral purpose written into the charter of the UN is but a fairy tale. World peace is not to be achieved through this or any other political concoction—simply because peace and power politics are antithetical. “War,” said

von Clausewitz, “is merely the continuation of politics by other means.”

Social Power

Peace is the business of Society. Society is a cooperative effort, springing spontaneously from man's urge to improve on his circumstances and widen his horizon. It is voluntary, completely free of force. It comes because man has learned that the task of life is easier of accomplishment through the exchange of goods, services and ideas. The greater the volume and the fluidity of such exchanges, the richer and fuller the life of every member of Society. That is the law of association; it is also the law of peace.

It is in the free market place that man's peaceful ways are expressed. Here the individual voluntarily gives up possession of what he has in abundance to gain possession of what he lacks. It is in the market place that Society flourishes because it is in the market place that the individual flourishes. Not only does he find here the satisfactions for which he craves, but he also learns of the desires of his fellow-men so that he may the better serve them. More than that, it is in the market place that he learns of and swaps ideas, hopes and dreams, and comes away with values of greater worth to him than the material things he acquired.

Society has no geographical limits; it is as big as its market place, its area of exchanges. The Malayan and the American are automatically enrolled in the same Society by the exchange of rubber for a juke box; and, when trade demands, the barriers of language disappear. South American music became the idiom of the North American dance floor because automobiles are swapped for coffee and bananas. Society is the spontaneous organization of people who voluntarily do business with one another.

The law of association—the supreme law of Society—is self-operating; it needs no enforcement agency. Its motor force is in the nature of

man. His insatiable appetite for material, cultural and spiritual desires drives him to join up. The compulsion is so strong that he makes an automobile out of an oxcart, a telephone system out of a drum, so as to overcome the handicaps of time and space; contact is of the essence in the market place technique. Society grows because the seed of it is in the human being; it is made of man, but not by men.

Political Power

Government is the monopoly of coercion. Its function is to prevent individuals from using violence or other coercive methods on one another, so that the business of Society—the exchange of goods, services and ideas—may be carried on in safety and tranquility. Its contribution to social progress, though necessary, is purely negative. In this country, tradition and the Constitution hold that the function of government is to protect the individual in the enjoyment of those rights which inhere in him by virtue of existence, and which are the gifts of the Creator. And in the beginning, before tradition and the spirit of the Constitution were perverted, Americans took for granted that government had no other competence.

But the hard fact is that this monopoly of coercion is vested in humans—of which government is necessarily composed—and that these humans are no different in make-up from those they are called upon to coerce. It would be expecting too much for them to scrupulously resist the temptation to use the power they wield for purposes purely personal. The temptation is heightened by the fiction that political power can be used to promote the “general good,” a fiction that politicians are ever ready to foster and believe. Whenever the power of government is so used, the “general good” turns out to be a special advantage granted to some group of citizens, to the disadvantage of another, accompanied by a further increase in the glory and emoluments of political office. Since government cannot produce a single economic good, and lives only by what it takes from the property of individuals, every “general good” venture increases its need for taxes, and every increase in taxes enables it to venture further. Thus in time the agency established for the purpose of protecting Society becomes its master.

This tendency of government to expand upon its power and its prerogatives is inherent in it simply because it is composed of men, who have ambition and who dream dreams of their own. But the expansion is always at the expense of Society. Therefore, the concern of Society, particularly in the last few centuries, has been to find some way to keep government within bounds. Thus came constitutionalism. Thus came the idea that to safeguard freedom—from government, of course—it is necessary to keep government small, so that it can be

subject to constant surveillance, and poor, so that it cannot get out of hand.

That idea found expression in the establishment of the American government. The constitutional limits of the powers of the central government, the system of checks and balances to restrain any tendency toward centralization of authority, the vesting of all general powers in separate autonomous states, the delimitation of its taxing power—all bear witness to the common recognition in 1789 of the truth that Society flourishes best under small and impotent government.

The Miracle of Freedom

The wisdom of the Founding Fathers was demonstrated in the miracle of the market place that sprang from what was wilderness and prairie a few years back. Wealth multiplied at a rate unheard of in human history; out of wheat lands grew towns and cities; small shops were transmuted into factories; storekeepers became department store operators; schools, colleges, churches took their place in the human scheme of things, and out of the abundance came a demand for those cultural satisfactions which men seek when their larders are full—lectures, the circus, the road show and the concert.

Free men built a rich Society. Neither federal nor state governments were in position to intervene, since their income from taxes was insufficient for such mischief. There were no border guards to prevent men from moving to where their fancy or the prospect of profit on their labors might lure them, no custom collectors to filch any of their produce, no inquisitional agents to deprive them of their savings. In time, the free trade area approximated in size the border-ridden eastern Europe (outside Russia), and free men performed the materialistic miracle of the ages. Government, on the whole, did not try to interfere with them, and certainly could not help them.

During this time of material growth, a century and a quarter, the country suffered from three freebooting ventures—hardly wars—instigated by conniving politicians, and one war; meanwhile the strong governments of Europe were always either warring one another or sending their armies all over the world to augment their inadequate tax-and-tariff incomes with what they could pick up from colonials. And, be it noted, the one American war of that era was caused by the tariff disabilities from which the South suffered; compelled to sell their cotton at the price fixed by world demand, and to buy all their manufactured products at tariff-laden prices from the industrial Northeast, Southerners' sense of economic hurt spilled over into other areas of discontent, and other causes for war obscured the original one. Thirty years before secession detonated the conflict, John C. Calhoun warned that if protectionism became the settled

policy of the government, the separation of the Union would "inevitably" follow.

One Worldism is not an impossible ideal. But, it is not approachable by the road of political power. On the contrary, the organization of the world into a single Society—which is what the sincere One Worlders (not the Communists and Socialists) hope for—can only be effected by the voluntary cooperation of the peoples of the world via an unfettered market place. The first step in that direction is the removal of all barriers to trade, all of which are political. Not only must tariffs go, but also such impediments to exchange as quotas, special embargoes, and the pegging of moneys at false values. Free trade is trade in which government is in no way involved. If General Motors is willing to sell its product to somebody in Moscow, on a credit basis, it must do so at its own risk; it cannot call on the U. S. Marines to collect on defaulted bills. Nor is it free trade when the government pledges the taxpayers' money against loss to foreign investors; that is likely to be a subsidy, or an excuse for intervention in foreign affairs.

What this proposal amounts to, in the final analysis, is a general recognition of the fact that political power is incapable of doing anything that men cannot do for themselves; that when it invades the market place, except as an impartial policeman, it must be destructive and predatory; that it is without competence to improve the "general good," and that when it attempts to do so it causes injustice and, therefore, friction. The best that government can do for Society is to perform its negative functions and otherwise get out of its way.

An international political organization with practically unlimited power and unlimited revenues certainly will not do that.

Interventionism Is War

TO FORM a valid judgment on the United Nations requires not so much a knowledge of all its activities as an understanding of the pattern of thought underlying these activities. Indeed, one needs only to know the basic premise of that pattern to comprehend the "why" of every one of the UN's programs. The purpose of this issue of the FREEMAN is hardly to analyze every phase of the United Nations—that would require a library of books—but to point up that basic premise. If the reader abstracts that lodestone of UN thinking from these selected articles, he will be able to assess the purport of every UN program.

The premise of the United Nations, and therefore of One Worldism, is this: Peace can be achieved in this world only if all the peoples that inhabit it can be brought to abandon their traditional ways of thinking and living and to accept a common

cultural ideal. Toward that end, it is permissible, once the ideal is defined by "experts" and implemented by parliamentary action, to use every means—including suasion, subvention and subterfuge—to make it prevail. Overcasting these means is the shadow of political force.

Thus, for instance, among all One Worlders the dogma of "democracy" is held to be the solvent of national particularisms and the catalyst for a global mental attitude. The dogma is never defined, so that its shapelessness renders it applicable to authoritarian regimes, to socialistic countries, to republics. It is only a word to conjure with, and is so used by One Worlders. They insist that if the "democratic attitude" were universal, cultural differences would tend to disappear and harmony would prevail. The first thing to do, therefore, is to carry "democracy" to the ends of the world, by any means available and regardless of the wishes of the supposed beneficiaries. They must be reshaped.

It is this conviction of "manifest destiny"—of a divine mandate to improve mankind—that makes One Worldism a threat to peace. To be sure, the most virulent of the One Worlders, the Socialists and the Communists, make no bones about their intention to use force when necessary for the fulfillment of their holy mission. The amorphous One Worlders are not so forthright, perhaps because they are not as positive about their creed; they are still seeking a viable compromise between Christianity and atheism, between collectivism and capitalism, between the doctrine of natural rights and the doctrine of political rights. They are hoping that the perfect world creed will emerge from parliamentary palaver. In the meantime, they seem to be serving as advance guard for the more single-minded Marxists.

In any of its forms, One Worldism is interventionism; it is the conceit that absolute wisdom resides in some people, who are duty-bound to impose their special gift on the less enlightened. It rules out the idea that the peoples of the world might be happier if permitted to live by the particular cultures that time has evolved for them. They must be brought to conform to the perfect formula. But people do not readily give up their accustomed way of living and thinking and are resentful of interference from the outside. Hence, the very premise of One Worldism, or interventionism, leads to friction, not to peace and good will.

This is best illustrated by the popular upheaval in this country caused by the efforts of the One Worlders to bypass the barriers to their plans embodied in our Constitution and its Bill of Rights. This is a threat to our tradition. This is intervention in our internal affairs. It is a clear case of invading our privacy and attempting to rearrange the furniture of our thinking. A better *causus belli* could not be found.

How We Got Where We Are

By CHARLES CALLAN TANSILL

An historian traces the development of the American "One World" movement from 1896 to the present United Nations, with its threat to our heritage and our national security.

In recent years it has been the fashion for court historians and glib columnists to sneer at ardent Americans who reject the doctrine of the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations: bankrupt America to bankroll the world. These Americans whose main desire is to save their country from a crushing burden of world responsibility are frequently referred to in derisive terms as "isolationists" who would like to build a Chinese wall around America and thus cut it off from all foreign contacts.

Of course, no ardent American has wished to build such a wall, and he has welcomed the social, economic, religious and cultural forces that have molded the American mind. He realizes, however, that thanks to its favored geographical position, America has escaped the recurring tides of conflict that have crumbled the walls of ancient civilizations and washed away the heritage men have earned through dauntless courage and high endeavor. He has been an isolationist only against foreign wars and their evident evils, and before 1917 he had seen his country grow strong and prosperous beyond the brightest dreams of the Founding Fathers.

But before 1917 there were American statesmen who began to think in terms of intimate political association with certain European countries. In 1896 Secretary Olney was approached by Joseph Chamberlain concerning a close partnership with Britain in a joint effort to put a stop to the Armenian massacres then taking place in Turkey. This project would have been far outside the pale of American national interests, but Olney seemed delighted with the idea of unity in Anglo-American foreign relations. His reply to Chamberlain on September 28, 1896, might well have been written by Cordell Hull: "Because of our inborn and instinctive English sympathies, proclivities, modes of thought and standards of right and wrong, nothing would more gratify the mass of the American people than to stand side by side and shoulder to shoulder with England in support of a great cause."

Theodore Roosevelt sounded a similar note during the Boer War when there was a possibility that a combination of European powers might intervene and put an end to British imperialistic plans in South Africa: "I should very strongly

favor this country taking a hand. . . if the European continent selected this opportunity to try and smash the British Empire."

Roosevelt was merely expressing his acceptance of the fact that an intimate Anglo-American understanding had been arrived at during the Spanish-American War, with Secretary Hay as its chief creator. In the Far East this accord had been implemented by the first Open Door note of September 6, 1899, and the circular note of July 3, 1900, with its emphasis upon the importance of preserving the territorial integrity of the Chinese Empire. American support of Japan during the Russo-Japanese War was a natural result of this Anglo-American parallel policy.

Wilson Seizes the Bait

During the Wilson Administration the movement toward Anglo-American unity in foreign policy took on increasing momentum. When Sir Edward Grey threw out the bait of American participation in a League of Nations, President Wilson seized it with avidity and on January 9, 1916, gave assurances that he would be "willing and glad when the opportunity comes to cooperate in a policy seeking to bring about and maintain permanent peace among civilized nations."

The next step along this perilous path to a close Anglo-American accord was the signature on February 22, 1916, of the House-Grey Agreement. This was an invitation to war, not peace. According to its terms, whenever the Allied governments gave the word, President Wilson would summon the belligerent nations to a peace conference. If Germany refused to heed this summons, America would enter the World War on the side of the Allies. If Germany answered the summons but would not accept peace terms which were considered "reasonable," then America would intervene in the war in order to compel German compliance. But the President's desire for intervention was so great that he felt that he could not wait for the invocation of this agreement. On February 21 and 22, 1916, he acquainted some important congressional leaders with his belief that America should immediately enter the World War in order to "bring it to a conclusion by mid-summer and thus render a great service to civil-

ization." Congress refused to be stampeded into war, and the President had to cancel a program that was designed to scrap in a most abrupt manner the historic policy of isolation.

In the last months of 1916 after President Wilson had been re-elected upon a platform of peace, he began to drift down the road to war. British propaganda, with its continued insistence that the Allies were fighting America's war, had a definite part in molding his mind, and Secretary Lansing helped by writing acrid notes to Germany which sharply challenged the conduct of submarine warfare. Professor Borchard has clearly demonstrated that Secretary Lansing's notes were based upon "the false premise that the United States was privileged to speak not only for American vessels and their personnel, but also on behalf of American citizens on Allied and other vessels." These notes set the stage for America's entry into the World War.

Setting the One-World Stage

After the United States had entered that conflict, Wilson suddenly began to talk in terms of a crusade for the extension of democracy. This was followed by impassioned discourses dealing with the one-world idea: "The greatest nation is the nation which penetrates to the heart of its duty and mission among the nations of the world." He was insistent that America's destiny "is not divided from the destiny of the world." Soon he was announcing that the United States had abandoned isolation in favor of world leadership: "The only question is whether we can refuse the moral leadership that is offered us, whether we shall accept or reject the confidence of the world." This task of world leadership was a Divine imperative: "The stage is set, the destiny disclosed. It has come about by no plan of our conceiving, but by the hand of God who has led us into this way."

Long before Wendell Willkie had a convenient ghost writer draft the manuscript of his little book on the one-world idea, other Republicans had been moving slowly toward the same goal. Internationalists in Republican ranks had regarded with open dismay the defeat of the Treaty of Versailles in the Senate, and they hoped to salvage some of the wreckage for a treaty of their own. They were particularly anxious to scrap the age-old policy of isolation and consequent neutrality. America should be made to bear some of the burdens that a long catalogue of wars had imposed upon Europe; she should be a participant in the important wars of the future. European statesmen looked with surprise and delight at the handiwork of these American internationalists who began to dabble in drafts of treaties that would outlaw war. If America could be bound to some general treaty for the renunciation of war

her moral support would be the prelude to armed intervention against any attempt to break the status quo.

A Pact to Outlaw War

The Kellogg-Briand Treaty of August 27, 1928 was the answer to these internationalist prayers. Even that former arch-isolationist, Senator Borah, seemed mesmerized by the thought of insuring world peace through American cooperation in a pact to outlaw war; and he frankly remarked to Kirby Page that he firmly believed that "in the event of a grave violation" of the pact, the United States "could not stand idly by." Secretary Stimson, on January 7, 1932, took the same position, and his nonrecognition note to Japan was filled with overtones of compulsion. In the early months of the following year he persuaded President-elect Roosevelt to adopt this nonrecognition policy which Ambassador Hugh Wilson, at Geneva, saw very clearly was a road to war.

In advocating American participation in a peace pact that could easily be twisted into a clarion call to arms, Secretary Kellogg merely followed a line of action that had been warmly espoused by many important members of the Republican Party. In 1924 the Department of State sent delegates to the Second Opium Conference sponsored by the League of Nations, and by 1930 American representatives had been in attendance at more than forty League conferences dealing with different topics. In the following year there were five American officials stationed at Geneva where they voiced American opinions in no uncertain tones.

The fact that William Randolph Hearst supported Franklin D. Roosevelt in the campaign of 1932 made the new Democratic President very cautious about avowing any real interest in the League of Nations, but Secretary Hull was not backward about expressing one-world ideas. In an address delivered at Williamsburg, Virginia, on June 11, 1934, he made a revealing comment:

It is significant that none of the statesmen who made history in the period before and during the Revolution, and during a long later period . . . had any thought that this country could or should lead a self-contained existence. . . . They completely realized that it was not possible for this country to develop without commercial, social and cultural relations with Europe.

Three years later, July 16, 1937, he grew bolder:

Any situation in which armed hostilities are in progress or are threatened, is a situation wherein the rights and interests of all nations either are or may be seriously affected. There can be no serious hostilities anywhere in the world which will not affect . . . interests or rights . . . of this country.

This one-world theme was developed in a dramatic manner by President Roosevelt at Chicago in his famous quarantine speech on October 5,

1937: "Let no one imagine that (in the event of a European War) America will escape, that it may expect mercy, that this Western Hemisphere will not be attacked."

Roosevelt lied America into World War Two for the alleged purpose of insuring national security. It is evident that we have not attained this prime objective, and thus we lost the war. The background of World War One was much the same. President Wilson sonorously proclaimed that our objectives in carrying on the war were the extension of the frontiers of democracy and the prevention of future wars. Needless to say, those objectives were never attained, and that war was lost. The harvest we reaped from participation in two world wars was a very grim one—a mountain of American corpses, an ocean of American blood and a colossal national debt we will never be able to liquidate.

The theme song President Wilson made popular when America went to war, "we will make the world safe for democracy," ended on a very sour note when the great parade of 1917 ended for thousands of Americans in deep graves in vast cemeteries in France. In 1914, with Roosevelt as maestro, the new theme song was pitched to the seductive strain of national security; and the White House orchestra anxiously awaited the signal to begin the new symphony. There had been

hopes for a German motif, but Hitler refused to assist with a few martial notes, so Roosevelt turned to the inscrutable East for new inspiration. He found it at Pearl Harbor when Japanese planes sounded the first awesome notes in a chorus of death that profoundly shocked all America. At the White House it was pretended that the macabre notes were unexpected and most unwelcome, but later it was learned that the President had nonchalantly waited in the Oval Room until Death knocked on the door at one o'clock and announced that the overture in the distant Pacific had just been completed.

The Great Betrayal

In Washington, in December 1941, there was big talk in a high key about a war for national security; and some persons were greatly surprised when the President seemed to think that America's future safety depended upon an exceedingly strong Russia. They remembered the fate of little Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. They also remembered how Russia had brutally attacked Finland in 1939 and finally reduced her to submission in the spring of 1940. For these wanton aggressions she had been expelled from the League of Nations. Students of international relations were not forgetful of the fact that every American Secretary of State from Bainbridge Colby, in 1920, to Secretary Stimson, in 1933, had denounced the Soviet regime as a dangerous conspiracy against the safety of all capitalistic countries. Roosevelt himself was familiar with this pattern of Soviet duplicity, and in 1935 the dispatches from Ambassador Bullitt in Moscow had reached a crescendo of shrill warnings against Soviet designs. When Bullitt came all the way to Washington to reinforce these warnings, Roosevelt shrugged them off with the remark that he had a hunch he could get along with Stalin.

The full story of how Roosevelt and Truman betrayed the free world at the conferences held at Cairo, Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam will soon be told in stark detail in the volumes of documents about to be published by the Department of State. From the data already in print it is evident that as a result of a series of executive agreements Russia was placed in a dominant position in Europe and in the Far East. Heated Democratic oratory and fervid explanations by former officials in the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations cannot erase this fact. They cannot erase the additional fact that President Truman refused in April 1945 to make peace with Japan when she was beaten to her knees and begging for terms of surrender. Captain Zacharias had learned from Vatican sources of the desperate plight of Japan. When he made hurried trips to the White House and to the Pentagon, he received



One for All; None for One

a terse brush-off: "We are not interested in a Vatican-inspired peace." Joseph Stalin did not want the American government to make peace with Japan in April 1945. The Soviet high command wanted Japan so impotent that she would no longer be a factor in the equation of power in the Far East. The American high command paid far more attention to the ruthless wishes of Stalin than to the pacific pleas of the Pope.

Ardent advocates of the United Nations are always careful to hide the fact that this much-touted one-world organization is a useful guarantor of slavery for millions behind the Soviet Iron Curtain. This was the only reason Stalin consented to membership in this successor to the League of Nations. The league had guaranteed to Britain and France their ill-gotten spoils of war after the Treaty of Versailles, and the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact had enlisted American support of this guarantee. It was entirely fitting that Alger Hiss should preside over the sessions held at San Francisco during the spring of 1945 when the Charter of the United Nations was drafted.

One Worlders Revise Our Treaty-Making

It was pretended that the United Nations would have little to do with carrying out the terms of a comprehensive peace settlement that would be signed at the close of World War Two. Roosevelt and Truman knew very well there would be no peace treaty that would have to be sent to the Senate for dissection and discussion and possible rejection. American One Worlders scorned the old American democratic procedure of treaty-making. The new procedure was along totalitarian lines. Presidents Roosevelt and Truman merely signed executive agreements that did not have to go before the Senate of the United States.

The peace that was made under the terms of these agreements was so punitive and revolting that President Roosevelt knew that some one-world organization was needed to enforce it. This new organization would have to be more potent than the old League of Nations. It would have to have the power to keep millions in chains of slavery. The procedure of enforcement in this regard was called the preservation of world peace. In Article 42 of the United Nations Charter it is provided that the Security Council "may take such action by air, sea or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade and other operations by air, sea or land forces of Members of the United Nations." As long as the Soviet government does not assume an active role in any breach of world peace, this military force will help to protect its far-flung empire of satellite states from outside aggression.

It is obvious that, under these conditions, the

role of America has been reduced to one of mere containment. George Kennan was entirely right in the thesis of his famous article on containment. As long as the United States remains within the wretched framework of the United Nations, it should not assume the active role of stirring up revolt in the Soviet satellite states. The United Nations was created to help Russia, not to hurt her.

But even a policy of containment is difficult to carry out. Communism is like an angry tide that is constantly seeking some soft spots in the dikes of restraint. This fact was evident on the morning of June 24, 1950, when the army of a Soviet satellite state, the People's Republic of Korea, launched an attack south of the 38th parallel. The next morning the Security Council of the United Nations called upon the armed forces of the People's Republic to cease hostilities and withdraw into their own territory. It also called upon members of the United Nations to furnish the assistance necessary to preserve peace. On June 27 President Truman ordered American air and sea forces to support the South Koreans in their resistance to invasion, and thus a so-called "police action" was commenced in the Far East.

Prescription for Defeat

Americans had long been assured of the efficacy of collective security in maintaining world peace, and they were shocked to discover that war as waged by the United Nations was a prescription for military defeat in Korea. The UN insisted upon military procedures that resulted in a stalemate equivalent to a Communist victory. After the close of the conflict it was revealed that leaks of vital information from French officials to communist agents had greatly contributed to this victory.

This lesson of betrayal was lost upon President Truman and Secretary Acheson, but there was no action along the line of withdrawal from the United Nations. Containment was still advocated by the Department of State, which put its trust in organizations like NATO and EDC. When the Eisenhower Administration took office in March 1953 it was widely hoped that this policy of containment would be scrapped for something more positive. These hopes were confirmed in January 1954 when Secretary Dulles announced a new departure—a policy of "massive retaliation" that would clearly show Communist States that it did not pay to break the peace of the world. But Dulles soon had to eat his bold words. The President's advisers in the White House were fearful that Britain and France would not support America if she resorted to retaliation. Although neither nation was disposed to send adequate military forces to Korea to help American

armies stem the surging Red tide in that peninsula, it was felt by the One Worlders close to the President the United States could not go ahead in world politics without Anglo-French assistance.

When Eisenhower finally reached a point where he seemed to favor American armed intervention in Indo-China, he was warned by Mendès-France, not yet Premier, that France wanted peace at any price. The armistice signed at Geneva on July 15 recorded another communist victory, and the Department of State announced that the United States would "respect" the terms of this new surrender. This means that, in accordance with the terms of the Charter of the United Nations, we will help protect from outside aggression these fresh spoils of war.

Breaches of Korean Armistice

And now comes the tragedy of the eleven American fliers who are held in communist prisons in China. It is a little difficult to see why we are so interested in the fate of these fliers. We have long known that several hundred other Americans have been slowly dying in communist hands in China. We are also aware of the fact that the Communists have committed at least six breaches of the Korean armistice agreement which ended

the police action in that country. It is common knowledge in Washington that the President's military advisers, who have grown weary of Chinese Communist conduct, have informed him that with merely five arms of the American Air Force in the Far East the ninety air fields in China could be destroyed in the matter of a few weeks, and that the Peiping government could be brought to its knees in a short while. There was no real reason why Dag Hammerskjold should have been sent to China to plead for the lives of Americans.

The question arises—will the United States continue to rely for its national security upon the assistance of a United Nations that is lamentably weak in military forces and distinctly divided upon what policy to pursue concerning Soviet Russia? In the event of another war will American officials continue to follow United Nations prescriptions which in the past have meant inevitable defeat? Will our foreign policy be based upon American strength or upon the weakness of a United Nations organization that has a representative of Soviet Russia serving upon the Security Council? Can American interests be preserved and strengthened in an atmosphere of international jealousies and distrust? Can the betrayal of yesterday be changed into the bright promise of tomorrow?

An Open Letter

Mr. Warren R. Austin
The Committee for One Million

I am happy to have your request to sign the petition to the President "Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations." Whereas I approve of refusing to enter into any such blind ties to communist China via the United Nations, I would request that my objection be presented to the President in the following form. . .

I share fully your evident desire to preserve those human rights and freedoms that were traditional in the founding of these United States. But that objective, so far as the United Nations is concerned, is not attained merely by refusing admittance of communist China. Most of the present members of the United Nations are nationals which violate these same rights and freedoms, as does communist China. . . The facts are amply available to anyone who will test the national conduct of each of these nations by the ten points of the Communist Manifesto—the procedural objectives of communism. After one has done this, it will be clear how these rights and freedoms have a small minority representation in the United Nations as

now composed, and how these interests are left as a helpless and hopeless minority in the procedural functioning of that body.

It is further noteworthy that we—a helpless and hopeless minority—are being forced to finance the major part of these suicidal UN processes.

I see, therefore, only one . . . recommendation to make. . . The United States should withdraw from the United Nations, promptly and completely. We are in no wise trespassing on the rights of others in doing so, for such is most certainly within our rights as a sovereign nation. It entails no inconsistency of treatment of other nations, as would be involved in objecting, on grounds of its communism, to membership of communist China in an organization of which nations like communist Russia are retained as members without challenge. We would resolve the problem . . . without throwing our power around outside our borders in matters such as discriminatory exclusions from membership in the United Nations—a process generative of enmity rather than of good will abroad.

Finally, I would recommend that the UN Building be converted into a hospital to be operated by some worthy private charitable agency; that this island of immunity from our laws, here within our borders, be eliminated forthwith. F. A. HARPER

All Alone in the UN

By **ROBERT S. BYFIELD**

On vital economic questions involving the American concept of private property, the U.S. in the UN is often outvoted or forced to take a defensive stand.

The Economic and Social Council (consisting of 18 members elected by the General Assembly of the United Nations), annually reviews the world economic situation and reports to the General Assembly through that organ's Second (Economic and Financial) and Third (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) Committees. At these sessions such subjects as technical assistance, economic development of underdeveloped countries, international financing, investment and trade, raw material commodity prices, living standards, land reform and human rights are initially debated before being passed along in the form of resolutions to the plenary meetings of the General Assembly.

As one of a minority of the nations with a socio-economic system characterized as free enterprise capitalism, the United States finds itself in a unique and sometimes unhappy position at these sessions. It is not the small communist bloc that is the cause of our troubles. More often than not we find ourselves on the opposite side of the fence from some of our friends, politically and diplomatically speaking, who comprise the bloc of members sometimes referred to as the have-not or underdeveloped nations. This fact should not surprise us since we are the economic colossus, while they are poor.

More dismaying is the fact that the western European nations, many of which are our traditional friends and military allies, frequently differ strongly from us in the debates on economic, social and financial matters. The root cause of such disagreement is deep and significant. The fact, not generally realized by most Americans, is that our brand of "capitalism" is not in line with the European concept, where "capitalism" is often equated with various degrees of socialism, or the "mixed economy." The European attitude toward the right of private property certainly does not coincide with ours; and only Canada, of all the nations of the so-called "free world," comes near accepting our allegiance to the free market idea.

Even more important for a sound appraisal of the debates and resolutions on economic and financial matters in the United Nations is an understanding of the objectives of the Soviet Union in joining the United Nations, and its subsequent deportment in the General Assembly, the Specialized Agencies and their Committees.

The bitter fact, confirmed by unbiased and in-

formed observation and fully documented, is that the Kremlin joined the United Nations, not to help in reaching agreements with fellow-members, but to use it as one of the weapons in achieving its basic goals of global domination and the smashing of capitalism. The Communists have written a whole library of books in which these objectives are clearly stated. Firmly based on the Marxist-Leninist doctrine known as "revolutionary parliamentarianism" are the usual Soviet tactics of obstructionism, procrastination and endless debate, and the resort to semantic skulduggery. This pattern of procedure was fully described by the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, replete with directives for using a legal parliamentary framework for illegal acts; the *talkathon* technique has been employed by Soviet spokesmen and agents ever since.

Behind the Soviet Diatribes

Impressive evidence as to Soviet purpose in the United Nations has long been available and continues to mount. For example, here is the sworn testimony of Dr. Marek Stanislaw Korowicz, who came to America as First Alternate Delegate to the UN from communist Poland, and sought asylum here. He told the House Committee on Un-American Activities on September 24, 1953 (p. 2596):

Mr. Kunzig: Dr. Korowicz, did the members of your delegation with whom you were associated just a few days ago . . . have any real respect for the United Nations, or from your conversations with them did they feel that it should be used as a propaganda purpose for Poland and Russia?

Dr. Korowicz: The organization of the United Nations is considered as one of the most important platforms for Soviet propaganda in the world. . . .

Mr. Kunzig: In other words, sir, there is no real desire to work with one another and make a better world, but merely to use the United Nations as a propaganda device to further communism?

Dr. Korowicz: Yes, that is quite correct. That is my view.

As a delegate from a satellite country and an eminent jurist, formerly Professor of Law at the University of Cracow, Dr. Korowicz was in a position to know and interpret Marxist-Leninist behavior and doctrine.

It is only logical that much of the "hate language" characteristic of Soviet spokesmen in the United Nations should be directed at the economic systems of the Western world. After all, Marxist dogma holds that all economic, social, legal and cultural ills stem from the institution of private property and that when private property is abolished, Utopia will have arrived.

So then, Soviet purpose and European ideology, plus the poverty of many nations, combine to isolate the United States, or at least to place it in a defensive position on many economic issues.

The classic example was the passage by the General Assembly on December 21, 1952, of Resolution 626 (VII), bearing the rather innocuous title, "Right to Exploit Freely Natural Wealth and Resources." In effect, it confirmed the right of a country to nationalize its natural resources as inherent in its sovereignty, but omitted any provision for compensation to the foreign investors involved. A member of the United States Mission to the UN stated officially that "in our opinion this resolution will be interpreted by private investors everywhere in the world that they had better think twice before they place their capital in underdeveloped countries." The Resolution was passed by a vote of 36 to 4 with 20 abstentions. The negative votes were cast by Great Britain, South Africa, New Zealand and the United States. It is of further interest to note that a similar resolution had passed the Second Committee ten days earlier by a vote of 31 to 1 with 19 abstentions. The United States cast the sole negative vote.

This balloting may come as a shock to many Americans who are under the impression that in the UN "we always win." Actually, on most important issues in the political and administrative fields the United States usually does find itself with the majority; it is the Soviet bloc of five which is isolated. But where important economic and socio-economic questions are involved, we are frequently outvoted; even if we are with the majority, the margin of victory is likely to be slender. Resolution 626 (VII) was a highly significant defeat for the United States since it involved the right of private property which, of course, is at the very center of the great ideological contest raging today.

More than two years have passed since the General Assembly adopted Resolution 626 (VII), and it has neither been repealed nor even amended. Any direct attack upon it would probably be futile, despite the great need and expressed desire of the underdeveloped countries of the world for

foreign capital. That there have been some misgivings as to the wisdom of the Resolution has been shown in the debates of the Eighth and Ninth General Assemblies. As recently as December 11, 1954, a resolution seeking to stimulate the international flow of capital was passed by a vote of 48 to 0 with 8 abstentions. Among other things it recommends that countries seeking to attract foreign capital "re-examine, wherever necessary, domestic policies, legislation and administrative practices with a view to improving the investment climate; avoid unduly burdensome taxation; avoid discrimination against foreign investments . . . make adequate provision for remission of earnings and repatriation of capital." The main issue was avoided.

The debates on the Human Rights Covenants offer an even more striking instance. It will be remembered that, as far back as December 1948, the UN General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by a vote of 48 to 0 with 8 abstentions, and requested the Economic and Social Council to ask the Commission on Human Rights (which was established for this purpose in 1946) to prepare draft covenants and measures of implementation on human rights. The Commission at its tenth session early in 1954 completed work on draft covenants covering Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and also with respect to Civil and Political Rights, and forwarded them to the meeting of the Economic and Social Council in the summer of 1954 at Geneva,

which in turn sent them on to the Ninth General Assembly in session from September to December 1954. Throughout the entire six years in which the covenants were shuttled about in the labyrinthine precincts of the UN, no subject proved to be more controversial than the right of owning private property. After all, the Declaration did state in its Article 17:

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Yet no agreement on the implementation of this "right" had been reached when the General Assembly adjourned in December 1954, and the matter will be taken up again in 1955.

Even admitting that the concepts of property ownership differ from country to country, our own concept has received very rough handling by the representatives of most underdeveloped countries. Since we are only one of eighteen members of the Commission on Human Rights, we are in a minority position. The United States has announced

But at least through the United Nations we can go on with negotiations and pray for a pure heart and clean hands which may eventually bring us the confidence even of the Soviet Union and lead us to the desired results.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, *New York Times*, July 23, 1952

that it does not intend to sign the covenants, but even so, as Mrs. Oswald B. Lord, U.S. member on that Commission, stated at its meeting on February 25, 1954, “. . . they [the covenants] should not be weakened because the Declaration had exercised, and would continue to exercise, an important influence on international practice and law.” Incidentally, a few days later, at the meeting on March 2, three U. S. amendments on property rights were rejected, 7 to 6 with 1 abstention, 9 to 6 with 3 abstentions and 7 to 6 with 5 abstentions.

