

THE  
*Freeman*

OCTOBER 1954

50¢

Forty Years of Interventionism

Samuel B. Pettengill

The Hysteria of the Hissians

Victor Lasky

Bismarck's Public Debt

John T. Flynn

The Murder of Scholarship

E. Merrill Root

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Question  
before  
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NOW!**



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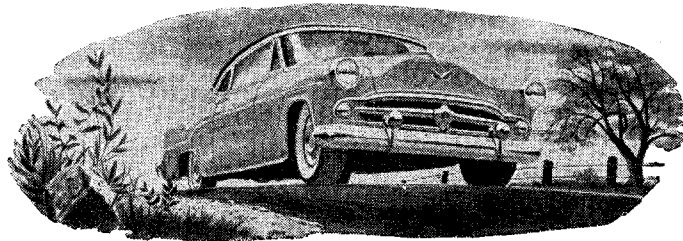
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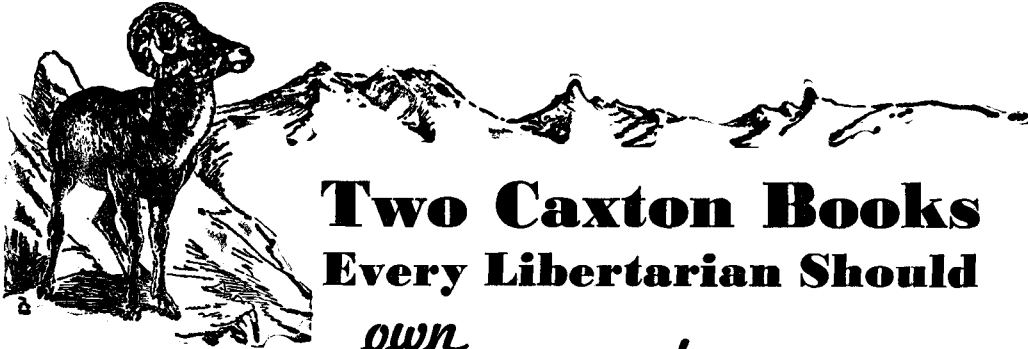
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# C A X T O N



of Caldwell, Idaho

# THE Freeman

A Monthly

For

Libertarians

Editor  
Business Manager

FRANK CHODOROV  
JAMES M. ROGERS

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## Looking Forward

If you plumb an individualist to the bottom you will find a religious strain. Not necessarily a churchgoer, but one who roots his thinking in an article of faith. Maybe it's the concept of natural rights, maybe it's the doctrine of free will. Well then, it is quite appropriate for the FREEMAN to inquire, what does formal religion have to say about individualism? The first answer to that question comes from Reverend Leopold Braun, A.A. His article, "A Catholic Understanding of Individualism," will appear in the November issue. Theologians of other faiths will make similar contributions in subsequent issues.

Willi Schlamm, who has not appeared in the FREEMAN for a long time, takes issue in November with the editor's non-interventionist position. Balancing his article will be one by Dean Russell. Thaddeus Ashby writes a fanciful notion, with a moral, called "America Revisited." . . . An argument in favor of private roads is contributed by Justice John E. Mulroney, of Des Moines, Iowa. . . . C. P. Ives, of the *Baltimore Sun*, goes to town on the "inquisitorial" argument of those who denounce Congressional investigations of alleged Communists. . . . What more is in store for you next month is a matter of selection from a mass of manuscripts.

In the issue you are about to read, I call attention to the new department, "Washington, D.C."—conducted by my former colleague FRANK C. HANIGHEN, editor of the Washington newsletter, *Human Events*. If there is his equal as an analyst of the trend of events in the capital, I do not know of one.

It would be gilding the lily to comment on JOHN T. FLYNN. But I do want to say something about two "reformed" Congressmen who appear in this number. HOWARD BUFFETT of Omaha spent four years in the House voting "no" on every appropriation bill that came up; therefore, the political bosses of Nebraska saw no reason for sending him back, to the great delight of his family. SAM PETTENGILL once represented an Indiana district in Congress, but fortunately immunized himself against the "Potomac fever" and has since been carrying on the fight for freedom as a lawyer in private business. I recommend two of his books, *Jefferson, the Forgotten Man*, and *Smoke Screen*.

NICHOLAS NYARADI is now a professor at Bradley University. He is a refugee from Hungary, where he served as Finance Minister before the Soviets took over the government. He is best known for his brilliant book, *My Ringside Seat in Moscow*.

VICTOR LASKY co-authored, with Ralph de Toledano, *Seeds of Treason*, a telling analysis of the case of Alger Hiss, and edited *The American Legion Reader*. E. MERRILL ROOT has just finished a book on the methods of the left-wingers on the campuses. It will be published by Devin-Adair. MARION MURPHY, as far as I know, has never written for publication before. She describes herself as a secretary.

# Readers also write

## "Dynamic Conservatism"

I have read the FREEMAN ever since it first started, and I think it has come to be the leading vehicle for the expression of intellectually honest political and social thought in this country. . . . Have you ever considered the term "dynamic conservatism" as a description for the people who want to move forward in all ways except that they don't think the Constitution should be scuttled in the process?

New York City EDWARD F. CUMMERFORD

## A Farmer on Subsidies

From the standpoint of self-interest, the farm subsidy idea is as absurd as it is wrong. The United States is governed on the principle that the majority prevails. The only safeguard a minority has that its rights will not be destroyed, is that the majority will be self-restrained by moral precepts.

Then if we farmers, a shrinking minority group, take advantage of our momentary disproportionate political

power and demand legalized robbery to our own advantage, we demand action contrary to the moral precepts, and thus destroy the only safeguard we have that our own rights will not be ignored by the majority in the future. Neither our property nor our personal freedom will be secure.

Kansas, Ill.

W. B. TABER, JR.

## Gangsters Give No Choice

In reading the editorial "The Return of 1940?" (September), it seems to me that you overlook the fact that with gangsters on the loose you are not given a choice of whether or not you'll fight. Whether they be Kaisers or Hitlers or Stalins, they ultimately rig the situation to suit their convenience and then let you have it. You fight back or you surrender. Of course it's expensive to fight a war. Of course you get hurt in many ways, but once in a war you had better win it . . .

We won the last war, and certainly then messed up the peace by trying to deal with gangsters as you would with men of good will. That, however, is something else. It will have to be faced for what it is. But when the issue reaches the fighting point, we had better be prepared to fight to win.

Milwaukee, Wis.

W. S. LEIGHTON

## Thought-Provoking

May I offer you the most thought-provoking statement I have read in years, taken from a little book, *The True Believer* by Eric Hoffer (Harper & Bros., 1951)? "Mass movements can rise and spread without belief in a God, but never without belief in a devil." The Communists are especially clever in creating "devils"—Wall Street, the capitalists, "McCarthyism."

Lyons, Kans.

BEN JONES

## The "Liberals" of Smith

Gratitude to the FREEMAN and Aloise Heath for her witty, informing and revealing article on Smith College "liberals" (August). It is valuable, and comforting as showing us protesting alumnae of some other colleges that others, too, feel that financial gifts assume a "moral responsibility."

Our experiences are comparable to those suffered by Mrs. Heath and her committee. It is shown again that, though self-styled "liberals" call us "authoritarians," the real slappers-down are always they. . . .

Indianapolis, Ind.

T. V. P. KRULL

## Paternalism?

Mr. Dean Russell ("The American Baby Bonus," August) forgets that our income-tax exemption applies to all dependents closely related, not only to children. It is therefore something more than a baby bonus: as an admission that at least some claims on our income take priority over the State's, it has a significance more than financial. . . .

Mr. Russell seems to suggest that any interest the State takes in its citizens is bound to be paternalistic or worse. Granted the danger, and that it is usually realized; but is it necessarily sinister for the State, in the interests of preserving and protecting family life, to foster a climate that helps it to thrive? . . .

Pelham, N.Y. NEIL MC CAFFREY, JR.

True, the State will also give you a "bonus" (tax deduction) if you'll take care of your aged mother instead of throwing her out in the street. But like the similar "baby bonus," this is hardly designed to develop either a character or an attitude favorable to the "preserving and protecting of family life." The only way the State can foster a climate to help the family survive is to leave parents responsible for the religion, education and material welfare of their children. Anything else elevates the State over the parents.

DEAN RUSSELL

Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y.

(Continued on page 150)



## Safeway Stores, Incorporated

World's Second Largest Retail Food Concern

### MID-YEAR EARNINGS UP

#### NET SALES GAIN 4.4%

Net sales for the 24 weeks ended June 19, 1954 reached a new all-time high of \$821,863,404. This was 4.4% higher than net sales of \$787,578,737 in the same 1953 period.

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The Company's net profits for the first 24 weeks of 1954, after all income taxes were \$6,615,971. This was an increase of \$423,039 over a net profit of \$6,192,932 for the same 24 weeks last year. Included in the 1953 net profit figures is a return of \$212,885 excess profits taxes.

#### DIVIDENDS AND EARNINGS

The June 1954 quarterly dividend of 60¢ was the 111th consecutive dividend paid shareholders of Safeway's \$5.00 par value common stock. After deducting preferred stock dividends of \$680,661, earnings for the 1954 period amounted to \$1.76 per share of common stock on 3,369,521 shares, average number out-

standing during the period. This compares with earnings in the same 24 weeks of 1953 of \$1.76 from operations, plus 7¢ from excess profits taxes recovery relating to prior years, or a total of \$1.83 per share of common stock on 2,874,651 shares, average number then outstanding. Average number of common shares outstanding in 1954 has increased by 494,870 shares over the average number in 1953.

#### ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

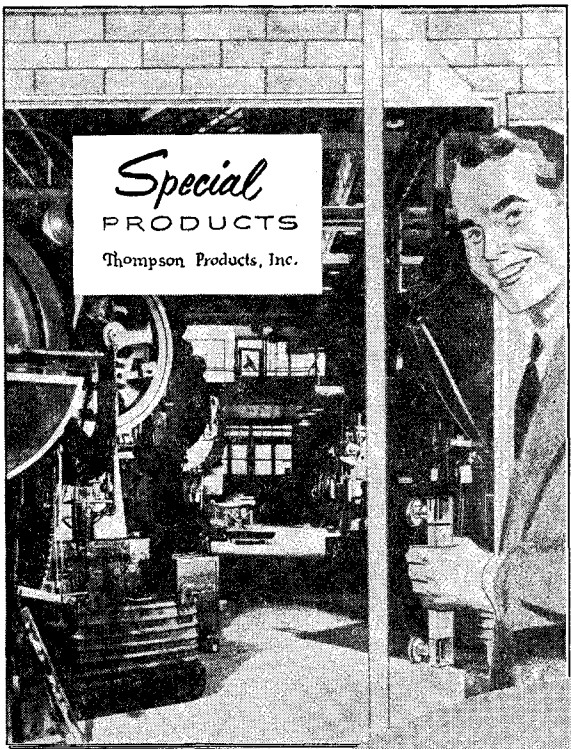
of Safeway Stores, Incorporated and all subsidiaries

	June 19, 1954	June 13, 1953
Total Net Assets	\$165,847,270	\$133,623,379
Total Current Assets	246,826,572*	235,456,511
Total Current Liabilities	132,778,901*	148,816,346
Book value per share of Common Stock	31.73	29.71

\*Rate of current assets to current liabilities as of June 19, 1954 was 1.86 to 1.

