

THE
Freeman

NOVEMBER 1954

50¢

Europe's Halfway House

William Henry Chamberlin

War or Peace?

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THE Freeman

Editor
Business Manager

A Monthly
For
Libertarians

FRANK CHODOROV
JAMES M. ROGERS

In This Issue

Spread across the front pages of our newspapers is the ugly thought: WAR. It protrudes from every dispatch from abroad, and is background for most of the news from Washington. Taking cognizance of this fact, and also of the consequence that private conversation on public affairs often veers to the question of war, I wrote an editorial in the September number entitled "The Return of 1940?" The burden of this editorial was that the country seems to be repeating the experience of pre-World War Two; that that war, as has all others, resulted in the concentration of power in the government, and a consequent lessening of freedom; and that another war would just about wipe out whatever freedom we have left.

The editorial stirred a couple of writers to submit articles in rebuttal. I selected the one by WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM, which appears in this issue, because I thought it put the pro-war position in its best light—and because it gave me a chance to expand the idea in the editorial. Of course, neither argument will convince the other side. Mr. Schlamm, formerly assistant to the editor-in-chief of *Time*, *Life* and *Fortune*, is well known to FREEMAN readers for his department "Arts and Entertainments," in 1951 and 1952.

"Well Worth Reading" is inaugurated in this issue as a service to readers. We receive many booklets, speeches and other pieces of printed matter that strike us as things our readers would like to read. Obviously, we can't reprint them. The next best thing, then, is to tell our readers briefly what they are about and where and how copies can be obtained. This will be a monthly feature.

Among our book reviewers: CHARLES CALLAN TANSILL is the historian (Georgetown University) who published last year the controversial book, *Backdoor to War*. F. A. HAYEK attracted national attention several years ago with his *The Road to Serfdom*, and is presently Professor of Social and Moral Science at the University of Chicago. REV. IRVING E. HOWARD is a staff member of the Christian Freedom Foundation, Inc.

We are pleased to welcome into the literary field a man whose experience enables him to test the concepts of freedom in the test tube of business. HUGHSTON M. MC BAIN is Chairman of the Board of Marshall Field & Co. On the other hand, C. P. IVES is a libertarian whose daily work is to write about it; for he is an editorial writer for the *Baltimore Sun*.

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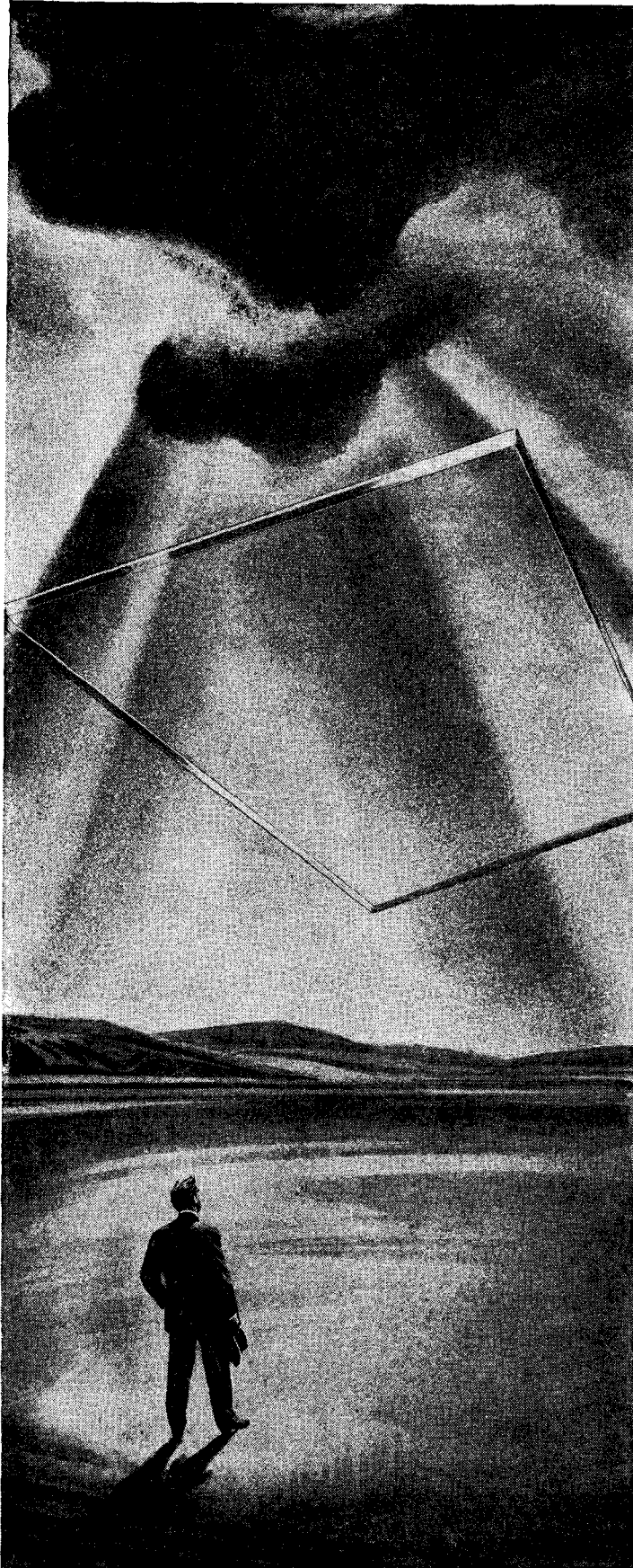
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The FREEMAN is devoted to the promulgation of the libertarian philosophy: the free market place, limited government and the dignity of the individual.



Century of the uncommon man!

THAT'S a fitting label for the last hundred years. For the uncommon men of our century have made us a great and powerful nation.

There have been many of them . . . men like Edison and Ford, Bell and Westinghouse, Good-year and Hall.

But mark this well . . . They were not common men! They were uncommon men because they had ideas, ability, initiative and courage . . . and, equally important, because they lived in a land where men have an incentive to put these talents to work.

Uncommon men like these . . . men of science and industry . . . have given us more progress in one century than the world knew in the previous 50 centuries. Their efforts have enriched the lives of men the world over.

Yet, today, there are those who would deny us this progress.

They would remove all incentive and penalize initiative.

They would say that equal rights mean equal reward.

They would ration success.

This must not be! Men of ability must not be denied the incentive to use their abilities. For this is the wellspring of all progress.

John Pitcairn, who founded this company, is an example. He was a man with ideas, ability, initiative and courage . . . a man who worked in a land that rewarded these qualities . . . a pioneer who, through Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company, made jobs possible for thousands of Americans, who in turn produce hundreds of paint and glass articles to add to our standard of living.

Our state and our nation abound with similar examples of the value of incentive.

It is well to remember this principle of incentive. For if our country is to continue to prosper . . .

The success of coming generations must not be rationed.



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Readers also write

Ask Your Library

May I suggest that some time you include a note advising readers that they ask their libraries to carry the FREEMAN? I've gotten it in my Brooklyn branch by a simple request, first on a slip of paper—and then by writing the Chief Librarian that, along with the *Nation*, *New Republic*, *Reporter*, etc., this taxpayer would like to see her side given houseroom.

PATRICIA MC DONOUGH
Brooklyn, N. Y.

When Keynes Quoted Lenin

F. A. Harper's "The Hiddenest Tax" (October) is the clearest explanation of inflation I have ever read. Since most of the basic causes of inflation in this country can be traced to the cock-eyed economic theories of the late John Maynard Keynes . . . it is perhaps interesting, if not significant, to read in one of his earlier writings (*The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, 1919):

" . . . the best way to destroy the Capitalist System was to debauch the currency. By a continuing process of inflation, governments can confiscate, secretly and unobserved, an important part of the wealth of their citizens [Emphasis supplied]."

Curiously, Keynes was quoting Lenin. Query: Why did Keynes later disregard Lenin's warning?

KENNETH D. ROBERTSON, JR.
Boston, Mass.

Bismarck's "Costing Sense"

There is another deadly parallel between the scheming German Empire of the latter half of the nineteenth century and the mid-twentieth century in the United States—the unwillingness to be accounting-minded (John T. Flynn's "Bismarck's Public Debt," October). Bismarck disliked direct taxation and was always looking for the angel behind the scenes for his production. As Flynn says, he wanted profits emerging from State enterprise rather than expecting them to lower costs for the consumers. . . . He wanted the magic of money rolling into the exchequer from social security (insurance was their less grandiose word), with the benefits long deferred. . . . He counted on the other fellow's ignorance to counterbalance his own insufficient costing sense.

We, too, are matching expected gen-

eral stupidity against our own ignorance of costs. Flynn has well tabulated the defense picture, gigantic as it is. But a runner-up for honors is the welfare account, which he less thoroughly pillories. There is dangled before the eyes of the upper skilled electorate some bargains of, say, potential gifts of \$25,000 family receipts over the period of "old age," against maximum personal tax payments of perhaps \$1,000 for those qualifying in the next few years. That was Bismarck's method—keep the questions back; just hold out the carrots before their noses. For those now living, the "expectation" of receipts from OASI alone is up to a trillion dollars. Today's earmarked tax budget toward that account is .5 per cent. . . .

W. RULON WILLIAMSON
Washington, D. C.

Trade with Malenkov

Nicholas Nyaradi's article (October) gave a timely and expert opinion on the dangers of exporting strategic materials to the Soviet Union.

New York City JAMES CARTER

The Presbyterian Letter

I read with great interest "Presbyterians and A Letter" (September), which was ably written by Rev. Edmund A. Opitz. . . . It is encouraging to know that the FREEMAN is not going to let the libertarian battle in this field go by default, but that it will, as in the other spheres of current thought, dare to carry on warfare . . . even in this controversial territory. . . .

DONALD ALLEN WAITE
West Lafayette, Ind.

Prejudiced Correspondents

Let me thank you with great depth of feeling for "Bulls in China's Shop" by John C. Caldwell (September).

Having lived in Taipei, Formosa, from 1950 to 1952, while my husband, retired Admiral Charles M. Cooke, was foreign adviser to the Generalissimo, and having for half of that time broadcast my own news commentary on the Voice of Free China, I have occasion to know whereof Mr. Caldwell speaks. I am neither an old China hand nor a three-day expert on the Far East, but the depth of ignorance and prejudice exhibited by many in the latter category was at times almost incredible. . . .

As for censorship, my radio program, which was short-waved to mainland China in English and Chinese, went on the air without even my husband having any idea what I was going to talk about. Generally I only completed my script a few minutes before going to

the station to broadcast. Neither my husband nor I ever had any evidence of our mail being censored when it went through the Chinese post office. . . . Our house was not wired for sound.

I'm glad someone realized and has published the extent of false and slanted information put out by unscrupulous correspondents who went to Formosa with chips on their shoulders.
Sonoma, Cal. MARY LOUISE COOKE

Modern Education

For some months I have been a reader of the FREEMAN, but the September issue is really the prizewinner for some gems: "More Valuable than Property," "That Man Gaskins," "A Six-Billion Dollar Trifle" and Frank Meyer's "The Rotten Apple in Our Schools."

Mr. Meyer's article was right up my alley, for to me modern education (outside of a few of the private schools that are trying to maintain the old traditions and courses. . . .) is "el bunco," as we say here in Lower California. . . . Probably the greatest tribute that I can pay to modern education is the fact that my youngest son, who had one and a half years in college and then went in the Army and recently got back from Korea, decided that he would just be wasting two and a half years to go back to college under the present-day system. After hearing his viewpoint, I heartily agreed with him and advised him to get right into his commercial art work—for one can always continue his education by reading the masterpieces of the world.

La Jolla, Cal. R. W. CHISHOLM

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 OF THE *Freeman* Magazine, published monthly at Orange, Connecticut, for October 1, 1954. 1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business manager are: *Publisher*, The Irvington Press, Inc., Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y.; *Editor*, Frank Chodorov, Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y.; *Managing Editor*, Mabel Wood, Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y.; *Business Manager*, James M. Rogers, Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y. 2. The owner is: The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc. (sole stockholder), Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y. 3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders, owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None. 4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner. Leonard E. Read, *President*, The Irvington Press, Inc. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 7th day of October, 1954. W. Marshall Curtiss, *Notary Public*. (My commission expires March 30, 1956.)

Adventurers in Research..

Dr. J. A. Hutcheson

SCIENTIST-ENGINEER

Director of the Westinghouse Research Laboratories. After graduation from the University of North Dakota in 1926, he came directly to the Westinghouse graduate student training course. In 1940 he was named Manager of the Radio Engineering Department, three years later Associate Director of the Research Laboratories, and in 1949 was appointed to the Director's post. In 1950 he became Vice-President.



In a conversation with Dr. J. A. Hutcheson about research, you will hear him express his guiding philosophy, "The more we know about a subject, the more intelligently we can deal with it". This philosophy probably explains why he is head of one of the world's largest industrial research laboratories—a position reached via engineering instead of test tubes.

Dr. Hutcheson's career was launched in radio engineering in the design of radio telephone and broadcast transmitters. He developed radio, radar and other electronic equipment that played a vital part in the successful completion of World War II.

Both during and after the war, Dr. Hutcheson was in intimate contact with the nuclear research program. He was one of the civilian observers at the postwar atomic tests at Bikini.

Dr. Hutcheson's outstanding ability to guide the work of others, in addition to his brilliant engineering and research record, made him ideally suited for the job of directing a large research institution. One might think that with a background predominantly

engineering, he would emphasize applied rather than fundamental research. Such has not been the case. His years as a designer made him keenly aware of the limitations placed on the engineer by lack of fundamental knowledge.

An example illustrates this. Many devices involve the passage and extinction of current in gases. An enormous amount of research effort has been spent to improve switches, fuses and breakers with considerable success. But Dr. Hutcheson, following his premise of the value of knowing more about a subject, decided that was not enough. Without disturbing the group concerned with improving existing devices, he set up another whose sole function is to study the fundamental mechanism of current conduction in gases.

Under the dynamic leadership of Dr. Hutcheson, Westinghouse research is opening new horizons for industrial progress. This research enables Westinghouse and industry as a whole to deal more effectively with their problems. Westinghouse Electric Corporation, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

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THE Freeman

NOVEMBER 1954

Thanks in November

This is the month—on the first Tuesday after the first Monday—when all good Americans take counsel with themselves and decide on the proper course for the ship of state. More exactly, since their form of government so prescribes, they select the charters of the course. The sacred act is performed in the solemn precinct of the ballot booth, located in the back of some barbershop or general store, or even in the basement of a subsidized housing project. The place is unimportant; one can take communion with one's soul anywhere.

To be sure, the spiritual travail has taken place long before the sovereign voter marks his magical X in the chosen square. But, no matter how much soul searching has preceded it, the actual marking of the ballot is all that counts; even then, nothing has been accomplished until the counting of ballots has been completed and the judgment of 51 per cent ascertained. For, so the law decrees, it is the wisdom and conscience of the majority that becomes the wisdom and conscience of all; the minority, bless their souls, simply erred.

Just how this 51 per cent acquires this quasi-divine position in our scheme of things is a mystery; it stems either from the magic of numbers or from the enigma of the General Will. Regardless of the reason, the fact is that the voters who collectively come within this holiness are separately ordinary mortals, and one must treat them as such in trying to interpret election results. It is in their individual motivations that one finds the meaning of the majority.

There are, first of all, those who vote for party labels. By voting that way, they save themselves the toil and trouble of passing judgment on the capacities of the characters who put themselves up for jobs in the government, or on the perplexing issues presented. The function of this segment of the electorate, as the political managers well know, is to provide the bulk of the majority. In the final analysis, the divine spark is injected into this bulk by the variable "independent" vote, generally conceded to be not over 5 per cent of the total.

Why do they vote as they do? Some "independ-

ents" are influenced by the photogenic quality or osculatory propensity of their chosen candidate, some by the fact that he is good to his mother. But these are minor influences. In most cases, the deciding factor is the well-being of the voter; if the candidate is up for re-election, the "independent" finds for or against him on the basis of whether "times" were good or bad during his term of office; a brand new candidate is under the necessity of convincing the elector of his ability and intention to "improve economic conditions."

The emphasis in campaign speeches on economic matters is proof enough that the voter sees in his ballot some mystic power for improving his circumstances; even the loyal party voters will, if their wages or dividends seem inadequate, kick over the traces and join the "independents." That is why the tax-spend-elect formula was invented some twenty years ago. Since that momentous occasion, the November trek to the polls has become a propitiation of the gods of politics for the plenty they have brought, or promise to bring, to the electorate.

And so, in the sacred precinct of the ballot booth the industrialist gives thanks for the profitable orders he has received from or through government, and adds a prayer for more; the subsidized scientist genuflects before the provider of his wherewithal; the farmer gratefully acknowledges the checks he has received for not farming; the wage earner intones a song of praise for his "take home" pay, adding a supplication that his withholding tax be reduced.

But since many of us must put into the cornucopia all that the politician dispenses from it, what have we to be thankful for? How shall we vote?

Toward the end of the month these same good Americans give thanks to God for the beneficences they have enjoyed during the past year. In that act they unconsciously admit that the source of all good is not the politician, but is rather an order of things beyond the reach of human law. They actually deny the assumption of their suffrage on the first Tuesday after the first Monday. For, if the blessings of life are traceable to the Creator, they cannot be ascribed to the noncreative legislator; unless, indeed, it is assumed that God has selected the legislator to distribute what He has provided. There are some who, to resolve this ambivalence, do

endow the politician (the State) with such vicarious "divinity"; they are called Socialists, Communists, New Dealers.

Perhaps, however, the good Americans are wiser on Thanksgiving Day than they are on Election Day. Perhaps there are inexorable forces that operate in the field of economics, as in other fields, with utter disregard of the antics of parliamentary procedure. Perhaps it is the conflict between these forces—sometimes called "natural law"—and the tinkering of political quacks that causes the economic disturbances which we try to correct with the vote. Perhaps we would be better off if the government kept its hand out of economic affairs altogether. It is a thought worth considering.

The New Imperialism

When you read the news that the French Chamber of Deputies had voted against joining the European Defense Community, did you spill your coffee? Or did you yawn and turn to the sports page?

What interested me was not the vote—that, I thought, concerned only the French—but the fuss and fury it stirred up among our politicians. Secretary of State Dulles was reported to be considerably upset. He immediately set out on a hop-skipping tour of European capitals to sell a reasonable facsimile of the defunct EDC.

The attitude of Mr. Dulles seemed to be that the French had let him down. Why? Had Premier Mendès-France assured him that the Chamber would vote differently? That would have been something like a pledge from Mr. Eisenhower to a foreign dignitary to deliver a vote of Congress; it is not likely. Nor has there ever been any intimation that the French had agreed to join this "defensive" alliance in exchange for the billions our government has been handing out to theirs; to be sure, it has been iterated and reiterated that there were no strings attached to these handouts. Mr. Dulles' chagrin might be compared to that of a bettor whose "sure thing" horse had come in last.

There is more to his disappointment than that. EDC, it must be remembered, was a totally foreign affair; the United States government was not to be a member of it, even though it had intimated very strongly that the American taxpayer would foot a good part of the bill. Mr. Dulles was simply a "fat cat" organizer of EDC. In declining to join up, the French exercised their sovereign right. Mr. Dulles apparently does not recognize this sovereign right, but assumes that it is in some way conditioned by American foreign policy; that's why he was put out by the vote.