The Indirect Attack

The American concept of property rights is not openly attacked. Rather, the opposition is indirect and is based on the notion that private ownership impinges on national sovereignty. This, of course, was the ostensible legal crutch upon which Resolution 626 (VII) leaned so heavily. (In the balloting on this resolution we did not receive the support of Canada, which has been the beneficiary of billions of U. S. invested capital, the Canadian delegation taking the position that “the problem was primarily legal and not economic.”) Again, at the 413th meeting of the Human Rights Commission, the Chilean member, Mr. Ortega, argued that the U. S. concept did not have enough limitations and that far-reaching economic and social changes have affected this concept since the Virginia Bill of Rights of 1776 and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1789. Mr. Ingles of the Philippines re-emphasized that the right of peoples to self-determination included “permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources.” On March 1, in the 416th meeting, Mr. Ortega quoted from Professor Toynbee (who seems to be the favored philosopher-historian of many UN people) and stated that “the Commission must not sacrifice the interest of society to the interest of the individual or to the selfish interest of minorities, since that might provoke social and economic upheaval.”

The chain of events which followed illustrates dramatically how our country can be forced into

a defensive position on a vital economic issue. On a draft resolution submitted by Afghanistan the Human Rights Commission was requested to prepare recommendations concerning international respect for the rights of peoples and nations to self-determination. As mentioned on page 15 of document A/2829, in the report of the Third Committee on December 4, 1954, Brazil, Peru and the United States offered a mild and reasonable amendment to the effect that such recommendations should have due regard to “obligations under international agreements, the principles of international law and the importance of encouraging international cooperation in the economic development of underdeveloped countries.” In the subsequent balloting the words “obligations under international agreements, the principles of international law and” were stricken out by a vote of 21 to 17 with 14 abstentions. Again we lost.

On December 14, an amended resolution came before the 512th plenary meeting of the General Assembly. At that time Brazil, Peru and the United States made another try by offering as a substitute the watered-down phrase, “having due regard to the rights and duties of States under international law.” This amendment finally was adopted 23 votes to 14 with 19 abstentions—far from a convincing showing—and the new resolution, a thoroughly Milquetoast affair, was then adopted as a whole, 41 to 11 with 3 abstentions.

The United States has little if anything to gain from the economic and financial activities of the United Nations. On the other hand, we stand to lose much. The dedicated protagonists of all-out internationalism and the “one-world” hotspurs may some day gain their ends through propaganda, the cooperation of a friendly Administration in Washington and the abdication by Congress of its traditional functions. From what has happened on the economic and financial sector in the UN since its establishment, we can predict the costs of their success. As a first installment, the United States would be obliged to compromise and perhaps abandon the competitive free enterprise system, which has given Americans their enviable standard of living.

He Urged It

Among the special circumstances favorable to an expansion of the endowment's own direct activities, the most significant is the establishment of the United Nations with its headquarters in New York, and with the United States as its leading and most influential member. The United States was the chief architect of the United Nations and is its chief support. The opportunity for an endowed American institution having the objectives, traditions and prestige of the endowment, to support and serve the United Nations is very great.

ALGER HISS, “Recommendations of the President to the Trustees,” 1947 Yearbook of the Carnegie Foundation

History's Greatest Breach of Promise

By CHESLY MANLY

The rosy promises of world peace and plenty through the United Nations have faded before the dark realities of aggression and failure.

Nothing less than a millennium of universal peace, prosperity and happiness was promised to a war-ravaged, sick and hungry world by the pious founders of the United Nations. Never in history had it been proposed to do so much for so many with so little regard for the possibilities. The miracle of the loaves and fishes was to be combined with compulsory pacification for the permanent gratification and tranquility of two and one-half billion human beings.

This is not hyperbole. Franklin D. Roosevelt first expounded his postwar policy in his annual message to Congress on January 6, 1941. He looked forward to a world founded upon "four essential human freedoms"—freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear—"everywhere in the world." To assure freedom from want, he proposed economic understandings which would "secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world." To assure freedom from fear, he proposed "a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world."

The Atlantic Charter declaration, issued by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill on August 14, 1941, envisaged "a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." It promised a "permanent system of general security" which would "lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments."

The Soviet Union subscribed to the Atlantic Charter in the so-called Declaration by United Nations, signed on January 1, 1942, by 26 nations and subsequently adhered to by 21 others. In the preceding two and one-third years, Stalin had made a deal with Hitler, precipitating World War Two; invaded and annexed half of stricken Poland; incorporated Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania; and

waged aggressive war on Finland, seizing part of its territory. These enormities were committed in violation of solemn nonaggression pacts, but Moscow's good faith in signing the United Nations declaration was not questioned. To the contrary, Joseph E. Davies, Roosevelt's egregious ambassador to Moscow, told an audience in Chicago only a month later: "The word of honor of the Soviet government is as safe as the Bible."

In a book circulated throughout the Soviet Union, Stalin had reaffirmed Lenin's dictum that "the existence of the Soviet republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable"; that "one or the other must triumph in the end"; that "before that end supervenes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable." Undaunted by this article of Bolshevik faith, Secretary of State Cordell Hull signed the four-power Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943, pledging united action in the establishment of "a general international organization . . . for the maintenance of international peace and security."

The "Peaceful Coexistence" Delusion

Secretary Hull was convinced that "peaceful coexistence" was impossible in respect to Nazi Germany, but imperative in the case of Communist Russia. Outlining his plans for the UN in a public address on April 9, 1944, he said:

. . . we have moved from a careless tolerance of evil institutions to the conviction that free governments and Nazi and Fascist governments cannot exist together in this world because the very nature of the latter requires them to be aggressors and the very nature of free governments too often lays them open to treacherous and well-laid plans of attack. . . there is no hope of turning victory into enduring peace unless the real interests of this country, the British Commonwealth, the Soviet Union and China are harmonized and unless they agree to act together.

The necessity for "peaceful coexistence"—indeed cohabitation—with the Soviet Union was re-

affirmed in the Yalta declaration, issued by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin on February 11, 1945: "Only with continuing and growing cooperation and understanding among our three countries and among all peace-loving nations can the highest aspiration of humanity be realized. . ."

The UN Charter, signed at San Francisco on June 26, 1945, by the representatives of fifty nations, also predicated success of the organization upon the cooperation of the Soviet Union. The functions and structure of the Security Council, which was given "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security," were derived from the assumption of "great power" unanimity. This was the rationale of the veto provision. The UN was to be "a center for harmonizing the actions of nations."

The Charter, reflecting the grandiose concept of Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" message, expressed the determination of the "people of the United Nations" to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war," to take "effective collective measures" against aggression, to "practice tolerance and live together in peace," to promote respect for human rights, and work together for "the economic and social advancement of all peoples."

In a letter to President Truman, written on the day the Charter was signed, Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. remarked that "some forty million human beings, armed and unarmed," had been killed in two wars in a period of thirty years. The UN was the world's only recompense for the slaughter of these forty million war victims, but Stettinius seemed to believe that it was worth the price. He wrote: "If we are earnestly determined, as I believe we are, that the innumerable dead of two great holocausts shall not have died in vain, we must act in concert with the other nations of the world to bring about the peace for which these dead gave up their lives. The Charter of the United Nations is the product of such concerted action."

Such was the infinite promise of the UN. Did the forty million die in vain? Certainly the UN has not vindicated their sacrifice, for millions of others have died in war since it began to function nine years ago—in Indo-China, Indonesia, India and Pakistan, Greece, the communist conquest of China, Palestine, and Korea.

The American people, promised relief from "the crushing burden of armaments," are paying forty-

five billion dollars a year for "national security"—armaments and foreign aid. This is five times as much as the total annual cost of Roosevelt's "spendthrift" New Deal before World War Two.

Instead of harmonizing the actions of nations, the UN has witnessed their division into hostile camps, bristling with arms and menacing each other with H-bombs and other weapons of mass extermination. Instead of ending the old system of "power blocs and alliances," as promised by Secretary Hull, the UN has seen the United States alone undertake to defend more than forty nations through alliances and military aid agreements outside the UN, all aimed at threats of aggression by a senior UN partner. The UN promise of "international peace and security" is reduced to a mockery by these alliances and agreements, and by three hundred American Army, Navy and Air Force bases beyond the seas.

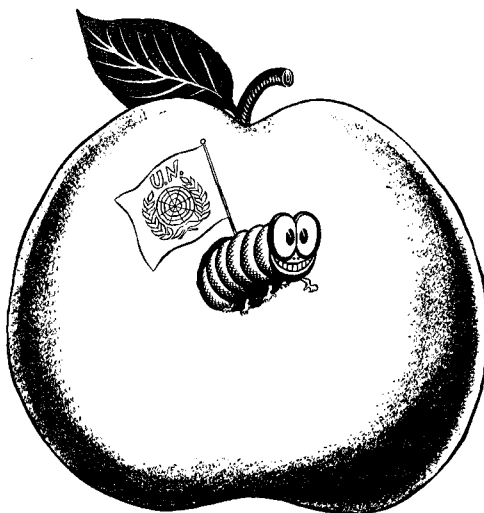
No apologist for the UN has uttered more fatuous nonsense about it than Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., chief American UN delegate. Lodge recently told the *U. S. News & World Report* that World War Three had been prevented by "United Nations action in the following incidents: the presence of Russian troops in Iran, the communist encroachment on Greece, the independence of Israel, the independence of Indonesia, the struggle between Pakistan and India over Kashmir, and the aggression in Korea."

According to Lodge's argument, the absence of world war for nine years after the UN was established must be

attributed to the UN. Students of elementary logic know this as the *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* fallacy. It would be just as logical to argue that the League of Nations prevented a world war because none occurred for twenty years after it was founded. World wars don't come every nine years. The nations need a little more time to recover from the last one and get ready for the next.

Let us consider some of the cases mentioned by Lodge:

1. *Iran*. In defiance of the UN and in violation of its wartime agreement to remove its troops from Iran by March 2, 1946, the Soviet government did not withdraw them until six weeks later, after it had established a powerful fifth column in Azerbaijan province and extorted an oil concession from the Iranian prime minister. Sumner Welles, Under Secretary of State in the Roosevelt



The American apple and the worm

Administration, said the UN Security Council "simply whitewashed a Persian concession to the Soviet Union which had been previously declared unconstitutional by the Persian Prime Minister himself." The UN's part in removing the Soviet troops from Iran would be much more convincing if the UN could get the Soviet and Chinese Communist troops out of North Korea.

2. *Greece.* The Soviet Union and its Balkan satellites again defied the UN in a campaign by communist guerrilla forces to overthrow the Greek government. UN representatives were not even permitted to cross the Greek frontier into the communist countries. Greece was saved by direct American military and economic assistance, costing two billion dollars, and by communist Yugoslavia's break with the Kremlin. Yugoslavia had been the main base of guerrilla operations against Greece.

3. *Israel.* The establishment of a Jewish state in the heart of the Arab world must have been consonant with Soviet policy, for Moscow's delegation voted for the Palestine partition resolution of November 29, 1947. When this action by a world peace organization resulted in war, both Israel and the Arab states defied UN cease-fire appeals. Hostilities ended, not in response to UN action, but with the victory of Israeli arms, purchased from communist Czechoslovakia with American money. An armistice agreement negotiated by the UN in 1949 has been honored more in the breach than in the observance, and Armageddon still beckons in Palestine.

The Soviet Union, having encouraged the establishment of Israel under the aegis of the United States, now is courting the Arabs. Colonel William A. Eddy, who was Roosevelt's minister to Saudi Arabia and his interpreter at the wartime conference with King Ibn Saud, told the National War College last March 9 that the Arabs, if armed, equipped and trained by the Russians, would be better soldiers than the Chinese.

"Three hundred million Moslems, not yet militarized, offer to the United States a potent friend or a dangerous enemy," said Colonel Eddy. "If we choose wrong, may God have mercy on our souls!"

4. *Korea.* The United States was involved in the Korean war and prevented from winning it by the UN. In 1947, General Albert C. Wedemeyer warned the Truman Administration that the Russians had armed and trained a powerful North Korean army and would instigate aggression against South Korea after first calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops. He urged Washington to arm and train a South Korean army before withdrawing the American occupation troops. Instead, the Truman Administration suppressed the Wedemeyer report and submitted the Korean question to the UN. The UN, barred from North Korea, set up a government in South Ko-

rea and called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops. The Kremlin, true to General Wedemeyer's prediction, was demanding the same thing. When the United States obliged by getting out, the Communists—also true to General Wedemeyer's prediction—attacked South Korea.

America's so-called allies in the UN, whose military contribution was described by General Mark Clark as "piddling," dictated Washington's strategy of appeasement in Korea. A commentary prepared by General MacArthur's staff declared that "by one process or another" the Chinese Communists were advised before they entered the fray that their sanctuary north of the Yalu River would not be attacked. This treasonable act was appraised by the MacArthur staff memorandum as "one of the blackest pages ever recorded."

Generals MacArthur, Van Fleet, Clark, Stratemeyer, Wedemeyer and Almond and Admiral Joy all have testified that the military forces were prevented from defeating the Communists by restrictions imposed upon them by Washington. General Marshall, defending Truman's removal of General MacArthur, said MacArthur wanted to carry the conflict to the mainland of China "at the expense of losing our allies and wrecking the coalition of the free peoples."

Still Appeasing Red China

The same policy of appeasing the Chinese Communists to appease the UN has been continued by the Eisenhower Administration. On November 29, 1954, Secretary of State Dulles said the United States would not blockade Red China to compel the release of thirteen American prisoners held by the Communists in violation of their armistice agreement. Such action would violate our obligations to the UN and "impair the alliance of the free nations," Dulles declared.

How are the mighty fallen since Theodore Roosevelt's time! When Raisuli, a Berber mountain chieftain, abducted an American citizen named Perdicaris and held him for ransom in 1904, Roosevelt electrified the nation by sending this message to the sultan of Morocco: "Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead!" If President Eisenhower should send such a message to Mao Tse-tung, the UN would emit lamentations and imprecations that could be heard around the world. Instead, the Eisenhower Administration abjectly appealed to the UN on behalf of eleven American airmen and two civilians imprisoned by the Reds. This was only a gesture to placate public opinion, which was outraged by Peiping's announcement that the thirteen Americans had been imprisoned as spies. Nothing had been said in the UN about some eight hundred Americans who were known to be alive in Communist hands and were never accounted for after the armistice, according to Defense Department announcements.

In the 1954 congressional campaign, Republican orators extolled the Eisenhower Administration not only for the armistice in Korea, but for the French capitulation in Indo-China, the overthrow of the Soviet satellite regime in Guatemala, the settlement of the Anglo-Iranian oil dispute and the Anglo-Egyptian dispute over the Suez canal zone occupation, and the London-Paris accords on German rearmament. The UN, not having considered the Indo-China question, cannot be justly praised or blamed for the Franco-American fiasco in Indo-China except insofar as its appeasement of the Communists in Korea strengthened their position in Indo-China. The UN had tried and failed to settle the Anglo-Egyptian and Anglo-Iranian disputes, which eventually were resolved by old-fashioned diplomacy. The German question had not been before the UN since the Russians vetoed a Security Council resolution on the Berlin blockade and rejected a General Assembly proposal for all-German elections.

Guatemala Freed by Rejecting UN Advice

The Guatemalan revolution was considered by the Security Council; and if its recommendation had been respected, Guatemala would be a Soviet satellite today. The council's resolution, supported gleefully by the Russians and stupidly by Lodge, called for "the immediate termination of any action likely to cause bloodshed" and requested "all members of the United Nations to abstain . . . from rendering assistance to such action." Fortunately for the United States, Colonel Castillo Armas, leader of the Guatemalan patriots, ignored the UN and proceeded to eject the Communist-dominated Arbenz regime.

The spirited arguments of Administration officials against the admission of Communist China to the UN would merit far more respect if they did not recoil from proposals to terminate diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and demand its expulsion from the UN. Such a course probably would mean the end of the UN, which is unable to expel a member of the Security Council—but that would be a gain for the noncommunist world. No nation can pretend to a decent respect for the opinions of mankind while associating with such a monstrous regime on terms of equality and mutual esteem, in a purported peace organization.

Assistant Secretary of State Walter S. Robertson recently denounced the Chinese communist government as "an outlaw-gangster regime, unpurged of its crimes and aggressions, and unfit to sit in any respectable family of nations." One wonders whether Robertson believes the Kremlin gangsters are more suited to the company of civilized men. Ambassador Lodge recently told a group of visiting Congressmen that the UN is not a place "in which the virtuous and the criminal sit side by side without regard to whether they are virtuous

or not, or criminal or not." Since the United States and the Soviet Union do sit side by side, it follows that if Lodge's reasoning is correct, either the former is criminal or the latter is virtuous.

Lodge himself told the UN, on February 25, 1953, that the Soviet Union instigated and maintained the aggression in Korea. A Department of Defense release on May 15, 1954, stated that 1,300 Russians were employed as staff and technical advisers throughout North Korea and that "from six to twelve thousand Russian tactical troops" took part in the war. Lieutenant General Samuel E. Anderson, commander of the Fifth Air Force in Korea, declared that "entire Soviet air force units" fought in the Korean war for two and a half years. Although the Charter obligates all members to "refrain from giving assistance to any State against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action," the late Andrei Vishinsky boasted that his government aided Red China after it had been declared an aggressor.

Public avowals by officials of the Eisenhower Administration against the admission of Red China to the UN also could be taken more seriously if Secretary Dulles had not written, in *War or Peace*, that all nations should be members of the UN "without attempting to appraise closely those which are 'good' and which are 'bad.'" Such are the moral standards of a distinguished lay church leader.

All of this shows the persistence of the "peaceful coexistence" delusion which afflicted the UN founders. It recalls Aesop's fable of the lamb and the wolf. The wolf, seeking admission to the sheep fold, persuaded a simple lamb that he craved only the peaceful enjoyment of tender grass and fresh water. "If this be true," said the innocent lamb, "let us for the future live like brethren, and feed together." And that was the end of the lamb.

This Is What They Said

The United Nations Assembly further serves its task of being a "center for harmonizing."

JOHN FOSTER DULLES, *War or Peace*, 1950

We must in postwar United Nations policy planning bring the Russians all the way down to Colonial Asia.

OWEN LATTIMORE, *Solution in Asia*, 1945

The organization [United Nations] has achieved notable success in resolving international disputes. Among these have been the . . . repulsion of the North Korean invasion of 1950-52.

MICHAEL MARTIN and LEONARD GELBER,
The New Dictionary of American History

The Wages of Hissism

By SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE

The facts on employment of American undercover Communists in strategic UN positions show the need for a bill to protect national security.

At its last session, the UN General Assembly voted indemnities of almost \$200,000 to eleven former UN employees who had been summarily dismissed for invoking the Fifth Amendment before a Senate Committee.

The vote marked the end of a legal battle which began in 1953. It appears to indicate a final victory for the Communists on the UN staff, who as early as 1946, according to an article by Craig Thompson in the *Saturday Evening Post* of November 17, 1951, began through their Staff Association to contend with the Secretary-General for control of the Secretariat. One can hardly imagine the Secretary-General daring in the future to dismiss employees of American or other noncommunist nationality, no matter how much evidence he may have that they are loyal to the communist conspiracy instead of their own countries. The UN Secretariat appears to have been made safe for communism.

Beginning in the Red

Communist penetration is nothing new at the UN. Indeed, the permanent organization took its first steps under the guidance of an undercover Communist. The organizational work was in the hands of Alger Hiss. He was in charge of all arrangements for the preliminary Conference of Dumbarton Oaks. As the "top specialist" on international organization, he played an important part in the disastrous Yalta Conference, where President Roosevelt agreed that Soviet Russia should have three UN votes to one for this country. In 1945 he was Secretary-General of the San Francisco Conference. Again, at the London meeting of the General Assembly in 1946, he was on hand as adviser to the U. S. delegation. There is no record of his having advised the delegation to protest against a Soviet-proposed staff rule which had been unanimously adopted by the Preparatory Commission on December 24, 1945:

Rule 56: No persons who have discredited themselves by their activities in connection with fascism or nazism should be appointed to the staff of the United Nations organization.

Since in Soviet parlance everyone who is not a Communist is open to the charge of fascism or nazism, this rule gave the Soviet government wide scope for accusations of guilt by association.

Were the United States and the other noncommunist countries protected by a rule prohibiting

employment of their nationals who had discredited themselves by communist activity? Perish the chauvinist thought. They were left to take care of themselves as best they could. Other nations can safeguard themselves by refusing to issue passports to subversives. The United States, in whose territory the UN is encysted, has no such protection. To see that it was protected was primarily the job of the omnipresent adviser on organization and powerful head of the State Department Office of Special Political Affairs, which dealt with UN matters—Alger Hiss.

Through the door thus left hospitably open thronged the American Communists who since 1933 had infested the U. S. government. In fact, they were there even before the door was opened. You might almost say they invented the UN.

Harry Dexter White represented the Treasury Department at the San Francisco Conference. He also served as chairman of the commission which established the International Monetary Fund, a UN agency. Later he became United States Executive Director of the Fund, in spite of FBI warnings to the White House that he was a Soviet agent. Technical Secretary-General of the founding conference was Virginius Frank Coe, who afterwards became Secretary of the Fund and was dismissed only after he had refused to state under oath whether he had been or still was a Soviet agent. Harold Glasser, who also invoked the Fifth Amendment, represented the Treasury at the founding of the United Nations Rehabilitation and Relief Administration (UNRRA), and had a "predominant voice" in its activities throughout its dubious career.

There were others. On the staff of UNRRA was David Weintraub, one-time Director of the WPA National Research Project and later Director of Economic Stability and Development in the UN Division of Economic Affairs. The Internal Security Subcommittee, in its Report on Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments, found that he

. . . occupied a unique position in setting up the structure of Communist penetration of governmental agencies. . . [p. 10]

Weintraub had been identified by Whittaker Chambers as a Communist Party member. He denied this under oath. Three witnesses invoked the Fifth Amendment when asked whether or not they knew him. Weintraub later resigned his UN position.

Alger Hiss played an important part in recruiting employees for the UN Secretariat. The subcommittee quotes (Second UN Report, p. 12) William L. Franklin, a State Department security officer, as having told the House Judiciary Committee that by April 4, 1946, Hiss had transmitted to the UN 284 names of candidates for employment. This in spite of Secretary Byrnes' announced hands-off policy.

From 1946 to 1949, the subcommittee found, the United States was in no way safeguarded against employment by the UN of disloyal Americans, even Americans actively engaged in espionage. And

When the United States Department of State finally took cognizance of the situation . . . it was fully at the instance of the United Nations . . . [1953 UN Report, p. 16]

Possibly this UN initiative was prompted by Mr. Lie's troubles with his staff. In any case, the State Department undertook to check on persons whose names were submitted, and report to the UN if it found anything warranting objection to their employment. However, the subcommittee found that the Department had failed over long periods to report adversely on persons whose dossiers "were heavy with derogatory information."

Foray Against Subversion

In 1952 began the sequence of events which ended in the communist victory of December. On May 15 the Internal Security Subcommittee queried David Weintraub in connection with its investigation of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR). It wanted to know why he had recommended that Owen Lattimore be sent to Afghanistan on a "technical assistance mission" for the UN. Weintraub said he had done so on the basis of "general knowledge of Mr. Lattimore's work as a political scientist" and his further knowledge that Lattimore had spent considerable time in countries adjoining Afghanistan. Asked to name the countries, he mentioned Mongolia. He was unable to say where Mongolia and Afghanistan joined. (IPR Hearings, pt. 13, pp. 4631-4632)

In its IPR report, the subcommittee declared Owen Lattimore to be a "conscious, articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy." What he accomplished for the UN in Afghanistan remains as hazy as Mr. Weintraub's knowledge of geography. The American taxpayers footed 60 per cent of the bill for this mysterious mission. No part of it was paid by U.S.S.R.

This incident throws light on the Communist fight for control of the UN Secretariat.

Weintraub's testimony led to the subcommittee's investigation of the activities of Americans employed by the UN. Among several former associates in the U. S. government whom he had brought into his UN Division was Irving Kaplan. Summoned be-

fore the Committee, Kaplan refused to answer 244 questions, including this one:

Are you now engaged in an active conspiracy to overthrow the United States Government by force and violence? [IPR Hearings, pt. 13, p. 4760]

On October 13, 1952, the subcommittee opened public hearings in the cases of Americans then or formerly employed by the UN or its affiliated agencies. Of 33 such persons heard, 27 invoked the Fifth Amendment when queried about Communist activities.

Meanwhile a federal Grand Jury had been probing the same situation. Its term of service expired before it could finish; but in spite of strong opposition from the Department of Justice, it insisted on making a presentment in which it declared that the UN had been infiltrated by scores of disloyal Americans, many of whom held positions of trust and responsibility in its Secretariat and its specialized agencies. (Second UN Report, p. 3)

Confronted with this open scandal, Secretary-General Lie appointed an international commission of jurists to advise him on his power to act. The commission reported that in its opinion resort to the Fifth Amendment warranted a suspicion of guilt, and that the Secretary-General should be prepared to take the appropriate action. It also made the important statement that

. . . the Secretary-General should regard it as of the first importance to refrain from engaging or to remove from the staff any person whom he has reasonable grounds for believing to be engaged in any activities regarded as disloyal to the host country. [Second UN Report, p. 4]

Mr. Lie at once announced that he would be guided by the jurists' opinion.

Twenty-one UN employees who had invoked the Fifth Amendment were summarily dismissed. All appealed to the Administrative Tribunal, UN court of last resort in administrative matters. The Tribunal is composed of lawyers from member nations, but the U. S. is not represented. Thus, as UN Ambassador Lodge pointed out, four foreign lawyers sat in Geneva to interpret the Fifth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution. He said he thought it was fantastic. (UN Hearings, pt. 3, p. 497)

Something equally fantastic happened even before the cases reached the Tribunal. Mr. Lie, on the very same day that he announced acceptance of the jurists' report, awarded indemnities to nine of the employees he had fired; this in spite of the jurists' recommendation against indemnities and an explicit UN staff rule against their payment in cases of summary dismissal. Moreover, as Alice Widener, in her pamphlet, "UN Judgment Day," revealed from the official UN report, on April 1, 1953, Mr. Lie told the General Assembly he had not accepted the jurists' recommendation of consideration for the host country.

This was the first notification the U. S. govern-

ment had had that Mr. Lie had changed his mind about the report. Our delegation heard him without protest. It did not even inform the American people that the UN Secretary-General had reversed himself in the important matter of their right to be protected from potential traitors who might strike at them from UN cover.

Mrs. Widener further quotes Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld as having said at a press conference shortly after he succeeded Mr. Lie that the jurists' report had been "superseded." This "supersession" was reflected in the argument of the UN lawyers before the Tribunal. In case after case, the decision includes the words:

When before the Tribunal, however, the Respondent [the Secretary-General] did not advance these arguments of the jurists.

The Tribunal also had this to say about Mr. Lie's award of indemnities:

The nature of serious misconduct appeared so disputable to the Secretary-General that he granted termination indemnities, which are expressly forbidden by the Staff Regulations (Annex III) in cases of summary dismissal.

Thus Mr. Lie and his successor compromised their case from the start.

Fatal but not Serious

The Tribunal upheld the Secretary-General in the cases of nine applicants (its own term) who had held temporary appointments and whose contracts therefore he could, and did, terminate without specific reference to misconduct. One of these was Irving Kaplan. It remanded one case back to the UN Appeals Board on a technicality. Of the remaining applicants it ordered five reinstated and awarded the rest \$122,000 in indemnities plus full salaries to the date of decision and \$300 each for legal expenses. When Mr. Hammarskjöld refused to reinstate the five, it awarded them amounts which brought the total indemnities to \$179,420, according to the *New York Times* of December 4, 1954.

The Tribunal, according to William O. Hall, adviser to the U.S. delegation to the UN, did not take oral testimony from the applicants. They were never put under oath. They simply filed statements which the Tribunal apparently accepted at face value.

The Tribunal seemed to regard the Fifth Amendment as in the nature of a harmless convenience. In nine decisions it said:

Whatever view may be held as to the conduct of the applicant, *that conduct could not be described as serious misconduct* which alone under Article 10.2 of the staff regulations and the pertinent rules justifies the Secretary-General in dismissing a staff member summarily without the safeguard afforded by disciplinary procedure. [Second UN Report, p. 37] [Italics added]

In other words, it is not serious misconduct for a UN official to give presumptive evidence of having committed a crime.

If the Tribunal was unimpressed by presumptive evidence of crime, there was still presumptive evidence of activity in violation of Article 100 (1) of the UN Charter, which forbids the Secretary-General and the staff to seek or receive instructions from any government or any authority external to the organization.

Various committees of Congress have amassed conclusive proof that organized communism is not a political movement but an international conspiracy for world dominion, directed from the U.S.S.R. Indeed, it is an open conspiracy, and has been repeatedly declared in Soviet publications.

But neither the Secretary-General nor the Administrative Tribunal could even hint without embarrassment that UN employees had given presumptive evidence that they were taking orders from the U.S.S.R. For the UN relies heavily on the fiction that communism is merely a political movement. To acknowledge that the Soviet bloc is directing a conspiracy to destroy the rest of the UN would have been to expose the organization's basic flaw.

The American people were understandably outraged by the Tribunal's decision, and the U.S. delegation objected to it at the next session of the Assembly. But the Assembly was doubtful of its power to reverse this agency of its own creation. It therefore requested the International Court of Justice, in effect, to tell it what had been in its collective mind when it gave the Tribunal supreme authority over the Secretariat. Last July the Court ruled that the Tribunal was top dog, and the Assembly at its last session meekly bowed to the fiat.

And what of the U. S. delegation? Somewhere in the course of these events it lost its fighting spirit. On December 3, Senator Fulbright assured the Assembly's Legal Committee that the United States would no longer oppose payment of the indemnities.

Then the United States joined Argentina in a resolution proposing the creation of a Board of Review, with authority to overrule the Administrative Tribunal. Why they did not call instead for the Assembly to take back its own powers into its own hands, is not clear. Under the resolution the new Board will be top dog, and the Assembly will continue powerless to deal with any miscarriage of justice. This piling up of administrative authorities could go on indefinitely.

Why should the U.S. government resort to such shenanigans? There is a bill, introduced by Senator McCarran in the last Congress, which provides for criminal prosecution of disloyal Americans found to have accepted UN employment. If our delegation really wants the country to have some measure of protection from American undercover Communists in strategic UN positions, it has only to urge the new Congress to revive and pass this bill.

UNdermining Free Enterprise

By RAYMOND MOLEY

America, which has passed beyond Europe's State regimentation to the principle of economic liberty, is now involved through the UN in outworn bureaucratic concepts.

The American Constitution was written and adopted at a moment in history when freedom-loving men in France, England and the United States were seeking every possible means to free economic life from the shackles and direction of the State. The American Revolution had its roots in such restrictions. The Declaration of Independence specified many such grievances against the King. In that same year Adam Smith published his *The Wealth of Nations*, the greatest of all treatises on economic freedom.

The principle of economic freedom is of the very bone and marrow of the Constitution. The rights of life, liberty and property are not so stated because one is superior to another. They are fused, indissoluble and imprescriptible. The powers of regulating property are carefully specified and limited. Private property cannot be taken for public use without just compensation. And the authority over the purse is vested primarily in the more numerous branch of Congress.

The United States, thus fortified in its adherence to the principle of economic liberty, and with abundant evidence of the value of its practice, found itself after World War Two joined with other nations in creating an international Charter. Among those collaborators were a goodly number in which economic liberty was a discredited memory; others in which socialism was firmly established; others like Britain, in which political power was passing to the Socialists; and in almost all no firm commitment against cartels and other restrictions against private enterprise. It was as if the American nation had wandered away from the European community when State regimentation was the order of the day and, returning a century and three-quarters later, found that community essentially unchanged.

But our representation in the various international conferences was not, as were the founders of our government at the end of the eighteenth century, inimical to forms of State control. Indeed, some of our representatives had deeply committed themselves to the destruction of our whole system of liberty. And behind these leading figures were bureaucracies in the State and Treasury Departments, intent upon bending our system to fit those of other nations.

The basic philosophy of such appeasement is to

be found in Article 55 of the Charter adopted at San Francisco:

With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

a. higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development.

b. solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational cooperation; and

c. universal respect for, and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, which reports to the Security Council, is charged with the responsibility of implementing the above Article. Other agencies of the UN are also guided by the basically socialistic principles of the Charter.

The State Department Planners

The difficulties which confront the present Administration in dealing with economic problems in the United Nations stem from the activities of our State Department during the years when the Charter was in the formative stage. In 1945 one group within the State Department laid the foundations for United Nations "free wheeling" in these fields through the drafting of these Charter provisions. This group was headed by Alger Hiss.

Another group within the Treasury Department, headed by Harry Dexter White, laid the foundations for two of the specialized United Nations agencies which report to the Economic and Social Council. These are the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The activities of both of these organizations are now directed along constructive lines, but it took years of patient effort to eliminate White, Coe, Glasser and others who had been assigned to these agencies by the Treasury and State Departments in the mid 1940's. These are the individuals who proceeded to implement these Charter provisions.

Another group within the State Department early in 1945 developed the plans for an Interna-

tional Trade Organization. They were embodied in a State Department document issued in November 1945, entitled "Proposals for Expansion of World Trade and Employment."

The State Department planners were so convinced that they could solve all of the world's ills by setting up new machinery that they took the initiative in fostering this organization. The proposals expressed the belief that the expansion of world trade was obstructed by: 1) restrictions imposed by governments, such as tariffs, currency controls and quotas; 2) restrictions imposed by private combines and cartels; 3) excessive fluctuations in the prices of commodities; 4) fear of unemployment.

These proposals were addressed to the peoples of the world for their consideration. The United Nations obligingly agreed to sponsor a conference at which a Charter would be submitted to the member nations to implement the ideas proposed by the U. S. State Department. It also arranged for a preparatory committee to prepare the draft of the Charter for later consideration.

