

The Great Geneva Fraud

William Henry Chamberlin

Yale's "Four Hundred"

M. Stanton Evans

A Step toward
Socialized Medicine

Gordon B. Leitch



It seems to me . . .

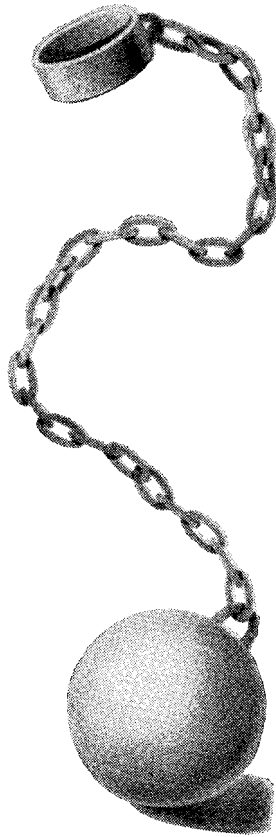
by Philip M. McKenna

President, Kennametal Inc., Latrobe, Pa.



How long can we remain half free and half socialist?

When a government outlaws the right of individual ownership of gold, it takes the first step . . . perhaps the most important step . . . toward complete control of the nation.



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in Italy, with complete subservience of Italians to his totalitarian domination.

Back in 1933, our Government took us off the Gold Standard. U. S. Citizens were forbidden the right to own gold. We lost the power to demand gold in exchange for our dollars, and with it, the power to control the Governmental purse strings. Thus, we lost a part of our freedom and invited socialism.

It seems to me that we can't live too long as a half-free, half-socialist nation. Already the government takes one-third of our income in taxes, and, besides, has given us a 50¢ dollar through inflation brought about by continuous deficit spending. It seems to me that socialism will overwhelm us . . . that is, unless we re-establish our independence with the protection of the Gold Coin Standard.

The Gold Coin Standard will help us in other ways. It will re-establish, for example, a standard of value to work with, to plan with, to build on.

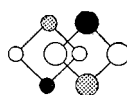
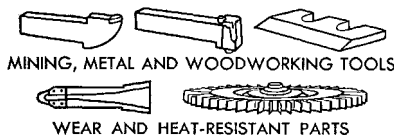
The standard will also make it possible for industry to pass along to buyers of goods in the form of lower prices, all savings resulting from inventions,† developments and production improvements, such as, for example, those made by Kennametal.*

Don't you think this deserves some extra thought and discussion? I'll be glad to hear from you . . . about the Gold Coin Standard, as well as about Kennametal and what this hard, man-made metal can do for America. KENNAMETAL INC., Latrobe, Pennsylvania.

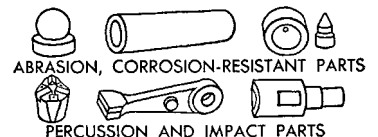
†The invention of Kennametal made possible the high speed machining of steel and steel alloys. Kennametal's latest development — Grade K21 — is another step to increase production, to bring additional savings to the metalworking industry . . . savings that could be passed on to every buyer of goods if we were moving along with a Gold Coin Standard.

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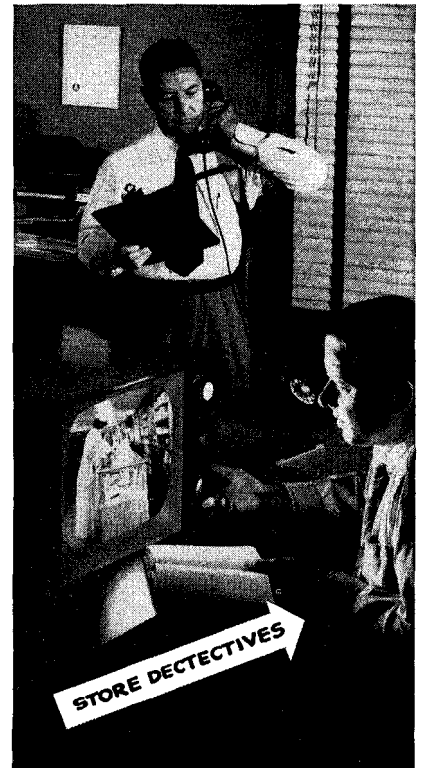
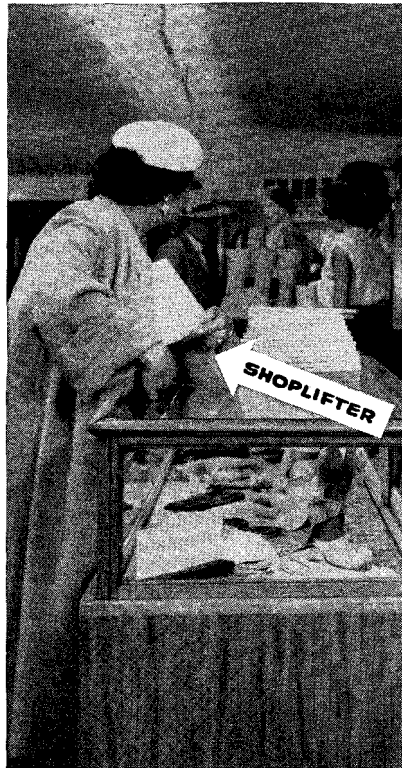
Closed-circuit TV is a spectacular result of work in electronics. But other Thompson developments are as important. *A few examples:* tuning devices in home TV sets, tape recorders, HI-FI amplifiers, co-axial switches for radar, radio and radio-telephones, aircraft antenna, and electronic controls and testing apparatus.

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Thompson's Electronics Division includes such leaders in the field as Bell Sound Systems and Dage Television.

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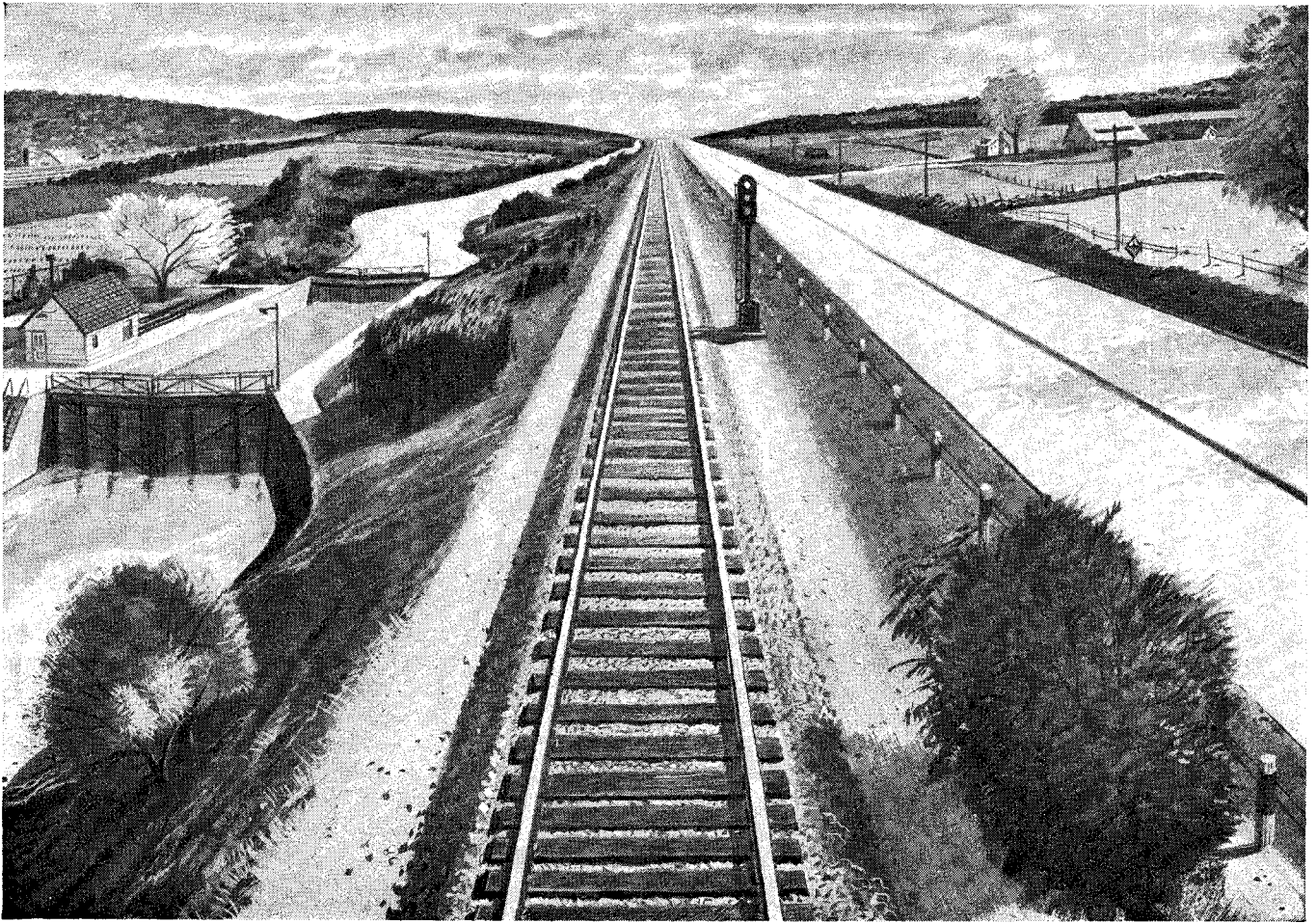
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But — as is shown in the report of a special Cabinet Committee appointed by the President — government regulation frequently denies to the public the benefit of the lower costs of the most economical form of transportation, so as to protect the traffic and revenues of carriers with higher costs. The result, as the Cabinet Committee says, is that shippers and, ultimately, the

consuming public must pay more for freight transportation than would otherwise be necessary.

What can be done to correct this unhealthy situation?

The special Cabinet Committee recommended that railroads and other forms of regulated transportation be given greater freedom to base their prices on their own natural advantages. At the same time, government regulation would continue to prevent charges which are unreasonably high or unreasonably low, or are unduly discriminatory.

This would make it possible to pass on the benefits of the most efficient operations to shippers, producers and retailers, and to the consuming public which in the end pays all transportation costs.

Bills based on Cabinet Committee recommendations have been introduced in Congress. For full information about this vital subject, write for the booklet, "WHY NOT LET COMPETITION WORK?"

Association of American Railroads

844 Transportation Building • Washington 6, D. C.

THE Freeman

A Monthly

For

Libertarians

Editor **FRANK CHODOROV**
 Assistant Editors **ELEANOR B. ORSINI**
M. STANTON EVANS
HELEN CARTIER
 Business Manager **IVAN R. BIERLY**

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Labeling the FREEMAN

The fellow said: "The FREEMAN finds so much at fault with the government that I would call it an anarchistic paper." So the discussion, as usual, revolved about a definition: what is anarchism?

As a system of thought, anarchism has a variety of facets, sometimes contradictory. But all the varieties rest on a basic premise: that man is "by nature" decent, and that the indecencies he develops are the result of political interference. The government makes people "bad." There cannot be a "good" society where there is government.

Now, the FREEMAN readily admits that it is unable to pass judgment on the "nature" of man. Theology has concerned itself with that problem for a long time and has not as yet come up with a self-demonstrating answer, and recently psychology has tackled it with little success. About all the FREEMAN knows about the human being is that he always tries to satisfy his desires with the least effort. That is an observable fact, like the rising of the sun in the morning, and is in itself without ethical content.

It is because men seek to satisfy their desires with the least effort that they make labor-saving devices. But often, we don't know why, some men will seek to satisfy their desires without any effort, which means they will steal from their fellow-men. The producers resent the predation and set up an instrument to prevent it; the instrument is called government. The primary purpose of government is, therefore, the protection of the producer in the enjoyment of his property. A secondary function, related to the first, is the protection of the individual in the enjoyment of life against other individuals.

To carry out these two functions the government is invested with the monopoly of coercion. Sometimes, too often, the government makes use of this monopolistic advantage to do just what it is expected to prevent; it takes property it has no moral right to and it commits violence against citizens whom it is supposed to protect from violence. When the government does either of these two things it is going beyond its prescribed limits and is indeed an antisocial body. Society then finds itself the victim of its own creation, and is confronted with the problem of reducing the powers of government to their proper use.

The FREEMAN is not an anarchistic publication because it accepts, for the reasons aforementioned, the necessity of government. Its purpose is to alert society to the necessity of preventing government from doing what it is not supposed to do.

DR. GORDON B. LEITCH—the latest addition to our list of contributors—is, beside being a physician, editor of the Oregon section of *Northwest Medicine*, and has long been active in the opposition to socialized medicine.

Is the UN an instrument for peace... or an instrument of subversion?

"The United Nations," says Chesly Manly, "is a self-evident failure, and, more significantly, a menace to the United States. It is being used to destroy America's sovereignty."

THE UN RECORD

10 Fateful Years
for America

by Chesly Manly

In a brilliant new book, the author of *The Twenty Year Revolution* offers a critical analysis of the United Nations' ten years, concludes that the perils inherent in the UN charter can be averted only by withdrawal from the United Nations itself. Chesly Manly spent 8 years covering the UN on a special assignment for the *Chicago Tribune*.

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Readers also write

What to Do?

Like most of the other readers of the FREEMAN, I am fully in accord with every thought contained in all your issues. Even without your constant reminders, we are uncomfortably aware that our domestic and foreign policies are leading us to unlimited inflation and economic ruin. There is no discernible difference between the Republican and Democratic policies. The two parties are headed in the same direction on parallel roads.

There will be no choice in November 1956 for a conservative voter. While such voters in all probability constitute a rather small minority group, they should at least be given a chance to register their protest. To all intents and purposes there is only one party—"Democratic Republicanism." The only choice is between candidates whose loyalties and programs are identical.

The FREEMAN and other conservative periodicals in monotone, month after month, reiterate the details of this unfortunate situation until the reader becomes infected with their futility. We all know what is wrong; *but what are we going to do about it?* How about getting together and organizing a party along conservative lines? Why not get the ideas of the few on our side in Congress and get the ball rolling?

Leesburg, Va.

E. E. SCHWEIN

The League

The article on the League of Women Voters, by Bettina Bien (October) . . . is very well done and is a needed analysis of this organization. It would seem that the people who got up the League were very clever in enlisting a membership of 127,000 women whom they can use as a phalanx which they represent, when actually they represent only their own opinions. This more or less reminds me of the National Council of Churches, which claims to speak for 30 million Protestant church members.

Davenport, Iowa

J. S. KIMMEL

As a former member of the League of Women Voters I quite agree with Bettina Bien's assessment of it. The literature issued by it, or by its tax-free adjunct, the Carrie Chapman Catt Fund, is not distinguished for its lack of bias or its objectivity, although it makes that claim with

monotonous regularity. The Fund put out a pamphlet ostensibly on "Making Foreign Policy, USA," which was, however, only a vehicle for discrediting the Bricker Amendment. The authors state that "there seems to be general agreement among legal experts that treaties are subject to the limitations of the Constitution . . ." Among these legal experts would be missing former Mr. Justice Holmes, or former Chief Justice Hughes; for they both said, in effect, that treaties are not limited by the Constitution. Also the entire American Bar Association would have to be excluded from the category of "legal experts" in order for their statement to be true.

Weston, Mass.

ELLEN R. LEMPEREUR

Drifting

In reply to your query about drifting to socialism, this is of no consequence when the entire structure of our government is rotten to the core with communism. Every large plant and every large business is permeated with communist cells — as are the Press, Radio, Movies, and even our Churches. Self-preservation is more important than the drift of business at this point.

Asheville, N.C.

J. C. BENNETT

Right to Be Wrong

For the last few years my husband and I have been rather devoted readers of the FREEMAN and have found much in it which elucidated the opinions we hold. We have been proud to pass copies of your magazine on to friends who had some mistaken ideas.

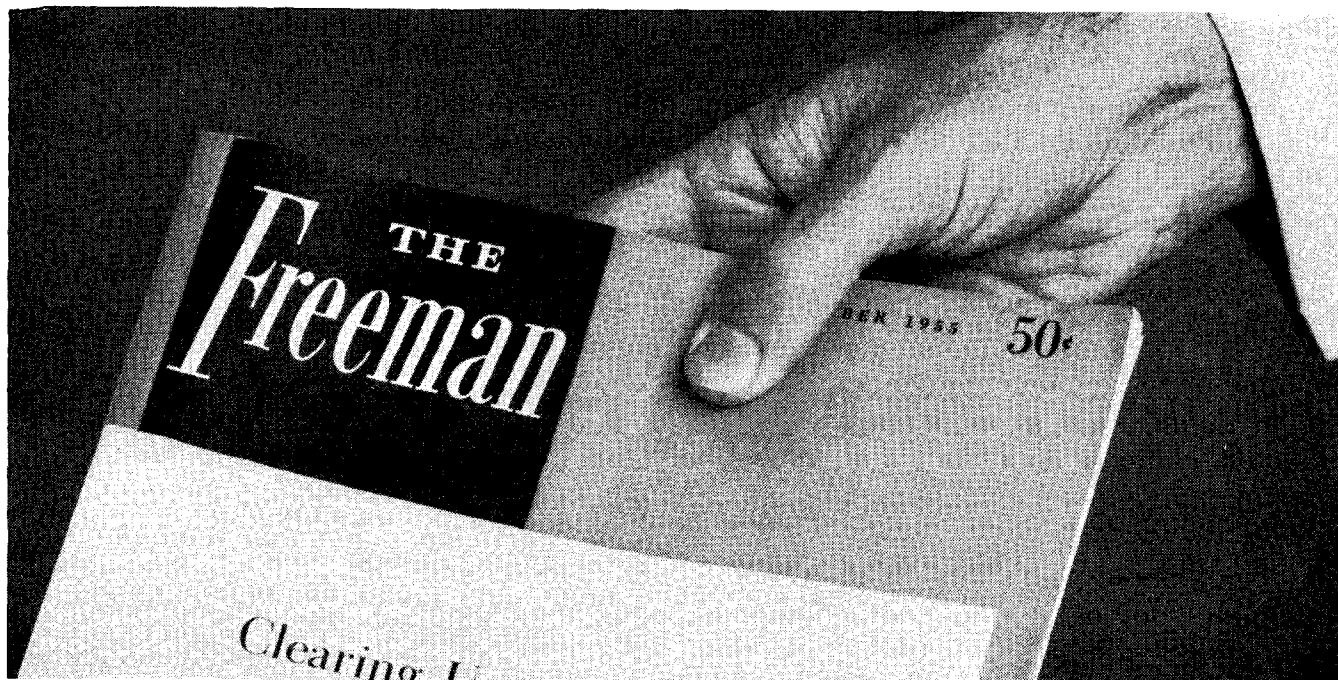
But not so with the September issue! Has some collectivist wormed his way onto your editorial staff, that you would print W. H. McComb's "The Right to Be Wrong"? Just how . . . does this jibe with the libertarian point of view? The true libertarian upholds the dignity and free will of each individual. . . Segregation laws are aimed at white people who might choose to associate with the colored as much as vice-versa. In fact, the basis for these laws seems to be the hysterical idea that without them all white young men and girls will rush out to marry the colored, and that their will to do so must be circumvented by any and all means.

