

THE  
*Freeman*

SEPTEMBER 1955

50¢

Clearing Up A Mystery

Morrie Ryskind

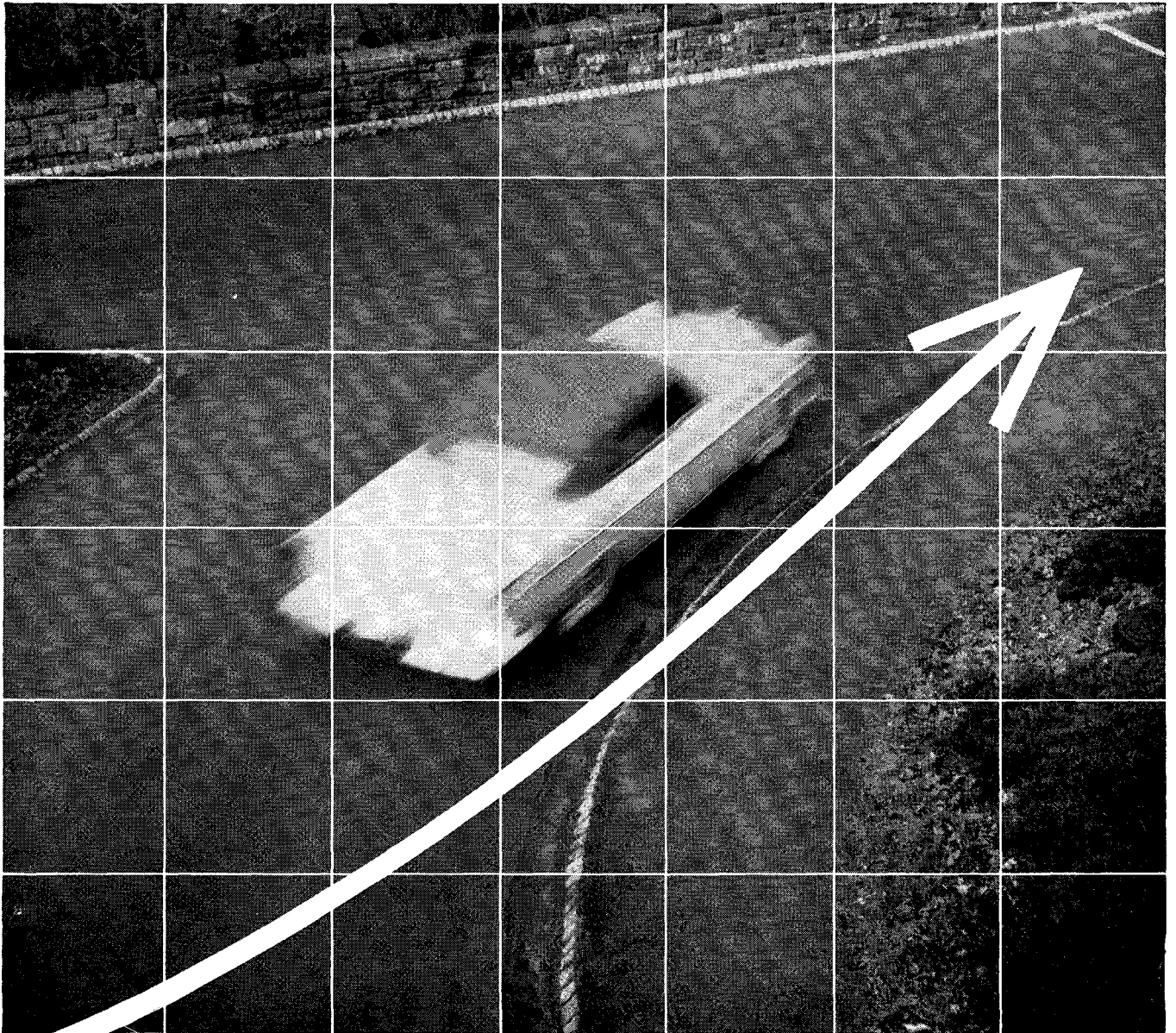
Salesmen for Freedom Wanted

Claude Robinson  
and LeBaron R. Foster

The Right to Be "Wrong"

W. H. McComb

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**N**O, YOU DON'T replace diesel power with girl power. The savings come from a new kind of freight car bearing the car above rolls on—rolls so smoothly the girls can actually pull it.

Most freight axles turn on bearings that are just plain metal shoes, lubricated with oily waste. And "waste" is a good name for it. When lubrication fails, as it often does, metal slides against metal and the friction causes a hot box, No. 1 cause of freight train delays. Efforts to prevent hot boxes cost the railroads \$90 million a year in maintenance and inspection.

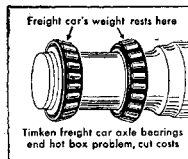
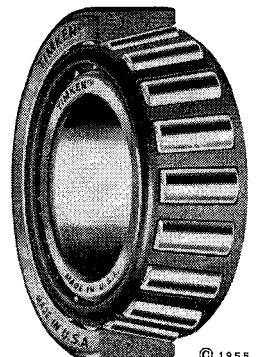
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Company, Canton 6, O. Canadian plant: St. Thomas, Ontario. Cable: "TIMROSCO".



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Only **TIMKEN®** bearings roll so true, have such quality thru-&thru

# THE Freeman

A Monthly  
For  
Libertarians

Editor  
Managing Editor  
Business Manager

FRANK CHODOROV  
MABEL WOOD  
IVAN R. BIERLY

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## An Editorial Problem

Without taking count, I would say that about one in four of the manuscripts submitted to the FREEMAN deal with the subject of communism. Sometimes they expose the fallacies of Karl Marx, more often they dwell on Soviet or Chinese atrocities, sometimes they purport to disclose the machinations of domestic Communists and occasionally they tell of the spread of communism in other parts of the world.

It would be easy editing to fill up at least half of every issue with these articles. I am afraid, however, that the readers would find the fare quite uninteresting; the sameness would be palling.

Aside from the deadly fault of dullness, the loading of the FREEMAN with such articles involves a matter of policy. We are, of course, opposed to communism, but no more so than we are opposed to fascism or socialism or any other form of authoritarianism. But we are also for something—a thing called freedom. It is the purpose of this publication to "carry the torch" for values that make for a richer, happier human existence: the free market place and the dignity of the individual. In our effort to carry out this purpose, we assess the current scene in the light of these values.

To stress the threat of communism is to divert attention from threats of equal potency and nearer home. We cannot help seeing in the concentration of power in our own Executive an attack on freedom; in the drive for government schooling we see the menace of collectivistic indoctrination; in taxation and inflation we recognize the gradual abolition of private property, without which there is no freedom. If under cover of our preoccupation with communism these threats to freedom are permitted to go unchallenged, what is accomplished?

Sometimes as I read these anti-communist manuscripts, an unkind suspicion comes upon me: are these writers for freedom or only against communism?

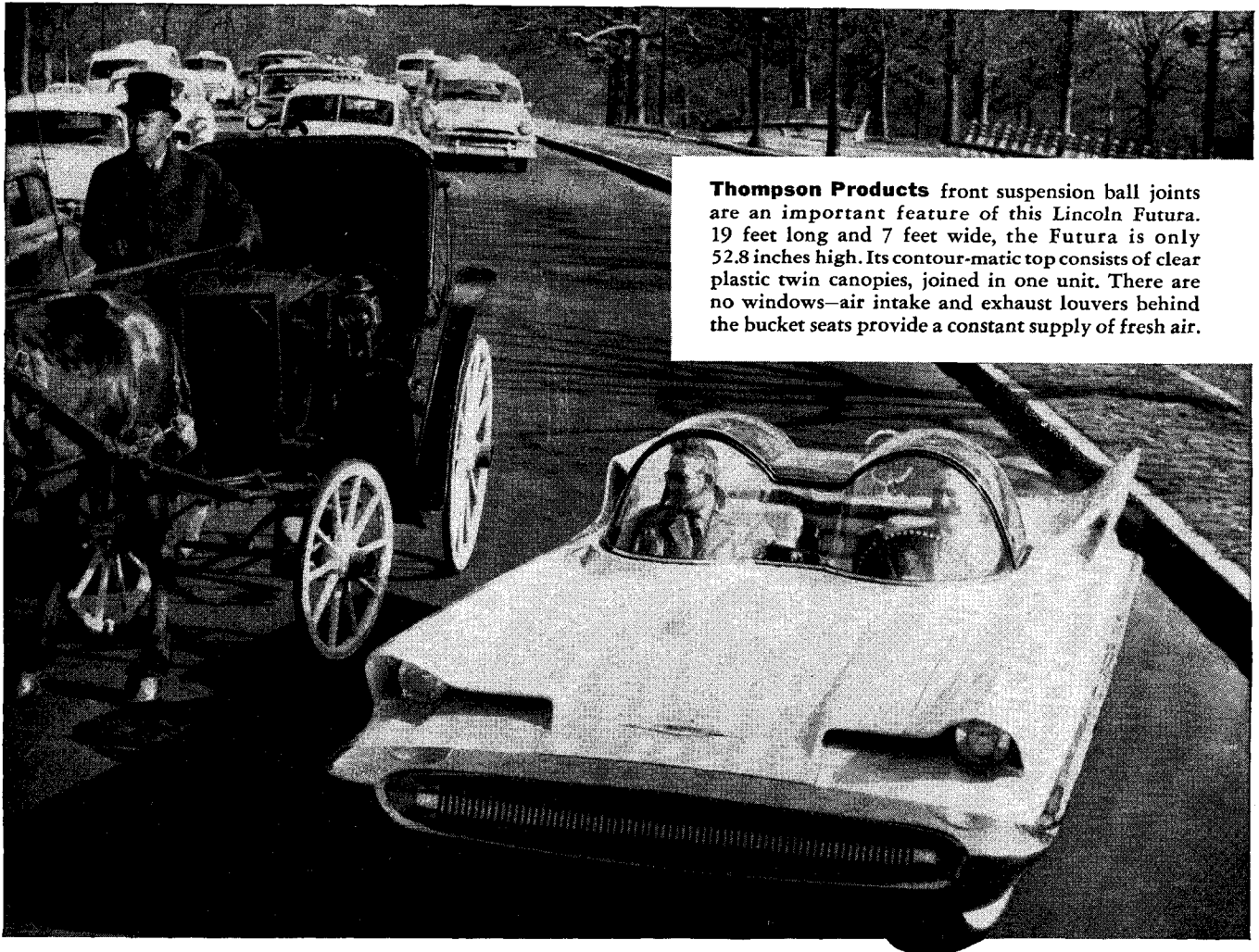
Our new contributors this month:

CLAUDE ROBINSON and LE BARON R. FOSTER are identified in the editorial note accompanying their article.

DR. WILLFORD I. KING, now economist for the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., taught economics for twenty years at New York University.

ROSE GRIECO teaches dramatics and dancing in the Montclair, New Jersey, schools. She has contributed to *Dance Magazine*, the *Commonweal* and the *Catholic Digest*.

W. H. MCCOMB is on the staff of the *Miami Daily News*. Author of *The Businessman Must Save Himself*. Contributor to the *American Legion Magazine*.



**Thompson Products** front suspension ball joints are an important feature of this Lincoln Futura. 19 feet long and 7 feet wide, the Futura is only 52.8 inches high. Its contour-matic top consists of clear plastic twin canopies, joined in one unit. There are no windows—air intake and exhaust louvers behind the bucket seats provide a constant supply of fresh air.

## You'll find Thompson Products ball joints TODAY on Lincoln's "CAR OF TOMORROW"!

- Revolutionary styling and advanced mechanical design mark the \$250,000 "Futura"
- Ball joint front suspension permits "Dream Car" to hug road, steer easier and safer

**L**INCOLN's aptly-named "Futura" gives you an exciting peek into America's automotive future.

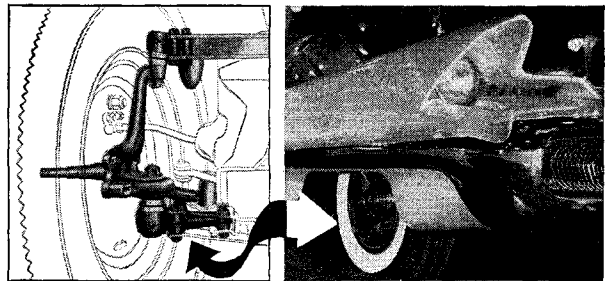
This quarter-million-dollar 330 HP beauty, a one-of-a-kind "laboratory on wheels", was launched to test radical drawing-board engineering theories *on the road* . . . also to test public reaction to its ultra-advanced styling.

But this astonishing new car is not built entirely of "laboratory" innovations. Incorporated in it are several advanced features that you may have now when you buy a new car. Among them are power-steering, power brakes and Thompson front suspension ball joints.

Three years ago the revolutionary Thompson-engineered front suspension ball joints made headlines as the first major improvement in front suspension in 20 years. It was found to

help cars hug the road and make steering easier and safer. Already, several of America's top passenger cars have adopted it.

The development and mass production of this revolutionary product is a typical example of Thompson's side-by-side cooperation with the automotive industry. For more than 50 years Thompson has been a leading original equipment and replacement parts manufacturer for the automotive and aircraft industries. *Other* industries, too, have grown to "count on Thompson" . . . agriculture, home appliances, metallurgy, electronics and many others. Thompson Products, Inc., General Offices, Cleveland 17, Ohio.



**Thompson ball joints** (as shown at left) permit both right-and-left steering on ball bearings and up-and-down motion on spherical bearing surfaces. This advanced front suspension principle not only makes steering safer and easier . . . it also allows valuable extra space for larger, more powerful engines; for more functional chassis design; for more dramatic body lines (as shown at right in the closeup of the Futura's front end.)

You can count on  
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MANUFACTURERS OF AUTOMOTIVE, AIRCRAFT, INDUSTRIAL AND ELECTRONIC PRODUCTS. FACTORIES IN SIXTEEN CITIES.

# Readers also write

## Likes Exception

As a new subscriber to the FREEMAN, I was pleasantly surprised to learn that the eastern part of our great country was not totally lost to the followers of Dean Acheson, Schlesinger, Jr., Adlai and Co.

The article "The Age of Un-Reason" (June) hit the nail on the head. I don't think that distinguished body of educators that constantly exhorts us to give more room to "academic freedom" will go for it, though. Also, the need for overhauling a system of education that consistently reproduces Hisses, Coes, Remingtons, etc. was well expressed. . . .

Des Plaines, Ill. JOHN A. ZALESKI

## Politics Is An Art

Your editor's description of his scorn and indifference to politics and politicians ("Midsummer Madness," August) is altogether too close to reality to be funny. The great problem of this country is to get the citizens to make

politics a hobby. As it is, only those who hope for monetary return (with a few exceptions) will take any interest. Many millions won't register or vote. Many who are registered don't bother to vote.

I believe Elihu Root said, "Politics is the art of self-government." No people can scorn the practice of that art and ignore those who attempt to do it for them without losing liberty. . . . Oregon, Ill. MRS. STUART LYTLE

## From A Cotton Farmer

I am reading my first copy of the FREEMAN. I may be overenthusiastic, but I hold the purpose of this paper very close to my purpose for living.

Please consider my comments friendly to your cause. "The Tale of A Shirt" (July) leaves the impression that the farmer's price is not supported at a high level by the government. I refer specifically to, "There is a risk that when Johnson gets his crop ready to harvest the price will have dropped." To be effective, we must be well versed in the subjects we discuss.

I am a cotton farmer who will give his subsidy check to stop it.

Amarillo, Texas J. MURL MCCASLAND

## A-Bomb Panic

Those of us who have served successfully as Passive and Civil Defense officers in congested combat zones under fire can only applaud and thank you for the article "The Fashion for Fear" by Paul Jones (August). Here are the facts:

1. "Evacuation" as such is a clean-up or rehabilitation function following an enemy-inspired emergency.

2. The only possible plan of action during an emergency is for everyone to get below the surface of the earth.

3. "Dispersal" of property and personnel, in that order, must take place, where possible, well in advance of an emergency.

4. Evacuation during an emergency promotes panic, casualties, paralysis of the military effort, paralysis of the civilian economy, and an early and easy defeat.

But, just as in so many of the phoney ideas that have been promoted since V-E Day, is not the object to destroy America — and from within . . . ?

Columbus, Ohio WILLIAM E. WARNER

If Paul Jones insists that he writes in full possession of his faculties, he must admit to an irresponsibility of monstrous proportions. How can you underestimate a fission bomb? . . . There will be nothing left for civilians to man, in the way of industry, if they

"take maximum cover." There is no cover to take. . . .

I live in the country. An exodus of many millions would lead to all sorts of ills and complications. True, as Mr. Jones gleefully points out, most people wouldn't make it. But in the proportion that the exodus fails, the evils he decries attendant on the exodus will not exist. If the exodus is successful, then we in the country, with direction from a Civil Defense Organization grown efficient in spite of guys like Jones, will do our best with the mobs.

Sharon, Conn.

F. R. BUCKLEY

## The "New Conservatives"

In "Collectivism Rebaptized" (July), Mr. Frank Meyer has forged a powerful weapon for confusing and dividing our side. This is hardly the time for fratricidal strife between those who wear the FREEMAN's libertarian label and those who, like myself, subscribe to the unhyphenated conservatism of Dr. Russell Kirk. . . .

Washington, D.C.

CHARLES A. WEBB

Mr. Meyer's sickening attack on Russell Kirk will give much comfort and propaganda material to the statists. I am quite sure that it will be quoted widely as evidence that conservatism is really Toryism, selfish and greedy, though Mr. Kirk has given overwhelming evidence to the contrary. . . .

ROBERT JOHNSON NEEDLES

St. Petersburg, Fla.

Congratulations to Mr. Frank Meyer on "Collectivism Rebaptized." I am myself something of a "new conservative" and have read much of the branch of literature under discussion; though I find much to admire in Kirk and the others, I have always felt there was something woolly and vague and ungraspable, and Mr. Meyer may have indeed put his finger on it.

Toronto, Canada

HART BUCK

. . . While it is a bit startling to find myself (a self-confessed conservative of the Edmund Burke-Russell Kirk school) labeled a "collectivist," I'm glad to see the real issue of these times joined. The real ethical, social and political issues of these days lie between the conservatism of Burke and the best of nineteenth-century liberalism, not between nineteenth-century and twentieth-century liberalism. Advocates of the latter really have nothing to say . . . The FREEMAN is an organ of opinion representing the best of nineteenth-century liberalism.

So, Mr. Editor, let the fur fly . . .

P. C. STRINGFIELD, JR.  
North Wilkesboro, N.C.

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# It seems to me . . .

by Philip M. McKenna  
*President, Kennametal Inc., Latrobe, Pa.*



## A Promise is a Promise . . . or, at least, it used to be!

It wasn't so long ago that our Government kept every promise it made. One of these was the promise to exchange gold coin for our currency when we wanted it. Then something happened that changed the course of our country's destiny. Back in 1933, our Government suspended specie payments in gold . . . but only to us, U. S. citizens. Foreigners still can get gold for dollar credits.

You might say, as I would say, "That's not the American way of doing things." And the same holds true when the Government reneges on its promises.

It seems to me that the people who have supplied gold to our Government should have the right to get it back at a standard rate when they want it. A Gold Coin Standard will re-establish that right. Such a standard will also re-establish a standard of measurement for business, for industry and for finance. Such a standard, furthermore, will make it possible to pass on savings which industry and industrial progress provide. As one example, the savings that Kennametal\* makes available to industry can then be passed along for the



By so doing, our Government went back on its promise.

What a country the United States of America would be if everybody went back on his word . . . refused to keep a promise once made!