The first meeting of the preparatory committee took place in London in the fall of 1946. Subsequent meetings were held in New York and Geneva. The conference to approve the draft charter assembled in Havana in the fall of 1947, and 56 governments participated in the discussions. This Charter was submitted to the Congress in 1949 by President Truman. The House Committee on Foreign Affairs conducted hearings in 1950 but did not recommend United States ratification. The Senate did not bother to hold hearings. In December of that year, the Truman Administration announced that the Charter would not be resubmitted to the 82nd Congress.

The seeds sown by our world planners have taken root even though the Charter itself was not ratified. Today, most of its provisions are implemented by new international organizations.

At the Geneva meeting of the preparatory group the participating countries, under the leadership of the United States, adopted an agreement to eliminate tariff restrictions called the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The organization to administer this agreement is now familiarly known as GATT.

The authority for United States participation in GATT stems from the 1934 Trade Agreements Act. Many legislators doubt whether the President had the right to participate in GATT. To meet this criticism, the Randall Commission in its broad study of foreign economic policy last year recommended that the organizational structure of GATT should be submitted to the Congress for its review and approval.

Meetings are now under way at Geneva to rewrite the Constitution of GATT, and it will be submitted to the Congress by President Eisenhower. Thus, one of the original State Department

proposals has become firmly embedded in the world economic structure.

There is this much to be said for GATT—the Soviets never joined in its activities. Czechoslovakia is the only satellite sitting at these Geneva meetings. She became a member of GATT before the Communists took over. It is not a United Nations group.

The United Nations organization has interpreted its Charter as requiring all the nations of the world to maintain full employment at all costs. Our own government was confronted with a so-called full employment bill in 1945 when the State Department "proposals" were first released.

Socialist Measures Promoted

It should not be surprising, however, that the United Nations, with a Secretariat in which communist and socialist governments have played an active role, should have promoted full employment regardless of the consequences to a free economy. The Iron Curtain countries in their annual reports to the Economic and Social Council always "show" that they have achieved full employment. This "achievement" is the ripe fruit of slave labor camps.

The Secretary General of the United Nations appointed experts to formulate recommendations for consideration by the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly on measures to provide full employment and international economic stability. The first committee of experts appointed for this purpose produced the report, "National and International Measures for Full Employment," which appeared in December of 1945. This particular group consisted of five economics professors, one from Columbia, one from Harvard, a fellow of Kings College at Cambridge, England, the Economic Adviser to the French government, and the Economic Adviser to the Australian Department of External Affairs. The report recommended extensive interference with free markets of the world and proposed a series of measures, some to be taken by member States under their respective domestic laws, as well as other measures to be taken through international agreements which would have promoted world socialism.

The second committee of experts was appointed by the Secretary-General. Its report, "Measures for International Economic Stability," was released in November 1951. Again, this group included five professors, four foreigners.

The principal recommendation of these professors is unbelievably naive. It says that, in case we have a depression in the United States, we should lend money to other countries to make up for what our own citizens are temporarily unable to buy from them. Thus, we would at least be sure that somebody else was prosperous while we were passing through the shadow of depression. The report

also toyed with the concept of great stockpiles of raw materials for all the world—also at our expense.

At one of the sessions of the preparatory committee leading up to the Havana Conference, an organization was created known as the Interim Coordinating Committee for International Commodity Arrangements, to deal with these problems without waiting for the conference of the member nations to ratify a formal agreement. The agreement which was presented at the Havana Conference included Chapter VI, devoted entirely to the problem of commodity agreements. The resolution establishing this Interim Committee provided:

. . . that, pending the establishment of the International Trade Organization, Members of the United Nations adopt as a general guide in intergovernmental consultation or action with respect to commodity problems the principles laid down in chapter VI as a whole, *i.e.*, the chapter on intergovernmental commodity arrangements of the draft charter.

Under the auspices of this Interim Committee, study groups were established to develop commodity agreements for many raw materials. The International Wheat Agreement and the Sugar Agreement to which we are a party arose from this activity. Although the Charter for the International Trade Organization was never ratified, the so-called Paley Commission (the President's Materials Policy Commission) appointed by President Truman to study our materials policies in 1952, made this statement:

The United States has not ratified the treaty but under a resolution of the United Nations Economic and Social Council is bound with other nations to recognize chapter VI as a general guide.

This alarming statement by a Presidential commission is significant evidence of the necessity to amend the Constitution in some such manner as is proposed by Senator Bricker. There should be no further question whether our internal economy can be bound by resolutions of the UN Economic and Social Council.

Our State Department planners during the New and Fair Deal Administrations welcomed United Nations sponsorship for International Commodity Agreements. This sponsorship accounts for the agreements now in effect which cover wheat and sugar. Our government has participated in a study group on rubber and also was a participant in the negotiations for the International Tin Agreement. In 1954, however, after a lusty struggle between the State Department on the one hand and the Interior and Commerce Departments on the other, the tin agreement was rather tenderly dropped by the Administration.

In the 1952 session of the General Assembly, the Argentine Government proposed that the Economic and Social Council consider the establishment of

prices to produce parity between manufactured goods and raw materials. It also expressed concern at the development of synthetics such as nylon and plastics, which compete in the markets with wool and hides. The General Assembly adopted a resolution which proposed that the United Nations look into this problem. Another committee of experts was appointed who spent the year 1953 writing a report on this subject. This group again included five professors of economics, one from Princeton, one from Queens University at Belfast, one from Indonesia, one from Pretoria, South Africa, and one from the Argentine. It came up with a plan so fantastic as to tax the ingenuity of a Rube Goldberg (See "Stockpiles of Money," which follows).

The last of the obstructions to the expansion of world trade enumerated in the original State Department proposals was "restrictions imposed by private combines and cartels." Although the Havana Charter was rejected in 1950, the United States delegation to the Economic and Social Council proposed early in 1951 the formation of a commission to deal with this problem. The Ad Hoc Committee on Restrictive Business Practices came into existence at our urging. Its terms of reference specified that it should use Chapter V of the Havana Charter, the chapter on Restrictive Business Practices, as a general guide.

Corwin D. Edwards, a starry-eyed New Dealer and former Chief Economist of the Federal Trade Commission, was appointed the United States Representative to this group. The Secretary of the commission was Sigmund Timberg, a former Assistant Attorney General in the Anti-Trust Division. They proceeded to draft a code of anti-trust laws that presumably would apply to the entire world. Our participation in this activity again shows our complete naiveté in believing that any code could be adopted that could apply at one and the same time to publicly owned commercial enterprises such as the nationalized industries in Britain, American free enterprise concerns, and the State-owned monopolies of Iron Curtain countries.

It is also difficult to understand how sanctions can be implemented when restrictive business practices are found to exist, without first establishing laws which will be adhered to uniformly. The report of this committee will come before the next session of the Economic and Social Council, and it behooves the United States to dissociate itself from the project just as it did with the scheme to stabilize the world's commodity markets.

Roosevelt-Truman Bureaucracy

The foregoing account is only an outline of the struggle that has gone on since we assumed leadership in world affairs—a struggle to superimpose upon our traditionally free economy a jerry-built type of internationalism. Considering the forces and influences in our Executive Department which

would always subordinate economic liberty to what some are pleased to call "stability," the wonder is that we are not completely involved.

The Roosevelt-Truman Administration recklessly projected the nation on a highroad to a socialized economy. In the course of years, that Administration permitted a bureaucracy to accumulate in the State and other departments which little noted the cost in liberty of its adventures in foreign fields. At the top were Presidents who had won election after election by denouncing the business interests of our country and by painting the seductive portrait of a Welfare State. Beneath them were literally thousands who "took their humors for a warrant" to commit the nation to proposals of their liking and which were native to their opposites in the unfree and half-free governments abroad. Well represented in that bureaucracy, we now know to our dismay, were people who were actually com-

mitted to an alien and malignant philosophy. Common to almost all who held authority in those years was a belief that, after all, our economic freedom was a myth and our destiny lay with a vast State paternalism.

Against these perils there have been a few—altogether too few—who could understand and withstand the tide. But we shall not be safe in the assumption that so few can ultimately save us. For the bureaucracy of past years is still there, with little change in its intentions or beliefs. We shall need new and strong constitutional safeguards which will subject the actions of the Executive to Legislative scrutiny and approval. The Bricker Amendment suggests such a safeguard. But beyond that should be education and more education. For every business interest in this country has a material stake in this cause, and every American, a part of his spiritual inheritance to win or lose.

Stockpiles of Money

By FRANK CHODOROV

Peace, it is wonderful. Among the multitudinous plans proposed by the United Nations, ostensibly in the interest of peace, is one to cartelize the raw materials of the world. Fortunately, the United States is not part of this plan; the State Department has given notice that it will not participate.

The origin of the scheme was a resolution proposed by the Argentine government in 1952 to appoint a committee of "experts" to examine the problem of establishing parity prices between raw materials and manufactured goods. The General Assembly passed the resolution, and a committee was set up. A report was submitted. Among other things, it contemplates the establishment of an international cartel with power to buy up and stockpile the raw materials of the world. This would be a global monopoly of raw materials.

But, where, one wonders, will the cartel get the money with which to buy up the output of the world's farms, mines, wells and other sources of materials? Now you have to sit up and take notice. The purchases will be made with money that the cartel will create by means of *monetizing the stockpiles*.

The "experts" explain their monetization plan in a report submitted to ECOSOC: "This proposed new international agency (for control of raw materials) would create new money which would be equivalent to gold and would flow into the foreign exchange reserves of the countries whose commodities were purchased." Lest this phrase "equivalent to gold" suggest a gold standard for a new money,

the report hastens to explain that this would present serious difficulties. It goes on to say that the international agency could "issue commodity certificates or shares in its total world-wide holdings," and because gold is still some standard of monetary measurement throughout the world, these certificates "would become indistinguishable from gold."

Diluted Money

Deciphering this gobbledygook, the scheme contemplates two forms of stockpile monetization. The cartel would issue either specie, if possible, or warehouse receipts. If the United States were a party to the scheme, the Federal Reserve Bank could hardly refuse these certificates in payment for what we sold to the cartel; the certificates, of course, would become collateral against which dollars could be issued. The Bank of England, if the United Kingdom were a member nation, would provide pounds with which to pay for the cartel's "securities," and so on. Thus, the moneys of the world would be diluted beyond recognition.

It is easy to see how the cartel would be able to monopolize the raw materials of the world. With its power to manufacture money, it could pay prices above the level set by competition. Who wouldn't sell to this easy-money buyer?

But what would the cartel do with its vast accumulations of raw materials? Thus far the "experts" have not even hinted at an answer, and

the presumption is that, as with our own Commodity Credit Corporation, the stockpiles would become a warehousing problem. It must be remembered that the purpose of the project is "price stabilization," not the distribution of goods for use. Perhaps it is going behind the returns to conjecture on what might happen to some of these mountains of raw materials; but it is not beyond the realm of possibility that the cartel might, under proper political pressure, allocate some of its goods to a "needy" nation, either as a gift or at bargain prices. But the "studies" thus far do not indicate even such disposition of the stockpiles; perhaps they will be dumped into the ocean.

This report also recommended the establishment of a new commission, the Trade Stabilization Commission, finally authorized by the Economic and Social Council and which met in New York in January 1955. The United States is not participating in this venture. When the report of the "experts" was placed before the Economic and Social Council in April of 1954, the new United States Representative, Mr. Preston Hotchkis, called it fantastic and indicated that the United States would vote against it. This was the first instance of our refusal to take part in a major undertaking of the United Nations. The United Kingdom, France, Belgium and Norway also opposed it. The Argentine, Free China (*sic*), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, India, Pakistan, Turkey, Soviet Russia, Venezuela and Yugoslavia voted against us. And so the group was organized. Mr. Hotchkis announced that the United States would not serve even though it were elected. After ECOSOC elected the United States, the State Department backed up his announcement. The other countries which voted with us in opposing the formation of this group have all backed down and joined the party.

Our Last Chance

Men since the beginning of time have sought peace. Various methods through the ages have been attempted to devise an international process to prevent or settle disputes between nations. From the very start workable methods were found in so far as individual citizens were concerned, but the mechanics of an instrumentality of larger international scope have never been successful. Military alliances, balances of power, leagues of nations, all in turn failed, leaving the only path to be by way of the crucible of war. The utter destructiveness of war now blocks out this alternative. We have had our last chance. If we will not devise some greater and more equitable system, Armageddon will be at our door. The problem basically is theological and involves a spiritual recrudescence and improvement of human character that will synchronize with our almost matchless advances in science, art, literature and all material and cultural developments of the past 2,000 years. It must be of the spirit if we are to save the flesh.

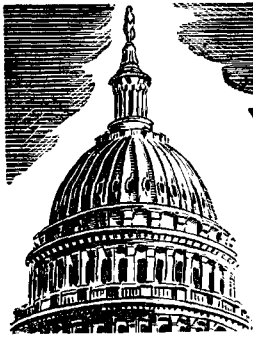
GENERAL DOUGLAS MAC ARTHUR, on the deck of the *Missouri*, Tokyo Bay, September 2, 1945

An interesting and significant sidelight at an ECOSOC meeting in New York (April 1954) is worth recording. The alphabetical seating arrangement of the delegates put the representative of the U.S.S.R. at one end of the table, the Latin American and Nationalist Chinese delegates at the other. While the debate was going on, a lady courier attached to one of the Latin American delegations carried on whispering conversations with the Soviet delegate and then with those at the other end of the table. The purpose of her maneuvers was quite obvious. The underdeveloped countries determined what they wanted from us, then informed the Russians what the play was going to be, and the Russians always voted with them. If we say "yes," we keep them from going communist but we undermine our economy and go broke. If we say "no," we supposedly force them into communism and are unfriendly. Under this procedure, Russia wins either way.

Purpose of the Scheme

Whether the "experts" of the seventeen nations represented on the Commission will continue their "studies" is a matter of conjecture. The refusal of the United States to participate makes a shambles of the plan; you cannot control an economy unless you can control all of it, and with the world's largest producer continuing on a competitive basis the manipulation of world prices would be impossible. Besides, there is reason to believe that the principal purpose of the scheme was to tap our wealth and undermine our economy. That cannot be done without our cooperation.

What this scheme to establish "just and equitable" prices underlines—and that is true of every economic measure promoted in the United Nations—is that this organization is nothing but a vehicle for the advancement of world socialism.



WASHINGTON, D.C.

by Frank C. Hanighen

Should the United States get out of the United Nations? That question has never really been debated on Capitol Hill—except when phrased with an “if” clause. Various resolutions have been introduced into the House asking that body to take the U. S. out of the UN, but they have never received serious sponsorship or discussion. However, wide approval meets the mere suggestion that, if Red China is admitted to the UN, the U. S. should abandon that organization.

This appears in a review of events occurring late in May 1953. At that time, intensification of the Far Eastern crises brought the issue—“stay in or get out”—to the fore. Powerful members of the Senate proposed to present a resolution (with a concurrent resolution for the House) saying:

It is the sense of the Senate that, if communist China is admitted to the United Nations, or if representatives of the communist regime in China are recognized as representatives of the Republic of China in the United Nations, the President should recall the representatives of the United States in the United Nations, and should take such steps as may be necessary to effect withdrawal of the United States from membership in the United Nations and all organs and agencies thereof.

And there were plans under way to call for cutting off funds to the UN, should Red China gain admission to that body.

A typical behind-the-scenes Washington commotion ensued, with the White House reportedly urging the Senators not to press the resolution and “cut-off plans,” because assertedly these would “tie the hands” of the Executive in international negotiations. The upshot was that the drastic measures were abandoned by the Senate and supplanted by a modified version, as follows: “It is the sense of the Congress that the communist Chinese government should not be admitted to membership in the United Nations as the representative of China.” This was passed on June 4, 1953, by both Houses without difficulty and, indeed, appeared as a part of the Budget both last year and this year.

Again, late in June 1954, another storm over Asia arose, and Senator William F. Knowland, then Majority leader of the Senate, created a nation-wide sensation by a brief but explosive statement uttered on the Senate floor, July 1.

The California Senator reviewed the dismal surrender of the French in Viet Nam, characterized the outcome as a “communist victory in Asia of no mean proportions,” and wound up as follows:

On the day when communist China is voted into membership into the United Nations, I shall resign my majority leadership in the Senate, so that without embarrassment to any of my colleagues or to the Administration, I can devote my full efforts in the Senate and throughout the country to terminating United States’ membership in that organization and our financial support to it. My conscience would not permit me to remain silent or inactive if this last grand appeasement takes place.

There was not much doubt among observers at the time that Knowland had made possible withdrawal of the U. S. from the UN a very lively issue; and most opinion was that a vote expressing “the sense of Congress” that we should take such a step would prove to be in the affirmative.

Since that time, Senator Knowland has not been exactly hesitant in expressing his low opinion of the United Nations. Early in the crisis which sprang from revelation that Red China was holding American fliers as prisoners, the Californian delivered a fiery speech in Houston, Texas, on January 13, 1955, in which he said: “Nor must we ever permit any cabal or international organization to so dilute or undermine our spirit so that Gulliver becomes chained by the Lilliputians and we are unable to protect our own . . .”

The Senator from California is not alone, and has not been, in his doubts about the value of the United Nations. Numerous members of the House and Senate at various times have voiced their acid criticisms of its nature, pretensions and actions. Although there has been no organized drive against the UN, a backlog of discontent and disillusion has been piling up for some years, and among many who originally appeared as strong supporters of the international body. Knowland himself was never known as an “isolationist” and until several years ago could hardly have been described, with justice, as a “nationalist.” The accumulation of disillusion in the thinking of the Californian and others might well have historic consequences.

This discontent, resulting from the impact of the UN on American political life, found ventilation in

the struggle—which continues—for the Bricker Amendment. One of the best summations of the essence of this issue came from Donald R. Richberg in an article in the *University of Virginia Law Review* for October 1953: "In a word, should the constitutional government of the United States be preserved, or should the people of the United States by inaction consent to the gradual destruction of our form of government and the gradual but sure substitution of international law seeking to govern the people of the United States?"

Richberg, as a distinguished legal figure in the country, was not talking of "international organization" in the abstract. It should be recalled that the drive for the Bricker Amendment arose among members of the American Bar Association—an organization that rebelled against the UN Genocide Convention and the Covenant of Human Rights. The House of Delegates of the ABA voted four to one to support the Bricker Amendment.

As is known, the parliamentary struggle for the amendment reached a climax in the voting on the George Amendment, a modification of the Bricker measure. As a matter of fact, the strategy of Bricker was to put full steam in the Senate behind the George measure; then, if it passed, to await success (which seemed very likely) of a strong Bricker-type measure in the House; and finally, in joint House-Senate conference, to achieve concrete action for something closely resembling the Bricker proposal. Presidential opposition caused failure of the first step, but only by one vote.

At the opening of the present session, Senator Bricker again presented his proposal, with some changes. There are powerful popular forces behind it. However, the new Democratic Chairman (Senator Kilgore) of the Judiciary Committee to which the Bricker proposal is submitted, is reportedly unfavorable. It is claimed that a majority of the committee is favorable. A fight looms.

Among the various reasons why the UN remains under suspicion on Capitol Hill is a growing mass of evidence that it occupies a key position in the Kremlin's subversive activities in this country. In the past year one case, at least, illustrated this. Congress learned that the international organization had been used by American subversives to the detriment of our defenses in this hemisphere.

The story—as told to an investigating committee—highlighted Alger Hiss, Dean Acheson, the UN and the Panama Canal. Last year, new revelations of Hiss' activities came to light in the hearings of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee ("Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments," Part 19, March 25 and April 9, 1954).

This is the story told the subcommittee on March 25, 1954, by the Hon. Spruille Braden, a former State Department career man, who in 1946 was serving as the Department's head of the Office of Latin American Affairs. In that year, Braden

became concerned about a sudden communist propaganda barrage directed at U. S. occupancy of 134 military bases in the Republic of Panama, described by U. S. military men as essential to the protection of the Canal. The agitation also took place in the UN, where Soviet mouthpieces accused us of "aggressive intentions" against Panama.

Suddenly, also, Mr. Braden's Office became involved in an argument about Panama with Alger Hiss (who at that time headed the State Department division dealing with UN affairs). Hiss wanted to submit the private report of the U. S. Governor of the Canal Zone to the UN. He cited Article 73 (e) of the United Nations Charter as authority, claiming that it was "our obligation" to send this to the international organization. The report (annually submitted by the Governor to the State Department since 1903) contained all sorts of data on the Canal—which was distinctly U. S. business and not to be disclosed to others. Furthermore, the government of Panama, which had its own treaty arrangements with the U. S., wanted no other nations or international body "butting in." Mr. Braden pointed out that Article 73 (e) in the UN Charter did not apply to this case.

A great intramural dispute then ensued in the State Department, in which Hiss stuck to his thesis and got the backing of Acheson (then Under Secretary), and the Canal Zone report went to the UN. Mr. Braden wound up his testimony before the subcommittee by saying it was his understanding that in the end we had to give up the 134 bases.

The above revelations assume no little significance in the thinking of members of Congress about the value of the UN. If important U. S. data is transmitted to the organization, it may get in the hands of Communists on the UN staff. That seems all the more likely in view of the findings of a number of congressional probes involving the security status of U. S. citizens on the UN payroll. On March 22, 1954, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee published a report on the activities of U. S. citizens employed by the United Nations, detailing the interrogation (by this subcommittee as well as other committees of Congress) of numerous Americans who declined to answer questions, standing on the Fifth Amendment.

The subcommittee concluded that "American Communists who had been officials of the United States government penetrated the Secretariat of the United Nations after the United States government had been apprised of security information regarding their conspiratorial activities." The report added: "The action of the Administrative Tribunal [of the UN] in awarding indemnities, reinstatement and legal costs to persons who are clearly a threat to the internal security of the United States, has done injury to the cause of the United Nations with the United States." Judging from the temper of comments on this matter on Capitol Hill, that is an understatement.

To Save the Constitution

By FRANK E. HOLMAN

With a procession of Supreme Court interpretations, precedents and treaties gnawing at the Constitution, an Amendment is needed to protect U. S. sovereignty.

Until the organization of the United Nations, the average American citizen—and, in fact, most lawyers—took very little interest in treaties between the United States and foreign countries. This lack of interest was understandable because usually a treaty dealt with some international subject, such as alliances, war and peace, questions of boundaries, trade agreements and like matters. We viewed treaty-making as the sole business of the State Department, the President and the Senate, and assumed that treaties and other international engagements could not result in any substantial infringement of our individual rights as citizens and could not possibly result in changing or destroying the American form of government.

When the United Nations was organized in San Francisco in 1945, there was included in the Charter (Art.2, sub-par.7) a proviso as follows:

Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are *essentially within the domestic jurisdiction* of any state or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter. [Italics supplied]

This was a specific limitation upon the powers of the United Nations, and by reason thereof nothing contained in the Charter should have been construed as authorizing intervention by the United Nations or its agencies in the *domestic* affairs of a member State—hence, in the *domestic law* of the United States or any other member State. Without some such protective proviso the Charter would certainly not have been approved by the American people nor ratified by the United States Senate; and it would not, in all probability, have been approved by many of the other important countries of the world

When the Charter was submitted to the United States Senate for ratification, it was accompanied by a letter from Mr. Stettinius, then Secretary of State, in which he called attention to the foregoing principle and advised the Senate and the American people that they need not be concerned about the United Nations or its agencies interfering in the domestic affairs of the American people.

One of the six “principal organs” specified in

the UN Charter was the Economic and Social Council. In 1946, as a subagency of this Council, a Commission on Human Rights was appointed. It soon became evident that through the Economic and Social Council and its subagency, the Commission on Human Rights, the Socialists and Communists and the international planners and “do-gooders,” both at home and abroad, proposed to reform and remake the world along the lines of so-called social and economic equality for all the peoples of the world—and to do this through Declarations, Pacts, Covenants, Treaties, etc., and thus to create a body of “treaty law” or world law which would be superior to and override the domestic laws of the member States, including the United States.

Treaties as World Law

The first definite step for creating and establishing this body of “world law” was taken early in 1947 with the announcement by the Commission on Human Rights that it proposed to draft two documents: a Declaration of Human Rights and a Covenant on Human Rights (the latter to be ratified as a treaty), for the purpose of establishing for all the peoples of the world a uniform system of individual rights regardless of the nature and character of such rights as already established by the national law and usage in each particular country.

This was, of course, a revolutionary program and was so recognized by the first Director of the Commission, Mr. John P. Humphrey, who publicly and boldly declared:

What the United Nations is trying to do is revolutionary in character. Human Rights are largely a matter of relationships between the State and individuals, and therefore a matter which has been traditionally regarded as being within the domestic jurisdiction of States. What is now being proposed is, in effect, the creation of some kind of supernational supervision of this relationship between the State and its citizens. [*The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January 1948]

This program was, of course, in violation of Article 2, subparagraph 7 of the Charter and the assurances made by Mr. Stettinius and others for the purpose of securing ratification of the

Charter. At the time neither the American press nor the public knew much about this revolutionary plan. Our so-called bipartisan foreign policy was chiefly responsible for preventing the American public from being advised; the leaders of both parties just assumed that because these international proposals had fine, high-sounding names—"Human Rights," "Equality of All Peoples," Prevention of so-called "Genocide," etc.—their purpose and content would not conflict with American concepts of political and economic freedom, as fixed by our own Constitution and Bill of Rights.

The American People Fooled

When the Declaration was passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations, meeting in Paris in December 1948, there was no copy of the final draft available in this country for study or comment by the press or by responsible nongovernment organizations. In November, as President of the American Bar Association, I wrote the Secretary of State, General George C. Marshall, in Paris, and thereafter wrote and cabled Mr. John Foster Dulles and Senator Arthur Vandenberg asking that, before final action in Paris, the United States delegation should request sufficient time for the American people to be advised of what was being approved in their behalf. The naive answer was to the effect that if the American people and American lawyers would think of the Declaration as analogous to our own Declaration of Independence, then they would not be disturbed because, like our own Declaration of Independence, the Declaration on Human Rights was only a declaration of principles and not intended to be a legal document. This was not an accurate nor a reassuring answer.

First, there was no possible analogy between a "declaration of independence" which originated with the people themselves as a recital of grievances and a declaration of principles for which they were ready to fight and die to obtain independence, and a declaration in the form of pious compromises by a multi-nation assembly in Paris assuming to act for the people of this country without the people's knowledge or consent.

Moreover, an examination of the document, when available, disclosed that the provisions of the Declaration, particularly of the latter half, constituted an attempt to set up a socialistic if not a communistic concept of government for the peoples of the world, including the United States. In this respect, of course, the Declaration failed in any way to conform to the traditions, the laws and sentiments of the American people.

In the dying hours of the same session of

the General Assembly in Paris in December 1948, there was also adopted a document known as the "Genocide Convention." This was also given little or no publicity by our State Department. On June 16, 1949, it was first submitted by President Truman to the United States Senate for ratification. Largely due to the studies and the opposition of the American Bar Association, it was not ratified. Nevertheless, during his Administration, President Truman and the Acheson State Department continued to urge its ratification.

At a hearing in January 1950, before a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, members of the American Bar Association Committee on Peace and Law through the United Nations appeared and pointed out the serious dangers and loopholes in its content and also the failure of its language to include "genocide" committed *by governments*—as, for example, the liquidation of racial and other groups in Russia and Russian satellite countries by merely calling them political groups or enemies of the State. At Russia's insistence all reference to "political" groups was eliminated from the final text.

It was also established that the document was so badly drawn as to endanger American basic rights. As a result, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee pigeonholed the Genocide Convention. It has remained unratified, but it can be brought forth at any time by any President and submitted for ratification.

Meanwhile, the Commission on Human Rights has been busy drafting a Covenant on Human Rights for controlling the social, economic, educational and cultural affairs of the world, and for this purpose has held literally hundreds of meetings. In addition, innumerable other "treaty" proposals have been considered, which would change or adversely affect the American concept of basic rights, such as freedom of speech and of press and even freedom of religion. It is of the utmost importance to note that again and again the Commission on Human Rights has refused to approve the inclusion in the Covenant of a provision *covering the basic American right to own private property and be secure in its enjoyment against its arbitrary seizure by government.*

This refusal of itself discloses and proves the extent to which the Commission is controlled by Communists and international Socialists. On March 3, 1954, over only U. S. and Turkish objections, the eighteen-nation Commission voted to shelve indefinitely all discussion of property rights. Under our concept of freedom, no man can be truly free who lacks the right to own property and be secure in its enjoyment against arbitrary seizure by government.

The chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, Charles Malik of Lebanon, had this to

say of the Commission's socialist and communist approach to its work:

I think a study of our proceedings will reveal that the amendments we adopted to the old texts under examination responded for the most part more to Soviet than to Western promptings. For the second year an unsuccessful attempt was made to include an article on the right to own property . . . The concept of property and its ownership is at the heart of the great ideological conflict of the present day . . . It seems incredible that in these economic matters, which reflect indeed much more than mere economic divergencies, the Western world is so divided itself as to be incapable of presenting a common front against communism.

What are the matters embraced in these UN "treaty" proposals? They cover matters of education, the kind of teaching and textbooks to be adopted in our public school systems; social legislation; health and socialized medicine; and numerous other matters, including a proposal to establish an international criminal court to try American citizens in a court made up to a large extent, if not entirely, of foreigners—a plan under which American citizens could be transported overseas for trial and would be deprived of the safeguards accorded them in the Constitution of this country.

Some will ask, "But do not our Constitution and Bill of Rights now safeguard American rights in all the foregoing particulars?" Unfortunately, no—unless the Constitution is properly amended. Until recent years Americans were entitled to rely on the proposition that, in conformity to the Constitution and the Bill of Rights,



their laws were made and to be made for them either by Act of Congress or by state legislation or local city and county ordinances—to all of which agencies the people have the right to elect their own representatives.

But, since the term *treaty* is not limited nor defined in the Constitution, men in power with ingenious minds eventually discovered that this was a loophole whereby what was otherwise unconstitutional could be made constitutional by first making a treaty on the subject. This new theory or doctrine was affirmed in 1920 by the Supreme Court of the United States—*Missouri v. Holland* (252 U. S. 416, 432). The doctrine of this case is simply that if the federal government does not have power under the Constitution to legislate with respect to a particular subject (one reserved to the states or to the people), it can acquire that power by the simple device of first making a treaty on the subject—in spite of the Tenth Amendment's reserving to the states and to the people all powers not delegated by the Constitution to the federal government. This decision then and there established "a third legislative branch of government [for the American people] composed of the President and some foreign nation, with a veto vested in the Senate, which is authorized to enact local police regulations governing the affairs of our citizens." (11 *California Law Review* 242, 1922)

Treaties Under the Constitution

When the Constitution was written, and by Article VI thereof a treaty was declared to be the "supreme law of the land," it was clearly not contemplated that a treaty could be used to make domestic law or to override the Constitution either by an expansion of federal power or otherwise.

Jefferson (as stated in his "Parliamentary Practice," 1801) was quite clear as to the true meaning of Article VI. He said:

By the general power to make treaties, the Constitution must have intended to comprehend only those objects which are usually regulated by treaties, and cannot be otherwise regulated. *It must have meant to except out all those rights reserved to the states; for surely the President and the Senate cannot do by treaty what the whole government is interdicted from doing in any way.* [Italics supplied]

Jefferson's "Parliamentary Practice" went through six editions before his death in 1826, and many more afterward. It had a great influence on political thinking and practice, being incorporated in full in Senate and House manuals as late as 1865. Jefferson's view on treaties was followed by the earlier Court cases, as illustrated by the case of *New Orleans vs. United States*, 10 Peters 662 (1836) at page 736, where the Supreme Court pointed out:

The government of the United States, as was well observed in the argument, is one of limited

powers. It can exercise authority over no subjects except those which have been delegated to it. Congress cannot, by legislation, enlarge the federal jurisdiction, nor can it be enlarged under the treaty-making power. [Italics supplied]

Even Hamilton, the great Federalist, said (Hamilton's Works, Volume 4, p. 342), "A treaty cannot be made which alters the Constitution of the country or which infringes any express exceptions to the power of the Constitution of the United States."

Hamilton also stated: "They [treaties] are not rules prescribed by the sovereign for the subject, but agreements between sovereign and sovereign."

Changed Point of View

There are enough expressions of opinion in United States Supreme Court decisions prior to *Missouri v. Holland* to indicate that up to that time treaties and treaty-making were subject to the limitations indicated by Jefferson and Hamilton. But *Missouri v. Holland* repudiated one of these limitations, to wit: that federal power cannot "be enlarged under the treaty-making power." Once this hole in the dike was opened, the concept of treaty supremacy without limitation began to grow. Thus in 1929, before the American Society of International Law, Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes was persuaded to say that there was in the Constitution "no explicit limitation" on the treaty power, and that he would "not care to voice an opinion as to an implied limitation on the treaty-making power; the Supreme Court has expressed a doubt whether there could be any such." His references were to the expression of doubt in *Missouri v. Holland*.

Later a strong doubt as to any limitation was expressed by the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit in *United States v. Reid* (1934) 73 F. (2d) 153. This doubt was further increased by *U. S. v. Curtis-Wright Corporation* (1936) 299 U. S. 304, declaring that the treaty-power does not depend on a grant in the Constitution but is an *inherent* power of the federal government, and indicating that the treaty-power is unlimited.

With the organization of the United Nations and the announcement by Mr. John P. Humphrey, Director of the Commission on Human Rights, of the proposal of creating "supernational supervision" of the relationship between the State and its citizens, a new school of internationalists announced the doctrine that

. . . once a matter has become, in one way or another, the subject of regulation by the United Nations, be it by resolution of the General Assembly or by convention between member States at the instance of the United Nations, that subject ceases to be a matter being "essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the member States." As a matter of fact, such a position represents the official view of the United Nations, as well as of the member

States that have voted in favor of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Hence, neither the Declaration, nor the projected Covenant, nor any agreement that may be reached in the future on the machinery of implementation of human rights, can in any way be considered as violative of the letter or spirit of Article 2 of the Charter. [Moses Moskowitz, *American Bar Association Journal*, April 1949]

In 1950, this new school of internationalists in the United Nations succeeded in getting an official declaration from the Acheson State Department that "there is now no longer any real difference between *domestic* and *foreign* affairs" (State Department Publication 3972, Foreign Affairs Policy Series 26, released September 1950. Foreword by President Truman).