#### Safeway Stores, INCORPORATED

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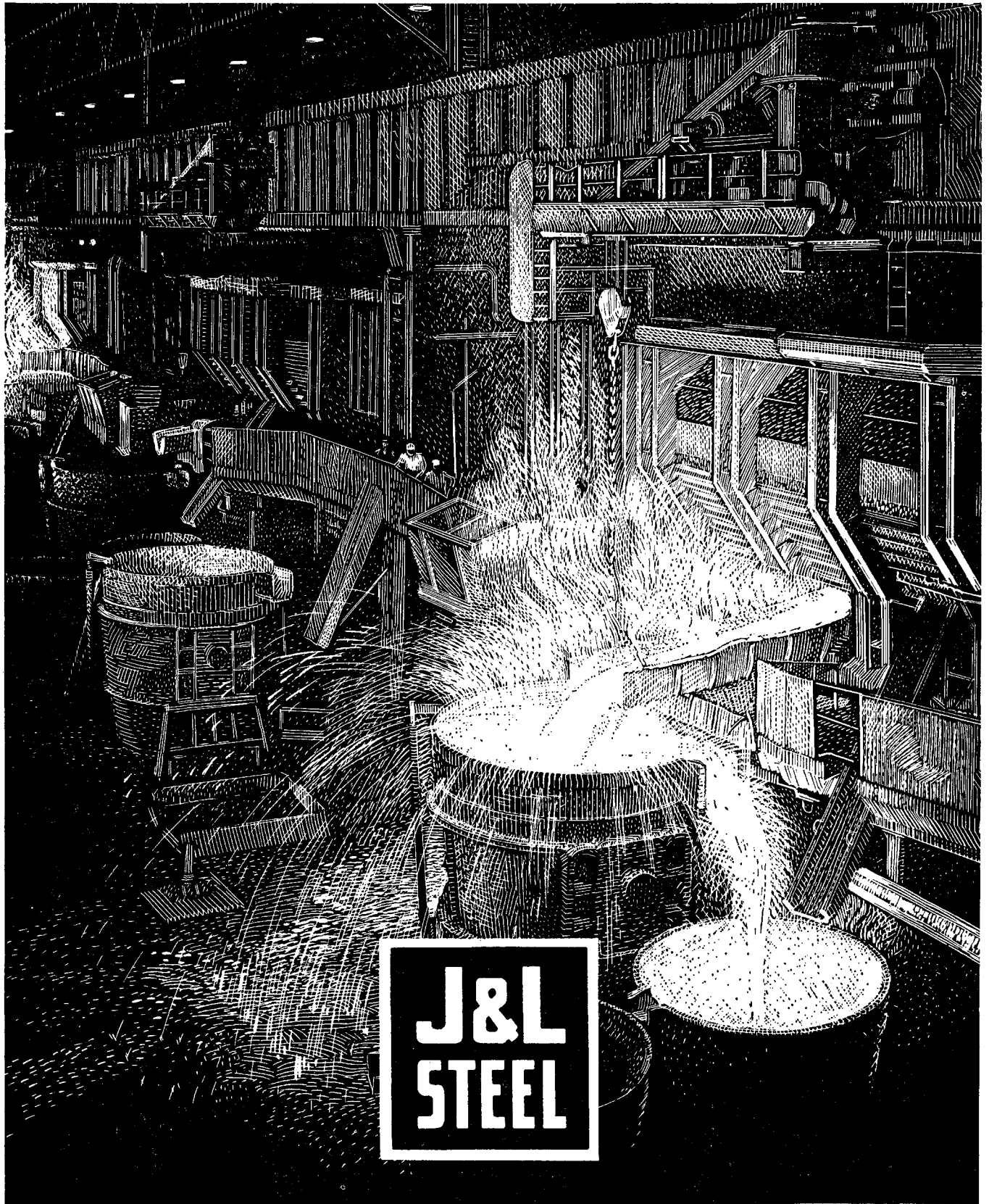
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# Things Are Looking Up

There wasn't much you could do with the merchandise of freedom, ten years ago. Even established craftsmen, like Garet Garrett, John T. Flynn and Albert Jay Nock, found little outlet for their wares. Publishers and editors, being sound businessmen, were stocking up on manuscripts that "proved" the German people to be inherently evil, on apologetics for the Soviet system, on "studies" that glorified the New Deal. Economists who demonstrated, with tables, that America had achieved the "mature economy, and that the only thing left to do was to control and regulate it, were doing a land-office business; and there was an open door at publishing houses for philosophers who mocked the doctrine of natural rights and all thinking based on it. For freedom, there simply wasn't a market.

So I started a paper of my own. It was hard going, of course, but I did find three thousand freedom-starved customers.

One day, Albert Jay bounced into my office and laid on my desk a packet of pamphlets, beaming like a miner who had just found a nugget of pure gold. Some had come to him from the British Society of Individualists; they told of what socialism had done to Britons who never would be slaves. More astounding were a couple of titles that spoke of pure freedom, all wool and a yard wide, and the imprint said that the publishers were, of all people, the Chamber of Commerce, Los Angeles, California. To understand his enthusiasm and my astonishment, you must understand that there was at that time no current literature of freedom, and that if you wanted to read on the subject you had to dig up and dust off books of ancient vintage.

Could it be that these pamphlets were an omen of better times to come? We so hoped, but hardly believed. Freedom is a staple in the market of human values, and though it has its ups and downs, there is always a latent demand for it. But a decade ago it seemed to many of us that it had gone plumb out of style, forever. A few entrepreneurs did not think so—like the British Society and the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.

Others opened up shop. About the time I started my paper, a newspaperman in Washington, Frank C. Hanighen, brought out a modest weekly newsletter called *Human Events*; it concentrated on the skulduggery in government. A couple of years later came *Plain Talk*, telling the truth about Communists, that they were not the fine people our officials made them out to be, but were rather a bunch of conspirators bent on doing away with freedom all over the world. Out in Los Angeles there was an outfit called Spiritual Mobilization, fighting the collectivism creeping into the churches, and pretty soon they put out a monthly called

*Faith and Freedom*. A similar endeavor, called *Christian Economics*, popped up in New York.

Things were looking up. Individuals and organizations and Foundations were issuing more and more pamphlets stressing the dangers to the American tradition, business houses began punching for free enterprise in their house organs and in paid newspaper advertisements. To top these literary ventures, there emerged during this period three commercial publishers, headed by dedicated men, who would risk putting out books for which there had previously been no market at all.

Seven years ago I got the lowdown on the miracle of the Chamber of Commerce pamphlets Nock had brought in. It was not the C. of C. that was responsible for them at all, as I had suspected. It is always a man, an individual, that does the things for which an organization gets credit. In this case it was the general manager, named Leonard E. Read. By this time he had come to New York to do bigger things in his chosen line, and presently he had an establishment called the Foundation for Economic Education. He manned it with economists and writers, who have since been flooding the freedom market. To his other portfolios, Read recently added that of publisher of the *FREEMAN*.

In view of the seemingly solid entrenchment of socialism in politics, religion and education, the achievement of these intrepid peddlers of freedom during the past ten years offers little to crow about. They haven't grown rich at it, to be sure, and they haven't created a mass demand for freedom. But they have been keeping on display a line of goods that is gall and wormwood to the power-mad Socialists, and as a consequence there are in this country an increasing number of articulate and accomplished merchants of freedom, with a corresponding increase in trade.

Freedom without a literature is like health without food. It just cannot be. To be sure, the yearning for freedom is deep in the hearts of men, even the slaves of the Soviets. But the yearning can turn into hard, numb despair if the faith upon which freedom thrives is not revived from time to time by reference to its philosophy. It is not without reason that the Communists do away with writers on freedom when they conquer a country, or that they suppress its literature.

Therefore, the very volume, if not the quality, of literature that arose from the arid desert of 1944 is something to be thankful for. Things *are* looking up. The Socialists have had their own way in the political arena, but in the intellectual field they are meeting more and more opposition. And when there is a wider knowledge of the meaning of freedom, and an uncompromising desire for it, political action—if it is needed—will come.

## “Foreign Affairs”

Judging by the slew of review copies received in this office, it must be *de rigueur* for a publisher to put out at least one book on “foreign affairs” every season. If your business compels you to dip into these books, you can’t help wondering who reads them and, particularly, who buys them. They are completely devoid of literary entertainment; the style is invariably that of a cub reporter and the “facts” they relate are nothing but the garbage you expect to find in any can of politics. Their informative value is practically nil, since in every case the “inside story” of the country visited is what the reporter wanted to believe of it before he went there. It is always pro or con, and somewhere in the book, usually the last chapter, there is a “something ought to be done about it”—by our government, with our money, of course.

Once in a while, a publisher will invest his own money in one of these books and hope to recoup by the sale of copies. Such honest merchandising, however, is rare. In most cases the books are subsidized, directly or indirectly; a tax-free Foundation or some person with an axe to grind will underwrite the expenses of the “investigator,” or will agree to buy enough copies of the book to cover manufacturing costs; sometimes the sale of reprint rights to a magazine guarantees the publisher against loss. The United States government has on occasion bailed out a publisher by the purchase of many copies for propaganda purposes.

That is to say, these “foreign affairs” books are not put out to satisfy a demand, but are, rather, foisted on the public. The sponsors, and the writers, have a purpose which is in no way related to literature. The purpose is to influence thought, to create an “attitude” favorable to their particular prejudices; and their prejudices fall into three general categories: pro-communism, anti-communism or pro-one-worldism. All one needs to do to learn what the book is about is to read the blurb on the jacket and ascertain which prejudice is being promoted; that is what the reviewers do.

To what extent these books have influenced thought in this country it would be difficult to say. But it is a certainty that they have given aid and comfort to our Washington interventionists, and that is true whether the books are pro-communist, anti-communist or pro-one-worldist. Taken as a whole, they serve to bolster arguments for sending our wealth abroad, for bivouacing our soldiers on foreign soil, for attempting to impose our culture on people who haven’t asked for it. I have read a dozen or so of these books, and glanced at the jackets of others, and nowhere have I found any support for the sensible proposition that it would be to the best interest of this country to keep out of the internal affairs of the rest of the world. The crusading spirit is in all of them.

My forced reading of this slush has had the effect of confirming my own prejudice, that as a people and as a nation we would be on safer ground if we left “foreign affairs” where they belong, with foreigners; they are in better position to know the facts. Nor have we brought our internal affairs to such perfection that we can hire out as experts. And as for assuming that our culture is so superior that we owe it to other peoples to force it on them, that is nothing but a mischievous conceit; every nation that indulged it got into trouble.

Which brings me to the “foreign affairs” articles that appear in the FREEMAN. We receive a spate of such manuscripts every month, and select for publication only those that drive home the point that America would be better off if it let other people alone.

## Bi-Partisan Spending

The present political campaign had hardly begun before a signal went up that a debate over the policy of interventionism would be “off limits.” Democratic leader Adlai Stevenson wrote a letter to the head of the French government in which he asserted that the American people are solidly behind EDC. This, of course, was pure balderdash; many Americans do not even know what the initials stand for, many more haven’t the slightest interest in this proposed entente, and still more wish that we were not involved in it. But the point is that the leader of the Democratic Party sent the letter only after he had cleared it with the Republican Secretary of State. It had no effect on the French, who subsequently repudiated EDC, but it did shut the mouths of Democratic (and Republican) candidates who may be opposed to our meddling in the affairs of foreign nations. It was a “bi-partisan” letter.

The rationale of bi-partisanship is that in our relations with foreign governments we must present a united front; just as a man and wife who are at one another’s throats must get together when confronted by an outsider. This submergence of differences of opinion makes sense when our national existence is threatened—or, perhaps, when we are engaged in grabbing off a piece of real estate held by another government. The second reason is ruled out in the present instance by the insistence of our government that it has no imperialistic designs. As for the “defense” argument for interventionism, even the military are divided on the value of an army in Europe in case we go to war with Russia; and only a vivid imagination can equate our far-flung libraries, an integral of our foreign policy, with national security. The rationale is not quite convincing.

Our present enthusiasm for bi-partisanship began during the regime of Franklin Roosevelt.

Woodrow Wilson got it going during World War One, but the fire died down when hostilities ceased, and interventionism died with it. During the next twenty years there was no need for bi-partisanship, for the country was determined to stay clear of foreign entanglements. So strong was this anti-interventionist spirit that nothing less than a Pearl Harbor could dislodge it. Since then, interventionism has been copper-riveted into our foreign policy, and bi-partisanship has become a political axiom.

If we go back to the burgeoning of bi-partisanship in Roosevelt's time, we find an explanation for this phenomenon. We must keep in mind that Roosevelt, an avowed isolationist in his first term, was confronted with a depression on his taking office; also, that he had embraced the Keynesian notion that we could spend ourselves out of this economic hell. By 1937 the spending had not done what it was supposed to do, and Mr. Roosevelt's economic advisers opined that it had failed because he had not spent enough. Up to that time most of the spending had been done at home. The idea then occurred to somebody, maybe Roosevelt himself, that the volume and rapidity of spending could be increased if foreign ventures were undertaken. Maybe war was not at first contemplated, but it is a fact that a government cannot spend more on any other enterprise.

During the war the country prospered as it always does during war. Much of the lavishly spent tax-money found its way into the coffers of industrialists and bankers, and even into the pay envelopes of workers. A good time was had by all—excepting, of course, the soldiers and the mourners.

After the war there was no inclination to stop the spending spree, and Truman obliged all good Democrats and all bad Republicans by continuing the policy of his predecessor; his economic and political advisers came to his aid with bigger and more costly interventionist schemes. There was some criticism of the schemes, in detail, but no criticism of the spending they entailed. Everybody was for it. Hence, it became politically "unrealistic" to oppose the so-called foreign policy of the government. For the same reason, Eisenhower's crusades enjoy bi-partisan support.

What goes by the name of "foreign policy" is in fact only an implementation of the Keynesian notion that we can spend ourselves into economic heaven. It is domestic in origin, and, though its origin is lost in the maze of bureaucratic abacada-bra, the fact is that any suggestion for the abandonment of this "foreign policy" is met with the specter of depression; not depression in other countries, but depression at home. Whatever "reasons" were or are advanced for UNRRA, the Marshall Plan, Point Four, or the vast expenditures in spurious "defense," the taproot of such programs is fear of unemployment, idle capital and unrest. Our "foreign policy" is quite domestic.

To be sure, this was always so. In pre-Rooseveltian times, the business of our government, in its relations with other nations, was to seek markets for our products, collect our bills, or hoodwink foreigners into giving our nationals some special privilege in their areas. Another motif in that historic pattern was the use of military force for the purpose of protecting our shores. In any case, "foreign policy" was domestic in its orientation. So it is now. The difference between the old and the new "foreign policy" is that in former times our government aimed to wangle advantages for us from other peoples, while now it is intent on wasting our substance on foreigners, "for our good."

## *Our Own Dr. John*

An analysis of the "strange" case of Dr. Otto John, chief of security of the Bonn government who defected to the Communists in East Germany, comes to us from a European reporter. It throws light on the bungling inherent in the Allied occupation of Germany.