As you know, the communist propaganda machine has known well how to exploit all the inequities in the countries that they have seduced with their promises for a better life. Let it not be said that the libertarian beats the drum for the die-hards that

(Continued on p. 766)

This year for Christmas

Give the FREEMAN to a friend...



show him what Freedom means!

If you rebel against the serpentine creepings of socialism — if your mind and spirit go forth to sustain the cause of free enterprise, individual rights, and limited government — no doubt you recognize how necessary it is to share these views with others.

Here is a way to do it: for Christmas, give your friends subscriptions to the *Freeman* — the one magazine which most consistently and uncompromisingly rejects State intervention in the affairs of free men.

Order several Christmas subscriptions now—and then, twelve times in 1956, you'll give your friends this dynamic message of freedom to remember you by!

P.S. — Besides your personal friends, you may want to send subscriptions to your local library, to teachers, a minister or a newspaper editor.

The FREEMAN, Irvington-on-Hudson, New York

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(Continued from p. 764)

feel the colored are so much better off under a paternalistic regime that looks after their needs, but keeps them in their place.

Randolph, Wisc. MINERVA O'LAUGHLIN

Taxes

Re "Socialism via Taxation" (October) by Samuel B. Pettengill: the extent of taxation may be illustrated by the annual report of the Gardner-Denver Co., wherein it is stated that "heavy taxes are a necessary burden on every business enterprise. While federal taxes were lower because of the expiration of the excess profits tax, state and local taxes were higher, with the result that our tax bill of \$3,043,464 for 1954 was about the same as in 1953. Total taxes were

equivalent to \$4.60 per common share, \$2.70 per productive hour, and \$1,160 per employee."

Brooklyn, N.Y.

HOWARD W. TONER

Loaded Terms

Mr. Murray Quigg criticizes the editor about the editorial on collective bargaining ("Loaded Terms," September). Mr. Quigg believes that an equality in bargaining exists because a corporation is a "collective"; but can all the auto companies close in sympathy when one is struck? No. Can they resort to violence and force to attain their ends? No. Besides, why should they resist? They have probably discovered by now, if Mr. Quigg has not, that it is the consumer, not the capitalist, who pays these excessive demands.

The so-called war between capital and labor is a Marxist fallacy. The plain unvarnished truth is that we have a war between organized labor and all the rest of us.

Lakewood, Ohio

J. P. HAIR

The Destroyers

Thank you for printing Frank C. Hanighen's article on Senator Jenner (October). I prefer to call Jenner's "ruling group" on the Potomac the "twentieth century destroyers" of thousands of our youth in wars that they instigated by either their blindness or stupidity. They are forever shouting "peril," but by their wrong appraisal of the Kremlin they have brought about the peril the world finds itself in.

Hood River, Ore.

FRANCES POTTER

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THE *Freeman*

DECEMBER 1955

Render unto Caesar—What?

A Question for Christmas Time

THERE ARE theologians, some highly placed, who like to identify Christianity with socialism; some even find in the Bible support for the teachings of Karl Marx, while others equate the Leviathan of Hobbes to the Kingdom of God.

To the layman, the argument of these learned gentlemen is difficult to follow, particularly since they cite one another as supporting evidence. Then, too, one would have to be as familiar with the scriptures as they are to know whether their quotations have the same meaning in the text as out of it. The best an untutored mind can do is to dig into the Gospels, the undoubted taproot of Christian thought, to learn something about the matter. And there he finds nothing to support the thesis of the theologians, that the State is the instrument, if not the co-equal, of God.

For instance, though Jesus had great compassion for the sick and disabled, he healed them, by his own admission, through the powers vested in him by his Father; he did not once refer his patients to socialized medicine. He said the laborer is worthy of his hire, but made no mention of labor union goons, the darlings of latter-day theologians, as the proper means of carrying out this dictum. In none of the Gospels is there any mention of the nationalization of industry, nor unemployment insurance, nor social security, nor government schooling, nor the UN, nor any of the political schemes for the uplifting of man advocated by the modern vicars of Christ—as the theologians claim to be.

In fact, there is only one indirect reference to political power, the State, in the Gospels, and it has no bearing on man's improvement. It is a thoroughly individualistic philosophy that Jesus teaches, in that he puts the responsibility for behavior on the individual, and does not suggest any way of transferring that responsibility to a governmental agency or a voting bloc. He offers no formula for the collectivization of the soul; man, the image of God, is man and not a sample of the mass.

The sum total of the teachings of Jesus, in the

Gospels, comes to two concepts: the dignity of the individual and the glory of God. In neither of these does the State play any part. He did say that he came to fulfill the law, not to break it, but it is clear that the law he referred to was not the "commandments of men." He did not identify his law with the wisdom of the planner, the say-so of a bureaucrat or the edicts of a politburo.

The one reference to the State in the Gospels which the "social-actionists" among our teachers of Christianity like to quote in support of their thesis is the story of the coin. In quoting it, however, they are careful to omit reference to the occasion which originally brought it forth. And yet the meaning of it is quite different in the context of this occasion from the meaning given it by these energumens of political action.

Background History

When Jesus walked and talked with men, the nearest thing to a bureaucracy was the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Rome was interested only in the collection of tribute, and if this came regularly and in sufficient quantity, the people were suffered to carry on their social affairs in their accustomed way. The traditional theocracy served Rome as an instrument for maintaining the tranquility necessary for the collection of tribute, and in so far as it did so it was suffered to conduct religious rites and manage tribal customs in any way it saw fit. The police power of Rome was invoked only when its suzerainty—its tax take—was threatened; treason to Caesar was the only capital offense.

The entrenched ecclesiasts appear to have been quite satisfied with this dual rulership; their prestige, prerogatives and emoluments were unaffected by Roman overlordship, while the legions of Rome assured them of "law and order." It was nice going.

There were two disturbing elements in the populace; one consisted of the "zealots" who would throw off the yoke of Rome by violent means, something like modern resistance movements; the other was the lay preachers who insisted that independence had been lost through moral decadence

and would be regained only by spiritual revival. In the latter, Rome had no interest (although the priesthood found their anathema of ritualism annoying), but the "zealots" were given short shrift when caught.

In the eyes of Rome, Jesus could not have been anything but a religious dissenter, of whom there were many among this peculiar sect, and hardly worthy of notice. But the priesthood found him disturbing, not so much because he questioned their authority but because he had gained a considerable and devoted following. To many of the people he was the long-hoped-for, the promised messiah. The miracles he performed and the wisdom he dispensed as he traveled from town to town were attracting large crowds, and the thought that here was indeed the Son of God was gaining acceptance. His denunciation of the religious hierarchy, of the scribes and Pharisees, fanned the already widespread spirit of discontent. Something had to be done to stop him.

But what? The most the priesthood could do was to denounce him as a heretic, which hardly went well with the multitude who had listened to him, and Rome would take no interest in a religious controversy. It was necessary to pin the label of "zealot" on this disturber of their position. If that could be done, Rome would put him out of their way.

The Malicious Hecklers

It is within the context of this historical situation that the reference to the coin must be considered. Let us take the account of the incident as given in St. Luke (20:19-26):

And the chief priests and the scribes the same hour sought to lay hands on him; and they feared the people: for they perceived that he had spoken this parable [of the vineyard] against them.

And they watched him, and sent forth spies, which should feign themselves just men, that they might take hold of his words, that so they might deliver him unto the power and the authority of the governor.

And they asked him, saying, Master, we know that thou sayest and teachest rightly, neither acceptest thou the person of any, but teachest the way of God truly:

Is it lawful for us to give tribute unto Caesar, or no?

But he perceived their craftiness, and said unto them, Why tempt ye me?

Shew me a penny. Whose image and superscription hath it? They answered and said, Caesar's.

And he said unto them, Render therefore unto Caesar the things which be Caesar's, and unto God the things which be God's.

And they could not take hold of his words before the people: and they marvelled at his answer, and held their peace.

So, then, it is clear that Jesus was being heckled by his enemies, whose obvious intent was to trick him into a statement that could be used against him with the authorities. Were he to say anything derogatory of Caesar (as, for instance, that man's first fealty is to God), he could have been denounced as a "zealot," with capital punishment the probable consequence. That he "perceived their craftiness" and confounded them with an enigmatic answer is evidence of a quick wit; perhaps that is all there is to the story of the coin. It was an on-the-spot remark called forth by special circumstance and cannot be classed with freely given lessons, such as the Sermon on the Mount.

But, what did Jesus mean? What are the things due Caesar? Are they due as a matter of right or of might? Can one infer from this story that tribute to Caesar is included in God's scheme of things? Taken by itself, the analogy can be made to mean even that absurdity. Seeing how he stressed man's duty to God, it might well be rephrased: the more of yourself you render Caesar, the less you have for God.

Our modern scribes and Pharisees, bent on redeeming man through the offices of the State, extract from the coin story a mandate from God, and sometimes suggest in their usage that it might be an eleventh commandment. Either by design or from ignorance, they overlook a bit of significant history. The coin that Jesus asked to be shown was the *denarius*, the legal specie for the payment of taxes. On one side of this coin was a bas-relief of the Emperor Tiberius, which would be a violation of the second commandment against graven images; on the other side was the inscription "Tiberius Caesar, the son of the deified Augustus," which was blasphemy. It is unthinkable that Jesus would endorse such sacrilege. It is blasphemy to suggest that he did.

All the evidence, then, gives the incident of the coin no moral weight. It was not a divine endorsement of Statism. It was nothing but a quick retort intended to confound his malicious hecklers. Only sheer casuistry can make anything else of it.

Mr. President

THE REGRETTABLE ILLNESS of Mr. Eisenhower has incidentally brought into focus the true nature of the office he holds and the kind of government under which we live.

Within a few weeks after his heart attack, when the doctors were supervising his daily regimen and even his sitting up in bed was regulated, news dispatches bearing the Denver dateline spoke of decisions he was making on important matters.

There was a pronouncement on his stand on international affairs, a statement that he had approved an intricate matter of federal insurance of some sort, a message on the Administration's atomic policy, a release that he had started working on his State of the Union message and so on. Each of these news items appeared after the President had been allowed so many minutes for a conference with one of his aides.

One wondered whether these conferees had been so heartless as to press matters requiring careful consideration and mental strain on the sick man, whether in fact he had the vitality necessary for delving into these matters and whether the doctors would have permitted the bringing up of subjects requiring more energy than he could spare during his convalescence. It must be remembered that these medically supervised conferences were hardly long enough to permit more than the sick room amenities.

The newspapers did not print falsehoods. "The President" did in fact apply himself to these affairs of state, but it was not Mr. Eisenhower. It was not the sick man who was called upon to make decisions; the decisions were made for him by "the President," and about all the patient knew about them is that they were going to be made. It could not have been otherwise under the circumstances. The best he could have done was to nod acquiescence when he was assured by "Jim" or "Sherman" that this department or that commission had thoroughly gone over every detail and that political exigencies demanded the announcement.

It is time we realized that "the President" of the United States is not a person; it is an institution. It is an institution of such vast proportions that the titular head is hardly more than that. No human being is endowed with the mental capacity or possessed of the energy necessary for its management. Its accumulation of functions is beyond the comprehension of any man, and a Samson would hardly be able to perform the duties heaped upon it by legislation.

What it all comes to is that the man we elect to the presidency is in fact the mouthpiece of the thousands of functionaries who carry on the multitudinous departments that make up the office. Presumably his judgment determines the general policies. But his judgment is in turn determined by departmental reports and opinions presented to him, as well as by the advice of his political advisors, so that in effect he is the captive of his office.

Thus it has come to pass that the man who "hired himself out" to the people, as Andrew Jackson put it, has become a bureaucracy, a mass of experts and clerks who carry on the affairs of government under all circumstances, whether the elected incumbent is incapacitated or is on vacation. Except that under the law he is required to sign certain

papers, which the bureaucracy prepares for him, and laws, which the bureaucracy is instrumental in having Congress pass, the government could carry on without the titular head. Of course, he must be elected, so that he will have the authority to appoint the bureaucracy.

This is what many people today like to call a "democracy."

Traveling Solons

SOME TWO HUNDRED congressmen took advantage of the recess to "study" in foreign lands. Let's hope they enjoyed their trips, and nobody should begrudge them the tax-money that paid for their tuition. There are some, in fact, who would have them continue their "studies" abroad for an indefinite time, regardless of expense, because their absence from Washington would assure us that Congress, lacking a quorum, would be unable to pass multibillion-dollar appropriations; that is, it would be cheaper to keep them out of the country.

Their return, indeed, is ominous. During the coming session a number of bills authorizing the expenditure of our money for the improvement of conditions in Europe, South America, Africa and Asia will be introduced in Congress, and these traveling solons will support the bills with authority: they will assert that they have seen the conditions and know whereof they speak. Nobody will question their ability to have observed and absorbed so much during a few weeks' jaunt—interlarded with social activities—in strange and vast lands. That would not be courteous. So, the bills will be passed on the say-so of "experts."

Our Congress seems to have drifted a long way from its constitutional moorings. It was originally presumed that a senator or a representative was sent to Washington to look after the interests of his constituency; this was particularly true of the representative, who was not even given a voice in the foreign affairs of the nation; only a senator may vote on treaties. It has come to pass, however, that the spending of our money on foreign ventures has become a major occupation of our legislators, sometimes more important, in terms of dollars, than domestic matters. The scope of a congressman now is not his state or his district, but the whole wide world.

That is why they have to travel and "study." They should do more of it.

**May the New Year
bring to all the world
the Prosperity of Freedom.**

The Great Geneva Fraud

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

History proves that "summit" conferences inevitably end in disaster. USSR maneuverings behind a mask of smiles betoken a similar sequel to Geneva.

It has been well said that the main lesson of history is the inability of people to learn from the lessons of history. The "summit" conference of heads of governments at Geneva last July was the third event of its kind in the last seventeen years. Its predecessors were Munich and Yalta. Each of these meetings was based on the theory that if it were only possible to get the rulers of the world around a conference table and create an atmosphere of good fellowship and mutual understanding the predatory wolf would lie down peacefully with the pacific lamb and all the problems created by aggression would be miraculously charmed out of existence.

All three conferences were widely hailed as great achievements in the cause of peace. But the sequel to Munich, within less than a year, was the Second World War. The sequel to Yalta was enormous aggrandizement of the power of the Soviet Union and the cold war, with such accompaniments as the incitation of civil war in Greece and of subversion in many other countries, the blockade of West Berlin and the shooting war in Korea. The sequel to Geneva, unless a rallying stand is made somewhere somehow, may well be the irretrievable loss of a cold war. This is likely to come about not through any improbable Soviet military adventure, but through a loss of mutual confidence and solidarity among the nations outside the Iron Curtain and through a growing sense of hopelessness among the captive peoples inside the Iron Curtain.

Victory for Russia Seen

Geneva, like Munich and Yalta before, was greeted with a deafening chorus of praise. But, just as there were perceptive Cassandras who saw the hollowness of Munich and Yalta, so there were voices of clear insight into the balance sheet of the love feast at Geneva. One such voice was that of the distinguished Spanish scholar and publicist, Salvador de Madariaga, a staunch champion of human liberty both in his native Spain (he is living in self-imposed exile in England) and in the countries now subjugated and enslaved by the Soviet Union.

Madariaga pronounced this judgment on Geneva immediately after its results were published in two great newspapers, the Swiss *Neue Zürcher*

Zeitung and the British *Manchester Guardian*. It is likely to be the judgment of history:

"The Soviet leaders have every reason to be satisfied with the outcome of the Geneva conference. They have been able to demonstrate to their own peoples that even their opponents are convinced of the peaceful desires of the Soviet Union, so that, if no peace prevails, the reasons must lie elsewhere. They have been able to show to the peoples of eastern Europe that they have practically nothing to expect from the West for their liberation, that the West is practically ready to recognize the status quo of the Russian conquests by the indirect method of a security pact, insofar as an acceptable solution for the German question can be found. To the Communists in France and Italy they have proved that Moscow will henceforward support those communist parties with the help of which they have already engulfed half of Europe.

"It is difficult to see what the leaders of the West can show to *their* peoples as a success of the Geneva conference."

Some Facts to Consider

In order to understand why the "spirit of Geneva," with the profuse exchanges of professions of friendship and esteem and desire for peace and the failure to agree on any issue of substantial importance, was a victory for the new look in Soviet diplomacy and a defeat for the West, one should recall and re-emphasize a few basic facts about the nature and origin of the cold war. Perpetual struggle with the noncommunist world was inherent in the philosophy of Leninism, faith in which has been vigorously reasserted by Nikita Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders since the Geneva conference.

Lenin thought in terms of implacable hostility between the communist and noncommunist worlds, which could only be resolved by the world-wide triumph of communism and the organization of a "one world" union of communist states. This did not mean that the Soviet government was committed to perpetual warfare. Although they were fanatics in devotion to their creed of world conquest through world revolution, Lenin and his successor, Stalin, were shrewd, calculating states-

men, able to wait for the most favorable conditions before acting.

