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A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF IDEAS ON LIBERTY

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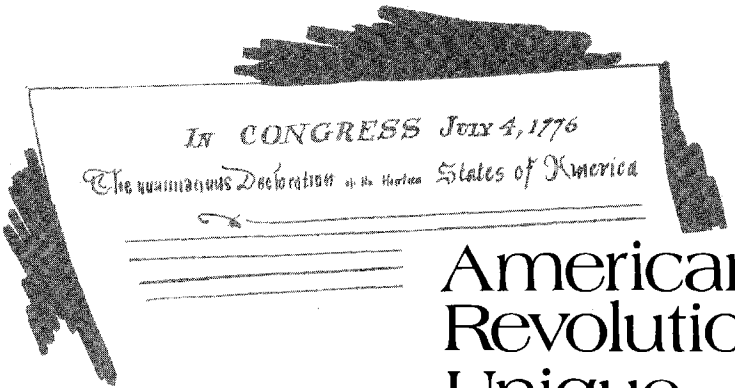

American Revolution Unique

VINCENT A. DROSDIK, III

THIS YEAR marks the 197th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The War for Independence began officially on July 4, 1776.

The war had been fought for more than a year up to that point. The famous battles at Lexington Green and Concord Bridge, Fort Ticonderoga and Bunker Hill in 1775 preceded the signing of the historic document by the Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia.

The events of 1775-1781 are called the War for Independence, but also the American Revolution. But was it a revolution?

I may be nitpicking, but this is an important point. The real revolution was a long process of change in the ideas and ideals on the part of the American people, the settlers from the Old World. The revolution was this idea: that each person is a sovereign individual, with certain inalienable, God-given rights, and that the purpose of government is not to dispense rights, but to protect them. Government would be the servant, not the master of the people.

Among these rights are those to life, liberty and property. One by one, specific liberties were fought for and secured during the colonial period. The freedom of the press was recognized in the famous Peter Zenger case in New York in 1735. Freedom of religion and conscience was one of the major reasons for the settling of our country, and by the time of the Declaration it was fairly well es-

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SP4 Vincent A. Drosdik, III is editor of a weekly newspaper published for personnel of the U. S. Army in Berlin, *The Berlin Observer*, in which this editorial first appeared.

tablished. It was formalized in the Bill of Rights and the various states as they ended the practice of official state religious establishments.

Other freedoms and rights were reaffirmed and protected in the years before independence – the rights to bear arms, to own property, to have a fair trial by jury, to representative government, the right to be left alone.

When Parliament and the King stepped beyond their rightful powers, the colonists cried that their rights as Englishmen were being violated. The Navigation Acts, which restricted freedom of trade; the Stamp Act, which imposed a tax on the colonies without their approval or consultation; and other usurpations of power, all enumerated in the Declaration, eventually got to the unbearable point. The Americans then declared independence from tyranny, "appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world in the Rectitude of our Intentions."

The American "Revolutionary" War was the most famous and sparked many others in the two centuries since then. The French Revolution only 13 years later, while often compared with the American, was different in nature and results. The American founding fathers succeeded in restricting the War for Independence to simply a revolt against English authority.

But in many revolutions since our own, especially the French Revolution, the course of throwing off the old government led to people throwing off the entire old order, tradition, moral restraints, and so forth – a revolt against everything. This led to anarchy, and then to dictatorship, as people demanded law and order before freedom.

This is the uniqueness of the American Revolution and War for Independence – it did not degenerate into dictatorship and succeeded, after a stormy Articles of Confederation period, in establishing a republic protecting rights to a degree never before attained.

For the American Revolution to be successful and alive today, we must pay the price of "eternal vigilance." The ideals of the Revolution, as embodied in the Declaration of Independence, must be alive in our hearts for that Revolution to be alive and well. If we sleep and forget our heritage, we will lose our freedoms and liberties, and perhaps even our independence. Because there are those in the world today who are all too eager to enslave us and who are not asleep, the price of liberty is eternal vigilance.

Inequality Enshrined

It is not true that equality is the law of nature: nature has made nothing equal.
— *Marquis de Vanvenargues*

LEONARD E. READ

BOOKS, speeches, expressed yearnings – past and present – have much to say in favor of equality, and they promote a demand for it. We are equal in the eyes of God, they say; we are equal before the law; we are born equal, have equal rights, are entitled to equal pay, on and on. While numerous philosophers and statesmen have recognized how all-pervading inequality is, few have enshrined it, that is, portrayed inequality as a highly desirable state of affairs. Inequality exists, unfortunately!

I have just had a change of mind: inequality exists, *fortunately!*

In a recent book I wrote:

> . . . the authors of the Declaration took the rational step of seating the Creator as the single point of reference, thereby making all men precisely as *equal* before the civil law as all men are *equal* before the Creator.

We have here a semantic trap in which most of us – myself included – have become ensnared. Once we accept the idea that all men are equal before God, we are more than likely to think of equality as the major purpose of human effort and a condition to be sought, as nearly as possible, in all worldly relationships. This is a dangerous notion, completely at odds with reality.

As I now see it, men are no more equal before God than they are equal in this earthly life. Judas was not the equal of Peter! To contend otherwise is to condemn God as nearsighted. What this affirmation is intended to convey, really, is that all men are subject to the Universal Laws *indiscriminately; there are no favorites; there is a common across-the-board justice.* With this in mind, merely reflect on the distinction between common justice and

equality. They are by no means synonymous.

Inequality prevails among men. One is a teetotaler, another an alcoholic. Joe is a genius at this, Bob at that. This man peers through a telescope to fathom the heavens; another through a microscope to probe the infinitesimal.

As F. A. Hayek has concluded in *The Constitution of Liberty*:

> From the fact that people are very different it follows that, if we treat them equally, the result must be inequality in their actual position, and that the only way to place them in an equal position would be to treat them differently. Equality before the law and material equality are therefore not only different but are in conflict with each other; and we can achieve either the one or the other, but not both at the same time.

A Common Justice

The ideal civil law, like the laws of God or Natural Law, is unbiased as to who or what we are. But we are not equal in the "eyes" of the civil law any more than we are equal in the "eyes" of the Ten Commandments. These laws are blind; they have no eyes to see us. Civil laws, as the Universal Laws – if intelligently drawn – are indiscriminate; they confer no special privilege on anyone; they are but codes – blind to the thousand and one ways we rank ourselves – their hallmark being a common justice.

If we wish to say that these codes are equally as fair to you as to me, all well and good. This kind of wording, however, merely asserts that we are – one as much as another – beneficiaries of fairness and justice. By employing the right words, we avoid the notion of human equality and the mischievous deductions that grow from such a common, semantic error. I am agreeing with an observation by George Horne:

> Among the sources of those innumerable calamities which from age to age have overwhelmed mankind, may be reckoned as one of the principal, *the abuse of words.*

What about the popular claim that we are born equal? We are no more equal at birth than at death; no more equal in the fetus than in the grave. "Nature has made nothing equal," including all forms of nonlife or life, human or otherwise.[1]

We have equal rights! Valid? In a way, provided "rights" are properly defined and circumscribed. Any person, regardless of race, creed, color, or whatever, has

[1] See *You Are Extraordinary* by Roger J. Williams (New York: Random House, 1967).

as much right to life, livelihood, liberty as any other – provided his actions are peaceful, that is, noncoercive. Observe that when thus circumscribed, the equal-rights concept makes no claim on any other person; it is, instead, *an appeal to reason, morality, justice.* It has no more muscle, no more teeth to it, than an aspiration. It is righteous and, for this reason, utterly harmless.

I stress "harmless" simply because most people put no such boundaries on "equal rights." Blind to the rational limitations of this concept, they are carried away with "equality" and demand equal pay, rights to a job, to "a decent standard of living," to a "fair" wage or price. They put quotas, embargoes, tariffs on goods, meaning that they think of themselves as having a right to your and my trade. It is impossible to list the instances in which people have slumped so far in their thinking that, today, mere wishes are thought of as rights.[2]

Take note of the fact that all of these demands for equality, beyond the rational boundary, make a claim on others. No longer harmless, they are harmful, destructive. They rob selected Peter to pay collective Paul – feathering the nests of some at the expense of others. Noncoercive? To the contrary, each and every one of these rests on raw coercion – the application of police force. Name an exception!

The notion of equality is one of the mistaken features of our folklore, but so much lip service is given to it that the thought of inequality as a desirable condition is, at first blush, shocking. How could any sane person favor inequality! Is it because he has no compassion, no thought for his fellowmen? To the contrary, I would argue.

Inequality in Nature

Man in his quest for perfection – for a growth in awareness, perception, consciousness – can make headway only to the extent that he perceives and abides by the Universal Laws. Conceded, our awareness of these Laws is infinitesimal; we know but very few of them. There is one, however, about which there can be no question: *inequality!* "Nature has made nothing equal."

No two atoms, molecules, snowflakes, planets, stars, galaxies are ever identical. No two persons are equal; indeed, no individual in any given moment of time is equal to himself in the previous

[2] See "When Wishes Become Rights" in my book, *Deeper Than You Think* (Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.: Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., 1967), pp. 98-107.

moment. Imagine – a million new red blood cells every second! All is radiant energy, in one form or another; all is in motion from imperceptible slowness to the speed of light. Is this as it should be? My answer is "yes," for this is the way it is – like it or not. I like it!

None Like Socrates

A further demonstration that this thesis is a "switch" for me: I recently wrote a brief essay, "How To Be Like Socrates." One friend wrote, "I don't want to be like Socrates." I got a chuckle, but not the point – until later.

Suppose – I thought to myself – everyone *were* like Socrates. We would all be on the street asking each other a series of easily answered questions that inevitably lead the answerer to a logical conclusion foreseen by the questioner. Everybody would be slovenly, ugly, and wise. No one would be raising food, or building homes, or making planes, stoves, pots, pans. Indeed, were all like Socrates, there would not be a person on this earth.

Likeness? Equality? Let us be done with this careless phrasing – this abuse of words – and the destructive thoughts to which it leads!

"Free and equal" is an oft-heard expression, suggesting that freedom and equality are as inseparable as Siamese twins. Actually, they are mutually antagonistic. The equality idea – equal pay and so on – rests on the antithesis of freedom: raw coercion. It is just as impossible to be free when equality is politically manipulated as it is impossible to be equal.

Free and unequal – freedom and inequality – are what go hand in hand. The essence of individuality is uniqueness: inequality in skills, talents, knowledge, aspirations. This is merely an acknowledgment of a Universal Law. Obviously, we must be free to produce, to exchange, to travel or we perish as surely as if all were like you or me or Socrates.

Exploiting Our Differences

We come, finally, to the economic case for inequality. Not our likenesses, but our differences, give rise to the division of labor and the complex market processes of production and trade. We have already mentioned, and can see all about us, that in a given field of activity one person is more skilled – more productive – than another. So, it is to our advantage to specialize and to trade with other specialists.

This is not to say that each of us must be equally skilled as a specialist in order for him to gain

the advantages of trade. The more skilled one becomes at his specialty, the greater his incentive to hire or trade with others to carry out certain tasks for him, even though he can cook meals or scrub floors better than can the person he hires for such tasks. It is to his comparative advantage to concentrate his efforts on the single skill for which consumers offer him the greatest reward. By thus serving others – and becoming ever more skilled and outstanding (unequal) in the process – he best serves his own interest.

A moment's reflection reveals that this comparative advantage in trading, which rewards the most renowned specialist, also rewards in similar fashion every other party to such trade, down to the very least-skilled participant in the market. This is not to say that their gains would be equal; only that each gains from the trade more goods and services than otherwise would have been his. And what is true here of trade between individuals in a given nation is also true of international trade. However wealthy or poor and skilled or unskilled the respective traders, each finds a comparative advantage in trading – if it is voluntary.

Not only does this blessing of inequality flow from the mental or physical skills of traders; it also pertains to the capital, the tools of the trade, the savings and investments by individuals. The specialist who saves and develops tools becomes ever more specialized and efficient. And it is to the advantage of every participant in the market to encourage the saver and investor by respecting and protecting his property – even though the result is greater inequality of wealth than before. Otherwise, there soon would be no incentive for anyone to save or invest in the tools of production, the facilities of trade.

So, if a people would avoid falling to a low level of sameness and bare subsistence, the procedure is to cultivate and accentuate their differences in skills and in private ownership and use of property – these being the requisites for a flourishing and beneficial trade. And let us bear in mind that exchange (other than primitive barter) depends on an honest, trustworthy, circulating medium; this is an absolute – money of integrity. Freedom in monetary matters means no political manipulation of our medium of exchange.

That, in brief, is the economic case for inequality.[3] Sadly, the misunderstanding and misappli-

[3] A more detailed treatment of these arguments may be found in pages 836-847 of *Human Action* by Ludwig von Mises.

cation of the concept of "equality" affords a major explanation for the leveling programs – egalitarianism – going on in the world today: communism, socialism, state welfarism, interventionism, and the like. So, I take my stand for inequality.

Let us then enshrine inequality by acknowledging and embracing this fact of Nature – inequality – and, also, its working handmaiden: human freedom. Allow no interference with creative activities, which is to say, permit anyone to do anything he chooses so long as it is peaceful. A fair field and no favor!

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Equality versus Liberty

IT IS *equality of freedom and independence* that gives unto man his opportunity to be rich or poor or to be good or bad. Equality of men leaves no choice, because if all men are equal by nature or inherently, there can be no differences and no distinctions. All have an equal right to stand at the judgment bars of God and man – but all are not entitled to the same judgment. Virtue and depravity are not entitled to the same rewards on earth or in Heaven.