It was only logical, therefore, for Mr. John Foster Dulles in 1952 to issue the following opinion and warning with respect to the omnipotence of treaties and "treaty law":

The treaty-making power is an extraordinary power liable to abuse. Treaties make international law and also they make domestic law. Under our Constitution treaties become the supreme law of the land. They are indeed more supreme than ordinary laws, for congressional laws are invalid if they do not conform to the Constitution, whereas treaty laws can override the Constitution. Treaties, for example, can take powers away from the Congress and give them to the federal government or to some international body and they can cut across the rights given the people by the constitutional Bill of Rights [Italics supplied].

The American people have therefore come full circle and find themselves now faced with an omnipotent instrumentality of nonrepresentative government: "treaty law." In the steel case we were within an eyelash of the treaty-making power's being successfully used to vest in the President the uncontrolled power to seize private property when he thought it necessary for the good of the State. This is essentially the doctrine of absolute dictatorship.

As a result of all the foregoing, the basic issue with respect to "treaty law" is simple. The Constitution clearly intended to establish a government of limited powers. It intended, of course, that insofar as treaties dealt with international relations they should be the "supreme law of the land," but it was never intended that treaties should be omnipotent and be used to govern the American people in their domestic concerns, nor to extend federal power, nor to override the Constitution. Since it is now boldly declared that treaties are omnipotent and can be used for all the foregoing purposes, it follows that unless this presently omnipotent power of treaties is properly limited by a constitutional amendment, the treaty process will be more and more used not only to make domestic law but to vest in the President dictatorial powers.

In fact, at a press conference on March 16, 1954, Mr. Dulles said that under several presently

outstanding treaties the President already had power on his own initiative and without any declaration by the Congress to put the country into war. The principles to be embodied in any adequate amendment are simple and understandable. It should, at a minimum, accomplish the following objectives:

1. Prevent a treaty or other international agreement that conflicts with any provision of the Constitution from being of any force or effect.

2. Place the United States on an equality with the other nations of the world so that a treaty or other international agreement will not become a part of our internal law until and unless implemented by appropriate legislation.

Would such an amendment interfere with the power of the President and the Department of State to negotiate treaties and other international agreements and thus to properly conduct our foreign affairs? In no way. Under such an amendment the President would be as free to negotiate as now; and every treaty so negotiated, when ratified by the Senate, would be immediately effective as an international agreement. Such an amendment would have no restrictive force whatever on treaties as international obligations nor on the power of the President to negotiate them. *It would only prevent them from violating the American Constitution and prevent them from becoming internal law within the United States un-*

til implemented by appropriate American legislation.

Would the amendment in any way affect the right of the President as Commander-in-Chief to conduct war, or to negotiate an armistice or perform any other acts rightly belonging to him as Commander-in-Chief? No. After hearing all the evidence the Senate Judiciary Committee, by a large majority, found that such an amendment would not affect in the slightest the President's powers as Commander-in-Chief. Nor would it affect the right of the President to freely negotiate, and the Senate of the United States to freely ratify treaties of peace, of international cooperation, or reciprocal trade, or other beneficial treaties.

During recent years, by changes in judicial concept (both of Courts and jurists) and by changed concepts in the international point of view, "treaty law" has become omnipotent, a kind of Frankenstein which can change and even destroy the liberties of the American people and their form of government. Thus, the need for a constitutional amendment is self-evident—except, of course, to those who believe (honestly or otherwise) that the American constitutional system and American independence are outmoded and, in the interest of mankind, in general, should yield to some form of world government. This is the choice and the issue.

(Single reprint of the above article sent on request. Ten copies, one dollar)

Union by Freedom Only

By DEAN RUSSELL

The central theme of the United Nations and one worldism in general is this: disarmament or controlled armament under an effective international government will bring peace to the world; a United Nations with an international army to enforce its decisions will mean the end of large-scale wars.

All other claims for the United Nations are secondary; it must stand or fall on its actual and potential ability to stop wars. If it can successfully do that, admittedly it is worth a great price. But would disarmament and an effective world government bring peace? The overwhelming weight of historical evidence *does not* support that probability.

For example, take the history of our own United States. In the middle of the last century, the sovereign states within the union were closely bound together by an effective federal constitution. There was little armament. The small companies of volunteer troops in the various states were maintained

primarily for internal security. No state in the union could legally go to war against any other state in the union. In the case of conflict between states, or between a state and a nation outside the union, the decisions of the federal authorities would be binding upon all the states within the union. And on demand, the various states were obligated to supply troops and other forms of aid to the super-government in Washington.

That arrangement was all that any advocate of world government could ask for. Yet it was under those circumstances that the most terrible war of our history occurred!

The advocates of world government must face the fact that there are only two ways to unite peoples and nations. They are common interests and war. There are no other ways.

The sovereign states of the United States were united by both means. In the beginning, they were united by the common interests of religion,

language, geography, racial background, political beliefs, economics and the scores of emotional considerations which determine whether or not people wish to unite. In due course, certain ideas and policies—primarily concerning slavery, tariffs and states' rights—developed in such a manner as to destroy the former common interests and voluntary agreements on those matters among the various states. At that point, war was the method used to maintain the union.

The fact of the existence of a supergovernment did not—and could not—prevent this clash of interests. It did not stop the war. On the contrary, there would have been no war if the federal government had been willing to let the seceding states unite among themselves in peace as they wished to do.

The fact that there were no large-scale armaments and standing armies did not cause or prevent the war. As always, there had to be a real or fancied difference in interests before there could be the possibility of war. Large armies follow—they never precede—conflicting interests among people. For who would support an army—or even a policeman—if there were no conflicting interests in politics, religion, ownership, or some other area of human activity subject to deep beliefs and emotions?

The "sovereign states" of the United States are now united again by common interests rather than by the threat of force by the supergovernment in Washington. But at some time in the future, conflicting interests could develop among the people and the states in the emotional area of race, international policies, economics and others. If that should happen on an extensive scale, the people and states with common interests—correctly or incorrectly held—would again attempt to separate and unite in their own ways. Only war could stop them.

World Governments through War

Has there ever been a voluntary and permanent union of peoples or nations with violently conflicting interests of religious beliefs, racial backgrounds, economic policies and so on? All the world governments of the past—from the Babylonian Empire through the empires of the Greeks, Romans, Spaniards, English, Turks and Russians—were formed by war. In rare instances, common interests developed later on in a manner to keep them voluntarily united to some extent. But in almost every case, the peoples and nations with original conflicting interests still held those conflicting interests and

animosities even after the passage of hundreds of years. They rebelled at the first opportunity. Ireland, Finland and all South American countries are among the many similar examples throughout history.

The advocates of the United Nations and other schemes for world government are doubtless sincere in their wishes and plans for a better world and the end of wars. Most of them honestly believe that a supergovernment with "teeth" in its decisions will bring this about. But, in reality, their attempts to unite peoples of conflicting beliefs and interests are more apt to bring war than peace. This is true because their attempts to unite two or more concepts of government under an effective common government necessarily arouse and emphasize conflicting emotions and interests which are not serious problems or issues within the respective sovereign nations. This arousing of passions and beliefs and interests can be observed by any person who analyzes the statements made by the delegates of the United Nations in their public debates. Conflicts—not common interests—form the basis of their discussions. The arguments concern ways and means to force unwilling persons to conform. The most important debates tend to be acrimonious accusations and counteraccusations. There is little search for common interests in which peoples and nations *want* to cooperate and unite voluntarily.

The way to peace is not through conflict. True cooperation cannot be secured by force. The way to lasting union among the peoples of the world is not through the violence or threat of violence of more and bigger government.

Every nation in the world is already cooperating with every other nation in the world in all ways which seem to them mutually beneficial. Beyond this, there is no other possible way to unite peoples and nations except by war. Since the peaceful union of peoples and nations happens automatically outside of the United Nations, the result of the current attempts to force a world union upon the unwilling peoples of the world can result only in more conflict and the probability of more wars.

Let us unite voluntarily with whomever wishes to unite with us, in whatever areas and interests we have in common. Let us try to understand each other, to respect the differences of each other, and to find more areas of common interests and desires. Therein lies all the peace and prosperity we can ever have. No United Nations or world government with "teeth" in its decisions can be of any possible value in this process.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens), the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

UN Versus US

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

No edifice can be stronger than its foundation. Because the United Nations was built on the faulty foundation of false assumptions, its record of cumulative failure, leading up to downright impotence, was predestined.

The UN, as anyone will quickly learn by reading its Charter, was established in the belief that five victor powers in the last war—the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France and China—would remain allies in peace, able to dominate and police the postwar world. Many provisions of the Charter are completely meaningless on any other basis.

For example, very great powers are vested in the Security Council, composed of the five victor powers as permanent members, with four other members chosen on a basis of rotation. Each of the permanent powers possesses a right of veto, so that the Security Council, conceived as the executive organ for maintaining peace, cannot act unless the Big Five are in agreement.

Under the Charter only the Security Council can legally act; the functions of the General Assembly, where each member nation has one vote, are restricted to talk. Article 24 of the UN Charter states that the Security Council possesses "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security." Article 12 provides that the Assembly shall not make any recommendation in regard to a dispute or situation with which the Security Council is dealing.

Article 6 states: "A member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council." (Italics supplied.) This means that any permanent member of the Security Council may commit international assault and battery with complete impunity, so far as any action by the UN is concerned, since it cannot be expelled without its own consent.

Article 108 provides that the Charter may be amended by a vote of two-thirds of the members "including all the permanent members of the Security Council." Every permanent member, therefore, may not only commit aggression with impunity, but is also able to prevent any change in the Charter.

Success of the UN rests upon the illusion that America and the U.S.S.R. can cooperate; hence the inevitable record of failure.

Article 47 describes in detail the functions which are assigned to the Military Staff Committee, designed as a strong right arm of the Security Council in enforcing its decisions. This Article, which looked impressive on paper, has been a complete dead letter in practice. It would indeed be fantastic to imagine American, Soviet and British military representatives harmoniously cooperating in this phantom Military Staff Committee, or anywhere else.

It is clear, therefore, that the United Nations cannot function as a live organism except on the basis of full agreement on essential issues between the five charter members. The Security Council, especially, where each permanent member enjoys the right of veto, is as helpless as a paralyzed limb in the event of serious and prolonged disagreements among the Big Five.

No Relation to Reality

It should not have required much knowledge of history to foresee that a wartime coalition would, in all probability, rapidly disintegrate. Nor should it have required much perspicacity to anticipate that the Soviet Union, on the basis of its very recent record of bad faith and aggression, which found expression in dividing with Hitler the smaller and weaker nations of eastern Europe, would not be likely to play the role of peaceful international do-gooder.

The cold war which broke out between the communist empire (enlarged in 1949 by the addition of mainland China) and the free nations soon made a mockery of the basic assumption of the Charter: community of action among the Big Five. The United Nations soon became the Divided Nations. The Charter bears no more relation to the realities of international life than Plato's *Republic* or Thomas More's *Utopia*.

Most important of these realities is the enormous expansion of the communist empire. Before World War Two Stalin announced as a principle of Soviet foreign policy: We shall not give up an inch of our own soil; we do not want a foot of foreign soil. The Soviet dictator did not say: we do not want a foot of foreign soil, except—Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia,

half of Poland, big slices of Finland and Rumania, eastern Czechoslovakia, the Kurile Islands, South Sakhalin, plus a stranglehold on Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania and a large part of Germany.

But this is the record of Soviet expansion during and since the war. The United Nations, with the Soviet Union enjoying a veto which has been used more than fifty times, did not and could not have checked this expansion. Indeed, a fair analogy for the situation in the Security Council would be a city police department in which the most notorious gangster was given a seat and the right to veto law enforcement action. In such a case there would be no occasion for surprise if crime statistics rose.

Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson made a clumsy and unconvincing attempt to revamp the United Nations in such a way as to make it an instrument in the cold war. He persuaded the General Assembly, in November 1950, to pass a so-called Uniting for Peace resolution. This provided that the Assembly should make recommendations, including the use of force, if the Security Council should be prevented from taking action to maintain international peace by the exercise of the veto.

The legality of this resolution is highly questionable, because it introduces an important change in UN procedure. And Article 108 stipulates that the Charter may only be amended by the agreement of all permanent members of the Security Council. What is perhaps more important than the question of legality is the improbability, in view of what happened in Korea, that there would be any wholehearted rally of UN members to the banner of collective security if there should be another international challenge of the same kind.

NATO at Odds with UN Charter

Equally feeble and lacking in logic is the attempt to represent NATO, SEATO and other alliances directed against communist aggression as consistent with the UN Charter. Mr. Acheson and others who make this attempt like to cite a passage in Article 51 of the Charter:

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense, if an armed attack occurs against a member of the UN, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

And Article 52 authorizes "regional agreements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action."

But Article 51 also stipulates that "measures taken in the exercise of the right of self-defense

shall be immediately communicated to the Security Council." And Article 54 provides that "the Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security."

Is it not ridiculous to imagine General Alfred M. Gruenther, as head of NATO forces, reporting his secret plans to the Security Council, with its Soviet delegate? Indeed, the only idea that would be more ridiculous would be that of the Soviet Union reporting to the Security Council the military plans which it has concocted with Red China and the governments of the East European satellite states. It would be far more honest to state that NATO, SEATO and other alliances prove that the UN Charter is obsolete and unworkable than to attempt the logically impossible task of suggesting that these and other alliances are in harmony with the text of the Charter.

Conspicuous Failures

From an organization based on the hopelessly faulty foundation of a false assumption nothing but failure could be expected. And failure has been the rule in UN undertakings. Here are a few conspicuous examples.

The UN set up a commission to deal with the Korean question and prepare the way for the holding of free elections in a united Korea. Communist North Korea, at Soviet dictation, never admitted this commission. Its accomplishment was, therefore, nil. The same could be said of another commission which the UN appointed to look into the threat to peace in the Balkans as a result of the support of Greek communist insurgents by the neighboring communist states of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania. These states, with Soviet backing, thumbed their noses at the UN commission.

Whether in the Balkans or in Korea, in Kashmir or Palestine, the experience of the UN has been the same: impotent failure. Kashmir is a state in northern India with a predominantly Moslem population. For years the allegiance of the people of Kashmir has been in dispute between India and Pakistan. All the efforts of the UN have not induced that sanctimonious apostle of peace and East-West "understanding," Prime Minister Nehru of India, to consent to the holding of a plebiscite which would indicate whether the people of Kashmir wish to join India or Pakistan. (Indian troops moved in and occupied the more productive part of the country in an early phase of the dispute.)

Korea, sometimes claimed as a victory for the UN in resisting aggression, has actually been the greatest failure of all. The conflict in Korea

was a UN war, but a United States and South Korean fight. At the cost of 140,000 casualties the American people learned, or should have learned, that the United Nations is only a *pâpier-maché* shield, that the theory of collective security, of all the members of the UN forming a posse to catch the criminal whenever aggression is committed, is a dangerous illusion.

What happened in Korea was that a minority of UN members sent meager token military contributions. Had it not been for the United States, Korea would have been submerged beyond any hope of rescue. The very limited military contributions of the other UN members were offset by the defeatist backseat driving which was the principal contribution of some of these members. Prime Minister Nehru of India, head of a country of 300,000,000 people, could not spare one soldier for the UN army in Korea. He did send an ambulance unit and some jute-bags and was prodigal of advice, pointed in the direction of giving the Communists most of what they wanted.

Certainly pressure from various UN powers was an important, if not a decisive factor in preventing the United States from using its immense superiority in air and naval power to win the war, once it had become involved in it. Two distinguished military authorities, commanders for a time in the Far East, General MacArthur and General Van Fleet, are convinced that victory could have been won if their hands had not been tied by restrictions on bombing enemy bases in Manchuria and strategic targets in China, by a veto on the use of Chinese Nationalist troops in Korea or in a diversionary attack on the Chinese mainland, and by other inhibitions which would not have prevailed if the United States had been fighting a national war with the simple object of defeating the enemy.

The moral of Korea should be: No more UN wars. One cannot imagine a worse agency for the successful conduct of a war than this cumbersome and deeply divided Tower of Babel, with its communist bloc and its considerable number of neutralist members. It would be criminal irresponsibility, after the lesson of Korea, to stake American lives again on a UN "police action," in which most of the police can be relied on to scuttle for cover or to remain, hands in pockets, on the sidelines.

Does the UN "Do No Harm"?

Some support for the UN is based on the argument that, if this organization can do little good, at least it does no harm. This argument should be carefully examined.

The United Nations is a potential threat to the United States on at least three counts.

First, the tone and substance of resolutions to

which the United States, as a UN member, is invited to subscribe are often at variance with the principles of the American Constitution. Basic human liberties, such as freedom of religion, of speech and press, are treated in the UN Covenant on Human Rights as something which governments may grant, limit or abrogate. The historical American view is that these are natural rights of human beings under God, with which no government can tamper. The difference is important.

Second, the United States is in a minority of "haves," surrounded by a majority of "have nots" in the UN. The Economic and Social Council of the UN is a fertile breeding ground for schemes designed to transfer American wealth, under one pretext or another, to "underprivileged" nations. On one occasion the United States representative was in a minority of one in standing for the principle that private property should not be confiscated without adequate compensation. If a determined left-wing Administration should come into power in Washington, the UN would be the logical agency for working out international "share the wealth" schemes.

Third, there is continuous pressure, supported by some misguided Americans, for transforming the United Nations into a world government. On the day when this would happen all constitutional defenses of our political and economic liberties would fall.

Can the United Nations stop war? Obviously it cannot; it has neither universally respected moral authority nor physical force to enforce its decisions.

Can it help to remove the causes of war by handing down judgments which would remove the causes of conflict? It cannot, because experience has shown that even small and weak peoples do not accept its judgments as binding.

Can it serve as a forum of discussion? Yes, but it is highly questionable whether the course of events is shaped by discussions in the UN. Internationalists lament the "bypassing" of the UN. But it is really history that is bypassing the UN, organized on the erroneous premise of Soviet cooperation in the maintenance of peace.

It is time for the American people to wake up from a dream world and stop playing the game of "Let's Pretend." It is time to look realities in the face. Our security depends first on our own strength, second on alliances with nations that are sincerely committed to the cause of resisting and, if possible, rolling back Soviet and Chinese communist aggression. This security depends not at all on UN resolutions behind which there is no real force or authority.

US Day is decidedly more worth celebrating than UN Day. UN can never replace US in the hope and loyalty of Americans or as a shield of American defense.

Two Rackets of the UN

By JOHN T. FLYNN

Friends of British imperialism, as well as inflationists at home, both pick America's pockets for their own purposes by means of our spending for the UN and One Worldism.

One of the first facts we must face when we discuss the United Nations is that its members are in no sense united. The United Nations is not an instrument for preserving the peace of the world. It is an instrument for protecting a few powerful nations, chiefly Russia and Great Britain, in a dangerous racket that has led to almost all the wars in the last 150 years. For Russia and Britain, therefore, it is a racket. For the United States it is also a racket, but of a different sort. There are, to be sure, some luminous souls in this country—and some others who are by no means so simple-minded—who support the UN for a variety of both bad and generous reasons of their own.

First of all, for one powerful group the United Nations is a device to use the great resources of the United States to protect the British Empire. For Britain this slogan, "One World," means a world in which England, a nation of 50,000,000 people, lords it over some 569,000,000 people on every continent on the globe. We are not protecting the broken peoples of the world by supporting the British Empire in the United Nations. How much good will can we cultivate for America by associating ourselves with Britain's adventures in imperialism? Outside the British Isles, her government dominates 335,000 other peoples in Europe, 450,000,000 in Asia in nine separate countries, 86,000,000 in twenty separate countries in Africa, 12,000,000 more in Australasia and 20,000,000 more scattered all over the world. Here is the greatest land-grabber in modern history, which is our partner in the "noble" enterprise of liberating the underprivileged people of the globe.

The "Union Now" Movement

One can make allowance for Britain, which finds these immense populations in the inheritance left her by her conquering statesmen. But what defense can be made for this inheritance now? And what holds it together? Sir Winston Churchill was smart enough to give an honest answer. He said two years ago that the British Empire cannot be written off as long as there is England, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and "its great friend and relative, the United States." Indeed, there is a richly financed movement in the United States to effect a union of the British Empire and the United

States. Its foremost advocate is the *New York Times*, whose editor asked two years ago:

Is it too much to believe that the Atlantic Community is at last shaping up as a functioning coherent organization? . . . *Are we going beyond the military concepts of NATO to the broader field of confederation of the Western nations?* The communiqué given out after the Truman-Churchill talks poses these questions and gives some reason for hope that the answers are affirmative. If so we are seeing the *creation of one of the truly great alliances of history* [Italics added].

Senator Smith of New Jersey put into the *Congressional Record* a speech by his colleague, Senator Hendrickson, in which he advocated what is called Federal Union, a version of Atlantic Union or Union Now—all brand names for that old dream of Cecil Rhodes in which the two great English-speaking peoples would unite in one great empire. The version of this imperial edifice that seems most pleasant to our American Anglophiles is a sort of cross between Atlantic Union and Union Now. Former Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts, at a meeting of the Atlantic Union Committee in Buffalo in 1952, declared that Atlantic Union "would mean a common citizenship, common economic and military policies, common currency and free exchange of goods." And while that group was in session, John Foster Dulles sent its members a telegram congratulating them on their great movement.

Earlier, Harold Stassen, in 1950, made a speech in Philadelphia in favor of the United World Federalists, an even more extreme form of "one worldism." Let me add that Milton Eisenhower, who has been defined by his brother, the President, as his closest adviser, has been an enthusiastic supporter of Atlantic Union. And General Eisenhower himself, in 1951 before his nomination, sent a telegram to the Atlantic Union convention in Memphis, Tennessee, in which he declared his interest was "official as well as personal" and that "success is certainly worthy of official effort." Let no one dismiss this dream as fatuous. In 1950, twenty-four Senators and fifty members of the House listed themselves as sponsors of this scheme.

There is some reason to believe that the United Nations may be approaching dissolution. But it has served as a powerful instrument to ally the

United States and Britain in the defense of Britain's empire, a project which could be continued if the United Nations dissolves. It could go along in some version of Union Now—a cozy and more compact United Nations—which would unite the power and resources of America with those of Britain for the preservation of her vast imperialism. Certainly no one could blame Britain for seeking such a solution to her imperial problems.

The presence in the UN of the Soviet Union with her power of veto makes impossible any action favorable to what is called the free world or against the enslaved world behind the Iron Curtain. But it would not be true to say that, from the standpoint of Britain and her American allies, the UN has been ineffective. It has, indeed, been futile as an instrument for peaceful collaboration among nations. But it has served as a powerful meeting ground within which Britain has been able to bring the United States delegation close to her side, and has prepared to create, when the United Nations breaks up, a British-American team for the perpetuation of her shaky empire.

In all this I do not hold any brief against Britain in her efforts to live in whatever kind of world

she wishes to form. She has had a great history within her own borders in defining and advancing for her own citizens the freest society in the world outside the United States. But the source of her troubles now lies in the existence of an outmoded empire which she can no longer defend with weapons or with reason. And this is no time for the United States to move into that dissolving imperialism as a partner.

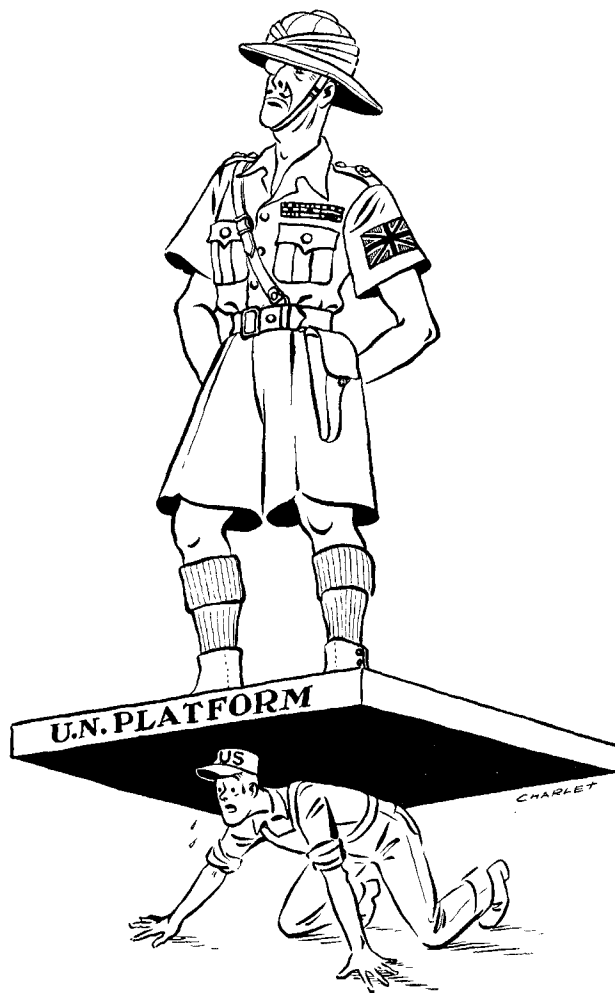
Let me add a word here touching that shrewd verbal invention—the phrase, “peace-loving nations.” Britain is no peace-loving nation, any more than Germany or France or Russia. In 1853, Russia occupied Turkish land north of the Danube, whereupon Kitchener was sent to liquidate the Sudanese army. In 1899, almost all America denounced Britain as she made cruel war on the sturdy Boers in South Africa. Then in 1900 came the Boxer uprising in China against British, French and other exploiters of their country.

In 1914 Britain made common cause with Russia and France in a war that killed nine million and wounded twenty million. The prize which came out of that struggle was Hitler in Germany and Lenin in Russia, while the United States found herself embroiled in a multitude of problems as a result of our folly in joining the fight. And, as an inevitable result of that war, came World War Two, into which, for a second time, we were maneuvered. As a fruit of this madness, we are trapped in a world in which communist Russia rides herd on all of eastern Europe and most of Asia, and Britain is confronted by a series of threats against her own indefensible empire from the people she has dominated—and once again tags us for the dubious privilege of defending that empire. For Britain, the United Nations has been a perfect arrangement by which to cast us for the role of champion and defender of her empire against the Reds.

At Home—the False Prosperity Racket

But in what respect is the United Nations a racket for the United States? Not for our country, of course—but it is very obviously a racket for two groups of politicians: those who play the game of the British Empire and those who know how to use the United Nations for their own domestic purposes.

The root lies in the depression of 1929. President Roosevelt, when he came to the White House in 1933, turned to the spending of great sums of borrowed money on relief and various types of boondoggling to create jobs for the unemployed. In the years from 1933 to 1940 he spent from five to eight billion dollars a year on relief and made-work projects, borrowing most of it. In 1939, when the Germans struck at Poland, the President turned to military preparedness. A reasonable amount of armament was clearly defensible, pro-



vided the President was resolved to remain out of the war. But it is known now that the President, long before the attack on Pearl Harbor, had resolved on entering the war and was merely awaiting the favorable moment to act. The economic and political effects of this were immense and obvious. Large orders for military and naval weapons and munitions flowed into American factories from Britain and France. And after the attack on Pearl Harbor—an attack which every informed student now knows was invited and welcomed—the sky was the limit in munitions making in America.

The effect on the United States, trapped in the depression, was immediate. America became a vast arsenal and, as was inevitable, was brought into the fighting war. After that the problems of the depression were in the past: everybody at work, wages going up, whole families employed with plenty of overtime. Here is the record of the taxes and borrowing:

	<i>Taxes</i>	<i>Borrowing</i>
1940.....	\$5,264,000,000	\$2,528,000,000
1941.....	7,227,281,000	5,993,000,000
1942.....	12,696,286,000	23,461,000,000
1943.....	22,201,502,000	64,274,000,000
1944.....	43,891,673,000	64,907,000,000
1945.....	44,761,609,000	57,079,000,000
1946.....	40,026,889,000	10,740,000,000

Thus, in 1940 the President spent in taxes and borrowed funds roughly \$7,792,000,000. By 1945 these funds available to spend had risen to over *one hundred billion dollars* in a single year. The year after the war, the taxes and borrowed funds were more than fifty billion dollars. In 1940 the national debt was \$42,968,000,000. The year after the war ended it was 169 billion dollars. Today it is *278 billion dollars*.

These vast sums were spent on coal, iron, metals of all sorts; in foundries, farms, factories; on wages of men in the armies, profits of producers and in the operation of the endlessly multiplying bureaus of government. When the war ended, the politicians were trapped in a vast, feverish prosperity created wholly by borrowed funds and huge taxes. The people, despite the gravity of the war, were led to believe that the prosperity would continue—that the government had found some magic device for creating endless streams of money on which to float an endless boom.

The politicians had discovered an old, but ever new, trick for creating money and prosperity. There is no war now, but the federal government managed to spend over *66 billion dollars* in 1953 and *74 billion dollars* in 1954. The outlook for the present fiscal year, to end June 30, is for *64 billion dollars*. How much of these 64 billions will be for the ordinary and legitimate processes of government? Not more than \$7,200,000,000. The rest will be for spending on military, interest on the debt, and stockpiling (a shameless boondoggle by which the government buys up what farmers and other pro-

ducers cannot sell and “stockpiles” it). The interest on the national debt alone is now more than twice what the total cost of government used to be.

Now I insist this is a racket to create a lawless and, ultimately, a fatal prosperity. But this cannot be done by taxing and borrowing merely to spend in the United States. Hence our government finds in the United Nations a vehicle, not to do the actual spending, but to locate and defend the expenditure of immense sums of money all over the world. Actually, the money is not spent in Europe, Asia or Africa. It is spent here to build military weapons, to support immense armed forces and vast naval establishments, and to provide so-called “friendly nations” with arms, food, clothing, education, schools and assistance of all kinds. But most of the money is spent in the United States to continue the fraudulent prosperity which we are “enjoying” on the cuff.

New Site for Fort Knox?

The agency which makes all this possible is the United Nations. This enables us to get mixed up in one way or another in every quarrel anywhere in the world. It provides us with the excuse for paying out billions of dollars to defend ourselves against enemies who have no intention of attacking us. The only enemy we have to fear internally is the communist underground, which occupies a privileged position in the United Nations.

Fighting Communists in the United States is a hazardous undertaking. The American citizen or official who attempts it with any degree of success is sure to be attacked. It seems that the only Communists who can be fought with impunity are those in the communist conspiracy in Russia and Asia. The only approved way to fight them is to raise vast armies and navies and squadrons of planes and clouds of atomic weapons, which cost huge sums and provide jobs and prosperity for the nation and security for the politicians who create the prosperity with taxes and borrowed billions.

Communism is a grave menace to us and to the world. But Communists must be opposed by men in government who mean business and who realize that the first step is to liquidate them here in America; that the second step is to stop playing with and supporting their allies in Europe; and that the third step is to organize the American Republic again upon constitutional lines. This means that we must rout Communists out of our government and our schools at home. We must stop financing other governments which play fast and loose with us on this issue. And, above all, we must rid this nation of the United Nations, which provides the communist conspiracy with a headquarters here on our own shores, and which actually makes it impossible for the United States to form its own decisions about its conduct and policies in Europe and Asia.

The Omelet Has No Rights

By F. A. HARPER

The United Nations cannot serve as the incubator for human rights, for it is attempting to hatch at one time two opposing concepts—that of the social omelet, and that of the free and individualist egg.

"Butch," my young son, was making an omelet one morning and I was supposed to be supervising the project. But my mind was more on the United Nations as a symbol of hope—the hope for universal peace and the protection of human rights.

As Butch broke the eggs into the bowl there came to mind a saying, popular among party men of the Soviet Union: "When you are making an omelet, you must break the eggs." If one thinks of the eggs as comparable to individual persons and the omelet as comparable to some political conglomerate of persons such as the Soviet Union, he will have a picture of the underlying basis for the world conflict over human rights. And the United Nations, like a mother hen, is trying to sit on both concepts at once, hoping to hatch peace from the sitting.

Just about everybody wants peace and wants human rights protected. So it is useless to waste time and space restating these general objectives of the United Nations. Instead, let us examine the lack of unity as to means. For it is over the tools of peace that we are really at war—an ideological war threatening to descend into bloody war.

The UN is purely a political agent designed to empower certain men to rule over other men. By its very design it enthrones might as right, because that is the only way its constituent members can bring their power into the focus of action.

Look, for instance, at the Declaration of Human Rights. It is patterned closely after the constitutions of the most dictatorial governments in the world today, in a manner to which I shall make reference without full details here.¹ Furthermore, the nine meetings of the Commission on Human Rights have been devoted mainly to converting the provisions of the Declaration of Human Rights into legal forms to be adopted as treaties by the various nations.

Some may contend that this is being too harsh or unfair about an agency set up merely to discuss things. Some wag has said that the United Nations is only an impersonal entity in the form

of a mouth without teeth, designed to talk out of both sides at once with its tongue in its cheek. But did we need a new agency before we could talk with our neighbor? If a political agency designed to change the conduct of people denies itself teeth with which to chew the cud for which it was created, it will be something brand new.

If teeth are added and bite too hard, can't any nation just quit the UN? But the Charter makes no provision for the voluntary withdrawal of any member. An outvoted minority is presumed to have no right to disaffiliate. Even the right of objection in the form of peaceful withdrawal becomes, in effect, an act of aggression against the UN itself.

The Collectivist View

How could the UN be expected to operate in any other manner than as an omelet of rights—with might making right? Think of its design, not its professed purposes. In order to determine the path of its future, think of its political composition and what those countries do about human rights within their own borders. As the FREEMAN once expressed it: "We have put the top criminal on the Police Commission."

In a troubled world where human freedoms are at low ebb, the only way ever to regain lost freedoms is to disfranchise the omelet concept of world political power, under any label and for any professed purpose. To see this more clearly, it must be understood why the omelet concept and the egg concept of human rights are mutually exclusive.