Their grand design, restated with remarkable frankness by Stalin shortly before his death, was not to conquer noncommunist countries by Soviet military power (at least not until these countries were hopelessly weak and ripe for the plucking), but rather to subvert these countries by two methods. One of these methods was the promotion of class war from within, the avowed function of communist parties throughout the world. The other was the fanning and exploitation of national rivalries and antagonisms, the driving of as many wedges as possible into the unity of the noncommunist powers.

So long as the Soviet Union remained within its proper frontiers there were limitations on its capacity for conquest and expansion. But this situation was radically changed by World War Two. The Soviet Union emerged as incomparably the strongest power in the Eurasian continent.

And Stalin, who had previously declared that the Soviet Union did not want "a square foot" of foreign soil, exploited a military victory which he could not have won without lavish American lend-lease aid to create a tremendous unbalance of power in Europe. He directly annexed territories (Galicia, Bukovina, the sub-Carpathian area) which had never belonged to Russia in the course of history. By the device of using local communist parties as agents of domination he annexed, for all practical purposes, nations with a combined population of eighty or ninety million and considerable natural resources: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Albania.

Stalin mutilated and divided Germany. He gave large areas of ethnic German territory to his Polish puppet state, seized the old German city of Koenigsberg and its hinterland for the Soviet Union and set up a Soviet-sponsored Red Quisling regime in the Soviet zone of military occupation. Apart from individual acts of aggression like the blockade of Berlin and the invasion of South Korea, apart from a continuous Soviet record of incitement to treason and espionage, it was the very fact of this enormous expansion of Soviet power and influence beyond any precedent in European history that automatically created the state of tension which Stalin's political heirs profess a desire to reduce.

Stalling for Time

There were several reasons why Khrushchev and Bulganin went to Geneva eager for a temporary detente, for some tangible sign of improved international relations. The new Soviet rulers need time to consolidate their own political power and to organize the vast empire they have inherited. The economic pressures of the arms race and the withholding of strategic goods tend to keep the

living standards of the peoples in the Soviet Union and the satellite states below the political safety limit.

Moreover, the Soviet government at the present time is in the position of a poker player with a huge pile of blue chips stacked up before him. He is not sorry for an excuse to break off the game. Settlement for the status quo—for a divided Germany and enslaved satellites—would be not a draw but a tremendous victory for the Soviets.

Had the Western statesmen been clear as to their purposes and objectives they would have gone to Geneva determined to exact a price for the detente which the Soviet leaders clearly needed and wanted. Essential elements in this price would have been agreement on free all-German elections, with the new German government permitted to choose its own foreign policy and to make whatever alliance it might desire, and liberation of the satellite states. This would not necessarily mean the restoration of their prewar regimes. It would mean that the free institutions which were promised over and over again during the war would be established, that Soviet troops, police agents and political controllers would withdraw and that Warsaw, Prague, Bucharest and Budapest would be as free in relation to Moscow as London, Paris, Brussels and Oslo are in relation to Washington.

Peace at No Price

But the Soviets got what might be called peace at no price at Geneva. The pictures of the "Big Four" chatting wreathed in smiles, of Eisenhower shaking hands with Bulganin, were of inestimable propaganda value for Soviet policy on both sides of the Iron Curtain. In Poland and other satellite countries these pictures were widely circulated to point a moral. If the President of the United States is on such good terms with the Soviet rulers, what is the use of hoping for liberation, of keeping up any kind of resistance? These Geneva photographs represented the biggest imaginable handicap for the political and psychological warfare efforts of the Free Europe Committee and the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism.

Defenders of Geneva and the "Geneva spirit" are inclined to employ two arguments. First, they say, President Eisenhower's hail-fellow-well-met manner with the Soviet leaders proved America's peaceful intentions to the whole world. Second, an "atmosphere," a "climate" or something of the sort, in which disputed issues may be satisfactorily solved, was created.

As to the first argument, America's whole record under provocation during the cold war has proved its desire to avoid or to limit hostilities. To the challenge of the Berlin blockade the response was not moving convoys across the Soviet zone, but the expensive air lift supply system. There were no reprisals for repeated shooting down of Amer-

ican planes. The United States fought the war in Korea with one hand deliberately tied behind its back in order to avoid the possibility of extending the conflict. The idea that it was up to America to prove its "peace-loving" disposition was as out of line with reality as the idea, widely promoted by certain left-wing commentators during the last war, that, in some unspecified way, we had wronged the Soviet Union in the past and owed it amends.

"Atmosphere" for "Agreement"

As for the second argument, that the Geneva spirit makes more probable Soviet agreement to German unification and liberation of the satellites, this has already been emphatically disproved by the course of events since the Big Four met and parted amid a flurry of toasts and a much disputed and somewhat ambiguous program of future action. The first act of Khrushchev and Bulganin after Geneva was to rush to Berlin and place themselves squarely behind their German satellite regime.

When Federal Chancellor Adenauer went to Moscow he obtained, in return for his agreement to the establishment of full diplomatic relations, no satisfaction whatever on the issue of unification. On the contrary, the Soviet zone regime leaders, Ulbricht and Grotewohl, were given a ceremonial reception in Moscow immediately after Adenauer left and assured that they were the wave of the future.

It is hard to criticize the rugged old Chancellor for acting as he did. The exuberant cordiality of the "summit" meeting raised the specter of a Soviet-Western agreement that would ignore or postpone indefinitely the issue of German reunification in freedom. The blackmail to which Adenauer was subjected was terrific; German public opinion would have been gravely disturbed if the Chancellor had returned from Moscow without obtaining the release of at least some of the detained war prisoners. And Khrushchev and Bulganin made it clear that there would be no return of the prisoners except on the basis of establishment of full diplomatic relations.

But it is mere self-deception not to recognize that Adenauer's agreement to exchange ambassadors with Moscow without receiving any Soviet assurance about German reunion on a basis of free elections was a retreat. It was at least an indirect recognition of the "two Germanies" situation which is the objective of Soviet diplomacy, now that the spectacular economic recovery in the Federal Republic has made the communization of all Germany clearly impossible. One may expect the Soviet government, in the second Geneva conference and elsewhere, to take the position that it maintains relations with two German governments, that this situation is quite satisfactory and that there is no reason to change it.

One indication of which side got the best of the summit conference is the contrasted reaction of anticommunists and procommunists. Anticommunists are disconcerted and disheartened. Procommunists, ranging from those who are cheating the Communist Party of its dues to vague and woolly-minded "progressives," are enthusiastic.

A still more convincing indication is the trend of events since Geneva. There has been no Soviet withdrawal from any position of importance. There have been several Soviet diplomatic offensives that threaten the Western defense lines at several points. The Soviet government has achieved two important objectives in Germany. It has obtained double German representation in Moscow, an ambassador from the Federal Republic along with a representative of its puppet regime. It has acquired an embassy in Bonn which, in all probability, will not only be a center for subversion and espionage but also a magnet of attraction for all the disgruntled and confused Germans who have a vague feeling that they might make a better deal for their country by loosening or breaking their ties with the West. This will make more difficult the implementation of Adenauer's realistic policy of strength through alliance with the West and will increase the perils and uncertainties that will arise in Germany if the Chancellor, who will soon pass his eightieth birthday, should be removed from the scene.

More Mischief Afoot

If anyone supposed that the "Geneva spirit" would prevent the Soviet government from making as much international mischief as possible he has been quickly undeceived. The Soviet government is engaged in a three-pronged effort to turn the Western position in the Mediterranean. It is trying to capitalize on Greco-Turkish antagonism over Cyprus and over the anti-Greek riots in Turkey in September. By every device, from inflammatory broadcasts in Arabic over Radio Budapest to votes in the United Nations, it is seeking to aggravate the strife in North Africa, where there are important American air bases. Finally by acting as an arms peddler it is trying to stake out a position in the troubled Near East, already distracted by the Israel-Arab feud.

It is high time to wake up from the soporific dream induced by the new Soviet smiling tactics, to realize that Geneva is just as big a fraud as Yalta, to concentrate on the proposition that the security pact which is the latest Soviet proposal would be the worst kind of a trap unless it were preceded by German reunion in freedom, release of the satellites from bondage to Moscow and a redrawing of boundaries in eastern Europe along lines more approximating ethnic justice. It is worth remembering that it is not only in Denmark that a man may smile and smile—and be a villain.

Yale's "Four Hundred"

By M. STANTON EVANS

Have you ever wondered about the meaning of history? Have you ever puzzled over those vague, distant squabbles among the Adamases, the Spenglers, the Toynbees? Well, if you had gone to Yale University, as I did, you wouldn't have to. For in the brief space of an hour, I and four hundred other students had the whole thing mapped out for us, as neat as you please. It was on a sunny afternoon in November 1952. We were all members of a class in Political Science 10a, one of Yale's basic social science courses. As we fidgeted in our seats, waiting for the class to get under way, the lecturer sketched the outline on the board. It began — "The Fundamentals of Democratic Social Thought."

In the preceding session we had concluded a survey of English political history. And here was the meaning of it all. All the volume of facts about England—the common law, the unwritten constitution—would now assume an ultimate significance.

In his clipped and impressive accents, Professor Cecil Driver spun the "Fundamentals" out before us, and we transferred them in neat outline to our notebooks. But this was no dry lecture; the subject exuded emotion. Every student, as he wrote, began to feel the huge importance of what was being said. History was becoming, in the newspeak of Yale, "meaningful." The realization of "meaningfulness" mounted steadily, and when Professor Driver concluded his lecture, the entire class of four hundred students (with one exception) rose and delivered a thundering ovation.

The Joker

Professor Driver, it should be noted, did not make a direct emotional appeal to his class. All he did was to offer documented historical *proof*—one hour's worth—that socialism was inevitable. And the lecture was a factual one. The joker was the *selectivity* with which the professor presented his facts. In order to understand the impact with which this lecture hit those four hundred students, it is necessary to give a brief run-down of the contents.

With the characteristic precision and clarity that a lecturer employs to make history look so simple and orderly, Professor Driver sketched for his class a brief historical resumé. In roughly four phases, this resumé viewed the governmental

History becomes "meaningful" at Yale University as the "Fundamentals" are expounded. But there was one libertarian in the class—

mutations of England as a progressive series of "demands" which the people had made. The progression ran as follows:

First Phase: Having emerged from and forgotten the chaos of the feudalistic economy, the ever-rising middle class began to demand freedom from the restrictions of the mercantilistic State. They wanted to be free of the whims of the government. Along with his economic demand there arose also a demand for religious freedom. These mandates for "freedom from" the State received their most characteristic expression in the late eighteenth century, in the Declaration of Independence and Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.

Second Phase: Following the first demand of the middle classes, there arose a demand from the mass of the people, as they also became politically conscious. This demand was for "participation in" the government, as well as "freedom from." It received expression in the English Reform Bill of 1832 (broadening the voting franchise), and in the succeeding legislation which moved steadily toward universal manhood suffrage during the nineteenth century. The government assumed and maintained, during this period, the position of keeper of order.

Third Phase: A new concept was being infused into the democratic idea of government, which exceeded that of mere "participation in" its workings. This was the third demand. Negative freedoms began to appear less alluring; they had not brought all that was expected. The masses gained the vote, but they still lived in slums. They were still uneducated. The third demand consequently was a mandate for a *positive*, rather than a *negative*, government: a government that provided minimal conditions of decent living and that would be guarantor of all political rights. The shift in emphasis necessitated by this demand, however, was away from *liberty* and toward *security*. This demand is exemplified by the New Deal in this country; and the opposition which the New Deal aroused exemplifies the invariable reaction which each mandate draws from the "privileged" and the "satisfied."

Fourth Phase: The fourth, and apparently culminating demand, is for the transfer of the basic principles of democratic government from the

political to the economic sphere. Economic life should be put under the control of the political state. The emphasis was now more than ever on security and away from liberty. *So much so, in fact, that this fourth demand is nothing more nor less than a mandate for complete state socialism.* Thus the series of demands concludes with the masses at last extracting the true Fundamentals of Democracy from the grudging and reactionary privileged classes.

The lecture thus briefly summarized is easily the most impressive, as well as the most important, that Professor Driver delivers all term. The ideas which it embodies are reiterated in the concluding lecture of the year. Both of these are invariably received with a standing ovation and wild applause.

Now, when Professor Driver informs his class that the demands of the people lead on to state socialism, just what is it that piques the emotions of his students, and brings them to shower him with applause? This question has a multiplicity of possible and probable answers. But, if the students may be presumed to be not completely mindless, they are primarily applauding the two main points so unmistakably implicit in the resumé—one apparently factual, the other moral:

a) that the process Professor Driver describes is a natural movement, a progression in history, leading to an inevitable outcome (i.e., socialism is inevitable);

b) that the process is not only inevitable, but it is also desirable. In the vernacular, it is a "good thing."

The Impact

These implications hit the student with an impact at least as great as that of the actual fact which appears in the lecture, if not greater. For it is these implications—that socialism is inevitable and desirable—which make the fact contained in the lecture seem to add up to some great meaning. The student does not applaud the "fact" of the Reform Bill of 1832; rather he applauds the emotional charge of the total scheme of which that piece of legislation was a part; he applauds the rectitude of economic levelling, and the sluggish but sure movement of the masses toward a final materialistic millennium.

Professor Driver accomplishes this by employing a kind of selective historical vision, which can see



"The Sorehead"

only certain facts, and which colors and shapes them so that they seem to point inexorably in one direction. All the "facts" which Professor Driver cites are there all right—all in the history books. But there are also a lot of other pertinent facts of history which he does not mention.

The desirability of socialism cannot, and need not, be debated here. As a coherent philosophy, it has long since been shattered. Empirically, its lofty promises have been discredited. It continues to advance, however, by piecemeal legislation, the direction of which the "masses" (so-called) do not understand. They do not desire the thing called "socialism"; but they do desire the flurries of government intervention which pander to their special interests; workers here, farmers there, manufacturers over here. What they cannot understand is that the socialism they hate and fear and the catnip rations that they wallow in are indistinguishable. They are led forward by the craft of their "leaders," who misrepresent to them every step that is taken.

Every so often the whole process pauses, and somebody remarks: "You know, we're in an awful mess." "So we are," the leaders reply. "All the more reason to do as we say." So the floundering machinery is set in motion again, and past blunders are made the *raison d'être* for future catastrophes. The actual fact of whether or not the people of a country desire socialism is completely irrelevant to whether or not it comes.

Does this mean, then, that socialism is inevitable, whether or not anybody wants it? Not at all. *Somebody* has to want it, although that "somebody" is not "the masses."

One fact which Professor Driver overlooked was that it is never the wishes of "the masses" that get embodied in reform legislation. It is always the wishes of someone who thinks he knows what is good for "the masses." After the Chartist movement had been effectively squelched, it took an "intellectual" who thought he could fix things a little bit to dream up the Reform Bill of 1832. Most of the "masses" of England didn't know what it was, or what it did. The point is that nothing is "inevitable" unless people of influence desire it and work for it.

What Professor Driver Omitted

For instance, Professor Driver omitted to give the curious circumstances in which socialism came to this country. He omitted to mention the fact that Mr. Roosevelt ran in 1932 on a balanced-budget, government-efficiency, free-enterprise ticket, or the fact that Mr. Roosevelt later explained that this was the only way that he could have been elected. Nor did Professor Driver inform his students that, after the election, some "experts" from political science departments in big universities came to Mr. Roosevelt with a plan; nor that since Mr. Roosevelt himself was innocent of such things as plans—excepting one to jettison the program on which the American people had been fooled into electing him—he accepted the advice of these experts. This advice blossomed into the rich, fruity growth of the National Recovery Act. This was not really socialism, but it was a good running start. It was fascism.

If Professor Driver had taken the trouble, he might have pointed out that this was done, not as a result of the wishes of the "masses," but in *direct violation* of those wishes. Like Wilson before him, Mr. Roosevelt always carried a mental picture of himself as the "leader"; he would go his way, and he would take those stupid masses with him! The

inevitable course of history, evidently, had gotten itself all fouled up. Luckily, Mr. Roosevelt was there to give erring history a kick in the pants.

Let us suppose something. Let us suppose that Mr. Roosevelt had not lied to the American people in 1932. Or that, having lied, he abided by his lie. And that consequently he had rejected the filmy "planned economy" dreams that Stuart Chase, Lord Keynes, Professor George Warren, Rexford Tugwell, and Jerome Frank had concocted in their idle moments. Would history, thus unaided by professorial cunning, have vaulted us into socialism?

Naturally not. History is not the dreary go-round of an inevitable treadmill. It is the record of the influences of decisions by individuals in power, good and bad. The abandon of those making the decisions is modified only by the degree of responsibility felt toward the supposedly all-powerful "masses." The only real function left to this unfortunate horde is to vote on the basis of lies, and to hope that the lies are not very big ones. Beyond this, the "little people" can offer only a bewildered appraisal of each decision as a *fait accompli*, and—peering through the fog of governmental misrepresentation—wonder where their next traduction is coming from.

The implied lesson of Professor Driver's lecture is that we are caught in the grips of an impersonal deterministic force which directs history, independent of human choice. At best, this is Marxian hogwash. At worst, it is plagiarism of Marxian hogwash. If we are caught in the grips of anything, it is the dishonesty of our "leaders," and the craft of the "intellectuals" who aid and abet that dishonesty at every turn.

A goodly segment of our next generation of "leaders" and "intellectuals" will come from the happy four hundred that wildly applauded the certainty of socialism as Professor Driver propounded it. Was he thinking of that?

The Historian

The following is an excerpt from a letter:

"I am a student at Cornell University and at present am engaged in taking a course in American history. In this course I must write a term paper, and I am planning to do mine on 'Social Darwinism and the Horatio Alger Myth as a Justification for the Position of the Robber Barons.' . . ."

A Step toward Socialized Medicine

By GORDON B. LEITCH, M.Sc., M.D. *A physician speaks frankly about the Salk vaccine program as a made-to-order opportunity to prepare the American public for socialized medicine.*

Does the Salk vaccine program constitute a brain-wash, to condition Americans for the docile acceptance of regimented medicine?

Many physicians, thoughtful and disturbed by the antipolio vaccine imbroglio, think that it does.

Let it be stated now, since the Salk vaccine resulted from patronage of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, that no attack on the Foundation is intended. The tremendous services performed in aiding research, education and patient care in polio are well known and are duly appreciated by every physician familiar with the disease. However, this appreciation need not blind one to the facts of the polio vaccine fiasco, and it certainly does not render the Foundation immune to criticism for its foray into politics.