Dr. John, so goes the analysis, held his important post not because of any fitness for it, nor because Chancellor Adenauer held him in esteem. He was appointed at the "suggestion" of the British government, concurred in by American and French authorities. He had ingratiated himself with the British during the war when, after his escape from Hitler's Germany, he rendered excellent service as a broadcaster of British propaganda. He was unquestionably anti-nazi, but not anti-communist, in his sympathies, and the British thought they could trust him in the planned denazification program.

Dr. John did not have the confidence of the Bonn government. He was not a Communist, but there was evidence that he maintained friendly contact with Communists. This alone was enough to raise doubts as to his reliability. During his six weeks visit to this country, shortly before his defection, American authorities were also unfavorably impressed. At any rate, it now seems certain that if Adenauer had had a free hand, Dr. John would have been ousted from the sensitive post long ago. He held it only because of the dependency of the Bonn government on the Allied command. His tenure became increasingly insecure as the Allies showed more and more signs of granting autonomy to West Germany.

That is about all there is to the "strange" case of Dr. John. Along with the subsequent defection of another member of the Bonn bureaucracy, it underlines the fact that this so-called German government is riddled with Allied stooges, whose first loyalty is to "job security." The Bonn government has the weakness of every satellite government.

## In Need of a Definition

Everybody hates a Communist. Or so it would seem, judging from the unanimous vote of Congress making an American communicant of the faith an outlaw. Even if we admit that the Congressmen voted as they did for political reasons, and without regard for the enforceability of the law, their action must be regarded as a recognition of the general antipathy toward Communists and communism. The people condemn both.

But, even before President Eisenhower had affixed his signature to the bill, people began pointing out the difficulties it would face in the courts, merely for lack of a definition. Just exactly what is a Communist? And how does one define the detested religion? Under communistic jurisprudence this matter of definition would not be a problem, since the courts can fit one to any given set of facts; under our system of law, however, the accused must know what act of transgression he is being tried for, and exactly.

If a Communist is one who actively espouses the cause of Moscow, the now recognized though undeclared enemy of our country, then evidence of an act of espionage or overt subversion will be enough to make the law effective. All that the law does is to make the *de facto* cold war *de jure*; that is, Congress has officially named an enemy and put our security officers on guard. One might call it a semi-peacetime law against treason, with sanctions that approximate those that apply during actual war.

So far, so good. But a Communist is not necessarily an adherent or agent of Moscow. He might be an admirer of the Soviet system, might strive to introduce it into this country, and yet be opposed to the Kremlin regime; a Communist could be a loyal soldier of America in an open war with the Soviet Union. He simply believes that communism is superior to freedom. Indeed, a Communist may insist that what obtains in Russia is a perversion of his religion, and may urge its adoption here in what he considers its pure form. Will the law apply to him? Will it change his mind? Will it prevent him from seeking converts? Will it stop him from writing books extolling the glories of communism, or teaching its tenets in our schools? The law does not make faith a crime. We have not got around to that.

When you examine the basic tenet of this faith, you find that many Americans who hate communism are in agreement with it. That basic tenet is that private property is a sin; therefore, all property should be communized, and title vested in the State. Many Congressmen who voted for the anti-communist law are on record as favoring the enforced communization of a considerable amount of private property. To begin with, they have consistently voted to communize one-third of all the prop-

erty produced in this country every year, by the tax method. To that extent, the lawmakers are in agreement with communism, and so are the citizens who find no fault with this confiscation of private property.

Another tenet of communism is that the individual has no inherent rights which the State, or the majority of the voters, may not abrogate. How many Americans are of the same conviction? Many of our professors of political science, even of philosophy and theology, pooh-pooh the concept of natural rights, and in that respect line themselves up with communism. Logically, they must hold to the communistic doctrine of individual servility to the State. Hence, for instance, they find no fault with conscription, which is a blatant violation of the right of the individual to life. And how many conscripts, or their parents, take exception to the practice—on principle?

That the individual is a product of his environment, nothing else, is the keystone of all communist thought. The State, by controlling his environment, can make of him what it wills. Many advocates of Christianity are of the same persuasion, and go to some lengths to equate the teachings of Christ with those of Marx. Will the law make them believe otherwise?

And so, going right down the line, the creed of communism will be found to contain much that the majority of Americans has learned to accept; some of it has been congealed in American law, American tradition, American behavior. The new law does not, cannot, eradicate that part of communism from our mores. Only an intellectual revolution can.

## The "Line" on Baseball

One cannot get the "line" properly in the metropolitan newspapers. These publications are still under the handicap of bourgeois thinking; their editors feel impelled to pay some attention to facts. That makes their reporting somewhat deviationist. Only a paper like the *Daily Worker* is democratically uninhibited, and therefore can make the facts fit the "line." One *must* read it to get the proper and current point of view on events, to get the "low-down" on how to think about things. The "capitalistic" press is still unreliable.

Being a baseball enthusiast, I turned one day to the sports column of the *Daily Worker*, and there I learned which team a good "democrat" should root for. (This was before the pennant race was decided.) As among the Giants, the Braves, the Dodgers and the Indians, the "line" was undecided. But it was quite clear on the Yankees; since there are no Negroes on this team, it is "undemocratic" and therefore beneath contempt. Hurrah for Cleveland!

# Washington, D. C.

By FRANK C. HANIGHEN

People who wonder why our foreign policy continues on its disastrous course, with new Red areas appearing on the map every month, and why so many collectivist policies survive, can find answers in the continuing power over policies of the Washington bureaucracy. The words "New Deal holdover," which disturbed conservatives at the outset of the Eisenhower Administration, seem to have gone out of currency in recent months. It is as if Congress and the people have apparently given up and unhappily recognize the fact that the bureaucracy remains overwhelmingly New Deal; as if there's no hope of getting the "liberals" on the pay roll out of the government. Since the bureaucrats shape policies far more than people out in the country realize, and the high-level Secretaries and Administrators are often the captives of the little functionaries who know how to draft the executive orders and proposed legislation, this situation throws much light on why the policies of the GOP Administration are what they are.

Almost every day, some further evidence along this line is uncovered. Over a year ago in *Human Events*, this writer made a study of the classified telephone book of the State Department, July 1953 issue, comparing it with the November 1952 issue when Acheson still held sway as Secretary of State. The roster of division chiefs and staffs showed virtually the same personnel in both books. This corresponded with the picture as key members of Congress saw it—"We have to do business with the very same officials as under the Acheson regime," they would say.

This year, in July, the directory failed to appear on time. However, after Congress adjourned, a new edition of the little book was published; the bureaucracy apparently felt it safe to reveal the facts, once the troublesome legislators had scattered. Again, the set-up was revealed as still virtually the same in personnel. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*. The officials who hatched the Yalta and Potsdam agreements continue to run the show.

This goes for almost any new Administrator, no matter how well-intentioned he may be. (We should except Ezra Benson, who knew so much about the workings of the Department of Agriculture that he was able to put over his program despite the "holdovers.") Just now, there is discussion as to whether the new Under Secretary of State, Herbert Hoover, Jr., will submit to the holdovers' policies or will precipitate a hot intramural fight. Opinion veers to the latter view—that the new Under Secretary is a "chip off the old block."

It is true, as Senator Harry Byrd hopefully

points out, that the bureaucracy has been reduced. Last figures for the fiscal year 1954, ended June 30, show that the federal payroll had 2,333,894 civilians on it, compared with 2,469,640 at the end of fiscal 1953, a modest reduction of 105,746. Also, it is true that the President courageously vetoed the pay bill. But he followed this up by approving the "fringe benefit" bill for federal workers and gave out an order giving permanent status to 400,000 "indefinite status" workers. How many of these are actually Fair Deal appointees has not been computed. The New Deal Republican *Washington Post* greets Eisenhower's move with warm approval. Those here who realize how precious is civil service status to federal workers—"permanent" jobs—believe that the refusal of a pay raise has been agreeably cushioned by this move.

The very atmosphere of the nation's capital betrays its bureaucratic bias. Visitors to Washington cannot help but note the voluminous civil-service columns in the newspapers, containing bright news of new jobs for federal workers, new reclassifications (a means of promotion), shifts in the bureaucratic structure, etc. That's for the rank and file. For the upper level, one can note the lively society columns in the papers. The salons of Georgetown give éclat and stimulation to those retired businessmen and well-off unemployed lawyers who seek distinction and an "interesting" life in federal service.

And those upper-level officials, too, "continue." The other day I asked a friend about the house adjoining hers in Georgetown. A son of one of the country's wealthiest families owns it. He was sent off as Ambassador to pursue proconsular duties in a far-off land, and rented his place to Harold Stassen, a familiar figure in Washington for a long time and one who all too obviously aspires to the highest seat. Now, my friend informs me, Mr. Stassen has moved on to another house and her neighbor is at present Mr. Struve Hensel, key figure of the Defense Department in the McCarthy hearings. Mr. Hensel, prominent New York businessman, is practically a "cliff dweller," since he adorned the bureaucracy here during the Democratic regime. *Plus ça change. . .*

It is small wonder, therefore, that Washington is anti-McCarthy, anti-New Deal and opposed to changing the bureaucratic guard. And, since political appointees and Administrators move in and out frequently, it is the bureaucracy that stays on and largely runs the Great Show.

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The election season has considerably muted the investigations. I mean the real investigations,

which are normally the legislative body's constitutional duty in checking up on the branch which the benighted Founding Fathers deemed the Legislature's creature and inferior, the Executive branch. The investigation of the investigators, of course, is going on at present—which is another way of describing the “muzzling of Joe McCarthy.”

For it is not only McCarthy's delving into the presence of subversives in the Executive arm which is stopped. We know of one subcommittee whose mission was far different from that of McCarthy and had nothing to do with hunting subversives at all. Its staff had planned a thumping good exposé, which might have started reform of policies in one Department. Now staff people inform me that their project has been discarded on orders of the Republican chairman, because it might cause trouble to the prosecution of the GOP election campaign.

The muffling of anything suggestive of discord in the ruling party is part and parcel of the campaign strategy of the Republican National Committee. This strategy is naturally based on a “build-up” of the personality of President Eisenhower. Certainly, one fact should be determined by the election—the extent and solidity of Eisenhower's popularity. If the GOP in November retains majorities in both Houses, all praise will go to Ike.

It is recalled that Senator Taft broke the post-election happiness in November 1952 with a very factual reminder. He pointed out that, while Eisenhower had won a stunning victory in the electoral college, his victory was not a popular landslide. Eisenhower had a popular majority of 55 per cent, but the big landslides of election history—Harding's, Coolidge's, Franklin D. Roosevelt's—were well above 60 per cent. Taft, conscious of the thin majority in Congress, was seeking to warn his party of the dangers of internal discord and the necessity of making the new Administration representative of all shades of GOP opinion. The McCarthy controversy and the evident discontent in the conservative wing of the GOP indicates that the White House has fallen short of Taft's recommendations. The attempt by some New Jersey Republicans to get Senatorial candidate Clifford Case (hand-picked by the White House) to withdraw from the race and to replace him by a “unity” candidate offers additional evidence of trouble brewing.

Hence the White House attempt, late in August, to placate the party conservatives. Thus, President Eisenhower chose former President Herbert Hoover, bell-wether of the conservatives, for a companion on a much publicized fishing trip. Thus, also, the Republican National Committee selected for its meeting place last month Cincinnati, Taft's home town. One discordant note was sounded by GOP Representative Gordon Scherer, from a Cin-

cinnati congressional district. He made a point of remarking that he had not had a campaign picture taken with President Eisenhower, had not requested such and disapproved of the whole idea. He said that such a performance might imply that he would “toe the line”—and that he would not promise to do.

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Much praise is awarded the Administration for its reduction in taxes. But not as much is being said about its performance on appropriations, notably the foreign aid funds requested and voted. At a time when M. Mendès-France and Sir Winston Churchill show little cooperation with our proposed policies, Americans may be rather surprised at the magnitude of our foreign generosity. The foreign aid bill was approximately \$5 billion. But one prominent conservative member of Congress privately gave us his estimate: that foreign spending actually might total more than \$8 billion.

In truth, there are no accurate figures compiled and made public. But the foreign aid bill, it is pointed out, does not include what we are giving to the United Nations and other international organizations; nor the \$2 billion which we are to give to Japan for defense, the \$300 million for food sent abroad, the \$700 million to be used to enable foreign nations to buy our government-owned agricultural commodities at low prices (with the American taxpayer making up the difference between those and the market prices), etc., etc. Many people will be surprised to know that despite France's rejection of EDC, we are obligated to continue to pay out taxpayers' dollars to the French government. In this year's money bill was more than \$10 billion of unexpended American funds for abroad. The Administration insisted on inclusion of this despite the objections of many members of Congress. The interesting fact is that the cut-off date for military aid to France was set at July 1, 1953, and the French government can still draw on us for funds to the extent of \$1.9 billion (not used up to July 1, 1953). And Italy, it seems, is similarly on the cuff for \$900 million.

On Capitol Hill, there was not a little sympathy for the emphatic pronouncement of Senator Langer on the subject of the Mutual Security Act. The Senator from North Dakota expressed himself on the subject of our spending abroad in a minority report of the Senate Judiciary Committee on July 13. Calling mutual aid a “fraud,” Langer said: “It seems to me further that there are currents here which run deeper than men perceive, and that when these terrible times are reduced to the dry dust of history, there will appear to be very little real difference between the world strategies espoused by former Secretary of State Acheson and those followed by his present successor Mr. Dulles.”