The *omelet*, or collectivist, concept holds that the social omelet is the sole concern and objective of humanity. "When you are making an omelet, you must break the eggs." By this view, human rights are vested completely in the collective of persons, not in individuals. Since the will of the collective is deemed to be the same thing as justice, it follows that rights reside in the omelet and not in the individual eggs. So it becomes humane and socially justifiable to break the eggs for the omelet because that is what eggs are for. "Siberian vacations" and political murders, together with all lesser forms of violation of individuals' freedom, are on the agenda of respect-

¹ Clinchy, Russell J., *Human Rights and the United Nations*. The Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y., 1952

able action from the standpoint of rights—omelet style. Individual eggs left intact for a time are to serve in some later omelet.

The other view of human rights, the libertarian view, may be called that of the *individual egg*. It holds that human rights reside entirely in individual persons as such. This reasoning is based on the biological and spiritual nature of man. It looks upon every collective of persons, whether the Elks Club or the nation, as nothing more than a temporary arrangement of persons for purposes of some convenience; and if all persons are removed from the collective, there remains only an empty organizational shell devoid of any problem of human rights. Since the functional unit of all life and all action is the individual person, it is here that any sound concept of human rights must be anchored. The adherents to this view offer this aphorism to represent their position about human rights: "You can't hatch chicks from an omelet."

The individual person is the only unit which acts, even in an army under strictest orders doing the goose step. No single sensation of a person can be transferred to another person. His every thought is individually constructed, and can be transmitted to another only with difficulty and inaccuracies.

According to this libertarian concept, the concern of human rights is with the chain of life embedded solely in individual "eggs." And once the shell of individual rights has been broken, with the contents dedicated to some collective omelet, the embryo of human freedom will have been killed and the life-chain broken forever. This view, to put it crudely but bluntly, is that human rights no longer prevail in the cannibals' kettle of stew.

Eater or Eaten?

Adherents of the first of these two views may claim for it a superiority in justice on grounds of the "general welfare," asserting that it does not stoop to the selfish interests of some one person. But the adherents of the second view will raise these questions: who is to eat the omelet—for whom is it being made? From whence comes his right to be the eater rather than the eaten? Who had the right to decide? *Whose* general good does the omelet serve?

It is only as we assume man to be free and to have right of choice that there is any question of human rights at all. The term human rights is really just another name for freedom itself.

No person, to be sure, can enjoy rights or freedom denied him by his stronger friends or neighbors or fellow-citizens, because with their greater power they force him to accede to their demands. But I am not speaking of rights in this sense of power rule.

A deeper meaning of rights precludes all dictates of the collective, *per se*. In fact, the will of the collective, like a circle of mirrors that reflects only mirrors, is an empty thing except as it is fed from outside by guides which arise from the hearts and minds of individual persons. They are the ones dictated by one's wisdom and conscience, whether or not a majority agrees at the moment. You feel that in justice your neighbor has no right to restrain you in certain ways, and those are the kinds of rights with which we are here concerned.

In the Western culture of which we are a part, we assume that the human organism has personal choice in all his voluntary acts, so that he may do this or that, go here or there—now or later. Predestination in any complete sense is generally rejected.

Our natural environment, to be sure, imposes predestined consequences. It sets limits on the range of one's choices and places blocks of inconvenience in his path. These natural limitations are beyond our control. We cannot, for instance, veto the law of gravity; we can only work with it, as by the use of a parachute. Anyone who assumes that since he can build a bridge, he can also build a new law of gravity, is making a fatal mistake.

Aside from the restraints nature places on a person's freedom, he may restrain himself or he may be forcefully restrained by others.

Self-restraint is the response to that wee small voice that speaks so loudly to each of us, yet which cannot be heard directly by any other person. Some call it conscience. Some call it God. It encompasses all we know as morals. Perhaps nobody knows exactly and fully the sources of self-restraint, but few deny its role as Master—perhaps the most effective one—which, by speaking so directly and forcefully, guides our actions as free persons.

The other type of restraint is that of force and power, by sheer mastery of man over man. This may take many forms, among which slavery is a simple and clear one. Another is the rule of man by man through some sort of political organization, always man-made and man-controlled. The UN is of the latter type. As a mechanism, it is the frying pan on which to cook the omelet of rights.

The UN employees are expected to be loyal to the United Nations above all else, according to the "Report on Standards of Conduct in the International Service."

A simple truth is that one cannot serve two masters because it is impossible to obey two conflicting orders. As applied to the problem of human rights, this means that one cannot serve both his conscience and some political mechanism at the same time, in the sense of ruler.

Whenever one is in the sorry plight of having conflicting orders from two sources, he must

choose his master and suffer the consequences. It is always enticing to subordinate the conscience because the retributions it imposes are less clear and vivid than the gallows flaunted in his face by his fellow-men in the role of master. God in His design gave man, as a necessary part of the right of freedom, the chance to do evil as well as good. Had He denied to man the chance to do evil, it would have been necessary also to deny him the right to freedom itself—the problem of human rights.

On Serving Two Masters

Some will say that if a political institution is founded on moral precepts under God, as in our Declaration of Independence and the essence of the Bill of Rights under early legal interpretations, one can in fact serve both masters. But both cannot be masters, and it is an illusion to think that they are. The test—the only valid test—is: whose dictates are followed whenever the two give conflicting orders?

The history of our own nation attests to the impossibility of serving two masters. This is revealed in the reversal of original spirit and presumed intent of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. The original moral precepts about personal rights have now been basically negated, by legal interpretation as well as by popular acceptance. God is now expected to take many of his orders from political masters, in the role of a subordinate. Not only that, but those who represent us in the UN and do its chores are expected to push God even one step further down in authority, since loyalty to the UN is to be above loyalty to the United States.

Differences can coexist if force is not enthroned to eliminate differences. There can be an egg and there can be an omelet, if allowed separate existence. But the same egg cannot serve both, and every egg is doomed whenever the omelet is enthroned to rule. The plea of unity by com-

promise is a trap for the egg; it can't be half broken. The omelet as a means denies the egg as an end.

In any area of differences, living with disunity is the price that must be paid for freedom. Some are willing to give up freedom in the hope of attaining unity, only to lose both. This is because a maximum of real unity is found under freedom rather than under enslavement.

So, since two masters cannot be served at once and since individual liberty is the master we want, the libertarian's hopes for solution of the problem of human rights lie elsewhere than in any international agency of political power. Lord Acton, when speaking of human rights with his rare historical perspective on human freedom, said: "Absolute power and restrictions on its exercise cannot exist together. It is but a new form of the old contest between the spirit of true freedom and despotism in its most dexterous disguise."¹

Whether one accepts the religious concept of Suárez or the reasoned one of Grotius, he must assume that there is a human right above any law written by mere man; that the higher law shall in justice prevail whenever a contradiction forces one to choose between masters. As Coke said, this is "written with the hand of God in the heart of man . . . the eternal law, the moral law."

The libertarian cannot look to the United Nations as an agency of hope to solve the world's problems of peace, freedom and human rights. He knows that by its very design the UN cannot serve as the incubator for human rights, because you can't hatch eggs on a frying pan suited only to cooking omelet. After all our efforts to use the UN as a battleground over the weapons of peace, one is forced to agree with Mr. Dulles, who said: "Our nation is today less liked, more isolated and more endangered than ever before in its history . . ."

1. Acton, John Emerich Edward Dalberg, *Historical Essays and Studies*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1919, p.132

The Problem of Power

In actual practice how many great men have ever fulfilled, or are ever likely to fulfill, the conditions which alone render power innocuous to the ruler as well as to the ruled? Obviously, very few. Except by saints, the problem of power is finally insoluble. But since genuine self-government is possible only in very small groups, societies on a national or supernational scale will always be ruled by oligarchical minorities whose members come to power because they have a lust for power.

ALDOUS HUXLEY, *The Perennial Philosophy*

They Sell UN to the World

By CY PETERMAN

Non-Governmental agencies swarm to the UN, busy bees of propaganda promoting their own hives by ubiquitous buzzings in global gardens.

There is a small, pamphlet-piled room on the third floor press area of the United Nations building in New York. It attracts little attention. Few but purposeful are its users, and the receptionist seems surprised when some stray looks in to inquire about the facilities and activities that revolve about its comfortable interior.

For this is the information headquarters, in a loose manner of speaking, for 439 international, and more than 4,000 American organizations which, by methods, funds and channels of their own, are the propagandists for the United Nations. They are the NGO's—Non-Governmental Organizations.

In the interests of accuracy, it should be stated that of recent date a number of American NGO representatives do not fall under this heading of propagandists for the UN. Such organizations as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the New York Stock Exchange, the National Association of Manufacturers—there are scores of them—take the position that UN is with us, whether we like it or not, and that they owe it to their memberships to watch this world legislative body and offer their consultative efforts to counteract the un-American and socialistic measures that come up.

Nine of these 268 duly recognized and registered NGO's have an official voice in debates, but do not have a vote. All of them are on call, and 118 are permanently accredited, with observers, to the General Assembly and the Social and Economic Council. As such, they comprise the public relations spearheads for the body politic of the sixty member nations, and others which are not members.

Because of their unofficial roles, these shadowy agents for a thousand causes are little on record. They play a major part in the collective dabbling and global fixing at UN, but the people don't know or suspect. According to UN Background paper A-76/1:

Many hundreds of national and international non-Governmental organizations are assisting the United Nations by: 1) disseminating information concerning its activities, 2) giving expression to public opinion, and 3) presenting the advice of organized groups having a special competence on particular subjects. The United Nations for its part welcomes this assistance and has made arrangements to facilitate this exchange of information and ideas.

Among these arrangements is the breaking down of this multitude of organizations into categories. Category A contains nine international groups ap-

proved by the Social and Economic Council, with privileges to speak before the Council, to propose agenda items, advise on certain matters and assist where requested. Category A includes the great trade unions: International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, as well as the Red-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions, and with them the International Organization of Employers, Inter-Parliamentary Union, International Chamber of Commerce, Co-Operative Alliance, and most vocal for the UN of all the 268—the World Federation of United Nations Associations (WFUNA). The American branch of this eager-beaver society is the bellwether of all the drum beaters for the great glass gimmick on New York's East River. We shall discuss it later on.

A Plethora of Pressure Groups

Category B contains 109 organizations, describable roughly as devoted to matters racial, religious, social, cultural, business and professional; or humanitarian, plain and fancy. There is, if you probe a bit, also a classification derived from any of the above which can only be denoted as pestiferous.

Under this heading is the determined lady who went to the General Assembly in Paris to present the cause of the cats. She was an aggressive minority of one, an extreme radical from the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and she felt the world's cats required the UN's attention. There were just too many cats, she declared, and the United Nations should do something about it.

Mainly, however, the Non-Governmental representatives interest themselves in specifics to their own organizations, and on which they are competent. Labor unioners watch the forced labor issue. The Inter-American Council of Commerce and Production looks into the trade and its problems. The International Union for Child Welfare is concerned, naturally, with children; the International Union for the Protection of Nature worries about woodlands and wild life. The International Union of Travel Organizations cares little for wild life or children, except as they provide scenery and potential passengers, while the International Union of Family Organizations would prefer that people stay home and raise families.

The Salvation Army, Rotary International, the Pax Romana, a Catholic cultural and intellectual group, the World Council for the Blind, World Jewish Congress, World YMCA Alliance, National Association of Manufacturers (USA), the World Power Conference (electric power, that is), even the International Federation of Journalists—all take their turn influencing delegates, pro or con. Category B is full of hustlers.

These busybodies may be around all the time, part-time operators, or in-and-outers who put on pressure only when their particular oyster is in season. This is called “free wheeling” by the regular NGO observers, and is regarded as rather selfish, to understate it. The sincere NGO’s, who believe the UN is the peoples’ only hope despite its failures, consider the free wheelers as opportunists.

Opportunity for Red Fronts

Many of the NGO’s contain a mixed bag of operatives, domestic and foreign. Since Communists are trained to infiltrate anything, it’s no secret that even the better sounding names may be fronts. Sometimes their extracurricular activities are discovered, or another NGO observer detects their real purpose. Then there’s a glorious row, as happened last Assembly.

During the November 17-19 conclave on NGO’s disseminating UN information, the Women’s International Democratic Federation, an early comer in 1946 to UN, was brusquely dismissed. It developed that the WIDF, practicing democratic principles Moscow-fashion, had sent a team to Korea to investigate Communist charges of germ warfare against American forces. Despite the incontestable evidence to the contrary, plus the 1953 Assembly’s overwhelming vote to reject this big lie, the democratic ladies returned and reported that United States military units had indeed been waging bacteriological warfare. This was too much for even the ultratolerant UN authorities. They canceled the Democratic Federation’s accreditation, and gave the girls the old heave-ho!

There are a number of outright communist Non-Governmental Organizations, and their presence is accepted with the same equanimity as that of the political Soviet bloc for which they work. The Red-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions watches closely those free labor spokesmen who have in recent years pushed several resolutions against the Russian slave labor system. They protest against free unions’ investigation of enforced, no-pay, police-ruled concentration camp labor; and the struggle between the two groups rages behind the curtains much as the louder and more spectacular ideological battles are fought in the UN’s political and economic committees.

Thirty-six organizations, ranging alphabetically from the American Federation of Labor to the

World’s Young Women’s Christian Associations, made oral statements, often on several different subjects, during one 1953-54 period of the Social and Economic Council. Between the adjournment of the Assembly and May 1, 1953—four months—345 written statements had been received and distributed as documents by the same Council. And the delegates for the most part had gone home.

There is no limit on subject matter. Union affairs, religious matters, the vast and somewhat abstract field of social welfare and human rights, the never-ending problems of refugees, stateless persons, immigration, treatment of minorities, economic injustices, suppression of speech and legal processes, technical assistance, segregation and self-determination, aggression, slavery, freedom to work and freedom to loaf—these are but a few fertile fields in which the accredited and those with friends in UN’s halls, can sow a seed and watch it germinate and flourish as a perennial gripe.

Apart from the NGO’s, but never above appealing through them, is a collection of cranks, one-man crusades, deserving but unwelcome expatriate or other hangers-on. They come and go, like Garry Davis, the “world citizen” who did several appearances during the Paris Assemblies. When the UN and the public get bored, they go away.

Headquarters Abroad

The Non-Government representatives each year have a short assembly in Geneva, where a great many special agencies of United Nations are centered, especially those concerned with human, cultural and economic problems. Each has some kind of headquarters there, or in Paris. Many NGO’s employ permanent agents and representatives, like the delegations of UN States. But the main clearinghouse for operations is the UN headquarters in New York. In addition to the lounge and information center in the press area, they have desk room, a study and research facility, and an NGO office on the 29th floor, up near the Secretary-General’s lofty sanctum.

One NGO campaign illustrates the function of these organizations as UN home-front activists. Back in 1946, the first really operative Assembly, UN passed unanimously a resolution calling on all member States to take steps toward votes for women. The International Alliance of Women—Equal Rights, Equal Responsibilities, and other organizations beamed from the distaff side—took that resolution to the homelands with such vigor that in the nine years since, more than twenty governments have granted votes to females in some form or other.

Another laudable project, backed energetically and with foresight by NGO’s is UNICEF, the International Children’s Fund, which has kept alive, innoculated against disease, and “mothered”

in multiple ways a veritable horde of war waifs, displaced, underprivileged and destitute youngsters since World War Two ended and reconstruction began.

The World Veterans' Federation is said to represent 18,000,000 war veterans throughout the civilized nations. There are no Soviet participants in this one. It is pushing a program to help handicapped veterans everywhere, with emphasis of late on those crippled in the Korean war.

Two High-Powered Groups

One of the unfathomable mysteries of all this is: How many people do the NGO's really and truly represent? Who can tell? Who can prove it?

Two that claim to be widely representative—and which typify the two main categories of NGO—are the World Federation of United Nations Associations (WFUNA) and the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs (CCIA). WFUNA is in Category A, and may properly be described as the United Nations' high-powered but unpaid public relations agency. It has carried the blue and white flag of the UN to all crannies of this earth, accomplishing an unprecedented job of global indoctrination for world controls and collective operations.

In a somewhat different direction, the Commission of the Churches enjoys even more distinction. It rates, in some judgments, highest of all the NGO's. Several of its leaders have records for liaison, survey, mediation and successful negotiation that compare with those of top delegates. Some have gone in where official emissaries feared to tread, and come away with the makings of solutions. CCIA is in Category B, but in the political field, especially with the Western power bloc, it enjoys more consultative competence and prestige than most.

Professor Baron F. M. van Asbeck of The Netherlands is president of the Protestant NGO, and Sir Kenneth Grubb of London is chairman. Its most traveled wheel horses and liaison men are the director, Dr. O. Frederick Nolde of Philadelphia, and Dr. Elfan Rees, representative in Europe, who has headquarters in Geneva. Among the American pillars of CCIA are Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, the Rt. Rev. G. Ashton Oldham, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Mr. W. Rodman Parvin, Hon. Francis B. Sayre and Mrs. Leslie E. Swain, each of whom wields great weight in policy making on nearly all items of UN's agenda. It might be added that nearly all of these are of the One World persuasion, but emphasize practical measures to keep peace in what we have, a world divided.

"The business of the CCIA is by no means confined to the United Nations and related agencies. Its officers are called upon to act on many problems, and to travel to many parts of the world," says its report to the International Missionary

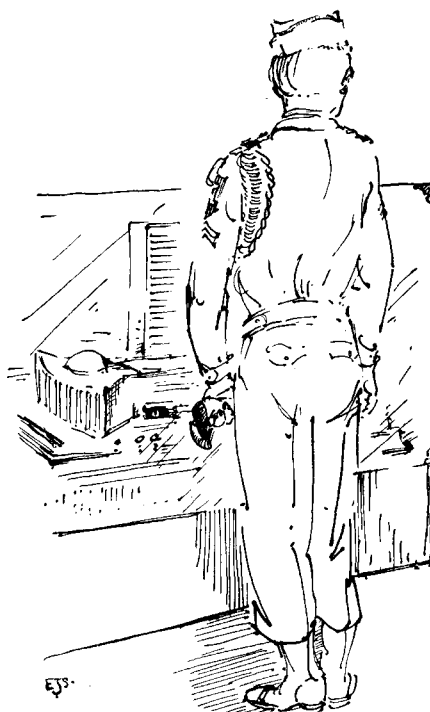
Council. No better description of the comings and goings of these men could be made.

The CCIA is ungrudgingly credited with helping lay the basis for the Korean armistice. Dr. Nolde on 48 hours notice flew to Seoul, consulting en-route with the national commission on churches in Pusan, before huddling with President Syngman Rhee and U. S. Assistant Secretary of State Walter Robertson over an informal memorandum urging "deferred action" on the prisoners-of-war hitch. It was this memo that saved the nonforcible repatriation point in the Korean-UN position, and utilized the Red Chinese offer of "an honorable terms armistice" to bring an end to the fighting.

Because the CCIA includes among its directors and representatives diplomats, political leaders, and laymen competent in many professions that can apply to world problems today, it is valuable. Before each General Assembly, it circulates a fifty to sixty-page memorandum, outlining the problem in most items of the forthcoming agenda.

During 1954 and the Assembly portion of 1953, CCIA leaders participated in no less than 52 conferences on world affairs. They have been most unobtrusive, yet powerful influences from the beginning of the UN, which their membership strongly urged and still supports to the hilt. CCIA is undoubtedly a positive force among the NGO's.

But whether these dedicated workers for peace truly represent any conscious percentage of church members is open to question. All decisions are taken in committees, or high-level board meetings at the headquarters in New York, London and Geneva. Never has this correspondent in nine years' UN



A visitor views the UN scale model

coverage, heard of an American congregation or synod discussing openly or voting upon the variety of world problems with which CCIA concerns itself.

Robed ecclesiastics who comprise the Assembly of the World Council of Churches, or the heads and executive boards of the great denominations, are naturally in touch. But the operative work is by laymen mostly, who by now are both qualified and competent for either church or foreign office. They doubtless represent the thinking of the World Council's "brass," but like many another Non-Government organization that looms potent at the UN, send few polls, reviews or reports to the pew-holding parishioners in whose name they function.

Worse still in this respect is the so-called WFUNA. The American branch of United Nations Associations is a well-heeled organization directed by Clark M. Eichelberger, and adorned, since her retirement as a member of the U. S. delegation to UN, by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. It is safe to say that it has grabbed more publicity, collected more money, inundated with UN philosophies more school children, and evangelized more nice ladies across these 48 states than all the patriotic societies upholding Americanism since 1776.

UN's Lucrative Tourist Business

In this mighty "snow job" the AAUN has had, with few exceptions, the vociferous support of the international-minded U. S. press, the radio, television, and a clamoring intellectual herd that stuffs its ears to UN's failures and goes gibbering endlessly about the "wonders" it performs. The AAUN's apostles have found unprecedented success in the public schools, where the fashion in tours for pupils has shifted abruptly from Washington, Independence Hall and other U. S. shrines to the UN skyscraper in New York.

If Mr. Eichelberger, who has often been associated with prewar left-wing movements and is mentioned several times in House Committee on Un-American Activities reports on student and youth activities, has accomplished nothing more, his AAUN-sponsored tours at the UN building have earned him a Baedeker citation. Says UN document AC 5/603, dated November 16, 1954: "The number of visitors has continued to increase and now ranges between 2,000 and 5,000 a day, more than a million persons a year. Many of these come in large groups in connection with conventions . . ."

It is reckoned that the UN stands next to Rockefeller Center as the biggest tourist attraction in New York, exceeding the Statue of Liberty, Empire State Building, Wall Street and Grant's tomb. So lucrative at one dollar a head is this guided tour business, that Secretary-General Hammarskjold pushed through a resolution that will transfer it to UN's own administration some time this spring. Estimates put the total net revenue around \$186,000, but the above Document 603 estimates



Visitors' gallery, General Assembly

the 1955 profit will be around \$40,000. "There's no business like show business," Mr. Eichelberger might sing or, better yet, have sung by a chorus of his pert uniformed girl guides.

But it's out in the hinterlands, among the American populace, that AAUN gets in its effective propaganda. It is one of the chief dispensers of UN information. In towns big and small, in schools, colleges, clubs, churches, among foreign policy and other civic or social organizations and forums, its speakers, its members, its literature abound.

The Association was foremost in making United Nations Day an internationally celebrated occasion on October 24. Joined by from 80 to 175 or more other NGO's, it has captured the support and admiration of editors and publishers, most of whom have never heard a Soviet diatribe against their own country. It has helped promote pro-UN sentiment among the teaching and student populations that (in the face of continuing wars, truce violations, disregarded injunctions) is so deeply imbedded that few will entertain the suggestion that America might have fared a great deal better without any UN at all.

There have been a score or so of heavily attended international and regional NGO conferences on spreading UN information. The last one, during the Ninth Assembly, attracted 285 representatives from 162 organizations. Mr. Hammarskjold stated their mission, which is to sell the United Nations with apostolic zeal:

"The more you do, the more we will ask you to do. You have a unique opportunity of presenting directly to the peoples of the United Nations the facts about its accomplishments and the very real problems which we face. You may count on us in the Secretariat to provide you with materials you need in this work".

The NGO's are the greatest "public relations" gimmick any institution ever developed.

The Real UNESCO

By FRANK S. MEYER

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) plays a very particular and decisive role among the galaxy of organizations which make up the system of the United Nations. Neither its stated purposes, nor even an examination of its widespread and seemingly inchoate activities, alone or in combination, is sufficient to clarify that role. A third element must be added if a true picture is to be gained. That third element is the function envisaged for it in the minds and in the plans of its founders, its staff and its supporters, the fraternity of One World. Therefore, while I shall in this article examine both its stated purposes and its activities, it will be well first to give some indication of this third element, the concept which lies behind the constitution and the activities of UNESCO.

UNESCO is only one, although perhaps the most important, of the so-called Specialized Agencies of the United Nations which operate under the over-all supervision of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Most of them have some apparently worthy philanthropic, scientific, or cultural function: the World Health Organization (WHO); the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO); the International Telecommunication Union (ITU); and a half dozen others. Sometimes they unite in groups of two or three to father some new member of the proliferating society of United Nations organizations, such as the United Nations Expanded Program of Technical Assistance for Economic Development. Sometimes one, or two or three of them adopt offspring of the parent Economic and Social Council, such as the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF).

Embryo of a Super-State

Fantastically proliferating, however, as are these children of a social worker's dream, the direction of their apparently inchoate growth, the rationale of their existence, is only too definite. It is a commonplace of the speeches and writings of the spokesmen for world organization; but I have found it most clearly stated recently in an article appearing in the British periodical, the *Fortnightly*, for last October. Perhaps these things can be said more directly in Britain because the more fully developed socialist atmosphere there requires less flummery. Be that as it may, Mr. Gordon Evans,

It is the center for "pilot projects" and the spearhead of a propaganda drive to pave the way for a socialistic world government.

the Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Association, speaks very directly indeed:

The practical hope of achieving world government rests in the development of the United Nations. The Charter . . . sets out the methods and establishes the institutions. . . . In the General Assembly may be seen something more than the beginnings of a world parliament. The *specialized agencies*, dealing with Health, Food, Education, Labour, etc. and the World Bank and Fund, *could eventually develop into world Departments of State*. The International Court is capable of increasing influence and usefulness. The broad outlines of the world community exist on paper. The first loose constitution is agreed. The initial machinery is established. [My emphasis]

A most interesting statement. The Security Council in its utter futility is passed over in silence. It would never do as the executive of a world government. It is the grouping of specialized agencies which is the embryo of the executive bureaucracy of a world State. A legislative and a judicial branch are also envisaged, it is true; but if there is any lesson of history for the student of political organization, it is that the bigger the State becomes and the more widespread its positive activities, the more overwhelming becomes the executive arm, until the legislative and the judicial fade into insignificance. Any world government will carry this principle to its ultimate degree.

All that the congeries of Specialized Agencies, coordinated by the Economic and Social Council, needs to become such a world executive is the monopoly of world power proposed for the United Nations by the Acheson-Lillenthal Plan for Control of Atomic Energy—or, more indirectly approached, by the Eisenhower Atoms for Peace Plan.

The role, then, of each Specialized Agency can be understood only if its constituted purpose, with the activities derived therefrom, is seen as the prototype of a department of the executive of a world State. With this consideration in mind, let us examine the actuality of UNESCO as it exists and has existed over the past ten years. Its origins go back to a series of conferences of Allied Ministers of Education in London between 1942 and 1945. Who it was that represented the United States at these conferences, in view of the fact that (providentially) we do not yet have a Secretary of Education, I have not taken the trouble to ascertain. At any rate, in 1945, after the San

Francisco United Nations Conference, a conference was held in London at which the constitution of UNESCO was adopted. By 1946, with the requisite ratifications, UNESCO formally came into existence as a Specialized Agency of the United Nations. Article 1 of its Constitution states:

The purpose of the Organization is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms *which are affirmed* for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language, or religion, *by the Charter of the United Nations.* [My emphasis]

Such words have their appeal; but when it is remembered that the Charter of the United Nations (incorporated in the "which" clause, the controlling element of all this language) was drawn up with the concurrence of the Soviet Union, it is clear that no word of this preamble retains the vestige of a concrete meaning. Even, however, were there no Soviet Union, the question would still remain: on what moral basis do international institutions and the people who control them place themselves above the mores and customs of men, real individuals? By what all-knowing wisdom do they pretend to mediate between the Hindu to whom the cow is an object of holiness and the American to whom she is an article of food? What is the "justice" for which they wish to "further universal respect"? Is it justice as we have conceived it in America—at least until recent years—or is it "distributive justice" with its leveling equalitarian ardor to take from those who have achieved and give to those who have not, so that society shall present the even aspect of the desert plain? Is it, in short, the equal justice before the law of every individual in a free society, or that "social justice" which guarantees to every man what the State thinks he should have and takes from every man what the State wants?

These questions can be answered both with subjective and objective evidence. The attitudes of the leaders of UNESCO, the administrators of its programs, the propagandists for it, run the whole gamut from those of open and concealed Communists through Socialists of all hues, Welfare Statists, social workers and other do-gooders, to those of collectivist-minded businessmen. But I have yet to see in all the mass of material emanating from or connected with UNESCO an outright defense of a free economy, of limited government, of the paramount rights of the individual against State and society. To the economic concepts upon which capitalism is based, the political concepts from which the American Constitution arises, the moral and spiritual concepts of the inalienable value of every created human being, the philosophy of UNESCO is radically and totally opposed.

Objectively, as subjectively, in the activities carried on by UNESCO as in the ideas of its bureau-

crats, the socialist motif is dominant. "Justice" is interpreted as distributive justice, welfare justice; "the rule of law" as the rule of bureaucracy; "peace and security" as the advance toward world government. Complex, widespread, diffuse as they are, the manifold activities of UNESCO are universally collectivist and statist in character.

These activities fall into two groups reflecting the two functions of UNESCO. On the one hand it conducts, alone or in conjunction with other agencies, those sections of the Welfare-State activities of the Economic and Social Council which fall in its "educational, scientific and cultural" sphere. On the other hand, it serves as a Propaganda and Indoctrination Ministry for the UN as a whole.

A Foretaste of World Government

In the first of these capacities it is concerned with everything from the development of arid regions, the supplying of technical and scientific personnel for the United Nations Technical Assistance program (the UN's Point Four), or the establishment of the European Council for Nuclear Research, to improving the status of women in odd corners of the world, moving for the establishment of a Press Agency "free of national bias," setting up a library for the newly literate in Delhi, creating international professional organizations, sending exhibitions around the world, or organizing an International Computation Center in Rome.

All this is run-of-the-mill welfare statism, the great part of it done with United States money; but it is still only a foretaste of what would happen if world government became a reality. These undertakings are "pilot projects," to use a favorite UNESCO phrase, for the day when, as Frank Chodorov has put it, UNESCO's "omnipotence will match its omniscience." They are but a part of the over-all ECOSOC project of increasing wealth by the time-honored socialist method of redistributing it, while knocking over the head the only producer of real wealth, the individual in a free economy. So far, however, because the power does not by any means match the pretensions, this side of UNESCO activity, while deleterious enough, is not too seriously effective.

The really dangerous activity of UNESCO arises from its other function as the propaganda arm of the United Nations, as the spearhead of the drive of the One Worlders to achieve the power to match their pretensions. This is the "E" in UNESCO, that part of its program which UNESCO publications describe as "education for living in a world community." This is perhaps the most ambitious program in the whole gamut of United Nations activities. Its aim is to transform the thinking of the citizens of every country outside of the Iron Curtain (inside the Iron Curtain, of course, the Communists do their own propagandizing), to soften them up for world government.

Primarily, this activity is directed toward the children in the schools, for obvious reasons. As UNESCO's own informational brochure puts it:

Activities designed to promote education for living in a world community relate to the healthy social and mental development of children, through education, the improvement of programmes, text books and other teaching materials, teaching about the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the association of young people with the world of Unesco. (*Unesco, What It Is, What it Does, How It Works*)

And, to make sure that no children shall escape the benefits of the program, UNESCO also "seeks to promote in all countries the progressive application of the *right* to free and *compulsory* education for all. . ." (My emphasis)

This program is being seriously and systematically forwarded by every variety of method: the editing of textbooks, conferences of teachers, provision of fellowships and scholarships, missions of specialists, "seminars for discussion and practical experimentation," educational "pilot projects," and above all by the organization of National Commissions in the individual countries. These bodies, 63 of which now exist, "serve as a link between UNESCO and the Government departments, other bodies and individuals concerned with education, science and culture in each country. The function of these Commissions is to carry out within each Member State the programme of the Organization and to contribute to the attainment of the purposes that UNESCO was established to serve."

Indoctrination of Americans

And here we come very close to home. Most of the other aspects of UNESCO's work, while they affect us indirectly through the development of socialist and world-government strength the world over, and while we pay for them, so far are let loose not upon us but upon the weaker nations of the world. But when it comes to indoctrination for "world-mindedness," our country becomes a central point of concentration.

The American National Commission for

UNESCO, established by Act of Congress in 1946 and attached to the State Department, works as a liaison agency to carry out the UNESCO program in the United States and develop "increasing understanding and support by the American people."

The work has been done well—not that it was too difficult in the prevailing atmosphere in educational circles. UN and UNESCO have taken their place alongside of "group loyalty," "group disciplines" and all the other catchwords of welfare statism, where once American school children were grounded in the maxims of individual self-reliance and the principles of the Ten Commandments and the Constitution. So really shocking has this indoctrination against patriotism and for "world-mindedness" become that, despite the enormous pressure and the vituperative slander directed against anyone who dares criticize the UNESCO propaganda program in the schools, protests are beginning to develop in various parts of the country against it. In Los Angeles, after a long fight, the UNESCO program was excluded from the curriculum.

Obviously, those who oppose such "teaching" are not demanding that children should be prevented from knowing what the UN and UNESCO are, any more than that they should be prevented from knowing what the Soviet Union and communism are. What they do object to is planned indoctrination by and for UNESCO.

Since there would seem little likelihood of our ceasing to be a member of the UN, or UNESCO, the exclusion of this propaganda from our schools would seem to be of the first importance in restricting the advance of world government. Such action would control the propaganda side of UNESCO activities in the same way that the adoption of the Bricker Amendment would control much of the danger of the Welfare-State activities of it and the other Specialized Agencies. If to these two defensive measures were added a third, the scotching of the President's Atoms for Peace plan before it develops in the direction of a UN monopoly of nuclear power, we should have developed a serviceable bastion against the One-World contingent of the world Socialists.

Two Meetings

The United Nations General Assembly will hold its tenth anniversary session at the San Francisco Opera House, June 20-26. The city's Board of Supervisors have appropriated \$150,000 toward the expenses of the session; the balance will be met largely by the taxpayers of America.

The Congress of Freedom is sponsoring another San Francisco meeting, to be held in the Veterans' War Memorial Auditorium, April 25-30. The announced purpose is to discuss ways and means of preventing the UN from undermining the American tradition.

The delegates will pay their own expenses.

Religious Propagandists for the UN

By REV. EDMUND A. OPITZ

Without polling the wishes of the congregations, internationalists are exploiting the churches as podiums of propaganda for the United Nations.

"The churches of Christ in the United States," declares Walter Van Kirk, "are committed to the establishment of a world political order."

Mr. Van Kirk is the executive director of the Department of International Justice and Good Will of the National Council of Churches. He held the same post under the old Federal Council of Churches. Both jobs cover a period of thirty years. Thus, for a generation Mr. Van Kirk's point of view on foreign policy is pretty close to that which is represented as the voice of the Church.