That is imperialism—when one sovereign nation assumes a vested interest in the affairs of another. But it is a new kind of imperialism.

The standard formula involved the use of diplomacy (not excluding the bribery of officials of the target nation), backed with military might. Sometimes, if the conditions favored such action, a "sphere of influence" was established by the imperialistic nation without resort to the niceties of diplomacy; where the prey was considered a "backward people," imperialism became colonialism. In any case the purpose was to exploit the peoples drawn within the imperialistic orbit. The U.S.S.R. still follows that formula.

The new American brand of imperialism seems to be to wheedle foreign nations into acceptance of its policies and purposes. Economic exploitation plays no part in this new method, nor is military invasion contemplated. Crude bribery of officials is not resorted to, but it is assumed that huge grants of money to the governments will win their "friendship." The sovereignty of the nation whose cooperation is wanted is scrupulously respected. But the objective is to gear its "will" to that of the American government. The best that can be said of this new method is that it is subtle intervention.

Mr. Dulles' imperialism was ineffective in the case of France. He struck out. Instead of quitting, he assumed the attitude that the French were wrong, ignorant or even malicious; they must be brought to "see the light." So, with his well-stocked sample kit of internationalist schemes, he set out on a selling trip and finally got the several governments to accept one that fitted their various interests and yet satisfied Washington. Eureka! But you and I will be saddled with the costs.

The Spot on the Toga

There are exceptions. But this is the rule: political behavior is guided by expediency, not by principle. Therefore, in evaluating any act of any public official, it is foolhardy to use the moral measuring sticks by which we judge the behavior of private citizens.

Thus, we are likely to go far wrong in discussing the judgment of the six senators who "tried" the charges against Senator McCarthy as if it were determined by the evidence presented, or the judges' high sense of duty. Such considerations are not germane. In the mind of each senator as he heard the case was one thought: how will my vote help me, either in the next election or in my future public career? Nothing else mattered.

With the three Democrats, expediency dictated that their vote should be disparaging to one of their enemies; the possibility of widening a rift in the Republican Party also influenced their judgment. The three Republicans had to weigh the impact of their votes on their respective constituencies, to begin with, and then the wishes of the Administration from whom all patronage flows.

The division of the Senate on the report of this "judicial" committee will follow the same lines.

A few on the Democratic side may reject the report, for political reasons, but the party as a whole will accept it at face value. The Republicans, especially those due to come up for re-election in 1956, will consider the popular appeal of McCarthy in their states, as against the support of the Administration in that election. And those who hope to end their days on the bench, or in some other appointive sinecure, will vote accordingly.

Keeping It Constitutional

It isn't that government is "bad"—it is that its interests are in opposition to those of the governed. The original liberals—whose offspring have been forced to adopt the name "libertarian" because their patronymic has been perverted—were aware of this conflict, and sought protection against the government by prescribing limits to its power. That's how constitutional government came about. However, the inherent urge for power is constant, and the government reacts to these constitutional limitations by straining to circumvent them. The libertarian's function is to stand guard.

There are several protective measures that the libertarian resorts to. First, there is the desperate one of rebellion. The disadvantage of this method is that it can boomerang, producing a government of greater power than the one replaced.

The government can be kept in line by passive resistance. After all, the government is a minority group, and is helpless when its edicts are resolutely disobeyed by any considerable number of the majority. No law that does not have popular approval can be enforced for any length of time. Imagine the problem the government would have on its hands if it attempted to incarcerate a hundred thousand intrepid dissidents.

The possibilities of passive resistance, on principle, are evident even when the opposition is small in numbers. Right now, the authorities in a number of communities are at their wits' end because a number of citizens in their bailiwicks are refusing to abide by the anti-segregation decision of the Supreme Court. In Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, the Amish are raising havoc by simply going to jail rather than complying with provisions of the compulsory education law which run counter to their religious scruples. Out in Ohio a band of thirty-five who have refused to accept subsidies and are therefore subject to penalties are making things difficult for the government by insisting that they be sued. Passive resistance disturbs the self-assurance of government.

A third way of keeping the government constitutional is to plug up, by amendment, the apertures by which the politicians have escaped

the original limitations on their powers. This is a difficult process—as it should be, because if there were an easy method of changing basic law, the politicians would be the first to take advantage of it. But it can be done, and while a movement to hamstring the government by constitutional amendment is under way, it serves as a warning notice of disaffection.

Several such movements are in the running right now. They deserve the support of all libertarians. I am particularly enamored of the Organization to Repeal Federal Income Taxation, because, whether it is successful or not, it must publicize the fact that the interventions of government are in proportion to the amount of confiscation it can exercise. My hat goes off to Corinne Griffith, the intrepid leader of this movement who has almost single-handedly carried on this fight for freedom for several years, and now seems likely to get the popular support needed. Her organization deserves such support because it is truly libertarian.

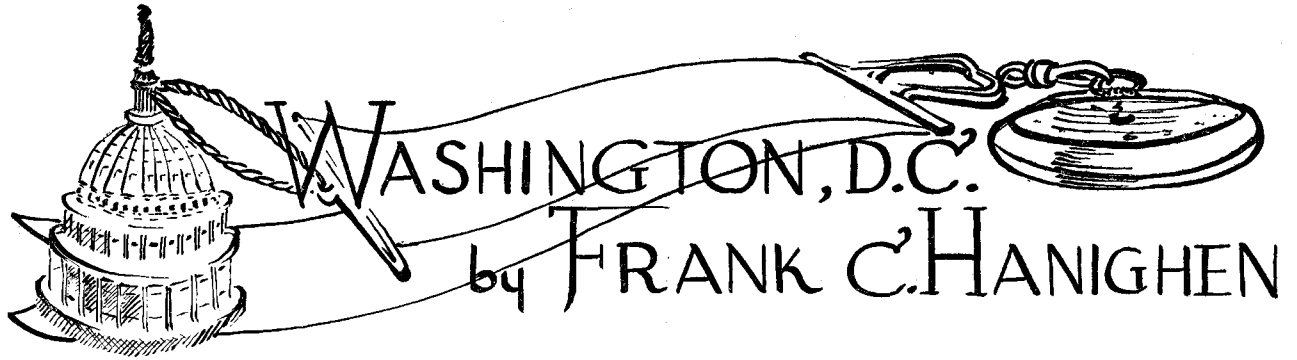
Education, Not Politics

Shortly after the present college year began, some 2,500 students received several pieces of literature. Every fortnight thereafter, until June, more of these pamphlets and books will be sent them. The subject matter of these publications is the philosophy of libertarianism.

The students who receive this literature are collectively known as the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. No, this is not an organization of students, with the usual paraphernalia of organizations; it is not much more than a list of names, although legally ISI—as it is known—is a non-profit corporation. There are no formal meetings, no dues, no activities. Membership carries no other obligation than to read the literature. A student may resign at any time by simply sending a request that he be dropped from the mailing list.

This venture in extracurricular education began less than two years ago, with a list haphazardly gotten together. Of the original six hundred students about half dropped out immediately. Those who remained showed the literature to others who, becoming interested, asked to be enrolled. Graduation automatically terminates membership. If past experience holds up, the membership should double by June 1955. Probably 100,000 pieces of libertarian literature will be put in the hands of students in colleges located all over the country.

The costs of this operation are met by voluntary contributions. The office of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists is at Irvington-on-Hudson, New York. The president is Frank Chodorov, the vice president is William F. Buckley, Jr. A copy of the booklet that started the whole thing will be sent on request; it is called "A Fifty Year Project."



The proverbial visitor from Mars—or Moscow—must find colorful surprises in the panorama of American politics today. Instead of our vaunted two-party system, a confusing multi-party, or at least a “four party” (Liberal Democratic, Liberal GOP, conservative Democratic, conservative Republican) system seems to prevail, with the ruling GOP sharply split. An observer with a Kremlin background would scornfully note evidence that the White House itself hurls *diktats* at the state GOP parties, and insists that the latter must bow to the Kremlin—beg pardon, the White House—will. And a babel of racial and religious factions produces a fragmentation in the two big party organizations which hardly justifies our sanctified phrase, “the melting pot.”

Indeed, even the strongest American defender of representative government can find little edifying about the current campaign to decide the complexion of our national legislature for the next two years. It would be nice, of course, to believe that grand old Representative Dan Reed (Rep., N. Y.) is right; that the people will recognize that what he calls the sound economic policy of the Eisenhower Administration promotes current prosperity by lowering of taxes and abolition of the deadening excess-profits tax. But another great figure of Reed’s party who studies taxation as earnestly as does the New York representative takes a different view. Republican Governor J. Bracken Lee of Utah in the midst of the campaign denounces Eisenhower as a “member of the inner New Deal” and delivers the judgment that a New Deal policy is bad whether conducted by a Democratic or Republican government. Could the division in the GOP be more strikingly illustrated?

Certainly, one marvels at the exciting spectacle of New Jersey Republicans (conservative wing) pledging themselves to defeat the official GOP senatorial candidate, not by merely “sitting on their hands,” but by actually voting for his Democratic (and equally left-wing) opponent. Of course this development is not unique; party followers have often and properly voted for “the other fellow” at the polls, when they have no other recourse for imposing discipline on an official leadership which outrages their sense of party principles. When the White House “steamrollered” conservative opposi-

tion and put over the candidacy of Clifford Case, they effectively prevented a healthy primary test. And when the Presidential clique chose an identical “liberal twin” of the Democratic candidate, the White House “dictators” inevitably brought to a white heat the basic conflict within the GOP—conservatism vs. “liberalism.” Messrs. Case and Howell are both endorsed by the socialistic ADA, Americans for Democratic Action. (Embittered conservative Republicans dub Mr. Case and his kind the “RDA,” or “Republicans for Democratic Action.”)

Nor is this internecine feuding confined to the GOP. In South Carolina, the Democratic State Committee named Mr. Edgar A. Brown as Democratic candidate for senator in November (as a result of the sudden death of incumbent Senator Maybank). The committee therefore provoked a terrific wave of opposition to Mr. Brown throughout the state. Why? (1) The action effectively prevents any choice by the voters, for in an overwhelmingly Democratic Southern state, the Republican candidate, if there is one, has virtually no following. The South Carolinians are naturally incensed because they have been deprived of their immemorial right to vote in the primary, which in the South is always the “real election.” (2) Brown represents the Southern Democratic faction which plays with the New Deal. His “usurpation” has now brought forth States Rights leader J. Strom Thurmond, whose backers are organizing a “write-in” campaign for the November balloting.

A conspicuous sundering of the parties, yes, but additionally, a wide and loud cracking of the “melting pot” of which we have been so proud. In the midst of the campaign forensics, David Lawrence reported that the Maine setback to the GOP seemed to stem substantially from the fact that “the Catholic vote which in large part had left the Democratic Party on the anti-communist issue in 1952, voted in resentment this year against the Republican members of Congress. The Democratic Party leadership in Maine also was smart enough to sense the situation and named a Catholic to run for Governor . . . Religious factionalism in politics is to be deplored, but politicians who know the facts of life realize it does exist.”

And not only the politicians see this. In 1952,

Samuel Lubell published his book, *The Future of American Politics* (Harper's), which aroused much academic attention but found less of a reception among the chiefs of the GOP. Mr. Lubell had made an exhaustive on-the-spot survey of voter attitudes in all parts of the country. One development upon which he bestowed much emphasis was the racial and religious group influences on voters. One of the great factors shaping what he called the Third (or Roosevelt) Revolution in America was the "coming of age" of various urban "minorities," after decades of political submergence under the domination of the older Anglo-Saxon and Nordic stocks in the American social set-up. Lubell came "out with it"—the picture of the "hidden revolution" of which precinct bosses, at least of the Democratic Party, have been for two decades acutely aware.

In October 1952, Lubell—more precisely than other pollsters—by following his thesis pretty accurately forecasted the Eisenhower victory in a series of newspaper pieces. Moreover, this thesis is gaining acceptance. Only last week, this correspondent was told (naturally, very privately) by a functionary of the GOP National Committee, that Eisenhower won the last election because of the shift in the "Catholic vote" from Democratic to Republican; that Senator McCarthy's following among the Catholics was the decisive factor in the historic change in the big-city states. In the Eastern states of large population, the Jewish and Negro votes remained heavily Democratic, but the Catholics, of various racial strains, responded to the anti-communism of the Wisconsin Senator.

And so, the Lubell approach to election analysis prompts attention this October to strange doings, confusing cross-currents in the political life of America. How much of the Catholic vote will return to the Democrats because of the obvious hostility of the White House to McCarthy? Even if it proves but a fraction, its effects in close constituencies can prove adverse to the President's vocal desire that he be given a Republican Congress. Also, according to Washington talk, Senator Saltonstall, a Protestant and a Republican, in Massachusetts with its large Catholic population, would not object strongly if Archbishop Cushing should smile approvingly in his direction, nor if McCarthy should come and speak for him in a state where Saltonstall is opposed by a Democrat and Catholic, Furcolo. McCarthy would be all the more useful to his GOP colleague, since in that state there is reportedly much jealousy among Irish Catholics because of the rising power of Italian Catholics in the Democratic Party. Mr. Furcolo is partly of Italian descent. In short, here are the contradictions of the deplorable situation which Mr. Lubell has so well exhumed and examined.

Observers, with this in mind, turn to Connecticut as the hustings ring with perhaps idle talk about the budget issue, farm and industry subsidies, the

public power question, etc. Logically, the "liberal" regime of Governor John Davis Lodge should be in danger, in view of a discontent among Taft followers in that state almost as acute as in New Jersey. But the Democratic candidate is Abraham Ribicoff, of Jewish faith, widely respected by people of both parties. Initially, his chances of victory seemed good. But, reportedly, Democratic politicians now fear that many Catholic Democrats may prefer to vote for Governor Lodge, or just "stay at home," rather than vote for Mr. Ribicoff. After all, the Jewish population in Connecticut has shown little understanding of the troubles of Senator McCarthy. (Mr. Lubell in his book has documented similar curious reactions and counterreactions in the campaign of 1948.) Finally, if he were to analyze and investigate the current reaction of Protestant ex-hillbilly migrants, with old loyalties to the Democrats but domiciled in Republican Michigan and Ohio, he might illuminate a problem puzzling politicians in those states.

Indeed, all the above is very dismaying to those who have long discarded the American problem of racial and religious fusion as outdated. Yet, even in Washington, observers can perceive that these developments have positive as well as negative facets. Why should voter expression of fear of the world-wide communist conspiracy to overthrow the U.S. government signify merely factional considerations? Isn't love of country and sound nationalism a valid motive for making political preferences? And isn't veneration for civil rights a "good" rather than an "evil," when voters react against the unjudicial capers of the Watkins Committee? Whatever the outcome of the November elections, political scientists for years to come will study the above interesting currents in the historic process of representative government.

Mention of the Watkins Committee commands notice, for the nation's capital is expecting a vigorous debate when the Senate, as now scheduled, will meet to consider the report of that group on the censure of Senator McCarthy. One of the counts in its recommendation for censure has received less scrutiny outside Washington because implications are less understood out in the country than they are in this city of parliamentary precedent.

The count is that Senator McCarthy declined an invitation to testify to the Senate Subcommittee on Elections and Privileges in a preceding congressional session, that of 1951 and 1952. The subcommittee did not subpoena the Senator; it invited him. Parliamentarians here say that McCarthy's deportment in so refusing the bid was correct. The subcommittee actually was of dubious legality. It was not a duly constituted committee, for it had failed to fill a vacancy in its membership according to the rules. In place of the approved procedure, Senator Hayden, Democrat and arch-enemy of McCarthy, appointed himself!

Europe's Halfway House

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

England and Sweden are good vantage points for studying the mixture of collectivism and private enterprise characteristic of a Europe obsessed by the "fear of freedom."

An economic tour of Europe in 1954 offers little support for the idea that a country need be all capitalist or all socialist. The prevailing type of economic structure is a kind of halfway house, a mixed economy—so mixed as to be almost scrambled.

Indeed, a pure capitalist or a pure socialist system is hardly to be found anywhere in the world today. The United States possesses the relatively most individualist economic system in the world and also decidedly the most prosperous. But much that was done under the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations has modified capitalism, as that term was understood before 1932, almost beyond recognition. And the Eisenhower Administration, while it has in some details arrested the trend toward collectivism, has left the main structure of the New Deal very little changed.

The Soviet Union has made a clean sweep of private ownership of means of production. It has concentrated all economic as well as all political power in the hands of the few men at the top of the Communist Party hierarchy. But it has not been able to get along without a number of devices which apostles of Marxism have denounced as sure signs of the original sin of capitalism.

The money system still prevails in the Soviet Union. The budget is kept in better balance than in some noncommunist countries. Steep differences in wage and salary scales furnish incentive. Piece-work, which Marx, in *Das Kapital*, attacked as a peculiarly characteristic form of capitalist exploitation, is practiced in the Soviet Union far more widely than in countries where there are strong trade unions.

Good vantage points for studying the mixture of collectivism and private enterprise which make up Europe's halfway house between capitalism and socialism are London and Stockholm. Britain has been for three years under a Conservative government. The Swedish government is a coalition of Social Democrats, representing mainly industrial workers, and Agrarians, a farmers' party. Yet the likenesses between the British and Swedish economies are more striking than the differences. In both countries the visitor gets the impression that the principles of the halfway house are quite widely accepted, that political campaigns are a kind of shadow boxing, with differences of emphasis and

detail, not, however, of fundamental principle.

I carried away this distinct impression from a talk with a leading figure in the Conservative Party headquarters in London. He was the type for the job, with ex-officer and public school (British style) written all over him in appearance, manner and accent. And this was his judgment of the Labor Party administration which the Conservatives ousted, by a narrow margin, in 1951: "I think it may be said, without exaggeration, that the Labor Party record was not one of unqualified success."

Accustomed to the thunder and lightning of American political campaigning, I was taken aback by this mild appraisal of the opposition. But as I stayed longer in England, I realized that this was not merely a result of the British habit of using soft accents in political controversies. The margin of difference between the Conservatives and Labor (at least the moderate wing of the Labor Party, headed by Clement Attlee) is not very wide, perhaps no wider than the margin between Conservatives and Liberals during the nineteenth century.

A British weekly put this point rather neatly when it suggested a financial policy that might appeal to "Mr. Butskell." The present Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer is Mr. R. A. Butler. His Labor predecessor in the same office was Mr. Hugh Gaitskell.

The Conservative Surrender

What has happened is that the Conservatives have swallowed whole the principle of the Welfare State and the very high level of taxation which is necessary to finance free medical aid for all, old-age pensions, food subsidies and other forms of cradle-to-grave security. They have also accepted the nationalization of the coal mines and the railways and most of the public utilities, although they are trying to get back into private hands the steel industry and the trucking service, which were the last victims of the Labor Party's urge for nationalization. Experience in these cases shows that it is easier to nationalize than to denationalize. The investor is understandably hesitant about putting money into enterprises which the Labor Party is committed to nationalize if it comes into power again.

While the Conservatives have surrendered on

many issues on which their Victorian forefathers would have fought to the last ditch, the Labor Party leadership and its powerful ally, the trade unions, have become lukewarm about pressing on with nationalization. Neither the mines nor the railways offers any evidence of the superiority of public to private ownership.