Since laymen, not scientists, are dominant in polio foundation affairs it is not strange that well-intentioned enthusiasm may lead them into strange pathways or even astray, scientifically speaking. Ordinarily it is expected that he who pays the piper may call the tune. But in the realm of science, as the Salk vaccine affair well illustrates, this can be downright dangerous.

The Question of Merit

Consideration of the merit of the Salk vaccine would not usually be included in an article of this kind. But the question of merit is most pertinent because it affords the first link in the chain of events suggesting brainwash.

A truly scientific approach to solving a medical problem calls for repeated and still more repeated trials of method, experiments or observations. Preferably the repetition should be by widely scattered and independent scientists. When what seems like a logical conclusion and a consensus appears, this in turn is subjected to further investigation until oft-repeated confirmations remove all doubt. Admittedly this is a time-consuming, cumbersome and laborious process; and it can be expensive. It rarely produces the spectacular, but it does deliver results which are safe, sound and acceptable until disproved by further investigations utilizing the same proved scientific methods.

This orderly, ponderous but safe method was short-circuited to a considerable extent in the case of the Salk vaccine program in order to put the show on the road by a certain deadline date. The

speed-up did nothing to allay the misgivings of physicians and scientists who, recognizing the possibility of a built-in defect in the vaccine, wished more evidence and assurances than were forthcoming.

To date the only *lasting* immunity against virus diseases that produce an immunity—not all do—results from an attack of the disease itself or by inoculation with a weakened strain of the virus, or one closely related to it, which can create immunity without producing the disease, as in the case of smallpox. In either case the virus which stimulates immunity is *alive*.

By contrast the Salk vaccine is based on the presence of a *killed* virus.

This departure from established experience does not mean that Dr. Jonas Salk and his associates are not on a correct track in their pioneering investigations. Indeed, scientists the world over acclaim the ingenuity displayed, even while they await time-tested proof that a new approach to the problems of virus immunology may have been charted.

At the same time many wonder if any immunity produced by the Salk vaccine is not in fact due to the presence of *live* virus, in keeping with long immunological experience, with the reliance for safety placed on the presence of minute, non-demonstrable amounts, rather than upon use of weakened strains of polio virus. It was doubt on this score which led to British rejection of the Salk vaccine in favor of continuing their own independent search to obtain a strain which would be safe to inoculate and would create desired immunity.

Salk Vaccine Remains Unproven

Though favorable data seem to be accumulating, it remains a fact that insufficient time and testing have elapsed to determine whether any immunity conferred through use of the Salk vaccine is transient, or lasting, or indeed whether there may be instances in which immunity is lacking. Therefore, as things stand, in spite of its hopeful promise and no matter how efficacious the product may eventually prove to be, the Salk vaccine today, as a matter of scientific reality, stands unproven, still in the experimental stages. This was even more the case in 1954 before the incep-

tion of mass trials—a fact causing widespread physician misgivings at the time, not quieted by subsequent events.

Thus, in the face of lack of adequate scientific proof of safety and efficacy—the widespread and independent repetition and confirmation of Dr. Salk's hopeful conclusions—a mass medical experiment, using humans as test animals, was decreed, sponsored and carried out in supposedly unregimented America. And we condemned the human medical experimentors of Buchenwald!

It is true the human victims of Buchenwald had no choice but to submit to experiments decreed by their captors or die, while those designated in America retained full freedom to remain outside the experiment. But both programs involved coercion. At Buchenwald it was physical force. In America it was mental pressure—brainwashing—playing on the fear of one of the more spectacular and dread diseases, one which creates terror out of all proportion to its incidence and to its actual seriousness.

Facts about Polio

A few salient facts about polio can do much to minimize dread, terror and hysteria, but the record shows these have not always been stressed:

Many people contract polio without ever knowing they have it, in the form of a common cold or a gastrointestinal upset, and develop a natural immunity to future attacks as a result.

Polio is neither as prevalent nor as crippling as many have been led to believe. It is true that 6 per cent of those contracting the disease may die if they acquire the bulbar type, which accounts for 95 per cent of polio deaths. About 30 per cent may be slightly paralyzed; but only 14 per cent will suffer severe paralysis. And at least 50 per cent of those contracting the disease will make a complete and uneventful recovery!

During the past decade it has been established that the odds against contracting polio are almost 500 to 1. It is riskier to cross a busy street.

Percentages alone may sound formidable, but much of the sting vanishes when these are translated into actual case figures. For instance, during last April's polio vaccine fiasco Dr. Ellis P. Sox, health director for the City of San Francisco, pointed out that polio is *actually a minor public health problem*, and cited that on the

basis of San Francisco health department statistics, inoculation of some 23,000 first and second grade students could be expected to prevent or reduce the severity of the disease in only eight or nine cases of paralytic polio in the area.

The well-intentioned enthusiasm of those in the polio Foundation is humanly understandable. But as laymen seeking a medical objective they should certainly exercise all restraint to make certain their efforts do not disjoint or disorganize the orderly scientific advance of medical knowledge and the means of delivering this as medical care.

From the research work of Banting and Best the Eli Lilly Company brought insulin to maturity and in abundance without benefit of ballyhoo or law. And there are more sufferers from diabetes than from polio. When penicillin was first developed there was no sponsoring foundation looking over Alexander Fleming's shoulder. And it was in extremely short supply. Yet the medical profession, drug manufacturers, hospitals and their medical co-workers successfully demonstrated that distribution and adjustment of supply and demand could be met without coercion, regimentation or the intrusion of any nonmedical agency, lay or governmental.

Why, then, in the case of the Salk vaccine, was the orderly, unregimented mechanism of the free economy that brought insulin and penicillin into common usage set aside?

Because somebody had an interest in setting it aside. Here was a golden opportunity for those who believe that political power can cure all mankind's ills, including polio, to demonstrate their



His bedside manner

conviction in a dramatic way. Despite the risk involved, they could not afford to let free and responsible enterprise handle the case. Polio to them meant power.

The theatrical performance of polio foundation and various public health officials in the Salk vaccine Follies of 1955 is too recent to need additional comment here. The part played by physicians and politicians, however, is less clear.

The Role of Physicians

With a few notable exceptions (such as Shelby County, Indiana, Multnomah County, Oregon, and several places in Idaho), physicians themselves, by their failure to stand up and tell the world of their scientific misgivings, by their failure to insist on having no part in the program until adequately assured that it would be neither collectivist nor detrimental to the interests of their patients, must assume their share of responsibility for what transpired.

When the matter of participating in the proposed mass tests of 1954 was first broached to doctors by the polio people and their associates in the U.S. Public Health Service (it was conceded that the testing required the assistance of practicing physicians), the invitation was accompanied by a strong hint that, if physicians refused to go along with this experiment designed to end polio, their public relations "undoubtedly" would suffer.

Conditioned as physicians have become to the doctrine that maintenance of good public relations is somehow more important to them than measuring up to their professional responsibilities, many of them succumbed to these blandishments and agreed to take part in the test program. Having capitulated to expediency in 1954 it was hardly possible for them to remain aloof in 1955. Thus many doctors found they had actually abrogated their medical responsibility and become involved in technics which were distasteful to them and which, if carried to a logical conclusion, could destroy both private medicine and their profession.

The Role of Politicians

Turning to the role of politicians in the fiasco, it simply followed the unchangeable pattern of political behavior; namely, that every contingency

is put to the accumulation of political power at the expense of social power. Whether the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis realized it or not, the Salk vaccine program was just such a contingency.

No legislation, no politician, made any improvement in the Salk vaccine, made it safe, or prevented or cured a single case of poliomyelitis. Yet politicians wound up with the Foundation's Salk vaccination program right in their own bailiwick. Out of the Foundation's misguided enthusiasm came Public Law 377, the "Poliomyelitis Vaccination Assistance Act of 1955." It does nothing to counter polio that couldn't and wouldn't have been done in the normal course of events by existing mechanisms, but it does provide for expenditure of \$30,000,000 by an administrative bureaucracy.

Of the \$30,000,000 appropriated, \$5,000,000 may be used for planning, administering and conducting vaccination programs. What private business would long permit itself the luxury of a 16 per cent administrative overhead?

To stimulate prompt "compliance" by the states with the federal program, appropriated funds will be made available only until February 16, 1956. To qualify for its share a state must fulfill the following conditions:

1. It must have an approved plan; that is, one acceptable to federal bureaucrats.

2. The vaccine must be used only for eligible groups; priorities are established by the U.S. Public Health Service Surgeon General (on the advice of a politically-named National Advisory Committee, which can be ignored).

3. No means test may be applied in polio vaccination programs conducted by public agencies; any ability or desire to pay must be disregarded.

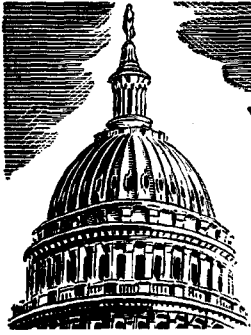
4. Only one state agency may administer the program; all necessary reports, accounting and so forth must be maintained; and vaccine must be made available throughout the state.

Some people, particularly physicians, sincerely hold that socialized medicine in America is as dead as the dodo. Under that label it is. But a number of Public Laws 377, no matter what they are called, constitute socialized medicine. A collectivity of such laws will turn the run-of-the-mill physician into a precinct committeeman, while the man of integrity will give up medicine for some decent occupation—like driving a truck.

Fitness Not Required

Democratic government grew out of the basic assumption that sociology is not a science, and that a cobbler is as competent to make laws as is a college professor or a business man. "Any cook can learn to run the government," was Lenin's slogan. Running the government is the only public activity for which we require no assurance of fitness.

Washington News Bulletin, March 15, 1955, No. 52



WASHINGTON, D.C.

by Frank C. Hanighen

The "interregnum," as it is being called, has made Washington a city of confusion these fall days. The President's illness has brought about a situation of great political uncertainty and transition, but it has also created a vacuum in the nation's capital. With the President away and some of his aides out of town visiting him, with the Congress adjourned and its members scattered among the constituencies (or on junkets around the world)—there remains little public activity in the center of federal government. Hence, those staying there direct their gaze outward, scrutinize developments in the several states and seek to measure events with the slide rule of Washington judgment.

One major field which interests those on Capitol Hill and Constitution Avenue is the developing labor conflict. That struggle largely centers on one highly important issue. This correspondent, writing in the *FREEMAN* (February 1955), described the "right to work" laws, passed in seventeen states, which ban the "union shop" or clauses in labor contracts that force workers to join unions, and reported that the Capital anticipated a prolonged national conflict over them. Such a forecast has not gone far astray.

In terms of legislation, the country-wide battle between employers and unions on this issue has resulted in little change. One more state passed a "right to work" law, but meanwhile labor union lobbying has prevented passage of such laws in other states. Generally, the result has been a stand-off in the cockpits of the state capitals.

In terms of events on the firing line, however, two significant engagements have resulted in real decisions—although how final the outcome may be remains to be seen. First, Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers Union in the past year has mounted a severe and bloody offensive against the Kohler Company, Wisconsin plumbing goods concern. Violent picketing and sanguinary mob action by imported goons failed to shake the management or the anti-union sentiments of a large number of employees in their resistance to the union demand for a "union shop." In one phase of this struggle, the union by well-organized violence stopped the unloading of two shiploads of pottery clay, destined for Kohler, at a nearby lake port. The union succeeded in this by intimidating local authorities.

However, this picture of insolent goons and quavering municipal officials caused such an adverse reaction in Wisconsin that a reluctant, "liberal" governor felt it necessary to threaten to use the militia to protect subsequent shipments to Kohler. The union leaders, apparently realizing that they had gone too far, did not challenge the state's authority and late in October two clay shipments arrived at the plant without serious trouble.

Reuther also sought to force compulsory unionism on a plant in Newcastle, Indiana—the Perfect Circle Corporation, manufacturers of piston rings—in a dramatic battle which came to a climax early in October. The same pattern of violence, obviously well organized by the United Auto Workers Union, culminated in an exchange of gunfire between workers in the plant and goons outside. Again the labor attackers had to retreat when state authorities took effective action by militia to protect the right of workers to enter the plant. In this case, it was significant that the Perfect Circle Corporation, which has four other plants in Indiana, peacefully concluded one labor contract with another CIO union, the United Steel Workers, and that the contract contained no union shop provision—the "sticking point" in the affray between Reuther's union and the other Perfect Circle plants.

In short, Reuther's strategy had been to throw in the shock troops in certain theaters of this war against employers to win the essential bastions of "union shop." Organized union leadership on a national scale, as Washington observers see it, has reached a point where it cannot win or retain union membership by real response from the rank and file of workers, and consequently resistance to the "labor bosses" has so increased that the union strategists are literally "up against it."

Now, local resistance to goon rule may—as in Wisconsin and Indiana—check campaigns directed by union headquarters. But, Washington wonders, will Reuther (and other labor chieftains as well) next seek to solve this problem by arrangements with big business? Union deals on a national scale with gigantic corporations have in the past forced smaller concerns to make concessions to labor unions which they would not otherwise have made. Officers of such mammoth companies, harassed

and squeezed by cost problems and sharp sales competition, have been known to yield, against their better judgment, to clever contracts offered by labor bosses to "take them off the hook" of their business dilemma.

But in the nation's capital, experts are interested in assessing the role of the third factor in the trio of Business, Labor and Government. The record of the Eisenhower Administration since 1953 is suggestive. In that initial year of its regime, the Administration—in the view of conservatives—stepped off on the wrong foot by seeking to appease unappeasable organized labor. Overruling the shrewd advice of Senator Taft, the White House named Martin Durkin, AFL chieftan, as Secretary of Labor. Durkin was a faithful Democrat and voted for Stevenson in 1952. Taft had suggested giving the post to Dean Clarence Manion, a conservative Democrat who bolted his party in that year and led a "Democrats for Ike" movement. But the White House overruled the idea of the Senator from Ohio. As the months rolled by, Durkin proved "unappeasable" and resigned. The Administration then compounded their mistakes by naming James P. Mitchell, a "liberal" Republican from New Jersey, to succeed Durkin.

In the past year, the Capital has noted that Mitchell 1) came out in strong disapproval of the "right to work" laws enacted in eighteen states, and 2) chose a crucial moment during the tense Perfect Circle Corporation strike in Indiana to criticize that company's attitude toward organized labor. Mitchell also has blocked the naming of a conservative as the fifth member of the National Labor Relations Board, the key tribunal for deciding disputes under the labor laws. The Board today is composed of two "liberal" Democratic members (holdovers from previous regimes) and two conservative Republicans. Mitchell wants a "liberal," while Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks has been backing a conservative candidate for the fifth place. Thus, there exists an impasse on the board.

What will the interregnum government do about all this? For the White House undoubtedly could resolve this conflict on the NLRB by the proper appointment. And what will the interregnum leaders do about the whole attitude of the Republican Administration toward organized labor as a political force in the next twelve months? Before Ike's illness, the antipathy of the labor bosses toward the Republicans had been so firm and outspoken that the Administration mood reportedly was: "We can't win over the labor leadership—therefore let's ignore it." Whatever merit this course may have, it may not be able to survive the forensics of the election year. It is impossible to forecast just what shape a collision between the federal government and the labor bosses may take in the coming

months. But, at present, one overriding issue faces the country—compulsory unionism.

The interregnum leaders apparently have no constructive ideas as to a policy toward organized labor. But the National Right to Work Committee, under the chairmanship of former Representative Fred Hartley, Jr. (co-author with the late Senator Taft of the famous labor law), has been pursuing one line of policy, among others, which may possibly arouse the interest and support of thoughtful people of all classes.

Hartley says: "By federal law, labor's right to persuade the workers to join unions is protected. An employer may not require a worker to stay out of a union as a condition of employment. Why should he be made to join a union in order to earn his living? What basic organizing right of labor is violated if a man is free to join a union or not to join a union, as his conscience and his situation dictate?" In short, Hartley invokes the right not to join a union as a basic, civil right which deserves as much recognition as any other civil right.

Hartley's utterance came as a challenge to the American Civil Liberties Union, which has much to say in defense of "civil rights." Hartley objected to a statement of the ACLU (see the *New York Times*, February 21, 1955) in which that organization expressed the fear that state right-to-work laws (banning compulsory unionism) might be used to block labor's basic organization rights. The group is quoted as saying in effect that no civil liberties are involved in forcing a man to join a labor union in order to hold a job. Hartley retorts: "Your attitude makes a mockery of your professed principles. A labor organization is a private organization. You are contending that forcing a man to join a private organization in order to make a living does not violate his civil liberties. Would forcing him to join a church, farm organization or civic group violate his civil rights? These too are private organizations."

Mr. Hartley proceeded with his civil liberties campaign for "the right to work" by addressing Mr. Robert M. Hutchins, head of the Fund for the Republic, to inquire whether that organization, in its civil liberties investigation, would look into the matter of compulsory union membership. "The daily papers," wrote Hartley, "are full of examples in which these basic rights of American citizens are being ignored, by both management and labor leaders." Hutchins replied that he did not know whether the Fund work would include such a study or not. But whatever those "liberal" groups may do or say, Mr. Hartley has clearly defined the most burning question involving labor unions in broad terms which enlist the keen interest of any citizen. And his clarification offers an administration with no "labor policy" a political course which includes but also transcends the too-narrow category of "labor."

The Economic Comeback of Germany

By HANS F. SENNHOLZ

An analysis of Germany's return to a market economy, the factors behind it, and the present struggle between libertarian and socialist forces.

Among other things, the appearance of the German *Volkswagen* on American highways has stirred the imagination of the friends of free enterprise. Here, apparently, is another visual proof of the superiority of capitalism over socialism, another demonstration of West Germany's abandonment of economic controls, another evidence that Germans have embraced the philosophy of the free market. Hence, it may come as a shock to libertarians to learn that the "miracle" of Germany's revival was not the result of a conscious rejection of socialism, but was rather an accident of political and social conditions. There is evidence, too, that the current market economy of Germany is in grave danger of being destroyed by the very people who built it up.

