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WILLKIE-THE EVENTS HE WAS PART OF-  
THE IDEAS HE FOUGHT FOR, by Joseph  
Barnes. Simon and Schuster, New York, 1952. Pp.  
405. \$5.00.

Stuart D. Lunn

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WILLKIE—THE EVENTS HE WAS PART OF—THE IDEAS HE FOUGHT FOR, by Joseph Barnes. Simon and Schuster, New York, 1952. Pp. 405. \$5.00.

Heralded by its publishers as the definitive biography of Wendell Willkie, written by one of his close personal friends during his last years, Mr. Barnes' book proffers an explanation of the political phenomenon that was Willkie. In discussing Willkie's influence on persons and vice versa, Barnes notes "it is significant that in no period of his active life did he carry over many close and intimate friendships from an earlier period,"<sup>1</sup> and this comment is more poignant in the realization that a biography of the man written by one of his close friends and associates of an earlier period of his life, prior to his political prominence, would be almost unrecognizable as dealing with the same individual.

Barnes attempts to explain the final but unattained political goal of Willkie, to join with Franklin Roosevelt in forming a new American political party composed of the so-called liberal or left wing element of both major parties "as but the natural culmination of the life of a man who, although he may have taken a few detours, was nonetheless ever constant in his principles and unswerving in his aim." In laying a foundation for these ever-constant principles, Barnes commences with the Willkie family in Indiana, picturing the Hoosier State around the turn of the century as in the throes of the change effected upon a complacent agricultural society by the superimposing of industrialization, and the Willkies as caught up by the change and its accompanying problems. These problems were identified locally by the boom and bust of tin plate mills and the depletion of the natural gas supply.

Perfunctory treatment is given to Willkie's youth, his college days, his decision to return to college (Indiana) to study law, his marriage and his decision following World War I to work in a legal department at the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company in Akron. Willkie's resignation from Firestone in 1921 to join a private law firm with a lucrative corporation practice marks the beginning of a major detour in his life if one is to accept his ultimate personal philosophy as pictured by Barnes. Willkie became a most successful corporation lawyer and businessman

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1. Pp. 264-265.

and after ten years in Akron moved to New York as representative for a giant holding company in the electric utility field which was to become Commonwealth and Southern. He became president of Commonwealth and Southern in January of 1933 and attained national prominence as a businessman by his fight against the TVA on behalf of the Tennessee Electric Power Company, a subsidiary of Commonwealth and Southern. This fight was ended when David Lilienthal, representing the TVA, purchased all the Tennessee Valley Electric Power Company's properties for \$78,600,000 cash, the deal being finally closed in 1939.

Barnes presents the story of Willkie's change from conservative lawyer, businessman and spokesman for Wall Street and holding companies to a political crusader for liberal ideas with a sympathetic treatment that could only be given by a friend who personally shared not only the ideas but the pressures which he saw as crystallizing these ideas into beliefs in the political phase of Willkie's life. The treatment of the political build-up of 1940, the nomination in Philadelphia and Willkie's campaign and subsequent defeat is vivid if not exciting and carries the reader swiftly through events themselves characterized by rapidity. But, it is in the reasons assigned by Barnes as causing Willkie's defeat—the almost solid alignment of labor and the farmers for the Democrats, the looming spectre of war, the actual differences between Willkie and the conservative elements of the Republican party of 1940, and the fact that many Willkie supporters were political amateurs—that this book is most valid as a political document. A clear insight is given to the complexities facing a presidential aspirant and to the seemingly anomalous positions that he may be forced into either actually or by interpretation of unfriendly critics. Willkie, even though proved a shrewd businessman, was especially susceptible to the pitfalls awaiting political amateurs not only because of his blunt and outspoken nature but because, even during the campaign itself, he vacillated between the divergent views of the right and left wings of the Republican party as it was composed in 1940. Indeed, it was only after his defeat that Willkie finally aligned himself with the so-called liberal or international branch of the party, eventually losing the allegiance of many of this group during the last years of his life as he developed the ideas of his book, *One World*, published on April 3, 1943. As a defeated presidential candidate, Willkie returned to private law practice, having resigned as president of Commonwealth and Southern to accept

the presidential nomination, but he was not destined to return to political oblivion. He devoted considerable time to public speaking and political sparring and maneuvering with President Roosevelt, and it was after conferring with the latter that he made his trip around the world which was then billed as a goodwill trip to Russia.