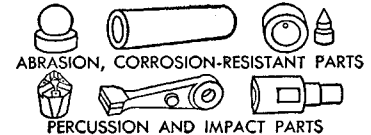
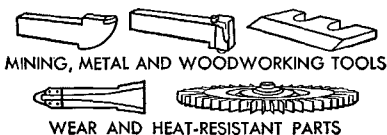
Let's suppose our railroads did that. Suppose you deposited your baggage with a railroad and received a baggage claim check. But when you returned the next day to claim your personal property, the railroad declared your claim no longer valid. If you angrily insisted, the clerk would explain, "Your baggage check is void. We declared this morning that all claims on baggage checked here were no longer valid . . . that is, except claims by citizens of foreign countries."

benefit of consumers in the form of lower prices and higher purchasing power.

The re-establishment of a Gold Coin Standard is worth more than a passing thought. It's worth deep consideration and much discussion . . . with your friends, neighbors and others, not excluding public officials and candidates for office. You can discuss it with me, too, if you care to write to me. I'll also be glad to talk with you about Kennametal and its place in America's future progress. KENNAMETAL INC., Latrobe, Pennsylvania.

\*Kennametal is the registered trademark of a series of hard carbide alloys of tungsten, tungsten-titanium and tantalum, for tooling in the metal-working, mining and woodworking industries and for wear parts in machines and process equipment used in practically every industry.

*One of a series of advertisements in the public interest.*



# THE Freeman

SEPTEMBER 1955

## *Loaded Terms*

**Capitalistic Society.** The sibilants in this combination of words give it a hissing sound that suggests something wicked. The Marxists and those who have been influenced by Marxist thought, who include all the political uplifters, have so well exploited this hiss that "capitalistic society" has come to connote an evil way of life; it has to be done away with.

And yet, there never was, there cannot be, a society without capital. For a society consists of men, and it is inherent in the make-up of men to exchange what they have in abundance for something they lack. The increase of satisfactions resulting from exchange induces them to invent labor-saving devices, so that they can produce more and swap more; the labor-saving devices constitute capital; they include stone axes and "automation."

Capital cannot be abolished wherever men associate. It can be confiscated by the State, and the only question is, will men produce capital—which is production in excess of immediate consumption—if they cannot enjoy the fruits of their labor? That is, will there be a society of prosperous men where confiscation is the regular order?

Only men produce capital. Only men save and trade. Other species do not have capital. And they do not form societies; they form herds, flocks and schools. "Capitalistic society" is therefore a redundancy; there is no other kind of society.

**Collective Bargaining.** This phrase has been loaded with sanctity. The tone of reverence which has been attached to it stems from the notion that collective bargaining is a means of effecting a meeting of minds among men actuated by reason and mutual respect. The fact is quite the contrary. Collective bargaining is a showdown between antagonists of unequal economic and political strength; out of it there emerges a victor and a vanquished. Some unionist wit once described collective bargaining as a way of collecting what you can and bargaining for the rest. What's holy in that?

Furthermore, collective bargaining denies common justice to a goodly segment of the workers, the skilled ones who would be in better position if

they were allowed to bargain for themselves. These workers are actually deprived of the full value of their services. The union bargainers are understandably more interested in the larger number of marginal workers, the less productive ones, and wage advances secured for them are always greater, as a percentage, than the wage advances of the skilled workers. Collective bargaining thus becomes an instrument for levelling, for putting a damper on initiative, for reducing productivity.

**Social Security.** Here we have a fraudulent scheme that has been infused with high morality. Social security is an excuse for hijacking the pay envelope; it is a tax on wages, and nothing else. To cover up the confiscation, to make it more palatable to the worker, the promise is made that it will be returned (with interest) when the worker is no longer able to work. The fact is that the tax on wages is spent by the State as near after collection as possible; sometimes before. The "benefits" paid to the oldster do not come from "enforced savings" but from new taxes imposed on his sons and daughters. This is called "insurance," but if an insurance company tried it, the directors would be indicted for fraud.

**General Welfare.** These two words cover with an aura of humanitarianism what can only be described correctly as political skulduggery. Legislation that is so haloed is in every case the confiscation of one man's property for the benefit of another man, with the confiscatory agency abstracting an operating "cut." The general public cannot possibly benefit from such subventionary legislation, for it is they who must pay the price. The ultimate result, if not the purpose, of "general welfare" legislation is to put the beneficiaries of the subsidies (pressure groups) under obligation to the State, and thus to entrench political power.

**This column will be continued from time to time. Suggestions for "Loaded Terms" are solicited. Five dollars will be paid for every suggestion accepted for publication. The right to edit is reserved.**



## The Conspiracy

A FEW WEEKS AGO the *New York Times* announced that its publisher had fired a member of its staff who hid behind the Fifth Amendment when questioned by a congressional committee about his alleged membership in the Communist Party. The prominence given the story showed a bit of jitteriness. This was even more evident in the defense of another staff member who had admitted his former card-carrying status.

The stories hardly rated front-page position. Among newspapermen the fact that during the thirties and forties Communists had got themselves on the staff of the *Times*, as well as other newspapers, has long been common knowledge. Several years ago a former secretary of the Newspaper Guild, speaking at an open meeting in Washington, said that he could name a considerable number—I think he said sixty—of the *Times* staff who were party members at the time. He himself was then a member, having been placed in the secretaryship for recruiting purposes.

It is generally assumed, and not without justification, that the members of the party are either conscious agents or unconscious dupes of Moscow, that their ultimate purpose is to bring about a political regime similar to, and perhaps subject to, the Kremlin regime. But there is an aspect of the conspiracy that has nothing to do with violence and does not embrace treason in the accepted sense. It is in the realm of ideas. It is in that realm that the conspiracy has shown itself most adept, principally because it has met with little opposition; while the authorities have confined themselves to the cloak-and-dagger activities, the ideas and values on which communism rests its case have hardly been challenged.

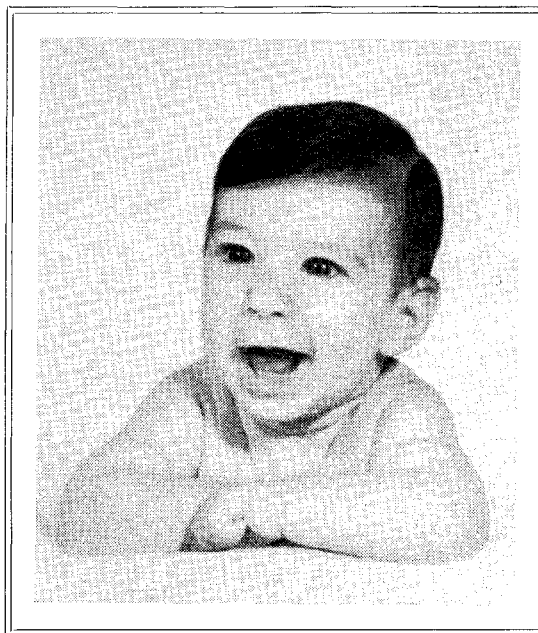
That the conspirators should have infiltrated the newspaper field—and other fields of communication—is consistent with their basic purpose of making their ideas popular and respectable. In that they have succeeded, to such an extent that the ideas have found acceptance even with those in the profession who never were tainted with disloyalty, and are in fact violently opposed to any regime of communism. The primary idea of communism, the one on which all their theories rest, is that the State is endowed with capacities which the individual cannot possess, and that therefore it should be given power to regulate and regiment the individual; this concept has been so well “sold” that it has become axiomatic in newspaper work, the fiction of objective reporting notwithstanding.

If, for instance, the story to be covered today is a debate over federal aid to education, the reporter can spread-eagle the speech of its proponents, and relegate the remarks of the opposition to a few sentences at the end of the column; wittingly or unwittingly, he is aiding the cause of

centralism, which is the essence of communism. Or, if compulsory insurance is on the agenda, the headline writer can by the judicious selection of words, put a favorable light on this extension of State power. If he has it in his heart that private property is tarnished (a communistic idea), the rewrite man can show it in his account of a private power “grab.” Any item that palpably demonstrates the incompetence of the State is either ignored or put in an inconspicuous spot on an inside page.

Whether or not members of the Newspaper Guild were, or are, members of the Communist Party is not nearly so important as the fact that basic communistic thought has become standard intellectual equipment in the popular publication field. If the entire conspiracy were rounded up and kept out of circulation, while its concepts are given free rein, communism will prevail. The traditional American values and institutions will be preserved, not by routing out party members, but by exposing, analyzing and refuting communist concepts, however disguised. That is not a job for the police; it is a job for dedicated individuals—for the publishers and readers of the *FREEMAN*.

## Her Maiden Speech



“I JUST got here—only four months ago. On arrival, I was handed a \$2,000 mortgage on my life. That, I am told, is my share of the national debt, a debt I did not incur. For some years my daddy will have to pay interest on that debt at my expense; because of the interest payments, I will have to go without something. When I am able to earn my keep, and for as long as I live, the burden will be on me. That, I say, is a dirty deal for babies.”

## *The Peddler Who Built A Nation*

THE *Guaranty Survey*, published by the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, has an article in its July issue called "New Aid for Small Business." Very interesting, not only for what it tells, but more so for what it suggests. We'll come back to the article; for the benefit of those who "majored" in economics in recent years, and who therefore never heard of it, it might be well to relate the story of the American peddler, which the article brought to mind.

Originally, this unique entrepreneur serviced the sparsely settled areas of America with a pack on his back. Having disposed of his load, he invested the proceeds, minus the little he needed for his keep, in a new supply. In time he accumulated a horse and wagon out of his savings, so that he could travel farther and carry a larger stock. Each trip yielded a net profit that went right back into his business. On one of these trips he came upon a growing community that was in dire need of his services on a permanent basis. Maybe his customers put up an operating shack for him, maybe the local banker advanced him the cost of construction. His supply house, with the peddler's known character and the need of the community as its only security, gave him a "line of credit." He (and his wife, when he acquired one) lived in the back of the store. He saved and saved, and he plowed his savings back into his business; when he died he left a department store to his offspring.

That is the economic story of America, the story of the world's greatest capital structure. Like the peddler, there was a bicycle repair man who built the Ford Motor Corporation—out of savings—and a couple of fellows named Wells and Fargo who, beginning as messengers, founded an express company, a banking business and what-not. In fact, if you look into the genealogy of the gigantic industrial and commercial institutions of the country, you come to roots nurtured by savings.

And that brings us back to the article in the *Guaranty Survey*. It tells about "a new device for making private capital more readily available to small business." The "device" is some kind of credit corporation, on a state-wide basis, which aims to shore up the economy of the community by supplying working capital where it is sorely needed. If you are interested in the details, perhaps the Guaranty Trust Company will send you a copy of their publication. We are interested in the conditions that brought forth the "device," since it was not needed when the peddler helped build the nation. The *Survey* puts it this way:

"The credit corporations are designed to fill a financial gap that seems to have been created, in part at least, by heavy taxation. The traditional

source of outside capital for small business was the local investor. . . . In recent years, high and steeply progressive tax rates on individual incomes, combined with the capital-gains tax, have tended to dry up this source of funds and also to limit the earnings necessary to attract them. . . ." And so on.

In plain language, the savings that the peddler plowed back into his enterprise are no more; the tax-collector gets them. Nor is there an inclination on the part of other savers to invest in his embryonic department store, because so much of the profits from such an investment are taxed away as to make the risk unattractive. These credit corporations, which first appeared in New England, where enterprising peddlers of all sorts are needed, hope to overcome the ravaging of the economy by the Internal Revenue Bureau. They might for a little while keep things going, but what is needed is savings—the savings that are being confiscated by the tax-collectors.

## *Why Dixon-Yates Died*

THERE ARE no more panhandlers in Memphis, Tennessee, than will be found in any city of comparable size. Its citizens are, on the whole, a self-supporting lot, proud of it, and as individuals would resentfully reject any proffer of charity.

Yet these self-same citizens, like those of any other city, are not averse to accepting something for nothing if the gift is legally impersonalized. Nobody in Memphis experiences any sense of shame because New Yorkers make a forced contribution to his bill for electricity furnished by TVA. The stigma of charity is conveniently obliterated by the legal fiction that New Yorkers get a return on their contribution to the electricity-user in Memphis by way of "general welfare." He accepts this rationalized collectivization of the handout because it satisfies his urge for something for nothing without offending his pride. In time he becomes so inured to this form of almstaking that he looks upon it as a "right" which must not be infringed; it is wrong to compel him to pay the full cost of the power and light service he enjoys.

That is why the Dixon-Yates bill failed. The promiscuous verbosity expended on the congressional debate was simply political hogwash, intended to obscure the fact that the proposal was an attempt to partially desubsidize the area serviced by TVA. The politicians, who are keen psychologists if nothing else, knew that the voters' panhandling propensity would be against any curtailment of "graft," and, in their own interests, set out to kill Dixon-Yates. They succeeded.

For an epitaph the following is suggested: Here lies Dixon-Yates, killed by the stinkweed of socialism, the seed whereof is the utterly human yearning for something for free.

# Salesmen for Freedom Wanted

By **CLAUDE ROBINSON**

and **LE BARON R. FOSTER**

*This is no time for complacency on the part of advocates of the free market economy. For American public thinking has been moving left during the last two years, halting the trend toward conservatism evident since 1946. A confidential survey, "Latest Trends in Free Market vs. Socialistic Thinking, 1955," conducted for its clients by the Opinion Research Corporation of Princeton, New Jersey, gives these findings. Dr. Robinson, President of the Corporation, and Mr. Foster, editor of its Public Opinion Index for Industry, summarize in the following article the results of this significant survey and show the need for interpreting the libertarian cause more widely, and in terms the public understands.*

Since World War Two the American economic system has put on a glorious display of accomplishment in the service of the average citizen. Real wages and employment have risen; total spendable income is breaking all records. From a nation of renters, we have changed overnight to a nation of home owners. Passenger cars jam the highways.

One would think this demonstration of great progress, shared liberally with all the people, would buttress faith in the business system. In one way it has. Since 1944 the percentage of people who think the system needs radical overhauling has declined from 20 to 10; the percentage who give it outright approval has risen from 48 to 61. Still the American people have not renounced collectivist solutions for current-day problems.

For several years the pendulum of opinion has swung toward a freer environment, but in the interval of the last two years it has begun to move back.

ISSUE	PERCENTAGE		
	1953	1955	Change
Oppose government ownership of key industries	74	72	-2
Oppose government price controls	68	63	-5
Want less regulation of business	62	55	-7
Believe machines do not destroy jobs	47	43	-4
Disagree that wealth is becoming more concentrated	44	41	-3

In measuring ideological trends the Opinion Research Corporation has found that certain questions, such as those above, sharply differentiate people who believe in the free market from those who believe in government intervention. Using a standard bank of 26 questions, the over-all average on our measuring scale has shifted two points against the free market, from 57.7 to 55.8 per cent.

The pattern of public thinking today involves a great paradox. People say that socialism is repugnant and that the greatest hope for reaching a better life is the free enterprise way. For example, out of every one hundred in the voter survey:

72 say the growth of private business is the best answer for providing jobs for our growing population;

68 say the best way of achieving higher wages, more job benefits and a higher standard of living is through the free enterprise system rather than through government direction of the economy.

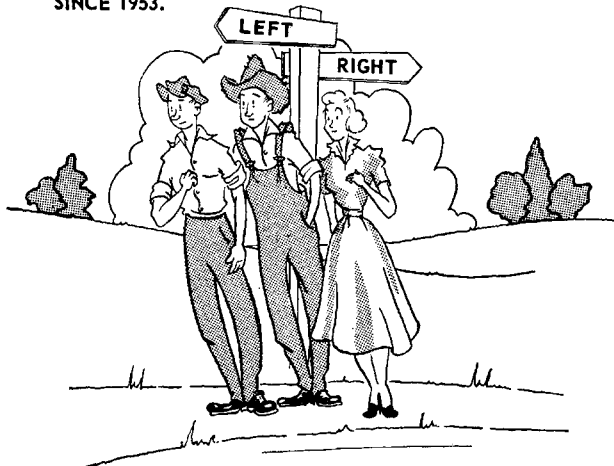
Yet we find Americans, regardless of political party or income level, voting strongly for government action to cope with problems of the day. Out of one hundred:

76 say the government should provide low rent housing for low income people;

83 say government should aid state and local education;

74 say government should give greater tax advantages to small business.

**ON THE BROAD BASE OF 26 FREE MARKET PRINCIPLES, THE AVERAGE SCORE FOR THE GENERAL PUBLIC HAS MOVED TWO POINTS TO THE LEFT SINCE 1953.**



*Public Opinion Index for Industry*

Why this paradox? One answer may be that today's conservatives are endorsing many ideas that yesterday were thought to be radical. Unemployment compensation, for example. But a better explanation is that collectivists do a better job of selling their social merchandise than free enterprisers.

The classic way to sell anything is to define the customer's need, then show him how the means proposed by the supplier will satisfy that need better than the offerings of competing suppliers. Or in other words: "Do you, Mr. Customer (or Mr. Citizen) have a problem? Here is the way to solve it."

To date, the advocates of government intervention have done the best job of selling the problem-solving features of their programs:

There are not enough houses; there are slums. Our plan for government action attacks this problem. Buy this plan, and you will have more housing.

There are not enough schoolrooms to seat our youngsters. Let the federal government supply the money. Buy our plan, and we will build the needed schools.

The small businessman has difficulty competing with big companies. Uncle Sam has the solutions: cut his taxes, loan him money, fix prices to protect his profit margins.

### Be "Yes" Men

This focus on the good ends is the secret of the statist's merchandising success. They declare strongly for good ends, give their merchandise labels packed with "hard sell," such as "social security," "full employment" and "the guaranteed annual wage." The public desires the good ends so strongly that it fails to exercise its critical judgment on whether the collectivist merchandise will live up to the claims made for it.

Free market people are the prize "no" men. They are the negativists, occupying a good share of their time saying "no" to extravagant union demands, and deflating the schemes of reformers who go to Washington demanding Utopia day before yesterday. Negativism is the albatross around the neck of free market leadership. No salesman worth his salt tells his customers why they can't do things; he tells them how they can satisfy their needs and realize their ambitions.

Proponents of more statism assert that they alone have real concern for the social and economic

problems of our society, and that they alone offer remedies that will work. Is this claim supported by the facts?

Is it true that the average American family will realize its dream of a ranch house in suburbia by means of a housing project set in the middle of a slum area? Or is the dream being realized through the enterprise of venture capital? Since World War Two some 10,000,000 new dwellings have been constructed by the building industry.

Is the best answer to job security a bigger dole for the idle, via unemployment compensation and guaranteed annual wage? Or is the answer the vigorous expansion of the economy to provide enough real jobs for our growing population? Between 1949 and 1954 jobs in industry increased by two million.

Do small businessmen need subsidies and props to survive? Can't they learn new methods, improve their performance, stand on their own feet? To judge from the record, opportunity is far from dead. There are now 4,000,000 small concerns open for business, an increase of 1,000,000 compared with ten years ago.

The material side of the story is the least important part of it. The real significance of the free market concept is that it allows men to determine their destiny through free choice. When we interview people in their homes and ask why living in the United States is better than in other countries, they talk very little about bathtubs, autos and television sets. They say in essence, "Here in America you are free":

You are free to choose your own job, or go into business for yourself;

You can live anywhere you please;

You are free to speak your mind, to worship according to your own conviction;

And if you don't like how our top men run the country you can go to the polls and vote them out.

The irony is that a free market system not only preserves freedom for the individual against the regimentation of the superstate, but at the same time turns in a superior performance in solving the problems people want solved—housing, medical care, education, jobs.

The libertarian cause needs philosophers who can spin a rationale for a free market society; but let us hope it can also find some good down-to-earth salesmen who can interpret the system in the simple terms of people's daily experience.

### Sensible Mule

**A mule ran headlong into the barn. A neighbor observed that the mule must be blind. "No," said the farmer, "he just doesn't give a damn." Maybe that also explains deficit financing.**

# The Independent

## Mr. Mullendore

By LEONARD E. READ

How wonderful it would be if everyone could meet Bill Mullendore as I did!