# Forty Years of Interventionism

By SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL

*"War—after all, what is it that the people get?  
Why—widows, taxes, wooden legs and debt."*

For forty years vast and pompous promises have been made by the drumbeaters of "collective security" and "indivisible peace." Every major promise made by them—Wilson, Roosevelt and Truman—is now in default of payment. Let us add Willkie, the evangelist of "one worldism," and Dewey, who would make the same promises under new management.

Consider the record. World War One was to make "the world safe for democracy." How safe is the world for it, even here? It was "a war to end war." Do you remember that slogan? We got rid of the Kaiser, the Hapsburgs and the Romanovs. Whom did we get? We got Hitler and Mussolini. Then we fought World War Two. We were promised four freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. But where is even one completely secure freedom today? Certainly not freedom of the press, with book and magazine publishers afraid to print material favorable to America's historic foreign policy established by Washington, Jefferson and Monroe. And where is freedom from fear, of the A-bomb and H-bomb, or freedom from conscription for our youth?

We got rid of Hitler and Mussolini. And whom did we get? Stalin, of whom a President of the United States said, "I like old Joe." We also got Hiss, "red herrings," Malenkov and Mao Tse-tung.

For the broken promises of World War One, the politicians and propagandists claimed the American people were at fault in not ratifying the League of Nations. "We broke the heart of the world." They used that excuse until they had waded us through the next big blood bath. The American people—trusting souls—then gave the global politicians the United Nations: all they had asked for, heaped up and running over. Only two dissenting votes. Surely the politicians would make good now! Well, look at the "United" Nations. As you do so, think of Washington's Farewell Address, that "There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard."

In order to make sure that we would never break the world's

heart again, we invited the United Nations to make their home with us. This, certainly, was the final proof of a "good neighbor." We furnished Vishinsky and Malik with a sounding board. They used it to get world attention to their venomous propaganda. We invited Chinese Communists to use it to indict us as bloody butchers before the world. We even pay the bulk of the bills of this outfit, with its ten thousand bureaucrats drawing snug tax-free salaries plus special allowances, benefits, limousines and chauffeurs. They have created vast "projects," seven hundred of them; more than a billion dollars has gone down these various rat holes.

So sure were our leaders that sixty nations, with conflicting economic interests and no common standards, would unite for peace, that Secretary Hull proclaimed: "We have seen the last of the balance of power."

Like a blind Samson, we totally destroyed the balance of power in both Europe and Asia. We decreed that the two nations, Germany and Japan, which have good reason to prevent Soviet expansion, and the power to do so without our help, could not even keep a regiment of soldiers. "Unconditional surrender." Churchill agreed to it against his judgment because he had to keep on good terms with Roosevelt. Americans by the millions, and a Congress gone craven, accepted whatever Roosevelt and Truman said as gospel truth. So we forced down Japan's throat a constitution providing that she should never have an army. We forgot that in the Russo-Japanese war of 1905 American public opinion was all on the side of Japan. At that time we had a President who did not think it wise to let Russia get too strong in the Pacific.

Now what? Having defaulted on their promises of peace, our leaders propose to rearm our recent foes as our noble allies against our recent noble ally, the "peace-loving democracy" behind the Iron Curtain. Having spent billions to destroy German and Japanese factories, they taxed us billions for rehabilitation. Not because they had blundered, these great leaders. Perish the thought! They revised our national policy, they said, because good old Joe had broken his promises. But Joe, and Lenin before him, had repeatedly said in



Samuel B. Pettengill



writing that no promise they made would mean a thing if it was to their interest to break it.

Against every warning sign, Roosevelt recognized the Communists in 1933 and gave them world prestige. He drove through all the stop lights erected by Wilson, Harding, Coolidge and Hoover. Even after Stalin had raped Finland and made his deal with Hitler, our leaders accepted Joe as a friend to be trusted. And they drank his potent vodka at Yalta, Teheran, Moscow and Potsdam.

### **False Prophecies**

Let us look at some of these promissory notes, now in default. Franklin D. Roosevelt said on December 9, 1941, "We are going to win the war and we are going to win the peace that follows." What peace? If peace is what we fight wars for, the Spanish American War was the last we won. He said on January 20, 1941, "Democracy is not lost. We sense it spreading on every continent." Is not Asia a continent?

A provision of the Atlantic Charter, agreed to by good old Joe in 1941, stated that the countries which signed "seek no aggrandizement, territorial or otherwise." We sought no territorial aggrandizement, but we gave it our blessing.

On June 14, 1949, Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations, said, "No war of importance will be ever started while the General Assembly is in session because an aggressor just could not get away with it." This prophecy was made one year before the Korean War broke out while the General Assembly was in session. And Harry S. Truman on June 10, 1950, exactly two weeks before the Korean War, avowed, "We are closer to world peace now than at any time in the last three years." Secretary of State Dean Acheson predicted on June 26, 1951, "The reaction to the attack on Korea . . . has reduced the likelihood of further creeping aggressions." Then came aggression in Indo-China!

After forty years of demonstrated failure it is difficult to understand why these pontifical gentlemen should be listened to. Indeed, there was considerable popular enthusiasm for the third crusade in Korea—a war unconstitutionally begun, pusillanimously fought and ignominiously concluded.

There were plenty of moral cowards all these years, but the people as a whole were caught in a trap. Facts were withheld; the truth was manipulated in ways they knew nothing of. They had become the victims of a great new force, ominous for freedom—Executive propaganda blown big by the radio, the screen and TV.

Moreover, a psychological war was conducted against them by their own leaders. The patriotism of those who questioned the word of Stalin, or the wisdom of "unconditional surrender," or even the folly of abandoning our historic policy of neutrality, was not only called in question; it was smeared.

President Roosevelt said in January 1945, for example, "There are here and there evil and baseless rumors against the Russians. When you examine these rumors closely, you will observe that every one of them bears the same trademark—made in Germany."

Even after the fighting stopped, this war against the spirit of free inquiry was continued by General George Marshall, Secretary of Defense, when he said in October 1950, "The time for differences of opinion should shortly reach an end. The time for debate draws to a close." This was when we were being told that we probably faced twenty to forty years or more of the same.

The number who will face psychological terrorism is small. As Washington said in his Farewell Address:

Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

However, the American people have never proved they were full-time dupes, as Lincoln said. The nation-wide support given the Bricker Amendment may evidence a turning of the tide. The approaching bankruptcy of the foreign policy of global interventionism is dimly foreseen by Secretary of State Dulles, who has glimpsed the possible need of an "agonizing reappraisal" of these grandiose ventures. "The black tide of events," which President Eisenhower mentioned in his speech of April 16, 1953, has been a persuasive teacher in the school of experience, in which even fools may learn.

### **Our Incalculable Losses**

It is high time for this agonizing reappraisal. Whether the world would be better off today if we had let the Kaiser and the British settle their differences over foreign markets and African colonies, or if we had let Hitler and Stalin fight themselves to exhaustion, or had let Asiatics fight Asiatics for Asian iron and coal and rice, cannot, of course, be demonstrated. It is enough to ask whether the world could be worse off today if we had stayed at home and adhered to the teachings of Washington, Jefferson and Monroe. Does anyone now see a glimpse of far-off light in the black labyrinth through which forty years of interventionism have taken us?

The military mind shrugs off these failures as a "calculated risk" that went wrong. But a gold star mother wants to know what was wrong with the calculations.

More than blood and treasure has been lost. We have lost friendship, respect and honor in this game of power politics. We betrayed our own ally, Poland (whose defense was given by England and France as the reason for entering the war) in order to appease good old Joe. Then we secretly bribed Joe with pieces of China to break his nonaggression



treaty with Japan. We sent Marshall to China to force their government to put Joe's gangsters in their cabinet and military command. We drove Hirohito out of China, then asked Stalin to come in.

To carve up the real estate of a conquered foe is as old as history. But to carve up two brave allies who had made cruel sacrifices on our side, to do this in both cases without their knowledge or consent, and over their desperate protests as soon as the facts leaked out, is a deed of shame. It is the worst blot on the honor of the flag since the Republic was born. Yet the "bipartisan" brigade of bumbling big-wigs merely shrug their shoulders. With national honor they have nothing to do.

Since we have broken the unspoken faith that knits comrades-in-arms together and violated the most sacred obligations of brave men, is it any wonder that the word of the United States government is now questioned throughout the world? Having eliminated Germany and Japan as a balance of power against Russia's age-old expansionism, now poisoned with the black death of atheistic communism, we bolster up Tito's communism as our new ally against Moscow's communism. With no valid plan for peace except naked power politics, we join up with every gangster with a bodyguard.

### Secret Agreements

Caught in the spider webs of countless treaties and secret executive agreements, we have lost our independence of action. A French premier told us that, "Since the United States and France are associates under the North Atlantic Pact, Washington is obligated to support the Paris government in all its foreign policies. We cannot be allies on one hand and adversaries on the other." Hence we have been the unhappy supporters of European colonialism in Africa and Asia against a new tide of nationalism sweeping over the colored races as it swept over our shores in 1776.

For more than a century American sympathies were always with the little people struggling to be free from foreign landlords—Ireland, South America, the Boers, Cuba and other lands. We have now become the "foreign devils" to millions of yellow, brown and black men, whose confidence, trust, trade and good will we once enjoyed. In the Middle East we are losing the friendship of a quarter billion anti-Communist Mohammedans.

Interventionism and one-worldism have put us on the wrong side of history. They have caused us to betray the ideas and ideals that once gave a radiant meaning to the word "America" throughout the world.

How do you explain Plymouth Rock, Valley Forge the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Statue of Liberty? Why did men and women, pouring across the Atlantic from the Old World, kneel to kiss this blessed soil? What did they seek? Freedom from crushing taxes, the "goosestep," one-

man government, military conscription, a "soldier on the back of every peasant," the civil above the military branch of government. They did not come here to rebuild for their children the very things from which they fled.

Now we are facing a deadly threat to our very survival as a nation. So we are told. I don't agree. I believe that any objective study of the military and industrial potential of this country *versus* Russia shows that Malenkov is the manager of a minor league team and knows it. That Russia can conquer America on the North American Continent is to me utterly fantastic, unless the bankruptcy of our economy and of our ideals first rots us from within. I recall that when good old Joe was fighting on only one front, and Hitler on three fronts, Joe came close to defeat by a nation with half his population and natural resources, and was saved only by our help—eleven billion dollars worth—plus our own and British pressure on the Western front.

### Without Real Allies

Having destroyed the balance of power in both Europe and Asia, and having betrayed our own allies, we now face the Moscow gang without a single ally in the world that can or will fight unless we arm it, finance it, and fill its armies with more young Americans. And will our "allies" fight then?

What should be done? One thing seems very advisable. It is to sober off. Get over this internationalist drunk. Free ourselves from the "herd mind," this psychic epidemic we have been through, whipped up by propaganda. Stop discharging or "breaking" all patriots in the armed services or diplomatic corps who question the edicts of the Pentagon, the "United" Nations, or the White House. I mean men like MacArthur, Denfield, Wedemeyer, Mark Clark, Herbert Hoover, General Robert E. Wood. When you eliminate honest criticism of government, you insure an inferior product. That is surely what we have had.

Let us have this agonizing reappraisal now, before we get deeper into the quicksand. No one will save America except *Americans* who put their own country first.

Uncle Sam has no uncle!

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# Bismarck's Public Debt

By JOHN T. FLYNN

Since Mr. Eisenhower has completed his tour of duty with two sessions of Congress, it is, I suggest, in order to ask where he is going, what he is up to and what are his plans for us here in America. At the moment his mind seems to be occupied with grave problems of world order, the salvation of Europe, the taming of the Red giant, and the reduction of Asia to order and peace. As this is a commission of appalling dimensions, it very naturally takes much of his time. But, after all, what about this little patch of land called the United States?

There is some perplexity in the public mind at what seems a curious resemblance, on many points, in the Washington of today to the Washington of Messrs. Roosevelt and Truman. Indeed, many good people who wish the Administration well are surprised at some startling points of resemblance to that strange and confused monstrosity known as the New Deal. We will, I suspect, stray far from the truth if we surrender to these suspicions. The truth about the Washington of today is in fact very much more startling, and it is difficult to escape the feeling that Mr. Eisenhower himself does not realize it. The truth is that just as the Washington of Roosevelt and Truman found the model for its weird adventures in socialist Britain, the Washington of Eisenhower has gone back far more than half a century for its model.

The President does not imitate the Socialists as the Roosevelt New Deal did. On the contrary, he seeks to compete with them with a curious collectivism of his own. He may think he is merchandising something quite new. But, strange as it may seem, Mr. Eisenhower's present course resembles not so much the socialist advances in Britain as the curious and reactionary collectivism of Bismarck in the new German empire seventy years ago.

Bismarck faced the socialist threat of his day as it grew in power in the German states, and he finally succeeded in getting the Socialist Party as such outlawed. But this was not enough. The preachings of Marx and Bebel and Liebknecht had stimulated the appetites of the German masses. Bismarck perceived this and, having crippled the socialist leaders for the moment, he proceeded to



John T. Flynn

take over, one by one, a formidable collection of socialist objectives. He proposed to conquer socialism by taking over much of its program and claiming the credit for it. He did not conceive of his program as socialism. He merely took over a collection of its gadgets as extra-added-equipment to the capitalist system. Some of the program's apologists called it State Capitalism.