It is inequality that gives enlargement to religion, to intellect, to energy, to virtue, to love, and to wealth. Equality of intellect stabilizes mediocrity. Equality of wealth makes all men poor. Equality of religion destroys all creeds. Equality of energy renders all men sluggards. Equality of virtue suspends all men without the gates of Heaven. Equality of love stultifies every manly passion, destroys every family altar, and mongrelizes the races of men. Equality homogenizes so that cream does not rise to the top. It puts the eagle in the hen house so that he may no longer soar.

R. CARTER PITTMAN

GEORGE CHARLES ROCHE III

The Real American Revolution

FOR A MOMENT, come with me into the American past, to a period in which our forefathers changed the history of the world. Sometimes we think that 1776 was the starting date for our Revolution; actually the *real* revolution had already been brewing a century and a half before 1776.

Fully 150 years before the American Revolution, our colonial ancestors had enjoyed a large measure of self-government. From the first, the American colonial experience had drawn heavily upon the traditional liberties of the British subject, upon the heritage of Magna Charta and centuries of common law, stressing property rights and the guarantees of individual freedom.

By the 18th century, however, the British were pursuing a new goal. A new economic idea, mercantilism, had gained dominance in British thinking. King George III and his advisers had accepted the idea of what today would be called the planned economy, the mistaken belief that the individual could not be trusted to discharge his own responsibilities. Large amounts of government planning and control were to be used to regulate society and manipulate the individual.

Today the same idea masquerades under many names: Communism, Socialism, the Welfare State – all systems of coercion having in common a basic distrust of individual freedom and responsibility.

By the concluding third of the 18th century, the American people were running out of patience with

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this growing governmental interference in their affairs. In the summer of 1776, a man named Thomas Jefferson retired to the upstairs bedroom of a bricklayer's home in Philadelphia, where he penned a short document which was destined to write a new chapter in human history. In that document, the Declaration of Independence, Americans served notice that they would no longer tolerate governmental interference with their lives and property.

The Declaration charged King George III with various abuses of political power against the colonists. But the document was not merely a bill of indictment against George III – it was serving notice, for 1776, for 1976, and for as long as the American Republic endures, that the American people will never tolerate centralized bureaucratic control of their lives.

A Jurisdiction Foreign to Our Constitution

Consider for a moment the language of the Declaration of Independence:

> He has erected a multitude of new offices and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance. He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws.

In those ringing words we hear the determination of a nation of free men to protect their heritage of liberty and to fight for that heritage when it is threatened.

Actually, Tom Jefferson and the Declaration of Independence are only one-half of the revolutionary story in that exciting summer of 1776. That same summer, a book was published thousands of miles from the American colonies, a book which was destined to have a profound effect on the *real* American Revolution. The author was a Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Glasgow, a man named Adam Smith; and the book was entitled *The Wealth of Nations*. Smith was not an economist. There were no such things as economists in the 18th century. The world was a brighter and happier place.

Smith *was* a moral philosopher. And as a moral philosopher he perceived a truth which escapes all too many of us today. Men must be free to make their own decisions. If they are not, a moral paralysis soon sets in. Free choice is a prerequisite for a working moral framework.

Building on that premise, Adam Smith examined mercantilism in England and discovered that this early form of the planned economy was denying men free choice and thus was dis-

torting British society. Economic harm was also being done by the new system. Scarce capital resources were being channeled into less productive areas; individual creativity and productivity were being stifled. In short, Smith discovered that mercantilism was strangling the very economic growth that the planned economy had set out to achieve.

Smith also speculated that free men, men in charge of their own lives, would be productive and effective, both for themselves and for society as a whole. His book was destined to have a greater impact than he could ever have guessed.

A Model for Nations

Eleven years after the publication of the Declaration of Independence and *The Wealth of Nations,* our Founding Fathers met once again, this time to draft a constitution charting the course for a new nation. The resulting document has since served as a model for the entire world. The fifty-five leaders of American society who met to write our Constitution were motivated primarily by two ideas: the Tom Jefferson-limited government idea and the Adam Smith- free enterprise idea.

The Constitution of the United States is in a sense the most revolutionary of all documents. It is premised upon the truly radical idea that men should be left largely free to pursue their own affairs. For the first time in the history of the world, a major nation was attempting an experiment in freedom.

The *real* American Revolution began at that moment. In freedom, America rushed forward to produce more material wealth than had any previous social order. More important, that wealth found its way into the hands of more common men, more ordinary citizens, than had ever before been the case in the entire history of the world. America became vastly powerful, while the American citizen became the most prosperous and the most free man on the face of the earth.

Freedom worked well for America.

Freedom worked well because free men are more productive than slaves.

Freedom worked well because our Founding Fathers knew that political power must be kept within strict limits. They knew that most of the decisions made in a healthy society must be made by individuals, by families, by voluntary associations of free men.

Above all, our Founding Fathers knew, as the Declaration of Independence announced to the world, that "Men are endowed by

their Creator with certain inalienable rights."

Since men are endowed "by their Creator" with these rights, it follows that God and not government is sovereign, and therefore that government must be without authority to interfere with "certain inalienable rights," such as self-government and sustenance; that is, the right to freedom, and the right to property as a means of making that freedom meaningful.

America has prospered when it followed its faith in free enterprise and free men, a faith based upon a fundamental belief in God. Today we are beset with problems on every hand, problems caused in large part because our faith in free men sometimes falters. All too often we seem to believe today that we can turn our problems over to government, that we can find someone else to deal with our responsibilities.

America is not going to fail. There are no vast, impersonal forces of history about to engulf us. This nation of courageous individuals, this nation of free men, has always been able to handle the problems which arise. We can do so again – *if* we are true to ourselves, true to our magnificent heritage, true to the basic American faith in free men and the faith in God which is the ultimate cornerstone of our system.

I ask you to join with me in asking God to grant this nation the continued blessing of individual liberty and the courage to fulfill our individual responsibilities as free men and loyal American citizens.

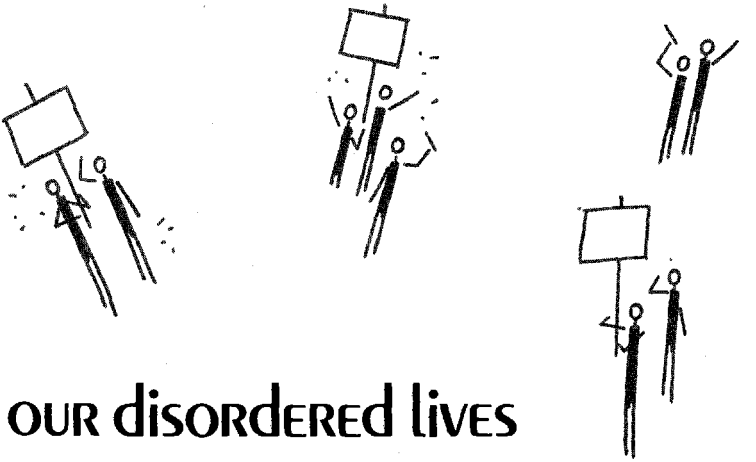
IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Self-Government

I COULD NOT OMIT to urge on every man to remember that self-government politically can only be successful if it is accompanied by self-government personally; that there must be government somewhere; and that, if indeed the people are to be the sovereigns, they must exercise their sovereignty over themselves individually, as well as over themselves in the aggregate – regulating their own lives, resisting their own temptations, subduing their own passions, and voluntarily imposing upon themselves some measure of that restraint and discipline which, under other systems, is supplied from armories of arbitrary power.

ROBERT C. WINTHROP, American Statesman (1809-1894)

EDMUND A. OPITZ



OUR disORDERED lives

THE COLONISTS had won a war and, desiring to set up a republican form of government, they installed a Constitution designed to limit the public authority and thus maximize personal liberty.

Now that they were free, what did these early Americans do with their newly won liberty? For one thing, they worked. They had to provide their own food, clothing and shelter, so work was a necessity of survival. Moreover, these people remembered the poverty endured by their ancestors in Europe and how life was demeaned thereby. Now that these Americans were free to enjoy the fruits of their toil they became more productive, and with the gradual increase of wealth came a new sense of human dignity which accompanies modest economic success. The Puritan Ethic was sound when it endorsed work, thrift and frugality. This ethic fitted in well with the burgeoning interest in the new science of economics, masterfully set forth in 1776 by Adam Smith. It is significant that more than twenty five hundred copies of *Wealth of Nations* were sold in this country within five years of its appearance. Obviously,

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the book addressed itself to a real need.

Economic activity is fundamental to human existence. A Robinson Crusoe could get along without politicking, but if he did not work he would die of hunger and exposure. Emerging from economic activity are the concepts of rights to property and claims to service around which many political battles are fought. Economics, on the surface, deals with prices, production, and the operations of the market as determined by the buying habits of every one of us. In reality, however, economics is concerned with the conservation and stewardship of the earth's scarce goods; human energy, time, material resources and natural forces.

These goods-in-short-supply are our birthright as creatures of this planet. Use them wisely, as natural piety dictates and common sense confirms – that is providently and economically – and human well-being is the result. Ignore the realities in this area, as we have done in our time, and a host of evils follow. We might be able to live with economic ills if we didn't think we could cure them with political nostrums, but our political efforts aimed at mopping up the consequences of economic mistakes head us in the direction of the Total State. Every collectivist ideology – from the welfare state idea to totalitarian communism – is strung on a framework of economic error. People are prisoners of their beliefs, and so long as they cherish a wrong understanding of economics they will be appealed to by one form of collectivism or another. But when they embrace sound economics, collectivism will cease to be a menace.

Man's Nature

All creatures take the world pretty much as they find it, save man. Man alone has the gifts which enable him to entertain an idea and then transform his environment in accordance with it. He is equipped with needs which the world as it is cannot satisfy. Thus he is compelled to alter and rearrange the natural order by employing his energy on raw materials so as to put them into consumable form. Before he can do much of anything else, man must manufacture, grow, and transport. His creaturely needs man shares with the animals, but he alone employs economic means to satisfy them. This is an enormous leap upward, for by relying on the economic means man becomes so efficient at satisfying his bodily hungers that he gains a measure of independence from them. And when they are assuaged, he feels the tug of hungers no animal ever feels: for truth, for beauty, for meaning, for God.

Whatever may be man's capacities in the upper reaches of his nature – to think, dream, pray, or create – it is certain that he will attain to none of these unless he survives. And he cannot survive for long unless he engages in economic activity. At the lowest level, economic action achieves merely economic ends: food, clothing, and shelter. But when these matters are efficiently in hand, economic action is a means to all our ends, not only to more refined economic goods but to the highest goods of the mind and spirit. Add flying buttresses and spires to four walls and a roof, and a mere shelter for the body develops into a cathedral to house the spirit of man. Economics is not one means among many, Hayek has pointed out, it is the means to all our ends.

Material Progress

The freer a nation's economy the more prosperous are its citizens. The wealth of Uncle Sam became the envy of the world. America's greatness is not, of course, to be measured by monetary income and material well-being; but it is interesting to note how well Americans have done economically with the resources available to them.

The United States is only one-sixteenth of the land surface of the world, and Americans are only about one-fifteenth of the world's population. Nevertheless, Americans own three-quarters of all the television sets. Americans consume about two-thirds of all the petroleum products in the world, one-half of all the coffee, two-thirds of all the silk. An American factory worker can buy four suits of clothes with a month's wages; his counterpart in a totalitarian country can buy half a suit with a month's wages. An American can buy six pairs of shoes with the results of a week's work; his totalitarian counterpart can buy one shoe. These figures prove only one thing. They demonstrate with what dramatic success Americans have waged the great war on poverty.

There was general progress during the nineteenth century; the American Dream appeared to be in the process of realization. The War Between the States shed brothers' blood and dealt the nation a staggering blow, but the country's spiritual and political leadership had enough vitality to begin the long job of putting the pieces together again. There were several periods of economic dislocation during the nineteenth century, but the masses of Americans tightened their belts and took the hardships in stride. The prevailing mood, as the nation entered the twentieth century was optimistic, but this mood was badly shaken by World War I. There was a lot of cynicism

in the literature of the twenties and a few voices began to propagandize for the Planned State. Then came the shattering experience of the Great Depression and large numbers of Americans lost faith in themselves and in their institutions. They felt powerless before the forces leading them toward the war they entered in 1941.

Given their "druthers," most people choose freedom; they would have settled – anytime during the 1929-1941 period – for a resumption of the old ways and the prospect of a steady job. But there was almost no one to tell them that economic stagnation and war are not market place phenomena; these are consequences of political interference with the free market. The economy which collapsed in 1929 and continued stricken during the thirties was a politically rigged economy; it bore little resemblance to the classical model of the free market!

The Voice of Socialism

This message was drowned out in the thirties by the confident, strident voices of Socialists, Communists and Social Planners. The prescriptions of these folk were heeded, in large measure, and their remedies applied. The walfare state was given carte blanche in the nineteen-thirties and has had the field virtually to itself for the past forty years. What are the consequences? Examine any sector of the nation you choose and the survey turns up a shambles. Dissension tears apart our churches; influential church bodies support revolution; churchmen embrace one weird theology after another. On the campuses there is not only a breakdown of educational theory, there are student riots, burnings and bombings. Never have Americans been so divided against each other; never has America stood so low in the eyes of the world.