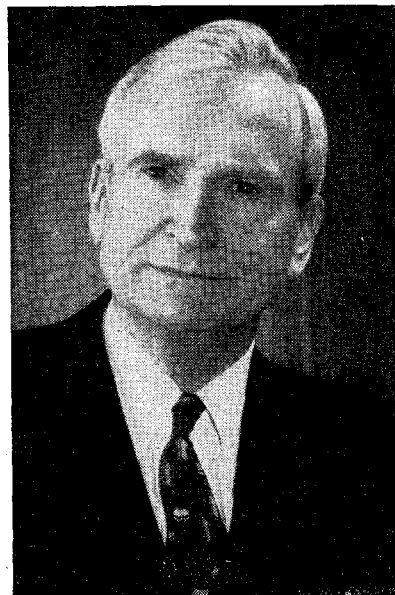
There's a bit of background to this tale that has to be told. It begins in 1929 when I became Assistant Manager of the Western Division of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, headquarters in Seattle. In the area of economic and political philosophy, I didn't know up from down. To me, anything that issued from the National Chamber as policy was straight from the horse's mouth and no questions warranted. My role in life was faithfully to parrot that policy.

Nearly four years later, I was moved to San Francisco as Manager of the Division. At the time, the Chamber had a President who would qualify as a Republican New Dealer and who, as much as any one person, was author of the NRA of blue eagle fame. By reason of this circumstance, the Chamber, including myself, was head over heels in NRA affairs—approvingly!

Soon after I took over my new duties, word came that an important business leader in Southern California was making disparaging references about U. S. Chamber policy. It seemed incumbent on me to straighten out the poor benighted soul; so off I hied to Los Angeles and called on the person in question, one W. C. Mullendore. He received me most courteously and let me talk. For half an hour I dwelt on the virtues of our policy. Mr. Mullendore then took over. For the next hour he lectured me on the limited role of law, the scope that should be allowed the individual, the principles the authors of the Constitution had in mind; and he pointed to the perfidy of NRA and other alphabetical hatchings of the New Deal. Never before or since have I listened to such skilled exposition. Anyway, to settle on who set whom straight, I closed the interview by saying, "Mr. Mullendore, I have never thought of any of these matters in this way before. I believe you are right." At that moment, the whole course of my life was altered.

But this is about his life, not mine. What manner of man is Mullendore? What of his background? What makes him tick as he does?

William C. Mullendore was born on a farm near Howard, Kansas, in 1892, the thirteenth child of John and Mary Mullendore, who had migrated from Indiana some twelve years earlier. Caught in



*William C. Mullendore*

the depression of the 90's, the family lost their farm and livestock and were reduced to the status of "renters."

Bill was six years old when his mother died, and fifteen when his father, after years of suffering, followed her. From then on he was largely on his own.

After graduation from the Howard High School he went to Arizona and worked for one year as a stenographer in a mining company to "build up a stake" for his further education. With some loans from his brothers and by working part time, he financed himself at the University of Michigan to his A.B. degree in 1914 and his J.D. from the Law School in 1916.

### **Assisted Mr. Hoover**

Following a year's law practice back in Kansas, he joined the U. S. Food Administration as assistant counsel (Robert A. Taft was another). He resigned this first war job to enlist as a private in the U. S. Air Force, returning after the armistice to act as Liquidator of the Food Administration. Then in 1920 Herbert Hoover sent him to Europe in his American Relief Administration as special representative operating in London and Berlin. After a year in his Kansas law office, he again joined Mr. Hoover as his assistant in 1922-23 when Mr. Hoover was Secretary of Commerce.

In 1923, Bill and his Kansas bride established their home in Los Angeles, California. After two years in the general practice of law, the Southern California Edison Company employed him as special counsel, and later appointed him general attorney in 1929. He was elected vice president in 1930, then executive vice president, and in 1945, president of the company—one of the world's finest

electric light and power operating companies, and now the fourth largest in the United States, measured by capital investment. Last year he became chairman of the board.

There is another story about myself that will help explain this man. I had moved to New York City in 1945 and had been invited to a dinner with eleven heads of our largest corporations, nearly all of them strangers to me, except by reputation. The aim was to decide on a course of action they would take on a silly legislative proposal that stood every chance of passing. I had decided on my own course of action at this meeting with industrial bigwigs: say nothing unless asked a specific question. But never had I found silence so difficult. For two hours, the talk commended compromise, taking no personal positions, hiring college professors to speak in their stead, and so on. Finally, the question came: "Read, we haven't heard from you. What do you think?" If I said what I thought, Read would be referred to in the past tense, my chance of working with these people at an end. It was at this point that I paid Mullendore as fine a compliment as man can pay to man. I asked myself in one silent second, "What would Bill do?"

### **To Point and to Principle**

The answer to my question came swiftly and as clear as crystal: "Tell them precisely what you think. It isn't dangerous to be honest, but what if it is? You have yourself to live with before you can live with these other people. Tell them what you think in unmistakable terms." The advice was heeded. And Bill was right. It wasn't dangerous to be honest. Indeed, it turned out to be profitable.

Intelligence can be pursued infinitely. It isn't attainable by man in an absolute sense. But it is possible to achieve absolute integrity, and Mullendore is nearer to this achievement than any person I have ever known. Integrity in its highest form is not merely the abstinence from lying. It is the accurate reflection of what a person believes to be right under any and all circumstances. Integrity in this sense is more than a negative form. It is a virtue with a positive quality.

It is integrity in this higher form that is the root of Mullendore's character. I have seen him in meetings time and time again where the course of the talk was socialistic or otherwise unprincipled. Always it would have been easy to say nothing. But not this man! By implication, if not by word, he might be thought to be in agreement and that would be a false impression. He rises and talks to the point and to principle—always to the point and to principle. And no one leaves any meeting without knowing where this business statesman stands.

Once, several years ago, he was selected as Los Angeles' distinguished citizen of the year. The

banquet hall was filled with the leadership of southern California who generally endorsed existing conditions and exuded optimism about the "good road" America was on. The record shows that Mullendore said: "Thank you." It also shows that he must not be understood to have accepted the honor as a leader of the optimists or as one who joined in the endorsement of the path the country was traveling. His unusual, if not shocking, acceptance speech, though brief and pointed, was one of the strongest and most vigorous of his not untame career, and reminded the audience that he sincerely believed that "we are on the road to disaster." Having a good sense of humor, he ended by offering to give back the watch on the grounds that maybe they had changed their minds about him as their citizen of the year.

This integrity, which often expresses itself as unusual candor and frankness, has had a tendency to rub many a prominent citizen the wrong way of his ideological and public relations grain. One might think that Mullendore would finally drown in a sea of unfavorable attitudes. But while the prominent citizenry expresses irritation over the Mullendore tough-mindedness, it is well to observe that this self-same citizenry keeps right on loading bigger and bigger responsibilities onto him. Of the hundreds of positions proffered, only a few have been accepted. He served his year as president of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce during the time when I was its general manager. He is a trustee of the Foundation for Economic Education, a trustee of the University of Southern California, and a director of the California State Chamber of Commerce. He is a trustee of Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, and a director of Union Pacific Railroad, of North American Aviation Company and others. He has been honored with an LL.D. degree by the University of Southern California and his own Alma Mater, the University of Michigan.

### **Recent Example of Courage**

There was one time recently when every good citizen of southern California was pleased that the Edison Company had a president who would not compromise principle. That was when a vicious strike was called in an effort to force compulsory unionization on the company's employees. Many criminal acts, including dynamiting of the company's major transmission lines, occurred during this strike. This man of principle, only a few months out of the hospital after a heart attack, stood up and fought the greatest fight of his life, giving not an iota to expediency.

His answer was, "We refuse to do something which we do not have the right to do, under the excuse that we 'could get away with it'; that 'it is the easier way out'; that 'the public would rather have you impose union membership on your em-

ployees than to be bothered, threatened and inconvenienced by a strike'; and that 'the governmental authorities will o.k. the union shop if you say the word.' All of those arguments have been made to us. Then they were backed up with the force, the threat of violence, and the great public injury which this strike represents. That which is demanded is wrong and the use of force and violence (the uncontrollable power of a strike) to get it, makes it doubly wrong. . . ."

The union lost the strike, and no fundamental principle was violated in the settlement because of the courage of a man who knows "there can be no responsible exercise of unjustifiable power."

You won't find Bill Mullendore and his wife going to parties or giving them. They simply refuse to become a part of the social whirl. Instead, on evenings and week ends, he is found reading, studying, writing, or just meditating. This he has done for many years. It accounts in no small measure for the fact that he is just about the most profound thinker I have ever met.

His philosophy, as expressed in one of his speeches, shows the courage to face reality:

"Interwoven with the network of institutions and physical structures in any human civilization, is another intangible and invisible network. The two networks—the physical and the nonphysical relationships and institutions—are so closely interwoven and so completely interdependent that the

destruction of either will surely destroy the other. The nonphysical includes the psychical, the mental, the spiritual forces—ideas, attitudes, emotions—which must remain in reasonable equilibrium if the network is to hold together.

"During this twentieth century, the leadership—the leading human mentalities and personalities—have been disproportionately absorbed in development of the physical. We have suffered wars and revolutions, and the emotions aroused to the level of domination thereby have been the destructive emotions of distrust, suspicion, envy, resentment—all forces which will, if unchecked, lead to the enforced equality of the Welfare State, to the violence of the police State, subversion, treason, the torture chamber, and to both civil and international war. The disequilibrium is now evidencing itself in a drift toward socialistic materialism in a dangerously tense and strained world situation."

The thing that has made Bill Mullendore tick is his belief that we are here on earth to develop our talents, our highest and best human potential, and that this can be done only if our social and political institutions permit us the necessary freedom. He is still growing, earnestly pursuing the truth with all the wisdom and experience and energy which come from a fruitful life as a farm boy, student, business-statesman, patriot and libertarian.

## An Open Letter to My Friend, the Liberal

As a good modern Liberal, you are always in a sweat about civil liberties. You say that informers, witch-hunters, book-burners, China Lobbies, character assassins, wire-tappers and other agents of the iniquitous government lurk in constant readiness to trample any stray civil liberty as soon as the ADA or the ACLU turns its back. I, being on the "extreme right," often argue with you about these allegations. I say that you exaggerate, or that you are accusing the wrong people.

But while I shall continue to maintain that you do exaggerate, and that you point your fire at those who do not deserve it, I must admit in fairness that what you charge is substantially true. That is, the power to crush the civil liberties of American citizens is latent in our government. Several times it has come to the surface, and some helpless citizen has been sucked down by the inexorable undertow of a government that is too powerful for the country's good. These frightening experiences seem to promise worse horrors in the future.

So, without embroidering the subject, I shall grant the substantial truth of your incessant uproar about infringement of civil liberties. Then, after granting you this major point, let me ask you one question: *how did we get this way?* Who made the government so powerful that it could trample on the rights of the individual? Who subordinated the individual to society? Who stressed security, at the expense of liberty?

You did, friend. You did.

M. STANTON EVANS

# Clearing Up A Mystery

By MORRIE RYSKIND

*The "Gloomy Dean of Beverly Hills" explains why he hasn't been sounding off in print of late. It all began, he points out, with a curious letter that "changed my entire life."*

So many people have been commenting—many of them favorably, I hasten to add — on the fact that they haven't seen my opinions in print lately, and so many distorted rumors are making the rounds that I think it time to make an explanation. It was the most recent Gallup poll on the subject that forced my hand. If you recall, it went something like this:

*Question:* Mr. R. hasn't been heard from lately. To what do you attribute this and how do you feel about it?

	Percentage
Approve .....	78.3
Disapprove .....	2.4
He joined a Buddhist monastery.....	22.9
He was defenestrated.....	17.6
And a good thing, too.....	67.4
Who? .....	92.3

(This adds up to more than 100 per cent, because 1. Dr. Gallup isn't very good at figures and 2. some people gave more than one answer.)

Not, the good Lord knows, that anybody cared much about what I had to say, but it was a little as though Yellowstone's Old Faithful had quit spouting every hour on the hour. After all, for years I erupted almost as regularly. You could hardly pick up an issue of a hidebound reactionary magazine (like the FREEMAN, say) without reading some mournful diatribe of mine on the state of the nation and/or the world; when you glanced through your daily paper, there I was with a Letter to the Editor, viewing something or other with alarm; there were nightly telegrams of protest that I sent to presidents, vice presidents, governors, senators and even umpires. And the friends I pestered! Believe me, I didn't get to be known as the Gloomy Dean of Beverly Hills by just sitting on my hands.

But get a load of me now! The metamorphosis couldn't be more striking if Cassandra had suddenly turned into Pollyanna. No longer is my day full of a futile correspondence—me and those one-way letters Roosevelt, Truman *et al.* never bothered to answer. I have time now for the pleasanter things of life: I can look at TV, play a game of scrabble, venture around a pitch-and-putt course, and occasionally go to the track. I don't say I'm prepared for all this leisure, but I'm reading some books on how to spend a pleasant old age and

deriving a quiet contentment from them. True, I am still regarded as too young for the bowling green, but it won't be long now.

How come? Well, a few months ago I received a letter—the letter that changed my entire life—from a John A. Despol, who is Legislative Representative (vulgarly known as lobbyist) for the CIO California Industrial Union Council. To be strictly accurate, the note wasn't addressed to me but to my wife; California, however, is a community property state and my wife is entitled to half my income and, in return, I'm entitled to look at half her mail if she decides to show it to me. Luckily for me, Mr. Despol's communiqué was included in my allowance that month. Otherwise—but I shudder at the thought.

## Mr. Despol's Automation

I ask you now to turn to Mr. Despol's missive (it is reproduced in full in the box on the next page) and read it carefully. I know you will experience—even though vicariously—the joy that was mine when I read his magnanimous offer. No longer need I bother my pretty little head about World Affairs; Mr. Despol and his competent staff would do all the required reading and research, reach an unbiased but liberal decision, write my letters for me (including a carbon so I could remember where I stood) and even provide me with the stamps. True, I would still have to sign the letter and lick the envelope; but Mr. Despol, I understand, is working on that, too, and, when some bugs are ironed out, I may not have to do even that.

Well, sir, I may not be the shrewdest fellow in the world, but I know a Bargain when I see one. After all, not since Orwell's Big Brother has such a benefactor appeared on the horizon; and Despol did it by 1955, which beats Big Brother by twenty-nine years.

California, always a progressive state, has been quick to take advantage of Mr. Despol's automation. Even in early April, when Mr. Despol's venture was launched, 800 high-minded citizens were already having their thinking and writing done for them; goodness knows how many thousands have been benefited by this time. This is the CIO's answer to Do-It-Yourself and, furthermore, you can't cut yourself in the process.



Of course, there were—there always are, alas!—right-wing reactionaries who protested: they screamed that people ought to think their own thoughts and write their own letters. And this group of malcontents who would turn the clock backward was joined by some Wall Street congressmen—some of them from California, I regret to say—who asserted that union funds were being used for illegal purposes and that they would sick Taft-Hartley on Mr. Despol.

But nothing came of it, what with meetings at the summit and the necessity of rushing important matters through so Congress could adjourn. Nothing probably will come of it.

Mr. Despol denied the vile insinuations and nasty slanders and pointed out that his offer was made only to bona-fide members of the CIO, and certainly his organization's members had a right to use

union funds to pay postage and research for its own members. Of that, I believe, there can be no doubt.

Which brings up the one point that puzzles my wife and myself. She doesn't remember joining the CIO, but she's sure Mr. Despol wouldn't lie about such a thing. We have concluded that it must have been at some PTA meeting or perhaps at the Republican State Convention where, she assures me, so many resolutions are passed so fast she's never quite sure what happened.

But pish on trivialities and posh on technicalities! The main thing is that Mr. Despol is now handling our political attitudes, and we even have hopes of getting a guaranteed annual wage for letting him do this. There is talk, further, of time-and-a-half for any envelopes we lick on Sunday—just talk, so far, but wait till next fall when our contract expires!

### CIO CALIFORNIA INDUSTRIAL UNION COUNCIL

117 West Ninth Street

Los Angeles 15, Calif.

April, 1955

Dear Friend:

We are inviting you, as a member of the articulate liberal community in your area, to take advantage of our Legislative Secretarial Service. Over 800 citizens holding pro-liberal-labor views in California have already signed up, and we are sure that other citizens like yourself will be similarly interested.

This is how it works:

You will fill out the enclosed authorization card and drop it in the mail. From time to time, during legislative sessions, you will receive from our office an individually typed letter to your Congressman, Senators (U. S. or State) or assemblyman. Your return address will be on the letter; all you need to do is sign it and place it in the envelope which will be enclosed with it. The envelope will be already stamped and addressed, ready for you to mail. You will also receive a carbon copy of the letter to keep.

The letters will be concerned with issues which are important, timely and controversial. The point of view expressed will be based on liberal-labor attitudes which most liberals generally hold. We are sure that you are in full agreement with liberal-labor policy on issues such as minimum wage laws, unemployment insurance, housing, child care centers, and the like.

This secretarial service will mean more letters on important issues to your legislators. It helps you to keep in touch with your legislators at the time the legislative fight is on

in Congress or Sacramento. It can be your way of letting your legislator know that you, as an individual, are keeping abreast of the most important issues arising in Congress and in Sacramento. It also helps your legislator keep in touch with you, because he will answer your personal letter, letting you know his position.

*Remember that the final action—the signing and mailing of the letter is taken by you. You approve, sign, and mail every letter which bears your signature.* The authorization card which we have enclosed with this letter is merely to let us know that you want us to provide you with this service. There is no charge.

The only way your legislator can know how you, the voter, feel about a proposed law is through your telling him. We will be happy to help you tell him if you will sign and mail the enclosed card.

Legislatively yours,  
JOHN A. DESPOL  
Legislative Representative

P. S. This proposal can be summed up as follows: We will provide you with what amounts to a private secretary who will do research, write and type your letters for your signature. Professional lobbyists have this kind of service. So do many business executives. We just thought it would be a good idea to provide the same kind of service to those of you who would like to be amateur lobbyists more often.

# Above the Law

By WILLFORD I. KING

Some years ago, let's suppose, you invented an improved method for laundering clothes. There was only one laundry in Smithtown, and it was an antiquated affair run by Ebenezer Smith, so you decided to start a rival laundry, using your new devices.

Naturally, Smith was annoyed by your intrusion into his domain. So he visited his numerous friends and got them to agree not to patronize your concern. Did you have any redress? Certainly. You went to court and had Smith punished for the crime of boycotting.

Your new, efficient methods enabled you to offer laundering at prices lower than those which Smith had been charging. He hired thugs to upset your delivery trucks and set fire to your laundry. Could you do anything about this? Of course. You had the thugs arrested and sent to jail, and made Smith pay you for all damage done.

As time passed, your low prices and superior work enabled you to take away a large portion of Smith's customers. This infuriated him. He hired gangsters to blockade the entrance to your plant, so as to prevent your employees from going to work. When some of the latter tried to enter your laundry, the gangsters beat them severely. Did you meekly submit to such interference with your business? Far from it. The court and the police protected your business.

Now, let us skip a few years. Your business has flourished, and you have a legion of satisfied customers and many employees. A CIO organizer appears on the scene. By his smooth talk, he has convinced a majority of your employees that, if they come into the Laundermen's Union, they can get higher pay. They take his advice, join the union, demand wage advances. You show them that your profit margin is very narrow, and that to advance the prices of your services will mean loss of business and layoff of workers. The union leaders laugh at your contentions, and a strike is ordered. What happens then?

All union men and women in Smithtown are ordered by AFL and CIO headquarters to boycott your establishment. When Smith organized a boycott, you obtained redress through the court. Now, when you try similar action against the unions—no results. They are above the law!