In 1947, when millions of Germans were starving and living in incredible poverty, and when the full threat of the Morgenthau Plan was upon it, there certainly was no general demand for the free market. Rather, the popular majority was for what its principal advocate, a socialist party leader by the name of Dr. Agartz, called the "new kind of socialism." This called for the ownership and operation of the tools of production by workers under the supervision of government. It amounted to politically-controlled producers' cooperatives.

But, economic control is not possible without political power, and the "new kind of socialism" had to be deferred. Throughout the postwar period the German political parties concentrated on attacking the occupation powers for the severity of their controls. To libertarians in this country the German call for freedom sounded like a demand for a free market. This was not so. What most Germans meant by freedom was liberation from foreign occupation and, above all, freedom to impose their own controls.

Three Factors

How, then, did Germany happen to stumble on the market economy? The answer lies in the political and economic situation of Germany after the war. Three factors, none of which is ideological, contributed to the establishment of a sort of market system.

The first was the fact that Germany had reached the end of the socialist road. The socialist system of distribution had completely collapsed and production was almost at a standstill. There was nothing left to distribute, nothing to be rationed. The hundreds of thousands of officials who enforced the mass of economic laws—all enacted by the former Reichstag—were perplexed and helpless. Millions, of whom I was one, depended upon and actually lived by the "black market."

More and more people became convinced that socialism had to be retracted a step in order to increase production; the wicked capitalist incentives of profit and ownership had to be temporarily reinstated. Just as Lenin's New Economic Policy had given Russia a breathing spell for about seven years, so Germany was to have a rest period on her way to the "higher social order."

The second factor that led to the emergence of a market economy was the presence of a few very astute politicians who molded a new political party—the Christian Democratic Union. Under the brilliant leadership of Dr. Konrad Adenauer they created a political counterweight to the socialist organization, the Social Democratic Party, which openly advocated Marxian doctrines. Drawing heavily on the support of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, they united the opponents of Marxian socialism in a new organization. They shrewdly opposed the socialists on every major issue. For instance, they favored decentralization, orientation to the West and, above all, a "social market economy."

This planned opposition to an old Marxian party paid off in victory at the polls. But having opposed socialist economic planning for diplomatic reasons they saw no way but partly to realize the campaign promises when they formed the government. Thus the collapse of the socialist economy and the political maneuvers of a new party fighting for power contributed to the emergence of the market economy.

But the most important causative factor was still another. The German clamor for freedom was solely directed at the occupation powers. German freedom meant freedom from foreigners. To oppose the Allied occupation policies and to criticize Allied

actions was a matter of national pride. But what brand of economic policies did the American, British and French military governments actually conduct? In the first place they continued to enforce the existing German legislation and economic controls. To these they added their own socialistic supplements or interpretations. For a German politician to oppose the American administration, therefore, meant opposition to American Fair-Dealism in Germany. To oppose British policies meant opposition to British socialism. For the German opposition there was no choice but to fight socialism and Fair-Dealism. And so they bickered and struggled, the Allies for continued economic controls, the Germans for their abolition.

In enumerating the reasons for the existence of a market economy in Germany we must pay homage to a small group of scholars who raised their voices for freedom and free enterprise. Professor Walter Eucken in Freiburg and three scholars in Geneva, Mainz and Cologne wrote and spoke on the desirability of individual liberty and capitalism. But their voices were almost drowned out by the thunder of nationalist and socialist slogans. Only when the market economy was established because of the reasons just described, and when economic freedom was beginning to shower its rich benefits on everybody, did recognition come to them. Professor Wilhelm Röpke of Geneva became the intellectual spokesman of the new era. It was mainly through him that the German public became aware of the fundamental changes of policy. His interpretation of the economic comeback as the inevitable outcome of capitalist policies found increasing acceptance. Today there exists a German school of political and economic thought for freedom and free enterprise which has its roots in the writings of Professors Röpke, Eucken and others.

Results—without Planning

When the German market economy showed its first miraculous effects nobody could have been more surprised than the Germans themselves. What a short time ago was merely a dream for the remote future or a difficult project for a five- or ten-year plan, was now realized overnight without any government planning at all. Of course, the socialist politicians immediately began to reinterpret the economic facts. They hailed as the true reason for recovery the monetary reform which confiscated 95 per cent of every citizen's cash holdings and bank deposits, or the genius of German labor and intellect or many other irrelevant factors. But they never laid it to capitalism.

The lack of an ideological foundation of capitalism in Germany can clearly be recognized in the procedure by which the economy was finally freed from many of its socialist shackles. If a libertarian were to face a similar situation he would take great pains to see that the production and distribution of

vital necessities were freed from controls first. In Germany, however, the economic liberation proceeded backwards. Unessential commodities and services were released first, such as paintings, stamp collections and ash trays. Then followed other unessential goods that had vanished from the market. The consequence of this procedure was the immediate reappearance of nonessential commodities, while all necessities continued to be very scarce.

The Paradox

In the following stage of economic decontrol more and more goods were freed in sequence of their unimportance. But this process was halted long before the most essential things were reached. Today the German government still regulates rents, basic raw materials, the distribution of foreign exchange and many agricultural products. Needless to say, the products still under government control are scarce. Because of social considerations, for instance, the German government continued to control rents and the allocation of housing while it released stores and other business space on the grounds that businessmen need no protection. The libertarian can easily guess what happened. Stores were rebuilt at a rapid rate while houses remained in rubble. Thus, because the government aimed to "protect" the worker from exploitation, many still dwell in basements. A typical example of the government welfare paradox!

I do not want to belittle the economic achievements of the German market economy. No matter how they stumbled upon capitalism, its fruits are real. But the German economic comeback in spite of the remaining shackles gives us reason to contemplate on what the recovery would have been if the policies had been libertarian throughout. It is my belief that a libertarian Germany would be well on her way now to becoming the most prosperous nation in the world, next to America. And even in this comparison a libertarian Germany in the long run would fare well against a Fair-Deal United States.

It is customary to compare the economic prosperity of Germany with that of her European neighbors. Our yardstick of comparison is the socialist postwar economy of Great Britain, or the present economy of France where 40 per cent of the means of production is nationalized outright, and another 30 per cent indirectly through the nationalization of the large banks which were the majority stockholders of French industry. Certainly the German market economy with all its mutilations outpaces its socialist neighbors; but, what could it be if utterly freed?

Every seventh German is employed by the government or one of its numerous agencies and subsidiaries. That is to say, the economic welfare of every seventh citizen depends on higher taxation

and an ever-increasing sphere of government power. In recent weeks the union of public servants demanded a 20 per cent increase of salaries, on top of several such increases within the past few years. The new costs to the taxpayer will amount to several billion marks. More than 30 per cent of private consumption is now financed out of means that have gone through public treasuries either in the form of taxes or other levies.

The Erhard Policy

Secretary of Economy, Ludwig Erhard, the world famous inventor of "Professor Erhard's social market economy," is about to introduce a new economic bill of his liking, one that would give him power to regulate prices wherever he deems them "unreasonable." The bill is to replace a similar provision in the German Police Order which the Bundestag recently revoked against the ardent opposition of Professor Erhard. This brilliant politician, who certainly is no champion of capitalism, stubbornly clings to foreign exchange control, the most formidable means of government control over the economy. In a country like Germany, in which a large part of raw materials is imported, every such import and the allocation of the necessary means of exchange must still be authorized by a government office. And the penal code of West Germany still contains severe penalties for unauthorized trade and foreign exchange dealings.

It appears logical to Professor Erhard to threaten businessmen with severe penalties for "unjustified" price increases and simultaneously to raise the price of agricultural products by way of government restrictions on imports. In cooperation with the powerful farm pressure group he raised the prices of butter by 7 to 10 per cent and is about to raise milk prices by 10 to 20 per cent. Sugar prices have been increased until they now exceed world market prices by 40 per cent. Although 380,000 tons of surplus sugar are now stored away, the federal government, according to the International Sugar Agreement, must import 140,000 tons from Cuba and 60,000 tons from Poland. Egg prices in Germany are 20 to 25 per cent higher than in neighboring countries; those of rye and rye bread, a mere

80 per cent. To raise the prices of provender for cattle and thus benefit the grain farmer, importation has been severely curtailed. All this for the benefit of the "Bauer." The economic mistakes that led to the rise of Hitler during the late twenties and early thirties are being repeated.

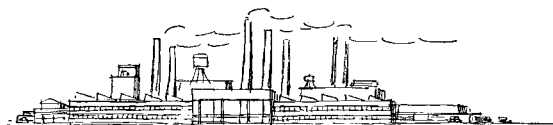
It is significant that this kind of policy is ardently defended by the Institute for Trade Cycle Research at the Berlin University, which has been rebuilt largely with American funds. According to this institute, "it has been established empirically that exports further the national economic growth, but imports impede and curtail it severely." Any criticism of this incredible confusion of mind by a few libertarian voices is labeled and disposed of as "ultraliberal."

Strength of the Unions

Last but not least, we must mention the vast labor union as a powerful task force of socialism. Out of a total of about 18,000,000 workers and employees, more than 12,000,000 are organized in the Labor Union Federation, which holds a monopolistic position on the labor market. On all political issues it closely cooperates with the socialist party. When the government raised the ceiling prices of some rents, dozens of strikes were called and hundreds of rallies and protest demonstrations were organized. Many German factories were idle during this past summer. Now the union demands a 12 per cent across-the-board increase of wages and many other benefits. Furthermore, it is clamoring for an expansion of the system of "industrial codetermination." In West Germany labor union representatives sit on the boards of directors and participate in the management of industrial concerns; not because of property rights but because of recent "progressive" legislation.

Will the partially free market economy of Germany be allowed to expand? Will the handful of libertarian scholars and writers succeed in building a sounder ideological foundation for individual liberty and a free economy? The struggle between the forces of liberty and those of socialism continues. Right now, the libertarian forces seem to be in full retreat, and West Germany is advancing to familiar ground—to socialism.

NOTE: A special emphasis has been given in the book review section (see page 796) to recent publications on Germany.



Watch Strasbourg!

A scheme is being fostered in this great historical city that threatens man's "inalienable rights" on both sides of the Atlantic.

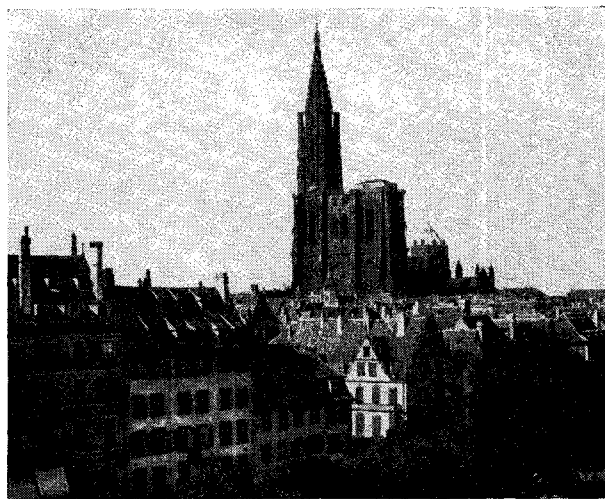
By MONTGOMERY BELGION

London
Americans will do well to keep an eye on what goes on at Strasbourg. For Strasbourg is not only a great historical center, the capital of the ancient province of Alsace and rich in its past; it is also a city connected with the future. It is the place where ministers and parliamentarians from various European states come to play the game known as Federation of Europe, or European Union.

And, farfetched as it may seem, it is at this game that Americans stand to lose what they choose to call their "inalienable rights." For these facilities and latitudes — these "rights" — have never been vouchsafed to the great majority of mankind, and they may quietly and surreptitiously be withdrawn even in the United States. They are, indeed, incompatible with supranational government, and when supranational government comes, they go. From the way things are moving at Strasbourg, that is where the first supranational government may be tried. It is then likely to spread.

Supranational government is advocated and commended to the support of popular opinion on the ground that it will prevent national states from quarreling and going to war. But that is a fanciful benefit. It is advocated and commended on the ground that it will make large-scale trade more simple. That, too, is a fanciful benefit. The actual benefit of supranational government will be for the few. It will bring them more power. For the many it will simply mean the loss of what small remnant of control they still possess over their own destinies. With supranational government the few gain, the many lose—like gambling.

If the United States comes under supranational government, Americans will no longer be governed and administered exclusively by Americans. The government will number some Americans perhaps, but it will certainly number more foreigners; and so with officials and administrators. The foreigners



Ewing Galloway

A corner of the old city

will not have been nurtured in the American tradition; they will not put American interests first. The American electorate will have little chance of throwing them out, for its vote will be lumped with the votes of other peoples. Every advocate of supranational government leads his audience to imagine that it will mean the governing of other countries by the government of his own. But it obviously cannot mean that. It will be governing by international government, and for such government real national interests will have to yield to phantom international interests. That is the prospect in a nutshell.

Why Strasbourg?

Once the nature of the prospect is grasped, any popular demand for supranational government anywhere becomes inconceivable. And of course in Europe, and particularly in England, there is no popular demand for it. In England we are ready to listen to boloney with the next man. We may even be inclined to talk plenty of it ourselves. As we sit or stand in the warmth of the pub of an evening, and have had one or two, we do not expect our words to be taken down and later brought up against us. But listening to boloney and talking boloney are very different from taking boloney seriously and acting upon it. We in England draw the line there. And so they do on the Continent. There is no demand for supranational government, no demand at all on this side of the Atlantic. How, then, does it come about that supranational government may first be tried in Europe—at Strasbourg? Let me explain.

In England, as no doubt elsewhere, three kinds of supranational government are being suggested, and the public, if only it were interested, could take its pick. There is single world government; there is the magnification of UNO; and there is

European Union or Atlantic Union. Both the world government suggestion and UNO have propagandist agencies at work here. But it is a safe bet that the existence of those agencies is not suspected by the famous man-in-the-street. Certainly, if you were to call a cab in London, and, without giving the street address, ask to be driven to the Crusade for World Government, the taxi driver would think you were crackers.

The Crusade for World Government

In this country the Crusade for World Government is in truth small beer. The London office consists of one room up three flights of stairs in a building without an elevator. The courteous secretary, if he is in, will gladly sell you a copy of its monthly periodical. It is a small double-sheet affair called *Voice*, and you don't find it on any English newsstand. From a sample issue, it might be largely devoted to chronicling the doings of advocates of world government in other countries, notably some native official on the Gold Coast and the editor of the *Saturday Review* in New York.

But for one thing, indeed, it would be difficult to decide whether the numerical strength of the English Crusaders for World Government puts them between the Flat Earthers and the Reincarnationists or between the Reincarnationists and the British Israelites (who believe that God's Chosen People are the English and that God's Own Country is by no means across the Atlantic). It would be difficult to decide, that is, that they were not among the cranks were it not for the Crusade's connection with a more imposing body—the World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government.

About one in every five members of the House of Commons belongs to this association, and there are well over a hundred of them. They include Mr. Walter Elliot, who has been a Conservative minister of state, and Mr. Clement Davies, leader of the Liberal Party. But there is nothing to suggest that any British MP's support of world government is due to pressure from his constituents. Here and there from time to time a meeting is held and an MP, or a candidate, holds forth on the alleged desirability of one government for the whole world. The attendance is unimpressive, but of course the speeches are reported in the local newspapers. The more spectacular gatherings organized by the World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government are reported in the *Manchester Guardian* and in less space by other national newspapers. But the world government idea gets no encouragement from the British press or from the British Broadcasting Corporation. The idea has no official blessing.

It is otherwise with UNO. Every year the Minister of Education in London issues a circular to both state and private schools inviting the head of each

to have staff and pupils celebrate United Nations Day. Other ministers take what opportunities offer for putting in a good word for UNO. Nevertheless, UNO is not greatly in the public eye. In the March issue of the *FREEMAN*, Cy Peterman set forth the various guises assumed in the United States by propaganda for the United Nations. He wrote that the American United Nations Association had made a visit to that remarkable building, United Nations headquarters in New York, one of the most popular of tourist attractions, "exceeding the Statue of Liberty, Empire State Building, Wall Street and Grant's tomb." We have nothing of this kind in England. The offices of the United Nations in London are for use, not for show. They are not open to sightseers; just one more office building.

The British UN Association

Moreover, the British United Nations Association is not very important. Like UNESCO, the association operates by means of its annual conference, and its offices, situated in Mayfair, are inconspicuous and equipped only to serve as a distribution center of literature. Last spring the association naturally wished to celebrate the tenth anniversary of UNO. It had no difficulty in getting the Lord Mayor of London to agree to preside at a banquet and to allow this to be held in the ancient Guildhall of the City, which, thanks to the recently completed repair of wartime bomb damage, again displays its architectural splendor. But it is significant that invitations to attend (on payment of four guineas a head!) were not confined to members of the association. On the contrary, they went out to a mailing list.

Unlike the Crusade for World Government, the British United Nations Association does not run to a monthly publication. The *United Nations News* appears quarterly. It looks cheaply produced. This is not surprising, for the total membership of the association is only 55,000. How little that means can be understood by taking some typical British provincial city. The Leeds sub-branch has 1,746 members, and the population of Leeds is 503,000. Thus in Leeds only one person in every 2,800 believes in the United Nations strongly enough to belong to the association.

Even among the association's 55,000 members few are active political propagandists. Most seem chiefly interested in an outlet for eleemosynary zeal. The Leeds branch sent a party of volunteers to help in repairing flood damage in Holland. The branch at Erith near London adopted the Greek village of Skatoli and raised about \$475 for the purchase of much needed blankets, tools and school materials, which it sent to the village.

It may be for the sake of such possibilities that most members belong to the British United Nations Association, although they may also be simple enough to imagine that the existence of UNO re-

duces the chances of war. They are the last to suspect that UNO may be swollen into a supranational government, with the Security Council acquiring the powers now vested in the rulers of each of the member-states. They are the last to suspect that already signature and ratification of the United Nations Charter may cause a sovereign national state to have to reverse its laws in some important respect like mixed marriages if the laws do not conform with the so-called UN Declaration of Human Rights. They are the last to suspect that if UNO is allowed to set up an international criminal court, the liberty of the individual will be nowhere worth a button. At all events, members of the association in this country express no demand for an increase in the powers of UNO, and still more clearly no demand is expressed by the public at large.