Early in his regime, Bismarck put through various forms of "welfare" legislation—compensation insurance, old-age pensions, sickness insurance. The federal government and the constituent German states began taking over and operating

railroads, mines, forests, telegraph and telephone systems and even certain industrial enterprises. This was done in order that the states might have the profit rather than the private owners. Bismarck sought to induce the German states to permit the empire to take over the railroads. They refused, but he took over the railroads of Prussia. He aimed at a monopoly of tobacco and spirits. This was not labeled socialistic. The objective was to provide the government with revenue.

The ultimate shape of this experiment was to commit the federal State to a policy of State-operated industries for revenue, "welfare" measures to mollify the masses, militarism to create jobs, and continuous public debt to pay the deficits arising out of the military institutions of the empire. This indeed did make jobs, but it also made unforeseen problems.

## Unprofitable Adventures

The extent to which the federal government and the various German states depended on revenues from their State-operated enterprises may be judged from some figures published in France in 1909. The combined revenues of the federal government and the German states were 9,656,000,000 francs. But only 3,887,000,000 francs—a little over one-third—were derived from taxes, while 5,769,000,000 were collected from public enterprises. Despite this, however, the federal government was never able to pay its bills. What is more, these adventures in State socialism did not solve the problem of employment. I do not recall coming across the slogan, "jobs for all," in the records of those times, but

this is what Bismarck and his successors were aiming at through State action. But they could not achieve that goal by operating purely industrial enterprises.

The project which achieved this aim, however, was at hand and was used to the limit. This was the institution of militarism—universal military service. No greater mistake could be made by critics of Germany than to suppose that her conscript forces were a purely military institution. It is also a mistake to suppose that conscription was the bright particular love of the old Junker aristocrats. The officers' corps was always a haven for the sons of the German aristocracy. But when universal military service was instituted, there were not enough noblemen's sons to go around. Competent youth of all degrees penetrated the officers' corps and—as the nobles viewed it—tended to debase it. The Junkers favored a large army, but not a conscript army on the Bismarckian model. Universal military training was the creature and pet of big and great areas of little business—the farmers, for instance.

All this, of course, was the handiwork of a grim old pragmatist whose business it was to make Germany powerful, keep her people employed and, at the same time, take some of the fire and energy out of the rising socialist movement. While Bismarck saw it as a purely practical measure of government, there was no lack of luminous souls even at court who openly avowed their socialist leanings. The American of today should not be surprised that one of the busiest promoters of socialism was the Kaiser's court physician. Dr. Stöcker, who became the center of a cult called, for some reason, imperial socialism. These incandescent souls were everywhere—in business, the church, at court and in the press—as they are in America today.

### **Socialism without the Label**

In the United States at the present time there is a powerful socialist movement which does not use the label socialist. It supports something it calls the planned economy. It has captured the machinery and the greater part of the Democratic Party and a large sector of the Republican Party. The avowed Socialists support it, and the Communists add their mite in numbers, plus the very efficient and powerful aid based on their intelligent revolutionary experience.

Thus in America in 1954 we see what invaded Germany from 1870 to 1914—a rash of socialist movements of various shades, a rising sense of discontent produced by the gaudy promises socialism made to the masses, and a government greatly harried by certain pinkish souls in its ranks, as well as by the problem of jobs for all and welfare for all stimulated by socialist preachers.

At the center of all these milling interests and "isms," the ruthlessly pragmatic Bismarck played

his role of leader and master by using all sorts of groups and factions for his purposes. Bismarck was no Socialist. But he was a master politician. His business was to govern—to retain power. And in the Germany of the last century the rising tide of social discontent was something every practical statesman had to take into account. In meeting this problem, Bismarck put first emphasis on keeping people employed and business prosperous, and in keeping the disturbed poorer classes happy by limited forms of State "welfare." This he conceived to be the surest guarantee against the ultimate triumph of socialism.

### **The Military Mind**

This is the problem which confronts the President of the United States today. He is not a Socialist. But he cannot resist the fascination of certain forms of socialist "welfare" and the intense influence of the proletarian vote. And being first and foremost a military man—indeed a military man and little else—his imagination is captured by the role of the military in his scheme of things. Like the Junkers of old Prussia, he not only loves the military world but he perceives its immense role in sustaining the prosperity of the country. In Bismarck's Germany, universal military service took great numbers of men out of the ranks of labor. But it had a secondary effect. In 1907, for instance, there were 633,000 men in the armed services; but it is estimated there were 1,800,000 employed in war industries, not counting the streams of government payments which flowed to farmers who provided horses and their fodder, as well as food for the huge military establishments. Universal military training became Germany's biggest industry.

It was, of course, supported almost wholly by borrowed funds. At the end of the Franco-Prussian War, Germany collected a four-billion-mark indemnity from France, which disposed of all her war debt. But, with UMT, Germany resumed her march into debt. In 1871 her debt was zero. In 1885 it was nearly three billion marks. In 1909 it was well over four billion. The debt bedeviled every budget. The finance minister said that every government policy in the empire had become entangled in the problem of the continuing deficits. Her collective enterprises—both federal and state—and her social services added to the deficits. The total debt of federal and local governments in 1909 was over 24 billion marks, and that debt became the knottiest and most alarming problem of Germany.

Mr. Eisenhower's interests have not been in the field of social revolution or political economy. He certainly does not have any affinity for our communist enemy at home or abroad, and he is uneasy in the presence of certain socialist experiments in this country. But, like the old Junkers, he is perfectly willing to support socialist experiments which take on the appearance of humanitarian

projects. He is for federal sickness and old-age benefits, unemployment insurance, health insurance, aids to education, housing and a rash of similar experiments. These adventures capture the support of vast numbers of so-called underprivileged voters.

At the moment, taxes levied for welfare purposes actually exceed by billions the sums paid out—the result of a fraudulent gimmick inserted in the laws by the Roosevelt Administration on the pretense of creating reserves, which so-called “reserves” are promptly spent by the government for all sorts of things unconnected with welfare. And they have a powerful vote-getting value which Bismarck saw, and which Eisenhower also can see.

The case of militarism—to which Mr. Eisenhower now wishes to add the institution of universal military training permanently—is easily measured here. Bismarck’s militarism was “peanuts” compared with ours. The expenditures by the United States government in the year ending June 30, 1954, were \$70,902,000,000. The Department of Defense, including the Army, Air Force and Navy, expended roughly \$40 billion, while another \$7 billion was spent on materials, atomic energy and the Mutual Security Agency—a total of \$48,720,000,000. But there are other auxiliary activities—our international and veterans’ interests. The full total is:

Military and allied services . . . .	\$48,720,000,000
Other international activities . . . .	1,637,000,000
Veterans’ services . . . . .	4,190,000,000
	<hr/>
	54,547,000,000

To this, of course, must be added the interest on the public debt—now \$273 billion. The interest is \$6,525,000,000, making a total of more than \$61 billion spent by the government in wages, salaries, materials, and interest on loans, all directly or indirectly associated with our military institutions—\$61 billion on militarism and only \$9 billion on all the other activities of government. This is the racket on which Bismarck built the prosperity of Germany in the last century. This is the racket on which the New Deal and Mr. Eisenhower’s Administration are building our insane prosperity today—a prosperity which begins to exhibit a certain pallor as of approaching illness.

### The Central Evils

The Number One issue in the United States today is the question of debt and taxes—inextricably entangled not in mere socialistic experiments, but in those two fatal evils: (1) militarism and its handmaidens—international adventures and the vast military outlays involved, and (2) “welfare” splurges of the federal government to please numerous groups of voters—social security, farmers’ subsidies, handouts to all sorts of groups, public

housing, federal aid to education, public electric power, and a large variety of gifts to deserving voters.

And at the root of all are two central evils. One is the income-tax system which enables the government to take a cut on every man’s wages, salaries and profits, and the system of public debt which now engulfs us in an interest charge of eighteen million dollars a day—both of which make possible the orgy of spending and waste and the invasion of the private affairs of the citizens. Mr. Eisenhower is willing to use these two evil weapons to the limit to engage in vast international activities, inviting wars on various continents, and to promote welfare for vote-getting purposes at home—boondoggling in the U. S. and globaloney all over the map.

All this is supposed to be something new. It is just about as new as the ambitions and follies of Bismarck eighty years ago, which have wrecked the German people twice in a century.

## Booklets on Inflation

John Flynn’s article calls to mind two booklets, among others, worth reading on this inflation danger.

The first is by Pelatiah Webster, a wise but little-known patriot who is credited by James Madison and others with first having advocated the constitutional convention. The inflation which in his day had made money “not worth a continental” finally moved him, in 1780, to use strong and wise words in telling the story of these tragic mistakes. In an essay recently brought to light, Webster tried to tell mankind how to avoid in the future the fiscal suffering his countrymen had brought upon themselves.

In the other, F. A. Harper explains why inflation occurs, and how the inflators have changed their technique over the years. Only by knowing this can we prevent inflation. Once it has been allowed to happen, inflation is like a severed limb in that then it is too late for a cure. The author explains how economic justice results only from free exchange, and why problems which have led repeatedly to inflation during nearly four thousand years of known governmental interference can be solved only by free exchange. What is the sole cause of surpluses or shortages? The answer is given on page 19 of this booklet in the form of a simple chart.

These booklets are “Not Worth A Continental,” by Pelatiah Webster; and “Inflation,” by F. A. Harper. Single copies may be obtained free of charge from

**The Foundation for Economic Education**  
Irvington-on-Hudson, New York

# Opportunity of a Lifetime

By NICHOLAS NYARADI

*It is America's opportunity to curb Moscow's war potential by restricting exports to Iron Curtain countries, says Hungary's former Finance Minister.*

There is an old saying that some customers don't let you sleep, and others don't let you eat. Those who don't let you eat will pay their bills, to be sure, but they won't let you have a profit. The other kind doesn't haggle over the price, but the likelihood of their paying the bill when it comes due is none too good.

The saying is applicable to the problem of the world's chancelleries these days: Shall the West do business with the Soviet bloc? The problem comes in the wake of the Geneva Conference. The Communists hold forth good promise of payment (in gold) for what they buy, and they will buy much, but can we sleep well, knowing to what use they will put their purchases?

In March 1948, when the government of the United States first imposed a ban on the exportation of strategic materials to Communist countries, I was still the Finance Minister of Hungary, fighting a losing battle against the Bolshevization of my country. It was gratifying to observe the effects of this embargo on the Soviet war machine. The nondelivery of badly needed spare parts for American machinery and equipment—lavished on Russia under the Lend-Lease program—seriously affected the Soviet war production program; the sudden shortage of imported ball bearings, precision instruments, non-ferrous metals and other vital commodities had the effect almost of a general strike. Hungarian factories, for instance, which were being forced to turn out locomotives for Russia as war reparations, had to shut down for several months because of the shortage of ball bearings. (Today the Communist orbit is able to turn out the amount of high-quality steel needed to make ball bearings. Between 1948 and 1952, however, the Soviets had to rely for their supply on smugglers, operating mostly through Germany and Austria.)

Before I fled Hungary, late in 1948, I had already seen the crippling effect of the American export ban on the Soviet economy. This ban was made even more effective three years later through the enactment of the "Battle Act," containing iron-clad measures

against trade with the Soviet orbit. Not only was Moscow deprived of this long list of strategic commodities from America, but most of the European countries, though somewhat reluctantly, promised to refrain from trade in these items with Russia. Soviet productive machinery was thus seriously impaired. In 1947 and 1948 I was engaged in economic negotiations on behalf of Hungary with several top officials of the Soviet government—including three members of the Soviet Politburo. My observations during this long stay in Moscow, in every sector of Soviet life, as well as the impression I gained from personal contacts with these top Soviet officials, all pointed to the basic weakness of the Soviet economy.

## Why Moscow Does Not Want War

The Soviet leaders—who are much more realistic than Hitler or Mussolini ever were—know very well that an all-out war would be suicidal for them, that the Soviet economy would not be able to support indefinitely the burden. I venture to say that the only reason we are not yet in a shooting war with Russia is not the American superiority in nuclear weapons, nor the somewhat theoretical common stand of the West against Communist aggression, but simply the basic and inherent weakness of the Soviet economic system. To this weakness America has contributed by its restrictions on exports.

American exports to Russia and her European satellites amounted to 340 million dollars in 1947; in 1952 the total was roughly one million dollars. It should be kept in mind that in 1947 Czechoslovakia and Hungary were not yet Soviet satellites, and that some of the 340 million dollars worth from the United States went to these two countries.

Somewhat offsetting this blow to the Soviet economy has been an increase of exports from western Europe to the Soviet orbit. In 1953, this business amounted to 478 million dollars—about 50 per cent of the 1938 volume, as compared with the American drop of one per cent of its 1947 volume.



Nicholas Nyaradi

Great Britain, which is most vociferous in asking for the relaxation of trade restrictions with Russia, has had the lion's share of this business.

The Geneva Conference fostered a feeling in many countries that "peaceful coexistence" with the Communist world can be made possible by an expansion of trade relations with it. Soviet propaganda has engendered that feeling, and the urge for profits has helped the propaganda. Unfortunately, few outside America realize that "coexistence" is, as Senator Knowland put it, like locking a man in a cage with a man-eating tiger. Many of our Western friends seem willing to feed this tiger the calories and vitamins of increased East-West trade, so that its muscles may become stronger and its teeth sharper for the time when it decides to bite off the hand that so generously fed it.