The strikers, or men hired by the union, set up a picket line. When one of your nonunion drivers

*Here is evidence that the average worker has lower real income and less security since unionization became nation-wide.*

tries to break through the picket line, his truck is upset and the contents burned. When Smith did this, he had to pay for the loss. Can you similarly collect from the union? No. It is above the law!

Some of your loyal employees attempt to pass through the picket line to go to work. They are severely beaten. When Smith and his "goons" did the same thing, they were put in jail. Does the court now treat the strikers in the same way? Scarcely. They are above the law!

Let us next assume that, in a prosperous year, the steel industry buys 75 million tons of coal, but

## APOSTLES OF FREE ENTERPRISE



*Alexander in the Philadelphia Bulletin*

in a dull year takes only 50 million tons, and that because of such a reduction in purchases, the Association of Coal-Mine Owners recruits an army which surrounds the steel plants of the nation and demands that, in the future, they either buy 75 million tons each year or cease operations. Moreover, the steel companies are ordered to pay for all coal bought hereafter a dollar per ton above current prices.

Under such circumstances, either the federal or

the state governments would do something to prevent such forcible coercion. But, what action is taken when, similarly, the automobile workers demand increased wage rates and pay for work not performed, and back their demands with force? None! They are above the law!

When in any instance the national unions find that laws applying to ordinary citizens are hampering their actions, they usually succeed in securing legislation exempting them from compliance with the annoying statutes. Thus, the Sherman Anti-Trust Law prohibits the business concerns in a given field from uniting to monopolize a market and to raise the prices of their products. What a hue and cry there would be if the members of the National Association of Manufacturers all combined to fleece their customers. But the AFL and the CIO and their members are not subject to the law applying to ordinary citizens. Indeed, the major reason for the existence of these organizations is to monopolize the labor market and push up wage rates. What accounts for this distinction in the statutes? Why are union members made supercitizens?

### Surprising Constancy in Statistics

The answer is twofold. First, union members are numerous, and they and others in their families together have many votes. Secondly, most legislators believe that unionization greatly benefits the wage-working class—the largest segment of our nation's population.

Is this last assumption valid? One of the most important pieces of evidence in this connection is furnished by the United States Census of Manufactures, covering a branch of industry which, today, is largely dominated by unions. Approximately comparable data are available for the period 1899 to 1951 inclusive. These figures reveal a surprising degree of constancy in the wage-workers' percentage share in the nation's total "value added by manufacture." At no Census date in the half century, did they get less than 38 per cent or more than 42 per cent of this value total. In 1899, they received 40.7 per cent of this aggregate. In 1949—fifty years later—they received 40.2 per cent. In the period 1923 to 1931, when, on the average, only one-ninth of factory workers were unionized, their share of the value added averaged 38 per cent. Since 1938, with nearly half of such workers belonging to unions, they have averaged 39.2 per cent. Clearly, therefore, the earnings total of factory wage workers depends not upon organization, but, instead, upon the aggregate value produced by the industry.

And does nation-wide unionization stimulate production? The reverse is all too commonly true, for "featherbedding" to a greater or lesser extent is widespread. The experience of the Lincoln Electric Company of Cleveland illustrates strikingly

the difference in productivity which results when wage workers unite to maximize rather than to keep down production. James F. Lincoln, head of the Lincoln Electric Company, says that, on the average, his employees, by cooperating to *increase* production, turn out a physical product per man *nearly twice as large* as that produced by competing concerns. The added productivity of his workers make their *annual* compensation average some *four or five thousand dollars* more than that received by the employees of rival concerns—employees belonging to the big national unions!

Since the wage factor is a major item in production expense, it follows that, whenever the unions succeed in pushing up the wage per unit of output, the consumer must pay more for the product. And which is the most numerous class of consumers? The wage workers. So they lose in their buying a large part of what they gain in pay.

The only way to augment prosperity—in other words to increase the *real* national income and add to total buying power—is to *produce more*. So wage advances, unaccompanied by enlarged production, never cause demand to expand. They often do the reverse.

Again, let us turn to the manufacturing industry for evidence in this connection. Government statistics show that the aggregate demand for factory products depends upon the total *new spending power* (the algebraic sum of the national income and any *change* in the quantity of money and checking accounts) coming into possession of the nation's inhabitants, and, as noted above, the total pay of factory workers varies in proportion to the value of the factory output.

### Behind the Depression

Since the size of the total factory wage bill is determined primarily by forces outside the manufacturing field, it is obvious that the number of hours of employment available for factory workers depends primarily upon the average rate of pay per hour; a \$1 rate giving twice as much employment as a \$2 rate—other things being equal.

Back in 1929, because a wave of pessimism swept the nation, bank credit shrank rapidly. This caused the checking account aggregate to contract sharply, and this made total *available* new spending power tumble from \$64.23 billions in 1929 to \$54.94 billions in 1930—a drop of more than 14 per cent. If wage rates had also fallen 14 per cent, employment would not have declined, and little trouble would have resulted. But the unions, abetted by government, prevented factory wage rates from moving down even 3 per cent. This meant that, with wage rates virtually at the old levels, the existing dollar demand was no longer large enough to employ all people who made their living by factory work. So factory hours of employment declined more than 16 per cent. Production shrank.

This pulled down the national income, and thereby reduced new spending power. The Great Depression was on. In general, union support of wage rigidity is a major cause of depressions.

And union opposition is one of the forces preventing the adoption of a system like that utilized by the Nunn-Bush Shoe Company, a system which, by making wage payments flexible, minimizes any necessity for laying off employees, and also elimi-

nates most of the situations giving rise to battles over wage rates.

Since unionization, by cutting productivity and generating unemployment, *lowers* the real income and *lessens* the security of the average wage-working family, is there any legitimate excuse for elevating unions and their members to a position over and above the laws as they apply to other classes of American citizens?

# Conservatives Also Confiscate

By COLM BROGAN

*Through the compulsory purchase of property, the present British government continues the process of piecemeal nationalization the Laborites began.*

Not long before the last General Election, I attended a press conference called to expose the evils of compulsory purchase. Nearly all the men and women I spoke to had been victims of that practice, and they assured me that they would never vote Conservative again. They would keep their votes in their pockets.

The convener of the Conference was Commander Marten. He is the man who made this business an angry national issue, though the property at stake in his own case was neither especially important nor especially desirable.

Shortly before the outbreak of war, the Air Ministry had seized a few hundred acres of rough land known as Crichel Down. The land was required for a practice bombing range, and compensation was paid to the owner in full. The owner was Commander Marten's father-in-law.

Some time after the war, the RAF had no further use for Crichel Down. Commander Marten maintained that the justification for the seizure had now disappeared and that he had the right to a first refusal, on market terms, to buy the land back (his father-in-law was now dead).

Whitehall would have none of this, but fought a protracted and expert battle of elastic defense in depth. When the crusading Commander had fought his way into the last citadel of the Air Ministry, the land mysteriously turned out to be now in the hold of the Ministry of Agriculture. After further lengthy and baffling negotiations, the land was said to be in the possession of the Commissioners for Crown Lands. It was the Circumlocution Office playing Hunt-the-Slipper, and playing it with masterly skill.

But the Commander persevered and tried to force a judicial inquiry. He won the support of all the farmers of the West Country, and for an obvious reason. He was a man of wealth, social

position and considerable political influence. If, the farmers argued, Whitehall could deny justice to a man like that, what possible security of tenure could there be for humbler men? Commander Marten also won decisive support from some Conservative newspapers, and in the end he forced the hand of the Minister of Agriculture, Sir Thomas Dugdale.

## Bureaucratic Arrogance Revealed

A judicial inquiry was instituted; there were ugly rumors of financial corruption circulating in the district. Sir Andrew Clarke, who held the inquiry, dismissed the possibility of corruption, but his report was otherwise a blistering condemnation of Whitehall. Several civil servants were condemned for a deplorable lack of candor and ordinary straight dealing. The bureaucratic arrogance revealed was startling, and Sir Andrew's main finding was a blunt and terse statement that all the maneuvering and obstruction had no other cause than irritation on the part of the bureaucracy that any ordinary citizen should dare to as much as question their exercise of power.

Sir Thomas Dugdale, a genial and kindly man who had been badly misled, had no option but to accept the Report and resign, which he did with moving dignity. When a leading Minister is forced to resign because of proved and serious irregularities in the Department he is supposed to control, that is normally the time for the Opposition to utter loud war whoops and look for other eminent heads to make fall. But the attack on Sir Thomas was entirely a Conservative affair, and leading Socialists expressed displeasure at the report.

The Socialists were acting in character. It is the obvious policy of administrative socialism to

hang on at all costs and with whatever pretext to property that has once been compulsorily acquired; it is piecemeal nationalization. That was the policy which the Departments pursued under the direction of socialist political heads. But nearly two years after the defeat of the Attlee government, at least one Department was still pursuing that policy under an unimpeachably Conservative Minister. Was Agriculture the only Department where the Conservative Ministers had made no impact on their own permanent civil servants? It was not the Socialists but the more thoughtful and anxious Conservatives who were looking round to see if there were other heads that should fall.

Their anxiety has not diminished. Not for the first time had a determined man made a small matter a focusing point for public feeling on a great principle. But Commander Marten himself was under no illusion that the battle had been won. Lopping off the Minister's head was a simpler and easier task than decapitating the Civil Service hydra. Hence his press conference and his continued campaign for the rights of humbler victims.

The victims are numerous, for an act of compulsory purchase happens almost daily. Some unimportant citizen loses his farm or his home under terms of compensation that are little short of robbery. (Recently a farmer greeted visiting officials with a crowbar in his hand.) Compulsory purchase is by no means a new thing in Britain. The purchase Acts form a sizeable section of Halsted's Statutes, and the first of them was passed exactly a century ago.

### **Planning Act of 1947**

But a change in practice since the end of World War One has turned an occasional nuisance into a general threat to security of tenure for anybody anywhere. Until 1919, it was the custom of the State to pay more than the full market value for any property they felt compelled to seize. It was recognized that compulsory dispossession was a wrong, to be justified perhaps by high necessity; the victim was therefore paid 10 per cent above the market price, by way of a monetary apology. After 1919 the State would pay no more than the market price. After 1947 the State has ceased to do even that.

This is the result of the Planning Act of that year, a piece of legislation that must surely hold the world's record for fantastic confusion, complication and obscurity. In general, the owner of land is not allowed to change the use of his land from that he had put it to in 1948, unless he has received permission from the Ministry, having applied under the right clause at the right time. (One man lost everything because he applied under clause ten instead of clause nine.) This means that a man who owns land used in 1948 for grazing may find by 1955 that he can enormous-

ly increase the value of his land by using it for, say, housing. But he must first secure the imperial consent of the Ministry. If a man makes an honest mistake, the penalty may be ruinous. If he alters the use of the land, perhaps by building himself a house on it, he can be compelled to restore the status quo at his own expense—even if it means pulling down the house. Ignorance of the law is no excuse, although the law in question is so obscure that any lawyer would be called a vain boaster if he pretended to have mastered it.

But another man may have complied with the law. Even though he could enormously increase its value by putting it to some other use, he has kept it frozen, so to speak, in the uneconomic use of 1948. If the land is taken from him by compulsory order, he will be paid the price of the land in its undeveloped state. So, some Ministry or local authority will get his land for a fraction of what they would have had to pay in the open market. In other words, whenever the bureaucracy choose to do so, they can and they do rob an owner of all the development value of his property.

To give one example of what might happen, there is a private school with large grounds, which was originally on the outskirts of a big city, but is now in the heart of the new business quarter. Space is so valuable in that area that the owner has been besought, time after time, by business interests to sell the site for almost any price he cares to name. He has steadfastly refused a not-so-small fortune because he considers it his duty to keep the school near the neighborhood where the pupils live, and the business interests have no power to force him to sell. But if the Council or a Ministry decides to take the land, they will simply secure an order, take over his immensely valuable property and pay him the price of so many acres of grass.

No doubt the owner of that school would have means to fight the grab, but the expense would be heavy, and his appeal would be to what is politely called a "quasi-judicial" tribunal, which means a tribunal which is quasi-judicially on the side of the expropriators before the case is heard. Even a successful appeal may prove to be useless, or nearly so.

### **Property Values Destroyed**

There is a beautiful golf course at Byfleet in Surrey, fringed by expensive houses owned by well-to-do business and professional men. One Council attempted to seize the course for a housing estate. The Golf Club fought the case with the full support not only of the owners of the neighboring houses, but of the whole small community. The Club won its appeal, but the sighs of relief were premature. Hardly had one Council retired defeated from the field than another Council stepped in and claimed the land for itself. This is precisely the

tactic which has often been alleged against raw capitalism, that of raising one court case after another against men of modest means till they give up the struggle in despair. One result of this battle was that a friend of mine was compelled to sell his house at a loss of several thousand pounds, and every other house on the golf course fringe has lost equally in value. The houses had been expensive because they offered a pleasant and rural view. With the prospect of a view of brick walls and washing on the line, the "amenity value" disappeared.

The mere threat was quite enough to destroy that value, and often there is destruction in the value of property that will never be taken over at all. A planner, daydreaming in his office of building a really up-to-date refuse dump, marks an area on his map. At some time, he plans to place his dump somewhere within that area; five or ten years later, perhaps never. But the mere prediction is enough to bring values down with a run. And there is worse. Not only at some undetermined time, but on some undetermined part within that area will the doom finally fall—if it ever falls. The area where prices hit the basement may be ten or fifteen times the size of a dump area, but all the land is equally affected because of the uncertainty. But the agent of Whitehall has no concern for the nightmare results of his daydream. He is an administrative law unto himself. "In the name of the Cardinal and for the good of the State, the bearer of this has done what he has done."

### The Poor Have Suffered

Spreading a total insecurity of property rights is an excellent softening-up process for full socialism, but some of the worst sufferers have been people of modest means, a considerable number being strictly poor. The unfortunate Edward Pilgrim was a workingman who hanged himself when compulsory purchase robbed him of his plot of land but left him with a heavy debt to pay for the land he had lost. Other workingmen have bought old house property with partly borrowed money, to have it taken away with no compensation except for the small value of the site, and nothing at all for the house.

Some of these investors were possibly foolish to buy property in a poor condition, but the same fate has befallen widows who bought perfectly sound property with what their husbands left, which an authority acquired simply to pull down to clear the site for new housing. The phrase

"Widows' Houses" represents not an ancient but a present wrong in Britain.

Inevitably, such oppression bears hardest on the poorest and most ignorant, for these are the people least able to fight. They are denied even the assistance of Legal Aid. In recent years, the State has been giving financial help to people of small means who seek redress in the courts—but only for certain suits. The provision of this Legal Aid has proved highly disconcerting to hospitals, surgeons and even to schoolmasters, for aggrieved patients and parents are now alarmingly ready to follow up their cause in the courts. Sometimes, in a claim of person against person for civil damages, the State obligingly helps both sides, and the court solemnly awards a large sum against a defendant who has been warranted as a poor person lacking even the means to pay for his own defense. The provisions of Legal Aid which have greatly stimulated quarrelsome litigation have also given the divorce rate a mighty upward boost. But the State which will help to finance a man who sues a dentist for an allegedly bad filling will not give one penny to help the poorest person threatened with dispossession.

The Conservative government last year did something to meet the widespread indignation among its own supporters. If another Pilgrim Case arises, the Ministry now has power to pay the sufferer the payment he could have asked if he had filled in the right form in the right place at the right time. But the Ministry has no duty to do this. If done, it is an act of grace. That is the prevailing pattern. Whitehall may, or may not, grant some measure of mercy, but justice is still in chains.

The Pilgrim Case stirred the whole nation. Labor supporters were as indignant as Conservatives, but that was because Pilgrim was a proletarian. There is no general indignation among labor supporters about the whole principle and operation of the Act, for there is a vague and quite mistaken idea that the sufferers are nearly always people of some means, perhaps of wealth. The undermining of the legal rights of property has run parallel with the undermining of respect for property rights among millions of British voters. Even Conservatives are tied in the "rotten parchment bonds." In my own area, the Conservative Council seized market garden land for building. The Councilors who did this were strongly against compulsory purchase, but they had learned that if they respect the rights of the owner, another Council would step in, the owner would still be expropriated and the development of the land would be out of their own control. That is the law.

**Housewives as a whole cannot be trusted to buy all the right things where nutrition and health are concerned—in the case of nutrition and health the gentlemen in Whitehall really do know better what is good for the people.**

DOUGLAS JAY, M.P., quoted in *Freedom First*, Summer 1955



## WASHINGTON, D.C.

by Frank C. Hanighen

Republicans and Democrats have been making a hot summer even hotter by clashing angrily over the matter of businessmen in government. Senator Morse gleefully talks of a "bad odor" in the Executive branch. Senator Kefauver generated theatrical indignation not only about business people in the Eisenhower regime but even about businessmen who consult with government officials as to how Treasury money will be spent. The coonskin collectivist naturally is enraged that Dixon-Yates should save the taxpayer money which might be squandered on the socialistic boondoggle, TVA. Whatever the outcome, it is clear that the Democrats on Capitol Hill are exploiting the old line of "class interest" for political purposes.

The Republicans cry "smear" in rebuttal, which is all right as far as it goes. But it fails to go far enough in accurately assessing the "angry" situation and falls far short of electrifying this sophisticated Capital. For Washington has changed greatly since the days of Attorney General Harry Daugherty, Secretary of the Interior Fall and the fast operators of the early twenties. The center of government, it is true, can never escape blame so long as the wives of government officials like gifts of mink coats—as the history of the Truman regime disclosed. But the myth that the party more closely identified with business has instituted a saturnalia of Teapot Domes fools no one here, whatever effect it may have on voters.

The notion that a businessman accepts the offer of a government job for the sole purpose of increasing his capital gains is too incredible for even the most gullible relics of the trust-busting era. How Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson lost heavily by disposing of his General Motors stock is a byword here. Naturally, the GOP defenders of businessmen in government insist that their heroes are possessed by nothing more nor less than a dedicated desire to perform a public service. Certainly there are some of these. We know by personal knowledge of one who said: "Here I've crabbed about the Roosevelt and Truman regimes, and now Ike asks me to take a job. It's up to me to do it—even at a salary sacrifice—and show what I can do." What he did, at a real personal sacrifice, was to make a mess of it—not because he sought to feather his firm's nest, but because he was too

honest and trusted in the New Deal bureaucrats who surrounded him.

The fact is—as many observers and many of their colleagues will confirm—that a dozen other motives, apart from lust for public service, prompt tycoons to become Assistant Secretaries of this or that Department. Vanity is one—vanity which is a far more powerful determining factor in Washington than greed. Having achieved the pinnacle of success in business, the individual likes to enjoy the prestige of high public office among the folks of his community and would like to get around among his equals (in business) who have won similar positions. Then, there's the little woman, who has long heard of the nice associations—cultural, of course—in the Georgetown Garden Club. Thackeray, thou shouldst be living here at this hour!

The picture of new official Washington today is quite different from that portrayed in the *Daily Worker* and the "liberal" publications which follow that communist organ. Instead of a well-planned conspiracy (starting in Detroit, of course) of business executives plotting to increase their dividends and stock-holdings and to "destroy the social gains of the New and Fair Deals," the picture is rather of innocents abroad in the fierce jungle of bureaucratic Washington. Instead of a bunch of venal capitalistic characters installed on Constitution Avenue with private wires to Broad and Wall Streets, it is one of timid ex-chairmen of boards seeking to be nice to chiefs of divisions who learned the ropes under Harry Hopkins and enjoy blocking or swaying the honest blue-eyed boy upstairs.

