the FREEMAN

with which is combined the magazine, PLAIN TALK

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A WORD ABOUT OUR CONTRIBUTORS

MARCH 26, 1951

CONTENTS VOL. 1—NO. 13

Editorials

The Fortnight 387
To Our Friends in Europe 389
The XXII Amendment 391
Explaining the Inexplicable 392
The B-36 Is a Tanker . . . . . HAMILTON A. LONG 393
Great Debate — Soviet Style
PIERRE FAILLANT *and* ROBERT DONLEVIN 396
Eastward, Ho! . . . . . ARGUS 396
Thomas Mann's Left Hand . . . . . EUGENE TILLINGER 397
Labor Should Favor High Profits . . . . . HAROLD LOEB 399
Apropos Apostasy . . . . . WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM 400
This Is What They Said 402
Berlin's Free University . . . . . KENDALL FOSS 403
Baseball Accepts the Negro . . . . . AL HIRSHBERG 405
From Our Readers 407

Books

A Reviewer's Notebook . . . . . JOHN CHAMBERLAIN 409
New York's Russians . . . . . ALEXANDRA KROPOTKIN 411
Plutarchian Daydreamer . . . . . J. M. LALLEY 411
Where the Gimmick Ends . . . . . WALLACE MARKFIELD 413
The Thing . . . . . ERNEST C. POLLARD 414
Gusto and Reticence . . . . . GEORGE H. FORD 415
Unanswered Question . . . . . VICTOR LASKY 415

Theater

Dramatic Strip-Tease . . . . . RICHARD MCLAUGHLIN 408

Poems

War in Asia . . . . . RALPH DE TOLEDANO 408
Of Minor Poets . . . . . CHRISTOPHER MORLEY 410

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HAMILTON A. LONG, Air Force major in the last war, is now gathering material for a book on the wartime activities of Communists in the United States. He is a lawyer by profession. . . . PIERRE FAILLANT, a French journalist, and ROBERT DONLEVIN, a young American writer with INS in Paris, collaborated on the dispatch, "Great Debate — Soviet Style." EUGENE TILLINGER wrote for the North American Newspaper Alliance in Europe. Now a free-lance in New York, he has contributed to *This Week*, *Liberty* and other magazines. Readers of *Plain Talk* will remember his "The Moral Eclipse of Thomas Mann." . . . Articles by WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM appeared in the first two issues of the *Freeman*. His book "Dictatorship of the Lie," written in 1936, was among the first to analyze the deep identity of Fascism and Bolshevism. . . . KENDALL FOSS is well qualified to describe the Free University of Berlin, for General Clay in 1948 appointed him to help organize this unique institution. Mr. Foss, who is now doing free-lance writing in Munich, wrote for *Time* during the war years, and before the war spent six years in Europe for the INS and UP. . . . AL HIRSHBERG went to work for the *Boston Post* as a college correspondent and has been there ever since, except for three years in the Navy. He now covers baseball and football almost exclusively, and has written books on the Boston Red Sox and the Boston Braves. . . . PRINCESS ALEXANDRA KROPOTKIN, well-known columnist and magazine writer, was born in London when her father, Prince Peter Kropotkin, was in exile from Czarist Russia. She began her writing career in Europe as foreign correspondent for English and South American papers, but has been an American citizen for twenty years. Bilingual from childhood, she translated into Russian Shaw's "Pygmalion" and other famous English plays, and into English the new abridged editions of "War and Peace" and "The Brothers Karamazov." . . . ERNEST C. POLLARD is Professor of Biophysics at Yale University. . . . GEORGE H. FORD, associate professor of English at the University of Cincinnati, is author of "Keats and the Victorians," "The Pickersgill Letters" and other studies.

the FREEMAN

NEW YORK, MONDAY, MARCH 26, 1951

THE FORTNIGHT

Don't take too seriously the answers to a United Press poll of Democratic state chairmen, national committeemen and other party leaders that their first candidate is none other than Harry S. Truman, and that they do not consider him "ethically" bound by the new anti-third-term amendment to the Constitution because it specifically exempts him.

The leaders interviewed are precisely those who can least afford to state their private opinions publicly if those opinions happen to be against the Presidential incumbent. For as long as he remains in office their own power and influence depend upon him. The favors they are able to grant depend in turn on how well they stand with the man who has the Federal appointive power. They dare not change unless they are sure that the political winds in their respective states have already changed.

And the real question is not whether Mr. Truman has the "ethical" right to run again, now that the anti-third-term principle has been formally embodied in the Constitution, but whether he wouldn't be running under too heavy a political handicap. Much more significant in this poll were the more frequent "second" choices of the party leaders — in which the two names that turned up most often were Senator Paul Douglas and General Eisenhower. But the whole discussion is a little early to carry much atmosphere of reality. In fact, Senator Douglas was embarrassed by it, and was forced, in accordance with the well-established rules of the game, to declare that he was not a candidate.

The Democratic leaders did not sound, moreover, as if they had given sufficient weight to the RFC scandals. Perhaps they have come to feel, in the last eighteen years, that no amount of revealed corruption ever bothers the majority of American voters as long as the Presidential incumbent continues to make and promise sufficient handouts to special pressure groups. But a public that seemed relatively indifferent about officials accepting gifts of deep-freezes from people in a position to receive official favors from them seems to balk at $9,540 mink coats. Apparently the impression has got around Washington that the real purpose of the RFC was to be the FCFNDC — Finance Corporation for Friends of the National Democratic Committee. What still seems to be insufficiently understood in Congress is that a governmental bank set up to make loans to private businesses that do not have good enough credit to get loans from private banks is bound to make loans for political reasons because it is certainly not making loans for sound economic reasons. The only assurance against continuance of such scandals is not the reorganization of the RFC but its abolition.

On March 4 Dr. Vannevar Bush announced flatly that if Soviet Russia were to send its armies rolling across the German plains "tomorrow," the United States with its "A-bombs and the planes to carry them would destroy Russia." In this issue of the *Freeman* (see the article on page 393, "The B-36 Is a Tanker") Major Hamilton Long announces just as flatly that existing American bombing planes can not hope to paralyze Russian production unless some means of providing them with fighter-escort can be found. Since the Long article is largely composed of information drawn from official sources (including some statements previously made by Vannevar Bush himself), the discrepancy between Dr. Bush's views and those of Major Long seems to us to be worth serious pondering.

The explanation, so it seems to the editors of the *Freeman*, is not far to seek: Major Long thinks the Russians have already developed their defense against bombing attacks to a high degree of perfection, whereas Dr. Bush, on the other hand, apparently considers the Russians to be laggard on this score. It is noteworthy, however, that Dr. Bush went on record, in an article written for the NEA Service last December, with the chilling statement that "at some time, in my opinion, Russia can build such a defense that we would have exceedingly great difficulty in delivering A-bombs on their primary targets. We might still reach their secondary targets. But whenever Russia feels that she could impose upon our bombers such attrition that we could not undertake to bomb primary targets, then at that time we must have other means of stopping the Russian armies."

It would be interesting to know just how much time Dr. Bush thinks we have before the Russians can build their air defenses to the point which Major Long accepts as a reality pertaining to the Spring of 1951. Our own feeling