The state of coal production is the principal cloud on an economic horizon that seems brighter in Britain than it has been since the war. Despite increased investment in machinery, coal output has remained stalled for years at the level of 225 million tons, with the result that Britain has been compelled at times to import foreign coal, and a valuable source of foreign exchange earnings has been lost.

There has been no visible improvement in the functioning of the railways; discontent is rife among the railway workers; local stoppages and slowdowns have been common; and a nation-wide railway strike is sometimes threatened. One of the leaders of the British Trade Union Council, Victor Feather, with whom I talked in London, gave the impression that, in the British phrase, he "couldn't care less" about nationalization. And over the telephone he threw the book, figuratively and literally, at someone at the other end of the line who was apparently thinking of calling an unauthorized strike.

Fifteen years of full employment and social benefits have taken the edge off the class war mood of the British workers. Their average wage increase, from about four pounds to about ten pounds a week, has just about kept pace with the cost of living, which is two and a half times what it was

before the war. But in comparison with the middle class, which has taken a severe beating in terms of lower real earnings, high taxes, loss of household help and restrictions on travel (the Briton may take only \$140 with him if he travels outside sterling countries), the worker is well off. This relative rise in the material status of the manual worker, compared with the intellectual, is a general trend. Only the most hidebound unimaginative spellbinders still try to depict the modern worker, with his union-sponsored wage scale and his many social benefits, as an exploited slave of capital, "with nothing to lose but his chains."

The true proletarians in Britain are people living on fixed incomes from "gilt-edged" securities, or old-age pensioners who find that their pounds have

been melting away in the creeping inflation which, in Britain as in other countries, has been the price of maintaining full employment by cheap money.

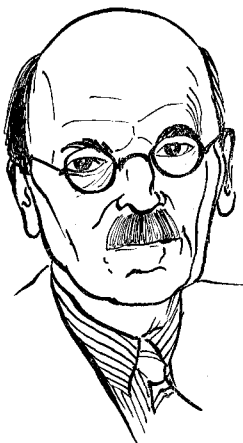
With the Conservatives accepting the Welfare State and Labor showing a lukewarm attitude toward further nationalization, the range of difference between Britain's two big parties (there are no other groups of any consequence in British political life) has narrowed down very considerably. Both parties give the impression of looking for a new creed, a new popular issue.

A group of ten Conservative MPs has published a pamphlet, "Change Is Our Ally," which criticizes the pre-war Conservative policy of fostering monopolies and cartels and trying to save any industry that had fallen into the doldrums because of technical backwardness through protection and State subsidies. They want to introduce a new leaven of competition, of swift adjustment to technical change, into a British economy that shows some signs of hardening of the arteries. This is due partly to the abandonment or modification of the competitive element which was the breath of life to British capitalism in its expanding nineteenth-century phase, and partly to the many restraints on the free economy caused by the war and carried on for six years by Labor governments with a socialist doctrinaire approach. But it is not clear that these Conservative intellectual rebels will persuade the party leadership to commit itself to policies which in the beginning would tread on many toes and cost votes.

The Labor Party has a left wing, in which the most prominent and articulate figure is Aneurin Bevan, who specializes in anti-Americanism, opposition to German rearmament, apologetics for Soviet foreign policy and trying to keep alive the embers of class war. Bevan believes that the present relation between public and private industry in Britain (80 per cent private, 20 per cent public) should be reversed, with all big industries coming under State ownership in a planned economy. But Bevan has yet to wrest the leadership of the Labor Party from such relative moderates as Attlee, Morrison and Gaitskell. And, in the present mood of the country, it seems very doubtful that he could win an election, even if he did, in time, succeed to Labor Party leadership. He would be likely to scare away too many marginal voters who like the Welfare State handouts, but do not want to plunge into the deep waters of more nationalization.



*Sweden's Ohlin
Opposes Socialism*



*England's Attlee
Preaches Socialism*

So the probability is that the next election in Great Britain, likely to take place in 1955, will not be a plebiscite for or against socialism, but a rather tepid argument about certain details of the halfway house in which most Britons apparently are content to live.

Sweden's Diluted Socialism

One finds a similar situation in Sweden, which impresses a visitor for the first time as a kind of cross between Britain and Switzerland. Partly because it stayed out of the war, partly because of its abundant natural wealth, notably in iron and timber, and because of the inventive, hardworking national character of the Swedes, Sweden has realized a British type of diluted socialism without British austerity.

Opposite number to the British Labor Party in Sweden is the Swedish Social Democratic Party, which for the last twenty-two years has been the big wheel of Swedish politics. The Swedish Social Democrats during this period have been continually in office, governing alone or in coalition with other parties. The present government is a combination of Social Democrats and Agrarians. As the liberal editor of one of Stockholm's leading newspapers remarked to me resignedly:

"You can always bribe farmers with high enough prices; and that is what our Social Democrats have done."

The principal opposition to the Social Democrats is furnished by the Liberal Party, headed by an internationally known economist named Bertil Ohlin. Over tea and cakes in one of Stockholm's numerous cafés, Professor Ohlin outlined the five-point program with which he proposes to challenge the Social Democrats at the next election:

1. Tax reduction, with lowering of the income tax as the first necessity.
2. More building of houses, now checked and curbed by all sorts of socialistic regulations.
3. Less regulation of agriculture. (Sweden has a system of fixing farm prices which outdoes that of the United States in complexity and ultimate cost to the consumer and the taxpayer.)
4. Financial policies more favorable to free en-

terprise. Less regulation of the capital market. (Now every new bond and share issue must get the approval of the State-controlled Rigsbank)

5. More safeguards for the individual against the State.

This all made extremely good political and economic sense. But the prospect of ousting the Social Democratic regime seemed as remote as the challenges to Roosevelt's New Deal in the thirties. The amount of State control that is required to run these halfway houses between socialism and capitalism is poison, in the long run, for individual initiative. With its high taxation and its curbs on enterprise, the system leads to a kind of dead-end mediocrity and drab leveling. But the halfway house economy has its attraction, not only for workers who prefer the assured handouts to the all-around higher living standard that a freer system would produce, but to businessmen who are willing to sell their individualist competitive heritage for a mess of State subsidies and protection.

It was interesting to hear a Conservative British member of Parliament who is an avowed believer in State planning admit that whenever the Conservative government lifted some control the situation worked out more smoothly and successfully than he had expected. For instance, Mr. Harold Macmillan, the Minister of Housing, has become a definite election asset to his party because of the tremendous increase in new houses which he achieved by the simple method of scrapping the old requirement that private builders could put up only one house to every ten built by municipal authorities. The freeing from control of many import items, the dropping of the clumsy system known as bulk buying by the State, the end of rationing (years after it ceased on the continent) have all yielded good results.

Maybe these are signs that in time there will be second thoughts on the supposed magic of State planning and the economics of Lord Keynes. But for the present one finds a good deal of what the excellent Swiss newspaper, *Neue Zuercher Zeitung*, calls "the fear of freedom." Both in Britain and in Sweden the halfway house mentality seems quite deeply imbedded, and by no means restricted to avowed Socialists.

Socialistic Pig Comes High

Danish bacon ready to eat costs the importer far less than English farmers are paid for dead raw pig, uncured and unsmoked; but in the shops the price for English and Danish bacon is the same. This is because the Ministry of Food is the sole importer of Danish bacon, on which it makes profits of millions of pounds which are then set off against the cost of subsidies to the British farmer. In this way consumers are compelled to pay more than they otherwise would for their bacon.

OLIVER SMEDLEY, Chairman of the Cheap Food League, London

This One Sees War—

But It Is Not 1940

By WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Frank Chodorov's editorial "The Return of 1940?" (September issue of the FREEMAN) reminded me of nothing so much as the charming political philosophy prevalent in Hapsburgian Vienna. It was summarized in a ditty which, before 1914, could be heard wherever Viennese gathered to imbibe their truly excellent wine:

*A so a Weinderl, das is' mir lieber
Als wie a Krankheit und wie a Fieber.*

Meaning (in a deplorably inadequate translation of the indigenous Viennese non sequitur):

I'd rather drink this lovely wine
Than lie in bed and ache and pine.

Now who, I ask you, would have the heart to argue with such a delightful *Weltanschauung*? It sounds just as irrefutable as Frank Chodorov at his best—provided we can agree that Free Will, if only in Vienna, constitutes man's franchise to choose between getting high or getting sick. However, as it would happen, the Viennese always got high and sick. For the great trouble in man's fate is that he must pay for every drop of wine he enjoys. Free Will, in short, consists not in avoiding but in facing the consequences of conduct.

To get to Frank Chodorov's immense subject—whether libertarians should be willing to pay the stiff price for armed resistance against communism—he has resolved the last lingering doubts of at least one reader; now I know that they should. For his argument to the contrary was surely the best he could advance—and it amounted to an exact American version of my Viennese ditty: he has proven irrefutably that unrestricted liberty is by far more enjoyable than an armed brawl with thugs, Communists or otherwise. And, just like a true lover of the good and the beautiful, he wasted no time on the one dreary subject pertinent to his inquiry: whether or not the brawl can be avoided short of either our defeat or our surrender.

Perhaps it can be avoided. Perhaps someone knows how militant communism can be prevented from taking a free country that is unwilling to use arms in its defense. If Chodorov knew, he naturally would have told us. He did not. He obviously does not know. Nor does anyone else we've heard from.

The editor, I submit, was mistaken in his contention that libertarians who refuse to face, and prepare for, an armed showdown with communism can fall back on the "isolationist" position of 1940. The serious opponents of American intervention in

1940 (those among whom Chodorov so honorably can count himself) had a perfectly rational strategy to offer—a strategy which, as he correctly emphasized in his editorial, did "not refer to the humanitarian or pacifist argument against war." They did not simply contend that war is evil and expensive and that it tends to suppress liberties at home. Rather, they argued that the United States did not need to enter the specific European war. They suggested that an armed U. S. (and, mind you, in 1940 Col. Lindbergh tirelessly advocated the speediest rearmament of a neutral U. S.!) could safely wait for Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia to exhaust one another. They argued that neither of the two totalitarian powers would, at the end of a monstrous slaughter, remain strong enough to challenge a strongly armed U. S. On the contrary, they claimed, a prudently neutral U. S. could at the climactic moment employ its unimpaired power to force upon devastated Europe a sensible and perhaps even honorable settlement. I shall not argue here the merits of the "isolationist" strategy. What matters in the context of Chodorov's editorial is the fact that the "isolationist" position of 1940, right or wrong, was an intellectually responsible and rationally argued position.

On Gambling with Freedom

Can the same be said for Chodorov's position in 1954? In several readings of his text I have found not the slightest inflection of an idea how an unarmed U. S., minding its own pleasant business of freedom, could avoid being overrun by a communist world monopoly of military power. Nor have I even found any trace of a confidence in some miraculous or divine intervention on our behalf. No, he does not anticipate that a world gone Soviet would kindly refrain from looting the unarmed American treasure island, even though such a final foray would then be an obvious cinch. This time, unlike 1940, Frank Chodorov did not comply, I am afraid, with a political thinker's first and foremost commitment—to counsel men on conduct. All he had to say on the essential issue (whether an independent U. S. can survive the Sovietization of the world without superior American force and an American will to use it) was this: "Those who fear the Soviets at least as much as they love freedom . . . stress the immediate rather than the ultimate dan-

ger, and are willing to gamble with freedom. I am not."

But he *is!* Even worse, he is willing to gamble with the very existence of an independent U. S., and on nothing better than a hunch that—that what? That the Communists don't mean it? That the Lord will intervene in the nick of time? That our prosperous innocence will magically transform thugs into lovers? Nothing of the kind. We are faced with the disturbing fact that our admirable friend and teacher does not even have a *hunch* on which to gamble our all. The only thing he's got is his sincere conviction that life in freedom is preferable to death in war—a conviction which I am not prepared to challenge beyond pointing out that it is hilariously irrelevant in the given context.

Once our editor picked the most momentous subject in any contemporary editor's sight (namely, how free man is to meet the altogether serious communist bid for world domination), he owed his readers some pertinent advice on such matters as these:

1. Are the Communists in deadly earnest? I, for one, contend that they are. They do not want war. They just want the world. If they could get the world without firing a shot, they would rejoice. If they have to fight a war to get the world, they will fight a war. Is this, in Chodorov's mind, a correct description of the irreducible communist intent?

2. Are the Communists open to rational argument or to the power of moral example? I contend that they are not. They are what they are (ruthless, forceful, and therefore so peculiarly attractive to the weak-in-faith) precisely because, so long as they are Communists, their minds are satiated with the unshakeable conviction that communism is in cahoots with history and is invincibly executing history's mandate. An America which, to enjoy unfettered liberties, rejects armed battle cannot possibly impress Communists as a moral example to be lovingly imitated. Far from being moved by such disarming innocence in "the pursuit of happiness," communism must of necessity interpret it as history's damning last judgment on suicidal capitalism. To communism, an American refusal to arm for battle, no matter how motivated, is of necessity an invitation to accelerate its advance into the last reaches of noncommunist territory. Is this, in Chodorov's mind, a correct description of communist responses to innocence and morality?

3. Is the communist empire, once it has added the gigantic industrial powerhouse of western Europe to the manpower and natural resources of Asia, materially capable of waging a winning war against an unarmed U. S.? I contend that it is.

These, I repeat, are the elementary facts of our unparalleled predicament: communism settles for nothing less than world domination; it sincerely considers its victory guaranteed by the inexorable will of history; and it is rapidly approaching an aggregation of material power sufficient to over-

whelm an unarmed U. S. If my friend Chodorov possesses information that disproves this contention, he must share it with his readers. If, on the other hand, he is obliged to grant the contention, he then can still choose between two intellectually and morally defensible courses: he may deem the subject too morbid for words and, thus, prefer to keep silent; or he may endeavor to advise free men on their proper conduct in the context of the given conditions.

Five Alternatives

If he chooses the latter course (*i.e.*, decides to perform as a responsible political thinker), he will then want to survey all feasible responses to the calamitous reality. On such a shopping tour, I suspect, he will discover that the following alternatives just about exhaust mortal men's capacities of response:

1. We may decide, on supreme religious grounds, that not even arrogantly advancing evil must be arrested by force; and that free men, rather than resort to violence in defense of the moral law, must accept the tragic witness of martyrdom. I reject this religious belief, but I respect it. It is morally noble and intellectually debatable. And it does not commit the fraud of promising that man, if he only renounces the use of force, would henceforth prosper in an economy of freedom; on the contrary, the religious position of nonviolence promises free man nothing but crucifixion on the cross of his faith.

2. We may decide, on frankly materialistic grounds, that we'd rather be slaves than dead; and that sensible men, rather than die and kill for any ideal at all, had better bend to what is moving in on them with unyielding force. For even a slave may occasionally chew a hunk of juicy meat, while the dead, whatever else they do, certainly don't chew at all. I reject this hedonistic opportunism and I do not respect it. But I would grant it a disarming sincerity: its adherents (for instance, the French "neutralists") at least do not assume the posture of libertarian convictions, and they do not claim that their course is meant to preserve anything but a pretty low minimum of physical comforts; they advocate surrender to save, not man's liberties, but his skin.

3. We may decide, on grounds of a metaphysical skepticism, that mere man is not equipped to foresee, or even prejudge, the future; and that, rather than bet his sons' lives on his feeble guess of what is in store, he had better adjust himself to the onrushing force and, if he is so inclined, pray for deliverance. This seems to me a flabby position for which I have little patience and no respect. But I can grant it a modicum of logical coherence: indeed, unless a strong faith instructs him, man cannot be "shown" that the universe moves predictably, under the natural law that ties conse-

quence to cause. Indeed, anyone can follow Pilate into the hell of relativism with *some* sort of rationale; and at least he has never propagandized anyone else to buy *any* definitive truth.

4. We may resolve, on grounds of faith in our own supreme values, that we'd rather die than live under a regime which negates them with mad efficacy; and that we had better try, as responsible men, to defeat the implacable foe before, by our own default, he has become invincible. This is the position I have chosen for myself: logically and morally it seems to me superior to any other. I am, of course, aware of its inherent risk: that it leaves decisions on proper time and place of battle to bureaucratic and wasteful "experts" who may be moved by motivations less libertarian than I hope mine to be. But since I am willing to die rather than vegetate under a communist regime, I naturally must also be willing to pay with the recoverable loss of some of my liberties for a chance to avoid, for centuries, the total loss of freedom. For to say that there is no "real" difference between the restrictions a victorious American government would have in wartime imposed upon its citizens, and the existence a victorious Soviet government would force upon innumerable American generations—to even *say* any such thing is unmitigated frivolousness.

5. We may finally concede, on grounds of infinite despair, that freedom is doomed anyway; that it

must of necessity disappear from the face of this earth, crushed either by advancing communism or by our own effort to stop it. This seems to me an intellectually debatable but morally unexceptionable position to take—provided its adherent does not incite other people to identify themselves with the cause he himself considers irreparably doomed. For the only proper course for him who sees no hope at all is silence.

These five are all the feasible responses to our tragic predicament that I was able to discover in years of tense search. Perhaps there are others of which I don't know. But one thing I know beyond the shadow of a doubt: that to go on recruiting young men, who might still be able to make their private peace with the inexorably winning side, for a cause one believes hopelessly doomed is, under all acceptable codes of ethics, stark irresponsibility. Yet I know Frank Chodorov to be a profoundly responsible man, a devoted teacher and lover of the young. Will he advise them (and me) how an unarmed U. S. can avoid conquest by a unilaterally armed Soviet world? Or is he willing to grant that the U. S., after all, and in spite of all cost to freedom, *ought* to be armed—and will he *then* explain to us what good armament is without an earnest resolution to use it at the right moment?

In exchange, I am willing to grant my friend Chodorov that I, too, "would rather drink this lovely wine than lie in bed and ache and pine."

—*This One Doesn't*

A War to Communize America

By FRANK CHODOROV

We are again being told to be afraid. As it was before the two world wars so it is now: politicians talk in frightening terms, journalists invent scare-lines, and even next-door neighbors are taking up the cry: the enemy is at the city gates; we must gird for battle. In case you don't know, the enemy this time is the U.S.S.R.

There is no question about the sincerity of these good Americans. And I admit that the evidence they adduce to support their fears cannot be easily dismissed. As a matter of fact, the history of nations is a continuous story of enemies at the city gates, and it can be conceded without further argument that a rich country like ours would be a tempting morsel for any gang that thought itself strong enough to make a try for it. Perhaps it would be good for us to "keep our powder dry."

But how? What is "defense"? There is a wide

divergence of opinion in this area, probably because it involves an understanding of strategy and defense, and who is there that has the right answers in either field? Some say that the way to get rid of the Red menace is to knock it off wherever it shows its head. Others would avoid the sideshow and get to the big top, in Moscow. Even the experts are in disagreement on tactics: some say the foot soldier will win the war, others maintain that air power has made the infantry obsolete, while the Navy presses its claim to preeminence. Nuclear physics has confounded the confusion, while the reliability of presumed allies blurs the picture still more.

The ordinary citizen, the fellow who will do the fighting and paying, is certainly scared by all these arguments over "defense," all of which are based on the assumption that the war is inevitable, which

alone frightens him. Before he goes berserk, he might review the whole situation in the light of experience, and maybe the common sense of it will give him some light.