More and more, our friends and allies insist that increase in the volume of East-West trade would not only improve the economy of the West, but would result in easing the present world tensions, as the Soviet people, benefiting from this trade, would be less inclined toward war. It is not free trade with the Soviets that they propose, but a narrowing of the list of forbidden strategic materials. Malenkov is for that, too.

The danger of this proposal lies in the fact that it is difficult to draw an exact line between "strategic" and "nonstrategic" items. A cannon is, of course, strategic; but what about textile machinery, which can turn out fabrics for women's blouses as well as for military uniforms? In the case of Russia, there simply "ain't no such animal" as nonstrategic goods. Russia is a huge military camp, where everything is geared toward war-production. Glass and wood, for instance, are certainly nonstrategic items. But they can be used to frame pictures of Malenkov, to be hung on the walls of barracks so as to raise the morale of Russian soldiers, and thus might have "strategic" value.

### China Supplied via Russia

There is also a dangerous illusion that Communist China would be excluded from increased East-West trade relations. (Direct trade with China is now ruled out, because the U.N. has branded it an aggressor nation.) There is no reason for believing that goods from the West going to the Soviets would not show up in Red China.

The most alluring, and therefore the most dangerous, argument for increasing East-West trade is that it would alleviate the present international tension and stop "war hysteria." I am afraid that just the opposite of this would be true.

Malenkov's main reason for wanting more trade with the West is that the Soviet economy is cracking as a consequence of the Stalinian policy of disregarding the elementary needs of the people. About 80 per cent of the Soviet industrial output still goes either directly for war production, or indirect-

ly into heavy industrial expansion; hence the Russian people "enjoy" today the lowest standard of living in the world. If Malenkov could better this standard of living by importing German bicycles, British television sets and Italian oranges, he would be able to create the illusion of plenty in the Russian mind. This, in my opinion, would certainly not lead the Russian people to appreciate the blessings of peace. On the contrary, Malenkov would have the backing of a relatively satisfied Russian people if he decided to start a war. The strongest deterrent to a Soviet attack at the present time is the dissatisfaction of the people.

### Gold, but not Goods

There are perhaps only two serious arguments which seem to favor expansion of trade with the Communist world. The first is that if we sell to Russia, she will have to sell us, sending us commodities (manganese ore, for instance) which we need. This might and might not be true. Being familiar with Soviet foreign trade policies, I believe that Moscow will agree to pay for imports with nonstrategic commodities only. Or it might choose to pay in gold, rather than with goods, as it is doing now. This might improve temporarily the balance-of-payments position of certain Western countries, but the drain on Russia's gold reserve would not weaken Moscow's war potential.

In the structure of the Soviet economy, gold has practically no importance: it serves only one purpose, to pay for needed goods from abroad, otherwise not obtainable. (Soviet economists regard gold very much as early colonizers looked upon beads and cheap glassware in their deals with primitive natives.)

The Soviets' position in this connection is very clear. They can get everything they want from their satellite countries without paying with gold for these deliveries. On the other hand, in case of an all-out war the world market would be closed to them by an allied blockade; and the gold would be useless to them. So why not buy from the West as long as these markets are open to them, paying with the trinkets which the West values so highly?

The second argument carries more weight than the first one. Since the United States is unwilling to lower her own tariff barriers so as to increase trade with her friends and allies, these countries are forced to look for markets in the communist part of the world. This is a sound argument, although it comes from Europeans who favor tariffs against American goods even higher than those levied against European goods by America. Whether this impasse can be resolved or not, there is a principle that runs like this: "Security and prosperity, but security first."

Finally, we should not forget that in the West certain moral principles loom larger. One of these is that we are opposed to involuntary servitude

and concentration camps. How can free people eat Soviet canned crabmeat, wear Soviet export furs or live in houses constructed from Soviet lumber, when they know that these commodities are stained with the blood and sweat of millions of unfortunate slave laborers?

And what explanation could I, for instance, give to my unhappy Hungarian people, if their Communist masters suddenly began displaying in government-owned shops the West-German appliances, Italian sewing machines and Japanese textiles acquired by an increase in "nonstrategic" trade with the West? What a terrible disillusion this would be for the enslaved peoples of the vast Soviet empire! And all this at a time when the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe are loudly assur-

ing these oppressed nations that the free world has not forgotten them! How can the captive peoples believe these solemn assurances when they see that the free world is more interested in doing business with their Communist overlords than in planning for their liberation?

The Soviet economy is desperately weak; and the control of the Kremlin on its peoples is in proportion to that economy's strength. If we capitalize on this fact, we will take advantage of the opportunity of a lifetime. Not only can we prevent World War Three by keeping up our pressure on this crumbling economic system, but we can win the cold war without firing a single shot. All we need do is to refuse to trade with the Soviets and to bring pressure on our allies to do likewise.

# And the Right Shall Triumph

By MARION MURPHY

The story began in Fort Lauderdale, Florida. A local Girl Scout leader had invited Robert LeFevre, news director of WFTL-TV, to address their adult group. The subject was left to his own discretion. Subsequently, however, other leaders hinted rather broadly that whatever he talked about he must not be critical of the United Nations. That idea had not occurred to him, but he found the limitation irksome. He refused to let himself be gagged, and the speech was cancelled.

The incident aroused his curiosity, and LeFevre began investigating. He found the clue to the gag put on him in the 1953 handbook of the Girl Scouts of America. This manual for Girl Scout groups was liberally sprinkled with propaganda for the U. N. Comparing this edition with the one issued in 1940, LeFevre found that the difference between the two consisted not only in the influx of U. N. propaganda, but also in the lessening of emphasis on the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights.

He had a bear by the tail and would not, or could not, let go. He drafted a letter. Paying due homage to the work of the Girl Scout movement, he pointed out what had happened to the official handbook between 1940 and 1953: namely, that the American tradition had been minimized and a one-world ideology had been emphasized. For example, he called attention to the warm praise, in the 1953 book, for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the glib pronouncement that it was "very much like our own Bill of Rights"; the vital discrepancies between the two documents were not mentioned.

The letter, signed by LeFevre and Noran E.

Kersta, general manager of WFTL-TV, declared that in view of the facts the station would not consider it advisable to promote an organization "supporting many controversial and questionable socialized schemes, including world government." Copies of the mimeographed letter were sent far and wide, to individuals and publications, and thus began a fight in which a man of principle successfully prevailed over the insidious forces of collectivism.

## Parents Demand Action

A condensation of the letter appeared in *Human Events*, a Washington newsletter, under the title "Even the Girl Scouts." Nearly 25,000 reprints of the article were ordered by hundreds of readers, mostly fathers and mothers who were shocked at the revelation, and in most cases the orders were accompanied by letters declaring that something should be done about it. Something was. The officials of the Girl Scout organization were inundated with copies of the article.

In April, the president of the Girl Scout organization circulated a letter to all Girl Scout council presidents alerting them to "an attack on Girl Scouting" and calling for unqualified support of the handbook. But the pressure from parents mounted.

A former Girl Scout council president wrote the national headquarters: "Have been carefully analyzing all the open charges by Robert LeFevre. . . I admit these charges re handbook to be true."

An ex-Girl Scout leader in California told how



she and several others had resigned from the organization because their complaints to national headquarters about the collectivist infiltration had been ignored.

A Girl Scout leader wrote that she used the 1953 handbook with discrimination, stressed only those parts which promoted Americanism and ignored other sections.

The Jefferson County (Alabama) Girl Scout Council adopted a resolution urging the inclusion of the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights in all future handbooks, and requesting the national headquarters to use only "factual material. . .and that the expression of opinions therein be avoided."

A Chicago lawyer reported that he had refused to renew his usual subscription, even though the solicitor was one of his major clients.

A congressman wrote, "I have confirmed much of the information you give by my own reading. . . This element in America does not miss any bets in its effort to put over its propaganda."

### Congressmen Comment

A rash of comment concerning the Girl Scouts broke out in the *Congressional Record* in July. On the eighth, Congressman Timothy P. Sheehan read LeFevre's article "Even the Girl Scouts." On the twelfth, Congressman Edgar A. Jones inserted an article by B. J. Grigsby, editor-publisher of the *Spoon River Journal*, urging a revision of the handbook. Also on the twelfth, an article eulogizing Girl Scouting as "One Answer to Communism," by Mrs. Lillian M. Gilbreth, was introduced by Congressman Robert W. Kean. On the twenty-sixth, Congressman Charles B. Brownson called attention to the LeFevre article and inserted a rebuttal by Mr. John Burkhart.

The battle raged. On August 6 the American Legion's Illinois Department approved a resolution censuring the Girl Scout organization and recommending that the Legion withdraw support until such time as the Girl Scouts "restore the time-honored and historic ideas in its teaching to American youth."

An outstanding community leader wrote LeFevre that he had been too vigorous in his attack. The Girl Scout national headquarters circulated this letter in an effort to counteract the mounting criticism. LeFevre took cognizance of this defense by circulating data concerning un-American infiltration that he had acquired since the release of his first letter. Included in this data was the outright endorsement in an official Girl Scout publication in 1953 of *The First Book of Negroes*, by Langston Hughes. This author, listed in the *Girl Scout Leader* as "a distinguished man of letters," is the author of the vitriolic poem "Goodbye Christ," in which Marx and Stalin are eulogized and Christ blasphemed. Hughes has been cited

officially over seventy times for his un-American activities. LeFevre also pointed out that, in 1949, an official publication of the Girl Scouts had encouraged young girls to write to the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, for source material. The IPR was later cited as a communist front by a congressional committee.

Not long after this one-man campaign started, it was rumored that a revision of the handbook was being considered. In May, the public relations director of the Girl Scouts went on record to the effect that the statement in the handbook concerning the Declaration of Human Rights "is in the nature of editorial comment about a controversial issue, and this will be changed in the next revision of the handbook." On July 27 Congressman Sheehan announced that Mrs. Roy F. Layton, the national president of the Girl Scouts, had advised him that the 1953 edition of the handbook is now undergoing a major revision. The *Congressional Record* of that date carries the statement of Mrs. Layton, promising a corrected handbook, available this fall.

It is a certainty that many American mothers and fathers who never looked at a Girl Scout handbook are anxiously waiting for the new edition. Thanks are due to Bob LeFevre, who proved Ingersoll's dictum that "one man in the right will finally get to be a majority." And he did it without an organization.

## Who Got It?

A recent report to Congress on "foreign aid" reveals for the first time that \$9.4 billion of our tax money was spent on military items sent to other countries for "mutual defense," from October 1949 through June 30, 1954. The items are as follows:

Artillery ammunition	45,000,000 rounds
Small arms and machine gun ammunition	1,500,000,000 rounds
Rifles, pistols, machine guns	2,000,000 pieces
Motor transport vehicles	188,497 units
Tanks and combat vehicles	34,733 units
Artillery pieces (including atomic cannon, etc.)	34,802 units
Naval vessels	784 ships
Electronic and signal equipment (including radar, etc.)	127,403 units

What countries got this mountain of matériel is not stated. Why is the information withheld? Will we learn the facts only after we have captured some of this stuff in the next war and find the imprint "made in America"? Or perhaps some bullet imbedded in the body of a conscript will tell us more about our present "defense" policy.



# The Hysteria of the Hissians

By VICTOR LASKY



Victor Lasky

A reporter also returns to the scene of the crime. So, when the newspapers announced recently that Alger Hiss was soon to be released from prison, I started rummaging through my clippings and correspondence on the case I had covered six years ago. And again I experienced the wonderment I then had felt over the hysteria of intelligent, upstanding Americans when Whittaker Chambers first testified publicly that Hiss had been his pal in the Red underground.

On the morning the Chambers testimony was headlined, James F. Green of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations wrote Hiss that he was "dismayed and angry," adding that he could "hardly believe that anyone can take such outrageous allegations seriously." He offered his services as a "character witness."

At the offices of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, there was considerable consternation; Hiss was a respected colleague. The usually mild-mannered Charles Dollard, president of the giant Foundation, must have been enraged when he wrote Hiss; "Your peers have confidence in you which is not to be undermined by the reckless charges of an hysterical renegade. . . ."

In Baltimore, attorney Stewart Brown, who had known Hiss and his brother Donald for some twenty years, dashed off a letter to the editor of the *Sun* (sending a copy to Hiss). Describing himself as a "Jeffersonian Democrat who has publicly opposed much of the New Deal," Brown insisted that "I know that there is not the slightest shadow of disloyalty" in the Hiss brothers. "Neither is a Communist or a fellow-traveler. . . . The greatest threat to our liberties at home is not the Communist underground, but the activities of the vicious red baiters who will stop at nothing in order to hit the headlines. . . . The real traitors are the snide Congressmen and others willing to exploit the uncorroborated testimony of an ex-Communist for their own personal advantage."

In Philadelphia, Lawrence M. C. Smith, whom Hiss described as a "wealthy Philadelphia lawyer," wired the House Committee: "I regret that your committee is proving itself as great an enemy of democracy, by its methods, as the evil it tries to expose. I'm shocked at the perversion of your power and function to character assassination in

staging irresponsible attacks on outstanding American citizens such as Alger Hiss. . . ."