There is no disposition to let UNO encroach upon British sovereignty. For one thing, English constitutional lawyers have never admitted that treaties to which Britain is a party are thereupon part of the law of the land. Just the opposite: they continue to insist that if anything in a treaty is incompatible with the terms of some British statute, the treaty is unlucky. For another thing, in England, rich with an experience of the League of Nations (denied to Americans), we are not inclined to take UNO very seriously. Of course UNO is under official and government sponsorship, and no word is uttered in public against the organization itself. But excessive claims put forward on its behalf—as, for instance, at the time of the Korean armistice, that it had vindicated both collective security and the rule of law—are liable to be immediately ridiculed.

The Federation of Europe

There remains the plan for the Federation of Europe or for European Union. This scheme, unlike that for world government and unlike UNO, has no propagandist agency at work here, and yet, of the three proposals for supranational government being put forward, it is seemingly the one that makes the best progress in Europe. Of course nowhere in Europe is there a popular demand for

European Federation. To ordinary men and women here and on the Continent the scheme is as unreal as world government or a magnified UNO. And the danger is not, never has been, and never will be, that federation is decided upon in response to popular demand. The danger is that there will be federation in the complete absence of popular demand.

What turns this possibility of European Federation into the most immediate threat to the facilities and liberties enjoyed by ordinary citizens in liberal democratic countries is that it is the one scheme being fostered in Europe by ministers of state and the one scheme that is then taken up freely and spontaneously by the newspaper men and journalists. A propagandist agency is unnecessary: there are so many volunteers! With no professional prompter, an English editorial writer will declare out of the blue that nationalism has “no future in it.” Europe, he will say, was united in the Middle Ages. He omits to add that during the Middle Ages the continent enjoyed the Hundred Years’ War. He stresses the absence of passports, forgetting or unaware that until 1914 Europe had no passports and no European Union either.

Recent Developments

Meanwhile, over at Strasbourg, supranationalism builds up. It was in 1946 that the European Union of Federalists got into its stride. In May 1948 there was at The Hague a meeting called “the Congress of Europe,” and by the summer of 1950 the Council of Europe was occupying its modernist buildings at the gates of Strasbourg. It has consisted till now of a committee of ministers and a consultative assembly. Then, this summer, further developments appeared. The assembly of West European Union was formed. The faces were the same as in the Council of Europe, but the name and the object were new. Plans were made known to rope in countries that still remain aloof. The British Foreign Secretary suggested that the committee of ministers in the council should be “a real European Cabinet.”

Yes, on both sides of the Atlantic it will be well to watch Strasbourg.

What Is an Egghead?

The word “egghead” has been variously defined. A crossword puzzle comes up with this definition: “an impractical dreamer.” That, of course, would include the adolescent builder of Spanish castles. But, since the word is never applied to a teenager, we might say that an egghead is an adult who has never matured.

Reaching High School Debaters

By **BETTINA BIEN**

America's youth in search of high school debate material discover at FEE a mine of libertarian information not generally available elsewhere.

This is typical of the many letters received by the Foundation for Economic Education from high school students preparing for the national debate:

I am a student at St. John's Preparatory School, Brooklyn, N.Y., and I am also a member of the Speech Club. This year's debate topic is: Resolved, that the Federal Government Should Guarantee Higher Education to Qualified High School Graduates through Grants to Colleges and Universities. I am wondering if I can get some information on this topic, either for or against the resolution (preferably against).

The Foundation's interest in the national high school debate program, and mine, started about the same time. Shortly after I came to the Foundation in 1951, an inquiry came to my desk, written in a childish scroll, asking for help on a resolution:

RESOLVED: That all American citizens should be subject to conscription for essential service in time of war.

A few days later another letter was received from another part of the country asking exactly the same question, and this was followed by still another from yet a third section of the country. Obviously there must be a reason for these three identical inquiries. As the Foundation's published releases at that time included nothing directly pertinent to the subject, it was decided to assemble a few items and references to answer further inquiries. At the same time we set about trying to find their source.

The High School Debate Program

We soon learned they came from students taking part in a national high school debate program, which had been in operation for close to twenty years. Actually the idea of conducting debates on an organized basis had been suggested in the early 1900's. At that time the state universities were trying to broaden their cultural and intellectual influence beyond the campus by building up extension services: correspondence courses, information bulletins and package libraries.

With the coming of World War One, state universities turned to "the task of mobilizing public opinion in support of Government."¹ The state university extension services had established in 1915 a national organization, the National University Extension Association (NUEA). This organization,

believing the university extension services to be especially well fitted for the task of distributing information about government activities, asked President Wilson for financial assistance. As a result, a small fund of federal money (\$50,000) for university extension work, was set aside to be administered by the Bureau of Education in the Department of the Interior. With this appropriation, the Federal Division of Educational Extension was set up to operate within the Bureau.

University Extension Services

During the six months that the Federal Division of Educational Services was functioning, it furnished material to distribute among schools under their jurisdiction. Included were many federal government publications and much statistical data, as well as packaged libraries of material for "the promotion of open-minded, impartial study and discussion of such questions as government ownership and operation of the railroads, government control of prices . . ."² The university extension services found it was easy to promote debating work in high schools, for school officials were willing to cooperate with the universities "to widen the scope and improve the methods of current events study and debate on questions of public interest."³

Following the war, interest in debates lagged somewhat, but in the middle twenties the NUEA began to formalize high school debating. Gradually the idea spread. By 1933-1934, high school debating, with participants in thirty-one states, was close to national in scope. This is the origin of today's national high school debate program.

In the twenties the NUEA formed the Committee on Debate Materials and Interstate Cooperation to handle the program. Of course, no debate coach is under any obligation or compulsion to have his students debate the national topic, chosen through the facilities of the NUEA's committee. But many of them—and the number has probably grown each year—find it convenient to do so. Not only can their students then take part in local, state and regional contests, but also literature on the topic selected is fairly easy to locate.

Since the program became national the resolu-

tions presented to high school students to debate have dealt with such subjects as world government, the welfare state, American labor, youth suffrage, war and peace. Here are the actual wordings of a few resolutions:

RESOLVED: That the federal government should adopt the policy of equalizing opportunity throughout the nation by means of annual grants to the several states for public elementary and secondary education.

RESOLVED: That the several states should enact legislation providing for a system of complete medical service available to all citizens at public expense.

RESOLVED: That the power of the federal government should be increased.

RESOLVED: That every able-bodied male citizen in the United States should be required to have one year of full-time military training before attaining the present draft age.

The national debate program, as it is handled today by the NUEA, includes three resolutions, all falling under one general theme. Three general over-all topics, or "problem areas," are proposed by representatives of the national speech and debate societies for submission to referendum vote by participating high schools. Once the most popular theme is determined a Committee on Wording formulates three different resolutions.

The Current Topics

The "problem area" for the current year (1955-1956) concerns federal aid for college students, and the three resolutions read as follows:

RESOLVED: That governmental subsidies should be granted according to need to high school graduates who qualify for additional training.

RESOLVED: That the educational privileges granted to veterans of the Korean War be accorded to all qualified American youth.

RESOLVED: That the federal government should guarantee higher education to qualified high school graduates through grants to colleges and universities.

Because the program is national in scope, many organizations spend considerable time, money and effort to prepare and to furnish debaters with

literature on the topic selected. Each year the NUEA committee publishes a handbook of articles dealing with the debate subject. But, judging from correspondence which reaches my desk, high school debate coaches and student debaters find literature presenting the libertarian viewpoint pitifully scarce. For instance, a debate coach in Wisconsin, after becoming acquainted with the Foundation's debate material, wrote:

Today a great deal of material is presented by organized labor and left-wing pressure groups. It is very worthwhile to receive material showing the other side of the coin.

And from South Dakota:

. . . your items of a controversial nature, the unpopular opinion, the discussions of subjects not generally found in periodical literature are welcome.

The first school year that the Foundation assembled material dealing specifically with the national debate subject (1951-1952), there were about 125 inquiries—all completely spontaneous, for no effort had been made to reach high school debaters. Before the start of another school year, NUEA officials had granted us permission to use their distribution channels to announce our material to high school debate coaches throughout the country. That year requests were received from 709 different schools. Since then, the number of inquiries has topped the thousand mark each year. As of this writing (November 1) we have mailed debate packets on this year's topic to 799 different secondary schools, public and private. Smaller "student" packets have also been mailed to hundreds of boys and girls.

The demand which led the Foundation to take part in the national debate program has grown as more and more persons look to the Foundation for information on one side of the debate resolution. As a result of the Foundation's participation in this program, many students and teachers have been introduced to libertarian ideas they would not have encountered otherwise, or could have found only with great difficulty.

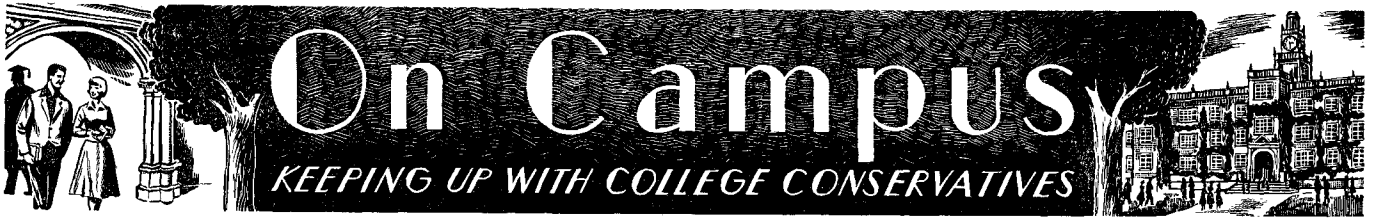
1 W.S. Bittner, *The University Extension Movement*, U.S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Education Bulletin, #84, 1919, p. 27.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 28.

3 W.S. Bittner, *Public Discussion and Information Service of University Extension*, U.S. Dept. of Interior, Bureau of Education Bulletin, #61, 1920, p. 42.

Readers of the FREEMAN may have debate packets on this year's high school topic sent to any debate coach or student debater they choose to name. So long as the supply lasts, teacher packets (one free to a school, additional packets \$1.75 each) or the smaller student packets will be sent to addressees of your selection. Write to:

Foundation for Economic Education, Inc.
Irvington-on-Hudson, New York



"On Campus" is a new department by and for college students. It was started in recognition of the uprising which, in various guises, is taking place on American campuses. Protesting vigorously against the still-fashionable orthodoxy of collectivism, today's rebels style themselves in many ways—as conservatives, libertarians, individualists. All of these labels signify one important thing—a common feeling of frustration at the ethical and intellectual impotence of the liberal conformism. Contributions are invited to this department.

WISCONSIN (Madison, Wisc.):—When I was discharged from the United States Air Force and returned to Wisconsin, I found it hard to put into words just how shocked I was at what was being taught at this university. The ideals that built the United States are laid open to laughter and ridicule, and are replaced with grand ideas involving world government and strong hints of socialism. The young boys and girls on this campus are going through the greatest indoctrination the world has ever seen, without ever realizing where their new ideas have come from.

THOMAS R. NESBITT

HARVARD (Cambridge, Mass.):—It is my distinct impression, judging from the response we have received from the students and members of the faculty, that conservatism and its libertarian spirit are on rise at Harvard. This is not to say, of course, that Harvard has suddenly turned conservative, but there is now a more even balance between conservative and liberal expression here.

The Harvard New Conservative

Club is dedicated to the purposes of acquiring and disseminating information on conservatism, helping to stimulate thought on conservative-liberal issues, and presenting the conservative point of view to the Harvard community. In addition to the monthly bulletin, composed of articles by club members and contributions from prominent conservatives, we have just opened a conservative library at our office.

WILLIAM C. BRADY

FLORIDA (Gainesville, Fla.):—I am a sophomore here at the University of Florida and I find that one of my instructors has a very strong socialist bias, which colors most of the work of the class. I naturally resent this, particularly since it is so effective on some of my more gullible classmates. But I find myself many times speechless for want of adequate defensive material. Would you be so kind as to put me on the ISI mailing list so that I may be better prepared to combat the propaganda with which we are deluged.

SHIRLEY ANNE OGRAM

CLAREMONT COLLEGE (Claremont, Calif.):—I believe that Claremont is better off than the large state institutions of lecture regurgitation; our classes are small, often numbering less than thirty students. Through the work of Professor Arthur Kemp, Professor of Economics, we are starting an ISI chapter here. There are enough of us here who realize the necessity of such an organization, which I hope is the means of saving our free enterprise system, and the answer to the seemingly inevitable progression of the United States toward socialism.

THEODORE S. BURNETT, JR.

IOWA STATE (Ames, Iowa):—A little less than a month ago, I entered an order for a year's subscription to the FREEMAN magazine. My only regret is that I did not subscribe any sooner. I was particularly interested in the article, "Revolt of the Classes," describing the activities of the ISI. I am in my junior year here, and having completed the required courses in economics, I agree 100 per cent that the collectivist doctrine is being "spoon-fed."

WILLIAM J. ACKERMAN

BROOKLYN COLLEGE (Brooklyn, N.Y.):—Thank you for the material which you have sent me in the past. I'm especially grateful to ISI because I would not be able to buy very much of it even if I had been able to find out about its existence. I have found that there are many students at Brooklyn College who are disturbed by the "collectivist" attitude around the campus. If you would send me some "mailing request cards," I'll distribute them around to interest fellow-students.

JAMES MCGRATH

COLLEGE DEBATE

RESOLVED: That the non-agricultural industries of the United States should guarantee their employees an annual wage.

This is the resolution chosen by intercollegiate forensic (debate) and speech societies for nationwide debate competition during the current school year.

For teacher packets (one free to a college, additional packets \$1.50 each) and smaller student packets write to:

Foundation for Economic Education, Inc.
Irvington-on-Hudson, New York

Sowing the Seed of Revolution

By ANTHONY TRAWICK BOUSCAREN

Concerning the operations of a tremendously effective anti-Soviet underground group and its world-wide campaign for liberation.

Early in 1954 the Soviet MVD (secret police) sent an agent named Nikolai Khokhlov into Western Germany to murder Georgi Okolovich, head of a leading anti-Soviet underground group known as the National Alliance of Russian Solidarists (NTS). But Khokhlov had had enough of tyranny; he gave himself up to Western intelligence officials.

Subsequently, the MVD succeeded in kidnaping Dr. Alexander Trushnovich, prominent NTS leader and head of the Russian Rescue Committee. This happened in West Berlin, under the noses of Western occupation officials. On April 16, 1954, the Soviet radio broadcast news of the "voluntary visit" of Dr. Trushnovich to the "worker's paradise." Since the Soviets failed to broadcast the NTS leader's voice for propaganda purposes, his associates surmise that he withstood the "brain-washing," or was murdered by the Communists.

Systematic kidnappings and murders of NTS leaders by the Soviet government suggest that NTS claims of underground effectiveness hit pretty close to the mark. Khokhlov, the former MVD agent, described Okolovich of the NTS as "the soul of all secret intelligence work directed against the Soviet Union." He told the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (May 21, 1954) that the NTS was "a most fearful thing to the Soviet rulers because it is a movement of the Russian people." He also said that MVD files showed NTS to be a very strong organization in carrying out its fight against the Soviet government."

Together with several other underground organizations, as well as the mysterious Gehlen anti-Soviet intelligence group in Germany, the NTS is the object of some controversy in Western circles. Yet the available evidence points to it as perhaps the most effective of the anticommunist groups, that it actually penetrates the Soviet slave empire and counts adherents within that empire. Recently the Moscow communist organ, *Pravda*, related two instances which typify the activity of the NTS within the communist realm. In Krasnoyarsk a pretty secretary absconded with secret files from the office of the ministry of justice. Shortly thereafter a secretary in the Irkutsk district presented certificates forged in the name of the Krasnoyarsk office to the Irkutsk police. Through this ruse the same pretty NTS underground agent (with her hair dyed a different color) obtained releases for two important anti-Communists held in an Irkutsk prison.

The NTS is a world-wide organization of Russians whose objective is the overthrow of the Soviet regime. It has helped cause defections from the Soviet regime: Rastvorov in Japan, the Petrovs in Australia, and Khokhlov in West Germany—important cogs in the Soviet machine. NTS balloons carry messages of hope behind the Iron Curtain; fences near Soviet embassies and freight trains bound for the communist world blazen the NTS slogan: "Death to the tyrants. Freedom for the workers."

Campaign for Liberation

The work of this organization operating outside the USSR is devoted to winning friends for the people of Russia in their campaign for ultimate liberation; within the Soviet realm active assistance is given to antiregime elements. NTS claims a share of credit for the East German revolt of June 17, 1953. Widespread rumors of revolts in the slave labor camps at Vorkuta, Karaganda, Norilsk, and Komsomolsk have recently been corroborated by former inmates of these camps, most importantly by John H. Noble of Detroit, who was a slave laborer in the Soviet Union for ten years. Some of these revolts are credited to the NTS.

One evening last June an NTS secret agent in Germany's Russian zone, together with several Russian officers, was listening to Radio Moscow news. When the regular announcer signed off, a mysterious voice came over the air waves: "This is the underground radio station, Free Russia. National Alliance of Russian Solidarists speaking. Death to the tyrants. Freedom to the people." That was the NTS Radio Free Russia butting in. Escapees from eastern Europe assert that RFR hits the communist regimes more effectively than do Voice of America, the BBC, or Radio Free Europe. Its two mobile radio transmitters beam round-the-clock broadcasts at Soviet occupation troops in East Germany. It specializes in interrupting communist programs. When its transmission is jammed by Soviet monitors, RFR moves to a neighboring wave length, asking listeners to tune in on the new frequency. It also butts in on conversations between Soviet flyers over East Germany who, if alone, feel free to listen to these broadcasts.

In addition to its radio broadcasts, NTS distributes quantities of revolutionary literature inside

the communist realm. The organization claims that in 1953 it distributed 500,000 newspapers, 17,500,000 leaflets and pamphlets, and 6,500 books behind the Iron Curtain. Many of these materials are dropped by balloons equipped with timing and release devices, blanketing east European communist rallies, barracks, and airfields. NTS employs giant balloons carrying forty-four pounds of anti-communist propaganda and capable of reaching central USSR. That at least some of these materials reach their destination and are read is known from the reports of defectors. These messages, they assert, have encouraged the underground in Russia, as in the case of the pretty secretary who specialized in lifting secret Soviet documents and passing them on to the NTS.