It is a point of view that was most forcefully expressed by a denominational official, writing in an official publication, in these words: "These attacks on the UN—as distinguished from friendly suggestions for improving it—are attacks on the Christian faith itself." The pronouncements of the National Council of Churches (NCC) are usually couched in more cautious terms, but they boil down to about the same conclusion.

Is Christianity synonymous with a world political order? The parishioner seeking solace in religion would be surprised to so learn, and even ministers who hopefully accept the UN as a promise of world peace might demur at this political interpretation of their faith. Mr. Van Kirk, in the statement quoted above, would have been more accurate had he said that he was speaking only for the spokesmen of the NCC. Rather, he insists that "Christians are the divinely inspired propagandists of a world community." Are they?

In the thought of Mr. Van Kirk and those in the NCC for whom he speaks, "a world political order" and "world community" mean the same thing. Actually, the two things are quite different. It is one of the tragedies of our time that the faster the fabric of world community has disintegrated, the more frantic have been the efforts to patch it up with a jerry-built political structure. Religion is an important factor in the building of world community, to the extent that world community is possible, but not as an adjunct of politics.

But the NCC spokesmen are trying to use religion to prop up the UN by making it appear that the churches are solidly behind it. "Despite differences as to theology or doctrine," says Mr. Van Kirk, "the Christian community in the United States is practically unanimous in its judgment that nation states must surrender to the organized international community whatever measure of

their national sovereignty is required to establish peace and justice on a global scale." This may be the tenor of pronouncements of the NCC; but it does not accurately reflect the thinking of the 35,000,000 for whom the NCC claims to speak, much less the churchmen outside its orbit.

For a generation and a half it has been the fashion among intellectuals and publicists to be internationalists of the political variety, and the tyranny of fashion is a sociological fact of first importance. A period is characterized by certain ideas, because those who entertain ideas like to have the latest models. But the Church has watched ideas and philosophies come and go. It should be relatively immune to intellectual fashions, able to resist the chance winds of doctrine, content to bear witness to its Truth. Churchmen, however, are children of their age and like to have their fellow-intellectuals think well of them. Always in the past, some churchmen have sought and found religious sanctions for every form of misgovernment and every evil that has plagued society; they are doing it today.

"Jesus and Geopolitics"

"Jesus and Geopolitics" is the exciting title of a chapter in one of Mr. Van Kirk's books. In it we read that "the Christians countered the geopolitics of Rome with a geopolitics of their own. . . . With remarkable foresight they appropriated to their own ends the instruments of empire." The intended parallel with our own times is easily grasped: Christians today, if they would emulate the ancient Church, must appropriate the instruments of the UN for their own ends. Apparently, as Mr. Van Kirk reads the history of Christendom, the instruments of empire served the ends of religion. Shades of theocratic imperialism!

The opportunity to turn Christianity into an instrument for internationalism was not lost on John Foster Dulles, who has become, in effect, the spiritual adviser on foreign policy to the NCC. It should be pointed out that while Mr. Van Kirk began as a religionist and became an internationalist for supposedly religious ends, Mr. Dulles began as an internationalist who discovered in religion a means of promoting his primary purpose.

John Foster Dulles has been part of the international political and commercial scene since the

first World War, but took little interest in Church matters until the late thirties. In 1937, he attended a conference sponsored by the League of Nations in Europe and, as an ardent internationalist, was dismayed by the nationalist bickering of the politicians assembled there. He left this conference to attend a similar one for churchmen held at Oxford. The churchmen appeared to be free from prejudices and nationalistic bias. Mr. Dulles was delighted. He began to observe the ecclesiastical situation closely and found that churchmen had been working for years to prepare the ground for acceptance of some kind of international political order as a Christian imperative. This was enough to bring Mr. Dulles importantly into American church circles in 1941 as the first chairman of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of Churches. The efforts to draft a set of principles on which peace might be built sounded to him, he said, like an echo of the Gospels.

The Practical Missionary

Mr. Dulles resigned this chairmanship in 1949 to run for public office, but he still carries weight in official church circles. A recent issue of *Time* characterizes him as "a practical missionary of Christian politics." Whether *Time* knows Christian from unchristian politics is debatable. What is not debatable is the fact that Mr. Dulles, a lifelong internationalist, happened upon the Church late in life and found in it an instrument admirably adapted to his purposes.

Just prior to Mr. Dulles' association with the Federal Council of Churches, in 1940, the first American Study Conference on the Churches and the International Situation met in Philadelphia and resolved that "the Churches, which in themselves transcend national frontiers, have a peculiar responsibility to help expand men's loyalties to include the whole number of the children of our Heavenly Father and the world government required by their common needs." Following up this lead, Mr. Dulles' Commission in 1942 held a conference at Delaware, Ohio. It resolved that "a world of irresponsible, competing and unrestrained national sovereignties, whether acting alone or in alliance or in coalition, is a world of international anarchy. It must make place for a higher and more inclusive authority. . . . We believe that military establishments should be internationally controlled and be made subject to law under the community of nations."

This is the line, and there has been no deviation from it. In a recent official NCC pamphlet on the UN, Mr. Van Kirk writes, "Once the Allied armies had taken the offensive against Hitler, the churches took the initiative in demanding that an international organization be created to maintain the peace. . . . They were among those who called for the establishment of the United Nations." And

the NCC continues to call for support of the UN, and brands those who question it as unchristian.

Like the NCC, the World Council of Churches supports the idea of a world political order and officially endorses the UN. The WCC endorsement of the UN intervention in Korea caused the withdrawal of its Chinese members, one of whom was a president of the WCC. The Evanston meeting of the WCC last August favored the UN and resolved that "it is important that a dynamic concept of the world organization be kept alive and that the UN structure be subjected to periodic review." It urged that the UN "become more comprehensive in membership." It lamented that "little or no progress has been made toward world disarmament or the creation of an international police force."

There are organizations set up for the sole purpose of propagandizing for the UN, such as the American Association for the United Nations. There are related organizations, like the Church Peace Union and the Foreign Policy Association, doing a similar job. No one can quarrel with an organization that does what it is set up to do, even though one may wish to debate the merits of its case. It is different with the NCC. The NCC, according to its own literature, "is not something apart from the churches, but those churches themselves doing together those things which can be better done unitedly than separately." There is a question of the propriety of an organization with this announced purpose becoming such a willing sounding board for UN propaganda. In allowing itself to be so used, the NCC has lost its effectiveness as an independent voice on moral issues.

Individual churchmen here and there have found moral issues of first magnitude in the events of the past fifteen years, and have spoken out. But the Church has been oddly silent. I have in mind such moral issues as are involved in the continuing debate on the genesis of World War Two, especially in view of the facts that have been brought to light by revisionist historians. An institution dedicated to truth and not afraid of being unpopular would have something to say about this. Also, it would have raised questions when military necessity was pled as an excuse for abandoning moral considerations in the conduct of the war. It would have done penance for the dropping of the first atomic bomb, and especially after the experimental dropping of the second bomb, on a nation that had been trying for months to surrender. It would have condemned the Stalin-White-Morgenthau Plan for the decimation of Germany.

These things the Church did not do. Official churchmen were silent, so that the great moral voices of World War Two were a few lonely clergymen, some military men, some lawyers, some publicists and a number of just ordinary folk. A religious tool of either the State Department or the United Nations is precluded by that fact from functioning as a true Church.

ILO: Pipeline to Socialism

By W. L. McGRATH

A U.S. employer delegate to the International Labor Organization tells from first-hand observation how that arm of the UN fosters government regimentation.

Last November the International Labor Organization, an arm of the United Nations, instigated by action of its Governing Body a move whereby it might purge itself, on legal and constitutional grounds, of certain of its communist members. This unparalleled step may not succeed. Its next test will have occurred between the time this article goes to press and the time it appears in print. But regardless of the outcome, the initiation of such a move in a United Nations agency is as surprising as it may, I hope, be prophetic.

The ILO is unique among United Nations agencies for two reasons: *First*: it was not created by the United Nations. It originated with the League of Nations, with the idea that an international organization, devoted to consideration of the problems of labor the world over, would be a useful adjunct to the League and an instrument on behalf of world peace. The League of Nations died—but the ILO continued to function, and joined up with the UN after the latter came into existence.

Second: the ILO is not composed solely of representatives of government. At its Annual Conference each participating nation has four voting delegates—two representing government, one representing labor, and one representing employers. Worker and employer delegates “speak up” with a freedom that government men, subject to “instructions,” do not enjoy.

The original objective of the ILO was that of endeavoring to raise standards of employment everywhere; helping to get the workers better working conditions, fuller recognition of their rights, etc. Toward this end the annual ILO Conference enacts proposals which are, in effect, skeleton outlines of legislation which it hopes will be adopted by member countries. These may be passed in the form of a resolution, a recommendation, or a *convention*. The strength and the danger of the ILO lies in the latter. A convention is in fact a draft of a proposed international law which, when ratified by member nations, stands as a treaty among them.

In its earlier years the ILO devoted its efforts to matters dealing directly with labor. It enacted conventions, for example, on living quarters of seamen in international marine service, the employment of women in underground mines, the employment of children in factories, rights of

collective bargaining, precautions against the use of poisonous substances such as white lead; and proposed a series of constructive practices which everybody in our country would agree should apply to employment conditions the world over.

Then the ideology of socialism came into ascendancy in Europe, and spread into other parts of the world. This was reflected in the ILO. In 1948 it adopted a declaration to the effect that *anything*, in industry, government, finance, or social systems, that in any way affected the workingman, was a subject for consideration by the ILO, and incorporated this declaration in its constitution. This gave the Socialists, who by that time had gained control of the ILO, a chance to move in on the organization and use it as a means of promoting their ideology.

Compulsory Welfare Scheme

One of the first things they did was to promote the drafting of a proposed international law whereby governments would provide all citizens—resident or not, employed or not—with medical benefits, sickness allowances, unemployment allowances, employment injury allowances, and extra income for each additional child in the family. The tax burden of this program would be enough to break any free economy—but that was exactly what the Socialists wanted.

Originally included in this scheme was a proposal that insurance should be compulsory and subsidized by the government—in short, socialized insurance. Also included was a program of socialized medicine such as they have in England. The Socialists also proposed a plan under which pregnant women employed in industry should be given two weeks off to have their babies at government expense, and when they came back should bring their babies to work with them, putting them in government-subsidized nurseries and getting time off from their machines or typewriters to nurse the babies at periods *prescribed by law* and on *company time*.

Recently, Mr. Louis W. Dawson, President of the Life Insurance Association of America, pointed out that our compliance with the “minimum standards” proposed by the ILO could bring our total social security bill to something like 28 per cent of taxable payrolls.

There was also a collective bargaining proposal to the effect that if most of the workers in one particular industry signed a collective bargaining agreement, government could automatically compel the rest of the workers in the industry to sign up likewise, regardless of whether or not they wished to do so. It was also proposed that government could arbitrarily extend a collective agreement, signed with part of the workers in an industry, to all of the workers in that industry. In short, what was suggested was nation-wide collective bargaining enforced by government decree.

The underlying socialist philosophy was always one of government compulsion, regulation and regimentation, as contrasted with free and voluntary action. Thus, on the issue of vacations with pay, we from the United States urged that paid vacations should be determined by free collective bargaining methods; but the Socialists insisted that provisions should be made for government enforcement of paid vacations.

You may assume that because thus far the United States has ratified only a few ILO conventions (a handful dealing chiefly with conditions of maritime employment) they have had little impact upon legislation in other parts of the world. The reverse is the fact. The ILO has now enacted some 103 conventions. Ratification has been extensive in Europe. The following table is significant:

<i>Number of ILO Conventions Ratified</i>	
France	68
United Kingdom	55
Italy	53
Belgium	51
Netherlands	38
Norway	35
Sweden	34
Ireland	33
Austria	27
Denmark	21

South American and Far Eastern countries, and some countries now communist, have also ratified many ILO conventions. The fact is that the ILO has been the spawning ground, over the years, for a large share of the world's social and economic as well as labor legislation. Perhaps it was not surprising, therefore, that the ILO began to conceive of itself as a world parliament.

Judge Florence Allen of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit, in her book, *The Treaty as an Instrument of Legislation*, comments as follows:

Does the fact that the ILO, in its Philadelphia Declaration, stated broad human objectives, make it the legislative agent of the world in problems other than those affecting labor? That the ILO thinks so was clearly evidenced in the 1949 Report of the Director, who said in his report: "Today the role of the organization as an international parliament has become generally accepted."

It was in the atmosphere of ILO domination by a socialist bloc composed chiefly of government and labor delegates that we arrived at its June 1954 Conference, to find that the Russians, who had been out of the ILO since 1939, had moved back in a big way, and were apparently prepared to try to either disrupt the ILO or take it over.

Iron Curtain countries were not new to the ILO. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Albania had been members for some years. But the latter three were behind in their dues, and could not vote. Hitherto we had paid little attention to the communist line fed to us by the Czechs and the Poles because we knew these delegations were merely instructed puppets of the Communist Party.

But with the arrival of the Big Boss, the situation was drastically changed. All communist influences could and would be marshalled behind the Soviet banner. And furthermore, the Russians came back not as one country, but as three—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Soviet Credentials Challenged

The employers, therefore, and a group of the workers, decided the time had come to challenge the credentials of communist so-called "employer" and "worker" delegates and advisers on the constitutional ground that they did not in fact represent free associations of free employers and workers, respectively.

In open debate on this subject before the Plenary Session of the Conference I said,

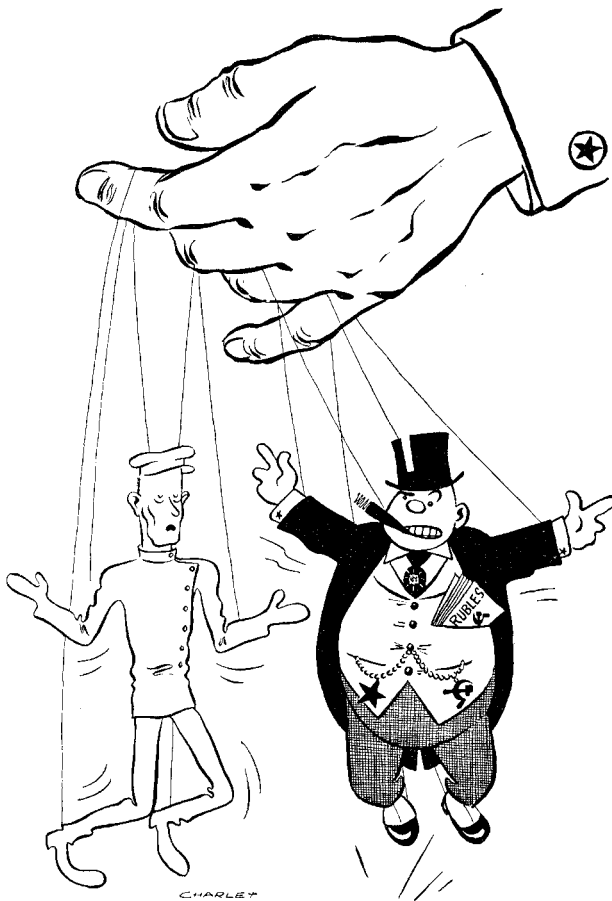
How can there be a "free association of employers" in Russia? There are no free employers in Russia. Government is the employer. Therefore a so-called employer delegate from Russia is in reality nothing but another Government delegate. Calling him by any other name does not alter that fact.

Mr. Delaney, the U. S. Workers' Delegate, speaking to the same point said,

No matter how vexing the domestic problems that confront labor in America, our burdens are blessings as compared with the lot of workers in a proletarian State where tanks and storm-troopers are sent to put down an honest strike. And from where the agents of their oppressors are sent as the alleged "worker" representatives of an allegedly "tripartite" delegation.

Summed up, the contention was simply that since "employer" or "worker" delegates or advisers from Iron Curtain countries could not actually represent employers or workers, but could only represent government, they should not be seated as representing employers or workers in the ILO.

We pointed out that delegates from communist



"Worker" and "employer" delegates, Soviet style

countries—government, employer and worker alike—always vote as a bloc on every issue. By such voting the collective strength of the communist nations in the ILO would, in view of fear of the Russians and socialist sympathy with certain communist basic principles, be sufficient in many cases to steer the nature and content of ILO findings and proposals. In short, if no corrective measures were taken, the ILO was on the verge of becoming a communist-dominated organization—and I charged at the Conference that "the purpose of the attempted re-entry of Russia into the ILO is that of disrupting the organization and using it as a springboard for communist propaganda."

When the issue was finally brought to a vote before the entire Conference, government representatives were in a dilemma. It was practically a foregone conclusion that no government whose country was close to Russia would vote to exclude communist "employer" and "worker" delegates. But the problem of governments was far deeper than that.

The great majority of the nations of the world have nationalized industries. If communist "employer" delegates were to be refused permission to sit on committees because they were simply government men and were not free employers,

that would mean that representatives of nationalized industries in socialist countries would also be outlawed as employer representatives.

England and France were somewhat on the spot because both these countries had, in the past, brought over as members of their employer delegations, managers of government-owned mines. In Scandinavia, nationalization of industry is apparently accepted as the inevitable state of affairs. The underdeveloped countries of the Far East are following the European pattern of nationalization of industries. They have what they term "mixed economies." The difficulty was that the socialist countries could not successfully challenge Russian "employer" participation without likewise challenging their own.

The vote of the Conference on the issue was, therefore, a foregone conclusion. It was decided largely by governments. The United States government strenuously opposed and voted against the admission of the challenged communist delegates. But we got little support indeed from other governments. Among the 61 governments represented, the United States and the Philippine government delegates were the only government men who stood up before the Conference and publicly expressed themselves as opposed to the acceptance of communist government-controlled puppets as "worker" and "employer" delegates.

The vote to admit communist "employer" delegates and advisers was 105 to 79. In that vote, only ten governments voted with the United States. Only six countries—China, Cuba, Portugal, the Philippines, Turkey and the United States—voted solidly, employers, workers and governments, to exclude Red "employer" delegates.

The vote to admit communist "worker" delegates and advisers was 93 to 83. Worker opposition from free trade unions was strong—but it was overcome by governments. Here again only ten governments voted with the United States, and only six countries—this time China, Cuba, Greece, Ireland, Portugal and the United States—voted solidly, employers, workers and governments, to exclude communist "worker" delegates.

Socialists Uphold Communists

In short, the Russians won. They simply stood their ground, and the Socialists made their case for them. Technically, the vote was to the effect that the ILO Constitution did not make freedom of association a "prerequisite to membership or to the exercise of the attributes of membership."

Many people assumed that this settled the matter. In his concluding speech, Mr. Morse, Director General of the ILO, laid down the red carpet and welcomed the communist bloc.

But the matter was *not* settled. Employer and worker groups, with firm convictions on the subject, refused to let the matter rest—and they

raised it all over again at the November meeting of the Governing Body in Rome. They initiated a move to amend the ILO Constitution in such a way as to exclude communist "employer" and "worker" delegates and advisers. I summarized the situation before the Governing Body as follows:

We did *not* decide, in Geneva, last June, that freedom of association *should not be a condition* of membership in the ILO.

All we decided was that the *ILO Constitution did not say* that freedom of association was to be a condition of membership; that under the constitution, *as worded*, countries in which freedom of association does not exist could seat so-called "employer" and "worker" delegates and advisers.

This time we're not debating what's in the constitution. This time we're considering what *ought to be* in the constitution. This time we are asking the question, *should so-called worker and employer delegates and advisers from countries which have neither freedom of association nor freedom of speech be ruled ineligible for participation in our conferences and committees?* We can do this by amending the constitution for that specific purpose.

On the first day of the Rome meeting Mr. Delaney, U. S. Workers' Delegate, said that he himself might propose such an amendment. There ensued a spontaneous coalition of employers and workers to reach agreement as to specific ways and means of undertaking the mutual objective. It was agreed that to push for immediate action would be unproductive, because governments could not act that fast, and that the important thing was to get the matter on the agenda of the next Governing Body session.

The outcome was that Mr. Roberts, Workers' Delegate of the United Kingdom, laid before the Governing Body, on the last day of its meeting, the following proposal for consideration by the Governing Body at its meeting in Geneva in February 1955:

That the Governing Body establish a tripartite committee, whose terms of reference shall be to examine Article 3, Section 5 of the Constitution which provides for the appointment of Worker and Employer representatives and to make proposals for such amendments as would ensure that Worker and Employer representatives could only be appointed after nomination by organizations of workers and employers which are free and independent of their governments.

What happened at that February meeting is now history, but this issue of the FREEMAN goes to press too early for the outcome to be reported here. In any event, it is my conviction that the effort of the ILO to rid itself of communist-dictated "employer" and "worker" delegates and advisers will not be abandoned.

As a result of my experience in the ILO, I have come to the following conclusions:

First: it is imperative that the Bricker Amendment be passed, in order to protect the United States against socialism slipping in through the back door by Senate ratification of conventions which would then stand as treaties with other nations and thereby, under our Constitution as now worded, become the law of the land.

Second: the two great ideologies abroad in the world today are communism and socialism—both branches of Marxian philosophy. Our free competitive system is looked upon as a curious phenomenon, suitable perhaps here, but not applicable "over there."

Third: the effort being made within the ILO, however, to exclude communist so-called "worker" and "employer" delegates on legal and constitutional grounds is nevertheless of utmost importance. It is bringing together free employers and free workers, from all over the world, on the united issue of freedom. It is running contrary to the cause of socialism, because it would ensure that employer representatives "could only be appointed after nomination by organizations of employers which are free and independent of their governments." And finally, it is particularly significant in that if the ILO Constitution should be amended as proposed, it might establish a precedent which could be applied in a broader field.

If a "worker" delegate can be disqualified because he does not properly represent workers, and an "employer" delegate can be disqualified because he does not properly represent employers, cannot the question be raised as to whether a "government" delegate properly represents a government?

Can a Communist, in fact, represent a nation—any nation? He owes his allegiance, not to the country from which he comes, but to the world Communist Party from which he takes his orders.

The United States pays approximately 25 per cent of the cost of operating the International Labor Organization, which for 1955 will come to about \$7,082,000. In addition, our government pays its share of the \$2,000,000 contributed yearly by the United Nations to the ILO for "technical assistance." Regardless of the waste of the American taxpayer's money, is it a proper function of government to support international socialistic endeavors?

A Tale of Two Leagues

By WILLIAM H. PETERSON

Vienna, 1815: Napoleon's Grand Empire and Hundred Days were bitter memories. The Disturber of International Peace was banished to St. Helena; two English men-of-war patrolled the island to prevent another Elba. The triumphant heads of State, gathered in the glittering and righteous Congress of Vienna, were determined to restore their battered absolute monarchies on the basis of "legitimacy."

The star-studded Congress was shocked by a proposition of Tsar Alexander of Russia, a mystical idealist and champion of self-determination and an international order. Alexander boldly proclaimed a Holy Alliance of European States to put away the sword of aggression forever and "to take for their sole guide the precepts of that Holy Religion, namely, the precepts of Justice, Christian Charity and Peace." Every monarch on the Continent of Europe (save the Mohammedan Turkish Sultan) signed Alexander's Manifesto, perhaps because its author commanded the largest army in the world. What did they have to lose? On the sidelines for the moment, Prince Metternich of Austria smiled.

Metternich, guiding hand behind the maneuvering at Vienna, saw in the Holy Alliance the basis of making the Restoration binding against political liberalism. Why not a league of nations, a "Concert of Europe"? Liberty, he argued, was the disease that touched off the Napoleonic wars, revolution "the hydra with open jaws to swallow the social order." The Holy Alliance must be implemented by periodic congresses to survey the "tranquility of Europe." The Quadruple Alliance was proclaimed and the Concert of Europe established.

Alexander had signed Metternich's scheme with misgivings. What about the right of all peoples to self-determination? Shortly afterward, Alexander's subject Poles revolted against Russian domination and the Cossacks ruthlessly crushed any hope of Polish independence. Metternich pressed his points to the disillusioned Tsar at a private meeting at Troppau in Silesia. Self-determination is fine for other peoples but never for one's own subjects. Liberty is a scourge that must be eradicated wherever it is found. Alexander succumbed and declared his adherence to the interventionist scheme of the Austrian. "You have always been right, Prince; I have always been wrong." Metternich had transformed the radical into a reactionary.

Thus strengthened, Metternich drew up and an-

Past attempts to unite nations have failed because supergovernment cannot prevent war.

nounced a new protocol for the Concert of Europe. It called for intervention with a vengeance. In the more polite language of diplomacy, it said:

States belonging to the European alliance, which have undergone in their internal structure an alteration brought about by revolt, whose consequences may be dangerous to other States, cease automatically to be members of the alliance. [If such States] cause neighboring States to feel an immediate danger, and if action by the Great Powers can be effective and beneficial, the Great Powers will take steps to bring the disturbed area back into the European system, first of all by friendly representations, and secondly by force if force becomes necessary to this end.

Now the world would be safe for autocracy.

The Concert of Europe authorized an Austrian army to crush one rebellion in the Kingdom of Naples and another in Piedmont. The Turks were allowed to put down a revolt of the Greeks. The Bourbons of France asked permission to suppress the new Spanish Constitution, got it, and dispatched 200,000 French regulars across the Pyrenees. Spanish revolutionaries were savagely eliminated. It was an era of Collective Security.

Ferdinand VII, the Spanish king restored to absolute power, then inquired of the Concert: What about Spanish America, parts of which had broken away as independent "republics"? Before the Concert of Europe could take action, something unforeseen happened. In December 1823, President Monroe declared in a message to Congress that:

. . . the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers. . . . We owe it, therefore, to candor and to amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.

America with her bold Monroe Doctrine was no match for the Concert of Europe. But the U. S. was joined by a disgruntled ex-member of the Concert, England. England, whose navy knew no peer, had built up a substantial trade with South America and had designs on the former Portuguese and Spanish empires. Two sharp wars against the United States and a long war against Napoleon, however, forced England to bide her time. Endorsing the Monroe Doctrine would give her time—and narrow competition.

The Concert of Europe backed down—its first defeat. The nineteenth-century league of nations tried other interventions but suffered more defeats. The Bourbons were again overturned, and later another Napoleon reared his head. The Decembrist Revolution, on the death of Alexander, shook Russia. And in 1848, even Prince Metternich, the coarchitect of international intervention, was forced to flee Vienna in disguise when revolutionaries took over Austria. The unholy Holy Alliance was dead.

The league of nations idea had failed.

Versailles, 1919: The declared perpetrator of World War One was exiled in Holland. Allied armies stood watch on the Rhine. In the brilliantly lighted Hall of Mirrors of the old palace of the Bourbons were gathered the heads of State of the world. Again, an idealist calling for self-determination and an international order made an entrance. The earlier idealist had come from the East; this one from the West. Where Tsar Alexander acted in the name of Christianity, President Woodrow Wilson acted in the name of Democracy. The last of the President's Fourteen Points was a proposal for a league of nations. Wilson the Crusader declared, "The world is faced by a task of terrible proportions and only the adoption of a cleansing process would recreate or regenerate the world."

Wilson had his Metternichs. The Old World politicians would "accommodate" his idealism. Clemenceau of France hated the Germans and would have none of Wilson's "honorable peace" talk. Lloyd George of England had been elected on a platform which demanded the hanging of the Kaiser. So despite Wilson's admonitions, which were cordially ignored, the "peace" of Versailles was harsh. Secret treaties abounded; stiff reparations were imposed; German colonies were redistributed; Germany was divided in two to make room for the Polish Corridor; armies of occupation were to be quartered inside Germany; war guilt was attached to Germany. Wilson, his Fourteen Points notwithstanding, agreed to all. In return, Wilson got his League of Nations.

Now the world would be safe for democracy.

There was one rub. Wilson's internationalist dream, ironically, was not well received at home.

The country remembered the price of American interventionism in the European squabble—365,000 casualties, billions in debt. More "internationalism" didn't sit well with the American people.

On his return from France, Wilson decided to stump the nation to whip up popular support for the League of Nations and force the hand of the Republican Senate on ratification. The people would not let him down. At Pueblo, Colorado, he said:

You will say, "Is the League an absolute guarantee against war?" No; I do not know any absolute guarantee against the errors of human judgment or the violence of human passion, but I tell you this: with a cooling space of nine months of human passion, not much of it will keep hot.

In November 1919, the Senate, led by Henry Cabot Lodge, rejected the Treaty of Versailles and its Covenant on the League of Nations.

The League of Nations was more formal than the Concert of Europe. It operated on four levels: the Assembly, the Council, the Secretariat and the specialized agencies such as the World Court and the International Labor Office. (The structure was similar to that of the United Nations.) The League was also more comprehensive. Besides political intervention, it sanctioned economic intervention. For example, the Covenant creating the ILO said that universal peace "can be established only if it is based upon social justice." (The ILO has long since pushed for a world minimum wage, maternity benefits to women workers, unemployment compensation and the like.) But like the Concert, the League was a vehicle for collective security—a vehicle, really, for consolidating the victors' gains and keeping the conquered in line. War was banned by League fiat. On September 24, 1927, the League of Nations bravely resolved that "all wars of aggression are, and shall always be, prohibited."

The League sputtered in the twenties. The Greeks and the Turks took up arms against each other. The French sent an army into the Ruhr to collect delinquent reparations and nearly started a war; the Americans came to the rescue of Germany with the Young and Dawes Plans. The Locarno Treaties were negotiated outside the League's auspices. In the thirties the League fractured itself by multiple failures: the Japanese invasion of Manchuria (1931), the Italian attack on Ethiopia (1935), Soviet and German and Italian intervention in the Spanish Civil War (1936), the Soviet attack on Finland (1939), and Hitler's aggressions in central Europe (1934-1939). In April 1946 the League of Nations transferred its agencies, facilities and much of its personnel to the United Nations and declared itself legally dead, which it practically had been since 1939.

Again, the League of Nations idea had failed.

The Concert of Europe weathered thirty-three years, the League just nineteen. Were such ages unusual in the history of leagues of nations? Not very. In the history of ancient Greece we can see the flickering on and off of various leagues. The Delian League for defense against Persia was perverted into a brief empire for Athens. The Hellenic League came under the hegemony of Macedon, first with Philip and then with his son, Alexander, who transformed the League into a brief world-conquering Juggernaut. The Aetolian and Achaean leagues failed because of internal bickering. These examples of modern and ancient leagues are not unique.

In six thousand years of history every league of nations has failed—usually obliterated in the war it was to prevent. Why?

The irony of leagues is that they are made of the same instruments that make war: namely, governments. A league is a supergovernment to curb supposedly wayward governments. Yet if governments make war, it is dubious that governments can stop war. Governments treat symptoms, rarely causes.

Government is coercion. In the words of Washington: "Government is not reason, it is not eloquence—it is force! Like fire, it is a dangerous servant and a fearful master." A supergovernment—*e.g.*, the Concert or the League—is superforce. How can it be presumed, then, that a league will use its force wisely? It is conceivable that if the Concert of Europe had been in existence earlier, George III would successfully have sought its help in putting down the unruly Americans with their strange ideas of "liberty."

It is said that a league is no better than its members. Quite so. The League of Nations had as its members the Italy of Mussolini, the Germany of Hitler, and the Russia of Stalin. Then China was a "good" member. Today Red China would be a "bad" member. After all, who are the members of any league? Governments. Where is the "good" government? The "safe" government? Is parliamentarianism the answer?

The cure for bad government is not more government, but less government. Less government means more freedom. More freedom can create the only kind of league of nations that makes peace, an economic league. An economic league is private and nonpolitical—no delegates, no headquarters, no missions, no cost. It comes through a network of trade among peoples. Trade multiplies in freedom. Merchant ships, not warships, bring peace.

Trade Under a World Government

By W. M. CURTISS

A professed objective of the United Nations is to promote international trade. As with its major objective of promoting world peace, none can demur. But what are the possibilities of its liberating trade? Is it within the realm of politics, where all impediments to trade originate, to undo what the UN has done?

The European Coal and Steel Community, commonly referred to as the Schuman Plan, is a prime modern example of politics to promote trade by strangulation. The Schuman Plan has received high praise from people in this country as well as Europeans and is considered by many as the key to a united Europe. Members of the pool are Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. Britain has lately indicated that she will work with the Community but not as a member; she prefers to retain complete control over her own coal and steel industries. The United States, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Switzerland have been accredited special representatives of diplomatic status to the Community.

One of the objectives of the Community is to bring about a "rational distribution of production at the highest possible level of productivity while safeguarding continuity of employment of member States." Among its functions are to give each member equal access to sources of production, to promote and equalize living and working conditions in member States, and to regulate prices.

The Schuman Plan contemplates the regulation of consumption and production through priorities and quotas and the establishment of equilibrium

through subsidies. It is empowered to resist dumping from the outside.

However one chooses to define his terms, the Schuman Plan is complete socialization of the coal and steel industries in member countries. The needs and desires of the consumer, which are the primary objective of trade, are cast aside; the State decides how much shall be produced, who shall produce it, who shall consume it, what prices shall be charged, what wages and other benefits shall be paid labor, etc. One of the founders of the Plan said it would "render war unthinkable." Actually, it will be a source of new conflicts.

Just suppose, for example, that steel producers in the United States suddenly found they could double their output of steel at half the present cost. Would consumers in Schuman Plan countries be able to avail themselves of this bonanza? That would break the cartel and undermine its political purpose.

Another international scheme to promote trade is GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade). At this writing, delegations from 47 countries are meeting in Geneva in an effort to redraft the General Agreement and construct a code of world trade rules in permanent form. GATT is a more or less unofficial arrangement to which 34 nations "adhere." A State Department official signed for the United States, but it has a provisional or temporary status. It has never been reviewed or approved by the Congress.

To understand GATT, one must study its origin. A UN-sponsored International Trade Organization (ITO) held a conference in Havana in 1948 and

later adopted the so-called Havana Charter, signed by representatives of the United States. Only one nation, Liberia, ever ratified the Havana Charter without reservations; and in 1950, when the U. S. withdrew its support, the Charter collapsed.

The Havana Charter was international planning on the grand scale. While reduction of barriers to trade was its stated objective, it was most concerned with problems of full employment by government and help for "underdeveloped" countries, balance of payments, access to resources. That is, the free flow of goods and services was to be dammed in the interest of "social purposes."