It is an ominous portent for a nation when significant numbers of its people carry the political dialogue out into the street, forsaking the painstaking, two-way process of argumentation and discussion for the more spectacular device of demonstration. Thus the marches, the sit-ins, kneel-ins, pray-ins, wade-ins, and the like. Public order exists only because the overwhelming majority of people voluntarily obey the rules of the game. The law does not create public order; law is the creature of that order. Order creates an instrument, the law, to punish those occasional breaches of propriety which occur because men are not angels. No society comes into existence, nor can a society endure, unless most of the people can be trusted most of the time to play fair and deal justly with their fellows.

Every free society develops its customary style of political life as a reflection of its peculiar ethos and, according to its own lights, gives to every faction in the society a voice to match its merits. A free society devises political machinery for the orderly succession in office, and cannot long endure chaos in this sphere.

Not a Tyrant's Rule

Our situation in 1973 is not like that of a conquered country, pinned down by a tyrant's heel. A suppressed people is denied access to the political levers by which orderly changes in society are effected. They cannot plead their case across the abyss which separates them from their conquerors, and thus they are impelled to protest by actions which smack of guerrilla warfare. How different here! The channels of political communication in the United States were never more open than today, but never has the country witnessed more protest marches, demonstrations, and riots. The ends the demonstrators hope to accomplish by taking to the streets—recognition, economic improvement – were not being thwarted by the strongest political currents flowing during the past generation; to the contrary, new ground was being gained with each passing year, and the trend was continuing. There was undeniable progress, but it was not being accomplished fast enough by regular political means, seconded by moral and educational movements; so they took to the streets to speed up the action.

Then there are the cop-outs, the denizens of the counter-culture, the drug people, the vagabonds, the experimenters with new life styles.

What went wrong? What will bring us back into the mainstream of the American tradition?

The Decline of Religion

The past two centuries – the period during which the American experiment got started, rose to heights of prosperity, then lost its sense of direction – coincides with the general decline of religious belief. The decline I refer to is not something to be gleaned from statistics. There are millions of people who attend church every Sunday; there are a great many devout Christians and pious Jews in Europe and America; there are philosophers who can demonstrate by close reasoning that God is; and there is in the average man a sense that he is taking part in events of a more than mundane significance. But the God reached at the conclusion of a chain of reasoning is not the same God as The One in Whom our being is rooted – although it is with the philosopher's God that the recovery of religious faith must be-

gin. Hold fast to that which can be proved; then faith, when it comes, is a gift of grace.

While religion has gotten onto rather shaky ground in modern times, the philosophy of Materialism has gained ascendency almost everywhere. It is the typical faith of the laboratory and the market place. Science has taken on a magic radiance during the past two centuries, appearing to deliver what religion had only promised; and the world view dictated by science was widely assumed to be Materialism. Scientists, for the purposes of their work, visualized the universe as an intricate, interlocking piece of clockwork. Every event is the effect of a mechanical cause, and a thing is "understood" when broken down and analyzed into its antecedents. Science takes on messianic significance in what Karl Marx referred to as his "Scientific Socialism," and the philosophy of dialectic Materialism on which communism is based rigorously excludes God and regards religion as the enemy.

Religion was a compelling force in the formation of American ideals and institutions. From the religious heritage of Christendom came our understanding of human nature and destiny – the belief that God has called men to His service while in the body to perform their duties as citizens, their tasks as employers and employees, as well as in their homes, their churches, and their play. The central doctrine of our political theory is the idea that each person possesses inherent, God-given rights, whose protection is government's primary job.

But if man is not a created being, if man instead is simply the end product of material and social forces – as the strict environmentalists believe – then there is not a spark of the divine within him. If there is no God there are no God-given rights in a person, which all other persons are bound to respect. And if there are no rights natural to man as such, then men will not strive to limit government to the public domain. To the contrary, the powers and functions of government will be extended and some men will come to regard other men simply as objects to be manipulated: "We who wield power will create the environment to mould men to our specifications and thus bring a new humanity into being." At the first Creation God made man in His own image; the second Creation proposes to improve on the first!

The philosophy of Materialism cannot allow the idea of inherent rights, nor does it countenance the idea of a soul, or mind, as a genuine reality. Materialism is the theory that bits of matter alone are ulti-

mately real, and when one reflects on this position it is evident that Materialism is self-refuting. If only matter is real, the *theory* that only matter is unreal is fanciful! A theory, or an idea, or a belief is certainly nonmaterial; and the fact that we can have an idea of matter demonstrates that there is more to the universe than matter!

The Reality of Ideas

Ideas are real! An idea does not occupy space, nor is it in time; it will not submit to chemical analysis, nor can it be weighed or measured. But it begs the question to assume that these are the only tests for genuine reality. If we deny reality to an idea or a thought, then neither can we vouch for the truth of an idea or thought. The Materialist actually denies the validity of thought when he doubts the reality of an idea; and, to be candid, he must admit that he cannot trust the reasoning which purports to lead him to Materialism!

The tragedy is that religion has weakly succumbed to this ideology, and the idea of rights derived from the Creator has been replaced by the notion of privileges granted by the State. This has had a profoundly disturbing effect on American political institutions.

The second ill consequence following upon the decay of religious belief affects the individual person by diminishing his life goals. It is the Christian position that man is made to serve a transcendent end, in other words, to seek first the Kingdom. The ancient promise is that if we put this first thing in first place the other necessary things will come in sequence. But under the rule of Materialism men are limited to the pursuit of earthly goals which, in practice, boil down to two; the pursuit of power and and the pursuit of wealth.

The relentless pursuit of power destroys the idea of limited, Constitutional government; the ruthless pursuit of wealth destroys the market economy. If a people acknowledge the Ten Commandments, seek freedom and justice, practice love of God and of neighbor, and then employ a modicum of intelligence in their economic and political arrangements, they will restrain government and release productive energy; they will have a free and productive commonwealth on these terms, and on no others. For it is almost a truism that disorder in society is but a reflection of disorder in the souls of men. Earmarks of today's inner disorder are widespread uncertainty about the meaning of life, loss of proper goals, confusion as to what it all signifies, a loss of hope, and an enfeeblement of resolution.

As the religious man understands the universe, this natural

world is grounded in a spiritual reality, which we cannot sense, but whose reality may be corroborated by intuition, reason, or revelation. When man loses contact with this divine order he will transfer his loyalty to worldly objects, and a part of him will be crippled as a result. The full embodiment of the Gospel vision is beyond the capacity of any generation of men. But the City of Man may be a proving ground for the City of God, and a portion of that vision has worked its way into the law, customs and conventions of Christendom. This ideal once inspired our free institutions, and its original inspiration can be rekindled. Until that rekindling occurs the promise of America remains unfulfilled.

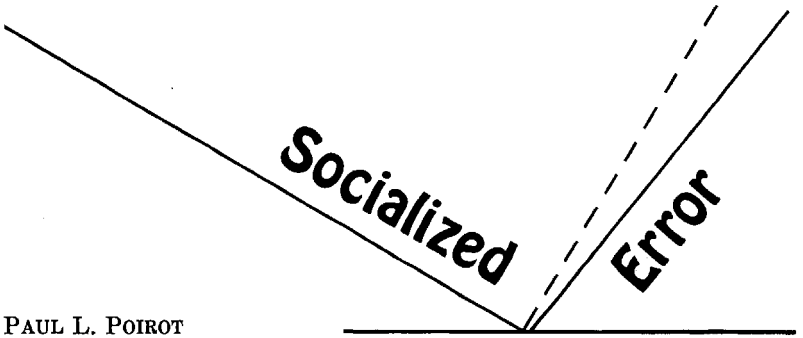
What Is Life's Meaning?

Each of us is thrust into life and saddled with the task of discovering what this life of ours is all about. The first thing we discover is that the life-meaning we seek is not something which will simply drift toward us while we passively wait; we have to work for it. It is only as active participants in life that we begin to discover clues as to the meaning of our earthly pilgrimage.

The full meaning is, of course, denied us. Mortal man, with his finite understanding, can do no more here than "see as through a glass darkly." But the part we can and do see is at least enough so that we know what our next step should be. Take the right step and it leads to another. Look back over our trail and a definite pattern is decipherable.

We human beings did not invent ourselves. Our fumbling efforts to discover the laws of our being – the rules for our proper operation – contribute toward making human life the painful thing it is. But this pain of ours is a peculiar pain; joy is mingled with the pain – the joy that comes from knowing that each one of us participates in the very process of creation itself. Every other creature but man obeys the Laws of God, which are the Laws of Life, willy-nilly – almost mechanically. But God solicits the cooperation of man. We have free will, and we may refuse to cooperate; or, we may exercise our power of choice and thus begin to realize the tremendous potential that lies latent in each one of us.

Life challenges us to grow, and it provides abundant occasions and opportunities to test our nerve. Every test is just a little beyond our capacity; so, in one sense, we fail. But in the very act of striving lies our success, for new powers emerge out of our shortcomings; and the hardships we overcome on each level of life spur us to rise higher.



PAUL L. POIROT

TO SEE a grown man make a childish mistake is embarrassing, even if he is the sole victim and misleads or harms no one else in the process. Nor does one enjoy seeing two or more responsible adults collaborating to be wrong at their own expense. Yet, one observes errors all about him every day of his life; and his problem is to tolerate such behavior and to learn from it. Otherwise, one finds himself trying alone, or conspiring, to forcibly prevent others from making their own mistakes.

Unfortunately, in a highly industrialized trading economy such as ours, it seems increasingly difficult to be mistaken only at one's own expense. A man mistakes a red light for a green and harms someone else in the process. His raucous hi-fi set disturbs his neighbors. His inefficient garbage disposal is an eyesore, or worse, to the community. The weeds on his vacant lot happen to be marijuana. His factory belches smoke. His cropping practices aggravate floods – or dust storms.

Now, it is especially annoying to see anyone making mistakes that are harmful not only to himself but to other quite innocent persons as well. Most of us can find considerable justification for bringing a bit of force to bear against such disturbers of the peace. Yet, in the process of applying that force, we may be committing the worst mistake of all: the socialization of error – compelling everyone in the society to share the cost of the reform we advocate.

Such is the anomaly of freedom. On the one hand, it allows more and more of us to live longer lives of greater comfort and ease. At the same time, it brings us closer to one another and makes each of us in his specialty more

dependent on the other specialists with whom he trades goods and services. The open frontiers of land and air and water disappear. More and more of the bounties of Nature, once free for the taking, are drawn into the category of scarce economic resources which are worth owning and command a price in the market.

Effects of Crowding

As industrialized people become more and more crowded together in their increased affluence, personal mistakes not only become more obvious to others and more annoying but also tend more and more to trespass upon the property and to jeopardize the liberties and the lives of others. The limited rules of law and order applicable to the open range and frontier life seem inadequate to cover the increasing frictions of crowded urban living. In their distress at some of these noxious fruits of affluence and progress, many persons hasten to the conclusion that "there ought to be a law" – a bit of coercion to prevent the individual from making his own mistakes. And the result of this expanded sphere of governmental intervention and control is that everyone is compelled to help pay for mistakes that were none of his own doing. Here are a few samples of popular reform measures for which the taxpayer is held accountable:

- government schools with compulsory attendance on the theory that this will teach the individual to make fewer mistakes.
- government systems of transportation on the theory that this will facilitate the desired movement of goods and services and people.
- government health and welfare programs on the theory that this will enable and encourage individuals to lead happier and more useful lives.
- government parks, playgrounds, and other recreational facilities on the theory that these will lead to more constructive uses of leisure.
- government communication facilities on the theory that people will thereby be better informed and more understanding of the views and the problems of others.
- government supplied water, fuel, power, and other utilities on the theory that this will promote the fare.
- government regulation and control of wages, prices, rents, interest rates, advertising, purity and quality of products, competitive practices, working conditions, insurance, banking, and numerous other aspects of business on the

theory that voluntary traders are unfit judges of fairness and equity.

- government privileges to labor, agriculture, industry, professional groups, and similar minorities on the theory of equality *after* the law.
- government aid to other governments on the theory that this will improve the American image abroad and stimulate exports.
- government printing of legal tender notes on the theory that traders otherwise might waste their time panning gold.

The foregoing list illustrates but by no means exhausts the ways in which mistakes are socialized in the name of preventing personal errors of judgment and action. This is not to question the desirability of and the need for education, transportation, health care, recreation, communication, water, fuel, electricity, insurance, banking, business integrity, charity at home and abroad, and above all, an honest medium of exchange. Nor is it to question the need for government to protect the lives and the property of peaceful citizens against fraud and violence. What is debatable is the use of governmental coercion to displace the market as the converter of scarce and valuable resources to the most efficient service of peaceful human desires.

The Role of Private Property

The multiplication of people and their desires accentuates the demand upon available resources, calling for the enclosure of what was once the commons. In other words, there is an increased role for private ownership and an added importance of property rights to bring clean air, pure water, and increasingly scarce resources of all types under the influence of voluntary supply and demand in the open market.

The mistake in this connection is the unwarranted assumption that new or additional laws are needed to do the job. Or, worse yet, the assumption that the increasing scarcity of a resource, relative to the demand for it, justifies bringing all available supplies under government ownership or control. In other words, if air or water or land or oil or any other resource seems to be in relatively short supply, then nationalize the supply and treat it as if it were a free good or costless in the market as far as the consumer is concerned; the cost is there, all the same, but is to be charged to taxpayers in general rather than directly to each consumer. Thus, the consumption of the scarce resource is subsidized and encouraged, whereas the producer of that resource is discouraged through total or partial confiscation of his

property. That is the general nature of the mistake: the resort to coercive measures in the attempt to do a job which can only be accomplished through the peaceful procedures of the market.