Training Leaders

At the Institute of the Study of the USSR, an NTS school at Bad Homburg, in the former American zone of Germany, NTS personnel together with other anti-Soviet fugitives study Marxism, revolutionary tactics and propaganda. After "graduation" from this unusual school the men and women who may be among the leaders of tomorrow's Russia are assigned to active anti-Soviet roles all over the world by NTS headquarters in Frankfurt. A select few are chosen for "graduate work" leading to underground roles in the USSR itself.

Currently serving as leader of the NTS is Vladimir Poremsky, who helped direct NTS operations in portions of western Russia during World War Two. He succeeded Viktor Baydalakov, a former

white army officer who founded the NTS in the thirties. In the United States, NTS activities are directed by 40-year-old Vladimir Rudin. On December 28, 1954, his headquarters at 350 Liberty Street, Brooklyn, were destroyed by a mysterious fire. There are branch offices in Washington, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, as well as in most important world capitals.

Nikolai Khokhlov, the defected former MVD agent, was recently asked how strong the feeling for revolution was among the Russian people. He answered: "At the present time the liberation movement is quite weak, as an organization, because its center is still abroad, *and abroad in the West it is very difficult to work today*" (italics mine). Asked if the Soviet regime were vulnerable, he replied: "It only needs a strong push now to fall down. But don't have any illusions—only the people inside Russia can do it. You cannot do it."

NTS leaders consider it vital to distinguish between the people of the USSR and the hated ruling regime. They believe that Soviet and communist tyranny will end only if the West gives all-out moral, political and technical support to the NTS and similar organizations, in order to expand the desire for freedom behind the Iron Curtain. These leaders are particularly anxious that the West have plans ready for another East German uprising, which they freely predict will occur in the near future. Such a revolution, if successful, would lead to similar revolts in Poland, Hungary, and other key areas of the Soviet slave empire, according to the NTS, and ultimately in Russia itself. When this event takes place, the NTS claims its friends are ready to act.

Loaded Terms

Human Rights vs. Property Rights. The intent in this juxtaposition is to convey the idea of a conflict between two kinds of rights. The implication is that human rights are "good" and property rights are "bad." The fact is that without property rights there are no human rights. The slave had no property rights. Did he have any rights; did he have any rights that could be called human? If you are not permitted to own, you are not permitted to live, except by gratuities. If you are not permitted to keep and enjoy what you have produced, in what way are you any better than a beast of burden? Only humans have property. HERMAN KOLB, *Edmond, Okla.*

Public Education. Sometimes this is called "free" education. What it refers to is neither free nor public. It is an institution supported by compulsory taxes; attendance at its schools is also compulsory. The public has no choice but to support these schools (even if they do not use them) and to send their children to them if they are unable to buy the kind of education they deem better. The schools should properly be called "government schools" and what is taught in them should be described as "government education."

BERNICE D. HENDERSON, *Santa Ana, Calif.*

Suggestions for this column are invited. The FREEMAN will make a token payment of five dollars for each suggestion accepted for publication. The right to edit is reserved.



A Reviewer's Notebook

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

I carried *The Heresy of Democracy*, by Lord Percy of Newcastle (246 pp., Chicago: Regnery, \$4.00), around with me for several days, reading it on trains and in a Providence, R. I., hotel restaurant one evening. The experience was interesting and a little disconcerting, for every so often someone would look at the jacket and follow up the first glance with a quick double take. Finally one surreptitious watcher blurted out incredulously:

"You don't really believe that title, do you?"

So that was it—it was a "heresy" to be reading a book called *The Heresy of Democracy*.

Simply because he is tackling a modern article of faith head on, Lord Percy probably will get nowhere with his book. Yet its thesis should be well understood in the United States, for Lord Percy's wisdom was common knowledge to the architects of the American Constitution, particularly to the thinkers who insisted on adding to it the Bill of Rights. In his own difficult idiom, which makes use of many subtle and sometimes exceedingly tenuous distinctions drawn from a study of Christian church history, Lord Percy restates a theory propounded by Peter Drucker fifteen or more years ago. Drucker, it will be remembered, argued that the American Revolution was a conservative affair—a "counter-revolution," in fact, against the dangerous absolutism of the eighteenth century "benevolent" monarchs.

What the American Revolution succeeded in doing was to establish a real dualism in human affairs. Certain particular powers were permitted to government. But the individual had left to him a large area of life and discretion which government was not supposed to invade. Lord Percy would describe the old Amer-

ican government as a "moral" state charged with the duty of refraining to use its power to subvert the words of its charter.

The "democracy" established by the French, or Jacobin, Revolution was, on the other hand, a totalitarian affair. It is the French form of democracy, according to both Peter Drucker and Lord Percy, that is a "heretical" departure from Christian freedom. The weakness lies in Rousseau's concept of the "general will." Since a society, to quote Lord Percy, is "simply a number of human beings living in a certain degree of geographical contiguity," there are inevitably as many "wills" in it as there are citizens. The "general will" is a polite fiction; at best it is nothing other than the consent, whether voluntary or "engineered," of a majority of the voters.

Majority rule is certainly a useful device in many spheres of activity. But a majority can be cruel, it can be wrong, and it can be stupid. In making a mystical fetish of the "general will," the French Jacobins put society at the mercy of a majority that literally went mad. The American Revolution asserted the "natural and inalienable rights" of the citizen against the State. But Rousseau was not interested in a man's right to be a hermit, or an eccentric, or any other type of unsocial or asocial human being. What Rousseau wished to "engineer" (to use the loathsome modern phrase) was conformity to the proper "sentiments of sociability." These were to be made compulsory through some sort of mystic communion with the State. "Anything," said Rousseau, "that breaks social unity is worthless; all institutions which set a man in conflict with himself are worthless."

If anything points to the Nazi con-

cept of "*gleichschaltung*," this dictum of Rousseau would seem to do it. Lord Percy is assiduous in tracing the history of Rousseau's doctrine as it bubbled and percolated throughout the nineteenth century. Mazzini translated it to mean "one single God: one single master, the law of God; one single interpreter of the law, Humanity." There is nothing to quarrel with about the first part of Mazzini's version of Rousseau: the idea of one single God, and one single law in the natural sense, is necessary if one is to sustain belief in an orderly and predictable universe.

But in making an abstract "Humanity" the single "interpreter" of the law, Mazzini ran a terrible risk. The truth is that human beings are prone to error; they cannot be trusted to read God's mind, or to divine God's law. For all practicable purposes Mazzini's "collective life of Humanity" means the State. Once the State begins to apply the "single law of God" in political terms, it may find itself putting force behind the quite fallible opinions of 51 per cent of a vacillating mankind. The end result may be the guillotine, the concentration camp, or forced labor.

Lord Percy considers Rousseau, Marx, Fichte, Mazzini, Lenin, Mussolini and Hitler to be of the same foul brood. They all erred in making a religion of the State. But religion belongs elsewhere—as Lord Percy says, there must be a dualism in the life of ethics, with Church and State quite distinct from each other. The Church should try to make statesmen into good moral men. But it should convert them as individuals, not seek to participate directly in their exercise of power on a political level. The Christian "moral State" is a result of the disciplining of human beings *before* they assume political

power, not the application of power by a theocracy bent on ruling this world as it prepares people for the next.

As Lord Percy puts it, the trouble with democracy is that it runs to what he calls "totalism," which is the word he prefers to "totalitarianism." He himself believes in any type of representative government that allows a practical dualism to operate in human affairs. It doesn't necessarily matter how many people vote, or what the voting qualifications may be, just so long as local institutions flourish freely.

Says Lord Percy: "It is of the essence of representative government that the public opinion which it brings to bear on political problems should not originate in political study. It should originate in groups formed for other purposes and living a life controlled by their own moral standards. If those standards are narrower than the standards proper to statesmanship, if they are no better than a moralization of self-interest—of the self-interest of landowners, merchants or artisans, for instance—the State will suffer; but, even so, a commercial or trade union morality is, within its limits, a real corrective of political morality, and the resulting dualism is still substantially better than an uncorrected absolutism. If, on the other hand, the group standards are wider than those of politics, if they are standards of personal conduct (to put it in modern terms) which are as binding on an Englishman in an African village as on an American in his own home town, politics may come near to the ideal of the Moral State which the world has so long been seeking to realize."

The foregoing passage seems to be the nub of Lord Percy's thought. While Lord Percy's distinctions are clear enough for the most part when they are presented as obiter dicta, they tend to become obfuscated whenever Lord Percy goes delving into some twenty centuries of Christian church history. Lord Percy's knowledge of this history is apparently prodigious. But the author's scholarship is not fairly shared, for *The Heresy of Democracy* frequently

assumes that the reader is as conversant with the work of ecumenical councils, or with the persecutions of Decius and Valerian, or with the ideas of the "Augustinian Church," as Lord Percy is himself.

No doubt there will be some readers who will get plenty of nourishment out of Lord Percy's allusiveness and elliptical way of presenting his arguments. Church history, however, is hardly taught at all in the American universities; I myself took a history major at Yale without ever coming to grips with it. The job of "brokering" the full range of Lord Percy's thought, then, is something that will have to be assumed by someone who happens to know more than I do about such worthies, say, as Cyprian of Carthage or such documents as the *Ekthesis* of Heraclius, which is apparently not a misprint of Heraclitus.

The whole thing becomes inordinately confusing when Lord Percy takes time out to remark that "throughout the thirteen centuries of the Christian Moral State, the practice of government has always, for good or ill, marched ahead of its theory." If this is true, we could have stood a lot more in this book about the actual practice of government. Lord Percy does devote a chapter to this subject called "Christendom: the Practise of Government." But this chapter, too, is elliptical and allusive to a degree. It refers to the "medieval succession of Cluniac, Cistercian, Carthusian and Premonstratensian" with the sublime assurance that the reader will know a Cluniac monk from a Benedictine, let alone from a Premonstratensian. It tosses off references to the institutions of the free towns of the Hanseatic and Lombard Leagues. I happened to know something about the Hanseatic League, so I got that one. But if the reference had stood on the Lombard League alone I would have been left wandering alone in Left Field without knowing what the game was all about.

Despite its prickly quality, however, this is a notable book. It should help to bring Americans back to the idea that there are areas of human life

that should be kept rigidly apart from politics. Government, being the application of compulsion, must be limited to a minimal sphere if freedom is to be the distinguishing mark of society. This idea comes clear amid the whole confusing welter of Lord Percy's learned references.

Moreover, Lord Percy writes exceedingly well when he is not engaged in being elliptical. His remarks on the modern cultivation of the "social sciences" is a case in point. He warns us against the notion that "human society is either a self-evident entity like the human body, or has been ascertained to be an entity by investigations of its structure as thorough as those of astronomer and physicist."

The truth is that human beings are so infinitely various that they cannot be collectively treated as an "entity" for study. Says Lord Percy: "Every science which is concerned with the study of individual man is a social science, in the sense that man is a gregarious animal; but in any other sense there is only one social science. What the 'social' psychologist or biologist, or the professor of 'social' medicine, really means by his title is that, especially under modern conditions of life, there are certain aspects of his science which are of immediate concern to governments. In other words, the only social science is political science."

Political compulsion, Lord Percy goes on to say, is the "only social fact. All other social activities become social because they are already the activities of individuals, singly or by twos and threes. Law alone is a new creation in society; and the State, in which it is created, is the only society which is something more than the aggregate of the actions and interactions of its individual members."

I have long wondered why modern "sociology" has become such a degenerate study. Lord Percy's distinctions would seem to provide the key to an understanding of its desuetude. It has declined because it has tried to make an entity where none exists. Naturally, when one studies a non-existent phenomenon one is apt to come up with rather worthless conclusions.

Rout of the Pedagogues

The Restoration of Learning, by Arthur Bestor. 459 pp. New York: Alfred Knopf. \$6.00

The Restoration of Learning is no commando raid, but a major offensive against the entrenched pedagogues. Dr. Bestor, like a literary Montgomery at a new El Alamein, has already laid down his artillery barrages in his brilliant articles and in *Educational Wastelands*, pulverizing the pedagogues. Now he orders the tanks and infantry forward and the great attack is on.

What is it all about? For decades the professional educationalists — entrenched in Teachers Colleges and Departments of Education elsewhere — have arrogated to themselves the power and the glory (which belongs to God alone), till they have become the great Pooh-Bahs of Pedagogy. Genuine scholars, through apathy or complacency, failed to provide the checks and balances that might have kept an ambitious group from seizing the power that corrupts absolutely. So the pedagogues, uncriticized and self-conceited, fell into the evil pride that the Greeks called *hybris*, and set education under their feet. Dr. Bestor has the wit to see and the courage to say all this. Now he comes to bring not peace but a sword; he will not suffer Big Shots gladly; he cuts the Schoolmen down to size—but only that he may restore the noble reality of learning. In so doing, he does America and truth a major service.

Dr. Bestor says rightly that *all* genuine teachers (whether they teach history, literature, science, or philosophy) are professors of education. When barren specialists—at best only “experts” in the methodology of education, at worst mere ignoramuses of all but classroom theory—claim for themselves the sole title of “Professors of Education,” Dr. Bestor reminds them that they are only “Professors of Pedagogy.”

Dr. Bestor himself sees education as a search for quality through outward discipline and inward growth. To become educated one must master great material and integrate it

with life through interpretation. Intellectual rigor, mastery of great subjects, fundamental brain power like a central sun lighting its planets as they move in rhythm around it—such is education.

This, he rightly says, is *not* “anti-democratic.” Democracy thrives only as there is distinction, high seriousness, critical insight, knowledge mellowing into wisdom. Classic educators like Horace Mann knew this and said this. Parents, and the American people as a whole, seek this for their children: they don’t want the saccharine lollipop called “life adjustment”; the glorified bull sessions where adolescents discuss “world problems” before they have mastered spelling; the solemn farce that it is educative for Johnny to speculate on the technique of “dates” or how to win friends and influence people by parting his hair. Life-adjustment, like all surrenders to the “social,” is appeasement of mediocrity and retreat into spoon-feeding.

In “Part II: Aimlessness in Education,” Dr. Bestor attacks with a suave finesse: Pedagogy with Delusions of Grandeur; the Great Horde and the Great Retreat; the Menace of Excessive Contemporaneity (a masterly chapter!); Progressive Education versus Regressive Education; the Power Politics of Educationdom; Policy-Making by Intimidation; and Thwarting the Good Teacher. The case histories he cites, the evidence he presents, are overwhelming. The grim fact emerges that superior grades, true mastery of subjects, intellectual distinction, are today handicaps to professional success; whereas conformity to the barren boredom of assembly-line courses in “education” is the way to prestige and place. Thus the pedagogues stand education on its head!

Dr. Bestor is trenchant in his proposals for restoring learning. No negative critic (winning a battle but leaving a wasteland), he is a statesman of education. He would even preserve pedagogy—but *in its place*, as drill sergeant not general staff. He would have us realize that some subjects are slight and petty, others weighty and great; that casual skills can never bring causal

intelligence; that we don’t need “adjustment to life” on the drab level of mediocrity, but excellence that will transform raw lives into superiority.

About “freedom and responsibility” Dr. Bestor has some lapses. He is too much a scholar and gentleman to realize what contemporary collectivism has done. He speaks of the “totalitarian Right” as if it existed outside of Fascism (which is *collectivist*); of “burning books” as if the foolish phrase meant anything; of searching libraries for “an occasional [sic!] volume containing aberrant ideas”—whereas the real “search” is to find a single conservative book on the shelves. Yet his belief that mastery of great subjects, with intellectual discipline and spiritual integrity, is a bulwark never failing against subversion, is sound.

Let the heathen rage and the Ford Foundation imagine a vain thing! Here the bugles blow and the guns sound for the great advance upon the Forts of Folly. Perhaps, the day after tomorrow, the flags may fly once more over a free world even in education, and learning may be at long last restored.

E. MERRILL ROOT

The Primacy of Art

Creation and Discovery, by Eliseo Vivas. 306 pp. New York: The Noonday Press. \$5.00

Under any circumstances, this collection of essays on literary criticism and aesthetic theory would stand as a profound contribution to the understanding of man’s creation in language. But, given the dominant philosophical and methodological trends in twentieth-century thought, Professor Vivas has performed a very special service as well.

It is a consistent characteristic of this thought that, at every level, men busy themselves attempting to devalue their subject and divest it of meaning. Thus philosophy is emptied of its essence, of metaphysical and ontological inquiry, and re-

duced to a meticulous and arid logical and linguistic analysis.

Literary criticism and aesthetic theory are no exceptions to this general tendency. This is of considerable moment because, with the increasing aridity of academic philosophy, a great deal of the activity of minds that would at one time have been attracted to philosophy is today displayed in these fields. But—perhaps for the very reason that such minds are attracted—in these fields also some of the most profound re-evaluation of fundamental realities has taken place.

To state summarily what is argued exactly in his theoretical essays and exhibited in his critical essays, Professor Vivas asserts the reality and importance of art, the literary work, the poem, as a constitutive element in the real world. That thesis stands in radical opposition to the positivist reduction of the work of art to a complex of "signs," which refer in the end only to themselves or at best to a set of biological-physiological stimuli, so that the objectivity of the work of art and of the reality in which it participates and which it renders is lost. Basing his thought firmly upon a philosophy of reality and reason, Professor Vivas presents the work of art as an entity in its own right, deeply significant in the whole experience of man:

"Man, among the other things which make him unique, is a culture building animal. And he has never been known to create a culture which did not include a more or less well-defined hierarchy of values: dramatic conceptions about himself and about the nature on which he depends to survive. . . . These, the girders of culture, are seldom formulated by him in the abstract way in which theologians, philosophers and scientists discuss them. They are expressed in mythopoeic terms, essentially dramatic and anthropomorphic. . . . In the narrow sense of the word, literature does not give us knowledge, since it does not give us a picture of which we may demand correspondence with the actual world as we actually grasp it. It gives us an aesthetically ordered picture. . . . But if literature does not give us knowledge, it ought to be recognized that it is prior in the order

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of logic to all knowledge, since it is constitutive of culture, which is one of the conditions of knowledge."