In the first place, as these articulate fearers readily admit, the war being talked about will have to be fought with conscripts. That is taken for granted, is not even argued, because it is inconceivable that enough Americans would volunteer to fight a war with Russia on foreign soil. I am sure that if Americans were convinced that their country were in imminent danger of being invaded, they would rush to the ramparts. If I am wrong, then the whole question is meaningless; for a people who will not defend their homeland are of no account. But, if conscription has to be resorted to, is that not evidence that the proposed war with Russia is not wanted?

No Army without Conscription

Let's belabor this matter of conscription, for I believe it points to the heart of the question. In all probability we would not have been able to raise a volunteer army to send to Europe in 1917; the fact that it was not even tried indicates that the politicians knew it would not work. In 1942, the armies sent to Europe and Japan were also conscript armies. I don't think a single division could have been raised by the volunteer system for the Korean adventure.

That raises the pertinent question: if Americans did not want these wars should they have been compelled to fight them? Perhaps the people were wrong in their lack of enthusiasm for these wars, but their right to be wrong cannot be questioned in what we call a democratic system. Those who presume to compel people to be "right," against their will, are taking unto themselves a mandate for which there is no warrant other than their own conceit. Did God select them to do the coercing?

I could go into the results of these wars to show that the instinct of the people was sounder than the judgment of the politicians; a good case could be made for the thesis that if we had not been forced into these wars we would not be facing another one now. But that is not the present point. We are told that we must fear the Russians. I am more afraid of those who, like their forebears, would compel us against our will to fight the Russians. They have the dictator complex.

The conscript wars were all fought on foreign soil. And each was preceded by a campaign of fear such as we are now experiencing. The Kaiser and Hitler each planned to invade the United States, it was said, and there are some who maintain that if we had not fought the Communists in Korea we would have had them on our hands in California. That is, the rationale of these wars was invasion, which was another way of admitting that the soldiers would not have even reluctantly accepted

involuntary servitude if they had not been convinced that their homeland was threatened. Post-war research reveals that neither the Kaiser nor Hitler even contemplated the impossible task of crossing the Atlantic with an army, suggesting that the fear campaigns were manufactured out of whole cloth. What reason have we to believe otherwise of the present campaign of fear?

This time, we are told, things are "different." The Kaiser and Hitler were only partly deranged; now we are dealing with a crowd of honest-to-goodness maniacs. I might accept that designation of the Moscow Communists, simply because I have met Americans of like persuasion and have found them to be off base. Also, I am acquainted with the literature of the Communists in which they proclaim their intention to conquer the world. But I am not frightened because I am not convinced of the world-conquering potential of the Moscow gang, or of their ability to invade my country. If I were, or rather, if the youth of my country were, we could dispense with the "selective service" buncombe.

There is only one difference in the present urgency for war and that which preceded the others, and it is a frightening difference. The proponents frankly admit that if and when this war eventuates, Americans will be rushed into a condition of involuntary servitude not unlike that which obtains in the Soviet Union. Such soothing syrup as the "war to end all wars" will not go down this time. Even the most gullible American cannot be fooled by moral platitudes. Too many Americans now realize that war adds power to the State, at the expense of liberty, and there is a strong suspicion that the next war will just about wipe out whatever liberty we have. That is, we will be infected by the same virus that we set out to exterminate.

Either Way, It's Slavery

Admitting all this, the fearers come up with a "clincher"—the argument that is supposed to leave no escape for the prospective buyer. "Would you not prefer to give up your freedom temporarily to an American than to a Russian dictator?" Let's examine this either-or gimmick.

The "clincher" only seems to suggest a choice. But there is none. In either case, the chooser has only one choice: a condition of slavery. The selection is limited to the nationality of the master, or between Tweedledee and Tweedledum. Why go to war for that privilege? (Parenthetically, it is easier to stir up a revolution against a foreign invader than a native dictator.) The suggestion that the American dictatorship would be "temporary" makes this whole argument suspect, for no dictatorship has ever set a limit on its term of office; it is by nature precluded from so doing.

Let us keep in mind that the advocates of war do not propose to exterminate communism; they only

hope to exterminate a communistic regime. No doubt they would like to do both, but they admit, as they must, that the war would not exterminate it but would rather saddle communism, or something very like it, on America. The only way to avoid that consequence is to avoid war, and the question at issue is whether it can be.

Assuming that we do not bring the war to Russia, can the Russians bring it to us? That is, can they invade the United States with an army? I know of no responsible military man who maintains that they can.

If they cannot invade us with an army, can they invade us with hydrogen bombs? It is said that they can; but why should they? The experts agree that it would be a hazardous venture, involving an expenditure of men and matériel of fantastic proportions; the Soviet leaders are not crazy. Nor are they unaware of the probability of a retaliatory delivery which, because of their reportedly weak productive capacity, might do them more harm than what they did to us. If they started a mutually destructive war of bombs, it could only be as an act of desperation and an admission that they were licked anyway. Also, some military men hold that a bomb war would not be decisive; there would still be the problem of transporting an army to hold the territory of the destroyed country. (Here I am getting into strategy and tactics, about which I know only what I read; but in that respect I believe I am on a par with the proponents of war.)

Revolution Is Improbable

Well then, can Moscow foment a successful revolution in this country and take possession through its American agents? That is a possibility. But, if a successful revolution occurs in this country, it will indicate that our security officers have either been asleep or in cahoots with the Kremlin. Either situation seems highly improbable. Anyway, war will not prevent the revolution, if one is in the making, but would rather help it along, for it would divert our soldiers from the job at home.

What then have we to be afraid of? The hysteria of fear. There is no doubt that the warmongers of Moscow are as fearful as our own. Neither group knows what the other is up to, and the misapprehension could trigger a "preventive" war by either side. So the only way to prevent a conflagration is to remove the tinder. The Soviets could do it very easily by simply reversing their position, that is, by moving their troops back to within the borders of their country and indicating an intention to keep the peace. But they are not likely to do that, for ideological reasons, and because a dictatorship is impelled by its inner workings to be on the warpath all the time.

America is not a dictatorship. Presumably, its government has the interests of its people at heart, and their interests in the present instance would

best be served by the avoidance of war. That is the only way to preserve whatever freedom we still have. Therefore—and now I am assuming that our leaders are not imperialistically minded—if we withdrew our troops to the Western Hemisphere and abandoned our global military commitments, the danger that is now threatening us would be minimized, if not removed.

If We Left Europe

To this suggestion that we come home and mind our business the fearmongers pose an objection taken from the graveyard of propaganda. Before World War One we were told that if we did not go to Europe to stop Hitler, he would come to us. "Our frontier is on the Rhine." Now we are told that if we get out of Europe, the Communists will overrun the continent, get hold of its productive machinery and prepare themselves for an invasion of America. We must stop them before they move an inch farther West.

If the Russians, after we had left, did move into France and Italy, it might be because they were invited or met only token resistance. If I read the newspaper dispatches correctly, I must conclude that large segments of the populations of these two countries are favorably inclined to a regime of communism. In that case, our presence in Europe is an impertinent interference with the internal affairs of these countries; let them go communist if they want to.

On the other hand, if we moved out, and the Muscovites followed on our heels, it could be that the countries of Europe which now show little inclination to defend their national integrity would put up a fight; they would not have to resort to conscription. And even if they could not stop the Russians, their resistance would be an assurance that the invaders would get little production out of them; the vast productive capacity might be sabotaged and become useless to the invaders. In short, we might have real allies in Europe, which we don't have now.

My history books tell me that the weakness of a conqueror increases in proportion to the extent of his conquest. If that is true, then the overrunning of Europe might be the death-knell of the Soviet regime; it could collapse without any effort on our part. Then again, if communism should solidly establish itself in western Europe, it would be because it is in fact a sound economic and political system, one under which the people like to live and work; in that case, we ought to take it on ourselves, willingly and without getting it by way of war.

There is a more important reason for our getting out of Europe and abandoning our global military commitments. We would be strengthening ourselves, even as the Soviets were weakening themselves by extending their lines. The vast military equipment which we are sending abroad, and much

of which might fall into the hands of the Russians, would be stockpiled here for the ultimate struggle. The manpower which is now going to waste in uniform could be put to the task of building up our war potential. Our economy would be strengthened for the expected shock. We would become a veritable military giant, and because of our strength we would attract real allies, not lukewarm ones.

Of course, it would be hard on the Europeans if they fell into Soviet hands; but not any worse than if we precipitated a war in which their homes became the battlefield. It is bad for the Hungarians, the Czechs, the Latvians and all the other peoples who have to live under the commissars. We are sorry for all of them and wish we could help them. But we are only 160,000,000 people, and we simply cannot fight for all the people in the world. Maybe we could be of more use to them if, while they carried on an underground movement, with whatever matériel we could get to them, we built ourselves up for the final knockout blow, provided it became necessary.

The important thing for America now is not to let the fearmongers (or the imperialists) frighten us into a war which, no matter what the military outcome, is certain to communize our country.

Thievery Is Thievery

"He blamed and protested, but joined in the plan, He shared in the plunder, but pitied the man."

Our text comes from William Cowper, poet, writer, composer of hymns. It is part of a story about an orchard and some boys who plan to rob it. One of the boys has misgivings as to the morality of the scheme. But, alas, his comrades proceed with the laying of their plans, informing him, at the same time, that for him there will be neither "apple nor pear."

So he commences to wonder whether he is not carrying his honesty too far. After all (he muses), the apples are going to be stolen in any case, so what good purpose can be served by lofty self denial? One more in the plot will scarcely make any difference. And with this mercurial reasoning, he renounces his former efficacy and pledges allegiance to the illicit confederacy.

Cowper's Theme Still True

Cowper wrote this poem about 1785, and although its story may be apocryphal, its theme is as true now as it was then. For, when there are apples at stake and a schoolboy with a watering mouth, there is often no difference between right and wrong.

But let us apply this postulate to something

more important than a boyish prank. Let us consider it in relation to adult affairs today; and above all, in relation to the principle of private ownership.

Such a consideration is indeed, at this time, appropriate. Never was the public attitude toward the main enemy of private ownership—theft—in a graver state of repair. Indeed, as the years have advanced, the public attitude toward the common thief seems to have steadily deteriorated. In bygone ages, respect for private property was so high that any attack upon it was repelled with the utmost severity. For the thief, although perhaps not an uncommon character, was certainly a vilified one.

The "Progressive" Philosophy

Today, though, the thief is accepted with almost a kindly forbearing and tolerance. Laws are framed not so much to punish him, but to protect him. He is regarded as being a person in need of "treatment" rather than chastisement. And although laws are passed to restrain the bigamist and inebriate, in our "Merrie England" of the moment, the man who steals is invariably treated with a studied leniency.

But comparisons between times and ages gone by are, in themselves, of little value. It is not the changes which matter, but the causes behind the changes. And the root cause of this new, so-called "progressive" attitude toward theft can be traced directly to the spread of a relatively new, so-called "progressive" philosophy, a philosophy which teaches that private property and private ownership are morally wrong. In other words—socialism.

For socialism is, simply, an attack upon private ownership. And, like all corrupt influences, it makes its appeal to the emotions rather than the intellect. It stirs up envy and directs the resulting mass hysteria into political action. The classic example of this is nationalization. The rightful owners of an industry are turned out of their executive positions, deprived of every vestige of ownership, and paid out in depreciated government stock. The fact that the industries originally grew up by the risk capital of private enterprise does not concern the socialist legislator. All he is concerned with is that private ownership should be abolished. And this helps to explain why, in this country today, respect for property is on the wane.

It is not really the private ownership which the Socialists object to; it is the fact that the private ownership is in the wrong private hands. To the Socialist, the difference between right and wrong is a purely transitional one. It all depends upon which side of the road he stands.

He is not really unlike the little boy who wanted the apples.

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A Catholic Understanding of Individualism

By LEOPOLD BRAUN, A.A.

This article is the first in a series by theologians on individualism as viewed by their respective creeds. The second, to appear in the January number, will be by a Protestant minister, Rev. Russell J. Clinchy.

Observers of the phenomena manifest in the evolution of sociology are showing sustained interest in the maintenance of intangible principles safeguarding the norms of human coexistence. On a purely secular basis, man normally constituted with all the adjuncts of his intellectual and physical faculties is a "microcosmos," *i.e.*, a little world all by himself.

It was Aristotle who defined man as a "sociable (political) animal." But man is not only sociable. He is preeminently rational, being endowed with moral faculties rendering him receptive and communicable. Man's faculties joined to his power of communication make him an individual, sociable person. As an individual, man has his own distinct being and end.

Individualism and Catholicism

Partisans of extreme social emancipation seem prone to ally the Vatican (*i.e.*, the Catholic Church) and the Kremlin (*i.e.*, communism) as the supreme embodiment of authoritarian absolutism hindering the full expression of one's personal traits. Antipodal as these two forces are in reality, they are at times looked upon as major obstacles to Individualism. Others accuse Catholicism with adhering to a preconceived philosophy, dogmatizing on problems open to discussion. Let us see what Cathol-

icism teaches on Individualism—a topic which the FREEMAN is open-mindedly discussing abreast of contemporary sociological thought.

Individualism could be described as the sum-total of distinctive characteristics allowing a human being to assert himself in accordance with his inherent dignity and end.

Since man has rights to vindicate and duties to accomplish insofar as he is a human person, it would be well to dwell a little on the juridical aspects of the human personality having much to do with Individualism. The juridical definition of the human person is derived from the dual character marking man at one and the same time as an individual and a sociable being. In the eyes of Catholicism, man is endowed with a spiritual and immortal soul exceedingly more precious than all inanimate creation. Now and in the hereafter, man's ultimate end is God. Among man's individual prerogatives are: the right to life, to corporal integrity, to the necessary means of existence; the right to tend to his ultimate end, to associate with his fellow-individuals; the right to property and the use of it, etc.

As an individual, man is a being *sui generis*, *i.e.*, belonging to himself and to no one else. His faculties are truly his own and he is the principal of acts emanating from his own liberty. Man has his ultimate end strictly individual, which is owed him alone, just as his personality belongs to no one else. Catholicism holds this supreme personal end to be the knowledge of and the love of God. Man has an exclusive right to his proper personal felicity inevitably linked to his ultimate end. No one has the right to check man's supremacy as an individual, nor to sacrifice it as a means to another end. Catholicism teaches that the individual has the right and duty, within certain limits, to direct all his acts toward his personal supremacy. Consequently, man's liberty must be regulated by these rights and duties.

As a sociable individual, man on the other hand cannot attain his full development unless he does so in and through society, *i.e.*, by coexisting with other individuals. The question arises: How can this be accepted without exposing ourselves to



Photograph by Fabian Bachrach

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Statism, Social Absolutism or Rational Collectivism? Theoretically, God could have attached to His exclusive relationship the innumerable individuals comprising humanity, as so many isolated units. But God did not wish that man should reach his ultimate individual end by acts that would remain exclusively individual. It is natural for human acts to have a social relationship in this sense that mediately or immediately they have a repercussion on our fellow-men. Even though I have my individual end, I live in the society of mankind, being so tied up with it that my actions reverberate. It becomes impossible for society not to feel the reaction of any individual's personal value, or of his attention or neglect in respecting the rights of his neighbors. Man is subjected to the influence of man. The sociable individual can no more isolate himself from his kind than he can from God.

This compenetration of human activities inescapably establishes man's sociability. These human activities are produced in various natural centers where the human being pursues his development—family, city, nation or entire humanity. In varying degrees these social groupings are more or less natural societies, the reason for their existence being determined by man's nature. Their degree of naturalness varies according to the role they play in the perfectionment of man. Divine revelation confirms this natural law, on certain points elevating and enriching it. Thus marriage in Catholicism becomes a sacrament, sealing the bond of matrimony—principle of the family and fundamental basis of human society.

Morality and the Individual

The duality of the human person's individual and social characteristics gives rise to the dual aspect of natural and Christian ethics. The system of laws regulating human conduct is the key which ensures equilibrium between the individual and society. Errors of socio-ethical systems have invariably resulted from a lack of balance in the importance given to one or the other of the individual's characteristics. The individual is moved to action by his own personal volition. By his actions he contributes to the good or the evil manifest in society. Good and evil by themselves do not exist, but there do exist evil or good men. Hence the necessity of regulating man's activity in view of the common good. Personal liberty requires submission to legitimate social authority, in turn controlled by the principle of unity leading each social group to its normal end. Actions apparently strictly individual nevertheless have social repercussions. Thus in the intimacy of the family, parental authority regulates at least in part the rights of its members, cooperating in this manner to the common good. Other ethnical groups do likewise, each in their respective spheres.

To the State, supreme organ of civil authority,

belongs the right of establishing order in the public exercise of rights pertaining to the individual, the family, private institutions, etc. When the Church teaches that all authority comes from God, it recognizes that each social group retains its own controlled autonomy as far as its specific rights are concerned.

Society and the Individual

Just as marriage and the right to its natural use are of divine origin, the constitution and fundamental prerogatives of the individual are determined by the Creator and not by human volition. Far less are they governed by economic factors, however important a role these may play in society. None the less, God destined the individual to live in society. In the divine plan, society is a natural means which man must make use of to attain his end, society being made for man and not man for society. This does not mean, as individualistic liberalism holds, that society is subordinated to the egotistical utilitarianism of the individual. Catholicism's teaching in this respect is that through man's *organic* union with society, mutual collaboration renders possible the attainment of true happiness. This also means that the individual and social aptitudes given to man by his nature, find their proper development in society. Far surpassing the immediate interests of the moment, these aptitudes reflect divine perfection in society. If man remains isolated, this compenetration of individual and social interests becomes impossible. However, the ultimate end of society is directed toward man in such a manner, that in recognizing this reflection of divine perfections by worshipful praise, man may attribute this end to his Creator. Man only, or the human person exclusively, and not society *per se* is endowed with reason and will power morally free.

Properly speaking, the end of civil authority is public peace and temporal prosperity. St. Augustine's sublime definition of peace may be quoted here in its limpid brevity: "Tranquility of order." It is a natural aspiration for man to seek not only security and tranquility, but also temporal felicity, as much as this can be reached in this world. This order, peace, tranquility and security, man by his nature must seek in collaboration with other men experiencing identical aspirations. But the individual human, by reason of the indigencies of his nature, cannot satisfy his needs by himself, not only to appear on earth, but to maintain himself and proceed to his normal development.

Just as man may not withdraw from duties which by God's will bind him to civil society, and that legitimate authority has the right to oblige him to accomplish his duty unduly refused, so the State may not deny an individual his God-given rights. Nor can the State render impossible the normal exercise of these rights. It is therefore consistent with reason that all the wealth of the created world

should be ordained to the human person. The temporal interests which the individual might be called upon to sacrifice will always be material. Far from injuring the individual, the sacrifice of these interests will contribute to his perfectionment. Thus to give is to enrich oneself. The seeking of individual welfare does not consist in the harmful egotistical self-appropriation of what may be personally useful to the detriment of the common good.

Individualism is not a synonym for egoism; nor is it unfettered independence. As a member of society, man is inferior to it in that he depends on what he can draw from it for his complete fullness. However, the physico-moral elements completing a person far surpass in importance the excellency of any political community. Man transcends even the perfection of the absolute common good because his ultimate end—God—projects him into eternity. The quality and human essence of the individual are not determined by physical space, wealth or influence. The individual's supremacy belongs to the immaterial order. Rational creatures differ from irrational ones in that they are governed by themselves. Individuals are willed by God above everything else, because of themselves they are superior to the accidental community constituted by way of consequence and complement.