How Market System Functions to Avoid Waste

The market recognizes the need and provides handsome rewards for specialists in the production and conservation and use of scarce resources. If there were no moral or other justification for private property, the foregoing alone would be ample and sufficient reason for it – the avoidance of waste. This is the same reason for all specialization and all exchange. And the lack of respect for private property is the basic reason why compulsory socialism is bound to fail – why it can neither detect waste nor avoid it, however harsh be the treatment of individuals. Instead of allowing persons to specialize as producers or savers or responsible users of scarce and limited resources in market fashion, socialism in effect compels everyone to serve as teacher, mail carrier, transporter, physician, supplier of utilities, lawyer, insurer, banker, philanthropist, and printer of fiat money. What waste of human talent, to say nothing of the other scarce resources squandered in such warlike processes! This is the great mistake we make when we refuse to tolerate the errors of self-responsible individuals and socialize such errors instead.

If it is education we desire, let us look to specialists in the open market rather than to the coercive process by which the policeman is to make every taxpayer a teacher. Perhaps some of the specialists will make mistakes; but such errors, primarily at the individual's own expense, are far more tolerable than when socialized.

In similar fashion, the market may be trusted to provide the best transportation, communication, recreation, business service of all types, charities, and even the best money that can be had within the limits of available resources and human understanding. Among fallible men, we may expect some mistakes. Perhaps we can learn to tolerate them, for there is no other chance to be free.

There was once a university in the heart of America where all life seemed to be in harmony with its surroundings. The university lay in a verdant grove of academe; autonomous, self-perpetuating, and buoyant. In the spring black and white clouds of commencement robes signaled the end of another properous year of learning; a year in which professors had taught and students had listened. Then a strange blight crept over the university, and everything began to change. Some evil spell had settled on the academy. Everywhere there was the shadow of death. There was a strange stillness in the classroom. Teachers no longer taught; students no longer listened. The professors, for example, where had they gone? Many people spoke of them, puzzled and disturbed. Classrooms once vibrant with dialogue were now dull with apathy. The campus, once green, was now arid with alienation or else afire with revolt. No witchcraft, no enemy action had silenced the rebirth of new life in this stricken world. The professors had done it themselves![1]

The Restoration of Intellectual Virtues in Academic Life

The Need for Tolerance and Humility

DONALD E. WEAST

AS SOCIETIES become more complex – as the population grows, as the statuses and roles multiply, as the exposure to conflicting ideologies increases – there seems to be waning agreement over the validity and propriety of abstract values and norms. Such is the case with American institutions. From the secular world of sports (where questions are being raised concerning the value of winning), to the sacred world of religion (where questions of relevance have become a source of bitter debate), one struggles to discern whether a common ethic exists.

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[1] Robert A. Nisbet, "Conflicting Academic Loyalties", in *Improving College Teaching*, Calvin B. T. Lee, Editor, (American Council on Education, Washington, D. C., 1967), pp. 12-13.

The institution in American society which appears to be the epitome of the present bewilderment is the university. Witness the contradictory attitudes and behavior which not only exist in academic life, but are considered beneficial by their various representatives: From so-called "teach-ins" where speakers plead that others "see the light" so that the "correct" actions will be taken, to those whose idea of teaching leads them to reject various forms of political proselytizing; from professors who insist that students have a right to "relevant" courses to those who question the meaning and dimensions of the term "relevance"; from those who agree that government has no place in academic life and that therefore R. O. T. C. should be abolished, to the insistence by the same people that Peace Corps and Draft Counseling courses have a proper place on the campus.

A Perplexing Contradiction

Why such contradictory behavior not only occurs but is rationalized at great length by leaders in the academic world as being part of "education" is, to say the least, perplexing. Perhaps Irving Kristol provides at least a partial answer by his observation that, "when an institution no longer knows what it is doing, it starts trying to do everything."[2] Granting the accuracy of this pessimistic insight, it may be useful, nevertheless, to develop models of what education *ought* to be; otherwise there is little prospect of ever realizing a coherent educational system. As a step in this direction, I will attempt to clarify what I see as one of the essential purposes of education, explore some of the necessary conditions for its fulfillment, and illustrate how these conditions are often violated by those who transmit "education" – the professors.

A statement from the Harvard Report, "General Education in a Free Society," provides a point of departure.

> Education is not merely the imparting of knowledge but the cultivation of certain aptitudes and attitudes in the mind of the young . . . These abilities, in our opinion, are: To think effectively, to communicate thought, to make relevant judgments, to discriminate among values.[3]

It may be inferred from this statement that one of the essential purposes of the university is the

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2 Irving Kristol, "What Business is the University in?" *New York Times Magazine*, (March 22, 1970), p. 30.

3 William H. Burton, Roland B. Kimball and Richard L. Wing, *Education for Effective Thinking* (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, Inc. 1960), Preface, p.v.

cultivation of the individual mind – a mind which is committed to the *search* for and the transmission of true knowledge.[4] It is this principle which gives credence to the institution of learning – in spite of its diverse curricula and individualistic practitioners. It is this principle which validates the "community of scholars" concept.

The very existence of the university reveals the recognition that a cultivated mind is not obtained automatically, but requires intensive intellectual training.[5] This involves, of course, such things as "sound training in the fundamental ways of thinking" represented by the various disciplines and "the ability to handle and apply complex ideas, to make use of a wide range of accurate knowledge, and to command the means of effective expression."[6] It is my judgment, however, that this training will be undermined, or will be, at best, superficial unless certain attitudes prevail in the hearts and minds of those charged with doing this training – the professors. That is, it is imperative that professors show by word and deed their commitment to virtues which are the life-blood of the cultivated mind: tolerance and humility.[7]

To Develop an Open Mind

By tolerance I am not referring to the narrow and topical application of racial tolerance, but to a commitment to having an open, receptive mind. Whatever the issue is about, no matter how contrary the view may be to one's own (or no matter how favorable), the commitment of the professor must be to discovering, through the painstaking use of intellectual skills, whether and to what extent it is true or false.

It is extremely difficult to develop an open mind. One of the reasons for this may be that our parents, and paradoxically, even our professors have failed to demonstrate, by their own actions, the virtue of this goal. Given the na-

[4] The reason for emphasizing the word "search" is to recognize not only the fallibility of human thought, but to underscore what science has taught us: what is deemed true today, may be false tomorrow.

[5] I do not mean to suggest that the *actual* training the individual receives in the university necessarily leads to a cultivated mind. Nor do I suggest that the university is the only setting in which intellectual growth can be achieved. I do assert, however, that the university *should* be devoted to this cause.

[6] Arthur Bestor, *The Restoration of Learning*, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1956, pp. 7-8.

[7] These are not the only crucial virtues in this regard. Among others are suspension of judgment and curiosity. At least in a superficial sense, these attitudes are part of the academic folklore. As an illustration of their importance for effective thinking see Burton et al, *op. cit.* pp. 34-45.

ture of their non-academic roles, the behavior of parents can be easily understood if not excused. But this is obviously not the case with professors.

What are some indicators that some professors have failed to be models of tolerance? As far as their actual classroom performance is concerned, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information; it is a time-honored tradition that "outside observers" are only welcome by invitation. Students, of course, may cite instances of professors failing to give balanced presentations of highly controversial issues (controversial in the sense that reputable scholars do not agree) or of their failing to give serious consideration to the questions and opposing views of their students. But though these charges may indeed be true their validity rests on the integrity of the student as well as on his competence to make such judgments.[8]

Fortunately, we do not have to rely on classroom evidence. In recent years there have been occasions outside the classroom in which some professors have failed to grasp the opportunity to show their students, as well as the general public, the virtue of tolerance. Their behavior at some of the teach-ins on Vietnam provides a striking example. A professor of sociology observed one of these Teach-Ins at the University of Wisconsin and made the following report:

> The professors who spoke were almost completely biased. They did nothing to restrain and much to encourage the hissing, groaning, and jeering that immediately greeted any assertion or question suggesting deviation from their own views. They engaged in question-begging witticisms – "The Lingo of The Neo-Jingoes", one professor titled his talk. They permitted the display and distribution of inflammatory photographs, literature, and signs in the classrooms. They scheduled the Teach-In amid a week-long round of placard-toting, petition-waving, vigil-keeping activities 'To end the war in Vietnam' all to be climaxed by a 'March on Washington.'[9]

It is crucial to understand that the central issue here is *not* that some professors have violated the rights of others to speak freely. To emphasize this is to miss the significant intellectual issue: hiss-

[8] I do not mean to imply that being a student necessarily means that the person lacks integrity or competence. Indeed, in this regard, I have known students who outshine some professors. The point is that observer reports of this type are fraught with possibilities for error.

[9] Michael Hakeem, "Rusk Should Ignore 'Teach-in' Professors", Letter to The Editor, *Wisconsin State Journal*, May 13, 1965.

ing, groaning, jeering, or walking out on guest speakers are a repudiation of thought and thus make a mockery of the "house of intellect."[10]

Biased Presentations

Another way professors demonstrate their intolerance of opposing views is, ironically, through their tolerance of one-sided presentations. It is intellectually defensible to argue for a certain point of view, say, concerning the causes of poverty, or crime, or war. It is then up to the minds of others to assess whether the argument can withstand the application of rigorous, disciplined thinking. But if, for example, students are constantly subjected to one-sided views concerning subjects which abound in controversy among experts and are not even exposed to the opposing views in an objective, scholarly fashion, the professor is, unwittingly or not, supporting the norm of indoctrination.

This was a key argument I presented in opposing the format of the University Forum on my own campus last year. This forum, entitled: "University Forum on Social Change," presented a series of speakers who were chosen *because* of their political ideologies. Moreover, instead of seeing to it that diverse ideologies were given equal representation, one-sided views prevailed. Finally, and most importantly, this course was given for academic credit. Now, of course, every professor and administrator should have realized the implication this has for the intellectual integrity of any of the courses in the curriculum. The idea of granting academic credit is based, at bottom, on the premise that the student is being exposed to and learning from a professor who is deemed qualified because of his *academic* credentials. If this is not the case, why give academic credit? Why have disciplines? Graduate school programs? Degrees? Professors?

Techniques of Propaganda

I might well assign my students to hear one-sided speeches *all year* in order to provide them with examples of how ideologues use various techniques of propaganda in order to win converts. Thus, they may be instructed to look for and report on examples of connotative speech geared to arouse the audience to the "right" response, for

[10] Of course it is not a sign of anti-intellectualism if a person refrains from attending an event because it has little or no educational value. Indeed, it may be the sign of intellectualism of the highest order for a person not to take the time to hear bias-ridden speeches. (On the other hand, the intellectual might well attend in order to study another specimen of propaganda.)

the appeals to numbers and authority, for the failure to acknowledge the conflicting views of reputable scholars, for the failure to acknowledge basic assumptions, for the begging of questions, for making generalizations from insufficient evidence, and so on. Through such assignments, the students would be trained to develop their minds so that they would be able to make decisions for themselves. These carefully conducted procedures would be in keeping with the educational philosophy which holds that a basic function of the professor is to enhance the *intellectual* power of his students. It recognizes that the acquisition of such power does not occur by the simple exposure to various ideologies. Rather, it assumes that the development of effective thinking is a most difficult task. It assumes that the mind cannot grow under all conditions, but must be carefully nurtured. This is a basic reason for insisting on vigorous standards in professional disciplines and academic courses. To assume that students already have the tools necessary for clear and responsible thinking, and therefore can protect themselves from being misled when confronted with a series of "stimulating" speeches, is to suggest the irrelevance of the professor.

Freedom Violated

There are those who will hold that the demand for high standards in an academic course contradicts the virtue of tolerance in that it infringes on the freedom of teachers, students and, in the case cited above, the speakers as well. I can respond to this no better than to quote the words of the historian Arthur Bestor:

> To insist that instruction must meet the exacting standards of scholarship is not to infringe upon freedom of teaching. Such infringements occur when pressure groups – whether reactionary or radical – force the schools to conform to their preconceived ideas, to limit the curriculum, to censor textbooks, or to forbid the teaching of controversial subjects. Scientists and scholars must vigorously resist such efforts to impose upon the schools any narrow dogma in politics, economics, religion, or science, for learning itself is thereby threatened with destruction. They must also resist anti-intellectualism in the schools themselves, for if freedom of thinking and respect for intellectual effort are undermined there, it will be easy for demagogues to convince a larger public that intellectual effort is of little value in any case, and that freedom of thought is not worth preserving.[11]

There are even some professors who not only do not see anything wrong with indoctrination but

[11] Arthur Bestor, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

openly espouse it. To illustrate, Professor George Adams, a self-proclaimed radical teacher at the Wisconsin State University at Whitewater apparently sees nothing wrong in using the classroom as a setting for attacking the *status quo*.

> But whether the radical criticism is from the point of view of Marxism (Lukacs), women's liberation (Millett), Anarchy (Goodman), or Black Power (Thelwell), its purpose is always the same – to *subvert* [my italics] the existent bourgeois culture.[12]

It is important to stress that Mr. Adams is not simply calling for the presentation of "radical views" to the students. If this were the case, it would hardly be new. Indeed the university has fought long and hard for the right of scholars to present controversial material to their students. Mr. Adams is calling for something else: The use of the classroom to indoctrinate students to the professor's own political ideology.

To argue that this open espousal of indoctrination is rare on campus is to miss its real significance. The fact that it occurs *at all*, without a corresponding sense of bewilderment, alarm, and outrage by the faculty as a whole, indicates not only the lack of any real commitment to the open, receptive mind that is guided, nevertheless, by the highest standards of scholarship, but the degree to which the university has become a normless institution.