In an attempt to salvage something from the tariff negotiations that had taken place in ITO, and even before the Havana Charter had breathed its last gasp, GATT was thrown together in 1947 in a temporary form with "Contracting Parties" represented by delegates from different countries.

Not satisfied to confine their efforts to the reduction of trade barriers, they incorporated many of the objectionable socialistic ideas from the Havana Charter in the General Agreement. While GATT has been successful in encouraging a reduction of tariffs in some countries, it has been handicapped by sanctioning import quotas, exchange controls and the like, which are far more restrictive to trade than tariffs. Contracting Parties (nations) which had "balance of payment difficulties" were permitted to maintain quotas and other restrictions while subscribing to the high-sounding objectives of the General Agreement.

Behind the Label

So many of the world betterment schemes have involved the "full employment" idea. It sounds innocuous enough until one looks behind the label. One of the best descriptions of what is meant by "full employment" can be found in a report published by the UN in 1949 entitled "National and International Measures for Full Employment." In this report we find that unnecessary unemployment is due to deficiency in effective demand. And how is this to be corrected? "The attainment of full employment and its maintenance may therefore require sustained action, purposively directed to that end; and while numerous agencies may cooperate, the central role must be assumed by government."

The government interventions recommended include offsetting fluctuations in private investments by fluctuations in public investments—and enlarged governmental expenditures. They also include controls of prices and profit margins. "Some countries may wish to extend this principle further and use price control more generally in order to effect a more equitable distribution of income." No one denies that "full employment" can be achieved by these means. It can also be achieved in a slave labor camp.

Another type of international scheme to promote trade are the various commodity agreements—tin, rubber, coffee, sugar and the like. One of the best known is the International Wheat Agreement. This has gone through several stages starting in 1933, the most recent being a 1953 revision of the 1949 agreement. Each failed in its time, and the most recent one seems about to expire. So long as all the parties to the agreement feel they gain by it, the scheme seems to work; but as soon as one country feels it is disadvantaged, either an escape clause must be worked out or a new agreement drawn.

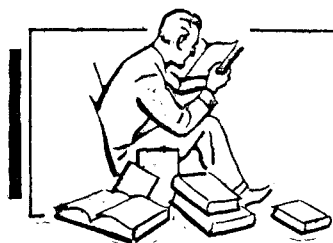
The objective of the agreement, of course, is to create "equilibrium" between supply and demand and eliminate wide fluctuations in prices. In practice, the agreement has been between a few—three or four—of the principal exporting countries and thirty odd importing countries. The exporting countries agree to divide the export market in a fixed pattern, and the importing countries agree to take these exports according to plan. Maximum and minimum prices are set, within which the sales must be made.

All this may sound fairly simple unless one considers what the weather, inflation and a few other odds and ends may do to a five-year agreement of this sort. Adherence to such a socialistic scheme cannot take place unless price and production controls are placed all the way back to individual producers of the wheat on the one hand, and consumers on the other. And it doesn't take long to find that once wheat is controlled, all competing products must also be controlled.

If the Schuman Plan, the Havana Charter, commodity agreements and GATT are samples of what may be expected from international schemes to liberate the trade of the world, the outlook is not bright. So long as international planners look on the regulation of trade as a means of maintaining "full employment," of insuring currency convertibility, of regulating balance of payments, of "helping" underdeveloped countries, of insuring "equal" access to resources, of leveling incomes and the like—so long as these are the objectives, trade is strangulated, not liberated.

But that, of course, is the purpose of the Socialists who dominate these international trade conferences. To them, trade is not a means of satisfying human desires, but rather an instrument for promoting political power.

Typical of many of the statements of international planners is that of a high-ranking diplomat who, on January 1 of this year, became one of the under secretaries of the UN. In arguing that the rich nations of the world should be taxed to aid the poor, he said: "We, at our end, do not regard such help as charity. We regard it as an international responsibility. We regard it as the fulfillment of the simple principle 'from each according to his power, to each according to his need.'" There it is, plain for anyone who will read.



A Reviewer's Notebook

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

"If men are mad enough, they will fight. If not, the ordinary means of diplomacy will do."

So said William Graham Sumner in answer to a foolish question about a "new" diplomacy, and so the history of every "league of nations," or attempt to escape from the necessities of balancing the power by means of the "bad old diplomacy," has tended to prove.

With William Graham Sumner, the late Garet Garrett knew that a "united nations" could not be built in a world of individually sovereign great powers, especially when the aims and ends of the separate powers collide. The best that can be hoped for is that the powers will group themselves into separate systems that will be so nearly matched in strength that they will not dare to press an issue to the point of unlimited war. Any departure from this method of balancing the power must lead to illusion and megalomania, and to the chaos that always ensues when signals from the real world are ignored.

Garet Garrett always felt uncomfortable in the presence of such phrases as "America's turn to assume world leadership." "Leadership" implies that one great power has the wisdom to know where the world ought to be going and is "resolved to take it there." But what if a great power has lost the sense of its own meaning? Then the attempt to play the "leader" must be doubly damned, for the messiah who doesn't know his own mind or his own tradition must create a spectacle of witless activity spinning itself out in a moral vacuum. That, said Mr. Garrett, is America today.

Heaven knows that Garet Garrett never wanted to write about international politics. He was bored

stiff with the formalities, the elaborately prepared double-talk, the "carefully caught regrets" (to use a phrase of T. S. Eliot's) by which diplomatic personnel (whether inside a "league of nations" or out) wigwag their signals to groups of men in other nations who are trained to know just what degree of precision lurks behind the professionally cultivated appearance of polite imprecision. But bored or not, Garet Garrett had to reckon with what the politicians had done to divert the traditional American from his passion to be let alone and to be free. A profound student of human energy circuits, Garet Garrett had to confront the result of twentieth-century political tampering with the human energy circuit set up by the Founding Fathers in the late eighteenth century. Writing his last book, *The American Story* (401 pp., Chicago: Regnery, \$5), Garrett discovered that he had a unique tragedy on his hands. And, rising to the occasion in a race against time (he died just after reading proofs), he produced a grand elegiac essay on the America That Was.

It is not, says Mr. Garrett, an America that can ever be again. "Ex America," is his phrase for it. In Garrett's opinion, the modern American, a "frustrated crusader," has lost contact with the values of his fathers. Limited government is now merely a "memory," and "free, competitive capitalism has been strangled." As to the how of restoring the memory to living reality and breathing new vitality into a strangled corpse, Garrett has nothing to say. *The American Story* is vivid, tumultuous, studded with sharp insights expressed in striking metaphors; taken phrase by phrase and sentence by sen-

tence, one would say that it had been hammered out at white heat by an angry but fundamentally hopeful man in the full plenitude of youthful powers. But the overall plan of the book is something else again. Taken as an entity, it is a legacy designed to be deposited in a time capsule for excavation a thousand years hence. This is Garet Garrett's message to eternity, written by an old man who had become convinced that evil had irretrievably overwhelmed his own day.

But, says Garet Garrett, the American story was a wonderful tale in its time. Not until the era of Woodrow Wilson did we make a really serious mistake. Unlike the French Revolution, the American Revolution led to no excesses. Where Rousseau managed to sell the French republicans on the *mystique* of his General Will, which let the tyrant come back in the sacred name of popular unanimity, the creators of the American Constitution would have none of that. We got a government of limited powers, carefully set up to maintain a clearly specified set of inalienable rights. We fought a second war with England, for reasons that made no sense. But witless or not, this "unnecessary" war had unexpected consequences, for, as Mr. Garrett says, after "the American commissioners won the peace at Ghent" (we did better in those days), it was possible to "establish the supreme principle of American foreign policy — the principle, namely, that Europe should meddle no more in the New World."

The Mexican War was, in some respects, another foolish war. But Mr. Garrett does not follow recent historians in depicting it as a moral monstrosity. Americans, he says, first settled in Texas at the

invitation of the Mexican government. They were promised free land, and they certainly expected to be treated as free citizens. When the Americans—now calling themselves Texans—encountered the arbitrary changeableness of Mexican law, they objected. One thing led to another, from the Alamo to Mexico City. But it was not so much a matter of the Americans choosing to seize Texas — and, later, the rest of the Southwest. As Garrett puts it, "It was the other way. Texas chose them . . . when man and nature are free to act upon each other, an environment will select its own people and put a spell upon them; and so in fact to this day in the life of America there is definitely such a thing as a Texas race."

With his faculty for finding a striking figure, Mr. Garrett speaks of slavery as the Great Two-Headed Reptile. One head was the black slave that was already here; the other head was the African slave trade. It took a long time to kill the whole reptile. Mr. Garrett tells the story of its lingering agony and death as well as it has ever been told in short compass, but this is not the part of the American saga that is his own special province and concern. What really entranced Garrett was the tale of technology, which grew out of the American aptitude and character. He sings paeans to the McCormick reaper, the rotary printing press, public sewerage, the penny newspaper, the clipper ship, the steamboat, the railroad and the telegraph, all of which happened to "this same breathless generation" that lived prior to the Civil War. The slavery issue was the big issue in those days, but underneath all the divisive bickering over Free Soil and the Peculiar Institution an event for the ages was being prepared.

Once the Civil War is out of the way, Garrett really hits his stride. In the thirty years following after 1860 the U. S. Patent Office granted 400,000 patents. And patents were only part of the picture. Came the steel rail, the steam hammer, the power excavator, the electric light, the typesetting machine, cranes, elevators, wire rope, dynamite, petroleum, Pullman cars, the air

brake, plumbing, refrigeration, and a thousand other marvels.

Garrett tells these things over lovingly, and it might be flung in his teeth that he tended to make a rosary of quite material things. But it was not the broadening ingenuity and the pyramiding creature comforts of America that Garrett made his religion. He was looking for something spiritual, a new bond of Brotherhood. What really impressed him was the decency between human beings that would have come out of the American productive system if it had not been saddled by Planners with a whole system of alien burdens.

In the beginning there were certain snags which came to America with the book of European economics. In the opening years of English industrialism a whole generation of economists had insisted there was an iron, or a brazen, law of wages. Wages, according to Ricardo and Marx, were paid out of profits. Whatever raised the wages of labor supposedly lowered the profits of capital. And in the end the landlord got it all anyway, by monopolizing access to the earth's surface. So the Europeans said, weltering in their gloom.

The first American industrialists took the European view of wages and profits over, along with the new European textile equipment and ideas of factory layout. And labor responded by unionizing on European lines, with class war ideas actuating its behavior in the Knights of Labor. But then came the American philosophical breakthrough. A homegrown economist, Francis Amasa Walker, writing as far back at 1876, prepared the destruction of what Garrett has called "the two disastrous foreign theories, namely—that there was a natural wage for labor, meaning the bare living wage, and, that profits and wages were in perpetual conflict."

It was not until 1910 that management and labor, in America, started to catch up with Francis Amasa Walker. The "quarrel over division," meaning the conflict between wage earner and profit taker, made the last years of the nineteenth century far more unpleasant than they needed to be. But suddenly there was a management breakthrough to match the philo-

sophical breakthrough. Henry Ford started paying a high wage. Since he had already started producing by the moving line method that vastly speeded manufacture, Ford's output per man soared way ahead of wage, high though that might be. Once and for all it was demonstrated that wages, even as profits, are paid out of production—and the more efficient the production, the more for wages, for profits, and for the ultimate consumer in the shape of lower prices.

What deeply angered Garet Garrett is that America's incursion into world politics via One Worldism has killed the chances for a harmonious resolution at home of the social struggle over division of the U. S. industrial and agricultural product. The First World War led to the "rape of American credit." This, in turn, had its delayed effect in 1929. The great depression, of course, brought the New Deal on to the scene. A whole generation of intellectuals who had come of age in Woodrow Wilson's America, knowing little of Francis Amasa Walker's hopeful discoveries, started applying Fabian ideas in Washington under Roosevelt. The class war idea was revived. Inflation was allowed to distort everything. Gold was seized by the State. In place of freedom and inalienable rights and voluntary action, the new words were *permission, coercion and compulsion*. (Garet Garrett's italics.)

Mr. Garrett does not think it possible for Americans successfully to tread the road of Empire, either within the UN or by way of a sweeping alliance system. When Rome was synonymous with Empire, the Romans made it pay by taxing the provinces and giving the Pax Romana in return. When England was Empire, she managed the terms of trade to her own advantage. But the American, says Garrett, pays for the privilege of trying to run the world and exacts nothing in return. The necessity for pumping energy out into Europe and Asia means high taxes and inflation at home — and the American citizen can no longer do what he wills with his own. Limited government has been killed by the high costs of Empire.

Strangely enough, this pattern

of behavior does not make us beloved abroad. And there is a reason for it: no government with unlimited powers over its citizens can be trusted by anybody, anywhere. That is what Ferrero said in his great trilogy on the French Revolution, and that is what Garet Garrett says in *The American Story* when he speaks of there being "no security at the top of the world."

There is, of course, the possibility that Garet Garrett erred by succumbing so completely to his gloom. Are we, indeed, through as a land of free citizens? Very possibly we are. But there is an angle to the story that a younger Garrett would not have missed: the American productive machine which he so loved has been so startlingly productive that the waste of our resources *hasn't* killed us—not yet, at any rate. And little by little we have been showing an increasing desire to reverse the tendencies of the past twenty years. Maybe we will pull out of it yet. If we do, it will be because men like Garet Garrett have kept the truth alive.

Modern Barbarism

Tyranny on Trial: The Evidence at Nuremberg, by Whitney R. Harris. 608 pp. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press. \$6.00

Advance to Barbarism, by F. J. P. Veale. 305 pp. Appleton, Wis.: C. C. Nelson. \$4.50

Documents of Humanity, compiled by K. O. Kurth and edited by the Goettingen Research Committee. Translated by Helen Taubert and Margaret Brooke. Foreword by Dr. Albert Schweitzer. 184 pp. New York: Harper and Brothers. \$2.50

A decade ago, when the UN was founded, Senator Taft foresaw that it would not be able to perform the function for which it was intended because it was not based on "an underlying law and administration of justice under that law." Writing in 1951 in his book, *A Foreign Policy for Americans*, he called attention to the fact that the original Dumbarton Oaks proposals, "omitted all reference to justice." He credits Senator Van-

denberg with the insertion of a phrase concerning the importance and desirability of justice in the final version of the UN Charter, but points out that the chapters dealing with the Security Council, "which form the heart of all enforcement," require it to make such decisions as will maintain "peace and security," without any reference to justice. The late great Senator from Ohio wrote:

The United Nations has failed to protect our peace, I believe, because it was organized on an unsound basis with a veto power in five nations, effective only so long as they agree. I believe the concept can only be successful if based on a rule of justice and law between nations.

Senator Taft's words are immediately relevant to the subject matter of the books I am reviewing. *Tyranny on Trial* is an apologia for, or rather a glorification of the Nuremberg trials. *Advance to Barbarism*,¹ written by an English jurist and historian, demonstrates how the "war criminal" trials of the vanquished by the victors helped to annul centuries of progress in establishing civilized rules of warfare, and afforded a terrible precedent for future wars, as already demonstrated by the treatment of American prisoners in Korea. *Documents of Humanity* tells the story of some of the survivors of the death march of fifteen million people expropriated and driven from their homes in Pomerania, East Prussia, Silesia and the Sudetenland, for the "crime" of belonging to the German "race," in accordance with the Yalta and Potsdam agreements.

Man's inhumanity to man is an old story. It is only in our day that something new has been added by the insensitivity of the majority of our self-styled liberals and humanitarians to the worst atrocities, provided that the perpetrators were "allies" or "progressives." In the words of the author of *Advance to Barbarism*, an "Iron Curtain of Discreet Silence" was drawn down over such atrocities as the Soviet liquidation of 15,000 Polish officers (the bodies of 4,500 were found in mass graves in the Katyn Forest); over the origin of the war crimes trials

which "can be traced to the proposal of Stalin at the Teheran Conference that a similar liquidation of 50,000 German officers and technicians should take place at the end of the war"; over the death of millions of German expellees and the agony of millions more; and over the evidence available, and presented in this book, that the "strategic bombing" of cities and civilian populations was started by Britain, not by Germany.

Every charge made by Mr. Veale is documented and proved, often out of the mouths of those responsible for the dark deeds he chronicles. His knowledge of history is encyclopaedic; his style combines eloquence with understatement and sarcasm in the manner of Gibbon. It would be hard to praise *Advance to Barbarism* too highly. Yet this book has for the most part been

The story
of how
America
happened...

the
AMERICAN
story

by
Garet Garrett

The improbable account of how a fragment of the human race—people with nothing in their hands to begin with—conquered a continental wilderness in frantic haste and rose to the top of the world in five generations. Where, asks Mr. Garrett, do we go from here?

\$5.00

Visit your local bookseller

REGNERY • CHICAGO

¹ See also a review by Max Eastman, the *FREEMAN*, October 19, 1953.

given the silent treatment by our newspapers and journals.

There could be no greater contrast than that between Mr. Veale's book and the one written by Whitney R. Harris, who was Mr. Justice Jackson's trial counsel at Nuremberg. *Tyranny on Trial* illustrates the strange myopia of our "liberals" who, even today, see nothing reprehensible in our having shared the bench at Nuremberg with Soviet Russia which had perpetrated, and was still actively perpetrating, just as terrible atrocities and crimes against humanity and peace as the leaders of Nazi Germany; and who see nothing wrong in our having agreed that the Nuremberg Tribunal should judge and punish only the crimes "committed in the interest of the European Axis countries." The author, together with the late Mr. Justice Jackson who wrote the preface in February 1954, failed to realize, even at that late date, that:

Trials revolving around arbitrary *ex post facto* crimes, held by tribunals with no sound legal jurisdiction, in which the same nations serve as both prosecutors and the judges of their charges, are an affront to the very fundamentals of sound jurisprudence, either domestic or international. [*Advance to Barbarism*, p. XV]

Far from calling attention to the fact that Soviet Russia should have been in the dock instead of on the bench, or realizing that Soviet conceptions of justice are designed only to protect the Communist power against its internal and external enemies, and are therefore incompatible with our

Western principles of equal justice under law, due process and equitable rules of evidence, Mr. Justice Jackson wrote in his preface that "the best features" of the Soviet and Western legal systems were happily combined in the charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal. He characterized "Soviet justice" as "following the Roman system," and further wrote that:

There is enough harmony and likeness in our Western systems of law, including the Soviet, so that five separate professions can join in the conduct of a legal proceeding.

The peculiar, but eminently respectable, "liberal" point of view of the author of *Tyranny on Trial* can be gauged from his chapter on the Katyn Forest massacre. Mr. Harris evidently felt compelled to mention it on account of the Kirsten Congressional Committee investigation. But, in discussing why the Nuremberg Tribunal refused to hear the German evidence that this crime had been committed by the Soviets, while admitting the Communist "evidence" that the Germans were responsible, he writes that "from the over-all viewpoint" it was "a relatively unimportant issue."

As against the barbaric acts of modern governments there is the consolation that humanity breaks through even in this cruel era in which we live. *Documents of Humanity* is a collection of stories told by German expellees, of how individual Frenchmen, Englishmen and Americans, Poles and Russians and even Czechs, tempered the brutality of their governments by acts of kindness toward the destitute and helpless German women and children who were driven from their homes, or who fled to escape the Red Terror. In Albert Schweitzer's words, this book is "one of the most significant to appear in modern times" because, "in spite of the brutality and inhumanity it describes," it is also "a living testament of human kindness and compassion." As Dr. Schweitzer also says in his foreword, in our epoch man's natural inclination to be swayed by feelings of compassion has diminished, thanks to the incitement given him by "leaders and masses" to look upon the citizens of enemy countries as hostile forces

instead of human beings. It is therefore as remarkable as it is encouraging to find that there were a goodly number of nationals of the victorious powers who acted according to the dictates of their conscience instead of on the "superior orders" of their governments.

One can only hope that this book, which has also been given the silent treatment by most important publications, will eventually penetrate behind the "Curtain of Discreet Silence" erected by the same people who still sing hosannahs to the United Nations.

FREDA UTLEY

Government vs. Liberty

The Economic Munich, by Philip Cortney. XX plus 262 pages. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1949. \$3.50

At official banquets where politicians and bureaucrats are dined and wined at the expense of the taxpayers, the world is told that the main concern of governments is to remove existing trade barriers and thereby to lower the cost of living. It does not occur to those listening to these grandiose speeches that these trade barriers consist merely in governmental measures intended to hinder as much as possible the international exchange of commodities. As they see it, tariffs, embargoes, foreign exchange restrictions and all kindred provisions are the effect of the operation of some unspecified sinister forces, and the peoples owe to their governments a great debt of gratitude for their ceaseless efforts in fighting these evils.

The truth is that the policies of government interference with business, to which all governments not outright socialist are today firmly committed, would be frustrated if they were not implemented by a policy of national economic isolation. If, e.g., a government wants to keep, by various measures, the domestic prices of agricultural products above the world market level, it must prevent business from thwarting this purpose by imports. The present-day trend toward each nation's economic autarky is the indispensable corollary of the cherished domestic policies of interventionism. The govern-

(Continued on page 396)

**SOCONY-VACUUM
OIL COMPANY**
INCORPORATED

Dividend No. 176  January 25, 1955

The Board of Directors today declared a quarterly dividend of 50¢ per share on the outstanding capital stock of this Company, payable March 10, 1955, to stockholders of record at the close of business February 4, 1955.

W. D. BICKHAM, Secretary

COMING DEFEAT OF SOCIALISM

Introducing 6 Serials by Major L. L. B. Angas
on Capitalism and How to Convert its Enemies
Serial 1,
"Capitalist Counter Attack" \$1 □



L. L. B. Angas

OUR 4 SEPARATE WARS

Socialist philosophy in its various forms is the cause of four separate wars. The battle is conducted on the following four fronts:

1. Military front—with the USSR and its satellites.
2. Civil front—against the communist Fifth Column at home.
3. Industrial front—the fight between domestic Socialist Labor and capitalist employers.
4. Religious front—since all Communists are crusading atheists.

It is only if wider education can remove the Philosophical Causes of these wars, that the world can be saved from high taxes and self-destruction. The world in fact is witness to a race between Education and Disaster.

Why Socialism Sweeps the World.—Socialism appeals to the pride of the poor. It gives them an excuse for their poverty. An alibi. It tells them they are robbed by capitalists or capitalism, by means of profit, rent and interest. It then promises to give this "unearned income" to the poor. The appeal is to reason, justice—and greed. A powerful political combination.

The capitalists reply, "You plan to rob us." The socialists say, "You robbed us first." The battle is one about which "system" does the thieving. The socialists say all capitalists are thieves. And vice versa.

Meanwhile businessmen and economists regard each other with mutual disrespect! And the socialist leaders in Asia tell the brown men they are robbed by the (tool-providing) white man!

What Socialism Costs You Personally.—The cost to the reader, of socialist philosophy, is about 1/3rd of his earnings. Arming against the Soviet takes about 25%. Domestic social services take another 10%—i.e. more than the reader can personally save for his own beloved family. Other families come first. That is Socialism.

All told the taxes mean 4 months work a year, or 2 days a week, or 2 hours every day.

N.B. The taxes are not all in income taxes. Some are hidden away in higher prices.

In addition the reader may lose his life, or his wife, or his children, in an atom bomb disaster.

How to get Rid of the Wars and the Taxes.—The way to get rid of the wars and taxes is not with armies, and not with bullets. It is to prove to the Communists that their Ideology and Economic Diagnoses are all wrong. For the heart of communism lies not in the Red Army. It lies in the Marxism taught in all the schools and universities of the world. And also by the United Nations.

Yet, although we spend billions on fighting commun-ists, we hardly spend a cent on fighting commun-ism.

THE 30 SOCIALIST SLOGANS

The socialists and communists win their way to power by means of the 30 socialist slogans. A political slogan is usually a poisoned pill, deliberately constructed in order to hide a Big Lie in a sugar-coating of Part Truth.

The method is merely the age-old Confidence Trick—as practised on purpose by crooks on the gullible. But so skilled have the Marxist 'quacks' become in their pill-manufacture that even the cleverest men in the world are

often deceived—particularly the sociologists, humane physicists and historians.

The Slogan That "Production Is For Profit, Not For Use"—Take for example the slogan (still used by Dr. Albert Einstein) that 'Production is carried on for profit, not for Use'.

The implication is that businessmen are unethically immoral, and care not one whit for the welfare of the public. A clever smear slogan.

The first part of the statement is obviously true! The second half however is (obviously?) a Big Lie. For if you, as a manufacturer, do NOT produce for use you make no sales; and if you make no sales you obviously make no profit.

The first thing therefore, if you want to make a profit (and earn a living), is to plan in advance to produce for use.

What Dr. Einstein should say, in the interests of accuracy, is

1. Production is for use *as well as* for profit, because if you make no sales (for use) you make no profit.
2. Production is for profit *as well as* for use . . . because employers, like workmen—and even socialist writers—do not as a rule like working for nothing, since their stomachs will not allow it for long. Profit meanwhile is the only possible form of pay for those whose risky job is to act as middlemen, or to produce and employ in *advance* of demand.

THE NEW MACHIAVELLIS

How to Get on in Leftist Politics.—Although it is not the purpose of our pamphlets on capitalism to emphasize the defects in character of many socialists—since we believe that sound theory is more practical than vulgar smear (and recognize that capitalists are often just as bad)—it perhaps might not be amiss to suggest the "possible" routines which an unscrupulous ambitious might adopt in order to gain votes . . . if he really thought his rule would benefit either the whole world, or himself.

His behaviour, I imagine—if he had read Machiavelli's *The Prince* or its sequel (Hitler's) *Mein Kampf*—would probably be somewhat of the following order:

1. Tell the poor they are poor because they are brutally exploited. Tell them their poverty is not their own fault. Give them alibis. Make them purr. Flatter the public. Tell them they are saints.
2. Paint some minority group as the cause of their afflictions. Also point to some 'system' which is definitely to blame. Talk about Rights. (Don't mention Duties). Also choose some long dead economic writer as the nebulous prophet of your cause.
3. Give the people someone or a class, or some nation, to hate. And of course don't mention the need to work or save. Promise to lower both prices and taxes. Offer more pay for less work to all. Promise Utopia when you once are in power. But . . . don't say who will be made to produce the extra goods.

(Continued on page 397)

ments and the political parties which support them clearly aim at their nation's economic isolation.

Hypocrisy, said La Rochefoucauld, is the homage which vice pays to virtue. While unswervingly clinging to a policy of high living costs and economic isolationism, the governments pretend to serve the cause of cheap prices and of free trade. Their delegates meet at conferences and draft conventions and charters to promote good will and free trade among the nations. In fact, special clauses in these documents provide a legal sanction to the policies of economic and monetary isolation.

Mr. Philip Cortney, an eminent

businessman and indefatigable champion of economic and political freedom, analyzes in this volume the outstanding example of this double-tongued policy, the International Trade Organization Charter drafted in 1948 in Havana by delegates of the governments of the civilized nations. His brilliant criticism pitilessly exposes the fallacies of contemporary official economic doctrines and policies. The main theses of his essay are irrefutable. It will outlive this age of political futility and will be read and reread again as a classic of economic freedom like the works of Cobden and Bastiat.

LUDWIG VON MISES

Out of Their Own Mouths

The Turning of the Tides, by Paul W. Shafer and John Howland Snow. 187 pp. The Long House, Inc., P. O. Box 1103, Grand Central Annex, New York 17, N. Y. \$3.00 cloth, \$2.00 paper

Tolstoy believed that there are mass manias in history, seizures by some obsession that drive men like the Gadarene swine into the death of the deep sea. Such today is the hypnosis of the intellectuals with collectivism as a social order and "one world" (under the UN) as a world State. Both these horrors are the subject of this quiet but tremendous book.

Grimly the authors document the currents of intellectual disaster, their rise in fashionable tides, their fury of flood, and the "turning of the tides" that (they believe) have begun to set again toward sanity and leave the earth wholesome once more under the wind and sun of freedom. They convict the collectivists and the One Worlders out of their own mouths.

They project the early movement—Fabian socialism disguised as "industrial democracy," etc.—gathering to infiltrate and subvert. Stage by stage we see the deepening waters. Thus, Dr. Willard E. Givens (then Superintendent of Schools, Oakwood, California, and for many years Secretary of the NEA), said in 1934: "A dying laissez-faire must be completely destroyed, and all of us, including the 'owners,' must be subjected to a large degree of social control."

And the men in strategic positions of control over education—at the Teachers' Colleges: Dr. Rugg, Dr. Counts, etc.—are quoted in detail, and their design to exploit the schools to seize power over the generations and to condition minds into hypnosis with collectivism is traced in grim amplitude. Page after page documents the terrible record. They did not even abjure violence: Dr. Norman Woelfel (professor of education, Ohio State) said: ". . . we must not blindly shrink from the fact that it may require some use of force against those at present privileged." Always, they were against individualism and for collectivism. Dr. Goodwin Watson (professor of education, Teachers' College, Columbia University) said: "One question lingered in our minds. Anna Louise Strong had stated it for us. 'I wish I knew,' she said, 'whether it will take longer for the Russians to develop efficiency or for America to develop socialism. Then I'd know where I wanted to live.'"

And as this gathers into a flood, drowning sanity and freedom under its barren brine—and it is documented, proved, indubitable here—the horror of its evil for America is made greater by its design to subjugate the world. Localism and provincialism, and the vigorous American spirit, might survive the flood here. But these would-be commissars understand that, so (as this book inexorably proves) they wish to make sure that the tang and flavor, the unique soul of America,

shall be drowned forever under the muddy yellow flood of "one world." UNESCO, working for the UN with the full cooperation of the collectivists, is to be a deluge to drown all individuality: every Ark must be smashed, every Noah must be liquidated. States' rights and nations' rights—men's natural rights to their own vine and fig tree, their own children, their own poetry of province and locality and difference, must be drowned forever. UNESCO "seminars" are to force parents into oblivion, and substitute some "world authority" in dealing with diapers or masturbation (if you do not believe this, read pp. 142-144, where it is all quoted, and weep!). "World authority" is to ask you: "Do children play sex games with each other?" and "How much emphasis is placed on chastity?"

And instead of loving each rock and rill, as Thoreau loved Concord and Whitman the continent, a "world authority" is to teach our children that love of country is a crime, and love of the gray ectoplasm of a "world government" is good! (See p. 124.) Also, collectivism is to be indoctrinated: such teaching may "usher in the revolution (the expression is not too strong)." And this is not our American revolution of freedom, but reaction toward socialism. To bring this revolution, the family is to be dissolved—but slyly, gradually, because "there is risk of a revolt, especially on the part of mothers, whose continuously sensitive presence and attention are now regarded as necessary to the emotional security of the children." UNESCO plans to stand the world on its head: "To fulfill such expectations it is clear that everything in the world would have to be changed." Everything—the multiplication table, the Ten Commandments, Shakespeare, sunrise, the pearl of great price?

This tremendous book documents what we may call the Conspiracy of Procrustes. Our neurotic intellectuals wish to lay humanity down on that bed, and chop it off where it is free and stretch it out where it is local and poetic—ruining man in the process. The UN? UNESCO? Voltaire had a word for it: "*Écrasez l'infame!*"

E. MERRILL ROOT

(Continued on page 400)

COMING DEFEAT OF SOCIALISM (Adv't cont'd)

4. Just promise to expropriate the former expropriators. Appeal to envy, hatred, hysteria and to malice.

This prescription will be found entirely reliable in any modern 'Humanist-Atheist' democracy. It will invariably get the leader into power—for a while.

ABSURD SOCIALIST PROMISES

Next, if you write a book on socialism, handle the subject as follows:—Virtually promise to cure all the world's ills of the past, merely by adopting the magic Ism known as socialism. See only one culprit: and only one cure. Make yourself simple, for simple people. Give them one guaranteed cure—all medicine, or corn-cure.

Make a list of all that went wrong in past history, and then, with an intellectual jump, blame it all on capitalism. In other words, confuse co-existence with causation. Corrupt and muddle the minds of the gullible voters.

Then argue that since socialism is 'The Opposite' of capitalism, socialism will therefore "obviously" cure all the diseases of the world, as well as those of past Capitalism. A typical Part/Whole "unintellectual" fallacy.

Now back to our analysis of the Slogans.

IS ABSENTEE PLANT OWNERSHIP EXPLOITATIVE

Does Inanimate Property Deserve No Reward.—Mr. Frugal, a saver, has a \$300 gasoline hand-saw which cuts down five times as many trees as can a skilled axeman. Letting a poor forester use the saw is of social benefit to the axeman. It will quintuple his daily output of wood, and rapidly raise his standard of living.

If Mr. Saver riskily provides the saw (which may get damaged) he certainly deserves a share in the product, or a profit, or some interest.

But the Marxists say that the capitalist (the saver) "exploits" the poor worker. Actually he is the poor tool-less worker's best friend.

Incidentally why should a worker have the right to seize the saw from the saver, who personally paid for it? And why should a boy with an oilcan, who merely minds a \$1,000,000 press or loom, be entitled to the whole of the output?

Causes of Poverty.—The chief causes of poverty are (a) Lack of Capitalism; and (b) Nature, and Human nature. Capitalism does not itself 'cause' poverty—(as the horse-cart leftists say). *It cures it!* Rich Asia is poor for lack of capitalism.

Conclusion.—Machinery deserves pay because it costs money; and produces. Absentee ownership is not 'exploitative'. Tool-less workers get tools, while widows get interest. Two birds with one happy stone.

THE FREEDOM FACTOR

Individual Liberty.—Whereas under capitalism every man is free to choose his own work and choose his own boss; under socialism—in the interests of Efficiency—liberty to quit and to move, and also to make personal plans, will have to be taken away. Labor will get rebellious and want to strike. This will demand a fierce reign of Terror! The socialist orators do not mention this. They only show you one side of their balance sheet.

Wage Slavery . . . or Nature Slavery.—The Marxists meanwhile are somewhat tricky in their misrepresentations, and their use of verbal dialectic. *For example:*—Although all of us are wretched slaves of Nature in that we have to work to eat (the Curse of Adam), no man makes another man work, buy or sell. He can do as he likes with his own private time and property.