In a letter to Dr. James T. Shotwell, historian at the Carnegie Endowment, Clarence E. Pickett, executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, urged Shotwell to inform the Endowment's trustees of the "high regard in which Alger Hiss is held by some of us who have known and worked with him. . . ."

## Chambers' Sanity Questioned

Several days later Hiss appeared before the House Committee to dramatically deny Chambers' charge. With him was his "long-time friend," Joseph F. Johnston, a Birmingham attorney, described by Hiss as "the son of Forney Johnston, leading conservative corporation and railroad lawyer in the South." Johnston, writing to John Foster Dulles, then chairman of the board of the Carnegie Endowment, described Hiss' testimony as of such "obvious integrity" and "so convincing" that the congressmen were "left with only the question as to Chambers' motive. . . ."

Johnston later called on Representative Carter Manasco of Alabama, who "not only wholeheartedly confirmed my own reaction," but reported that several committee members "felt that the burden of suspicion had been fully transferred to Chambers." At a meeting with Alabama congressmen, "several of whom had expressed conviction of Alger's veracity," Johnston said that when "the inevitable question as to Chambers' motive" came up, "I suggested assuming his sanity, the only logical explanation would be he is still a Communist and desired to impugn innocent victims to discredit the whole investigation into underground Communism."

Johnston, enclosing a copy of his letter to Dulles, wrote Hiss that everything looked bright. So bright, in fact, that in Washington, Ewing Cockrell, of the United States Federation of Justice, wrote Hiss "strongly suggesting that you file affidavit

with the District Attorney here charging Chambers with perjury and do so as quickly as possible. . .”

Many strangers wrote to Hiss, sending him good wishes. Some of the letters were hopeful. Cal B. Spaeth, dean of the Stanford Law School, wrote that “the reports of your testimony, the newspaper and radio criticism of the committee’s handling of the investigation, and the petering out of the entire business, combine to indicate that the charges are a thing of the past. . .”

All this transpired six years ago, long before the Communists had shrewdly developed “McCarthyism” into The Supreme Issue of Our Times. The outcries about our diminishing civil liberties, the demands for the crippling of congressional investigation, had begun long before the advent of “McCarthyism.”

### **Hiss Smeared, Wrote Dr. Bunche**

Take the letter Dr. Ralph Bunche sent to Hiss in mid-1948. The United Nations executive wrote that he was “stunned by this utterly shameless attempt to smear your good name. Though you have been grievously wronged, I have full confidence in your complete vindication. . .”

The Bunche letter was one of more than sixty written in August 1948, following Chambers’ appearance in Washington. Mimeographed, they were circulated in an apparent effort to prove Hiss innocent by association: how could he be guilty when he had such fine friends?

Asked, following Hiss’ conviction, whether he still would write a similar letter, Dr. Bunche replied, “I have no intention of making any statement whatsoever on any aspect of the Hiss case.” But Dr. Bunche is not so reticent when it comes to assailing “witch hunts,” as when he savagely attacked the Jenner Internal Security Subcommittee for its fruitful probe of U. S. Reds and spies employed by the U. N.

The correspondence is remarkable for many reasons. It points up, for one thing, one of the most striking phenomena of our times: the way outstanding Americans, liberals and even conservatives, will leap, without thinking, to the defense of any one accused of subversion. Conversely, the letters show the incredible bitterness of otherwise balanced Americans toward ex-Communists.

For example, D. F. Fleming, professor of political science at Vanderbilt University, dashed off a note to Hiss asking “who is behind” Chambers. “I earnestly hope you never stop until he is convicted of perjury,” he added. William A. MacRae, Jr., a Florida attorney, described as “a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff group of able young officers,” hoped that Hiss “will do everything within your power to discredit Chambers. . .” Charles S. Moore, described as the “leading elder statesman of the New Jersey bar,” wrote that “Chambers may be a paranoiac.”

At any rate, when during World War Two a group of crackpots were brought to trial for conspiring to aid Nazi Germany, no prominent persons rushed to their defense. No presidents of gigantic Foundations wept over their predicament. There were universal cheers when the FBI smashed the German-American Nazi Bund, Hitler’s comic imitation of the Kremlin’s exceedingly more dangerous U. S. Communist Party.

Yet an outstanding American like R. McAllister Lloyd, president of the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association, took time from his vacation to write to Hiss sympathizing with him over the “awful ordeal for you and Mrs. Hiss,” enclosing a copy of a letter he had sent to Governor Thomas E. Dewey. “As a lawyer,” he wrote Dewey, “you are no doubt disgusted with the way the Committee has disregarded the civil rights of citizens and has ruined the reputations and careers of honest public servants such as Harry White and Alger Hiss without proper trial and due legal protection. . . I hope when you are President you will exert your influence to see that such un-American activities as the Committee on Un-American Activities are eliminated.”

Senator Herbert Lehman, who includes “Jenneritis” as well as “McCarthyism” among the evils afflicting mankind, claims that he has fought communism all his adult life, “years before McCarthy had ever even acknowledged a communist threat. . .” But modesty must have kept him from publicizing it heretofore. As long ago as 1941, when he was Governor of New York, Lehman was editorially assailed in, of all places, the *New York Times*, for “deliberately slashing the appropriation for the Rapp-Coudert legislative committee investigating subversive activities in the schools.” The Governor’s action was “greatly to be regretted,” said the *Times*, since it “is bound to encourage subversive elements. . .”

In a letter to Hiss, Lehman wrote of his “complete confidence in your loyalty . . . and . . . I know that under no conceivable circumstances could you fail to safeguard the interests of your country.”

### **How They Feel Today**

Did those who wrote to Hiss in 1948, later accept his guilt? In response to an inquiry from this reporter, a few have indicated changed views. Devereaux C. Josephs, president of the New York Life Insurance Company, for example, stated that “my confidence was misplaced in this case.” He had written Hiss on August 4, 1948, declaring that he could not believe Chambers’ “irresponsible accusations [which] have upset me a great deal. . .”

Similarly, Robert B. Stewart, dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, concluded he had been wrong in writing Hiss of his “deep concern” at the “scandalous goings-on in Washington and the ridiculous charges.” Stewart, who

had served with Hiss in the State Department, wrote that, "in view of evidence brought out in subsequent court testimony, one could not, of course, write the same letter at a later date."

Charles Symington, a New York industrial consultant who had written Hiss of his "shock" and "disgust" at such "reckless and unsubstantiated charges against a citizen of your standing," declared that he fully accepted the decision of the courts, which "thoroughly investigated the matter and obviously came to a different conclusion than I did."

Professor R. Courant, head of New York University's mathematics department, wrote, "even though I feel that the case had not been fully clarified, I could not possibly write the same letter today." He had written to Hiss "to express my feelings of friendship and confidence."

Cabot Coville, a foreign service officer with whom Hiss had worked in the State Department's Far East Division, had written from Tokyo on August 14, 1948, to congratulate him on his "handling of the matter before the House Committee. . . The charge against no person has so clearly and fully indicated to me the absurdity of the whole proceedings. . ." Asked whether he still would write a similar letter, now that Hiss had been given his day in court, Coville replied:

"The United States is fortunate in the care of its judicial process. I like it and like to help support it. When it is faced with the delicate and important matter of weighing the case against a man, I am sure it expects a readiness on my part to impart any pertinent testimony which direct knowledge gives me, whichever side of the case it happens to fall upon. . . My answer to your question, Mr. Lasky, is therefore in the affirmative."

Others were not as frank. They either replied, like Dr. Bunche, that they had no comment, or they took the tack of the then Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, that "the case is closed." This was the position taken by Harding F. Bancroft of the State Department's Office of United Nations Affairs, who on August 6, 1948, had termed Whitaker Chambers a "malevolent crackpot [whose] slander [is] given such importance without adequate means of refutation."

Another arguing "the case would seem to be closed" was former Assistant Secretary of State Francis B. Sayre, Alger's boss at the time Alger was stealing State Department documents. Mr. Sayre had originally written Hiss that he was "distressed and keenly regretful that you are being subjected to these unfair and totally unjust accusations," adding a comment heard every time security and loyalty risks are kicked out of cushy government jobs: "I fear it is the price that all of us must be prepared to pay for offering our lives in the public service. . ."

Two who had upheld Hiss got huffy with this

reporter. Professor E. M. Morgan, a law professor at Vanderbilt University, had written Hiss that "the character assassination of that cursed committee and its reckless witnesses arouses nothing but wrath on the part of all decent people." Replying to this reporter's query, Dr. Morgan declared, "I know something of your writings, and I am on that account unwilling to have you publish anything that I have written."

H. H. Fisher, chairman of the Hoover Institute and Library at Stanford University, had written Hiss of his "distress" over "this shocking and disreputable business in Washington. . . I wish there was something I could do about it." To a query, Fisher wired: "I hope that if I ever get into bad trouble some friend will write me the kind of letter I wrote Alger Hiss."

### A Prominent Clergyman's View

The noted clergyman, Anson Phelps Stokes, wrote Charles Dollard, president of the Carnegie Corporation, in 1948, that he was "distressed about all the trouble Alger Hiss is having. . ." Dr. Stokes then said it was entirely possible, in view of the friendly relations between the U.S. and Russia, "that it might have been part of Mr. Hiss' duties as an officer of the government to cultivate friendly personal relations with prominent Russians." He pointed out that leading Republicans and Democrats "stood for the cultivation of Soviet-American friendship at the time."

In replying to this reporter, Dr. Stokes declared, "As to your question whether I would write the same letter today, I would say that it would apparently need some modification in statement. I was surprised and grieved that Mr. Hiss was unable to convince the jury of his innocence, but now that he has been found guilty by a competent jury in a trial before an honorable and experienced judge, I must accept the verdict unless and until it has been overruled as the result of new evidence."

About a score of others who had written letters expressing confidence in Hiss, or disgust with Chambers or bitterness toward the congressional investigating committee, failed to respond to this reporter's query as to how they felt about the case after Hiss' conviction. Understandably, of course. They are all people of some standing in the community and probably prefer that their error in judgment be forgotten.

But why do such men, of unquestionable loyalty, become hysterical over every attempt to expose the communist conspiracy in our midst? Why are they so eager to deny its existence? It must be because the very thought of treason, especially in high places, is revolting; and it is more flattering to their patriotism to say it is not so. Yet this very nobility of mind makes them easy prey for the conspiracy—as the Hiss case demonstrated.

# The Murder of Scholarship

By E. MERRILL ROOT

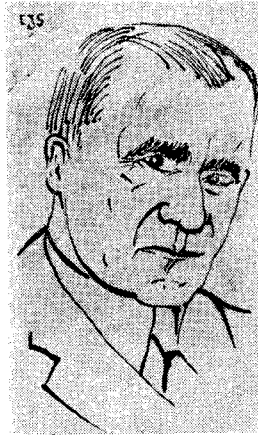
Dr. Edward U. Condon, president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, once "commended young Americans who showed an interest in communism in the mid-thirties. That interest in communism," he said, was "a sign of a good inquiring mind."

Was it? A "good inquiring mind" is undoubtedly a prerequisite of understanding, and is the primary requirement of scholarship. But that begs the question. Is "interest in communism," he said, was "a good inquiring mind," or is it the mark of those students and reputed scholars who have rejected truth and accepted what they propose to inquire into? The first postulate of any form of collectivism—of which communism is only the most virulent—is that only that is truth which serves "society." Thus, the objective of scholarship—to find truth—is negated, and any continued "interest in communism" indicates that the inquirer has accepted a postulate that makes scholarship impossible.

We have some evidence, from the mouths of those who have taken an "interest in communism," to prove the point. Our first witness is Dr. Joseph Wortis.

To see Dr. Wortis whole, turn to the congressional document, "Subversive Influence in the Educational Process," July 17, 1953, pp. 25-26. Dr. Wortis has taught in the Jefferson School of Social Science (cited by the Attorney General as an adjunct of the Communist Party); he has also taught in Johns Hopkins (1938-1939) and the Medical School of New York University (1946-1953). He is "a leading psychiatrist who has trained many young psychiatrists." And he has written a book called *Soviet Psychiatry*. Before the congressional committee, Dr. Wortis "boasted that 10,000 copies had been printed, that it is now in its second printing and had been hailed by leading medical journals as a 'valuable source of factual material.'"

What sort of scholarship lay behind *Soviet Psychiatry*? As reported by the congressional committee, Dr. Michael Mischenko, who had been professor of psychiatry in the Soviet Ukraine from 1929 to 1944, testified under oath to "inaccuracies and outright propaganda" in the book: it is, he testified, an unscholarly book. Dr. Wortis himself, claiming the privilege of the Fifth Amendment, refused to



E. Merrill Root

say whether he was or was not a Communist when he wrote the book; but, under oath and in peril of perjury, he admitted to the committee that he "had never visited the Soviet Union or the institutions he had so glowingly described." Truth? Scholarship?

Or take, for example, Dr. Gene Weltfish, Professor of Anthropology in Columbia University from 1937 to 1952. On Thursday, September 25, 1952, she was called before a congressional committee to explain her charges, made publicly in a lecture before a large audience in New York City, that she had "documentary evidence" that the

United States had engaged in mass dissemination of germs over North Korea. Dr. Weltfish quibbled and zigzagged under the questioning: she denied this, she evaded that. But the press had reported her accusations verbatim, and members of her audience testified to having heard her make her accusations. She had made publicly the most heinous charges against her country's honor—and charges which are the favorite clichés of propaganda used by the Communist Party the world over. Such accusations, one would suppose, must be based upon the solidest evidence if they convinced one who claimed to be a scientist. What was her evidence?