State Prerogatives

An important duty of civil power is to promote harmony among the multitude of individuals. To foster necessary organic collaboration between individuals, the Church vindicates for the State, the dignity and authority of a vigilant defender of divine and human rights. Thus does St. Paul admonish the early Christians to obey to superposed authority. But any State establishing its method of government on purely human motives is exposed to absolutism because it tends toward its own deification.

There can be no conflict between God-given individual rights and State authority as long as governments recognize the unity of man's nature and his divine origin. Catholicism encourages this harmonious unity, not to be confused with uniform equality. Unity *de jure* and *de facto* of the human species is a supernatural truth which the Church will ever maintain as a divinely revealed dogma. A strictly humanitarian Individualism founded on terrestrial motives, Catholicism holds to be fundamentally erroneous. A tragic example of warped humanism is the materialism of Soviet leaders. The unity of mankind is essentially a religious truth, far more inspiring than the Comintern-Cominform cry of class struggle: "Proletarians of the World, Unite!"

Absolutism in the human person engenders egocentrism, while in the State it gives rise to arbitrariness. The State's function is not limited to the correction of disorders. Nor should its vested

power be dedicated to the maintenance in office of one political party to the exclusion or extermination of other factions. The Soviet "people's democracy" is a tragic example of systematized arbitrariness perpetuated by permanent terrorism. It is also the duty of the State to promote material progress and ordain communal life so that national and international peace may ensue. In submitting to sane legislation, the individual is not diminished morally or physically.

The primary function of the State is to defend justice. It is therefore essential for the individual to relinquish something of himself in submitting to the positive function of the State entrusted with the promotion of communal moral and material welfare. In this sense, the concept of the Provident State as opposed to the pejorative meaning of the Welfare State, is utterly defensible. The affirmation and defense of individualistic prerogatives forming part of this immense organic complexity, must be ordained in accordance with prescriptions of an *immutable* order. For this reason does the Church defend the primacy of man's dignity over that of the State. Departure from this principle quickly leads one to the Police State. It is folly to pursue private or public prosperity away from the harmonious development of man, to which society has been destined by the Creator as a *means*. Society therefore is not an end to which all things must be ordained. On the other hand, in the extraordinary circumstances of the world today, no man can deny to the State larger powers than those normally entrusted to it. But it would be wrong for the State to intervene over and above actual necessities.

In trying to elucidate this problem, it is well to point to the dangers of abstract or rational psychology evidenced among some present-day sociologists. Man is not a mere aggregate of intellectualism. The physico-moral relationship of body and soul, with its immense repercussions, must not be lost sight of.

It is not the province of religion *per se* to propose a determined system in sociology, politics, economics or in other secular fields. Nevertheless, from time to time, the Church has clearly indicated wise directives, all pointing to the normal progress of society. Just as in the question of evolution Catholicism adopts a mitigated viewpoint consistent with true anthropological findings, all the while safeguarding the divine origin and unity of the human species, so in the socio-ethical problems does it seek a happy medium between absolute collectivists and absolute individualists. Morality inevitably comes into play wherever problems of mutual relationship present themselves between responsible men and nations. It is not an easy matter to answer questions of such vast complexity in an article of this nature. This writing is by no means officially representative. It offers nothing but a basic approach to the fundamentals involved.

Do-Gooders and Millionaires

By DEAN RUSSELL

Behind the "equalitarian" schemes of the self-appointed uplifters of humanity is the desire to gain political control of privately developed means of production.

There are men down in Texas, and elsewhere, who are millionaires many times over. Some of them don't even know just how many millions they have; for their wealth is in the form of chemical plants, cattle ranches, hotels, office buildings, railroads, oil wells, and other facilities of production—not so much in cash which they can count.

These rich men are sometimes sneeringly called "oillionaires" by certain politicians, publicists and do-gooders who want to tax their millions away to be used by government for the "common good." Actually, they aren't really after government ownership of oillionaires' cash; there isn't too much cash to be had—and anyway, unfortunately, the government can print all the money it needs. So while the term used is money, what these equalitarians really want is political ownership of the various means of production now controlled by the wealthy private owners. And, of course, they want themselves or their friends to hold the political offices which administer the plants and resources to be taken over by government. Otherwise, the plants and other facilities of production might get into the "wrong hands" again.

In defense of their schemes of "equality by taxation," the social-levelers advance the emotional argument that the oil men and other millionaires are getting rich at the expense of others. "Is it fair that some men have millions while others go hungry?" they ask themselves. "No!" they answer themselves. And, swayed by such emotional rhetoric, thousands of voters rush to the polls to prove once again that "soaking the rich" is still a potent political medicine.

It is true that our government is obligated to interest itself to some extent in these fortunes in oil and other resources. For example, if government is to perform its proper function of protecting equally the life, liberty and honestly acquired property of everyone, it must have an answer to this question: Did the oillionaires come by their millions legally? If not, the government is obligated to put crooks and lawbreakers into jail, regardless of how many millions they have. But if the oillionaires came by their millions honestly (and even their severest critics don't accuse them of personal dishonesty or breaking the law) then the government should have no further interest in the matter.

The do-gooders and social-levelers, however, are not content to leave the matter there. In addition to their plans for common ownership by means of higher taxes against higher incomes, they also want to have a say-so in how the oillionaires spend whatever they are permitted to keep after taxes.

Some millionaires are almost notoriously generous toward colleges and universities. They endow them wholesale and then offer hundreds of scholarships to poor boys and girls to attend them. You might think that the do-gooders would at least approve of that particular project. But no! They claim that the oillionaires only do this to pamper their egos and to salve their bad consciences. Anyway, as the do-gooders are quick to point out, the money isn't distributed equally among all deserving colleges and students; the "prejudices and biases" of the oillionaires determine how their millions shall be donated to education.

This isn't fair, the do-gooders claim. The money should be distributed as the "unprejudiced and unbiased" humanitarians think it ought to be—that is, by force of government, with the humanitarians in charge, of course.

That \$30,000 Champagne Party

Others of the oillionaires donate millions to churches, hospitals, medical centers and similar projects. A few use a part of their money for ostentatious living such as throwing "a \$30,000 party where the fountains spouted only champagne."

This particularly infuriates the bleeding-hearts who, "at great sacrifice to themselves," have devoted their unselfish lives "to humanity." Of course, they are seldom capable of entering the competitive market and earning money of their own with which to help their fellow-men. So, naturally, the equalitarians demand political control of other people's money in order to carry out their plans for uplifting and improving humanity.

Unfortunately, many politicians seem all too happy to join the fray. They, too, are "for the common man"—especially around election time. These politicians aren't too anxious to use their own money to help the common man, but they are quite willing to pass a new tax law to use other people's money for such a noble purpose. Many of the politicians—along with all the bleeding-hearts

—play the “\$30,000 champagne party” for all its worth. Since most of us won’t own that much money even after a lifetime of hard work and careful saving, we tend to be easily influenced by the seemingly unselfish humanitarian when he claims it’s unfair for a couple of oillionaires “to throw \$30,000 away on just one party.”

While many of the oillionaires devote millions to education, medicine, charity and such—and while a few appear primarily interested in the fleshpots and maximum publicity—most of them use their millions to invest in production. In so doing, they provide jobs and goods and services for the rest of us, as well as additional millions for themselves.

If the millionaire puts himself and his millions to work producing things that people want at prices they are willing to pay, the do-gooders scream: “Greedy! Aren’t you satisfied with the millions you already have?” But if the millionaire loafs and spends his money in night clubs, the do-gooder is still not happy. “Bum,” he says. “Shirker—living at the expense of the poor man.”

Whether the millionaire works, loafs, drinks champagne, studies, travels—or is charitable or uncharitable—actually doesn’t make any real difference to the equalitarian do-gooder. His primary motivation springs from another source: sheer envy and the desire to run other people’s lives—preferably by laws to his own liking, enforced by policemen under his control. So he dedicates himself to depriving the people of their freedom of action and choice—under the pretense of looking after their welfare.

Do-gooders have all the earmarks of adults who forgot to grow up; they live in a dream world of “how things could be” under their unselfish control. This is much more appealing to them than is the assumption of personal responsibilities in a world where individuals are free to make their own decisions, with their own time and money, to help or not to help other people.

The Risks of Enterprise

Since the do-gooders vehemently deny this, let us assume that they are sincerely interested in justice for everyone, rather than power for themselves. Then let us see if the confiscatory taxation which they recommend against the millionaires helps or hinders the thing they profess to want—that is, better living standards for all.

Let us begin with a favorite target of the do-gooders and social-levelers—for example, the 27.5 per cent “depletion allowance” for the oil industry. When you explain to the do-gooder that further exploration for oil would be drastically reduced if this depletion allowance and other tax incentives were discontinued, it is usually news to him. Apparently he thinks that every attempt to drill an oil well results in a “gusher” and another oillionaire. But it isn’t quite that easy.

Many persons have lost their own and their friends’ life savings when their “oil wells” turned out to be dry holes. The percentage of “dusters” to producers varies, depending on whether the drilling is done in proven territory or on pure speculation. But even the most successful persons and companies drill their full share of dusters—at an average cost of \$65,000 per dry hole. The producing wells have to carry the dusters, plus all operating and development expenses in this highly speculative business of searching for oil.

The depletion allowance and the charge-off of “intangibles” frequently permit a profit on what would ordinarily be a loss under standard taxing procedures. Thus these tax allowances provide the necessary *added* incentive for speculative and exploratory operations which *might* (but usually don’t) result in the overnight creation of new oillionaires. If they become rich, it is because they have discovered the location of oil reserves which prove to be valuable assets; the tax allowances are small comfort to the person who doesn’t strike oil!

It is true that a few of these “new rich” have had the bad taste to enjoy slurping champagne for the photographers. Fortunately though, in the oil business as elsewhere, the “champagne slurpers” are the exception. But even if they weren’t, the convenience and ease of modern transportation, heating and the various other industrial uses for oil would be well worth the price of tolerating a few people who make fools of themselves.

A Socialist at Heart

The dilemma of the do-gooder is that he wants it both ways; he wants adequate oil but not the necessary cash incentive for its discovery and development. Well, he just can’t have it both ways. If he taxes away the monetary incentive, who will waste his time and savings searching for oil? The equalitarian has an answer: If private enterprise won’t do it, let the government do it. In fact, the do-gooder continues, the government ought to do it in the first place because natural resources belong to all the people and should be “owned in common.”

And there we have it. At heart, the do-gooder is a Socialist. Deny it as he will, actually he wants to abolish the possibility of anyone’s becoming a millionaire by offering his goods and services in a market economy where people are free to work or not to work, to discover or not to discover, to buy or not to buy. Every law advocated by the do-gooder tends steadily in the direction of more government controls. His plan inevitably means government ownership and operation of the means of production “for the common good.” He righteously favors “production for use instead of for profit,” as though anyone could make a profit from production if it were not for use! The do-gooder favors the controlling of persons “only to help them.” Whether or not he ever read the works of Karl Marx, he is

highly in favor of the central thesis of the communist philosophy: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his need!"—with the government in charge of both the taking and the giving.

In one respect, there is a difference between the do-gooder outside of government and his counterpart who holds a public office. The non-office-holding do-gooder would abolish any and all tax concessions, such as the capital gains procedure, depletion deductions and write-offs for "intangibles." But even the most socialistic officeholder seems to recognize that some tax incentives are needed to induce persons to enter the highly speculative and expensive business of drilling for oil and gas. No representative in Congress has yet introduced a bill to abolish the depletion allowance completely, although, for the past few years, an effort has been made to reduce it. This, of course, is an admission by the politicians of the necessity and validity of a tax differential in the oil industry. Whether a depletion allowance of 15 per cent, 27.5 per cent, or 50 per cent would be sufficient to insure an adequate supply of oil is a matter for the experts. And so far, the experts have generally opposed any decrease below 27.5 per cent.

The do-gooder and equalitarian is little interested in variances, degrees or statistics. It is doubtful that he will be satisfied with anything less than *no* depletion allowance, *no* charge-off for "intangibles," and *no* capital gains treatment. Inherently, the professional humanitarian is opposed to private ownership of property and incomes based on the decisions of free people using their own money in a free market. His plausible arguments to deprive the rich man of his money are *always* steps toward government ownership of the means of production.

The humanitarian, with his effusions about the common good and the general welfare, may have the best intentions in the world. But if he or his philosophy ever gains complete control of our nation, the American standard of living will become a rumor which future generations will doubt even existed.

During the Russian Revolution, the millionaires were liquidated in the interest of "the common people." Then the kulaks—small businessmen and farmers—were liquidated for "the general welfare." The result here would be no different than it was there. Either we have a free market with the possibility of millionaires, or a controlled market with the certainty of commissars. Take your choice.

In an Ideal America

Every person should be free

- to pursue his ambition to the full extent of his abilities, regardless of race or creed or family background.
- to associate with whom he pleases for any reason he pleases, even if someone else thinks it's a stupid reason.
- to worship God in his own way, even if it isn't "orthodox."
- to choose his own trade and to apply for any job he wants—and to quit his job if he doesn't like it or if he gets a better offer.
- to go into business for himself, be his own boss, and set his own hours of work—even if it's only three hours a week.
- to use his honestly acquired property or savings

in his own way—spend it foolishly, invest it wisely, or even give it away.

- to offer his services or products for sale on his own terms, even if he loses money on the deal.
- to buy or not to buy any service or product offered for sale, even if the refusal displeases the seller.
- to disagree with any other person, even when the majority is on the side of the other person.
- to study and learn whatever strikes his fancy, as long as it seems to *him* worth the cost and effort of studying and learning it.
- to do as he pleases in general, as long as he doesn't infringe the equal right and opportunity of every other person to do as he pleases.

The above, in a nutshell, is the way of life which the libertarian philosophy commends. It is the way of individual liberty, of the free market, of private property, of government limited to securing these rights equally for all.

LEONARD E. READ, Publisher

Instead of Public Highways

By JOHN E. MULRONEY

How private enterprise can solve for America the urgent problem of planning and financing modern highways for our growing motor traffic.

In the closing days of the last session of the Iowa legislature, two legislators filed a short simple bill. This provided for the creation and operation of privately owned highway public service companies similar to pipeline companies, railroad companies and electric utilities companies. It was too late in the session for the bill to receive much attention, and it died in committee. But it offered a completely new approach to the highway problem which merits thoughtful consideration.

Rightly viewed, highway motor transportation is one machine divided into three parts: the motor vehicle, the fuel to run it, and the highway on which it is to travel. A breakdown in any one of the three results in a breakdown of the service machine. The full sweep of the machine's operation is limited to the maximum efficiency of its weakest element. The first thing to note about this machine is that two-thirds of it are supplied by private enterprise and one-third is government owned and controlled.

The automotive industry developed in the pattern of all private industries that have made the United States the economic wonder of the world. By unremitting research, invention and ingenuity, it poured forth upon the public highways an ever-better product, capable of rendering ever-better service at ever-decreasing costs.

The petroleum industry kept pace with the automotive industry. New fields were explored, new processes of refinement were developed. Pipelines were constructed, and the service station was born.

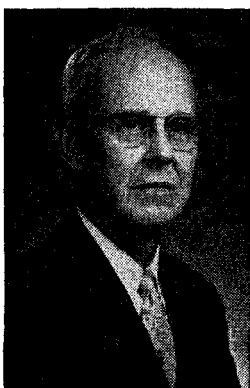
What of the third element in the machine, the highway? When it was determined that the motor vehicle was here to stay, the state and municipal

authorities began to make the highway improvements rendered necessary by automotive travel. The public highways were graded, graveled and finally covered with hard-surface pavement to provide for the motor-vehicle traffic as it then existed. The highways the government built twenty-five years ago would compare rather favorably with the motor vehicles of that day. But it was hardly to be expected that the government could keep pace with private industry. Today we find the two private enterprises in the trinity have far outstripped the third. Beginning about twenty-five years ago, when the commercial use of inter-city highways began to grow, the government-owned element of the highway motor transportation machine began to fall behind. It simply could not keep abreast of the rapid changes.

Handicaps of Public Operation

This is no fault of government; it is just that government is always at a disadvantage in the field of progressive industries. In those service industries, like the railroad, the telephone and electric transmission, where success depends on something more than the proper performance of routine duties, something more than honest administration and faithful performance of services, the government is under a handicap. In government operation there is no motive of stimulus for incurring the risk of new methods that might improve efficiency or reduce costs. In a privately owned, progressive enterprise, there is opportunity to try experiments at the risk of private capital under the stimulus of possible reward, while such use of taxpayers' money might be highly improper. In private industry, there is the opportunity to scrap equipment when new methods and new inventions render it obsolete long before it is worn out.

We will never solve by any public planning or tax financing the present problem of highway needs created by 53,000,000 motor vehicles—much less anticipate and forestall the traffic problem to be created by 80,000,000 motor vehicles which experts predict will ride the highways in 1975. The answer to the problem is obvious. Since two elements of the highway motor transportation machine have advanced in the American tradition of evolutionary private enterprise to meet the needs and convenience of a public on wheels, we should allow private



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enterprise the right to build and maintain the third. In short, let there be highway public service companies—private or investor-owned, but possessing appropriate franchises from the state to construct and maintain highways on the basis of public convenience and necessity, with the right of eminent domain and the right to charge reasonable rates for travel thereon. These should be regulated, like all public service companies, by the state public service commissions. If all or even a portion of that segment of the government-owned highway where the traffic jam is the heaviest can be shifted over to private enterprise, all three elements of the machine can be expected to progress. The striking advances made by the present privately owned elements of the machine will be matched by a new industry: the highway public service company.

This is not a plan to turn the public highways over to a company to operate for profit. The plan would not necessarily mean the elimination of a single public highway. In fact, it would aid the existing public highways by allowing for *additional* highways built with private capital.

At first thought one might wonder whether the plan would be attractive to private enterprise. Actually, we could skip the question. If it be thought the plan would solve or help to solve the question of planning and financing the highways we need, if investment capital would enter the field, then it should be tried. No one could possibly know that private enterprise would not be interested, and it will not do to say that the enabling legislation should not be passed merely because we are not sure there will be willingness to invest. We know private capital would be attracted to any enterprise if persuaded the business would be profitable.

Popular Response Is Certain

The public is willing to pay for the privilege of traveling on better modern highways. Toll roads have proved popular far beyond the expectations of those who planned them, and particularly popular with the commercial users.

It should not be too difficult for the promoters of a prospective highway company to determine in advance whether the enterprise in a given location would be successful—with at least as good a chance of being correct as is usually present before private capital is risked. Traffic surveys would disclose fairly accurately the revenue that might reasonably be expected. Filling stations and advertising and other highway concessions might add to the revenue. From there on it would be a question of cost of construction and operation.

It is in the field of construction and operation that private industry can be expected to excel. A government's indifference to costs is well known. If private industry is given the chance, construction costs will come down. Let the great automotive and petroleum industries turn their research and

experimental departments to the problem of building highways, and it is safe to say new road building material, new machinery, and new techniques will soon be employed with a resulting drop in construction costs. The automotive and petroleum industries have a big stake in the solution of the highway problem, and they should welcome an effort to solve it in the American way—by private enterprise.

Private road building can be a local industry at first in the areas where the traffic is the heaviest. But it can have a spreading growth similar to the growth of the railroads and the electric transmission lines. It will take tremendous outlay of capital, but no private enterprise remained unborn in this country because the capital expenditure was large.

For example, according to the 1952 report of the Federal Power Commission, the privately owned electric utilities have an investment of \$22 billion. And the August 1954 report of a governor-appointed toll-road committee in Iowa estimates the construction costs of a new east-west four-lane highway across the state, about 300 miles long and including the acquisition of a strip 300 feet wide, would be \$125,300,000. This is nearly \$20 million *less* than the value of the investor-owned pipelines that already cross the state. It is safe to say private industry will invest if the endeavor appears profitable, no matter how large an investment is required.

This plan has the bold approach of everything to win and nothing to lose. It is surely safe to say the public will welcome any plan that will help to relieve the congestion on the public highways without raising taxes.

People will patronize the public service company highway because the company, like any other private enterprise, will strive to make its service attractive to customers. We can assume the company will construct four-lane divided highways with grade separations for all intersecting highways and railroads. Not only will the highway be made pleasanter, safer and cheaper to drive upon, but we can expect many roadside concessions such as drive-in theaters and restaurants, designed to draw travelers to such highways.

It is fairly certain the traveling public would pay for travel on private highways an amount at least equal to the present toll charges. They might pay more. It is possible a highway service company could make a profit on a lesser charge. Presumably toll charges are designed to raise a fund sufficient to retire construction bonds and pay operating costs and maintenance. And that is using figures for costs of construction, operation and maintenance by government. There is little question but that private industry could reduce all three and emerge with a profit, using the same charge per mile that toll roads now use. The difference is that the private company would strive to cut costs and secure more revenue, while the government is indifferent to costs and patronage.

Railroad companies should be allowed to qualify as highway public service companies. The growth of highway motor transportation has meant a decline in miles of railroad track. Many short electric and steam railroad lines have been abandoned. Of these, many were the short lines running into the large cities. The passenger and freight traffic moved over to the highways, and there the motor traffic is so heavy with cars, trucks and busses that travel is reduced to a nerve-wracking experience.

Where the railroads still own these abandoned or little-used lines, they should be allowed to widen and improve the right-of-way and operate highways. The railroads are frequently seeking permission from public service and commerce commissions to abandon trackage where the revenue does not jus-

tify train operation. Permission would perhaps be more easily granted without injuring established businesses, and possibly with profit to the railroad, if the railroad would construct and operate a public service highway over the track site.

This plan of highway public service companies is the only plan which can be made *now* that is likely to give us the highways we will need in the future. Who, thirty years ago, could have foreseen the advances which have been made in the automotive industry, and in the petroleum industry? Who, today, can say what the advance will be in the decades ahead? All we can hope to do *now* is to place at least part of the highways in the position where this government-owned element can advance with the other two.

Where Men Are Men

By HUGHSTON M. McBAIN

In the management of a business, a highly competitive one, you learn why a government enterprise cannot be run that way. For it soon becomes obvious that the emphasis a business must put on personnel is not applicable to an institution in which law and procedure dominate.

A story is told about Marshall Field First that points up the importance of the human being in private business. One morning, so it goes, when Mr. Field was taking his "constitutional" along State Street, he noticed that the Mandel Brothers' store was undergoing major repairs and stopped to do some sidewalk superintending. "What's going on?" he inquired of Mr. Mandel, and was told that two floors were being added to the one-story silk shop. Congratulations over, Mr. Field observed: "Mr. Mandel, I consider you the greatest silk merchant in the country. Now that you are branching out into the department store business, I venture the prediction that your future success will depend on whether you turn out to be as good a merchant of men."

There you have it; it is in the merchandising of men, rather than in the merchandising of goods, that the success of a large business depends. And the entrepreneur who sets out to build a business soon learns that unless he undertakes to be a "merchant of men," a developer of personnel, his future is limited.

This is quite in contrast with the mythical business tycoon that has been woven into our folklore by the breeders of hate and the prophets of leveling. He is pictured in soap-box literature as a boor who specializes in table-thumping and in giving ulcers to his associates. Adopting as his motto, "This or-

ganization shall be but the shadow of me," he brooks neither opposition nor advice, but makes all decisions, usually at split-second timing, and demands complete subservience. He surrounds himself with robots.

Perhaps there are characters of this kind running large corporations. If there are, I would guess that the businesses they run must enjoy some sort of monopolistic position, so that the inevitable errors of such management cannot be fatal. At any rate, there is no place in a department store for this fictional know-it-all; for in such an enterprise a sequence of wrong decisions could well drive the trade elsewhere.

The Making of Executives

Whenever it is that a one-man shop develops into a department store, it must be at the point when its owner recognizes his limitations and determines to be a "merchant of men." With an eye to the services required by the community, he picks his assistants on the bases of knowledge, judgment and character, and then dumps responsibility into their laps. That is the essential element of successful business management—the allocation of responsibility. With responsibility, of course, goes authority, for a manager cannot be held to account for decisions he did not make.

Generalizations from individual experiences are sometimes wrong, but one must test principles by what one knows. In the case of Marshall Field & Company, about which I know, there are some 500 men and women who might properly be called "executives"—officers, merchandise managers, section

managers, office managers, advertising managers and so on. About 90 per cent of these came up "from the ranks." One man, now handsomely pensioned, rose from the "janitor" category—he swept out show windows—to a vice presidency. In every case the training of these "executives" consisted in the delegation of responsibility in proportion to their demonstrated capacity to assume it, and the allocation of the authority necessary for the proper execution of the task assigned.

It is far more interesting to watch the development of men and women than the development of a business; in fact, the second follows from the first and can be taken for granted. Just as a child develops self-reliance as he is called upon to make decisions, and to take the consequences thereof, so does an "executive." If he is master-minded by "experts"—as the Socialists would have it—he loses the inclination to explore his own capacities, does not acquire the habit of initiative, and becomes an automaton. He neither thinks nor does and, besides becoming a bore to himself, serves no useful purpose in the business, or in society as a whole. The progress of a business enterprise, which is only an incident of society, depends upon the full use of the energies and enthusiasms latent in its personnel. That is to say, freedom, with its responsibilities, is to a business what it is to a nation—the essential condition of health and growth.

For proof, I submit the evidence I have at hand, which is the story of the Chicago business of Marshall Field & Company. In 74 of its 75 years it has shown a profit, meaning that its management has found continued acceptance with the public. More than that, the "merchant of men" policy has paid off in the advancement of its product to positions of importance with other establishments. In the past ten years, five former managers have become presidents of large department stores. Given their native ability, their progress must in some measure be attributed to the policy of authority-with-responsibility.

Competition Builds Individualism

But this policy is not applicable to government or any of its enterprises, simply because the competitive conditions which compel a business to improve its personnel are absent. The government is never under the threat of being driven out of business. Since it has power, a monopoly of it, there is no need for government to cater to customers; the conditions, rules and procedures, even books of account, under which it operates are set up without reference to a market place in which consumers may express choices, and everything goes on a "take it or leave it" basis. Under such circumstances, the competence of government operatives is unrelated to any objective standard of performance. The only standard that obtains is itself predetermined, in the wording of the law, and any

effort by an individual to exceed that standard is fraught with danger to himself. Any potential he may have for greater achievement is laid to sleep by the conditions under which he must work.

The authority which a department store manager gives a buyer is to buy what in his judgment the store's clientele will want. The over-all management may put a limit on the amount he can buy, but beyond that, his is the sole responsibility—as to styles, sizes, price, deliveries and all the other details that go into the placing of an order. He selects his help. He also decides what items in his department ought to be displayed or advertised in the space allotted to him. In short, he is a free agent. If his judgment is proved faulty—by the customers—his authority will be curtailed; if his decisions are consistently sound—in the eyes of the trade—he will be rewarded by an extension of authority and responsibility. And with each extension of authority-responsibility, his personality blossoms.

The authority of the bureaucrat is automatically limited by the terms of his employment; it is so written in the law. His only responsibility is to a higher official, who is compelled by the law to measure the performance of the underling by its terms. There is little leeway for personal judgment. This rigidity imposed from above is necessitated by the fact that the dictum of the market place is removed; there is no consumer-acceptance yardstick by which to measure the efficiency or inefficiency of the government official.

Under the circumstances, the government employee tends to shun responsibility—the reward for taking it might be dismissal from the service—and to avoid making judgments. His mind is stultified by the necessity of always referring to the law, or to the precedents which, because "it was always done that way," secure him from criticism. Above all, he must always defer to his superior, even if he is of a contrary opinion, because the good will of his superior is about all he has to depend on for advancement. His subservience to system—popularly known as "passing the buck"—destroys any capacity for improvement that he may have started with, and invalidates him for use in a competitive field. That is why one inured to the bureaucracy is unfit for private business—unless, as is now too often the case, private business is in need of a bureaucratic mind to guide it in the unfamiliar waters of bureaucracy in which it finds itself.

Thus, the personality of the bureaucrat tends more and more toward that of a robot. And that is exactly the future of the young man who makes government service his career. Neither the glamour of title nor the social ostentation that goes with the service can offset the loss of those qualities which we associate with manhood—self-reliance and enterprise. These come only with the exercise of authority and the acceptance of responsibility.

Which is to say, men can become men only in competitive business.

The Liberals of Elizabeth I—and Now

By C. P. IVES

Professor Ralph Barton Perry was testifying recently before the Subversive Activities Control Board. He conceded that in the past he might have dabbled a little in communist-front groups (without knowing them to be such). But he insisted that he had never been a Communist. I know of nobody who questions his statement.

At about the same time Professor Perry published an article in the *Progressive* magazine entitled "Our Deadliest Traitor." It was a withering attack on the Spanish Inquisition (1481-1834) and, by analogy, on any modern symptoms of the inquisitorial temper. The modern inquisitor, indeed, seemed to be the "deadliest traitor" of Professor Perry's title.

There was, of course, nothing objectionable or even surprising about Professor Perry's disapproval of the Spanish Inquisition. One of the most eloquent of the contemporary group of "liberals" who claim a special concern for civil liberties, he was drawing on the classic history of libertarianism when he discussed the Inquisition. For the Inquisition and what it represented were, in their English manifestations, the anvil on which in large part the historic Anglo-American liberties were hammered out.

A Foreign Monarch

We must go back to the time of the first Queen Elizabeth to get the picture in context. Elizabeth came to her throne in a time of ideological conflict that scholars have likened to our own. Beyond the seas a mighty monarch, with powerful allies, was bent on altering the policy of the young queen. Toward that end he plotted with his many followers in England, who were more devoted to him than to their own sovereign.

Indeed, as the great ideological conflict tightened between the foreigner and the English queen, there came a time when he actually released his English followers from all allegiance to Elizabeth! The situation in its political effects was precisely what in modern times happens when the Kremlin assures American Communists that they need not be loyal to the U. S. Constitution in the higher service of international communism.

In Elizabeth I, however, the foreign monarch—he was, of course, the Pope—found a worthy adversary. She struck back with the first of a series

of internal security laws. These laws aimed to extinguish what was, in Elizabeth's eyes, a foreign conspiracy to subvert English sovereignty. The first of these internal security laws was enacted in 1559, the last in the 1770's, and they were not finally repealed until 1829.

Well, then, just what did these Elizabethan-type internal security laws provide? One of the earliest of them fixed a fine of £100 and a year's imprisonment for *saying* or *hearing* the central ritual of the foreign monarch's followers. It was high treason for an Englishman to be converted, or to convert an Englishman, to the foreign-directed movement. (High treason was punishable by hanging, drawing and quartering, loss of property and attainment of blood.)

Elizabethan Loyalty Oaths

Another of the Elizabethan-style security laws made it high treason for a Jesuit or a seminary priest even *to be* in England, and a felony to *shelter* one. Englishmen devoted to the foreign monarch were demoted, not to second-class citizenship, but, practically, to non-citizenship. They were forbidden to hold public office or military commissions. They were barred as executors or guardians, as lawyers, physicians or apothecaries.

Englishmen convicted of membership in the foreign-directed movement were denied the right of suing or of defending suits in the courts of England. Unless they would take not one but two loyalty oaths and make a declaration held offensive by the foreign monarch, these Englishmen could not serve in the legislature. And any Englishman bearing allegiance to the foreign monarch could be imprisoned *for life* for opening a school in England.

Now certainly these old security laws were savage in the extreme, and an innocent modern reader might turn to the chronicles of the time for libertarian denunciation of their authors. He would find nothing of the sort. On the contrary, he would learn that some of the noblest architects of our liberties were actually the framers of these internal security laws. He would also learn that freedom, far from languishing under the weight of these enactments, actually flourished: for when the evolution of English liberty reached its climax in the great Act of Toleration, and the even greater (English) Bill of Rights, these statutes care-

fully left intact the laws designed to put down a foreign movement against the English king and constitution!

Indeed, if Professor Perry wished to cite precedent for his robust disapproval of the Inquisition and the forces it represented, he could have summoned John Milton himself, the archetypal civil libertarian of them all. In 1659 Milton addressed a tract to Parliament entitled "A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes." It was a plea for religious toleration ". . . shewing [said Milton] that it is not lawful for any power on earth to compel in matters of Religion . . ."

But there was one passionately urged exception to Milton's general plea. ". . . As for poperie and idolatrie, . . . they may not hence plead to be tolerated. . . . Their religion the more considered, the less can be acknowledged a religion; but a Roman principalitie rather, endeavouring to keep up her old universal dominion under a new name and meer shaddow of a catholic religion; being indeed more rightly named a catholic heresie against the scripture; supported mainly by a civil, and [here is the point!] except in Rome, by a *foreign power*; justly, therefore, *to be suspected, not tolerated* by the magistrate of another country . . ." (Italics mine).

What a lesson in differentiation for the fuzzy modern "liberals" who can't tell the international communist conspiracy from an ordinary political party! What skill Milton marshals to make it clear he was not attacking a religion, as he could not in line with his basic premise, but merely a "principalitie," *i.e.*, a political movement, "supported . . . by a *foreign power* . . .!"

And it was this sharp and clarifying differentiation which recommended the Miltonian view to libertarian posterity. For we need to quote only the greatest of Milton's libertarian successors to see how these men felt. "In Spain, Italy, Flanders, the Austrian Empire," said John Stuart Mill, "Protestantism was rooted out; and, most likely, would have been so in England, had Queen Mary lived or *Queen Elizabeth died* . . ." (italics mine). Not much sign in that passage, from the great essay "On Liberty," of disapprobation for Elizabeth's internal security laws!

The Lesson of History

The history of Anglo-American civil liberty in its very seedtime and flowering, in brief, is a history not just of guaranteeing rights, but of crushing those who would crush them. This history shows that freedom does not die when its adversaries are restrained but, on the contrary, thrives and flourishes on the restraints.

Today, of course, the old, unhappy times of religio-political strife are over. But what a curious thing it is to see modern "liberals" infinitely more tender toward communism than their libertarian heroes ever were toward Catholicism! How strange

to see them resisting the use against the Kremlin's people of weapons not one-thousandth as sharp as those they still cheer our forefathers for using against the Inquisition!

No one, of course, wants to deny Communists the constitutional protections available to other people. No one favors the drawing or quartering of Communists. No one wants the Communists' blood attainted, so that their children and their children's children share the debasement to which their erring fathers had been doomed. But the "liberals" of today not only don't want Communists treated *worse* than ordinary citizens; they insist that they be treated *better*!

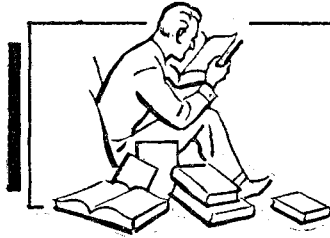
They denounce as witch-burnings, as reigns of terror, as inquisitions, the congressional investigations into communism. Yet, despite some regrettable abuses, the anti-subversion inquiries are like the investigations of oil scandals, housing scandals, military scandals which "liberals," with the rest of us, take quite for granted.

It is routine in our criminal law to hear police informers against, say, ordinary gamblers. But our "liberals" cry out in anguish when informers are employed against Communists. Nothing is more familiar in the law enforcement of several states than the wiretap of telephone conversations, say between prostitutes and their prospects. But to wiretap the telephone conversations of men who imperil the Republic itself is, say the "liberals," to imperil the Republic even more!

As everybody knows, the Fifth Amendment privileges a man to refuse to bear witness against himself in criminal proceedings. But forty federal statutes and many state laws discharge this guarantee not by allowing the witness to stand mute, but by immunizing him against prosecution and then compelling him to talk. This alternative discharge of the Fifth Amendment guarantee was held constitutional all of sixty years ago—yet our "liberal" friends insist that, though it is available against ordinary Americans, it must not be used against Communists!

The "liberals'" refusal to treat Communists the way ordinary criminals (or noncriminals) are treated roots in their stubborn insistence that Kremlin communism is a philosophy, or a faith, or an idea, rather than a criminal conspiracy. They lack Milton's power of discrimination.

Their double standard in these matters is, however, increasingly hard to take. How much longer will Professor Perry and his friends ask us to believe that the classic heroes of liberty would have been gentler under the clear and present threat of the Kremlin's H-bomb than they were against the mere memory of the Spanish Armada and those two or three barrels of gunpowder in the cellars of the Parliament? How much longer will they try to tell us that the liberty which thrived on the suppression of the Inquisition will perish if we suppress the communist conspiracy?



A Reviewer's Notebook

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Mortimer Smith is one of the bravest men in America. In his *The Diminished Mind: A Study of Planned Mediocrity in Our Public Schools* (150 pp. Chicago: Regnery, \$2.75) he has had the temerity to sail into a powerful vested interest, that of the professional educators' lobby. But even beyond that he has dared expose himself to the stuff which these educators put out in defense of their programs, their methods, their philosophies and their ideals. As writing, this body of material is sheer drivel; as thinking, it is about as penetrable as a bramble patch; as method, I defy anyone of sense to make sense of it; and as philosophy —*ma foi!* The wonder of it is that Mr. Smith's brains have not been addled, curdled or reduced to soup. But instead of coming out of his ordeal a gibbering half-wit, he has managed to set forth his ideas on the subject in a delightful and humorous book that should be on the bedstand of every father and mother in the United States who happens to have a child in public school.

I cannot, of course, believe that the public schools are quite as bad as one might infer from the programmatic material put out by the graduates of our modern teachers' colleges. To begin with, the practicing seventh and eighth grade teachers of arithmetic or English who are forced to pay lip service to official educational philosophy cannot really believe the junk which is handed to them from on high. After all, their daily contact with children of average intelligence gives them a foothold in the world of common sense, and if they dared echo some of the gobbledygook set forth in the programs for "education as life adjustment" that beguile the professional "educationists," they would be hooted out of their own classrooms by the still uncorrupted young. But

even though the mind of the average commonsensical teacher can hardly be taken in by the literature of "dynamic, functional learning," long-continued exposure to this nonsense must end by taking some of the enthusiasm out of teaching. If one cannot look up to the leaders of one's profession, one is apt to get pretty perfunctory about the daily grind.

To our uncomplicated forefathers, education in the first instance meant being taught how to use certain tools. One learned in the primary grades how to put words together to convey meanings, and one learned the uses of such abstractions as numbers. In history courses one was exposed to the record of the past. In languages, one learned grammar and vocabulary. Morals, while not the primary concern of the school, were inculcated as part of the history of a Christian heritage. Ideals were imparted as part of the humanities courses. And as for methods of teaching, the teacher simply put his or her subject into orderly discourse. The idea was to begin with the simple (2 times 2 make 4) and go on to the complex (algebra, trigonometry) by easy stages.

This is all that there used to be to teaching. A good teacher could add certain intangibles of personality: by showing enthusiasm, he might enlist the enthusiasm of others; by being a strict disciplinarian, he might make his students work harder. But there was no mystery or hocus pocus about "methodology" in the courses taught by a William Graham Sumner or a William James. The teacher simply knew a subject and talked more or less lucidly about it.

However, since the advent of John Dewey (a delightful Yankee personality who surely couldn't have meant to foster the brood that now

takes his name in vain), education has become fearfully complicated. Or at least educational *method* has become complicated. Teachers are no longer expected to tell what they know about a subject in hopes that some of it will stick in receptive minds. They are no longer expected to "keep school" by compelling attendance. Instead, it is the students who are expected to come and go and otherwise behave as they please, even to the point of establishing notions of subject-matter content. And the students naturally take over in the classroom.

Mr. Smith is by no means a complete enemy of so-called "progressive methods" in education. He can see the virtues of the Socratic method when it is used by a teacher who is skilled in asking artfully leading questions of his students. He can see the value of field work in sociological or anthropological or economic research. He is no defender of the birch rod, no partisan of Dickensian educational tyrants. "Learning by doing" is a slogan that makes sense to him, provided that some basic theory is imparted at the beginning to provide points of reference for the "doing." But when the "progressive methods" begin to usurp the central place of subject matter in a school or a course, Mr. Smith puts his foot down.

The two movements in modern education that seem most particularly pernicious to him are the "life adjustment movement" and the movement for "social reconstruction through the schools." The "life adjustment" flimflam originated on the highest "level" ("educationists" just love this word), in the U. S. Office of Education when it was part of the Federal Security Agency. To the life adjusters, the function of the schools is to serve as a collection of social service bureaus. According to an

official report, "Life Adjustment Education for Every Youth," the American public school should be geared to take care of the alleged 60 per cent of the students who lack the educational aptitude to comprehend abstract mathematics, or the uses of good English. "Life adjustment" centers on such "core" subjects as "family living, consumer economics, citizenship, job information, ethical and moral living, physical and emotional health, training for world citizenship and statesmanship. . . ." All of these things may be worth while, but the proper place to learn about them is in the home, the church, the club or the YMCA, not the schools.

Mr. Smith quotes some hilarious stuff from the "core programs" of schools which have taken the Office of Education pamphlets seriously. In one Maryland school, it seems, ninth graders discuss such absorbing topics in class as "How to have a successful date," or "When should we give gifts on our own, separate from 'the family' giving?" In another school, the topics for classroom discussion range from "What can I do to keep my teeth white and my skin soft?" to "What should I talk about on a date?" As Mr. Smith wryly says, "The youth who wants to discuss with a committee what he should talk about on a date doesn't deserve to have a date."

The trouble with all this "core unit" stuff is that it tends more and more to drive worth-while subject matter out of the curriculum entirely. But what really horrifies Mr. Smith is the opinion entertained by professional "educationists" about the capacity of American youth to learn. Is 60 per cent of the population actually unable to grasp fundamental principles of grammar? Can it be true that more than a majority of the people is not worth educating in the humanities? Mr. Smith doubts the accuracy of the figures offered by the "educationists" as an excuse for catering to mediocrity; he accuses these educationists of selling democracy short, of actually being contemptuous of the common man they profess so to love. From his own experience with the

young, Mr. Smith considers that all but a handful of them are "teachable" in the old sense—i.e., they have the ability to absorb the subject matter of the various disciplines. But if they are going to be taught anything worth while, they need teachers who are firmly grounded in such things as history, English, French, mathematics, physics and so on. In other words, they need teachers with diplomas from liberal arts colleges, not "educationists" with credits in "methodology" from the teachers' colleges which seem to have seized control of our public school system.

It might be argued, philosophically, that teaching "adjustment to life" is, paradoxically, no way to teach adjustment to life. Those who are forever concerned with "adjusting" themselves to others, or to their environment, usually end up by consulting psychiatrists. To be truly happy, people must have a feeling that they can dominate life, at least within the sphere of their natural rights. The cult of "adjustment" leads one away from natural right philosophy and straight into the arms of collectivism. It also produces Milquetoasts. Mr. Smith does not argue the connection between natural rights philosophy and traditional education in the humanities. But he does come down hard on the undesirable nature of a society of docile individuals animated solely by a desire for group conformity. Such conformity, he says, may be admirable in an army, but it is hardly a recipe for a society of free human beings.

The end result of the "life adjustment" theory of education would be to kill off creativity, to strangle great books and plays and pictures before they are born, to suffocate the spirit of adventure and to prevent invention and discovery. Neither Henry Ford nor Columbus nor Jesus Christ was an "adjuster." But such "non-adjusters" have enabled millions of others to "adjust" to life in a more satisfactory way simply because they opened up new worlds for the flesh and the spirit.

The second movement in modern education which has roused Mr. Smith to urbane ire is the product

of a small group that would like to install collectivism overnight. This group conceives of the school as the "brain-washing" unit of society. In the thirties, members of this group held forth freely in such magazines as *Social Frontier* and *Progressive Education*. They advocated a "new" economics; they looked with sympathy upon the "Russian experiment." Today their language has become more "Aesopian," but the old ideals shine forth from behind the camouflage: they are still collectivists at heart, and wish to use the schools to put collectivism over. When parents object, they yell "Fascist" or "reactionary."

The "life adjusters" and the advocates of "social reconstruction through the schools" were never voted into control of public education in America. But by infiltration they have taken over more than one key spot in the hierarchy that sets the tone of our public schools. Their first stronghold was Teachers College at Columbia University in New York City. From this they branched out into other teachers' colleges. By building up a network of state-wide organizations of teachers, principals and superintendents, they eventually convinced the public and the state legislatures that they had a "right" to administer teacher certification in both grammar and high schools.

In an older and happier time, any bright boy or girl with a college degree could go into public school teaching. All that was required was a sound knowledge of a subject. But today it is not the "what" of education that dominates; it is the "how." The bright young boy or girl who wants to teach in a public school must submit to training in the gobbledygook of teachers' college "methodology." Small wonder that the brighter young people now go into private school teaching, leaving the public schools to the second-raters who are willing to put up with the mishmash of the "educationists."

Mr. Smith has written his book with a minimum of name-calling and a maximum of good humor. A mild-mannered, urbane citizen, he clearly dislikes the role of crusader into

which he has been forced. Barricades bore him; soap boxes drive him mad; protest committees are definitely not his meat. But something has to be done, he says, to avert the debacle. What he suggests is for individual parents to cease to be bashful about complaining of poor textbooks and current methods of "teacher certification." Write to the legislators," he counsels. "As a last desperate remedy," he says, "perhaps we should try individual responsibility, individual initiative, individual action."

Frank Chodorov would probably tell him that it is useless to hope for regeneration in anything that is run by the government. But Mr. Smith is for giving it one last good try in the case of the public schools.

Years of Appeasement

America, Britain, and Russia, Their Co-operation and Conflict, 1941-1946, by William Hardy McNeill. 819 pp. New York: Oxford University Press. \$15.00

This long and detailed study is an important contribution to existing literature on world politics with reference to the build-up and breakdown of the Roosevelt-Churchill attempt to get along with Soviet Russia. It clearly indicates the futility of trying to work out some formula of coexistence with communist countries. Roosevelt was willing to make far-reaching concessions in order to win Soviet cooperation both during and after the war, and all that he gained was Soviet contempt for his folly and Soviet eagerness to take advantage of American naiveté. For Russian diplomats the practice of diplomacy was an exercise in the "craft sinister."

Professor McNeill comments upon the astonishment of Soviet leaders when British and American politicians pledged instant aid to them when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union. The men of the Kremlin thought that capitalist countries would welcome a struggle between totalitarian states that would "exhaust their strength and leave the Anglo-American powers in a posi-

tion to dictate a new peace settlement." But Churchill misjudged the situation and rushed airplanes to Russia that were badly needed at Singapore, while Roosevelt hurriedly sent Harry Hopkins to Moscow to promise aid that would preserve the Bolshevik government he had denounced the previous year for its bloody conquest of Finland. There was no thought of extracting pledges from hard-pressed Communists with regard to the restoration of territories stolen from the Baltic states and Poland.

Churchill's lamentable shortsightedness in rushing aid to Stalin was supplemented by his willingness to make concessions to the U.S.S.R. on a scale that betrayed British indifference to the fate of free nations along Russian frontiers. In the spring of 1942 the stage was being set for an Anglo-Russian alliance. For some months Stalin had been pushing for a British recognition of the Soviet absorption of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and parts of Poland and Finland. Anthony Eden had no strong objection to an ambitious program of appeasement, and Churchill finally conquered any qualms that may have been nurtured by fears of American displeasure at acquiescence in these dubious Soviet gains. On May 26, 1942 an Anglo-Russian alliance was signed. Stalin hastened Churchill's action in this regard by issuing on February 23, 1942 an Order of the Day that nodded in the direction of a new agreement with Hitler. It was a very threadbare trick that should have been apparent to the British Foreign Office, but Eden fell for it immediately and Churchill followed his lead. In the treaty of alliance Britain recognized the Soviet absorption of the Baltic states. The betrayal of Poland was not long delayed.

At Teheran the position of Russia was particularly strong. Stalin took sharp issue with the opinions of Churchill, and Roosevelt rushed to the support of the Soviet dictator. He pleased Stalin by arranging for two private consultations with him while denying to Churchill similar opportunities for discussion of pend-

ing problems. He was present when Churchill presented to Stalin, as a gift from King George VI, the sword of Stalingrad, and he was deeply touched when this farcical ritual brought tears to the eyes of the Russian man of steel. But those eyes were cold with suspicion when Roosevelt indirectly suggested that it might be expedient for Russia to make some concessions that would please Polish voters in the United States. The idea of bowing in the direction of voters was alien to everything that Stalin stood for, and he had no intention of pulling chestnuts from hot American fires for Roosevelt. He found that Churchill had no strong pressure group in Britain that supported Polish interests, so he quickly made a deal with him relative to the eastern boundary of Poland. The old Curzon line was agreed upon, and by his silence Roosevelt gave his consent to this ill-starred bargain.

Yalta was a confirmation of the decisions reached at Teheran and represented the greatest diplomatic defeat ever inflicted upon the United States. The decision to give Russia Port Arthur as a naval base and the agreement that Russia should have preponderant commercial privileges in the port of Dairen meant that Roosevelt was ready to surrender long-established principles of Far Eastern policy. When these concessions were coupled with the gift of the Kurile Islands to Russia and the grant of joint administrative control over the South Manchuria Railway, it was obvious that Soviet power in the Far East had been given such a boost that it could never be seriously challenged by any nation or combination of nations. In the matter of the Polish boundaries and the type of government to be established in Poland, Roosevelt met with another defeat that clearly showed how Stalin pulled the strings that made both Roosevelt and Churchill jump.

The communiqué that closed the sessions of the Yalta Conference was a perfect specimen of diplomatic double-talk. It emphasized the "continuing and growing cooperation and understanding" among America, Britain and Russia, and

expressed the expectation that this unity of purpose and action would make possible the realization of the "highest aspirations of humanity." Great expectations were never based upon a more slender founda-

tion, and it is difficult to see how Churchill or Roosevelt could have expected any worth-while results from their detailed program of appeasement.

CHARLES CALLAN TANSILL

The Background of Economics

History of Economic Analysis, by Joseph A. Schumpeter. Edited from Manuscript by Elizabeth Boody Schumpeter. XXVI+ 1,260 pages, New York: Oxford University Press. \$17.50

Some nine or ten years before his death in 1950, Professor Schumpeter started a revision of his early sketch of the history of economic theory. It grew into a monumental achievement of scholarship, without equal in its field. Some of the material was still in the form of first drafts at the time of his death. The author's widow, herself a distinguished economist, undertook to get the manuscript ready for publication. But Mrs. Schumpeter, too, died before the task was completed, and it was prepared for the press by various friends and pupils of the author.

The book is designed as a history of the science of economics in the strict sense—not of the wider field of political economy. But we are given throughout the book masterly sketches that make it much more than merely a history of one branch of knowledge. And although Schumpeter was a man of strong and highly individual views, he admirably kept his personal prejudices out of the book. To those who know Professor Schumpeter's general theoretical views, it will come as no surprise to find that Quesney, Cournot and Walras are his heroes; or to learn that he rates Adam Smith, Ricardo and even Marshall decidedly lower.

Readers of this journal will probably be irritated by the unnecessary condescending, if not contemptuous, manner in which Schumpeter usually

refers to nineteenth-century liberalism and laissez faire. But they should remember that it comes from an author who knew as well as anybody "that capitalist evolution tends to peter out because the modern state may crush or paralyze its motive forces," yet who seems to have had an irrepressible urge *pour épater les bourgeois*.

Even the great attention given to Karl Marx is probably justified, if only because of the influence of his sociological considerations on economic analysis—evidently the aspect of his work which appealed to Schumpeter. Indeed, the fact that Schumpeter himself was at times interested in sociology almost as much as in pure economics has contributed a good deal to the character of his work, some parts of which are fascinating essays in the sociology of science. They are stimulating even where one cannot entirely agree.

Nobody should profit more from the book than the economists of the younger generation. I know of no better antidote against their belief that nothing which happened before 1936 can be of importance to them. And yet they will find in the later part of the book the most satisfactory—but alas, incomplete—survey of the contemporary state of economics.

With 1,200 closely printed pages, this is not likely to prove to be a popular book. It is well written, though not an easy book to read nor suitable for the kindergarten atmosphere of much college education. Nor is it in every respect a "safe" book; the orthodox of any description must be prepared for constant shocks, and the literal-minded will miss much that is said between the lines. But for the mature and thoughtful reader, whether an economic theorist or one merely interested in the growth of ideas on human affairs, it offers invaluable instruction.

F. A. HAYEK

Our Policy in China

Fifty Years in China, the Memoirs of John Leighton Stuart. Prefatory note by General George C. Marshall, introduction by Dr. Hu Shih. 346 pp. New York: Random House. \$5.00

Dr. Leighton Stuart is a Christian gentleman, a missionary and old China hand in the best tradition. But for one like myself, who served under Ambassador Stuart during the dark days of the Marshall Mission, his memoirs can be read only with sadness. Never before has the confusion of those days been so clearly set forth. In the telling of his own part, Dr. Stuart reveals himself still confused.

Fifty Years in China is replete with prefatory notes. The confusion, verging upon misrepresentation, begins in these notes. George Marshall states, for instance, that he proposed Dr. Stuart's appointment because, "I was only an Ambassadorial Representative of the President." The implication is that the General took a back seat, that Stuart's vast experience was then thrown into the struggle for China.

The tragedy of Dr. Stuart is that he still seems unable to understand how little he had to do with the formation and direction of American policy. For the truth is that he was denied access to important papers and his every utterance was censored on Marshall's orders. Dr. Stuart seems vaguely to understand this, as he writes of the Embassy's suspicions of Philip Fugh, his loyal private secretary. But he omits other disgraceful elements, such as the fact that when he was asked to preach an Easter sunrise sermon in Shanghai in 1947 his sermon was censored in advance.

Stuart's story covers all his fifty years in China. It is an interesting story, including his imprisonment by the Japanese and presidency of one of China's great universities. But in the context of today's China, it is those chapters and Stuart's ambassadorship, his assessment of what happened and what should happen next, that are important. And there lies the good doctor's confusion.

He has little ill to report of anyone. All the men who served under him, all the members of the foreign service, appear as excellent men, re-

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porting honestly, making no mistakes. Yet American policy comes in for forthright criticism. The most scathing criticisms are directed at the White Paper. Stuart writes in obvious bewilderment:

All through . . . there were quotations of or from documents which I had always considered were of "top secret" character . . . I found quotations of dispatches . . . in which the reporting of confidential conversations, of information which had been given in confidence . . . were thus made known to the world . . . Without admitting any mistakes in United States policy, it tried to place all the blame upon the National Government of China.

Who drafted the White Paper, who formulated the policies which Stuart denounces? The same foreign service officers who, according to the author, could do no wrong. He was America's Ambassador to China, yet never knew the White Paper was being drafted, was never given opportunity to express an opinion. Dean Acheson signed the Letter of Transmittal which went with the White Paper. But it obviously required months to complete the document which Stuart plainly points out was a serious violation of security. George Marshall, covered with lyrical praise in the book, evidently had had the men under Stuart working on the whitewash for months while he was Secretary of State. And he never informed his Ambassador of his plans.

JOHN C. CALDWELL

McCarthy's "Methods"

McCarthy and the Communists, by James Rorty and Moshe Decter. 163 pages. Boston: Beacon Press. Cloth \$2.00, paper \$1.00

"I approve of his objectives, but not of his methods."

For millions of Americans who thus state their conclusions, this is *the* book about the controversial Senator from Wisconsin. It is a book-length justification of their desire to be "against" communism and "against" McCarthy at the same time.

Sponsored by the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, which raised a considerable fund to pay for research and writing, it has both the advantages (if any) and the disadvantages of multiple authorship.

Both authors are connected with the Voice of America. Not only does it suffer from dual authorship, but it was copiously rewritten by the committee, particularly by Mr. Sol Stein, its secretary. Its dual personality approaches schizophrenia, a disease better known as the heebie-jeebies.

The authors simply cannot stomach the vast majority of non-intellectual Americans who, unaware of all the ideological niceties, draw a line and ask "whose side are you on?" They would not bar those "primitives" from the front lines in Korea, or wherever the shooting is, but would keep them from the sacred precincts of the U. S. Senate. Their list of "distinguished anti-Communists" includes Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., James Wechsler and Elmer Davis and, apparently, Senator Lehman.

Again and again this book credits McCarthy with good objectives, occasionally with good results, but never with honest intentions. But most of the book consists of the case against McCarthy. Every mistake McCarthy has made since leaving the farm is covered. This is the full-length case against McCarthy's methods. Not content with the facts, the authors have twisted even the *Congressional Record* to produce additional, though untrue, examples of McCarthy's "bad methods." They have accepted as fact, without checking, charges contained in previous anti-McCarthy books, particularly the pamphlet issued by the *Progressive*.

These errors cover the famous "Lattimore-Barnes letter" which, it is implied, did not exist (p. 80); the statement that no Communists were discovered at Fort Monmouth; that Lattimore was not identified as a Soviet agent (p. 59); that Edward R. Murrow did not sponsor trips to the Soviet Union prior to its recognition late in 1933 (p. 75); a misstatement of the oath of office (p. 98); the unsupported charge that some of McCarthy's Texas supporters are followers of Gerald L. K. Smith and have supplied the Senator with funds (p. 116), etc., etc.

What seems to the authors most damaging of all is McCarthy's charge of "twenty-one years of treason" in the government.

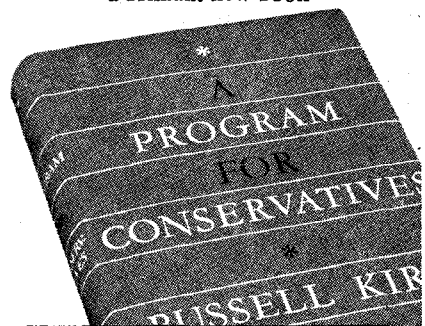
The communist charge that McCarthy heads a fascist movement and is a rising Hitler is rejected by the authors after some hesitation.

In Europe, they correctly state, this is the common impression. But it is the Senator himself who is to blame for this impression, they infer, not Senator Flanders, Adlai Stevenson, Eleanor Roosevelt, Justice William O. Douglas, and the clique of procommunist writers who fostered it. Having rejected the charge that McCarthy imitates Hitler, the book ends with strong ridicule of Private G. David Schine.

Admirers of the Senator will consider this book an exposure of the weakness of the noncommunist case against him. The fact that it was ordered, paid for and rewritten by the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, a hodgepodge including many anti-anti-Communists with socialist leanings, which has been financed to the tune of approximately \$1,000,000 by the State Department since its inception five years ago, raises doubts as to its motivation. The scores of misstatements raise doubts as to its competence. For those who hate McCarthy as emotionally as the authors, it will provide self-justification and satisfaction.

ALFRED KOHLBERG

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Did Jesus Teach Collectivism?

Jesus and His Times, by Daniel-Rops. Translated from the French by Ruby Millar. 615 pp. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. \$5.00

No one can write about Jesus of Nazareth without being judged by the act. Renan's skeptical *Life of Jesus* tells us more about Renan and his intellectual climate than it does about Jesus. From the 1890s through the early decades of the twentieth century, a plethora of books about Jesus came from the American press, almost all of which made Jesus a social reformer. Then that thorough work of Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest for the Historical Jesus*, revealed the absurdity of the unscholarly metamorphosis of Jesus into the image of a twentieth-century "liberal." However, Schweitzer was left with an enigma on his hands. In fact, by the "scientific" method he came so close to proving that Jesus was insane that he felt it necessary to publish a work to establish the sanity of Jesus.

Now in this mid-century appears *Jesus and His Times* by Daniel-Rops, which is already the biggest best-seller of any book published in France since the end of World War Two. It has gone over four hundred editions and has been translated into fifteen languages. If, like other lives of Jesus, it is a reflection of our age, the Western world has left the age of doubt and has entered the age of faith. Daniel-Rops, a pseudonym of Henri Petiot, brought to his task a well-furnished mind. He is learned in geography, history and theology. More important for this task, he is a committed Christian, and thus he writes with religious feeling. One cannot read this work without knowing something of the spell of Jesus.

This author is completely aware of critical problems and he delights in pointing to the increasing support which "historical criticism" has been forced to give to the antiquity and authenticity of the Four Gospels. Nevertheless, Jesus can never be comprehended by the "scientific method." Daniel-Rops affirms that it is impossible to write a life of Christ with the same attitude of mind that one would write of Caesar or Napo-

leon. Says this author: "When Fra Angelico said that to paint Our Lord it is necessary to live with him, the devout artist was not claiming perfection for the work of his own brush; he meant that the ordinary creative methods of the writer and the painter had been revealed to him as inadequate. There is here a mystery beyond analysis: we cannot argue and explain, we can only contemplate and adore."

To think seriously about Jesus is to be faced with an imperious choice, and "scientific detachment" is an impossibility. The Gospels are witnesses to this faith of the first-century Christian community, and only when they are read with a sympathy for that faith do they yield their treasure. Daniel-Rops' meticulous scholarship is illuminated by such sympathy.

The use that some liberal Protestants have made of the authority of Jesus to support increasing government control over economic and social life is now generally recognized as ill-founded so far as the teachings of Jesus are concerned. However, books like *Jesus and His Times* will serve to correct any caricature of Jesus that may linger in the modern mind.

REV. IRVING E. HOWARD

Cracker-Barrel Senate

The Old Country Store, by Gerald Carson. 330 pp. New York: Oxford University Press. \$5.00

There is probably some truth in the famous assertion that the battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton, but I am willing to bet that there is even more truth in the statement that many of the battles of American big business were won behind the counters of the old country store. It was there, while doing a spell of clerking, that a surprising number of our captains of industry and masters of finance got their start; there, where enterprise was as free as the crackers in the barrel, where the problems of the nation were settled daily by a grave, informal senate that sat tilted back on the porch in summer, while in winter its members circled a stove.

The country store was a school for youth and a refuge for age, a focal point of the community which it served, an indispensable factor in American civilization—at a certain stage of its development—and as American as Indian corn. Now it is only a cherished memory in the minds of countless men and women, most of whom are older than they would like to be. But this noble institution need no longer rely on human memory for the perpetuation of its likeness—Gerald Carson has painted it for posterity, with all its charms and blemishes plain upon its face.

Mr. Carson went about his research with the sharp-eyed thoroughness of a Ph.D. candidate. When he came to the business of writing, however, he wisely slipped into an informal, anecdotal style, packaging his goods with the ease of an old country merchant—that is to say, hardly packaging them at all. Bit by bit, anecdote by anecdote, he puts together the history of the general store—"the small retail store carrying multiple lines of unrelated goods"—describes its rise in response to social necessity, its flowering years, and its decline under the adverse influences of paved roads, automobiles, mail order catalogues and chain merchandising.

He pictures the men who ran the stores, on the basis of long-term credit and much barter; he lists the goods they sold, and tells us how they kept their books; he devotes a chapter to the peddlers who competed with the country stores, and another to the drummers who sold them their stock.

He reminds us that "A trade was often a contest of wits between the dealer and his customers," and repeats legendary stories of sharp practices on both sides of the counter. There was room in the country store for both Honest Abe Lincoln and P. T. Barnum and his suckers; but in this area of free enterprise, as in others, dishonesty suffered swiftly from the law of diminishing returns, and the man who was too smart ended by outsmarting himself.

Mr. Carson has contributed a substantial chapter to the growing book of American history—a chapter that will arouse sentimental memories of the horse-and-buggy days in the minds of all but the most starry-eyed Utopians. BEN RAY REDMAN

Put this
Question
before
Congress
NOW!



Why Don't You Defeat Communism with Sound Money

by returning to the
GOLD COIN STANDARD?

"The surest way to overturn an existing social order is to debauch the currency." These portentous words, credited to Lenin, point the way to defeat Communism, at home and abroad. Make monetary strength the weapon—and sound money the ammunition.

The only sound money system that has ever been successful is the Gold Coin Standard.* It stabilizes the value of money—prevents issuance of fiat currency . . . gives the individual close control over government policy since he can redeem his currency for gold coin whenever such policy is inimical to preservation of individual rights and liberty.

This sovereignty of the citizen over government is the great difference between dictator-

Excerpt from Republican
"Monetary Policy" Plank



* The right to redeem currency for gold will help keep America free . . . ask your Senators and Congressman to work and vote to restore the Gold Coin Standard. Write to The Gold Standard League, Latrobe, Pa., for further information. The League is an association of patriotic citizens joined in the common cause of restoring a sound monetary system.

ship and democracy. We must be proud of it . . . display it fearlessly to the world . . . make it the principle that will persist for free men . . . and keep them free!

For twenty years the recently deposed federal administration pooch-pooched this principle. Our citizens suffered—became more and more the economic slaves of government. The value of their earnings and savings shrank—up to 60%.

Fortunately, technological advancements, such as Kennametal, increased industrial productivity during this period—and helped partially to offset the evil effects of irredeemable currency.

The President, important Cabinet members, Senators, and Congressmen are aware of the inherent relationship between the Gold Coin Standard and individual freedom. Why, then, should legislative action on it be delayed?

The tremendous impact on all other nations of sound money in the United States will lead the way to international economic stability . . . impel a new high level in human relationships, and provide a healthful domestic atmosphere in which American industry, of which Kennametal Inc. is a key enterprise, will provide ever-increasing benefits for all our people.

We must resume without devaluation or delay.

One of a series of advertisements published in the public interest by

KENNAMETAL Inc.
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WORLD'S LARGEST Independent Manufacturer Whose Facilities are Devoted Exclusively to Processing and Application of CEMENTED CARBIDES

Well Worth Reading

This page is devoted to brief notices of pamphlets, speeches and other reading matter of interest to libertarians—toward the end that these efforts may receive wider attention.

Report of the 37th Conference of the International Labor Organization, by William L. McGrath. 20 pp. Available from Mr. McGrath, President, the Williamson Heater Company, Cincinnati 9, Ohio. Free.

William L. McGrath, the U. S. Employer delegate to the conference of the International Labor Organization held in Geneva in June, tells what happened when the Soviets moved in on the conference this year. Their readmission was automatic on request, since the I.L.O. constitution admits any country which is a member of the United Nations. An analysis of the vote clearly showed that approval of the seating of Soviet delegates was made on the basis of affirmative votes of Government delegates, despite substantial opposition from some Employer and Labor delegates on the grounds that a communist nation could only represent Government.

In this controversy, the Russians simply stood their ground. The Socialists were making their case for them, Mr. McGrath reports. The major difficulty in sustaining the objection to seating Soviet delegates came from Government representatives of nationalized industries. For example, the workers' delegate from India said: "By excluding the nationalized sectors you will be excluding all those people who believe in socialism. What is the panacea which has been held forth by Europe and the Western world against communism? Socialism!"

Since the Soviets have eight nations with the possibility of two more, they will probably dominate the I.L.O., the author points out. If attempts to retain the tripartite nature of the I.L.O. fail, "It is my personal opinion that there is no longer any constructive purpose to be served in sending U. S. Employer delegations to the I.L.O."

Price Fixing, Controls and Allocation of Non-Ferrous Metals, by W. F. Boericke. 36 pp. American Enterprise Association, Inc., 1012 14th St. N.W., Washington 5, D. C. Single copy \$1.00

This study gives close examination to the controls in the non-ferrous metals field established by the federal government in the two world wars and the Korean War. It is a sad story of inept fumbling, generally unnecessary for production of the required supplies and often actually detrimental to that end. The total cost of the experimentation was heavy, but can never be extracted accurately from tax returns.

Practice in socialism apparently does nothing to make government price-fixing operations more efficient. For instance, at the end of 1951 the British government overbought lead at 22 cents a pound, selling its surplus to Washington in March of 1952 at 19 cents a pound. This was no great horse trade for us, however. In May of 1952, with controls removed, Washington could have stockpiled all it wanted at 17 cents a pound.

The record set forth here shows that most of the mistakes of the planners in one war are repeated when the next war comes, together with new mistakes arising from changed conditions.

Tommy Gets the Keys, Presented as a Guide to Highway Safety. 32 pp. Akron, Ohio: The B. F. Goodrich Co. Free

We never anticipated reviewing an item like this—a comic book, of all things. But what a comic book! The third in a series of educational messages presented by the B. F. Goodrich Company, it is welcome evidence that simple pleasures and homespun virtues are just as entertaining as the more lurid pages of the commercial variety.

The "keys" Tommy gets are to the lock of the long-coveted family automobile. A chance meeting with his idol, Skip Morgan, stockracing champion, lands our hero in the enviable position of gaining him as his driving instructor. The driving lessons, deftly woven into an interesting story, are, for our money, the best course of instruction thus far devised for the beginning driver.

The reckless urge of youth for racing is exposed for what it is—the misconception that courage and derring-do are synonymous with risk. When Skip Morgan refuses to race a speeding driver who has crowded them off the road, Tommy is startled into a reappraisal of his values.

B. F. Goodrich has performed a real public service. All you have to do is write to Akron, Ohio, and they'll send you copies, free—gratis!

In Periodicals

"Global Intervention—On Its Record," by Howard Buffett. **Faith and Freedom**, 1521 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 17, Cal., September 1954. \$.15 a copy

Howard Buffett takes a critical look, long overdue, at our progressive involvement in the affairs of other nations. The present condition of world affairs suggests that our methods may have been precisely wrong. He brings facts and sound reasoning to bear on questions such as: Do we today enjoy as much liberty, justice and opportunity as we did before America's initial global intervention? Do the results of this policy resemble the promises made for it by its advocates? Are we going to shed more blood and sacrifice more property before abandoning this policy? Mr. Buffett gives a time-tested and simple suggestion for turning a blight into a blessing.

"Abolition or Reform of the UN," by Chesly Manly. **Human Events**, 1835 K St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C., September 15, 1954. \$.25 a copy, six for \$1.00

This excerpt from his article is a good brief summary of what Chesly Manly says: "The U.N. is inherently evil and cannot be reformed by changes in its charter. Its character is determined by the minds and hearts of the men who control its member governments, and not by a written formula. There is something monstrous about the idea of associating in a pretended peace organization with the Godless mass murderers of the Kremlin, who have enslaved one third of the human race and vowed to bring us all under their yoke. Moscow accepted the U.N. only to mask and facilitate its program for world domination."

New kind of TV by Thompson nabs crooks, may watch baby!

Electronic miracle lets you see through walls

THERE'S a new kind of TV, a "private eye" that catches shoplifters red-handed . . . telecasts line-ups of criminals from Police Headquarters to outlying stations . . . that does guard-duty over prison cell blocks.

This closed-circuit TV has been developed so fast by Dage Television Division of Thompson Products, that soon you may have it in your own home. It will help you keep an eye on Baby, watch over the sickroom or see who's at the door . . . all while you're busy elsewhere in the house.

Imagine this spectacular TV's countless uses in industry, business and public life! Busy executives flick a switch and check factory processes. Large trainee groups "tour" the plant without leaving lecture rooms. Products are demonstrated to large, scattered groups. Engineers get "ringside" views of dangerous tests and operations at safe distances. Hospital nurses in corridor stations "see" into each patient's room. Medical students in classrooms get close-up views (*in color!*) of delicate surgical techniques taking place in operating rooms far away.

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

Thompson is a veteran in automotive and aviation fields. Today it helps pioneer in light metals and powder metallurgy, as well as electronics. You can count on Thompson to help make life more convenient and safer for you. Thompson Products, Inc., General Offices, Cleveland 17, Ohio.

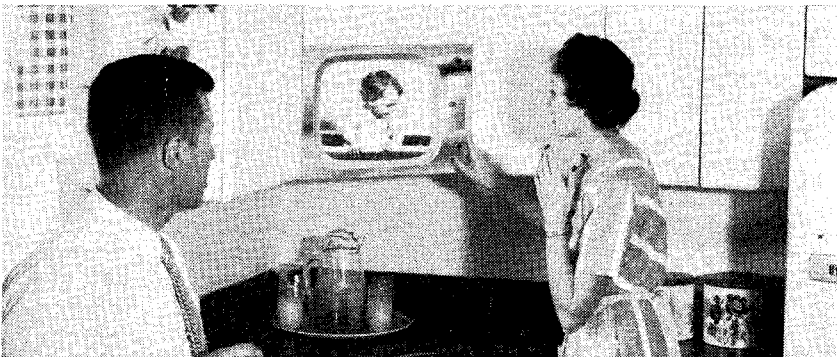
Thompson's Electronics Division includes such leaders in the field as Bell Sound Systems and Dage Television.

You can count on
**Thompson
Products**

MANUFACTURERS OF AUTOMOTIVE, AIRCRAFT,
INDUSTRIAL AND ELECTRONIC PRODUCTS. FACTORIES
IN FIFTEEN CITIES



Crime doesn't pay . . . especially when the criminal has an unseen audience of store detectives watching his or her every move on a closed-circuit TV screen located in another part of the store.



Electronic "baby-sitter" keeps an eye on Baby . . . lets the household run smoothly . . . parents can see him happy and healthy on closed-circuit TV screen located rooms away.

Report on Soviet Russia:

"I paid \$1⁰⁰ a gallon for State-produced gasoline"

by Foreign Correspondent

EDDY GILMORE

I don't consider myself an expert on Russia's oil industry. I mean I don't possess a lot of fancy figures and percentages, but:

After nearly 12 years residence in Moscow and travel from one corner of that vast country to the other I come away with some very definite impressions on the Soviet Union's oil industry and ours.

I figure I bought 14,440 gallons of Russian gasoline, 160 gallons of Russian kerosine and as little Russian motor oil as I possibly could.

My cars were filled with state-produced gasoline because I couldn't get any other kind. I know nothing about octanes, but I know all my cars* developed engines that knocked. In the depth of winter the carburetor often froze.

"Why?" I asked our Russian driver.

"Because," he answered, "we've got water in our gasoline."

For this watered gasoline I paid about \$1.00 a gallon and when I had to buy it on the black market I paid a good deal more than a dollar.

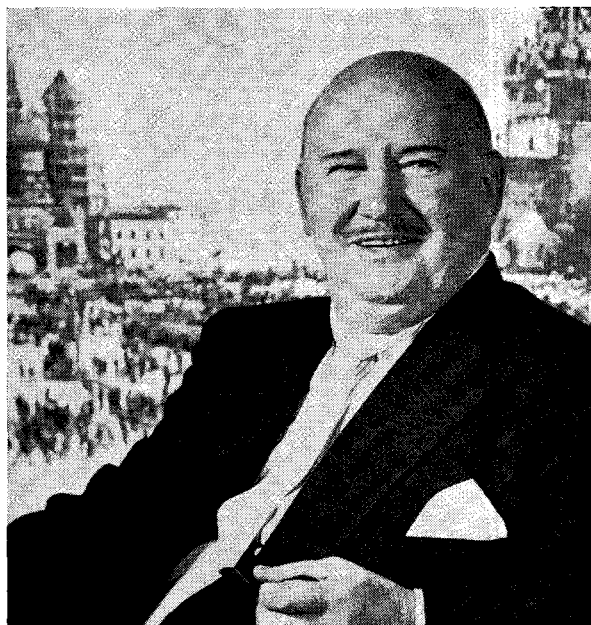
The kerosine burned all right, but it wasn't always easy to find. And when I did find it I had to haul it home in my own bucket or can. I do know it smelled to high heaven.

I didn't buy Russian oil for my cars because all the chauffeurs I knew advised against it. Fortunately, I was able to buy American oil from abroad and have it shipped in. But not always. Sometimes we'd get caught short and be forced to go on the Russian market.

The chauffeur would shake his head.

*I say "my cars." I had 9 automobiles during my time in Russia. They were used principally for business, but sometimes for pleasure.

**Gospodin means "Mister" in Russian and that's what any polite Russian calls a foreigner.



Eddy Gilmore, a Pulitzer Prize winner, has just completed nearly 12 years in Russia covering the Kremlin for the Associated Press. His book, "Me and My Russian Wife," is a recent best seller.

"We're going to have trouble, Gospodin,"** he would say.

And we usually did.

I have seen the oil wells of Baku. More of them at Gurev, at the northern tip of the Caspian Sea. I've ridden oil barges on the Volga. I've stood in long lines, when the mercury was flat on its stomach in the cold of a Russian winter, to buy kerosine.

I saw Russia get desperate for oil during World War II. In those days they even imported oil machinery from the U. S. and brought in American oilmen to show them how to operate it. They must have a high opinion of the American petroleum industry. After 11 years and 9 months in Russia I know I have.