The Author

Major Lawrence Lee Bazley Angas. Soldier, then economist. Born Feb. 22, 1893. His great grandfather was Chairman of the National Provincial Bank of England (one of the Big Five). M.A. of Magdalen College, Oxford. Past President Oxford University Economic Society. Commanded infantry battalion (1st Cheshires) France 1918. Military Cross: Croix de Guerre: Twice wounded. Dispatches.

Joined Anglo-French Bank 1931. Subsequently stock broker in London. Now President of an economic forecasting service in U. S. A.

Recreations: travelling, racquets, tennis. Twice winner Alpine Ski challenge cup. Former club champion at golf.

Reviews

1. 'Investment'.—"Regarded by some as the classic on Investment for Appreciation", *Fortune*. . . . "Best book ever written on the subject," *London Daily Telegraph*. . . . "An admirable book for the professional financier. The author has an enviable record." *Book of the Month Club, New York*.

2. 'Problems of the Foreign Exchanges (1935)'.—"His summing up of the prerequisites for the functioning of a successful gold standard is masterly". *British Institute of Bankers*. . . . "The most clear and searching criticism of the gold standard which I have ever read". *London Financial News*. . . . "Major Angas exhibits real brilliance in his attempts to solve the world's economic and financial problems". *Finance and Industry*.

3. The author has also written 18 published pamphlets forecasting stocks, bonds and trade, 17 of which have been right. "The Coming American Boom (1934)" headed the best seller list in U.S.A. Stocks eventually quadrupled.

London Sunday Dispatch.—"Major Angas has restored the lost art of pamphlet writing as a means of expressing opinion among men of consequence to the high position which it occupied at the end of the 18th Century."

Capitalism is thus not man-made slavery at all, despite the attempted Marxist twists. [Freedom however has its own weak points, in that a freed slave or serf must now look after himself and his family, instead of being dependent on his master or his lord].

The 'reactionary' socialists bid fair to re-impose slavery. It is the price of making the State paternalistic. The corollary of State Support is Lost Freedom. The socialists are not "progressive".

Family Slavery.—Meanwhile wives should have the imagination to see that Miss Prim will be coming in from next door to tell them how to bring up their children, in the interests of the State. Ditto how to cook, and what to read. Miss Prim will have her nose in everything.

You see, the world is composed of 2 sorts of people. . .

1. *Individualists*. Those who dislike big and little bureaucratic bosses interfering with their private behaviour. . .

2. *Collectivists*, who think that the State should take over, i.e. that Mr. Bullicrat and Miss Prim should organize everything (and everybody).

Incidentally it will also be some local Miss Prim who decides whether your daughter shall go into typing, statistics, nursing or broom-slavery.

Our Serial 4 proves to the hilt that 'regimenting' all the factories also means regimenting all the men, and also all the girls—drafting them to go unwillingly to Alamo or to Alaska as the needs of the State require. *Involuntarily* split families.

(Continued on next page)

COMING DEFEAT OF SOCIALISM (Adv't cont'd)

IS PROFIT IMMORAL

The chief of all vote-winning Marxist slogans however is that "the profit made by a capitalist is immoral", since it can only be made, so the socialists say, by over-charging consumers or underpaying workers. In fact the socialists do not regard profit as 'pay' for any useful form of economic service. This firm Marxist belief is the crux and core of the Soviet Constitution (see its Articles 9 & 12). In fact socialists win their way to power by promising to give to the poor the "unearned" profits of the rich.

But if a dressmaker prefers \$10 to a frock, and a typist prefers the same frock to \$12, a middleman capitalist can make himself useful to both these "Disagreeers-about-Relative-Values" if he brings them together and marries their Opposite Preferences via his shop.

How To Make An Honest Million

To show how profit is born solely from Opposite Preferences, watch a Canadian fruiterer make a million (honestly). Let us take an extreme case, to start with:

In Canada you can get ten apples for an orange. In California ten oranges for an apple:—

- i. Swap one apple for 10 oranges in California.
- ii. Swap the 10 oranges in Canada for 100 apples.
- iii. Swap them for 1000 oranges in California.
- iv. Three more journeys, and you have made your million—by pleasing both the Yanks and the Canucks. *Exploiter—of disagreements about relative values, only!*

Now perform the whole trade with money, taking one cent and ten cents as the money prices. The profit is a million cents.

* * *

Next allow for transport, packing, staff and other costs. The risks are terrific: All profit may be wiped out. Indeed, if it costs you 9 cents to distribute a one cent orange, you will not make a profit at all.

And yet pay out of gross profit is the 'only possible' form of pay for the 'socially useful' middlemen. But the amazing Intellectuals say it is immoral!

To amplify their unscientific nonsense, please also read the "child's play" which follows: It is meant to prove that profit is not immoral unless it is immoral for people to have Opposite Private Preferences.

You Made a Measurable Profit . . . You Scoundrel

If boy A swaps ten marbles for five apples, and then swaps the 5 apples for 10 pears, the bishops of Socialism make no inquisition, for simple exchange is to them no robbery. [N.B. He has not yet gotten back into the same sort of capital, namely marbles, that he started with].

But if boy A then swaps the 10 pears for 12 bars of chocolate, and then swaps the 12 bars for 20 marbles (with boy B aged 14 who has given up the game), the local Marxists send boy A to jail, because he made a "measurable" profit.

Then all the other boys are lined up to swear that Boy Number One exploited them, and was a *Dirty capitalist*.

The truth is, of course, that the intellectual Marxist economists have not the foggiest idea of what Exchange or Profit really is—or how it is derived solely from the finding of people with Opposite Private Preferences.

N.B. The reason why the Left does not understand Profit is because our rightist professors teach a wrong Theory of Exchange. They say that values in exchange are equal (the Equational theory)—when only a moron who liked wasting time would exchange, if the values to him were equal . . . and not differential. Teaching the Right to teach the Left is perhaps the major problem of our day. *Hence these half-angry, half-smiling pamphlets.*

Value.—Value, by the way, is a matter of Opinion . . . like admiration in relation to beauty. It is not determined solely by costs, as Marx thought. One object can have 2 values, simultaneously, subjectively. Meanwhile individuals only agree to effect exchanges if they first disagree about relative values. In this simple factor of Opposite Private Preferences is to be found the root theory of all good and bad Trade under Capitalism, i.e. *The Mutual or Twin Profits System!*

Now look at the slogans *re* Risk and Speculation.

SPECULATION IN LABOR. Risk-bearing

Speculating "Wickedly" in Labor.—Although a laborer is not a commodity, his labor definitely is. A manufacturer speculatively bottles the specialized labor of his skilled team in materials, and then offers the product to the public—who have Freedom of Choice not to buy. He depends on the Consumer Dollar Vote. *Most dangerous! Poor Profit-slave!*

Meanwhile he has paid his labor—his wage-slaves—a weekly wage in advance, because they want no part of the long wait, or the speculative risks. [But the socialists say the Wages System is both cruel and immoral!]

Other Speculations.—The capitalist also provides the worker with tools, and with materials to work on, and a factory to work in. The whole of his life is occupied with these four speculations . . . which may or may not give him profit. *Consumers decide!* It is they who finally boss the system (and the bosses) democratically.

The only 'power' that the "bloated bankers" have is to initiate NEW business—for the consumer to approve or reject with his Dollar Vote.

The ever-anxious retailer meanwhile holds goods most dangerously on offer. If the haughty housewife is not pleased, the shopkeeper makes a loss. His only possible form of pay is out of gross profit. But the socialist calls such income and earnings "unearned"—and therefore unethical!

Marx however, an historian and son of a lawyer, did not know what Risk (or Business) was. He thought it was 'wrong' to hire men, i.e. speculate in labor! He did not understand Time, Value, Savings, Risk, Exchange or Profit. And neither do the parrots who repeat his famous fallacies—always in half-lie slogan form.

To kill the Marxists you must kill the Slogans—by explaining how Capitalism really works.

HOW NOT TO DIAGNOSE

CAP-ISM NOT SOLE CAUSE OF ALL OUR WOES

The super-folly however of the Socialist Party is that it confuses capitalism with the economy as a whole. Capitalism—if the word is to mean anything at all *politically*—can only be that part of the total economy as would disappear on a switch to full socialism.

Capitalism is not the economy as a whole. It is merely one of several co-existent sister-systems—each of which (others) would also exist under socialism and could equally cause socialism to break down. For instance:

- A. Wages system. (Rates usually too high or too low).
- B. Money system—(gold and credit, which are always misbehaving).
- C. Land Tenure system. (In some countries disastrous).
- D. Taxation system (usually quite crazy).
- E. Savings and Credit system (often much dislocated).
- F. Capitalist system proper. *Freedom of enterprise.*

Pet Culprit : Pet Cure

Each of these sister-systems has faults of its own (particularly the Money System), and can therefore drag down capitalism, and the economy-as-a-whole, with it.

Systemic Disorders:—Thus, if the economy as a whole is a sextette of systems (A to F)—while capitalism-proper is merely System-F—it is wrong to blame System-F for all the faults of all the other sister-systems A to E. To do so is to confuse a part with the whole. It is like blaming the thumb for the faults of all the fingers. The Socialist doctors lack knowledge of the Anatomy of our Economy.

Non-systemic Disorders:—Furthermore since the Economy-as-a-Whole can be upset by forces other than defects in the structure of Man's chief systems, neither capitalism (nor its sister systems) should be blamed for disturbances of a Non-systemic nature.

BEATING THE WRONG DOG

Hence, since many of Man's economic woes are due to Man's own imbecilities, or to Nature, or to the actions of hostile foreigners, blaming system-F and its structure for these non-systemic adverse factors is inerudite economic diagnosis. It is blaming the victim instead of the culprit. It constitutes false witness and beating the wrong dog. Such factors could equally drag down socialism.

Money the Chief Culprit: Actually capitalism has never yet had a fair chance for it has never had stable money for more than 4 years on end. It is nobody's fault, since our habit of using three different forms of money, one pyramided on the other—with the reserve base exportable—gradually grew up out of past history.

But so ignorant are both capitalists and the unions about our Bank-money system, and its 6 main diseases, that when Money—the chief snake in the grass—stings both Capital and Labor on the heel simultaneously, they both turn round and attack each other, instead of their joint enemy the snake.

If the communists would learn capitalism . . . and the capitalists would learn money . . . and if both would learn ethics . . . we would soon put an end to our slums and slumps.

VICTORY AHEAD . . FOR THE RIGHT

The right cannot hope to win its war with the left if the quality of its arguments remain as at present: "America has more bathtubs than Russia", and "Liberty is better than slavery".

Something more lively and convincing is required in order to change the beliefs of the communists.

What is needed is (i) A clear Capitalist Manifesto, (ii) More knowledge about Money, and, (iii) A convincing set of answers to the lying Socialist Slogans.

* * *

This essay however is only an advertisement. It cannot do much more than X-ray the flabby backbone of Socialism. Longer pamphlets are needed to high-light all the nonsense—and to give clear answers to ALL THIRTY of the socialist slogans. Moreover the comedy of the battle is spoilt by too much attempted brevity.

Exposing the Left to the Art of (Non-illicit) Argument

Socialists meanwhile are easy to convert, since all of them pride themselves on their 'intellects'. I find it takes less than 5 hours to convert one. Indeed merely explaining "how profit is born" (out of Opposite Preferences) will win most of them over in less than 20 minutes. But you have to thank "them" for telling "you", since the self-esteem of a World Planner is something not to toy with. The convertee then becomes your secret agent, for this reason:

Socialists on the Run.—If once you have shown a socialist where he is wrong about a theory, the first thing he does is to ring up yet another socialist and "put him right" also . . . for there is nothing in the world that a Leftist likes better than pointing out to a fellow (or rival) comrade, where the latter's eyesight or mindsight has gone wrong.

The second comrade then phones a third 'scientist'. In fact you start off a race between the ever-lively Leftists. A small seed spreads like a chain-reaction fire. The professors will race to beat their pupils to the gun. And the pupils will race to beat the professors. All you need is to know your economics—and to find about 10 capitalists who do not talk nonsense. Distributing these pamphlets will train these 10 apostles . . . who will then proceed to assassinate the socialists with convincing counter-slogans.

Wolf Into Lamb

The secondary psychological result is that the already puzzled Leftists will become ashamed of what they have been saying in the past. They will wish they could undo their own past writings and speeches. They will lose all enthusiasm for their cause. Some may even desert, and join the winning Right.

Involuntary Illusions:—In fine . . . although men may deliberately tell lies which they know to be untrue, no man willfully suffers from illusions. But since no man knows when he suffers from economic bad breath or illusions—or wrongly "sees" the sun go round the earth—it needs some other kind friend to tell him. *Be that kind friend!* Buy a few of these pamphlets. Then leave them around where socialists gather. [They will not burn them, but read them, we assure you. And before a week elapses, they too will be "your" comrades, who will start to undermine their former fellow travellers].

Do not try to defeat ideas with armies. Bulletins (and laughter) are more murderous than billions, bombs, and bullets. Fight the war in a *sane* way.

LECTURE BY MAJOR ANGAS

Wed., March 16

Waldorf-Astoria; Starlight Roof at 5.15 p.m.

Part I. How to Convert a Communist!

Our armory of answers to the 30 Socialist Slogans

II. Why Prosperity need not always end in Depression.

Secure ticket well in advance, rather than at door.

\$2 each. Two for \$3.

The next election, and the next war, will both be fought about Capitalism.

"Capitalist Counter Attack"

Since this advertisement is an outline of Serial I, entitled "Capitalist Counter Attack", we suggest you begin by reading Serial 6, "Insecurity, Risk & Speculation: or "What Every Worker should Know about Losses, and His (or Her) Boss".

It is designed as something to be given by an employer to an employee, saying "Look Who & What really determines your weekly wage: and Who & What actually causes your occasional Unemployment".

This pamphlet will enable almost any employer to convert almost any Marxist worker in one day. *Believe or not.* . . For accurately to define capitalism is automatically to defend it.

* * *

The other 4 Serials are:—No. 2, *ABC of Capitalism. Its 8 Main Features, and its Clockwork.* No. 3, *Who & What Controls Capitalism. The 5 Hidden Hands.* No. 4, *X Y Z of Socialism. Why 100% Socialism Must Mean Terrorism.* No. 5, *False Witness of The Left. How to Beat Wrong Dogs. An analysis of the Lunacy of our 'Humanist' Professors.*

Pamphlets \$1 ea.

24-32 pp.

Each readable separately.

ORDER FORM

To Major L.L.B. Angas, Inc.,
480 Lexington Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

- Send Serial 6 only, "Insecurity, Risk & The Need for Speculation" \$1.00
Half price to Students or Teachers (Letterheads) 50 cents
 - Send Serials 1 to 6 \$5.00
(i) Money back guarantee (Business letterheads)
(ii) Half price (for 1 to 6) to Students, Teachers, Clergy (letterheads) \$3.00
 - Send () Gift Sets (1 to 6) at half price \$
(\$3) *We will mail them, if you wish*
 - Fee for () lecture tickets \$
- Cash or check enclosed with order. \$

Name

Address

Give a set to your library: your old school: etc.

Invest \$100—to cut your own Taxes—and help win World War III

Precise Prophet

Illusions of Point Four and Will Dollars Save the World?, by Henry Hazlitt. 48 and 95 pp. respectively. Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.: The Foundation for Economic Education. \$.50 and \$.75

The American people are said to be money grubbers. Nevertheless, most of them would rather pay taxes than think. Our foreign policy has been based on emotion and propaganda. But in time the facts always trip up the majority that emotes.

Few are they who try to get the facts before they go broke on emotion's wild binge. One of this minority is Henry Hazlitt, a prophet without enough honor in his own country. But even though the hour is late, Mr. Hazlitt's precise and logical thinking may still help us pick up some of the pieces in the cold gray light of the morning after the binge.

Illusions of Point Four was written some four years ago, which makes it all the better. One by one, Mr. Hazlitt takes up the various illusions of Point Four, a sort of nephew of the Marshall Plan, and the favorite godchild of Harry S. Truman, now in process of adoption by Dwight D. Eisenhower. The booklet is a sequel to *Will Dollars Save the World?* which Mr. Hazlitt wrote in 1947, and which raises a question more pertinent now than then, as the fiascos in China, Korea and Indo-China make clear.

In the later booklet, each of the illusions of Point Four which tickle the mass-mind is given the treatment it deserves. But the illusion that chiefly flatters the Santa Claus spirit of Boobus Americanus is that Point Four makes the world richer and must therefore buy us many true friends in far places. This illusion is very convincing to IQ's that cannot reach beyond single-entry bookkeeping—a mental failure that is of epidemic proportions in America today. How the Culture Clubs love to hear what a million dollars of our tax money did (or is claimed to have done) in some never-heard-of village in Backwardarea in the shadow of the Iron or Bamboo Curtain!

Maybe so. But whether it has made the world richer or poorer, or made us stout friends or envious

enemies is another question entirely. Mr. Hazlitt gives this the double-entry treatment. He points out that this forced transfer of wealth makes the transferer as much poorer as the transferee is made richer. He thinks the money could be better spent, say, for expanding America's schools and hospitals, now so crowded. And, moreover, if these troubled lands set up governments that would give security to Ameri-

can dollars, as Saudi Arabia or Venezuela have done, private investors would pour millions into their development, which would make you happier when you figure your income tax.

As it is, our governmental charity helps socialistic foreign politicians to hold on to their jobs at your expense. All this in the sacred name of a "free" world!

SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL

The UN Adds to World Tension

The Evolution of Diplomatic Method, by Harold Nicolson. 93 pp. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.25

Harold Nicolson is the son of Sir Arthur Nicolson, later Lord Carnock, one of the great figures of British diplomacy in the days before World War One. He himself entered the British foreign service and participated in a number of important conferences, including that at Paris in 1919. Eventually he resigned and devoted himself to writing diplomatic history. He has published a number of volumes, all of them clear, lucid, witty and in many respects profound. If there is any criticism to be made of Mr. Nicolson it is of his failure to point up the practical conclusions to be drawn from the events he so ably describes.

Thus, in 1944 Nicolson published *The Congress of Vienna*. The Congress of Vienna, and I use the term to refer to the system of treaties made by the European powers upon the overthrow of Napoleon, achieved with unparalleled success a solution of the international problems of that time. There was no general war for ninety-nine years—the longest peace modern civilization has ever known. In this book Nicolson told how Lord Castlereagh, Britain's greatest Foreign Minister, insisted on leniency to France and sternly opposed the Russian aggrandizement sought by Tsar Alexander, a brutal tyrant who talked the patter of progress and bewitched the naive liberals. When Alexander seemed obdurate, Castlereagh promptly allied Great Britain with France, her bitter enemy for over twenty years. Alexander yielded. To an American reader the deduction seemed obvious: vengeance

should not be taken on Germany, whose forces should be kept available to oppose Stalin's aggressions. But Nicolson never made that point—nor did he in any way suggest how the lessons of Vienna should be applied in the then impending peace negotiations. The book had no visible effect on public opinion.

The Evolution of Diplomatic Method traces the development of diplomacy from the days of Greece and Rome. Its final chapter describes the frustration of traditional diplomatic methods, the product of centuries, by the League of Nations and the United Nations. The League of Nations led "the ordinary peaceful citizen . . . to suppose that violence could be restrained by reason: it was not until it was too late that he understood that it could only be restrained by force. . . In place of the old methods of stability, a new method of the utmost instability was introduced." And now the United Nations organization tends "to promote rather than allay suspicion, and to create those very states of uncertainty which it is the purpose of good diplomatic method to prevent. . . All rational discussion [is] abandoned in favor of interminable propaganda speeches. . . The invectives there exchanged . . . add to the sum of human tension and bewilderment."

Most criticism of the United Nations in this country emphasizes the way it defeats American interests. Such arguments make little impression on our intelligentsia because they have been convinced for reasons satisfactory to themselves that the welfare of mankind requires the sacrifice, or at least the subordination, of American interests. Nicolson, however, does not care about Ameri-

can interests; his thesis, that the United Nations provides a very poor method of conducting international relations, facilitates Soviet propaganda and increases world instability, might well be heeded.

One must regret that this analysis, buried at the end of a volume of diplomatic history, will in all likelihood receive no more attention in relation to contemporary issues than did *The Congress of Vienna*. Perhaps some day Nicolson will publish a book entitled, *Why the United Nations Should Be Dissolved*, in which he will directly marshal the arguments in support of that proposition. C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

Well-Tried Failure

The World State Craze and Real Freedom, by Charles T. Sprading. 109 pp. and 103 pp. respectively. Los Angeles: Wetzel Publishing Company. Each \$2.00

It is not enough to point out that the world State idea is a well-trying failure. Perhaps that is why Charles T. Sprading offers a companion piece to *The World State Craze*, entitled *Real Freedom*, in which he concludes:

You serve mankind better by promoting your own business than by hampering your neighbor's. You can accomplish more by teaching than by persecution. Your example is better than your dictation. Until it is performed, every duty of man is a debt to himself. You can best teach this duty to another by performing your own.

With such a creed, a man could not be expected to endorse international government, though he might accept nationalism as the lesser of two evils. His point would be that the further the departure from self-government or self-control, the less is the likelihood that a society will be well-governed.

Mr. Sprading does not understand why a citizen of the United States should even consider a supergovernmental arrangement in which he would find himself outvoted two to one by open proponents of socialism. To repeal the Declaration of Independence by voluntary submission to United Nations rule would be like stepping backward two centuries, and for what? The promise of peace, which has been perverted into ex-

cuses for war by every international imperialist since the time of Alexander the Great! Such men look upon international treaties and alliances as devices for insuring that every minor incident may become an international issue, justifying further war for world conquest.

The foreign aid policy of the United States is submitted as an example of the way in which one nation tries to break down the independent spirit of other peoples. If that was not the underlying motive of the Marshall Plan, at least it has been the consequence in the eyes of other nations. The United States-financed World Bank merits a chapter of rejection for the same reason.

The World State Craze concludes with what some persons would call a gross understatement of the relation between Soviet aspirations and the growth of United Nations. On the whole, it is a restrained report on a current threat to liberty which the author keenly resents. It should be read along with his other recent book, *Real Freedom*.

PAUL L. POIROT

If They Only Would

Hunger and History, by E. Parmelee Prentice. 269 pp. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd. \$5.00

Here is a book that delegates to the United Nations should read. Though of pre-UN vintage — it was first published in 1939—it carries a lesson that UNers seem to have missed: human freedom and material progress go hand in hand. The idea will be novel, of course. Most of the UN nations are deeply smeared with collectivism, some of them soaked in it. And collectivism takes a dim view of human freedom. It holds that men in the mass are too dumb to take care of themselves; government must do it for them. This book offers another slant.

For some 2,300 years, 500 BC to 1800 AD, roughly, most of the people of the world were hungry most of the time. Wresting a living from Old Mother Earth was more of a back-breaking than a stomach-filling job. Then, in the course of a few years, commons were abolished, restrictions lifted, taxes eased. Men were granted individual control of

their fields, free to cultivate as their judgment dictated and to claim the fruits of their labor as their own. Under the spur of new incentive, ambition soared, inventions multiplied, methods improved, and soon the world was eating better than ever before. The dawn of free enterprise was at hand. All this we learn from *Hunger and History*.

Prompted by study of *Hunger and History*, the UN delegates might come to see that this business of collectivism—which term, of course, includes socialism and communism—isn't all it is cracked up to be; that it is really collectivism which breeds poverty, and not the other way around, as many think. That the more collectivist a nation, the lower its living standards. Soviet Russia, for instance. And the less collectivist, the better off its people. The U.S.A., for example. They might note that there isn't a rich collectivist nation on earth—or a poor capitalist nation.

They might come to realize, those delegates, that capitalism, which they scorn as the very antithesis of collectivism, is largely synonymous with freedom, being merely freedom as applied to trade and production. They might even in time grasp the profound truth that capitalism is the only economic system the world has ever known in which men at all levels may attain to any appreciable measure of freedom and economic well-being.

If the delegates went that far, they would be moved to alter their objectives radically—to the vast betterment of all mankind. Those of them, that is, who hadn't already been yanked home to be purged—purging being part and parcel of collectivism in its more rarefied form.

Distinctly a worthwhile book, this. C. O. STEELE

WANTED: BOOK MANUSCRIPTS

Book publisher will be happy to read your manuscript on any subject. Intelligent editing, aggressive promotion campaign, a fair, honest, cooperative contract if your work is acceptable. Write, or mail your manuscript directly, without obligation.

GREENWICH BOOK PUBLISHERS, INC.
Attention—Mr. Ferguson 489 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

Any book reviewed in this Book Section (or any other current book) supplied by return mail. You pay only the bookstore price. We pay the postage, anywhere in the world. Catalogue on request.
THE BOOKMAILER, Box 101, New York 16

World Affairs Reading List

Compiled by BETTINA BIEN

These references are intended to supplement material in this issue. For lack of space, many excellent magazine articles have necessarily been omitted.

Organization and Structure of the United Nations and Its Specialized Agencies

Heilperin, Michael A. *The Trade of Nations* (2nd ed., enlarged) New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952. xix:302 pp. Index.

U. N. Dept. of Public Information. *Everyman's United Nations: A Ready Reference to the Structure, Functions and Work of the United Nations and its Related Agencies.* (4th ed.) New York: Columbia University Press, 1953. 433 pp. Index.

U. S. Senate Subcommittee on the United Nations Charter (83rd Congress, 2nd Session). *Review of the United Nations Charter: A Collection of Documents.* (Sen. Doc. #87). Wash.: Gov't Printing Office, 1954. 895 pp.

Personnel of the United Nations

Flynn, John T. *While You Slept: Our Tragedy in Asia and Who Made It.* New York: The Devin-Adair Co., 1951. 192 pp.

Manly, Chesly. *The Twenty Year Revolution From Roosevelt to Eisenhower.* Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1954. 272 pp. Index. (See especially Chapters XI and XII, "The United Nations Conspiracy," and "Revolution by Treaty.")

U. S. Senate Judiciary Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws. (83rd Congress.) *Activities of United States Citizens Employed by the United Nations.* Report of January 2, 1953, 18 pp. Second Report, March 22, 1954, 53 pp. Wash., D. C.: Gov't Printing Office, 1953 & 1954.

Criticism of Specific Programs¹

Calhoun, Leonard J. *The International Labor Organization and United States Domestic Law* (National Economic Problems Series #450). New York 17: American Enterprise Ass'n., Inc. (4 E. 41 St.). 1953, 49 pp.

Clinchy, Russell J. *Human Rights and the United Nations.* Irvington-on-

¹ Additional references to articles criticizing specific UN programs may be obtained by writing to: The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.

Hudson, New York: The Foundation for Economic Education, 1952. 46 pp.

Hazlitt, Henry. *Illusions of Point Four and Will Dollars Save the World?* (Reviewed in this issue.)

Roepke, Wilhelm. *The Economics of Full Employment: An Analysis of the U. N. Report on National and International Measures for Full Employment* (Nat'l. Econ. Prob. Ser. #444). New York 17: American Enterprise Ass'n., Inc. (4 E. 41 St.), 1952. 34 pp.

Shafer, Paul W. & Snow, John Howland. *The Turning of the Tides.* (Reviewed in this issue.)

Threat to U. S. Constitutional Government through U. N. Commitments and Other Treaties

Abbott, Charles C. *The International Position and Commitments of the United States* (Nat'l. Econ. Prob. Ser. #449). New York 17: American Enterprise Ass'n., Inc. (4 E. 41 St.), 1953. 36 pp.

Allen, Florence E. *The Treaty as an Instrument of Legislation.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1952. 114 pp.

Foundation for Study of Treaty Law. *Treaty Law Manual.* Wash., D. C.: Foundation for Study of Treaty Law (Rm. 422, 1001 Conn. Ave., N.W.), 1953. 61 pp.

Holman, Frank E. *Story of the "Bricker" Amendment: The First Phase.* New York 17: Committee for Constitutional Gov't., Inc. (205 E. 42 St.), 1954. 179 pp. (See the author's bibliography, pp. 177-179, for additional references on the legal aspects of "treaty law.")

The United Nations: A Hope or a Menace? Seattle 4, Wash.: Author (Hoge Bldg.), 1952. 32 pp.

U. S. Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments (83rd Congress, 1st Session). *Treaties and Executive Agreements: Hearings*, 1267 pp. (Feb-April, 1953) and *Report*, 63 pp. (#412, June 15, 1953). Wash., D. C.: Gov't Printing Office, 1953.

Our Government's Changing Role in International Affairs

Clark, J. Reuben, Jr. *Our Dwindling Sovereignty.* Salt Lake City, Utah:

Author (47 East on S. Temple St.), 1952. 35 pp.

Garrett, Garet. *The American Story.* (Reviewed in this issue.)

Rise of Empire. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1952. 61 pp. (Reprinted in book form with two earlier essays by the same author, *The People's Pottage*, Caxton, 1953.)

Economics of International Collectivist Planning

Cortney, Philip. *The Economic Munich.* (Reviewed in this issue.)

Mises, Ludwig von. *Omnipotent Government: The Rise of the Total State and of Total War.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944. 291 pp. (See especially Chapters XI and XII, "The Delusions of World Planning" and "Peace Schemes.")

Robbins, Lionel. *Economic Planning and International Order.* London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1938. 330 pp.

Causes of International Conflict

Hayek, Friedrich August von. *The Road to Serfdom.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944. 250 pp. Index. (See especially Chapter XV, "The Prospects of International Order.")

Mises, Ludwig von. "The Decay of International Trade" in *The World Crisis*, a collection of essays by the Professors of the Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, Switz. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1938. 382 pp.

Robbins, Lionel. *The Economic Causes of War.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940. 124 pp.

Sulzbach, Walter. "Capitalistic Warmongers:" *A Modern Superstition.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942. 35 pp.

Economics of True "One Worldism"

Mises, Ludwig von. *Human Action.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949. 889 pp. Index. (See Chapter XXXIV, pp. 817-828, "Economics of War.")

Prentice, E. Parmalee. *Hunger and History.* (Reviewed in this issue.)

Sennholz, Hans. *How Can Europe Survive?* New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., March 1955. 319 pp. Index.

Yeager, Leland B. *Free Trade: America's Opportunity.* New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation (50 E. 69 St.), 1954. 88 pp.

*Want extra copies of
this UN issue?*

For students? Teachers?

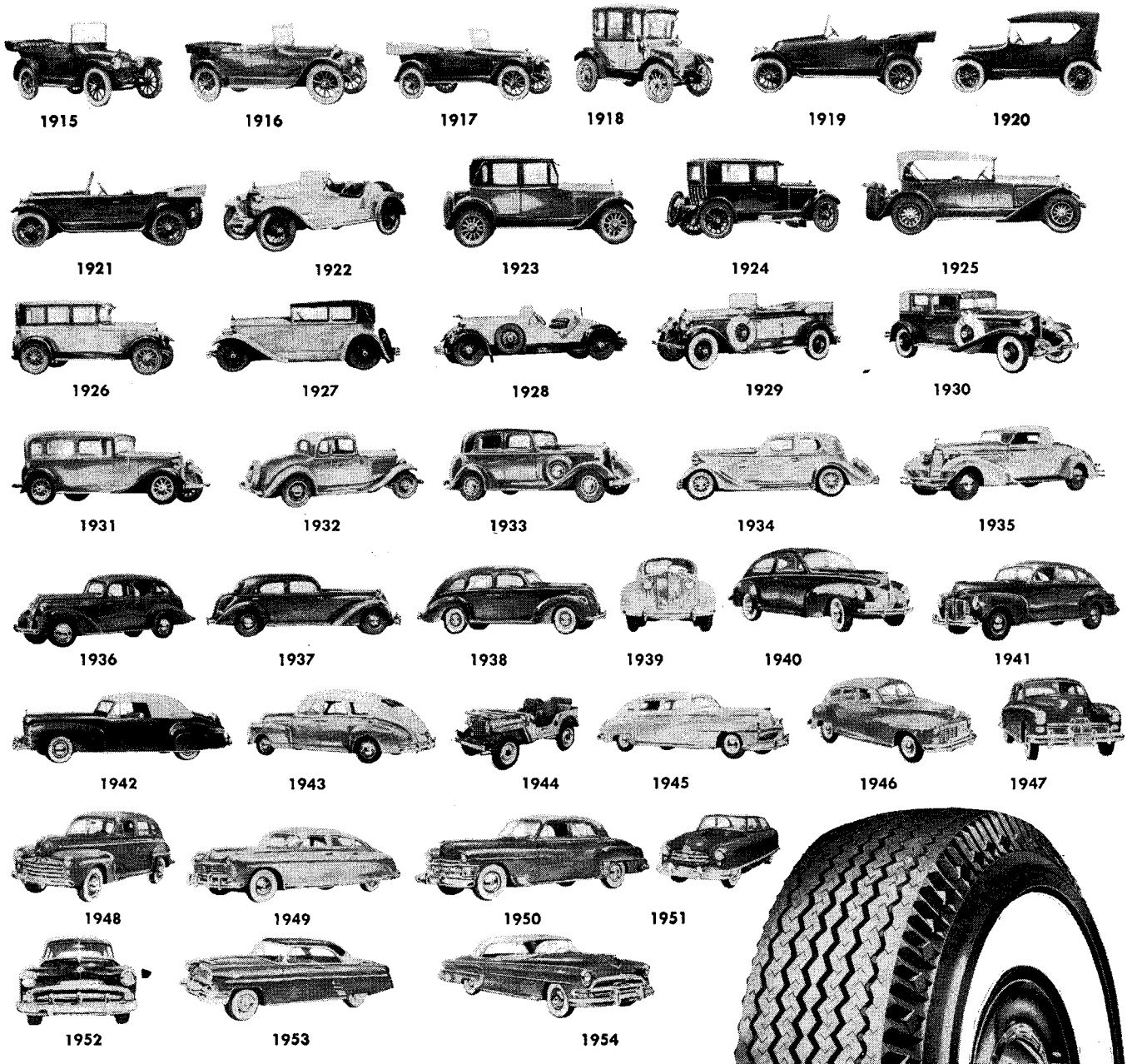
Friends?

Libraries? Reading tables?

If so, fill out

and mail blue card.

Again . . . one of the most remarkable votes of public confidence in the history of American industry



Again in 1955 . . . as in every single year for the past 40 years:
MORE PEOPLE RIDE ON GOODYEAR TIRES THAN ON ANY OTHER KIND

GOODYEAR

Super-Cushion, T. M.—The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company, Akron 16, Ohio