It is interesting, in the light of recent developments, to note Barnes' comment on Willkie's public defense of the motion picture industry in hearings before the Senate. Martin Dies, then Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, had charged that American movies were being made use of as a vehicle for communist propaganda. Mr. Barnes comments that this "was one of the first tests of whether Hitler's theory of 'the big lie' was applicable outside Germany."<sup>2</sup> Willkie made headlines in these hearings for a time; however they were abandoned after Pearl Harbor. Willkie's relationship with President Roosevelt during the war years offers a puzzle, for while there was wide speculation that Willkie might be named as the Vice-Presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket in 1944, Barnes pictures his feelings for Roosevelt as impersonal and rather untrusting, this latter feeling stemming from several contacts with Roosevelt which the latter turned to his own political advantage. Nevertheless, there is convincing evidence that, at the time of Willkie's death, the two were giving serious consideration to the formation of a new political party of and for the liberal political segments of that day.

Willkie's repudiation by the Republican party was demonstrated by the complete lack of support given his attempt to secure the Republican nomination for President in 1944. It was about the time of the 1944 election that Willkie's appeal was directed so strongly to the minority groups which had given the New Deal such impetus; however, Barnes credits Willkie's failure in 1944 to a sweet revenge by professional politicians of the Republican party rather than to the political theories he had come to be identified with. Barnes' final impression of Willkie is of a strong man, a natural leader, whose political philosophy that man's welfare throughout the world is interdependent was a powerful influence on American thought.

This is a well written and well thought out book. It is not a complete biography of Willkie but rather is a history of his

political ventures and philosophy, with what the author believes to have been the basis for each. There is no mention of his wife in connection with any period of his life and only once is his son, Phillip, mentioned, even though his associations with many other persons who must have had infinitely less influence upon him are remarked.

One is left with the feeling that in attempting to magnify the political effect of the things he did, the author has somehow not done justice to Willkie, the man.

*Stuart D. Lunn\**

SCIENCE AND THE GOALS OF MAN: A STUDY IN SEMANTIC ORIENTATION, by Anatol Rapoport. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1950. Pp. xxviii, 262. \$3.50.

When a law journal carries a review of a book published three years ago, it perhaps behooves the reviewer to make some explanation of the apparent tardiness. In reality, Dr. Rapoport's book will continue to be timely so long as science remains an "end to which human beings are to be made the means, rather than the means to producing a race of free individuals."<sup>1</sup> His work is significant because it indicates how the social scientist—and the lawyer—may ultimately be able to make predictive judgments with reference to human affairs, with the detachment of the astronomer who predicts an eclipse. With predictability as the sole criterion of truth, the distinction between descriptive and normative assertions will be eliminated.

Dr. Rapoport is admittedly in great debt to the late Alfred Korzybski. At a time when the legal realists were beginning to reveal the clay feet of Austinian jurisprudence, Korzybski published his general formulation for a metaphysics which would remove the social sciences' onus of Aristotelianism.<sup>2</sup> While the relatively small influence of Korzybski among social scientists—to say nothing of lawyers—may be chiefly due to a preference for a simple absolutist faith, some of this lack of reception might be because Korzybski's writings are hard to read, repetitious, and often uninteresting.

It is for this reason that Dr. Rapoport has made such an

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1. Huxley, *Brave New World*, foreword to 2 ed., 1946, p. 14.

2. Korzybski, *Science and Sanity*, 1 ed., 1933, 2 ed., 1941, 3 ed., 1948.