**Apropos of the current Democratic attacks on businessmen in government, some observers here believe that, come the beginning of 1956, a much bigger spate of exposés will start. These—it is believed—will be the product of a collaboration between the Democratic holdovers in bureaucracy and Democratic investigators on Capitol Hill.**

Some executives have, in the last two years, discovered the facts of political life. In February last, Mr. James C. Worthy, retiring Assistant Secretary of Commerce (returning to Sears Roebuck after two years' service under the GOP regime) told a civil service gathering that jobs for the party faith-

ful was a "very real and legitimate need" of the American political system. He said that most of the jobs which he indicated should be taken out of civil service ought to be distributed "close to the grass roots."

The Worthy statement came as the Hoover Commission broke a similar lance in the struggle of the unfortunate Eisenhower regime to oust New Deal "holdovers." As everyone here knows, "liberal" propaganda has stressed the "protection of civil service" from what "liberals" call a "political spoils system." Actually, the previous Democratic Administration had blanketed into civil service a mass of New Deal appointees whose role since 1952 has been to impede conservative trends in Eisenhower policies. The GOP Administration made some moves to solve the problem by expanding the number of federal jobs open to political appointment. The Hoover Commission recommended the creation of a category of higher federal jobs to be filled by political appointments.

**The Commission** in its over-all detailed plans to save some \$7 billion a year has produced a veritable *vade mecum* of economy. Few here question that proposition. But veteran observers realize full well that it will take determined action by the Executive and Legislative branches of the government to put its recommendations into effect. Out of about 362 recommendations, it is estimated the President and various Executive departments and agencies have the power to implement 195. Capitol Hill must pass legislation to carry out the remaining 167. Even the most optimistic admirers of the Commission's work concede that the New Deal holdovers in the Executive branch and the Democratic majority in Congress may prove stubborn obstacles in what looks like quite a desperate battle.

In mid-July, the President took a stand which suggests that the Executive may put up a real fight for the Commission's recommendations. When Congress sent the military appropriation bill to the White House for signature, Mr. Eisenhower stated that one section of the bill is unconstitutional, although he signed the bill, saying that the armed forces had to keep going. The section to which the President referred, as written by the Congress, required the Defense Department to obtain the approval of the Appropriations Committees of the two Houses of Congress to drop certain activities hitherto operated by the Department.

The dispute arises from the intention of Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson to remove the Department from certain civilian lines of business—operating laundries, bakeries, etc. Wilson has been trying to get "government out of business" wherever local businessmen can do the same jobs. This policy of eliminating government competition with business has been one of the recommendations most favored by former President Hoover. His Commis-

sion reports on the evils of governmental activities in the fields of shipping, air transportation, rural electrification and power are outstanding.

Therefore, President Eisenhower's striking position adopted in the case of the military appropriations bill offers hope that much more progress will be made in enforcing the Hoover ideas than had been expected. On the other hand, pessimists point out that not only the New Deal holdovers in the departments, but also "liberals" and "spend and elect" politicians in the Eisenhower Administration can effectively sabotage the sincere intentions of the President and such top leaders as Wilson—particularly in the highly political climate of the coming election year.

The President's stand, it is widely noticed, is one based on constitutional grounds. Backed by an opinion from Attorney General Brownell, Mr. Eisenhower warned Congress that the offending section in the Appropriations bill violated the principle of the separation of powers between the Executive and Legislative arms of the government. He said: "The Congress has the power and right to grant or to deny an appropriation, but once an appropriation is made, the appropriation must, under the Constitution, be administered by the Executive branch of the government alone, and the Congress has no right to confer upon its Committees the power to veto Executive action." The President said he would ignore the section unless the Judiciary passed on it to the contrary. So far, there appears no likelihood that his policy will be challenged in the courts.

**The fight for** the Bricker Amendment has been postponed until the next session of Congress—judged to be the best time to pressure members up for re-election in 1956. Meanwhile, a court decision in a case—*Iannone vs. Workmen's Compensation Board*—illustrates how necessary is passage of the Amendment. The case involves the death of a worker in New York, whose dependents are residents and nationals of Italy. The New York State Board followed usual procedure in such cases of nonresident alien dependents by cutting the actuarial value of its award in half.

The claimants appealed, saying that the state law is invalidated by a treaty between the U.S. and Italy, which provides that the nationals of either country "should be accorded rights and privileges no less favorable than those accorded to the nationals of the other." This argument was made under the Constitution's "supremacy clause," which declares that the Constitution and federal laws and treaties "shall be the supreme law of the land." As a result, the appellant's contention was not opposed by the New York State Compensation Board and was accepted by the court. The court set aside the one-half award and ordered the Board to apply the treaty instead of New York law and to give a full award.



# Miss Bettis Wasn't "Progressive"

By ROSE GRIECO

If Miss Bettis applied for a teaching job today, she would probably be steered toward a psychiatrist's office; for Miss Bettis taught us to fear. Her name was spoken with awe throughout the school, and as we approached our fifth grade over which she presided, we were filled with a kind of awesome wonder toward this imposing woman of Junoesque proportions, with her thick auburn braids wrapped above her head in a crown that dramatically set off her flashing blue eyes.

Miss Bettis' name was not so much spoken as whispered. Tales were told of her penchant for hustling a child to the cloakroom and shaking him so thoroughly that he cried for an hour afterward. Such punishment was meted out for lying, swearing or an act of rudeness; so that in her class we learned to be afraid of doing such things. The result of this medieval torture was that very little time was spent on discipline.

The first day we walked into Miss Bettis' fifth grade class, we quietly took our seats like so many frightened sheep, with Mother Wolf solemnly observing our obvious terror. Not a word was spoken, as she looked at us and we looked at her. Was there a twinkle behind those blue eyes? It's hard to remember. At any rate, she let us sit awhile, as she walked across the room, head erect, as if she were prepared to take on the battles of the world.

"Well?" her voice ripped the silence like thunder on a summer's day. "What are you afraid of?" Some of us managed to produce a whisper that sounded vaguely like, "Nothing, Miss Bettis."

"Don't lie to me!" she bellowed. "I know frightened children when I see them." And she regarded us a while longer. "Are you afraid of me?" she asked, in anything but dulcet tones.

"No, Miss Bettis," we piped back.

"I told you not to lie!" she retorted; to which we responded safely with more silence.

"The first lesson you're going to learn," she said, as she played with a ruler we were convinced had been used for more than measuring, "is what to be afraid of." And so the first day in Miss Bettis' class was spent in learning about something a later generation was to be guaranteed freedom from. "There is only one thing in life to fear," she said, looking straight at us with those flaming blue eyes. "Who can tell me what it is?" One brave boy named Peter, who probably thought he could soften up Miss Bettis by cooperating, took a try at it.

"The principal," he suggested brightly.

Pointing the ruler menacingly at him, Miss Bet-

tis said, "Just respect Mr. Chase, and you'll never have to be afraid of him." She looked at us some more, waiting for another response.

Gentle little Mary Jane, after gathering up her courage, timidly raised her hand, and ventured, "A ghost."

"Have you ever seen one?" snapped Miss Bettis. Mary Jane could do no more than shake her head, while she stared at her inquisitor as if hypnotized.

"Then forget it!" Mary Jane sighed and relaxed, for it was obvious by now that Miss Bettis was capable of sending a whole roomful of ghosts to flight.

Pointing the ruler at us, her eyes burning themselves forever in our memory, she said slowly and fiercely, "There is only one thing in life to fear, and that's *evil*." There followed a long silence, while she waited for her words to enter our receptive minds and there take solid root.

Her words were not too clear to the ten-year-old innocents who listened, wide-eyed, for when Miss Bettis spoke, only a fool would dare *not* to listen; but their meaning was to ring out again and again in the years that followed. Miss Bettis was neither confused nor fearful about admitting the existence



of evil, and was determined to instill in us a very real fear of ever cooperating with it.

After acquainting us with the subjects of fear and evil, she opened wide the windows, let in the clear September air, and told us to stand up, breathe in deeply, count to ten, and breathe out. Her ample bosom rising and falling in perfect rhythm, she made the breathing in of fresh air an unexpected adventure. As we began to taste the leaf-scented air which Miss Bettis had commanded into our lungs, I was slowly becoming aware of a feeling of surprise; for without quite knowing how, in the short time since we had entered the classroom the world had somehow become bigger, and everything in it more important.

Perhaps it was the magnificent authority seated behind that desk which banished the mean and ugly things of life back into Pandora's box. In any case, as the days came and went in the classroom we had so dreaded, we found ourselves entering the yellow, fragrant world of Wordsworth's daffodils, and it has not dared to leave us; for under Miss Bettis' tyrannical teachings, somehow the daffodils became more yellow, and the April air of the poem more fragrant. Out of fear of not learning it to suit Miss Bettis' impeccable standards, it was memorized forever.

It was in that den of terror that Rimski-Korsakov's "Song of India" first entered our waiting, uncluttered ears, and Tchaikovsky came to us with his "Nutcracker Suite." I have forgotten so many loving, sympathetic teachers and the lessons they tried to teach, but everything about Miss Bettis' room and what was heard and felt there have remained as clear as her shining blue eyes. I never see a daffodil without remembering the wide open windows through which she welcomed the flowering April air, and the newly discovered world of music she gave us, to do with as we wished.

And yet, the ever-present fear of wrongdoing or sloppy lessons or dirty elbows walked hand in hand with Wordsworth and MacDowell. There was the time Charlie De Luca raised his hand, got up, and asked permission to leave the room. Miss Bettis told him succinctly that such needs should be taken care of before coming to class. Charlie did not sit down. He repeated that he *had* to leave the room. Miss Bettis told him he could wait

five minutes for the bell to ring. Charlie never moved. With his big brown eyes fastened relentlessly on her stubborn blue ones, he simply proved to her that while she might control the children who entered her room with an iron hand, even *she* could not control Nature. Unable to believe her eyes, she remained motionless and, for once, speechless, as an ever-growing puddle began to form at Charlie's feet. When she finally came to, she grabbed him by the collar, sent him flying toward the janitor's room, and hands on hips, watched with some measure of satisfaction as he mopped up the floor.

In the light of what we've since learned about child psychology, something terrible should have happened to Charlie's feelings about Miss Bettis. And yet, years later, when Charlie was given a testimonial banquet upon entering the legal profession, of all the teachers he'd had through many years of schooling, it was Miss Bettis who sat proudly beside him. And later on in the evening, when the time for remembering was at hand, they both had a jolly laugh over that long-ago but never forgotten day.

Perhaps Charlie knew, as we were all to know, that adjustment to mediocrity was never in Miss Bettis' book of rules. She seemed always to be carrying a banner symbolizing individual achievement high above our heads, and dared us to reach it. She never "understood" our weaknesses and shortcomings; rather, she gripped us firmly by the hand and helped us rise above them. By accepting nothing but the very best from us, and forcing us always to look up when we might have been satisfied to look sideward, she did us honor.

When those of us who experienced Miss Bettis occasionally meet at a wake (which is where Italian-Americans are prone to revive dying friendships), hers is the one name out of our childhood that evokes the sharpest memories and the strongest sense of having been in touch with grandeur.

Perhaps the reason our original feeling of awe and fear turned into something strangely akin to love was the knowledge that Miss Bettis stood as a daily reminder that (much of our behavior to the contrary) we were made in the image and likeness of God.

## "We, the People"

Are there too many organizations "on the right"? That is often said, but nobody has yet come up with an estimate of the correct number. Organizations proliferate in an atmosphere of revolt, and their number simply indicates the intensity of dissidence. . . . The latest organization in the arena is named "We, the People," a "political action movement"; its first Constitution Day Convention will be held at the Conrad Hilton Hotel in Chicago on September 17-18.

# Revolt of the Classes

By F. R. BUCKLEY

*With assistance from a little-known organization called ISI, today's college students are turning against the orthodoxy of collectivism which has held sway on the campus for over two decades.*

The kids are getting restless. Spoon-fed with collectivist doctrine, they're beginning to gag on the diet. At St. Joseph's, in Philadelphia, a student committee marches up to the president of the college and asks that the faculty be purged of Socialists. A student at George Washington University objects to the introduction of Marxist principles in her art course. A girl puts out a broadsheet called *Portfolio*, a painfully mimeographed paper which carries articles by undergraduates from the various New York City universities that challenge the secular and socialist orthodoxy. This "silent" generation, too often dismissed as a sponge soaking up the various dilutions of dialectical materialism poured out in our colleges for more than twenty years, has begun to question these dogmas.

Hardly a revolution, you say. But to me these querulous voices on the nation's campuses astonish. Only eight years ago, when I was a freshman, the tenets of collectivism had the force of dogma in the classroom. We swallowed without reservation the progressive income tax, debating only the rate of taxation, and our sole concern over federal aid to education was whether the government could tax fast enough to finance the program. That was in 1948. This year I happened on two freshmen who had shaken off the current mode. They gave me a sturdy defense of private educational institutions, telling me that the government 1) had no business butting into education, and 2) had no right to tax incomes for whatever laudable reason. *They told me that the income tax was legalized robbery!* These were only two out of 1,100 freshmen, but in my time this statement could not have been uttered; it was clearly beyond the range of tolerable opinion.

All revolutions begin *pianissimo*. They begin when a man like Don Coyne joins the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. This society, the ISI, is an unusual organization. There are no badges. There is no constitution. There are no compulsions. Its founder, Frank Chodorov, calls it "an organization of ideas," something unique in a world teeming with political action groups.

Lord knows how Don Coyne heard of ISI. By word of mouth, through a friend—from his parents, perhaps. But Don returned the little application card which ISI sends out, saying that he would like to receive its literature. This literature

is mailed to the student without charge. He can use it to light the fire with, or he can read it.

Don Coyne is a second-class midshipman at Annapolis. He studied the material received from ISI, learning more about free enterprise economics, human liberty, and the dignity of the individual. Don Coyne wrote: "I like the article printed on 15 January," referring to a piece in *Human Events*. "I have very little money to my name. My spending allowance is only nine dollars a month as a second-class midshipman, and my family is in no way to help me, but I believe that this article is so . . . positive an argument against TVA that I would like to order six reprints for one dollar. I enclose one dollar in currency."

Don Coyne got his six reprints, and with them he got his dollar back. That's beside the point. He was willing to sacrifice one ninth of his monthly earnings in the cause of freedom! Do you know any businessman who could say as much?

## Voicing Their Nonconformism

All over the country members of my generation are rising against the socialist clime which for many years appeared to have drugged students into an undisturbed acceptance of a Fabian destiny. And these members of the "silent" generation can talk. Some of them are editors of the university newspapers; some of them run the college journals of opinion. Encouraged by ISI, emboldened in the realization that their opinions are not fanatical ravings nor washed-up anachronisms, these young individualists are voicing their nonconformism with vigor.

One up and coming libertarian at St. Ambrose College, Iowa, writes: "In my weekly column in the school newspaper a year ago this month, I printed an article containing these remarks:

District Judge E. C. Nelson, at Amarillo, Texas, has (ruled) that compulsory unionism is repugnant to the simplest concepts of freedom. Judge Nelson gave notice of an injunction prohibiting the Santa Fe railroad and sixteen non-operating unions from signing a union shop agreement. [He declared that] men 'must be free to join or not to join as they, as individuals, choose to do . . .' The effect of his ruling was to uphold the 'Texas right-to-work' law. . . .

Santa Fe officials declare that if a judge had ruled otherwise, 10,000 of its employees would have been forced to join a union or give up their jobs.

With the example of this intrepid judge as a rigid interpretation of American freedom, perhaps these greedy union leaders will try to preserve their tottering dignity, instead of galloping into court, shouting for more power and more automations.

"The article stabbed, like a dagger, into the heart of one of the most radical and absurd of the followers of liberalism. The more disheartening because he was the professor of my Sociology class!

"That issue came out on Friday. The storm gathered slowly until the middle of the following week. Then, with our Wednesday morning class about ready to close, the professor started in with a tirade that awed the class and drew the students in the halls to the open door. The professor told me he'd demand my dismissal from the paper! Then, gathering steam, he threatened to flunk me from the class if I didn't memorize the text for the final exam! As if this weren't enough to convince me, he threatened me with immediate expulsion from school if I didn't *change my views to conform!*

"After the ten minute outburst, in which I kept silent in order not to antagonize him, he dismissed the class. On my way out of the room, I was halted in the hall by a gathering crowd who surrounded me with perplexed faces. Into this group came the still fuming professor, who, with a twist of my shoulder whirled me to face, 'I'll expect you in my quarters later!'"

This young journalist goes on to tell of the increasing censorship of his columns, so that "it became ridiculous to continue writing."

### Letters to ISI

From all over the country letters pour into ISI's headquarters in Irvington, New York, telling how its literature has resulted in a challenge to the prevailing socialist conformity, how this or that student was strengthened in his libertarian beliefs by ISI material and encouraged to form a study club, write a letter to the editor, get up in class and question his professor. These letters bear the postmarks of 32 states and 165 cities. A typical excerpt:

I have been receiving material from ISI for about six months. My good friend Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_, of Houston, sent you my name and since that time I have received your material regularly.

I have enjoyed this material and have found the answers to many of my questions. I believe firmly in the philosophy of the "conservatives" and I wish to preserve the constitution and our individual freedom.

Enclosed you will find the name of a college friend of mine. I believe that she would enjoy the material of the ISI.

In this haphazard (but strangely effective) way does ISI influence spread and do such books as Hazlitt's *Economics in One Lesson*, Bastiat's *The Law*, Chodorov's *One is a Crowd*, Buckley's *God*

*and Man at Yale* and Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom* get read by the new generation.

As fire-eating social revolutionaries, however, my generation is a flop. We don't seem to make good newspaper copy, and maybe that's the reason desperate editors dub us the "silent," the "dumb," the "deadly dull" generation. Take Gridley L. Wright. He has neither hidden nor made any extensive efforts to display his libertarian frame of mind. He has wended his way through the maze of Yale University with a peaceable air, seeking no fracas but defending his grounds with stubborn persistence when they are called into question. He is tall, quite handsome, with a lean face falling from flat cheekbones. His dress is in impeccable University taste. He is, in the parlance of Yale, the "Dwight Hall" type. This means that Gridley would be eminently acceptable in a fraternity and that one needn't be ashamed to introduce him to one's Oyster Bay parents or one's Wellesley girl friend.

Not the stuff from which the revolutionary is wrought, you might conclude. He did not charge into the discussion classes of History 10b, European Civilization, hackles high, hurling abusive challenges at his discussion leader. But he is a man of principle, and principle may have got him into trouble. He writes me:

Marks are made up by an average of quizzes, hour tests and finals, and a subjective evaluation of the amount and quality of discussion class participation. My average of all but the latter was 80. The discussion leader, L. P. Williams, had said in class that, except for unusual cases, the evaluation mark [for discussion class participation] was the same.

In June I received a final mark of 70. This fall I approached Williams and asked him to check his record. He did and found he'd made a mathematical error. The grade was subsequently upped to 75. As you can see, this means I was given a discussion grade lower than 75. When I asked him why so low he replied, "Mr. Wright, I felt you were a negative element in the class."

Since a portion of his grade depended on what the teacher felt about him, and since the teacher was not in sympathy with Gridley Wright's religious and libertarian orientation, his marks suffered. Yet Gridley comes to no fanatical conclusions. He adds in his letter, "This is the only example of this type of conduct that I have experienced, and I would hesitate to make a hasty generalization as a result."

### Robert Ernst's Story

The meticulousness of his statement bears evidence to the revolution's commonsensicalness. It is a revolt to which members of an older generation may turn when embittered by experience with socialism in practice. Such is the disenchantment of Robert R. Ernst. Well into his thirties, he is starting life all over again. For years he struggled with his own business, sweating out the risks and digging in to

battle the fierce competition. Then, of a sudden, he gave it all up—shrugged off the nights of anxiety and days of tedious labor. It was part of his very being that he scrapped when he entered Penn State University to study bacteriology. Why?

The reasons are part practical, part moral. He discovered that the rewards were no longer commensurate with the risks and the endeavor. He discovered that “approximately one-third of the time I worked in the business was occupied in doing government chores. Such things as preparing forms on price controls, employee forms, social security and tax forms, employee and purchasing records became as much a part of the daily rigor as the regular business activities.

“The matter of price controls,” he writes in his letter to ISI, “was really a headache.” Not even government functionaries could unravel the great backlash of “procedures, requirements, changes, exceptions and penalties.” Robert Ernst did his level best to comply with federal regulations, but his honesty was rewarded only by the knowledge that a number of his competitors were not harassed by government paper work. “Our employees told us of similar establishments in which they had been employed where no such records were kept nor any pretense was made. They made no payments to unemployment insurance or social security. Yet they continued in business.” Ernst comments, “What incentive does an honest businessman have? Isn’t he encouraged to [similar] dishonesty?”

Rather than pursue the immoral course which socialism makes inevitable, Ernst returned to school to learn a trade which “in lieu of making a million dollars,” will be “rewarding in [the] sense [of] helping people who really want to be helped.” The story which Robert R. Ernst has to tell to other members of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists is worth more than a great deal of prattle from the theorists amongst us.

### “We Must Pass This Course”

An editorial in the *Morning World*, Monroe, Louisiana, notes that “Young Americans in Texas were amazed to hear an instructor in Government at the University of Texas tell his class that ‘George Washington was personally obnoxious to his fellow-men, was avoided as much as possible, and was physically handicapped because of a long existing disease.’ Others at LSU hear frequently,” the editorial goes on, “of the ‘terrible congressional committees which are destroying freedom.’ ”

O.K., so we’re angered by what is being taught at the University of Texas. We realize that this kind of teaching is inspired by Marxian claptrap. But what we are apt to underestimate is the power which such a system of thought represents in student circles. The Marxian bent of mind is so pervasive, so universal among the colleges, it has become an orthodoxy almost impossible to buck.



Jay Storm

At Yale's Independent Library, Stan Evans (left), last year's editor of the Independent, talks with Al Buchmann, who takes over as editor this fall.

As the editorial says, “the young individual who reported this incident, along with several of his classmates, asked that his name not be mentioned due to the fact that ‘we must pass this course.’ ”

The youthful libertarian is faced with an environment utterly hostile. It is not unnatural that the persistent rammings he receives from the collectivist forces which besiege him ultimately breach his convictions. ISI's sparkplugging executive vice-president, Victor Milione, has let me look into his letter files. Time after time I ran across such complaints as this:

I have just finished my sophomore year at the University of \_\_\_\_\_, and after two years at that school I am beginning to wonder if there are any well educated Americans left who wholeheartedly support the American capitalist economic system.

And this:

I was raised on the idea of individual initiative and private enterprise. Until I came to college I thought that the free economic system, from the standpoint of production and individual freedom, was the best. Now, after two years of “indoctrination” I am beginning to feel a bit shaken.

To be a libertarian is a lonely, sometimes a heart-rending job. The Intercollegiate Society of Individualists was founded, in part, to relieve some of that loneliness. Beyond ISI's function of distributing free to students who want it literature which explains the libertarian philosophy, ISI

gives the student the comforting knowledge that libertarianism is not necessarily the philosophy of what *Time* magazine sniffs at as the "extreme right wing." He finds out, somewhat to his surprise, that libertarianism is quite a respectable intellectual position supported by men of the most unimpeachable character.

The whopping success of this "organization of ideas" can be measured by the fact that although it only just completed its second year, handicapped by a budget which wouldn't operate a hot dog stand, membership has risen to 3,500. ISI has been in such demand by these 3,500 students that it has mailed out 154,576 separate pieces of reading material, and it has somehow managed to comply with 2,963 requests for books (figures as of March 10, 1955). In the market place of ideas, it can be said that ISI offers a competitive product. Acting as a force of cohesion for the scattered libertarians throughout the nation's campuses, and proof by its informal nature against liberal infiltration, it has become important enough in the war against collectivism to have professors at various colleges tell interested students that it is a "fascist" organization. (One student in Los Angeles reports that his professor declared ISI "should be done away with.")

ISI has not led the revolt of the classes. It did not singlehandedly bring about the questioning spirit in a generation which is witness to twenty years of socialist failure. The revolt of my silent generation has been a long time coming. But help was needed, and that help ISI provides.

Let me tell you the story of one among many successful operations. It is really Gridley Wright's story, so I'll let him begin it: "Just after the New Year, I visited two of the leading bookstores serving students at Yale University to inquire after a certain libertarian book. Neither store had the book, nor had they heard of it."

Gridley got together with a group of his friends, among them Stanton Evans, the editor of *Comment*, Yale's journal of opinion, and Marv Schulman. They talked the situation over and came up with the idea of starting a library, which they dubbed the Independent Library. Appeals to the ISI elicited advice, books for the shelves, some cash. Letters were sent out to libertarian publishers, such as the Caxton Printers, Devin-Adair, Henry Regnery, etc., and these houses offered discounts on their publications.

Some place was needed to house this library, of course, but it was with trepidation that the young individualists approached the Yale Administration. To their surprise, they received high

encouragement, and a cellar room in a freshman dormitory was set aside for the project.

I have seen this room, and the work which the founders of the Independent Library have done to make it attractive is indeed impressive. Un-sightly pipes have been covered. Grimy concrete walls are painted an attractive green. Shelves have been built, and sofas have been provided for relaxed reading. A special rack holding literature from the Foundation for Economic Education has been placed in such a way that the casual inquirer cannot depart without noticing pamphlets by W. M. Curtiss, F. A. Harper, Ludwig von Mises, Paul L. Poirrot, Leonard E. Read and Dean Russell and others. Usually he takes a few along.

The function which ISI serves for universities throughout the land is the function served by the Independent Library for Yale. It has acted as a germinating source of new ideas for the promotion of libertarian activities. It has become the meeting place for men who formerly had nowhere to go.

The Independent Library, for instance, has spilled over into a newspaper which proudly proclaims its anti-secular and anti-collectivist views. Stan Evans has been the leader in this program; his articles taking apart some of the leftist literature used for text material are pungent. And Marv Schulman is working on a project to bring together about 200 young men and women from the various Eastern colleges for a week end which will include a careful balance between social affairs and intellectual preoccupations. Evans, Schulman and Wright have cooperated in the resuscitation of the Calliopean Society, a conservative discussion group.

The energy expended on these projects, the sheer drudgery put into the little basement room which holds the library, just begin to tell the story of the labor of love which the Independent Library is. Every evening from about 6:30 to 10:30, six days a week for two school years, one or the other of these boys has done the chores of the library, which consist mainly in discussing libertarian ideas with visiting students and offering them libertarian literature.

We're called the "silent," the cussed, the drab generation. Well, the unsilent and undrab generations of the twenties and thirties did a lot of talking, pulled a lot of gags and had lots of laughs, and jovially told each other what miserable capitalistic slobs they were and how wonderful the socialist paradise would be, come the revolution. But they overlooked the inevitable counter-revolution that is now a-brewing; a movement based on logic rather than semantics, and armed with principles rather than expediency.

**The title *Why Johnny Can't Read*—one of the most popular non-fiction books of the year—needs a subtitle: "Because He Went to Public School."**

# The Right to Be "Wrong"

By W. H. McCOMB

*Southern parents opposing the order for school desegregation must resort to long legal struggle or to the separation of schools from government.*

By order of the Supreme Court of the United States, a Southern father is now required to send his child to a school occupied largely—possibly even entirely—by Negro children. With or without reason, he finds the compulsory association distasteful. It is contrary to the *mores* in which he grew up. The order is just as repulsive to him as if he were commanded to attend a church not to his liking or to belong to some lodge with whose members he is not on friendly terms. Perhaps he is an unintelligent bigot, as those who instigated the order would have it. Even so, the order denies him the *fundamental right to be "wrong."*

It must be remembered that this Southern parent contributes his share of taxes toward the maintenance of the school to which he sends his child. Presumably, therefore, he has a proprietary interest in the management and conduct of this school. Thus the right to be "wrong" is conjoined with the right of property. The Supreme Court order violates both these rights, and it is interesting to note that this judicial body came to its decision by going beyond the Constitution and finding support for it in "modern scientific authorities." Reference to such "authorities" seems to be a new way of circumventing the limitations put on the political power by the Constitution, as a guarantee of freedom.

## Three Courses of Action

This father is not alone in demanding that he be allowed to choose his child's associates. It has long been common practice in the South for white people to send their children to white schools, and, if the truth is known, the Negroes prefer keeping to themselves. The Supreme Court decides that such separation of associations is in some way contrary to public policy. The decision presumably solves a "race issue." But in point of fact, in invading the privacy of Southern life, in denying the basic right of choosing one's associates, it actually creates a new issue, fraught with danger. Unless and until the Southern father has a change of heart, the Court order will seem to him to be a tyrannical act which he must resist. He has three courses of action open to him.

The first of these alternatives is to fight this edict with "fifty years of litigation." This has been proposed. A widely publicized editorial in the *Rich-*

*mond News Leader* concludes with the following paragraphs:

Is all of this to advocate that Virginia attempt, by lawful means, to get around the law?

That is exactly what we advocate.

For let this be said once more, in unmistakable language: In May of 1954, that inept fraternity of politicians and professors known as the United States Supreme Court chose to throw away the established law. These nine men repudiated the Constitution, spit upon the Tenth Amendment and rewrote the fundamental law of this land to suit their own gauzy concepts of sociology. If it be said that the South is flouting the law, let it be said to the high court, *You taught us how.*

From the moment that abominable decision was handed down, two broad courses only were available to the South. One was to defy the Court openly and notoriously; the other was to accept the court's decision and to combat it by legal means. To defy the court openly would be to enter upon anarchy; the logical end would be a second attempt at secession from the Union. And though the idea is not without merit, it is impossible of execution. We tried that once before.

To acknowledge the court's authority does not mean that the South is helpless. It is not to abandon hope. Rather, it is to enter upon a long course of lawful resistance; it is to take lawful advantage of every moment of law's delays; it is to seek at the polls and in the halls of legislative bodies every possible lawful means to overcome or circumvent the law's requirements. Litigate? Let us pledge ourselves to litigate this thing for fifty years. . . .

What are the foreseeable results of "fifty years of litigation"? For one thing, the legal struggle with its inevitable headlines will fix for at least a half century a bitter and rancorous racial conflict in American life. The "Negro question," which time and patience had been quietly laying to rest, will be revived and accentuated.

Another result, certain and immediate, will be to make the ballot booth a battleground of races. Public issues will be relegated to a secondary consideration, and candidates will seek political preferment on the basis of their racial sympathies. A block of ten or twelve million votes will be worth catering to. And the pseudo-liberals who were so anxious to get the Supreme Court decision against segregation will certainly cater to it. It is not too far-fetched to observe a spiritual relationship between these pseudo-liberals and the carpetbaggers of Reconstruction days. For these "uplifters" will not hesitate to use the power of this vote to force

compliance with the order even during the years of litigation. And so it is not fantastic to expect the federal government to use both its police powers and its subsidies to disorganize Southern life for at least fifty years.

A second alternative is to resort to the use of violence—the Ku Klux Klan way. “Citizens councils”—which are groups formed for the specific purpose of resisting the enforcement of the Supreme Court decision—have already appeared in the South. In the backward areas where so many isolated white parents must be ordered to send their children to predominantly Negro schools, orators are beginning to thump the tubs about “fighting to the last man.” The fiery cross is not far behind.

For a picture of what such a movement can result in, one need only refer to the novel *Gone With the Wind*. That is, if a real attempt is made to enforce the Supreme Court decision in these areas.

One who knows the South would hardly expect the Governor of any state to send militia to enforce racial integration in the schools. His political life would be at stake. Furthermore, it is highly questionable whether members of the militia, or any other police force, would do more than make a gesture at enforcement.

That would throw the burden of enforcement on the federal government. The arrival of “outsiders” would simply trigger the already volatile passions. And one can already hear the Civil War boast that “One Southerner can lick two Yankees.” Imagine what would happen to the Negroes in these sections if they cooperated with the federal agents; or even if they didn’t.

But it is doubtful whether the federal government would ever consent to put its force behind the Supreme Court decision. Politicians are not completely ignorant of history.

The third course open for the Southerner is that of abolishing public schools. Refuge to this escape has already taken place.

In a number of Southern states the legal steps necessary for the separation of the school from the state government have been made. If and when it seems that the federal government does implement

the Supreme Court decision, the legislatures in these states can, by a simple majority vote, go out of the education business.

Prince Edward County, Virginia—which was one of the defendants in the court action resulting in the Anti-Segregation Decision—has disapproved the proposed budget for the operation of its schools for 1955-56. Obviously, without money there won’t be any public schools. Under the state law the county is required to collect fifty cents for each dollar of assessed valuation for school purposes. The total amount from this tax, it has been estimated, would do no more than pay for the upkeep of the school buildings. There will be nothing for teachers in either white or Negro schools.

Other counties in Virginia are preparing to follow the lead taken by Prince Edward County. The Prince Edward Educational Corporation, a purely private group, has set out to raise a fund of \$200,000 to pay white teachers’ salaries only. It seems that the people of Prince Edward County will see to it that their children are not educationally neglected. Of course, the Negro children will suffer. But that is the consequence that the “uplifters” should have anticipated.

It is possible, of course, that the pseudo-liberals will try to circumvent such a move by urging the federal government to invade the states and set up federally-controlled schools. This brings up a new constitutional fight, for until the Constitution is changed by further far-fetched interpretation, the business of education is a state matter. (Besides, would the Southerner send his child to an integrated school run by Washington?)

Putting that legal question aside, the South would be doing the nation a favor by demonstrating the superiority of private over public schooling, now that the “progressives” have completely distorted the concept of education. There will always be schools in the South—for white children, at any rate—simply because the Southerner is a civilized human being, the pseudo-liberal to the contrary notwithstanding. He is civilized enough to cling to his right to be “wrong”—without which there are no rights.

## Even He Said So

It is the private institutions that set traditions, the standards of academic freedom in America. And because the private institutions do set and maintain these standards, we of the public institutions also enjoy the benefits of such freedom. If private institutions were ever to disappear, the politicians would take over the universities, and there would then be neither educational freedom nor any other kind.

MILTON EISENHOWER, President, Pennsylvania State University, in an address before the Annual Meeting of the Land-Grant Colleges, November 13, 1953





## A Reviewer's Notebook

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

**John T. Flynn's** *The Decline of the American Republic* (New York: Devin-Adair, \$3) is something in the nature of a last will and testament to the young. In saying this, I am aware that I run the risk of conjuring up two highly erroneous images. The first mistake would be to picture Mr. Flynn as an extremely aged gaffer, with at least one foot in the grave. The second mistake would be to visualize the "young" as downy-cheeked youths just out of their 'teens.

Just for the sake of the record, it isn't that way at all. The "young" to whom Mr. Flynn is addressing his highly edifying sermon include practically everybody under the age of forty-five. And Mr. Flynn himself, though no spring chicken, is still in the full plenitude of his powers. The reason why this is a "last will and testament" is not that Mr. Flynn is old, but that time, in America, is fast running out on the chances to restore the old Republic of our fathers. And the reason why everyone under forty-five is "young" in Mr. Flynn's estimation is that 1930 marked a moral, social, political and economic chasm between the generations. If you attained voting age in the twenties, you still remember the free America That Was. If, on the other hand, you came to your majority a little bit later, the old Republic can be no more than a distant childhood memory to you, vague as a medieval arras on an old castle wall.

The problem, as Mr. Flynn conceives it, is how to turn that dreamy medieval arras into a glowing, vital, realistic panorama of something that was infinitely superior to the bastardized semi-collectivist order under which we now struggle to exist. The "young"—meaning practically everybody under forty-five—have had their moral and political

senses blunted. True, the outward forms of American life are still free. The Constitution still prohibits such things as involuntary servitude, cruel and unusual punishments, and deprivation of life, liberty or property without due process of law. But, as Mr. Flynn points out, the Constitution has been sapped by subjection to a trial by modern semantics that has changed the meanings of all the great words.

Involuntary servitude may be prohibited, but that will not gain you an inch with any judge or court in the land if you object to the drafting of a son into the peacetime military forces of the moment. You may have a right to your "property," but your income—or the largest part of it—may be taken by politicians and bestowed without your consent on the minions of Nehru or the coffee growers of Brazil. You may have trouble paying your own insurance, but the State will not permit you to forget the "social insurance" of even a part-time cleaning woman or maid. If you are a shopkeeper you may think you have the right to cut prices on goods that move slowly off your shelves, but if you do this under certain circumstances and in certain places you may be liable for breaking the laws of "fair trade." And if you are destitute in your old age—or forced to live on the inflated pittance of a "social security" for which the government is compelled to tax your children in order to pay it at all—you will get nowhere if you argue that a "cruel and unusual punishment" has been visited upon you in the years when you might have been saving.

So the great words, as Mr. Flynn cogently argues, mean nothing any more. They have been blurred, blunted, fuzzed and otherwise transformed into mere globs of sound

that can be used to justify anything, even their obvious opposites. Commerce between the states may mean regulating from Washington the pay and hours of an elevator operator whose workaday travels are almost entirely perpendicular on Manhattan Island. Or this same interstate commerce may mean that you can't raise grain on a ten-acre farm in the backwoods to feed to chickens on that very same farm. What is more, a majority of some very learned justices of the Supreme Court—men who have spent four years in college and three years in law school, where they presumably learned to read the dictionary—have given just this Alice-in-Wonderland twist to the commerce clause of the Constitution. As for the general welfare clause, that means anything that 51 per cent of the voting population may prescribe, even if it is as remote from "generality" or "welfare" as Korea is from Timbuktu.

So don't tell Mr. Flynn that the old Republic stands. They laughed at that crusty old curmudgeon, Mr. Justice McReynolds, when he said, "The Constitution is gone," but McReynolds, for all his shortcomings, had the honesty to respect the dictionary.

In outlining for the "young"—or those under forty-five—just what has happened to the old Republic since 1930, Mr. Flynn sometimes makes the mistake of underestimating certain overseas enemies of the United States. Mr. Flynn may be fundamentally right in assuming that Germany could never have put Nazi commandos ashore on Staten Island or the eastern shore of Maryland, but it is entirely arguable that something had to be done in 1941 to get Hitler off the front pages and to allow the emotions of a distraught world to settle down. The same

holds true in the case of a world that is faced by the disruptive tactics of international communism today. I have a contempt for the military power of the Soviets, both of the Russian and Chinese variety, and I am as certain as is Mr. Flynn that neither the Russians nor the Red Chinese will ever put a soldier ashore in the Western Hemisphere. But the point is that there isn't the ghost of a show that militarism—and the taxes needed to support it—will shrink in America until international communism has collapsed. The reason is that Stalin, Mao Tse-tung and their successors will continue to invade the emotions of men and women who ought to know better than to fear the power of a slave State. They invade my emotions not because I fear them but because I resent what they have done to some of my old friends. The enemy, in actual physical terms, may be a complete phantasm. But the phantasm has its own eerie power, and it will have to be exorcized before the draft act can ever again be seen in its actual physical light, as a "law" that "justifies" the compulsory seizure of young men's bodies for stated intervals of time. Mr. Flynn is quite right when he says the American economy, like the economy of Bismarck's Germany, is dependent on the armament industries. But to point this out will do little good until such time as the peripheries of world communism commence to shrink. We are going to buy Boeing bombers until Hungary and Poland are free.