## Logic and Dr. Weltfish

Dr. Weltfish had been told of this evidence by Mr. Albert Kahn (who for years has been an apologist for the Soviet Union). She had met Mr. Kahn "on and off in a formal capacity. . . . I met him on the lecture platform." Where had she met him? "This I couldn't possibly reconstruct." How long had she known him? "I wouldn't be able to say." Yet such casual, indiscriminate acquaintance had so impressed her that when Mr. Kahn suggested that she telephone a "Reverend Dr. Endicott" in Canada, to find proof that America had engaged in germ warfare, she immediately did so.

Dr. Endicott was a retired missionary from China, who strangely had never been persecuted by the usurping regime, but had been allowed peacefully to leave while his fellow-missionaries were being imprisoned, tortured, or (delightful abstraction!) "liquidated." Dr. Weltfish had never known

Dr. Endicott personally. She had never met him face to face; never examined critically his "proofs"; never questioned the political affiliations of the man. She had merely talked with him a few moments on the telephone, and then accepted affidavits which he sent her by mail. Thus she was willing to base her accusations against the United States upon the suggestion of a man she had met only casually (she said); on a telephone conversation with a missionary she did not know (she said); and on an affidavit that she subjected to no critical scrutiny.

I quote from the published record of the congressional committee (September 25, 1953):

*Senator Ferguson:* Well, do you have any evidence that the United States Government has ever used in the Korean War any germ warfare?

*Miss Weltfish:* I would have no way to have such evidence.

*Mr. Morris:* Well, Dr. Weltfish, did you, on June 5, 1952, present as an exhibit an affidavit by Dr. James Endicott, a former Christian missionary in China?

*Miss Weltfish:* I presented it to the press.

*Mr. Morris:* Did that affidavit say that the Americans had used a large leaflet bomb for the dissemination of insects and a small porcelain type bomb for the spreading of germs?

*Miss Weltfish:* As I do not have before me what the affidavit said, I do not know. It seems to me that it was not so much material that was in the affidavit. What was material to me was, as I pointed out in my first release, that Dr. James Endicott was a man of conscience, a Christian missionary, and what he felt he had seen [sic] was of some importance to pay attention to. . . .

*Senator Ferguson:* Where did you get this statement?

*Miss Weltfish:* From Canada.

*Senator Ferguson:* And did you believe it?

*Miss Weltfish:* I had no way of telling whether to believe it or not.

Here, under the intellectual microscope, is an example of the effect of collectivism upon scholarship. Dr. Weltfish has at least a page of affiliations with various fronts; she refused, claiming the privilege of the Fifth Amendment, to affirm or to deny communist affiliation; she has spoken and worked for collectivism in the world. It is clear that a desire to serve collectivism, and not any objective, factual proof, led her to swallow whole the silly or shabby affidavit of Dr. Endicott. Her clutching at such a bubble of proof, that broke in her hands into sour suds, can be explained only by realizing that she *wanted* to believe it.

Fact, logic, truth? What do they matter when weighed against "social amelioration"? Thus the militant *will* of the collectivist subverts the inexorable laws of reason, sabotaging truth in order to bring about a utility supposedly superior to truth. Thus not only the pure Communist, but even the fellow-traveler and dupe, and too often even the gentlest "liberal" Fabians, will succumb to the will-to-believe and will, sooner or later, regard truth as simply the most convenient lie.

A third example of the way in which allegiance

to collectivism subverts truth and betrays scholarship will round out the pattern. Igor Bogolepov, formerly a high official in the Communist Society for Cultural Relations between the Soviet Union and Foreign Countries (known as VOKS), driven by his reason and conscience to flee the tyranny that is enslaving the Russian people, took refuge in America where he became a fighter for their freedom. Bogolepov was summoned before the McCarran Committee, investigating the Institute of Pacific Relations, and became a mighty aid to truth. (See the *Hearings on the Institute of Pacific Relations*, Part 13, especially pages 4509-4510.)

### The Webbs Used Soviet Handouts

Bogolepov tells, from personal first-hand knowledge, what happened to scholarship in England and America when collectivist professors and writers sold their birthright for a mess of collectivist potage. The famous Beatrice and Sidney Webb in England, for example, *accepted handouts from the Communist Office of Propaganda* and simply translated them verbatim into the supposedly scholarly pages of their two-volume work on Russia.

Said Bogolepov:

The materials of this work were actually given by the Soviet Foreign Office. . . . They had only to remake a little bit the English text, a little bit criticizing, but in its general trend the bulk of the material was prepared for them in the Soviet Foreign Office . . . and I participated myself in part of this work. . . . Concerning the very humanitarian way of Soviet detention camps and jails . . . [the material] was written by the Soviet secret police itself.

According to Bogolepov, American scholars were equally naive—or, shall we say, collaborative? Of Professor Frederick L. Schuman (Williams College) and his widely acclaimed, widely used, widely pervasive and persuasive *Soviet Politics at Home and Abroad*, Bogolepov had interesting testimony.

*Mr. Bogolepov:* He wrote a book which in my opinion is full of nonsense.

*Senator Ferguson:* Outside of its being nonsense, what was it on?

*Mr. Bogolepov:* It was very important nonsense because, if you learned the wrong things about the Soviet Union, your thoughts are also wrong. That was the idea, to sell nonsense to the foreign newspapers.

*Senator Ferguson:* Can you give us any idea what was in the book?

*Mr. Bogolepov:* All right. For example, this book by Frederick Schuman stated that the unfriendly attitude of the Soviet Union toward the Western World was not caused by Communist doctrine or any other consideration on the part of the Soviet leaders themselves, but it was caused by Western intervention during the civil war. . . . If you compare Schuman's book with the corresponding page of the official History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, you will very easily recognize that they say the same thing. Frederick Schuman got his ideas from the Soviet propaganda.

Here is testimony before a committee of the Congress of the United States, given under oath by one who knew at first hand. According to this testimony, material handed out by the propaganda agencies of a police state was accepted by writers and scholars (there were others, too, cited in Bogolepov's testimony) in England and America. These writers and scholars presented these propaganda handouts as their own research; and—as its wide dissemination and acceptance proves—their work was uncritically accepted by other American scholars and foisted as objective upon unsuspecting American students.

Yet, "interest in communism" is declared by Dr. Condon to be "a sign of a good inquiring mind."

The intellectual sin is *not* the presentation of material favorable to the Soviet Union. The betrayal of scholarship lies in the fact that the Webbs or Professor Schuman *do not declare their source*. but present slanted material as if it were their own careful research. If they had openly said: "I now present to you material given me by the official Soviet government. I believe it is so, and I have carefully checked it. But, I frankly say, it is the official Soviet version," who would object? We could examine it with the salt of skepticism. But they present their material as if it were the fruit of their own research and their own thinking. Why do minds like the Webbs or Professor Schuman do this? Is it not simply because, as men passionately convinced of collectivism as the way, the truth and the life, they think that the end of advancing it justifies treason to truth? Whatever the motivation, such subversion of scholarship is the death of scholarship.

Professor Schuman himself reveals the collectivist motivation. In his book he says (p. 24) that the Communists "had to preach and practice hatred and cruelty," that they *had* to "commit or condone injustice." Why? As "a sometimes necessary means to a greater end." They *had* to revert to the cultural lag of slave camps, *because* "they were dedicated to love and brotherhood" . . . *because* they "were passionately committed to the democratic gospel." And so, naturally, a scholar "dedicated to love and brotherhood" and "passionately committed to the democratic gospel" cannot let a little thing like truth stand in the way.

And Professor Schuman does not let truth stand in the way: it is expedient that truth should perish that the "people" may live. Thus Stalin and his commissars (says Professor Schuman on page 198), "displayed no bloodthirsty passion to exterminate opponents, but on the contrary acted with remarkable patience and toleration in an effort to conciliate and reconvert the dissenters." O, shades of Zinoviev and Leon Trotsky, take comfort: it was only an example of Stalin's "remarkable patience and toleration" and his "effort to conciliate and reconvert the dissenters"!

Truth? Scholarship? "Inquiring mind"?

## The Hiddenest Tax

He asked me: "Why do you say that I am being taxed whenever the government debt is increased—by what you call *the inflation tax*?" Since he is a learned libertarian author, this convinced me that the inflation tax must be the most hidden of all our taxes.

First, anything is a tax that takes money from the people for support of government. The property tax is a direct and open form. Others are less visible, and even the victims of the inflation tax deny its being a tax at all.

The people must somehow pay for all government spending. A small part comes from a direct charge to the user, as when you buy a postage stamp. The major part comes from various acknowledged taxes like property and income taxes. But when all these fail to suffice and there is still an "unbalanced budget," the government makes new money to pay the balance.

When a private citizen makes new money to solve his budgetary problem he is called a counterfeiter and dubbed a scoundrel, legally and socially. But when the government does it, we call it "deficit financing" by a "public servant." Both are alike in that the government, like the counterfeiter, can then pay its bills without producing something and selling it. It produces new money instead, which acquires buying power by robbing it from money already in existence. The new money means more money; there are no more goods; prices go up; a dollar buys less and is robbed of buying power.

It is this loss of buying power of the old dollars that is the inflation tax. I am indifferent whether the government takes ten cents of my dollar, or lets me keep my dollar and takes away ten per cent of its buying power through dilution of the money by the inflation tax. Both take, by compulsion, an equal amount of money in the sense of buying power, to pay the costs of government. That is the meaning of taxation.

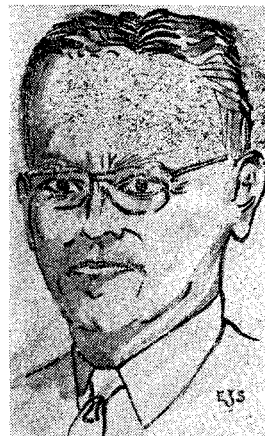
Why are we so easily fooled by it? It is because we think of dollars instead of their buying power. And also, the tax receipt in the case of the inflation tax is called a government bond or note. On this particular form of tax receipt, the government promises to pay us back our tax at some future date—with interest! Other people will buy that promise, and so we call it an asset or investment. It makes us believe that we have arranged to postpone payment of the tax.

If taxes could in this way be postponed, why not let's postpone all of them forever? Why not make all our tax receipts salable in the same way? We are fools not to do this completely, if it can be done at all. But if it can't be done, we are merely fooling ourselves in denying that it is a tax—the inflation tax.

F. A. HARPER

# UMT: The Promise of Disaster

By HOWARD BUFFETT



Howard Buffett

"You can do everything with bayonets, Sire, but sit on them." When Talleyrand so warned Napoleon, he could not have been thinking of the bill for Universal Military Training which Congress will wrestle with next January. Yet the point he stressed in his unique way is applicable: an army is trained to do something, and you cannot forever prevent it from doing that for which it is trained. UMT is no exception.

When this bill comes up, the pros will preamble it with a list of national dangers from which, presumably, only UMT can save us. That has become standard procedure with these indefatigable militarists. But they beg the question. Will peacetime conscription provide protection against the perils they picture, or will it not rather lead us to disaster as it has led every country that tried it?

The first major country to embrace peacetime conscription as a national policy was France, in 1792. Defense was the excuse for the creation of this conscript army, but conquest was the use to which it was put. Waterloo followed, as a matter of course, and the policy was dropped. Napoleon III returned to it, also for purposes of defense, but the conscript armies of France seemed unable to avoid attack or prevent invasion—three times in less than a hundred years. And France, the originator of the policy, is now a weak, second-rate power. Cause and effect?

Germany took to peacetime conscription in 1814, for defense, of course. It got a full measure of militarism instead, and not the security its conscript army was supposed to provide. The political history of the German Reich can be summarized in four words: conscription, militarism, conquest, disaster.

Japan adopted peacetime conscription in 1873, and that country also took the road of militarism, aggressive war, defeat and disaster. Nor was it different with Italy, where conscription and its consequences drowned out the song and laughter of its peace-loving people; here too the sequence of events was costly militarism, then imperialistic ventures, then defeat and disaster.

Russia as a nation has not yet hit the nadir that other conscript nations have come to, but the Tsars, who emulated the French pattern, certainly

found their slave armies no protection against either attack or defeat. And those Americans who are plugging for UMT as a defense measure, might take a look at Article 132 of the Soviet Constitution: "Universal Military Service is law. Military service in the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R. is an honorable duty of the U.S.S.R." Can it be said that the U.S.S.R. is dedicated to preserving the peace? And as for protecting the nation from attack, Article 132 did not do so in 1941; and there is a grave question whether this Article or the help received from two non-conscript nations saved the nation from disaster.

## The Army Is a Bureaucracy

The record of these nations offers sobering evidence that peacetime conscription, always advocated as an instrument of negative protection, always becomes an instrument of positive aggression; that it brings in its wake militarism, conquest, and ultimately defeat and disaster. The seeds of this sequence are imbedded in the Army itself.

It must be remembered that the Army is a bureaucracy, and that the first objective of a bureaucracy is self-preservation. The second is expansion. