

man education will undoubtedly come about if there is a revolution. It is essential even if there be no revolution. This reemphasis must be stimulated by the occupation forces of the United Nations, stimulated but not forced upon resisting victims by an army of carpet-baggers. There are many older teachers who never espoused Nazism. The young men and women who supported the recent proclamation of the students of Munich are anti-Nazi. They are to be trusted.

Finally, Germany must be rehabilitated by readmission into the family of nations. It must not be humiliated by ostracism; it must not be nagged with reparation demands; it must not be frustrated through exclusion from world markets.

Before these steps can be realized, before even a German revolution can occur, certain events will have to take place. Hitler, the great father-figure, and his lesser symbols must be destroyed, must be executed or imprisoned. For guilt requires punishment—otherwise the failure to punish will stimulate a new challenge by the guilty. The heavy steel and chemical industries of Germany—and possibly the airplane factories as well—must be dismantled. The great cartels which dominated German policy and stimulated the idea of world conquest must be eradicated—they must not be permitted to escape by hiding behind American or British or Dutch or Swedish partners. For the gun must be removed from the delinquent as the first act of reformation. At the same time

a minimum supply of food and medicine must be assured to avoid justifiable resentment.

Then the armies of occupation should withdraw and permit the German people to have their revolution or revolutions, to find their own level. Some form of policing may be necessary, not of the internal affairs of the German people, not to block revolution, not to repeat the mistakes of 1918-1919, but to keep Germany from rearming for sufficient generations for a new educational system to become effective. Foreign experts must be made available in the first years to help to replace the losses of war and the concentration camps, but neither to substitute for nor to rule the Germans.

The Nazis and their associates, the men of the cartels and the officer class, must with finality be removed from the possibility of recapturing power. But that does not mean that we should establish a new paternalism to reenergize the cycle of depression and aggression. The German people must, on the contrary, be made to feel that they are the only possible masters of their own fate. They must be helped to find that the way to satisfaction is the coöperative efforts of equals, as individuals, and as a nation, and the realization of their own particular capacities.

James Marshall was President and still is a member of the New York City Board of Education, and the author of "The Freedom to Be Free."

The Conversion of an American Reporter

NEWS IS WHAT WE MAKE IT. By Kenneth Stewart. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1943. 340 pp. \$3.

Reviewed by JONATHAN DANIELS

IN terms of the newspaperman, Kenneth Stewart has written a good, accurate part of the story of the typical American in the years between the great wars. Stewart, whose career began in close proximity to the blowing of town whistles announcing the news of the Armistice and was last reported as a News Specialist in the O.W.I., seems almost designed by God to be and to tell that typical story.

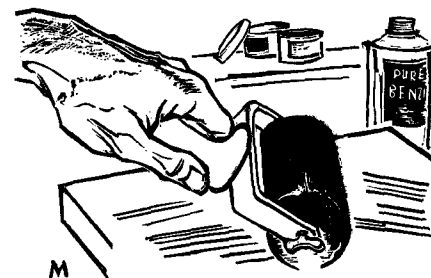
It seemed to me also typical in the midst of the second war that he has written his story, a little over solemnly, in terms of a once "post-war" newspaper generation which, as he reports, escaped from lively irresponsibility through hard times to thinking and to present determination on a better world and a better press. I wish I were sure that the passage of the

years Mr. Stewart describes were as permanent a part of the progress of mankind as it certainly was a part of the advance of Mr. Stewart and myself and a good many others from youth to middle age.

Be that as it may or may not be, there can be no question that Mr. Stewart as reporter was on hand to report all the details of his generation of the American gentlemen of the press who became, in the language of himself and the Newspaper Guild, the "common people in the working press." That generation's story was his story, from the young cynicism which was a normal part of Harding's normalcy, by way of expatriate journalism in Paris, through the tragic death of *The New York World*, to the discovery that the class struggle was in the news room itself, and that Heywood Brown was a prophet even if Arthur Sulzberger was not quite Simon Legree.

Mr. Stewart was among those ministering unsuccessfully to it during

the dying of *The Literary Digest*. He watched *The New York World* die from the sympathetic security of *The Herald Tribune* news room. There was a similar sense of something even more important dying in the spectacle of the Spanish Civil War as seen from the eighth floor of *The New York Times Annex* on 43rd Street. The Newspaper Guild in those years represented something growing in his head as well as in the United States. From the security of *The Times* he moved to the lively new righteousness of *PM*, from *PM* to Harvard as a Nie-man Fellow in Journalism, from Har-



vard to this book, and from this book to the Office of War Information. Above all he moved to his faith that the "common people of the working press" have learned to fight for peace and decency on earth.

It is a good, brave faith and maybe it is something that Mr. Stewart can hand on, as he undertakes to do, to others who are young now in their turn. We will have to wait to find out about that. The young may stubbornly choose to be young, in their turn to become wise only in their own way in their own time. The one certain thing is that Mr. Stewart, if he represents his generation, has gotten religion. That is an interesting if also solemn thing to see. Watching Mr. Stewart's conversion in this story is the more remarkable for remembering that he is one of that reportorial generation which was supposed to take its first sustenance from bathtub gin, H. L. Mencken's irreverences, and its own contempt for crusaders.

A Grace

Rosamund Dargan Thomson

THIS dry pale land released
From the sucking sun and
the rain
Need not now remember
What it must carry of grain.

The cold is enough to comfort
This uneventful earth;
And the trusty silence of winter
Celebrates a dearth;

A giving over, a dying.
And the empty acre learns
A grace for the hours of numbness
Till bearing-time returns.

The Coming Partnership

GOVERNMENT, BUSINESS AND VALUES. By Beardsley Ruml. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1943. 52 pp. \$1.

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS TOMORROW. By Donald R. Richberg. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1943. 192 pp. \$2.50.

Reviewed by SAUL COHN

IN Dr. Ruml's slender volume he presents clearly the way for unity in the purposes and practices of government and free enterprise. In the last decade we have seen a great deal in writing prompted by an overweening admiration for business and government, or a bitter criticism of either or both. Dr. Ruml refreshingly takes the role of philosopher and affable arbiter and limits himself to the marking out of guide-posts. In dealing with rules he differentiates between those which make up private government involved in the operation of enterprise, and the public rules made by government to preserve human values. The important distinction is that there is an inevitable and continuing contrast between the basic purpose of government which seeks to foster the interests of citizens, and that of business which deals with commercial and money values. The effort must be, therefore, to fix the rules of the game so precisely that the activities on both sides may be harmonized in a practical way.

The rules made by public government must be designed to utilize the traits of enterprise towards a full and beneficial production. This means that government must encourage competition, regulate monopoly, safeguard employees, and make the climate for business conducive to high employment. Business, on the other hand, must observe a proper relation with those who sell raw and finished materials, the employee, the customer, the stockholder, and government itself.

Dr. Ruml's is a thought-provoking book for managers of industrial, commercial, and labor policies. Its meaningful quality lies in pointing out the need for order in the trends of conduct on the part of the government and business. There need be no conflict. The contrast in purposes need not involve any split allegiances to the welfare of society. The dissonance in the purpose of business and government can be made to produce harmony by the same method that an accomplished musician arrives at it.

Dr. Ruml stresses the need of business's doing the job in a way that will produce consent and good will and develops an interesting notion about

the state of mind necessary on the part of the customer or employee. This he calls a "sense of homefulness." This "sense" is the basis of the assent or approval which, for illustration, the employee and customer can give to the way in which an enterprise is conducted or in which government carries out its objectives. He indicates graphically that our consciousness of home is not limited to material objects; that home is also a group of people who generally know what to expect from each other. The relations between people of a home are "half-felt" and "half-understood." The essence of the home is "change within a known framework," and this framework is made up of sympathy, understanding, and peace—but there is also rivalry, conflict, and the unexpected. In short, the folks get along because of the "homefulness" in their atmosphere. So business must get along, even with the diversity of interests that may exist between it and government.

In "Government and Business Tomorrow" Donald R. Richberg has grouped empirical experience gained through an active legal career. The book "is an appeal for careful thinking about their own interests by those engaged in business—owners, managers, and workers. It is an appeal to try to reach agreement on principles and methods of protecting their common interests." Basically the outlook is the same as Dr. Ruml's.

The author reviews the archaic attitudes which have characterized business in its relations with government and labor. The unreasoning attitude with employees is discussed and the doctrine established that the size of modern business imposes upon man-



Beardsley Ruml develops an interesting notion about a state of mind.

agement the social obligation of maintaining full employment. Mr. Richberg reviews the history of labor since the Civil War and insists that the rights and obligations of management and labor have not yet been coherently established. The main cause of failure in labor-management relations has been due to policies of government, first in sticking too long to property rights, and then in winking at the force used by labor. The need of protecting the rights of investors is ably set forth and the necessary change of concepts to this end cogently stated. Responsibility to consumers is outlined and the function of competition as the essential way of preserving free enterprise is stressed as a means of affording protection to the consumer.

There is a clear exposition of foreign revolutionary programs—Fascism, Nazism, and Communism. The reader may not agree with Mr. Richberg's conclusions that America can work more understandingly with the Russian rather than with the other revolutionary forms. However, he observes that the Russians have *not* been taught that they or any other people are a master race, or that military conquest is the destiny of a great people, or that wealth, hereditary power, or special privileges should control government. Our native teachings make liberty the ultimate goal, and the Russians, he feels, come closer to the American way—though the reader might find it difficult to see how individual liberty can be preserved when the state controls property and its uses.

The book is written in a fluent style, easily understandable and is couched in lofty tones. However, a wide variety of subjects is covered; each has a far-flung influence whose basic relationships are interwoven with other powerful forces that constitute our democracy. There is therefore a constant rehearsal of principles and illustrations which might be compressed for the sake of clarity.

For those in industry or labor who have worked on the basis of mere tolerance for each other, the book is an eye-opener. It shows that this kind of tolerance is negative and fruitless. The public relations which business, labor, and government must maintain should be based on an affirmative and aggressive sense of the full measure of unity required. For those who have wondered whether capitalism can fit into a healthy democratic experience, this book is a convincing profession of faith.

Saul Cohn is a former president of the National Retail Dry Goods Association, and is now president of City Stores Company.