All of this does not mean that any journal of importance, from the *New York Times* on down, is justified for a single moment in writing Mr. Flynn off as a sorehead, or as an ungentlemanly fellow, as some of them are wont to do. For, though he underestimates the power of the irrational, and of simple resentments that spring from rational causes, over the movements of society, Mr. Flynn's grasp of the fundamentals of political economy is absolutely sound. When he warns the young—or those under forty-five—that government is an "apparatus of power," and hence must be controlled by severe limitations and a balancing of region against region, he is merely restating the central thesis of John C. Calhoun's *Disquisition*

on Government. Because men are addicted to seizing the main chance—call them greedy if you will—they need government to protect each individual in his rights against the predatory instincts of others. But because the actions of government can only be carried out by fallible human beings (who remain greedy even when they go to Washington as "servants" of the people), the genus officeholder must never be granted a single undefined or un-circumscribed power. Long before Calhoun had stated this proposition in terms of almost mathematical severity, the Founding Fathers had acted on the proposition by reserving a vast number of sovereign powers to the thirteen states. The Founders carefully enumerated a small and select list of the things which the federal government might do in pursuit of the general welfare and left everything else to local units and individuals. Thus, for the first time in history, a great nation was set up in such a way that government might be kept the servant of man. As Flynn correctly diagnoses it, all of this was changed circa 1937, when a revolutionary Supreme Court decided it knew more about semantics and the dictionary than Mr. Webster did when he first took up lexicography seriously.

Mr. Flynn has written a very necessary book, and the problem now is to get the "young"—meaning those under forty-five—to read it without becoming distracted by the fierce joy which Mr. Flynn derives from chewing up Rooseveltians for his daily breakfast. Lest the young be misled by certain slanders that have been spread by Mr. Flynn's enemies, they should be told that Flynn is the soul of honor, a knightly crusader who has never deviated from a path which he chose as a young man. The notion has gone abroad that Mr. Flynn is a backslid radical who has become a "conservative" in middle age: Michael Straight, the editor of the *New Republic*, sums up this attitude when he says that, in the thirties, Mr. Flynn "went sour." But the truth is that Mr. Flynn was never a collectivist of any kind. His "radicalism," in the nineteen twenties, was devoted to exposing the excesses of corporate power. He objected to "investment trusts gone wrong"; he

upheld the anti-trust acts; he flayed monopoly when he could prove it was monopoly. But when the New Deal created the NRA and the AAA—examples of "Chamber of Commerce fascism"—Mr. Flynn turned to flaying them. And in doing this he was quite consistently living up to his anti-collectivist principles. It was not Mr. Flynn who went sour, it was his fellow New Republicans who sold out the old Republic for a mess of statist pottage.

The "young"—meaning those under forty-five—should know this when they read the idiocies about Mr. Flynn that frequently creep into the reviews of his books that are printed in the literary supplements of the Big Press. They should realize that Mr. Flynn is one of our greater journalists, and they should be directed to some of the great books that bedeck his past—notably *God's Gold: The Story of Rockefeller and His Times* and *As We Go Marching*. They should realize that if it hadn't been for the pertinacity of Mr. Flynn, nothing would be known to this day about the circumstances surrounding Pearl Harbor. This is not to say that Flynn has "proved" that Roosevelt and Hopkins and General Marshall "knew" that the fleet itself was going to be attacked on the morning of December 7, 1941: that particular assumption is at best a matter for conjecture. It is merely to say that Flynn broke the story of the tapped Japanese "purple" code and the failure to alert Hawaii about impending war when there was a general conspiracy both in government and among "liberal" journalists to keep quiet about it, even after the war had ended.

Unlike nine-tenths of our latter-day "journalists," Mr. Flynn believes in the loyalty of his profession to the news, no matter where the chips may happen to fall. It is precisely because modern journalism has lost much of its old sense of loyalty to the news that Mr. Flynn has been given a bad name. The modern "whited sepulchers" of journalism resent Mr. Flynn's alertness to the fact that they are not up to their job, and this burns them up. So they take it out on Mr. Flynn by ignoring him, or distorting him, or by objecting to the really minor matter that his pungent language sometimes slips over into exaggeration.

## Diplomat's Education

**Admiral Ambassador to Russia**, by Admiral William H. Standley and Rear-Admiral Arthur A. Ageton. 533 pp. Chicago: Henry Regnery. \$6.00

The climax of Admiral Standley's memoir of his wartime service as Ambassador to Russia comes when he reports to President Roosevelt over a private lunch at the close of his mission. Standley states his conviction that at the close of the war Stalin would set up along the Soviet border a series of buffer States under his own control. "I recall that he was silent for a long time, looking at his plate . . . His face was suddenly tired and drawn."

Roosevelt thought differently, and a good part of the book is devoted to the behavior in Russia of the men who led him to think differently—Lend-Lease administrators and the VIPs who came on special missions, such as Wendell Willkie and Joseph P. Davies, who treated his second trip to Moscow principally as a means of publicity for his movie about the first. Admiral Standley finally resigned as a result of feeling undercut by these special mission men, most of whom had arrived and left with the conviction that the Kremlin should be given anything it wanted.

The Admiral tells how he approached his ambassadorial task with the belief that everything could be solved by friendly cooperation, and it was only by degrees and through a long series of setbacks that he achieved education. For instance: diplomatic protocol accords an Ambassador access at all times to the head of the State to which he is accredited. But Standley discovered that all really important decisions were referred to Stalin; and whenever the Russians did not wish to give satisfaction, Stalin was "at the front," and could not be seen. The Secretary was not formally the head of State, and the ambassadorial privilege did not extend to him.

The pattern of legalisms, demands and refusals to do anything not serving the interests of the Soviets alone is familiar to anyone who has followed the course of the conferences since the end of the war. Less familiar will be the fact that this was already going on during the

war, and in this sense the book is a valuable piece of documentation.

Perhaps least familiar of all will be the analysis of the relative positions of Marx, Lenin and Stalin and the implications it holds for the future development of the Soviet Communist State. "Under Stalin, Marxism as taught by Lenin was superimposed upon a Russo-Eurasian tradition of authoritarian rule. . . . Unlike Lenin, he was basically a dishonest thinker." Is it not probable, indeed is it not inevitable that where policy must fundamentally be the creation of one man's thought, the approach will alter with each directing thinker? And what kind of thinker is Khrushchev?

FLETCHER PRATT

## Not-So-Right Turn

**Road to the Right**, by Gordon Harrison. 342 pp. New York: William Morrow and Company. \$4.50

This book is entitled *Road to the Right*. Its true title should be *Roadmap to the Servile State*, for it is a book sinister both in the Latin and the English sense.

Why is this so? To understand this, we must understand the subtle strategy of collectivism today. Today even the State-liberals, though still the sleepwalkers of collectivism, no longer dare pretend that communism is a mistaken means to a beneficent end. They even shy away from the brave candor of so forthright a word as "socialism"; they pretend, perhaps with tongue in cheek, that they would "save" free enterprise from itself by taking it, "all wild and woolly and full of fleas" and (as in England) taming it to the discipline of the leash and the kennel. They would housebreak freedom, and tame it to be the bird dog of the Welfare State.

That is the purpose if not the conscious purpose of this unhappy book. It seeks to infiltrate conservatism and win it over to a new (and true) "conservatism" by liberalizing it into its antithesis and antonym. Consider the critics to whom the author turned for advice: he tells us in his preface that the manuscript was "read and criticized by Harry Wade, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and Allan Nevins." Why—if it was truly a "Road to the Right"—was it not

read and criticized by Fulton Lewis, Jr., and John T. Flynn?

Surely no State-liberal who gave it apostolic blessing need doubt its direction or fear its effect! For what road does it advocate? Addressing "Republicans" and "conservatives," it presumes to indicate their path of salvation, and succeeds in setting their feet on the well-rutted road of "liberalism." Harrison rebukes "the Old Guard" or even "the angry Old Guard"; he speaks primly of the late Senator Taft's "narrow, mechanistic philosophy"; he attacks the conservative "tendency to manipulate symbols in a hopeless effort to turn the clock back"—as if it were progress to turn the clock forward, say to 1984. He speaks of "typical conservative blindness"; of "the essential anarchy of free enterprise"; of businessmen who "often talk as if they still lived in the age of robber barons"; of conservatism as "a sentimental attachment to old ways," of "John W. Bricker . . . chiefly motivated by a desire to reverse New Deal social welfare trends."

He nowhere italicizes with equal fervor the concentration camp of the collectivist State. Indeed, he glibly praises "Progressives" (a term made fragrant in Korea); the "liberal or modernist minority" in the Republican Party; the "New Deal philosophy of giving government back to the people"; and every "forward-looking" maverick, from "George D. Aiken of Vermont and his lifelong fight with the reactionary forces . . ." to Wendell Willkie, who—the more he became Roosevelt's sedulous ape—is described as "acquiring something of the stature of a statesman" and "leaving his party far behind."

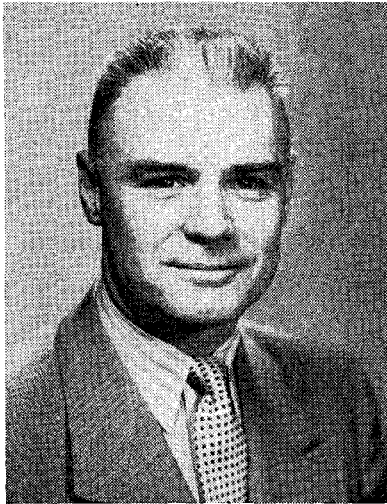
The book is an alleged defense of "conservatism" by berating true conservatism as a dreary-go-round of stupidity, and by advocating its Phoenix-death into the brave new horror of "liberalism." It is spongy with old gags such as: "In time the socialist label came to be an automatic response to damn all government activity for social welfare." Apparently the "conservative" is to seek the ends of socialism, but under a different name; and he is to apply them with more efficient means.

Harrison has no inkling of the great gulf that is fixed between the

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two worlds of collectivism and individualism. He says: "There could be no surer way of creating an irresistible demand for radical socialism than to demonstrate that regulation won't work." So let's make regulation work, and then we will have "radical socialism" painlessly, under the anesthesia of "liberal" novocaine.

The worm at the heart of Harrison's apple is this: he believes in a conflict between parties that (as he says) "agree on ends, disagree on means, and have an equal opportunity to attract 51 per cent of the people to their side." Even conservatives are to agree, as a premise, that we all agree on the ends of collectivism, and disagree only on the means of reaching those ends! It is like saying, "Let's agree that we all want to go to Sodom, and let's discuss the better road to get there." This is called the *Road to the Right*.

E. MERRILL ROOT

## More Than Words

**The Constitution of the United States of America, A Bulwark of Liberty**, by Everett P. Wilson. Foreword by Thomas James Norton. Appendices: Declaration of Independence and U. S. Constitution. 132 pp. Chadron, Nebraska: Everett P. Wilson. \$1.00

How many of the great public issues of the day hinge on interpretations of the Constitution? The Bricker Amendment, the union shop, the Fifth Amendment, states' rights, the Supreme Court desegregation order, world government, the rise of the Executive—these are constitutional questions. Well, then, what is the Constitution?

It is not enough to mouth the words of a twentieth-century Supreme Court jurist and a New Deal President that "the Constitution is what the judges say it is." In this age of pragmatism and positivism, this, unfortunately, may be true. Judges are political appointees; a governor of a pivotal state who delivers his delegates in political convention can be named to head the highest bench in the land. Words enunciated nearly two centuries ago are imperfect restraints against men lustful for power.

Yet the Constitution is more than

mere words. It is a *philosophy* of government. To his credit, author Everett P. Wilson has captured the spirit and intentions of the Founding Fathers. He has traced the roots of the Constitution back to the ideas on freedom of Aristotle and Cicero, to the limits of kingly power set forth in the Magna Charta, to the doctrine of natural laws spelled out by John Locke and David Hume.

Mr. Wilson then analyzes the Constitution under the following heads: Constitutional Limitation on Government, Due Process of Law, the Bill of Rights, the Supreme Court and Judicial Review, Division of the Powers of Government into Three Departments, a Dual Form of Government Including the Nation and the States, Representative Government, and a Congress of Two Houses. It is a masterful analysis.

What does the analysis boil down to? It is this: constitutional liberty is liberty from government. The Constitution is a long series of "thou-shalt-nots" directed at the government. The framers of the Constitution sought to negate power of one man over men, power of a majority over a minority, power of a minority over a majority, power of a government over the governed. They sought to prevent substitution of government judgment over individual, and of a government of men over a government of law.

The strategy worked. American citizens, free from arbitrary governmental interference, spread out from their toehold on the North American continent and grew to form the richest and freest nation on earth. America became synonymous with liberty and provided a beacon and haven for, in the words of Emma Lazarus, the "huddled masses yearning to breathe free."

Time and men, however, have eroded much of the handiwork of the Founding Fathers. Mr. Wilson notes, for example, that the President claimed constitutional authority when he seized the steel industry in 1952. This incident alone should warn those concerned with liberty that they cannot rest easy. What was won on the battlefields of Saratoga and Yorktown is today in jeopardy. As students return to college and high school this fall, one can only wish their parents would furnish them copies of this brilliant essay.

WILLIAM H. PETERSON

# Mao's Paradise

**China Under Communism: The First Five Years**, by Richard L. Walker. 403 pp. New Haven: Yale University Press. \$4.50

This significant book will be greatly used in research for years to come. Indeed it can hardly become outdated, it is so well documented. Other five-year periods (if communism lasts that long in China) will be examined, but this is like a tape-recording of the first five years. Nothing like this has been done heretofore in reporting and interpreting Chinese communism.

Myths are demolished in this scholarly work: the myth of the "agrarian reformers," the myth of deviation from the Soviet pattern, the myth that Chinese would be Chinese first and Communists second, the myth that the Chinese can always swallow their conquerors. Dr. Walker points out that the Soviet pattern is meticulously followed, not only in the five-year plan, but also in so-called land reform (substituting the State for the former landlord who has been executed); in collectivization, slave labor for the building of public works, regimentation, the purge of the "unreconstructed" opposition; in expansionism and a new imperialism; in the total organization of all classes of society so that the State owns every man's soul.

The vast amount of factual material that has been amassed and classified for this book has come from the monitoring in Hong Kong of communist radio broadcasts, and from complete coverage of the vernacular press and the principal magazines out of Red China by an institute of researchers. Sources of almost all this material are given in fifty pages of notes.

Dozens of questions Americans have wondered about are answered with documentation and deductions. Here are some of them. Is anyone allowed to go his own way in communist China? How many members are there in the Communist Party of China? What was the estimated value of assets given up by Great Britain when forced out of China? What were the "3-anti" and "5-anti" drives in Red China? Why did it finally become necessary to have a "drive against too many drives"?

How did the Red Chinese regime arrive at the census figure of 601,912,371 as the total population?

For instance, after the author documents the four types of psychological control over the Chinese people, he deduces as follows:

The autobiographies or diaries are mostly confined to ideological life histories and constitute a process of deep self-analysis. Required content includes "principle," "stand," criticism of family and friends, class self-analysis, and correct "content." They are read in small groups and sometimes in the large groups, and then criticized. After being written many times in line with the criti-

cisms they become a part of the dossier of the trainee. *His soul becomes public property.*

That is communism in a nutshell in Russia and in every satellite, including Red China.

While some readers (and reviewers) will note that the "initial accomplishments of the Mao regime . . . have in many respects been unmatched in modern Chinese history," others will note that "Refugees and expelled missionaries from communist China began in 1952 reporting shortages . . . in cooking oil, rice and even the bean-cake needed for fertilizer, and the serious

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shortage of these essentials was more evident in 1953." Complaints about lack of meat were countered with the reply that "the supply of frozen pork to brother nations [i.e., members of the communist bloc] is important as payment for urgently needed industrial machinery."

One reader will note: "Short of all-out war, it will prove hard to break the power of this great bureaucratic despotism which communism has erected in China"; while another will understand that the peasant, far from being the land-happy individual some have painted him, is actually fighting communism with the only weapon within his power: failure to produce beyond what his family must consume. If the West does not break the peasants' will to resist by sending surpluses into China—which continues to export food even when its own people are starving—these peasants themselves may break the power of the great despotism.

GERALDINE FITCH

## Barricade for Freedom

**World Indivisible**, by Konrad Adenauer; introductions by Ruth Nanda Anshen and Ernest Jackh; xxx plus 128 pp. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$2.75

Part of Harper's series of "World Perspectives," this little book is a study in progressive clarity. The general introduction, by Miss Anshen, is a meaningless and embarrassing mishmash of phrases. Mr. Jackh's preface is somewhat better; it is at least intelligible. If the reader can survive these trying introductory pages, or better yet, if he merely skips them, he will be richly rewarded by the book itself.

Konrad Adenauer sees Germany as a buffer between the forces of Russia and the United States. He deceives neither himself nor his reader with regard to the precarious situation of his country. Grimly assessing Soviet intentions, he is yet hopeful about the future. He envisions, as a solution to the present power struggle, the creation of a third power bloc in a viable and cohesive Free European Community.

His recognition of two camps does not mean, however, that Adenauer sides with the moral mugwumps

who constantly wonder how the people of Europe can choose between two imperialistic forces such as ourselves and the Soviet Union. "The German people," he says, "will always stand on the side of those who build barricades for freedom." With devastating logic he brushes aside the various irrelevancies which the weavers of fantasy are always eager to supply. "Neutralism" is disposed of, along with the last shards of moral ambiguity concerning the U.S. and U.S.S.R.

The Free European power bloc, then, would throw in its lot with the United States. Germany's two large goals—peace and unity—cannot be achieved by knuckling under to the Russians. Rather, they are obtainable only through a demonstrable willingness to use military strength, if necessary. Peace is desirable—but there is an alternative. And a United Germany cannot be achieved under the conditions of Soviet despotism, which would open the sluiceways for communism to inundate the rest of Europe.

While Americans cannot wish themselves in the geographical situation of the German people, they can at least envy them the wisdom of their leader. Chancellor Adenauer's examination of the world situation is exemplary both for the unyielding realism of his diagnosis, and for the determined hope of his projected cure. Were our own statesmen to bring themselves as readily to grips with the realities of the world situation, were they as forthright in seeking to protect the interests of their own country, we would in the long run have very little to fear from the Soviets.

M. STANTON EVANS

## Giants in Their Place

**Big Enterprise in a Competitive System**, by A. D. H. Kaplan. 269 pp. Washington: Brookings Institution. \$4.00

During a business boom, a book can be published, casting the industrial giants in a favorable light. That would not happen in a period of depression, when bigness is badness and all business is suspect.

At least, author A. D. H. Kaplan contends that American public opinion has a split personality, wavering

between a policy of promotion and one of suppression for big business. Individually as investors, consumers and employees, the people foster large-scale enterprises, while collectively they look upon such concentration of economic power with genuine concern and distrust.

Under these conditions of unstable public opinion, it seems that a workable system of competition is one which doesn't leave too much of the job for the government to do. "A significant measure of the effectiveness of market-determined competition is its ability to economize the use of public operation and control." So the question is this: does the fact that some business operations are considerably bigger than others increase or decrease the government's job?

One way to look at the question is to join the author in an interesting case study of the so-called aluminum monopoly. Sure, one company controlled the supply! But demand was something else again. Were people going to use aluminum as a substitute for glass, or copper, or steel, or some other metal, or wood, or plastic, or what? At one time, aluminum was used mostly for pots and pans. Then the transportation industry became a heavy user. Aluminum wiring took the lead over copper. And by 1948, the heaviest consumer was the building industry. But there was competition at every turn in the struggle of aluminum to find a market.

The most fascinating part of the study shows the big fellows jockeying for position through the years since 1909. Of the 100 largest industries shown in the 1909 list, only 36 remained in the block of the 100 largest for 1948. In 1909, the iron and steel industry dominated the big business sector of the economy with nearly a third of the total assets of the 100 largest corporations. But by 1948, steel was sharing second spot with transportation equipment, while the petroleum industry had climbed to first position. One gains the impression that the footing is indeed slippery at the top of the business world, and the great lubricant is competition.

Many minds will be relieved to learn that big business does not constitute a serious threat to liberty in America. But there are others who believe that big government is the

only real monopoly to be feared. This study will not diminish their fear.