[12] George B. Adams, "Radical Teachers," Letter to The Editor, *Change*, Jan.-Feb., 1971, p. 5.

The Virtue of Humility

Closely related to the virtue of tolerance, and possibly a condition which must precede it, is intellectual humility. It is the attitude which makes us acutely aware of the limitations of our own minds, limited not only by the available resources of the brain, but the ignorance of or failure to comprehend what other minds have discovered.

To proclaim the virtue of humility is not to suggest that the tongue must forever be silent – that true knowledge is an illusion and that therefore one man's perception of it is as good as another's. To assert such things is to reach the end of reason and to exalt the god of absurdity. In such a state, surely, all conversation, from the problem-solving of the coffee klatch to the painstaking analyses of the seminar becomes redundant. We might as well moan and arm wrestle.

No, the virtue of humility does not imply all of this. But it does demand that the knowledge the

professor offers to the public is presented with full awareness of the mistakes of the past and the possibility for errors in the present. It demands that he not attempt to coerce others, either physically or through some psychological device, to accept his views. It demands that he refrain from making claims on controversial issues without demonstrating how his intellectual skills led him to accept one point of view rather than another.

It is not a significant test of humility when a professor acknowledges in an abstract sense that he does not know it all, that what he perceives to be the truth may turn out to be false, that his enthusiasm for a certain point of view is tempered not only by the recognition of his own fallibility but by the knowledge that sincere and reputable scholars disagree with him. The test comes when the professor is confronted with the task of responding to a social crisis – to a problem that heightens the emotions of the public. Will he practice the virtue of humility at this moment or not? If not, it shows the superficiality of his commitment to the abstract principle of intellectual humility, and at the same time indicates the priority he gives to an ideological position or to the whims and emotions of the moment.

There are signs that some professors are either unaware of, fail to see its importance, or simply and arrogantly scoff at the virtue of humility. Ironically, these signs seem to be pronounced in times of social crisis. It is during these times when various professors demonstrate that they are no different than the public which they claim to be teaching. Like the most avid partisan of some special interest group, these professors clamor that others "see the light" and follow their lead.

In Times of Crisis

It is the time that petitions and resolutions begin to circulate, when placards and bumper stickers become more evident, when cartoons and editorials appear on office doors. To illustrate: A resolution was introduced and supported by a number of professors at a University of Wisconsin-Waukesha faculty meeting which read in part that the faculty "condemns the U.S. invasion of Cambodia." A petition was circulated on campus and signed by some professors which included the phrase that the "National Guard are the hired killers of the U.S. government." Cartoons and editorials have appeared on office doors which depict various public figures as heroes or villains – from idolizing Daniel Berrigan as a paragon of

virtue to presenting Richard Nixon as a symbol of sin.

It would be a serious error to criticize these faculty members on ideological grounds – that is, to condemn their actions *because* they reflect antagonistic views. Such a criticism is merely political and self-serving. As a consequence it fails to provide an intellectual rationale for condemning such tactics *per se*. Thus, if a resolution were proposed hailing the U.S. involvement in Cambodia, if a petition were circulated which praised the National Guard in its handling of the Kent State Affair or if cartoons were to appear equating Father Berrigan with the devil and Nixon with the savior, we would be left with the same problem. The significant criticism to make of professors who do these things is that knowingly or unknowingly (I'm not sure which is worse) they are proclaiming that the techniques of the Madison Avenue huckster, whose effectiveness is related to the unthinking reactions of the masses, have a proper place in an institution of higher learning; that to over-simplify, to mislead, to appeal to emotions, to give only one side – to violate the most fundamental elements of scholarship – is all right, as long as it promotes the "correct" view. This is the end for minds that are bankrupt, as far as intellectual humility is concerned.

The Need to Explain

Now it may be *true* that the U.S. invasion of Cambodia was wrong for various reasons, that the description of the National Guard as "hired killers" is accurate and not misleading, that Father Berrigan is a virtuous man and that Richard Nixon is not. But it is a gross act of arrogance to imply that such things are self-evident – that a simple proclamation from a professor's pen will do. The virtue of humility does not suggest silence, but it does call for demonstrability. It implies that if the professor has some knowledge to offer mankind on pressing matters he cannot rely on his status, but must demonstrate how he came to these conclusions, by what processes of thought and by what kinds of evidence. To ask this of a professor is to ask him to be no more than what he claims to be: an educator. To fail to ask – to see nothing wrong or indeed to see something noble in these simplistic resolutions, petitions, cartoons, and the like – is to discredit the ideal of scholarship and perpetuate one of its most deadly enemies: intellectual arrogance.

It may be argued at this point, and rightly so, that this long discourse on tolerance and humility

is not warranted. It *is* an old refrain. Moreover, like so many ethical appeals, whether voiced from the pulpit or the political forum, this call to high principles in academic life is rationalized away or soon forgotten as we go about our daily chores. I have no illusions about the matter. But, unless one rejects the contention that ideas have consequences, it is necessary to reaffirm those things which can help to restore to the university the integrity that it once had.

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

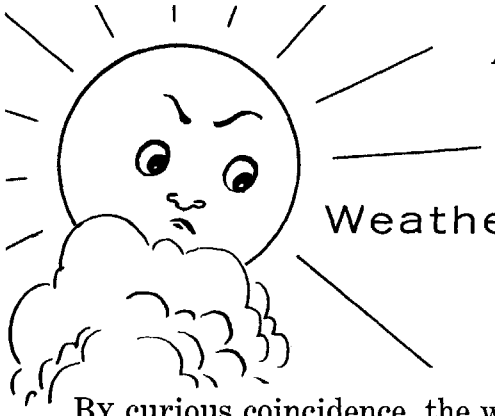
Freedom of Opinion

FIRST, if any opinion is compelled to silence, that opinion may, for aught we can certainly know, be true. To deny this is to assume our own infallibility.

Secondly, though the silenced opinion be an error, it may, and very commonly does, contain a portion of truth; and since the general or prevailing opinion on any subject is rarely or never the whole truth, it is only by the collision of adverse opinions that the remainder of the truth has any chance of being supplied.

Thirdly, even if the received opinion be not only true, but the whole truth; unless it is suffered to be, and actually is, vigorously and earnestly contested, it will, by most of those who receive it, be held in the manner of a prejudice, with little comprehension or feeling of its rational grounds. And not only this, but, fourthly, the meaning of the doctrine itself will be in danger of being lost, or enfeebled, and deprived of its vital effect on the character and conduct: the dogma becoming a mere formal profession, inefficacious for good, but cumbering the ground, and preventing the growth of any real and heartfelt conviction, from reason or personal experience.

JOHN STUART MILL, *On Liberty*



ANDREW V. SANTANGINI

Weather Forecast for 1984!

BY curious coincidence, the weather seems to be the worst where government most intervenes to promote the welfare of the people. For instance:

- *Cuba, where there is a shortage of sugar.*
- *Russia, where there is a shortage of wheat.*
- *India and China, where shortages are chronic and five-year plans are forever being frustrated by unpredictable weather.*
- *The United States, where more and more disaster areas are left in the wake of flooding and drought and freezing and storms.*

As intervention increases throughout the world, we may be sure that the weather everywhere will be quite terrible.

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ANNE WORTHAM

Giving *and* Receiving *with* Respect

AMERICANS have always helped each other and the spirit of charity continues to prevail. But even as it does, there are those benefactors and beneficiaries who abuse the responsibilities inherent in the lending and receiving of help. The motives of goodwill and justice have been removed from the relationships between individuals well off and those in need. Disclaimed as something suspect by many, charity has been largely replaced by administered reform. It has been turned into a tool of appeasement for the givers, and the receivers look upon it as the spoils of social pressure. Intellectual and political reformers argue for the acceptance of a philosophy of social welfare "based on need as the sole criterion" – welfare as a matter of entitlement.[1]

This idea of giving in response to the demands of potential recipients or under political and social duress wasn't always so prevalent in our society. There was a time when voluntary charity was deemed proper – a measure of respect between giver and receiver. Those in need usually deserved the assistance they received and those who gave were determined in their efforts to see that their giving did not become a crutch. This was generally true whether the giving and receiving of help was between pioneer neighbors or between wealthy philanthropists and the "disadvantaged."

Through their philanthropy – not to mention their accumulation of capital, their entrepreneurship and technical ingenuity – American businessmen have probably

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contributed more than any other private sector of Americans to the prosperity of those who could not have done so themselves. Yet they are least appreciated for the voluntary aid they have given untold millions. An indication of how little many of today's young people know of the good done by businessmen is seen in a national study of more than 54,000 college-bound black high school students published by the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students in 1972. A majority of the respondents reported that they felt that military figures, actors or entertainers, athletes and businessmen (in that order) contributed the *least* to society.[2] It is ironic that many of the colleges and universities these young people now attend could not exist except for the enormous financial support they receive from businessmen.

Much has been written on the subject of philanthropy and charity, but not often is the subject treated from a view held in common by both benefactor and beneficiary. However, in the case of wealthy benefactor Andrew Carnegie and Booker T. Washington, ex-slave beneficiary in behalf of black students, a common view was held; and perhaps their attitude toward their relationship was just as important as the relationship itself proved to be. There is a great deal of insight to be gained from the views of Carnegie and Washington on the matter of philanthrophy.

Carnegie, the Benefactor

In 1900 Andrew Carnegie wrote an essay in which he stated: "A man's first duty is to make a competence and be independent. But his whole duty does not end here . . . It is his duty to contribute to the general good of the community in which he lives . . . To try to make the world in some way better than you found it, is to have a noble motive in life."[3] For the businessman this could be expressed best by plowing his wealth back into society. In support of this belief Carnegie had donated $350 million to various projects by the time of his death in 1919.

John Hope Franklin, historian of the American Negro, believed that while men like Carnegie were interested in stimulating the public to recognize certain existent needs as yet unfelt by society, they also hoped to encourage the principle of self-help that would benefit their capitalist goals. Their interests in the post-Civil War South, for instance, were as much to train a working force to support the industries they brought to the Southern economy as they

were to improve the black and white Southern citizenry.

According to Franklin, the charity of businessmen also stemmed from their sense of *noblesse oblige*. Comparing wealthy industrialists with a feudal aristocracy, he wrote: "[They] had a feeling of duty toward those whose profit from the economic order was not so obvious."[4]

Ludwig von Mises refutes this characterization of industrialists, saying: "The wealth of an aristocrat is not a market phenomenon; it does not originate from supplying the consumers and cannot be withdrawn or even affected by any action on the part of the public. It stems from conquest or from largess on the part of a conquerer."[5]

As he points out repeatedly in his essays, Carnegie knew full well that his role as a businessman was a market phenomenon. His wealth was not the spoils of the conquest of men, but made possible by his conquest of nature. However, his status in the market was always dependent on the consumers' vote of confidence. And to maintain a creditable status, his economic obligation was to produce those goods and services that satisfied what the masses perceived their needs to be. This is a far cry from feudal aristocracy.

Conditions of Freedom

No producer can profit except that he meets the demands of a willing buyer. As voluntary exchange of one's property is the rule of the free market, so should the respect of the property be the rule of humanitarian endeavors between individuals. One man's poverty does not entitle him to the wealth of another; neither does one man's wealth obligate him to another's poverty.

However tempting it may be, it is very difficult to conclude from Carnegie's writing that his philanthropy was motivated by a sense of guilt for his success. Neither did he give his wealth as a peace-offering to the masses who had not fared as well in the market place. Carnegie was not an apologist. In answer to critics of wealth, he said: "Not evil, but good, has come to the race from the accumulation of wealth by those who have had the ability and energy to produce it."[6]

Unlike many of today's giants of industry, Carnegie felt entitled to his wealth and power. As his defense he offered the principle of property rights: ". . . upon the sacredness of property civilization itself depends – the right of the laborer to his hundred dollars in the savings bank, and equally the legal right of the millionaire to his millions." He believed that

"the best fruit of society was produced from the soil of Individualism, Private Property, the Law of Accumulation of Wealth, and the Law of Competition."[7] He believed that the only way to be assured of saving free enterprise was to instill the principles of self-help in the masses who constituted his customers.

Neither was there any thought of using philanthropy as a tool of oppression as has been suggested.[8] If anything, Carnegie and others wanted to lift the rest of humanity to their own level of thought and performance.

Notes On A Beneficiary

Nowhere in the chronicle of his fund-raising campaign for his school, Tuskegee Institute, did Booker T. Washington even begin to imply that he felt the rich *owed* their wealth to the members of his race or that they had a moral obligation to help Negroes per se. He was as hardheaded in his asking as his donors were in their giving.

Washington believed very much as Carnegie did that ". . . In bestowing charity, the main consideration should be to help those who will help themselves; to provide part of the means by which those who desire to improve may do so; to give those who desire to rise the aids by which they may rise; to assist, but rarely or never do all. Neither the individual nor the race is improved by almsgiving."[9]

It took ten years of work before Washington was able to secure Carnegie's interest and help. During their first meeting, Carnegie seemed to take no interest at all in Washington's school. Determined to show the industrialist that Tuskegee was worthy of his aid, Washington waited until after ten years of hard work before he wrote to Carnegie in 1901 requesting a sum of $20,000 to build a library. In a very concise letter, he outlined how the money would be used: "[it] would not only supply the building but the erection of the building would give a large number of students an opportunity to learn the building trades, and the students would use the money paid them to keep themselves in school. . . ."[10]

Carnegie sent the following reply to Washington: "I will be very glad to pay the bills for the library building as they are incurred, to the extent of twenty thousand dollars, and I am glad of this opportunity to show the interest I have in your noble work."[11]

During the years of Washington's fund-raising some narrow-minded people accused him of begging—of seeking alms. But Washington knew well the manner of

men he dealth with. They were not the kind of men who looked kindly toward begging. In reaction to those who called him a beggar, he wrote the following:

> . . . I have usually proceeded on the principle that persons who possess sense enough to earn money have sense enough to know how to give it away, and that the mere making known of the facts regarding Tuskegee, and especially the facts regarding the work of graduates, has been more effective than outright begging. I think that the presentation of the facts, on a high, dignified plane, is all the begging most rich people care for.[12]

Like Washington, Carnegie believed that one should give to only the causes he deemed worthy. "... It is better for mankind that the millions of the rich were thrown into the sea than so spent as to encourage the slothful, the drunken and the unworthy," wrote Carnegie.[13]

Washington was fully aware of the significance of the assistance he received. Unlike many critics of businessmen, he understood and respected the source of wealth and the men who produced it. His praise of his benefactors for their gifts was not tainted by any condemnation of the wealth that made those gifts possible. He was keenly aware of a potential benefactor's option to refuse his request, understanding that the prime business of the businessmen was business:

> My experience in getting money for Tuskegee has taught me to have no patience with those people who are always condemning the rich because they are rich, and because they do not give more to objects of charity . . . Those who are guilty of such sweeping criticism do not know how many people would be made poor, and how much suffering would result, if wealthy people were to part at once with any large proportion of their wealth in a way [as] to disorganize and cripple great business enterprises.[14]

Perhaps Washington understood better than many of his benefactors that their primary role as businessmen was to make a profit, and not to give it away. He certainly did not expect them to sacrifice their economic role in the market to serve his needs – however noble they might have been.

A Voluntary Response

Rather than in response to social pressure or political coercion, Carnegie chose to share his wealth because he felt a moral obligation to do so. Whether one agrees with his ethics is not the issue here. The point is that the idea of having a social responsibility origi-

nated with the businessmen themselves. It was a time during which the businessman suffered a minimal amount of duress from political quarters and was looked upon favorably by most people. Being left alone to produce, his personal sense of good will motivated him to go beyond what was his economic role in the community.

The degree to which businessmen were free to function on their own terms in an unregulated market corresponds to the degree of their willingness and ability to give assistance to others. Dr. Frederick Patterson of the United Negro College Fund points this out in a speech discussing the plight of the private Negro college – a major beneficiary of wealthy businessmen and philanthropic organizations. Patterson noted that, "These colleges 'thrived' during a period when large fortunes were not unusual and taxes were comparably low.

"In the late 20's, as taxation began to increase – and particularly in the 30's under the Roosevelt Administration – a substantial decrease took place in the funds available to the private colleges for Negro youth.

"The steadily worsening effort in fund-raising by the individual private college had reached a low point of diminishing returns by 1940. . . ."[15]

It is no mere coincidence that at a time when our economy is being interfered with by the Federal government and the demand for social welfare is increasing, black colleges, museums and libraries all over the country are in dire economic straits, unable to enlist the amount of economic assistance from the private sector that they have enjoyed in the past.

A man owes no man his property, but if he gives his wealth of his own free will, and does so with the scrutiny of men like Carnegie, it is likely that his sincerity will be appreciated and regard for him held high by the recipient. Washington set down his impression of the industrial benefactors to his school, and he found them to be "some of the best people in the world."[16]

A Form of Blackmail

If we do not hear much of this kind of praise from those who are beneficiaries of the businessman's philanthropy, perhaps it is because the giver and the receiver has each allowed his individual responsibility to shrink and be replaced by social and political blackmail. When the distinction between benefactor and beneficiary is removed, the dignity of both is short-circuited and whatever respect they might have had for themselves and each other is

dissolved into a murky interchange of insincerity and deceit.

The man who is in a position to aid others must not forget that, in the words of W. A. Paton, "every man deserves the precious opportunity to assume responsibility for his own course, whether he is swimming courageously upstream or paddling lazily, with plenty of company, in the other direction."[17]

So too has each beneficiary a responsibility toward those who are his benefactors, and it is to denounce all efforts by government, intellectuals and pressure groups to deny a man his right to give or refuse assistance – to say "Yes" or "No" as his conscience dictates. "The element which gives meaning to charity," wrote Russell J. Clinchy, "is personal consideration and responsibility but that element is lost when the edicts of the state are substituted for the voluntary decisions of persons. The means have destroyed the ends."[18] This is the esence of the two sides of voluntary charity as it ought to exist.

• FOOTNOTES •

1 See *Improving the Public Welfare System*, The Committee for Economic Development, New York, April, 1970.

2 *A National Profile of Black Youth: The Class of 1971*, National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, New York, 1972.

3 Carnegie, Andrew, "Thrift As A Duty," *The Empire of Business*, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1913, p. 80.

4 Franklin, John Hope, *From Slavery to Freedom*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956, p. 381.

5 Mises, Ludwig von, *The Anti-Capitalistic Mentality*, Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1956, p. 6.

6 Carnegie, Andrew, *The Gospel of Wealth*, A Carnegie Reprint, Carnegie Corporation of New York, p. 5.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

8 In her article, "Notes Toward a Process of Afro-American Education," *(Harvard Educational Review, August, 1972)*, Dr. Thomasyne L. Wilson says the following: "It is time to remind ourselves that even when Anglos waxed philanthropic in the 1870's, they (and we) perceived Afro-American education as something for 'special people,' instituted to keep us in our places at the bottom of the social scale . . . At best, [education] was a tool to remake Afro-Americans in the images of Anglos."

9 Carnegie, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

10 Washington, Booker T., *Up From Slavery*, New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1970, p. 135.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 135.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 129.

13 Carnegie, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

14 Washington, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

15 Patterson, Frederick D., "The Black College: In Conflict and Challenge," *Contact Magazine*, 3:16, October, 1971.

16 Washington, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

17 Paton, W. A., "Let's First Mend Tommy's Trousers," *Essays on Liberty*, Foundation for Economic Education, 12:426-27, 1965.

18 Clinchy, Russell J., "Charity: Biblical and Political," *Essays on Liberty*, Foundation for Economic Education, 1:159-60, 1952.

The Family

R. J. RUSHDOONY

THE FAMILY has been under major attack in the modern world from a number of sources, and more than one scholar has predicted the death of the family as Christian civilization has known it. These predictions represent not only wishful thinking but a militant hostility to the family. In order to understand the motivation for these attacks, it is necessary to recognize the social significance of the family.

The family in Biblical law, and in Western society since Justinian, has been the custodian of the most important things in any society: children, property and inheritance. In Biblical law, the family alone is the custodian and controller of all three, and its social powers as a result are very great. Control over children, property and inheritance means a control over the future.

As a result, every institution which dreams of power begins immediately to attack the family because of its monopolistic powers in these areas. It attacks also the basic legal reform and revolution instituted by Justinian and Theo-

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dora in the sixth century. This legal revolution, which brought civil law into conformity with Biblical law, was responsible for shifting the foundations of society from the state to the family.

There were five aspects to this legal reform with respect to the family. 1. Only heterosexual relations in marriage were made legally allowable. All other sexual relations were made subject to criminal charges. 2. This law was made applicable to all classes, so that the same standard of family life and sex was mandatory for all classes and professions, and all acts to the contrary were criminal. 3. All illicit sexuality was made punishable by corporal punishment, imprisonment, or banishment. 4. No legal contract could be made regarding non-family sex, i.e., with a mistress, concubine, prostitute, procurer, nor anyone else, and to secure such a contract made the inciting party an accessory to a crime. 5. The family was defined as the legitimate and normal way of life and status.

In the medieval church, there was both an emphasis on the Christian family and a depreciation of it in favor of the primacy of the church. With the Reformation, and especially with Puritanism, the family regained primacy, and even Rome followed suit. March 19 was now stressed (St. Joseph's Day), and the cult of the foster-father of Jesus was made, beginning in the 16th century, a counter-development to the new vitality of family life in Protestant countries.

Enter — The State

There is no true understanding of the struggle for power in the modern world without an awareness of these facts. The family, re-shaped in Western civilization to conform to Biblical law, was now the dominant power. By means of its control of children and their education, it defined the future. Capture of the control of children and their education thus became an imperative for any social agency seeking to gain power. The earlier power of the church was now replaced by the greater power of the modern state and its schools, instruments ably designed for social control and the disintegration of the family and its power.

In the Bible, property is immune to taxation and seizure, and both offenses were regarded with horror (I Sam. 8:10-18; I Kings 21). The state now began to tax property and to assert again the old pagan power of eminent domain. Finally, the state, by means of the inheritance tax, declared itself to be the first heir, i.e., the firstborn in terms of Biblical law,

in every family, and it began to destroy the independent power of the family by confiscatory taxes.

Not surprisingly, but rather, logically, Marx saw the theological foundations of the family's strength. He attacked the Holy Family, the Trinity, as the foundation of the earthly family, and Engels saw the family of Biblical law as the source of capitalism and property. Anti-familistic thinking governed socialist theoreticians. H. G. Wells, a Fabian Socialist, called for "the liberation of individual sexual conduct from social reproach and from legal controls and penalties." He held to "the absolute right of society to intervene directly [where] the existence of children is involved."

James Bryant Conant, former president of Harvard, U.S. High Commissioner in West Germany after World War II, scientist, and investigator in education for the Carnegie Foundation, saw the family as the roadblock to democracy. In one of his reports on education, Conant wrote:

> Wherever the institution of the family is still a powerful force, as it is in this country, surely *inequality* of opportunity is automatically, and often unconsciously, a basic principle of the nation; the more favored parents endeavor to obtain even greater favors for their children. Therefore, when we Americans proclaim an adherence to the doctrine of equality of opportunity, we face the necessity for a perpetual compromise. Now it seems to me important to recognize both the inevitable conflict and the continuing nature of the compromise.

Democracy is the goal. How can democracy hope to succeed if an aristocratic institution like the family, where every parent seeks the best for *his* children, is allowed to survive? Clearly, it must go! Earlier John Dewey had held that orthodox Christianity had to go because it is incompatible with democracy. By seperating "the saved and the lost", heaven and hell, good and evil, orthodox Christianity is radically anti-democratic and is committed to a "spiritual aristocracy". "I cannot understand how any realization of the democratic ideal as a vital moral and spiritual ideal in human affairs is possible without surrender of the conception of the basic division to which supernatural Christianity is committed."

The Suicide of Culture

The family's autonomy and power are thus under attack and in process of erosion. Statist education is anti-familist to the core; modern legal "reforms" have as their purpose the elimination of Biblical premises from the law.

This is often openly stated. In Sweden, for example, a government legal expert, Professor Alvar Nelson, has declared, "our aim is to remove all traces of Church morality from legislation."

Because of the deliberate neglect of the meaning of the family in society, the average man thinks of marriage purely as a regularized sexual relationship which perhaps contributes to the mental stability of the children born of the union. He has no awareness of the fact that basic social power and planning, in terms of Biblical law and the conforming of Western law to this Scriptural standard after Justinian, resides in the family. To surrender this power over children, property, and inheritance to the state, as has steadily been done, is for man to surrender his essential powers and freedom to the state.

The nemesis of every attempt to undermine the family is the suicide of the culture which attempts it. Greek, Roman, and other cultures, while far below the Biblical standard in their concepts of the family, still had familistic eras. With their decay, society decayed and collapsed.

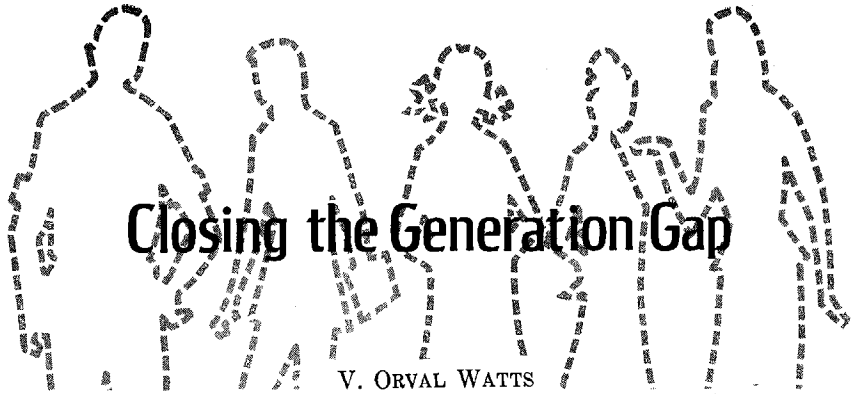
A Brighter Side

This is no cause for pessimism, however, but rather for optimism. The approaching collapse of the age of humanism and the state will see the strong revival of familism, and the United States is already giving evidence of this. Basic to that revival of the family's integrity and power is a theological and legal reformation. There must be an awareness of the legal centrality of the family, its theological importance, and its far-reaching significance as a social institution.

Under God, the family is a monopoly, having exclusive powers in certain areas. The state is in process of attempting to seize that monopoly for itself. The proven ability of the family to be the responsible agency, when it is first responsible to God, in the areas of children, property, and inheritance is the mainspring of Western civilization and its advances.

On the other hand, our growing social crisis is the product of the state's incompetence in these realms. The impotence of the state is increasingly apparent in its inability to cope with the problems it has created.

The times are thus exciting and alive with challenge; it is a time of decision and a turning point in history. Our future will be family oriented, and it will be dominated by those who prepare for it.



Closing the Generation Gap

V. ORVAL WATTS

MAN is not a creature of instinct. In that regard, he differs in a revolutionary way from every other living creature. He is not born with instincts, like those of the birds and bees, which fit him for survival, to say nothing of gaining lasting satisfactions or happiness.

Therefore, he must learn from the accumulated wisdom of his fellows most of the ways of acting that enable him to survive, and he must get much of this knowledge and numberless skills and habits in infancy and childhood.

Yet, all his life, he needs the help of his fellows in learning how to cope with his ever-changing world. As the saying goes, "Fools learn by experience, wise men learn by the experience of others." Or, "Experience keeps a dear [costly] school, but fools will learn in no other."

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In short, man is *not* "naturally good." Each new individual must *learn* good conduct. It is not inborn or given to us by others.

Like all living things, normal humans have an urge to survive and multiply. Humans have also an urge to live better – more abundantly, more wisely, securely, with less pain and discomfort, and enjoying more satisfactions of inincreasing variety.

Therefore, man finds some conduct "good," depending on whether it brings him more satisfactions than dissatisfactions; and he has an inborn desire to do that which he believes will give him the greatest net total of satisfactions. In this sense, he is "naturally good." That is, life gives to him a desire to live better.

But desire for satisfactions is very different from knowledge and

ability to get them. I repeat, good conduct, whether knowledge or practice of it, is never given to humans at birth, and we cannot get it by gift after birth.

Therefore, man must LEARN good conduct. And he must learn it in a lifetime that he will find is all too short for learning all he wants and needs for a good life.

Learning Is Hard Work

Now this learning process takes hard *work* on the part of both learners and mentors – parents, playmates, co-workers, employers, friends, hired teachers, and even casual acquaintances. It is work because the effort must continue far beyond the point of immediate enjoyment. In other words, it cannot remain on the level of play – that is, activity indulged in for its own sake or for immediate pleasures.

Because such work is irksome, learning involves stress, strain, pressures. These give rise to tedium, discomfort, fatigue – eyestrain, backaches, headaches, stomach aches, giving up parties and other entertainments and forms of escapism.

These discomforts, in turn, give rise to complaints and protests, and search for escape, especially on the part of the immature who have most to learn (including immature parents, teachers, employers, and others who seek to instruct). For it is too often forgotten that good manners, good morals, and even good mental hygiene often require great restraint in expressions of displeasure and reactions to discomfort—Sigmund Freud and his disciples to the contrary, notwithstanding.

Student Protests Will Never Cease

It should not surprise us, therefore, that earliest writings record the complaints, even the despair, of parents, teachers, and philosophers about the bad manners, laziness, uncouth dress, and general worthlessness of the youth of their times. And sometimes the subsequent history of the state or nation showed that there was more than usual justification for these complaints, as, perhaps, in the time of Socrates and Plato.

We know little about the feelings of the young of past eras – their aspirations, their complaints about the shortcomings of parents and teachers, and their protests against the pressures for conformity to the standards set by their elders. They could rarely afford, as young people now can afford, the means of recording their opinions.

But we do have enough evidence in the words of the writers in the past to be assured that not all of the young accepted correction and

study assignments with due meekness. Some, no doubt, were quite docile (a word that means "teachable"); others were drop-outs; and in between these extremes we would find every degree of docility or intractability, of industry or sloth.

And often, then as now, protests probably brought about changes, both good and bad, in the methods and courses of instruction. (In the third and fourth centuries, the State-supported schools in Imperial Rome degenerated in ways now to be observed in tax-supported schools and universities in the United States and other countries.)

This "generation gap," therefore, has always been and must always be. It is the gap between, on the one hand, those with more experience and wisdom, and on the other hand, the as-yet untutored, who are more or less able and willing to learn. Even in the animal world we find evidence of an uncomfortable generation gap when a mother bear or lion cuffs a heedless, slow, reckless, or too obstreperous cub.

In humans, because the gap is so very great and getting ever wider, it takes strenuous effort, I repeat, to close this ever-present "generation gap" in every home, school, club, gang, golf links, bridge party, bowling alley, tennis court, football field, and workshop. And the effort must be a strenuous one on both sides of the gap, as individuals strive to close it.

Learning Requires Good Manners — and So Does Teaching

Efforts to close the gaps in learning then, take patience, persistence, willingness to forgive and forget blunders, effort to understand one another's words, aims, and problems.

The work also requires good manners, which are means of showing consideration for others, interest in their feelings and opinions, gratitude, appreciation, and desire for cooperation.

Finally, learning requires improving morals, which include good manners and much more — honesty and honor, dependability, truthfulness with courtesy and with relevance, frankness without malice, industry in countless lines of activity, and continuing concern for the long-run, indirect results of one's words and deeds.

Good manners, of course, shade into good morals. Why this is so, and why knowing, mature persons show so much sensitivity and concern in regard to what we may think of as "mere" manners become clearer when we realize what "good maners" are. In essence, they are ways of letting other people know that we care about them.

They are ways of showing consideration for their feelings, interests, and opinions, ways of showing friendliness and a desire for cooperation.

We demonstrate them in appropriate facial expressions, such as a friendly smile of greeting or a look of concern when a friend tells of his misfortune. Good manners may be a tone of voice showing warmth, interest, sympathy, and friendliness. They appear in our choice of words and gestures; in personal cleanliness and sanitary habits; in dress and hair styles which are distinctive in ways which other people consider to be "in good taste"; and in forms of conduct too numerous to mention, from holding open a door for another person to stopping a car at crosswalks for pedestrians.

Good manners also include self-restraint in all of these respects – avoiding flat, complaining tones of voice; avoiding words and gestures that annoy, insult, depress, or denigrate others; avoiding public displays of strong emotions; and avoiding actions which other persons consider annoying (e.g., noisy parties) or obscene.

Progress in Manners and Morals

Some "good manners" are tribal or national customs, rather than universal: for example, kinds of eating utensils and ways of using them, ways of eating or drinking, dress and hair styles, and modes of greeting.

Yet it is nonetheless necessary for members of these tribes and nations, and for their guests, to learn and follow these local customs if they wish to show respect for the residents' opinions and to win the friendliness and cooperation they need to survive and to avoid unpleasantness among those groups.

Many young people today, having discovered that what is considered good manners differs greatly from place to place, have unwisely concluded that good manners may become largely matters of individual choice. They may even think that they help to bring about this freer and happier day by flouting local conventions and customs.

This is another factor aggravating the "generation gap," one that English tutors recognized centuries ago in preparing their students for foreign travel by warning them, "When in Rome, do as the Romans do."

True, manners and customs are changing everywhere – we hope for the better. There is evidence, I believe, that certain elements in good manners are going to become more universally accepted and necessary for coping with life's problems – for example,

higher levels of personal cleanliness and neatness, a pleasant smile, a friendly greeting, a warm voice, avoiding excesses in public displays of emotion, refraining from littering streets and public places, avoiding air pollution with tobacco smoke (some airplanes now segregate smokers), temperance and sobriety in all things, due attention to fashion and "style," and expressions of gratitude for favors and kindnesses.

A Never-Ending Struggle for Self-Improvement

Similarly, certain forms of conduct which we call "moral" because they are even more important for long-run welfare – or are believed to be so – will remain valid as long as humans want something they don't have or something better than they now have and gain the wisdom necessary to achieve their goals.

For, in order to get more or in some way to better ourselves, we must have more honesty, more dependability, more truthfulness, more regard for the feelings and aspirations of other persons, and more willingness to invest time and energy for long-run gains. And we must have this moral progress everywhere if we are to have continuing progress anywhere – in Soviet Russia and mainland China, for example, as well as in the United States and Canada.

These gains will not come merely by wishing or hoping for them.

They will come only as more and more individuals, everywhere, learn to look further ahead, understand more fully the results of their conduct, and show more patient determination in their struggles for self-improvement and in discharge of the obligations necessary to win and keep the needed cooperation of their fellows.

This involves widening the "generation gap" between adult and infant or child, between mentor and student, as well as the gap between mature and immature adults. To close this widening gap, as individuals in each generation must do, we must release the instructional procedures from the cramping confines of bureaucratic control.

And perhaps even before this release may take place, we must somehow gain far more general recognition and acceptance of the responsibility of each individual of every age and occupation for dedicated effort in life-long education in the broadest sense of that much-abused word.

A Retreat from Learning

Unfortunately, age does not always bring wisdom. Neither do academic degrees and titles. A

teacher schooled in ancient myths may be a blind leader of the blind. The historian who is ignorant of economics, for example, is likely to be a poor guide to an understanding of history; an economist who knows little history may endorse policies which repeated trials in the past have proven disastrous. A teacher of philosophy may so enjoy baiting his students by playing the role of "devil's advocate" that he promotes confusion and distrust of reason rather than a desire for truth or love of wisdom.

Teachers lacking in courage and scruples often pander to their student's prejudices, indolence, and desire to escape the burdens of responsibility. Demagogy is as rife in many classrooms as in political assemblies.

In particular, the modern established schools are doing to education what established churches do to religion. The Founding Fathers of this country sought to outlaw "established" (religion, that is, the use of tax funds to support religious efforts. They had found by experience – what experience has demonstrated again and again in other lands – that tax support sapped the clergy of enthusiasm, initiative, and responsibility, so that the American people had lost much of their former interest and faith in religion.

State-Established Schools

Now schools and universities supported by taxes and populated by conscripted students are displaying the same defects, for the same reasons, that were evident in the established churches. Instead of helping to close the perennial generation gap, tax-supported educators and their graduates too often operate to widen it. Because they believe that parents and students cannot be individually responsible for education, they develop a chronic skepticism of freedom and individual responsibility in every field of human endeavor.

Therefore, they fail to develop in their students a sense of personal responsibility. Instead, they teach that "society," or "government," of "the establishment" is responsible for both the individual's problems and the solutions. They inculcate distrust and scorn for the achievements of free men and inspire a nihilistic urge to sabotage and destroy what free men have achieved. Thus, too often, they make the immaturity of their students a chronic condition.

Truly, as many observers are now pointing out, this creates a gap, not so much between generations, as between the builders and the destroyers of civilization.

This teaching of irresponsibility

and subversion of free institutions is a betrayal of trust by those who profess superior knowledge and wisdom. It is not new in world history, but we have been experiencing in recent decades a virulent recrudescence of this "treason of the intellectuals," worldwide.

We must recognize and expose this retreat from learning for what it is if human progress is to continue.

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Artificial Distinctions

IT IS to be regretted that the rich and powerful too often bend the acts of government to their selfish purposes. Distinctions in society will always exist under every just government. Equality of talents, of education, or of wealth can not be produced by human institutions. In the full enjoyment of the gifts of Heaven and the fruits of superior industry, economy, and virtue, every man is equally entitled to protection by law; but when the laws undertake to add to these natural and just advantages artificial distinctions, to grant titles, gratuities, and exclusive privileges, to make the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society – the farmers, mechanics, and laborers – who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors to themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their Government. There are no necessary evils in government. Its evils exist only in its abuses. If it would confine itself to equal protection, and, as Heaven does its rains, shower its favors alike on the high and the low, the rich and the poor, it would be an unqualified blessing. In the act before me there seems to be a wide and unnecessary departure from these just principles.

From ANDREW JACKSON's Veto of the Charter of the Bank of the United States, July 10, 1832.

and *The Public Interest*

At most of the recent Mont Pelerin Society conferences a battle royal has taken place between the Friedmanites, who insist that inflation is a purely monetary phenomenon, and the wage-push critics, who discover the prime villain in the monopolistic labor union. The two sides rather miss each others' points. Obviously Milton Friedman and Enoch Powell are right when they say that there could be no inflation without an increase in the money supply. Since it is government that controls the currency, the villains come clear: the politicians and the bosses of the Federal Reserve are to blame for their profligate public spending and their pusillanimous refusal to ride herd on the availability of credit.

But the wage-push is there, too: wages are a cost, and costs must be recovered in prices. If the monopolistic labor union can extort a beyond-productivity wage increase, the same politico who lacks the nerve to veto high public spending will hardly have the fortitude to tell the unions that they must accept a penalty in joblessness for pricing themselves out of the market. Friedman and the wage-pushite actually have the same Statist villain, but each persists in emphasizing a different activity of that villain. Friedman says the politico shouldn't go hog-wild on inflationary welfare state spending in the first place. The wage-pushite would agree that welfarism is bad. But he insists that

the villain really sends the inflation racing when, fearful of mass unemployment, he forces a secondary flushing of the money supply in order to let the customer pay a wage-inflated price.

The Friedmanites and the wage-pushites need a moderator, and where could they find a better one than Emerson P. Schmidt, whose *Union Power and the Public Interest* (Nash, $10) combs over all phases of a complicated subject? Schmidt begins by noting that the aim of most union leaders is to take labor out of competition. This has been done in both craft and mass production industries by laws that exempt the working man (defined as something more than a commodity or a factor) from the Sherman Antitrust Act. The exempted working man achieved a very special favoritism in the depressed Thirties, when the Wagner Act, seeking to "equalize" his power vis-a-vis the big corporation, in reality stacked the process of collective bargaining in his favor. The right to strike was never intended to justify the use of goons and dynamiters, but a society that is far gone in permissiveness does so little to prevent violence on the picket line that businessmen have been thoroughly intimidated. They don't dare to keep factories open for those brave souls who are willing to work after union "enforcers" have appeared on the scene with their brass-knuckle tactics. So the "bargaining" usually ends with acquiescence to union demands.

Abuse of Special Privilege

As a result of legal exemption from the antitrust laws and the general permissiveness of society, the unions are in a position to push extortionate policies no matter what the level of inflationary public spending. Having made this point clear by his analysis of the "wage-lag myth," Dr. Schmidt is in a position to arbitrate between the Friedmanites and those who insist on the wage-push theory of inflation. When Friedman argues that he knows of no instance in history where inflation was not preceded by a substantial expansion in the money stock in excess of production, Schmidt says "few scholars would disagree." He also accepts Friedman's contention that an abatement of inflation invariably follows when the money stock is brought under control. Nonetheless, Gottfried Haberler's amendment to the Friedman position has impressed Dr. Schmidt. Haberler agrees that "inflation is basically a monetary phenomenon," and that it must be fought by Friedmanite means. But, so Haberler adds, the wage-push is a reality on top of the monetary inflation,

and if union power is not reduced "all the other measures suggested for fighting inflation would be in vain."

Dr. Schmidt notes the propensity of economists to change positions, but the "law of cost" ("the price of a commodity tends to equal its cost") necessarily dictates such changes when monopolistic unions become extortionate. Schmidt quotes Dr. Edward H. Chamberlin as saying that both monetary expansion (creating "demand-pull") and monopolistic wage bargaining (wage-push) can exist simultaneously. "Both are possible and neither excludes the other," says Chamberlin. It is not a matter of "either-or." To which Haberler adds that there is a monetary element in both demand-pull and wage-push inflation. The only difference is in the timing: for "demand-pull," the flushing of the money supply comes first, for "wage-push" it comes after the monetary authorities have, out of fear of unemployment, decided to "create enough money to permit the rise in prices that is compatible with the rise in wages."

Dr. Schmidt's chapter on "Monetary and Fiscal Policies Versus the Wage Push" should end all the arguments between the Friedmanites and the wage-pushites. The "freedom philosophy" economists are not in any significant disagreement about fundamentals. The bridge to concord is supplied by Haberler in his observation about the timing of the monetary element in the two types of inflation.

Faulty Attitude toward Work

Dr. Schmidt thinks the unions' misuse of their inordinate power is due to a most defective view of man's attitude toward work. The average union boss rejects the idea that there can be real on-the-job satisfactions, such as ego needs, the desire to grow and create and to achieve a well-rounded experience. Samuel Gompers once defined union policy as "more," which has been altered in recent years to "more for less." The pessimistic view of work dominates the union agendas. Professor Douglas McGregor of MIT calls the pessimistic view "Theory X." The other view, which concentrates on job satisfactions and opportunities, is "Theory Y."

The trouble with Theory X is that it actually leads to getting less for less instead of more for less. The arithmetic is obvious: when production is diminished by more paid holidays, paid vacations, sick leave, paid personal-birthday time off, paid time for jury duty, for funerals, for the day before or after a holiday, there is less for the totality of the working force to share. In slacking off on pro-

ductivity while hourly wages go up, the worker cheats himself.

He also cheats the totality of the working force when he compels his political representatives to raise the minimum wage. The "aristocrats" of labor don't need the minimum wage anyway. But those at the other end of the scale – the untrained apprentice, the eighteen-year-old black from the slum – can't find jobs when the minimum wage is high. It does not pay an employer to hire and train a man at a wage price that cannot be recovered in the marketplace.

Dr. Schmidt thinks that undue union power must be dispersed. He advocates changes in our basic labor law that would permit local wage settlements, and asks for a discontinuance of the annual wage increase. But, first, the intellectual climate must be changed, which is another story.

▶ *History of the Canadian National Railways* by G. R. Stevens (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1973) 523 pp., $12.95.
Reviewed by Joseph M. Canfield

Railway history is generally considered a highly specialized subject and of no general interest. Most works fall into either of two categories. First, the economic study, of interest only to the statistically minded. Second, there is the hobbyist study which goes into details interesting only to a dedicated collector of switch keys or railroad tickets like myself.

However, anyone who wishes to be informed about the workings of the economy in which he lives should know more about railroads. They are absolutely essential to the economy and its functioning. Macmillan has started a series called "Railroads in America." The first two volumes avoid the extremes mentioned – they are designed for the general reader. The human side of railroading is present and provides light touches which keep up the interest. But a reader can get a clear view of the importance of railways to a developed or a developing economy. For that reason, readers of *The Freeman* should be aware of the series.

History of the Canadian National Railways by G. R. Stevens,

second in the series, relates a story which confirms the validity of Clarence Carson's thesis in *Throttling the Railroads* – that government land grants and subsidies for railways are upsetting and wrong. In Canada, they were disastrous.

The Canadian National Railways came into being as an entity simply because expansion of railways, encouraged by subsidies (both cash and land) failed. The failure resulted in confiscation by the Canadian Government, of Britain's largest single private overseas investment, the Grand Trunk Railway. Its stock, valued at $629,950,532 was declared worthless by that act.

The first step on the slide was taken by Sir Wilfred Laurier, Prime Minister. He wanted to fill the prairies of Canada with settlers, thus binding the Provinces into a Canadian nation. The settlers surged into an area virtually devoid of railways. Eastern Canada wouldn't agree to public funds for new railways. British capitalists wouldn't invest. To forestall construction of a branch of an American railroad into the area, Laurier did get a subsidy for a Canadian Pacific branch through Crows Nest Pass. In return, the Railway agreed to low rates on grain eastbound from the prairies to the ports. And those "Crows Nest Pass" rates of 1897 on grain hold today for the Canadian Pacific and also for other railways undreamed of and unbuilt in 1897, in defiance of market factors and economic reality.

The Canadian Pacific Railway, after this one flirtation with subsidy, went its own way as a private enterprise transport company. But many farmers did not like the Canadian Pacific. Capitalizing on this feeling, Mackenzie and Mann, Contractors, started building lines into the area of new settlement, with government subsidy. They were welcomed with open arms – until they tried to set realistic freight rates for their Canadian Northern Railway.

From 1903 until the collapse of the Canadian Northern in 1917 and of the Grand Trunk in 1919, and their incorporation into the Canadian National Railways, there was a mad sequence of political maneuvers; building of needless railways, many in previously unexplored territory; interest charges mounting to astronomical figures; managerial stupidity. Millions and millions of dollars of private investments were wiped out (or confiscated). The Canadian taxpayers were placed under growing burdens which they have carried ever since. A review cannot convey the story. The book must be read to see the demoralizing effect

the open government purse had on managers, contractors and directors. The denouement was incredible. The moral qualities which we consider inherent in our Anglo-Saxon tradition seemed to have evaporated at Crows Nest Pass.

The years since the Canadian government took over the railways have been remarkable for two men, Sir Henry Thornton and Donald Gordon. Both men tried (and were substantially successful) running the railways as much like a privately owned system as was possible. And considering the property they headed and the problems they faced, each did, in his own time, a remarkable job. But it is a sad comment on the supposed democratic process to read of the abuse and falsehood heaped on Thornton and Gordon for doing well a job that politics had made almost impossible in the first place – another instance of the political corruption that generally follows government interference in economic life.

A closing note: In the face of all the government activity, the Canadian Pacific Railway is today virtually the last bastion of private enterprise railway in the world. It has at times had government help, but has generally paid its own way and paid its stockholders in the process. It has always received more attention from historians. A study was issued about two years ago, one is planned for this series and still another study is in preparation on the operation of the Canadian Pacific Railway. In contrast, the Canadian National story, told by Mr. Stevens, should be noted as a warning on the role of government and the consequences thereof.

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The first volume of the Macmillan series is the *History of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad* by Dr. Maury Klein (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1972) – $10.95.

Throttling the Railroads by Clarence B. Carson is available from The Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, New York 10533 at $4.00 clothbound or $2.00 in paperback.

▸ THE CASE FOR AMERICAN MEDICINE by Harry Schwartz (N. Y.: David McKay Co., Inc., 1972) 240 pp., $6.95.

Reviewed by Allan C. Brownfeld

RECENTLY there has been a mounting attack upon the American system of private medical practice.

While many Americans have accepted at face value the idea that there is, in some sense, a "health care crisis" in the United States, a few have sought to look at the facts. One of these is Harry Schwartz, the distinguished corre-

spondent of *The New York Times.*

In his volume, *The Case For American Medicine,* Schwartz discusses in detail each of the charges leveled against the American medical system.

Responding to critics who say that Americans are less healthy than they were twenty years ago, Schwartz provides some illuminating data. On the average, an American baby born in 1971 could expect to live 11.4 years longer than an American baby born in 1930. Concerning infant mortality, he notes that in 1930, 64.6 American babies out of every 1,000 live births died before the age of one year. In 1950, the toll had been cut to less than half and in 1970 it was significantly lower than in 1950, an improvement that translated into the survival of 35,000 babies who would have died in 1970 if there had been no progress in the past twenty years.

While doctors are frequently charged with profiteering, the data in this book shows that physicians' fees actually increased slightly less rapidly between 1965 and 1967 than average hourly compensation in the total private economy of the country. They rose more slowly than hourly earnings of construction workers and local transit workers, and slightly more rapidly than wages of printers and truck drivers.

Showing the failure of government involvement in medicine, Schwartz discusses in detail the blunders made by the Medicare and Medicaid systems – the manner in which they have increased demand without increasing supply, leading to an increase in costs. If there is, in any sense, a "crisis" in medical care today it is one which has been brought about by government involvement in this field.

The author quotes Dr. Sidney Garfield, founder of the Kaiser-Permanente prepaid group medical plan: "The cause of today's medical care crisis has been the inexorable spread of free care. The effect is an expanded and altered demand that is incompatible with the existing sick-care delivery system – wasting its medical manpower and threatening the quality and economics of the service it renders . . . The result should not be surprising to anyone. Picture what would happen to air transportation if fares were eliminated and travel became a right. What chance would you have of getting any place if you really needed to? Even the highly automated telephone service would be staggered by removal of fees; necessary calls would become practically impossible. The change from fee to free would disrupt any system, no matter how well or-

ganized, and this is particularly true of medicine with its highly personalized sick-care service."

To those who would like to substitute a system of socialized medicine for our current system of private practice, Harry Schwartz urges a careful look at countries such as Great Britain and Sweden. While visiting in Stockholm, the author was told, "Don't get sick in Sweden. You have never seen such impersonal care and such long waits in your life. Every time you go to the clinic, you see a different doctor. And if you're hospitalized and are seen by a physician three times in one day, it will almost certainly be three different doctors."

The experience in socialized systems shows clearly that increasing demand by making medical care a "free" commodity simply makes it impossible to obtain for those really in need – and dramatically increases the real cost, expressed in higher taxes, as well.

The health problems we see around us, states the author, are usually not the fault of our medical system, but are factors of our society and economy. We ride in cars when we should bicycle or walk. We overeat. We smoke too many cigarettes. Then we blame the medical system for our self-inflicted difficulties.

To reorganize what is probably the most effective and efficient medical system in the world makes little sense – it ignores the fact that medical service, because it is both wanted and scarce, is an economic good and that the market is the best device for conserving and allocating such goods. Harry Schwartz has made an impressive case for continuing to permit the market to work in this area.

▸ **THE ESSENTIAL VON MISES** by Murray N. Rothbard (Lansing, Mich. 48904, Box 836: Oakley R. Bramble, 1973) 62 pp., single copies $1.

Reviewed by Henry Hazlitt

TWO FESTSCHRIFTS have been issued in honor of the great economist Ludwig von Mises, now in his ninety-second year. The first, *On Freedom and Free Enterprise,* edited by Mary Sennholz, appeared in 1956, and contained essays by nineteen distinguished scholars. The second appeared in 1971, on the occasion of Mises' ninetieth birthday of that year. It was in two volumes, published by the Institute for Humane Studies at Menlo Park, California, and carried essays by no fewer than 66 contributors from 17 countries.

Both publications contained many fine essays. In addition, there have been other tributes to the achievements of Ludwig von

Mises. But no one has yet done what Murray N. Rothbard has so brilliantly succeeded in doing in this little tribute of about 11,000 words. He has given us, in a brief but remarkably comprehensive form, an outline of Dr. Mises' outstanding contributions to the sciences of human action. Biography, history, exposition and criticism are superbly interwoven.

Dr. Rothbard begins with the birth of Mises in 1881 in Lemberg, reminds us that Mises grew up during the high tide of the "Austrian School" of economics, describes what this was, contrasts it with the classical Ricardian economics that it displaced, explains what Carl Menger and Boehm-Bawerk, Mises' teacher, had already contributed, and then, point by point, tells us how Mises pushed beyond this: his unification of monetary theory with the Austrian analysis, his new theory of business cycles, his demonstration that socialism was not a viable system because it could not solve the problem of economic calculation, his great contributions to methodology, and a score of other illuminations to be found especially in his three masterpieces, *The Theory of Money and Credit, Socialism: An Economic and Sociological Analysis,* and *Human Action.*

Rothbard's pamphlet is a beautiful exposition of Mises' thought and an admirable introduction to his writings. It is more than that. It is a compact history of economics since the 1880's; it pays tribute to others who made contributions; and it briefly indicates the fallacies in such fashionable diversions as Keynesianism, institutionalism, econometrics, and mathematical economics.

But with all the territory that it covers, it never loses sight of Mises the man, reacting "to the darkening world around him with a lifetime of high courage and personal integrity," never bending to the winds of change, never swerving a single iota from pursuing and propounding the truth as he saw it, and never complaining about the shameful neglect of his contributions by the bulk of the academic world.

Rothbard concludes by quoting a tribute from the eminent French economist Jacques Rueff:

"Ludwig von Mises has safeguarded the foundations of a rational economic science. . . . By his teachings he has sown the seeds of a regeneration which will bear fruit as soon as men once more begin to prefer theories that are true to theories that are pleasing. When that day comes, all economists will recognize that Mises merits their admiration and gratitude."