Around this concept and in polemic with the theories of positivism and naturalism, with I. A. Richards, with John Dewey and others, a theory of aesthetics emerges which is given actuality and substance in the specific says. The discussions and Kafka are the most have read—and in recent years the discussions of these novelists have appeared *ad infinitum*. Also outstanding is the concluding piece in the book, "Allen Tate as Man of Letters." The critical essays, unhappily, are fewer than one would like. But though few, they are immensely rewarding—a fitting vindication in practice of the validity of Professor Vivas' aesthetic theory, as they are the fruit of a depth of feeling for the human condition and for the literature with which men strive to work out their destiny. FRANK S. MEYER

THE GERMAN CYCLE

- The four books reviewed below cover a span of ten years, from Germany's surrender in 1945 to her phenomenal economic recovery culminating in 1955.

The Questionnaire (Fragebogen), by Ernst von Salomon. 525 pp. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc. \$6.00

Reviewers don't like to have the vanquished talk back. When a writer on the losing side insists on calling attention to the follies, crimes and cruelties of the victors, which bear an uncomfortably close resemblance to those committed by the vanquished when they were the occupiers instead of the occupied, it is only natural that his book should be excoriated by the scribes and pharisees of the victorious nation. This explains the treatment which von Salomon's book has received at the hands of American reviewers, most of whom belong to the "liberal" school of thought which has never regarded communist crimes against humanity with the same aversion as those of the Nazis; and which also favored the "woe to the vanquished" doctrine embodied in the original directives given by Washington to the American occupation forces.

One suspects that von Salomon's unforgivable "sin" is his exposure of the terrible treatment in our prison camps, after the war, both of prisoners of war and of the huge number of civilians ("automatically" arrested on orders from Washington), who were starved and beaten and subjected to all manner of indignity, just like the inmates of Nazi concentration camps.

Most Americans are unaware of what happened to the Germans during the first years of the occupation, and it would be salutary if they should learn the truth. But this is intolerable to those among us who will never recognize the fact that uncontrolled state power corrupts, or brutalizes, all men of all nationalities, as happened in Germany after her unconditional surrender.

Von Salomon's American publishers have seen fit to provide an introduction in which, although the

author is described as an extremely gifted writer with a wonderful command of narrative, and his book proclaimed "a work of art," it is damned as the outpouring of a repentant nationalist. Rees, who wrote the introduction, further states that the *Fragebogen* is calculated to disillusion "those who believe that to be a German is not necessarily to be a barbarian"; and that it provides "alarming evidence of how deep-seated, perhaps ineradicable, certain tendencies are in the German character." Had Mr. Rees confined himself to the observation that the Germans are human beings like the rest of us he would have shown more wisdom and less prejudice. For it is an indisputable fact that man is a very *méchante animal* who defends himself when attacked. The huge sale of this book in Germany (where it was published before the radical change in American policy from vengeance to collaboration and alliance with the defeated) can be ascribed to the German people's satisfaction that one among them had dared to rise up like a man and express what others felt and thought, but dared not say.

Like it or not, patriotism is as natural and universal as sex. It is as unrealistic as it is unjust to demand that the Germans purge themselves of the normal attributes of mankind, or of the instinct for self-preservation, simply because they lost the war. Nor can von Salomon properly be described as an unrepentant nationalist, although he dares to be proud of the fact that he is a Prussian. In his youth he was involved in the murder of Rathenau, whom he and other German patriots mistakenly regarded as prepared to sell out Germany to the Bolsheviks. But he went to prison for his crime and he subsequently refused to join the Nazis although it would have profited him greatly to do so. Moreover, he lived with, loved and protected a Jewish woman

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who welcomed the Americans as liberators, only to be thrown into prison by us for her guilt by association with him.

The finest and most moving passages in this book are the accounts of the author's reactions to brutalities and indignities which they both suffered after being arrested by the Americans. While being beaten and kicked by American soldiers and reviled by an American officer literally "foaming at the mouth," he was unconscious of pain because of his "feeling of triumph" that "it was not I who was doing evil"—because of the "sensation almost of bliss that at last injustice was not on our side."

In some earlier chapters relating to the period of Hitler's ascendancy, von Salomon had written that "what's happening to the Jews will happen one day to us . . . and that it will be the same kind of people who will do it." And in his anguish of fear that his beloved Ille was also being beaten by the Americans he exclaims: "Why did I not attack them, indifferent as to what might happen to me? I had been able to protect Ille for ten years. Now I could protect her no longer. At this moment I was morally castrated. . . . I was a coward for reasons of common sense. It was the same appalling alternative of the last twelve years, to behave like a fool or like a coward. Nothing had changed. . . . Their victory was valueless as was our defeat."

This volume has a universal significance which transcends personal, racial, national or political prejudices. It enables us to understand the inescapable and terrible choice with which totalitarian tyranny of any and every color confronts mankind.

FREDA UTLEY

After the Flood, by Prince Constantine of Bavaria. 224 pp. New York: J. B. Lippincott Co. \$3.50

The author of this book served briefly in the German army during World War Two. When Hitler decided in 1941 that no member of a German royal family should be allowed in the armed forces, he re-

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signed. He was later arrested and imprisoned by the Gestapo. After being liberated by the French, he worked for the International Red Cross, subsequently for the Associated Press, and today edits one of the largest illustrated magazines in Europe.

His opportunities as an observer have therefore been varied and exceptional. As a scion of one of Europe's oldest royal families, he was privy to many secrets not ordinarily accessible to a journalist. *After the Flood* is simply a record of events he witnessed or tracked down. And since generalizations about human corruption or bureaucratic breakdown or man's inhumanity to man can never be as telling as a story, his book makes fascinating reading.

He concentrates on the three years from May 1945, when Germany surrendered, to June 1948, when currency reforms brought about some kind of order. The intervening thousand days were an anarchic nightmare in which more outlandish things, heroic as well as hellish, happened than Scheherazade could ever have dreamed.

There is the story of the young German bride who was sent to Siberia. After months of slave labor, she took the one, the only way of escape: deliberately, reverently, she became pregnant. When her child was born, she was sent back to Germany, only to have her husband accuse her of adultery. There is the story of the fantastic Count von Coudenhove-Calergi, and the party he gave for the cream of Nazi society the night the first English bombers came over Berlin: as the air raid sirens began to scream, his footmen brought in two great coffers of rare perfumes, silk stockings and jewelry. While the bombs fell and the windows shattered, he watched 150 women push, fight and scratch over the bounty.

But the most moving story of all is that of two Brazilian Germans, Bidinger and Reif. The former was a professor, the latter a laborer. During the night of July 28, 1946, along with a number of others, these two men were kidnapped by the Rio police and put aboard a ship bound for Europe. They were the enforced

proxies for other Brazilian Germans whose repatriation the Allies had demanded, but whose influence in Rio was powerful enough to engineer this dodge. After weeks of imprisonment, Bidinger and Reif were screened. Their mistaken identity was quickly established, and finally, they thought, their nightmare was over. Actually, it had just begun. For without identity papers of their own, and without money or connections, they were nobodies. They had committed "the only unpardonable crime in twentieth-century Europe: they had lost their identity." At the time Prince Constantine heard their story, they had wandered and waited through the corrupt chaos of European bureaucracy for over two years. Because they were without identity, they could not even work their way back to Brazil on a freighter. Their fate seemed to be fixed forever, as bleak, ghastly and unreal as anything in Kafka. Yet this was in a world of telephones and newspapers and printed books, midway through the twentieth century!

ROBERT PHELPS

The Explosion, by Rainer Hildebrandt, with an introduction by Norbert Muhlen. 198 pp. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. \$3.75

Rainer Hildebrandt's book on the East German uprising of 1953 could be used for its own movie script. Like a documentary film it shows first one aspect of its subject, then shifts to another, then another, then back; so that the spectator sees the action as a whole while the participants see only their respective sectors. The effect is vivid and dramatic.

In lieu of half a dozen cameras Mr. Hildebrandt uses the eyes of a handful of refugees who managed to escape to the West. There was Horst Schlafke, who walked out with his fellow-construction workers in the Soviet sector of Berlin, in a spontaneous demonstration which mushroomed into a general rebellion. There was the "Free German Youth" instructress, Ella Sarre, who threw off her brown FDJ blazer and

joined the rebels. There was Frau Kunter, liberated by her fellow-townsmen from the Gorkitz penitentiary. There was Horst Sowada, who became leader of the Bitterfeld demonstration simply because someone had to lead. There was Horst Ballentin, who tore down the red flag on the Brandenburg Gate; and Gerald Wagner, editor for Soviet zone broadcasts at RIAS, the American zone radio station regarded by all East Germany as the voice of freedom.

Other witnesses described the lynching at Rathenow of the communist informer, Willi Hagedorn; others told the story of the Soviet lieutenant, Rakit Kastanov, whose sympathy with the demonstrators cost him his life before a firing squad.

Mr. Hildebrandt is an indefatigably curious interviewer with an eye for significant details. His people live, and his picture of the enthusiastic, hopeful, tragic June days of 1953 quivers with the intensity of their participation.

Two aspects of the picture inspire an almost intolerable pity. One is the scrupulous care of the demonstrators to avoid offense to the occupying power—Soviet Russia. They really thought they could defy their frightened German oppressors without incurring the wrath of their Soviet masters.

The other aspect was their touching faith in RIAS. They were sure RIAS would broadcast their general strike call; they had no other way to make it known. They could not know that RIAS had received from Washington, via Army headquarters in West Germany, the order that the term "general strike" was not to be mentioned in American broadcasts. RIAS did its best to give the word without saying the word, but the formula was reached too late at night to be very effective.

Not that anything short of a firm American attitude could have helped them much. And Washington clove to its policy of talking tough and carrying a small stick. No doubt it was naive to expect anything better, since Washington had turned them over to communism in the first place. Still its dereliction,

whether due to indifference or craven fear, makes painful reading for Americans.

So the first revolt of a subjugated people against communist terror passed into the history of helpless peoples betrayed by the West. When it was all over, Washington sent some food to the defeated while they learned in the agony of communist reprisals how much Western professions of support are worth. Other Soviet victims have no doubt learned from their experience. And we of the West might learn, too, that we shall have our own governments to thank if we find ourselves friendless in time of need.

SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE

Mainsprings of the German Revival,
by Henry C. Wallich. 401 pp. New Haven: Yale University Press. \$4.50

This is an important and valuable book. It is the most up-to-date authoritative analysis of what has often been called "the economic miracle"—the transformation of the broken, shattered, starving Germany of 1945 into the immensely dynamic and relatively prosperous Germany of the present time. This observation applies only to the German Federal Republic, where free political institutions have been set up and a philosophy of economic freedom has been applied, with truly amazing results. Although the people in the Soviet zone of Germany are just as industrious and well educated as the people in the Federal Republic they have been placed in a collectivist strait jacket; and the contrast between the two Germanies in physical well-being, in personal and cultural freedom is one of the most impressive object lessons in the relative merits of economic individualism and collectivism that could be imagined.

In general the German experience is the final blow to the arguments of the planners and the collectivists. In regard to other examples of the pragmatic superiority of free enterprise there may be more or less plausible explanations. The United States was not invaded or bombed.

Switzerland stayed out of the two great European wars. Belgium suffered less than most occupied countries.

But it is hard to imagine a country more prostrate than Germany was in 1945, or one more burdened with enormous social problems such as the absorption of more than ten million Germans and people of German origin, driven from their homes in the German provinces east of the Oder-Neisse line and from Czechoslovakia and other countries in eastern and southeastern Europe. That Western Germany, once American occupation policy had purged itself of the political ferocity and economic idiocy of the Morgenthau Plan, moved toward recovery and expansion with such tremendous strides is a final, unanswerable proof of the immense creative possibilities of economic freedom.

Even under the Nazi tyranny some German economists worked out a doctrine known as *Soziale Marktwirtschaft*, which is the guiding philosophy of Germany's energetic Minister of Economics, Ludwig Erhard. The essential features of this doctrine, of which the late Professor Walter Eucken, of Freiburg University, was a leading exponent, are summarized by Professor Wallich as follows:

"In an economy built on free markets there is no occasion for excessive public or private power. The prevention of public and private concentration of power, through avoidance of government planning and private monopoly, is the best insurance against loss of political freedom. Planning and monopoly are evil also because they are the enemies of economic efficiency. Planning is inefficient because correct planning is a technical impossibility and because it runs counter to ordinary human incentives. Monopoly is inefficient because it distorts the structure of prices and the allocation of resources. Thus the free competitive market becomes the main answer to all our problems."

By great good fortune the man who was most directly concerned with economic policy in Bonn, Minister of Economics Ludwig Erhard,

firmly believed in this philosophy and had the courage of his convictions. How he scrapped one control after another in the face of criticism and predictions of disaster from socialists at home and socialists and New Dealers among the American and British occupation officials, how the German economy, operating full speed on an individualist basis, far exceeded what planners thought they could accomplish and solved or greatly allayed one "insoluble" economic and social problem after another: all this is a thrilling and heartening story.

Professor Wallich shows that a perfect free economy has not been established in Germany; a desperate housing shortage has seemed to require the maintenance of rent controls on old housing and the government has used various devices to channel investment into housing, shipbuilding and heavy industries. And there is some agricultural protection in Germany, as in virtually every country in the world. By and large, however, the mainspring of the German revival has been individual incentives and freedom from state controls. And the watchword has paid off in an economic recovery of immense proportions and in remarkable political stability and a marked allergy both to communism and to neo-Nazism.

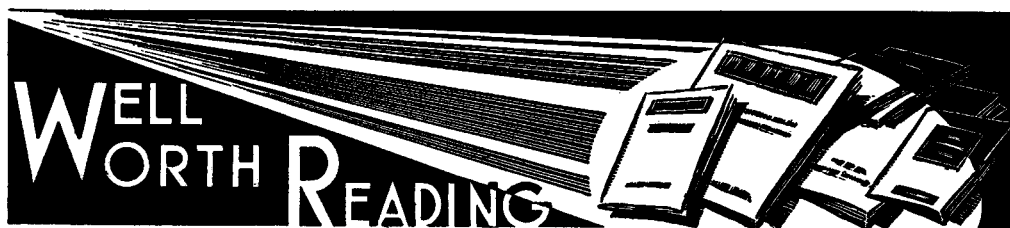
In some details the book does not keep up with the pace of the dynamic German revival. At times the author seems to lean over backward in stating objections and reservations and his style is somewhat dry and technical.

But Professor Wallich has written what seems likely to remain for some time the standard book on the dynamic German economic revival. The facts and figures in the book are an arsenal of arguments for economic freedom, as opposed to state planning and bureaucratic controls.

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

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UNESCO

When the American Legion turned thumbs down on UNESCO, "cultural" tentacle of the United Nations, one-world McLiberals squawked that "the Legion was disgraced." There is little question, however, that the two main points on which the Legion made its decision are completely true. How is it possible to say that UNESCO does not favor world government, and that it is not atheistic, when these two attributes are the very keystones of the UN? As an organ of the UN, UNESCO naturally follows suit. Here is documented evidence from UNESCO pamphlets and the UN's own charter.

How About It Legionnaires! Economic Council Letter for October 1, 1955. 4 pp. Empire State Building, New York 1, N.Y. Single copy .15

REMOTE CONTROL

The masterminds of our central government control a vast interlocking network of propaganda agencies throughout the United States. They are not "agencies" officially, of course; they merely push

the current line with prompt obedience whenever they are called. The sponsors of collectivism and anti-anticommunism are never wanting for an artillery barrage of support. From the Ford Foundation to the Fund for the Republic, to the League of Women Voters, to the Carrie Chapman Catt Fund, the ball is lateraled swiftly down the line, in the form of money and some casual instructions.

As I See It, a radio broadcast by Frank Kirkpatrick, May 9, 1955. 7 pp. 2501 So. 43rd St., Milwaukee 15, Wisc. Single copy .25

MERGERS

The drumbeat of antibusiness propaganda is getting louder as we round the turn toward the 1956 elections. The latest craze is to point out that the 387 business mergers of 1954 represent a horrendous trend which will end in a total concentration of economic power into the hands of one or two malignant Jay Goulds. As is usually the case with the pro-government, antibusiness standard bearers, their figures and their case are false. The mergers of 1954 represent no trend whatever. The *average* number of business mergers per annum for the past forty years is 371, and in a half-dozen of those years the total number was higher than 1954.

More Mergers? Economic Intelligence for September, 1955. 2 pp. Economic Research Department, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington 6, D.C. Single copy free

TIME

"Productivity" is turning out the most goods in the least time. Time, efficiently utilized, is wealth. It is our most important resource. Those who consume the worker's time so that it is not channelled into quicker, more efficient production naturally inhibit production. Government formulas for goldbrick work—that is, work for its own sake, employ time uselessly, since the work produces no goods. Because the government cannot add to the productivity of anyone's time, but can only subtract from it, the most productive economy will have the least government possible.

Time: the Priceless Commodity, by Mac L. Hutchins, St. Louis Globe-Democrat for August 17, 1955. 1 p. Single copy free

ON COURAGE

It is an evil thing for an American soldier, in the last throes of communist torture, to sign the meaningless scrap of paper thrust before him. According to our new code for POW's, this lack of courage is forwarding communist propaganda—it is "un-American." Immediately before issuing this code, our courageous statesmen, who are indomitable when dealing with the lives of the American GI, had just returned from smiling, drinking, joking, shaking hands, and horsing around with the communist leaders who are responsible for the torturing. No foolish consistency here!

ANR Report for September 15, 1955. 4 pp. American National Research, Inc., P.O. Box 57, Dallas 21, Texas. Single copy free

SOCONY MOBIL OIL COMPANY, INC.

Dividend No. 179



The Board of Directors on October 25, 1955, declared a quarterly dividend of 50¢ per share and an *extra* dividend of 50¢ per share on the outstanding capital stock of this Company, payable December 10, 1955, to stockholders of record at the close of business November 4, 1955.

W. D. BICKHAM, Secretary

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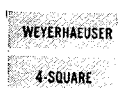


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