For those to whom the bookish details of this exhaustive analysis might not appeal, there is an excellent movie version with the same title—45 minutes, in color, \$25 rental from Encyclopedia Britannica Films, Wilmette, Illinois. PAUL L. POIROT

## Debunking Marxism

**Marxism Past and Present**, by R. N. Carew Hunt, 180 pp. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.75

Here, within the covers of a small book, is about as tidy and scholarly a job of debunking Marxism as one could hope to find. The author is a British scholar, author of another excellent book on the theory and practice of communism. In the present work he subjects the works of Marx and of Marx's Soviet disciples, Lenin and Stalin, to acute and informed analysis. With typically British calm restraint and gentle irony the author ticks off one contradiction, fallacy and false assumption after another until Marxism is stripped of all pretense of infallibility and revealed as a mass of pretentious humbug.

One of the biggest contradictions between Marxism and the visible facts of life was the marked improvement in the living conditions of the industrial working class under the capitalist system which, according to Marx, was predestined to bring ever greater misery and degradation. Another is the location of the successful violent collectivist revolutions of our time: Russia, China, Yugoslavia. It was one of Marx's cherished dogmas that "no social order ever perishes before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have developed." But no one could reasonably assert that capitalism had developed all its possibilities in these three countries.

The author harasses the Marxists with other questions. If, according to the Marxist pattern, the proletariat is increasingly degraded under capitalism, how are its members to acquire qualities which would fit them for leadership in the new society? And if history, as Marx and Engels would have us believe, is the record of higher economic and social

forms emerging from the struggle with lower, why should this process stop and life become frozen, once the stage of socialism is reached?

One of the most blatant contradictions in Soviet political thinking, as Mr. Carew Hunt shows, is in regard to the State. It is a Marxist dogma, emphasized by Lenin, that the State will ultimately wither away. But the whole trend of Soviet development has been in the opposite direction, toward a tremendous build-up of the traditional supports of a despotic State: a huge standing army, an enormous police system, a vast network of spies and informers. It remained for Stalin, when he had become so powerful that he was in

no danger of being told that he was talking nonsense, to make this contradiction crystal clear:

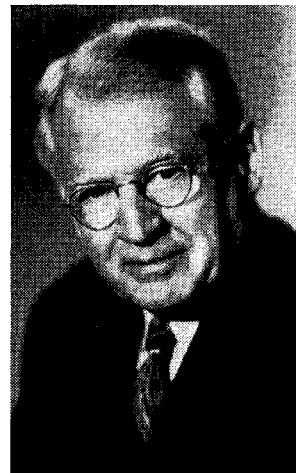
"We are in favor of the state dying out, and at the same time we stand for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which represents the most powerful and mighty authority of all forms of state which have existed up to the present time."

If the whole book is a boiled-down summary of the most effective arguments against Marxist socialism, the concluding chapter is a very fine climactic statement of the author's position. The transference of the means of production to public ownership and the planned society are

# THE DECLINE OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC

*And How to Rebuild It*

By JOHN T. FLYNN



Men and women now 40 have never experienced in their adult years that kind of society which their parents knew as the American Republic; they live in the war-weary, government-directed, tax-harried, superficially prosperous fabric of the once-imposing edifice of a free society. . . . "Our basic disease," says Mr. Flynn in this, his most important book, "is that we have abandoned the American system of government." He traces the causes of the Republic's decline, appraises the people who brought it about and the condition to which it has led us, and ends with a broad program for the restoration of basic American principles.

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of the essence of socialism. And a nation-wide planned economy is incompatible with freedom of voting for a congress or parliament. For, as Mr. Carew Hunt puts it, "If production is to be planned some body of persons must do the planning, and this becomes impossible if the plan is liable to be reversed at any moment by a vote in a popular assembly."

And in the last paragraph the author delivers a telling blow against the utopianism which has often, and not least in modern times, taken a fearful holocaust of victims: "It is easy enough to attack any economic system, as it is certain to contain features which are open to criticism, and to make large promises of replacing it by a new order of ideal harmony. But in an imperfect world no such order is attainable. 'It is a disease of the soul,' says a Grecian sage, 'to be in love with impossible things.'"

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

## For Phonic Reading

**Why Johnny Can't Read**, by Rudolf Flesch. 222 pp. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$3.00

Back in 1779, when this country was in its infancy, Thomas Jefferson advocated general popular education. He believed this necessary to qualify the citizenry to preserve their freedom under self-government. If Jefferson were to return today and see how it is working out, I wonder what he would say? To bring himself up to date on affairs, he might well start with Rudolf Flesch's book, *Why Johnny Can't Read*.

The author, born in Austria and trained as a lawyer, came to the United States in 1938. He has contributed to various magazines, written five books, and is now a freelance writer and a lecturer at New York University.

Dr. Flesch wrote this book primarily for parents whose children can't read—despite their general

popular education. The extent of the problem is startlingly revealed by the market demand for this book. A month after release it was already selling fifth among the nation's non-fiction. Sales totalled about 100,000 in the first three months.

The author explains why the United States during the past quarter century has had so many poor readers. He first documents the causes, then gives a specific cure in the form of lessons which parents may use to teach Johnny to read. The basis of the difficulty, he says, is that the emphasis is given to the word method rather than teaching the letters and their sounds. We are advised to return to the phonic method.

The invention of the alphabet replaced the picture method, greatly simplifying writing. How much easier it is to learn one alphabet of 26 letters than separate symbols for each of the 550,000 words in the English language.

Does the phonic system really work? The author tells us that there are almost no remedial reading cases anywhere in the world except in the United States, nor were there any here until about thirty years ago. Observation of the use of the phonic system in Europe shows that by the end of the second grade of school practically any child can read orally almost anything in print.

In addition, the phonic system as Dr. Flesch prescribes it teaches the child to spell—an ability which professors and employers of secretarial personnel often find to be seriously lacking. This book will undoubtedly help many parents to solve Johnny's plight by giving the phonic system a try at home.

MARGUERITE HARPER

## Good—and Better

**Job Property Rights**, by Arthur R. Porter, Jr. 110 pp. New York: Columbia University Press. \$2.50  
**The Self-Made Man in America**, by Irvin G. Wyllie. 210 pp. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. \$4.00

Says the author of *Job Property Rights*, "It is the thesis of this study that job property rights have evolved in the composing rooms of

the printing industry . . . have come about through collective bargaining and unilateral action on the part of the International Typographical Union."

The truth is, of course, that however they have evolved and come about they are not rights. They come closer to being a racket, a violation of the free market, a combination of restraint of trade, an unconscionable shakedown no more to be condoned than blackmail, no more to be justified than featherbedding, make-work schemes, stand-in jobs and those other tricky devices of organized labor for exacting more pay for less work.

The author seeks to prove in 110 pages that it is right and proper that some men be compelled to pay other men for the privilege of earning a living, and that whom the employer hires is none of the employer's business. Those are a couple of points he couldn't prove in a million pages.

The tie-in between this book and Irvin G. Wyllie's *The Self-Made Man in America* lies in the fact that if the "rights" Mr. Porter so vigorously espouses had been in effect in those halcyon days of yesteryear when self-made men were self-making all over the place, there wouldn't have been any. Self-made men, that is. Actually there weren't any anyway, as author Wyllie makes clear. But it is true that in the century or so preceding World War One a considerable number of Americans made the long and arduous—and sometimes crooked—trek from rags to riches.

That couldn't be done today. When you must pay continuing tribute to a labor union for the privilege of working, and risk losing your job or having your brains knocked out if your production exceeds the low limit set by the union overlords, you'll never get rich. Unless, of course, you are one of the overlords yourself. But that's something else again.

Here are a couple of smoothly written and thought-provoking books that are distinctly worth reading, however much you may disagree with some of the conclusions, particularly in the Porter job. Some grand long-ago drawings of Charles Dana Gibson add much to the Wyllie book.

C. O. STEELE

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# *is this student alone?*



**NO**—Like most young people, he is an idealist. As such, he can never be alone. Countless forces contend for his mind, to convince him that they can answer his many questions. The answers that sway him today are the decisions which will guide America tomorrow. For years the forces of the Left have understood this—and acted accordingly. As a result, yesterday's rebels are now entrenched. If they are ever to be routed—if collectivism is ever to be defeated—the voice of freedom must make itself heard on the campus.

**YES**—For in another sense this student *is* alone—terribly alone. He is a Conservative. There is no sparkling young professor to buttress his beliefs, no host of undergraduate sympathizers surrounding him. This student is the rebel of today. Will *you* help give him access to the philosophy of freedom? Will you show him that he is not alone?

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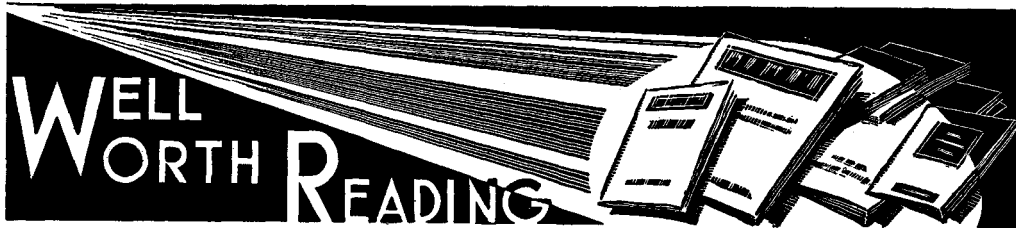
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## RIGHT TO WORK

Are unions above the law? In direct violation of a Wisconsin "right to work" law, imported UAW-CIO goons forcibly prevented non-strikers from going to their jobs at the Kohler Company. The strikers went into action because wages at Kohler were *high*, not low. The union wanted its slice and would use any means to get it. Vandalism and riots ruled at the factory gates, while the local sheriff sat on his hands. This situation "emphasizes the no-man's land in which leftists and union racketeers can wreak their havoc on . . . industry, on communities, and on working men, if states are prohibited from any effective action against local riots, violence, and coercion."

**Kohler of Kohler News** for April, 1955. 40 pp. Write to Kohler Co., Kohler, Wis. Single copy free

## LABOR

Ol' Henry gave his employees \$5 a day in 1914. This was a big jump in prevailing wage levels, driving people to the Ford plant and encouraging them to produce. Henry's grandsons pulled a reverse. With one eye cocked at General Motors competition and the other being blackened by old-Socialist Reuther, Henry Ford II *et frères* set up a GAW program that encourages people *not* to

work. Mussolini started GAW in Italy; it has effectively helped to kill Italian business. GAW means the end of free enterprise simply because it means the end of enterprise. There's a hope, though. State laws prohibit unemployment compensation to be given if wages are also received. Keep these laws on the books.

**Individual States Can Save America!** by Harry T. Everingham. 2 pp. June 15 issue *Free Enterprise*, Berwyn, Illinois. 20 cents

## LIBERTY

We are disturbed. Something is wrong with this country, we know. But what? We are losing liberty, but how? There are facts to learn in books to read, but where? This pamphlet lists those books by title and subject matter. You can run your finger down the alphabet and pick out the subjects you are interested in, and volumes which deal with those subjects. The material is presented so that you may graduate from cursory knowledge to technical proficiency. The selections "will give the individual who is devoted to the preservation of the American form of government a comprehensive idea of the dangers that confront us."

**The Who, What, Where Reading List**, compiled by Houston Chapter, Pro-America. 30 pp. Do You Know Company, P. O. Box 13351, Houston 19, Texas. 25 cents

## EDUCATION

College is not meant for everybody. Many youths are far better off wading directly into business, the farm, the factory, rather than spending another four years in an institution which has been dragged down to a level somewhere between the academic misfit and the "brain." Pleasing everybody pleases nobody. To democratize higher education is just another way of lowering standards until the college diploma means nothing. "A real danger exists . . . in making the ladders so pleasant

for the climber that upon reaching the last rung, he suddenly discovers the steps have disappeared and his progress was an illusion."

**How Valuable Is a College Education?** 3 pp. Eugene, Oregon: Eugene Parents' Council for Education, Bulletin No. 7, Vol. V, April 21, 1955. Free on request; send 3¢ self-addressed envelope

## POLITICS

The 1952 electorate, more sinned against than sinning, thought it was voting to destroy the grotesque Administration of Truman. Fat hope. "Portside" Eisenhower cheerleaders "drum, drum, drum" a propaganda tattoo telling us that Ike is It, but no amount of political bilge dished out from 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue can serve to deify a man who perpetuates what the people asked him to get rid of.

**The Controversialist Newsletter**, fortnightly edited by Walter J. Ward. 4 pp. P. O. Box 225, Seneca Falls, N. Y. Single copy free, \$2.50 per year

## TAXES

America's heavily centralized federal government and her irresponsible foreign policy are better geared to juggling with the loot from heavy taxes than they are to safeguarding the interests of the nation. But taking care of American interests would remove the prod of fear which compels the American people to yield their political and economic rights to the ever-growing national government. One abuse feeds on another. Simultaneous action must be taken to destroy them all. The states, the Congress, and the voters must act to cut taxation, whereupon unnecessary spending will necessarily be reduced. We can pare down everything but defense, and we can even take a lot of the fat out of that.

**A Solution to Our Three Insoluble Problems—Cut Taxes**; a radio talk by Senator William E. Jenner, July 10, 1955; Manion Forum of Opinion, South Bend, Ind. 10 cents

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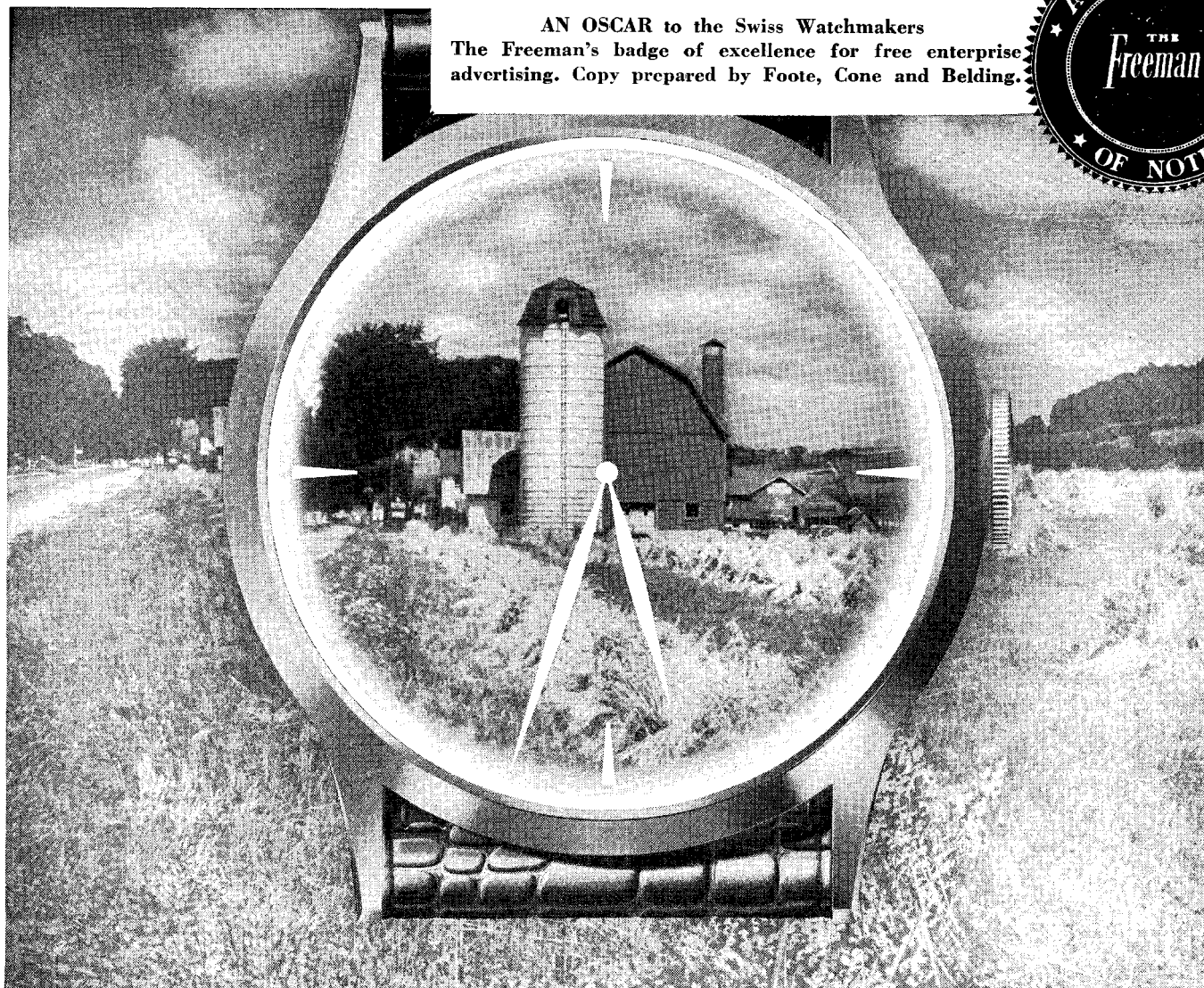
Dividend No. 178



The Board of Directors on July 26, 1955, declared a quarterly dividend of 50¢ per share on the outstanding capital stock of this Company, payable September 10, 1955, to stockholders of record at the close of business August 5, 1955.

W. D. BICKHAM, Secretary

AN OSCAR to the Swiss Watchmakers  
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advertising. Copy prepared by Foote, Cone and Belding.



## Some things are crystal clear

### You'd never mistake this scene.

For these are American fields . . .

Rich with good, golden American grains . . .

Furnishing a large part of the 60 to 70 million dollars' worth of farm and food products grown by Americans . . .

Sold to Switzerland—for cash—every year.

Actually, this is only one corner of the picture. For the Swiss people like, need and buy all kinds of American products. Machinery. Metals. Minerals. Drugs, chemicals, textiles, automobiles, and even airplanes. A Swiss purchase order which has totaled 1½ billion dollars in the last nine years alone. And every penny of it paid to America in cash!

### Where does Switzerland get the cash to pay its bill to America?

Like any good businessman or nation,

Switzerland earns it. Earns it by selling her products to the U. S. Almost half, in fact, is earned by the Swiss watches and movements that America buys.

The books call this "reciprocal trade." Two nations buying and selling from each other. Each supplying what the other needs. Both keeping their peoples more prosperous as a result of it.

America and Switzerland have been enjoying reciprocal trade for many years in, perhaps, the happiest example of reciprocal trade on record.

Or . . . it was.

### How quickly the picture changes

America has now raised her tariff on jeweled-lever Swiss watches and movements by 50%. Additional restrictions have been imposed. And even further restrictions are being considered.

*It takes no crystal-gazer to see what can happen . . . fewer Swiss watches can*

*be sold to Americans; fewer American products can be bought by the Swiss.*

Up to now, there has been no lack of willingness on the part of Switzerland to buy from America . . . nor, are we sure, for America to sell. And so long as the chance remains that this willingness can become the *will of the people*, hope for an equitable solution exists.

### New facts merit a new look

Any problem, which upsets the happy and prosperous relationship which has existed between our two countries for 104 years, deserves a fresh look.

There is such a problem. That is now crystal clear.

Published by

**THE WATCHMAKERS OF SWITZERLAND**  
during the 104th anniversary of  
The Treaty of Friendship and Commerce  
pledged between the people of  
America and the people of Switzerland

# Wishes never became horses

## ...they turned into horsepower!

"If wishes were horses—beggars would ride," says an old Scottish Proverb... but science bypassed the horse and wishes became horse-power. Now, all you need do is pull up to a gas pump and say, "Fill 'er up mister!"

Your foot touches the pedal. Highways skim beneath your wheels; miles are measured in minutes as horsepower leaps into action.

Millions of years ago this power was created when the oil deposits of the earth were formed. Today steel helps release it to serve you. Only *steel* drill pipe and *steel* wire rope can withstand the strains of drilling deep into the earth.

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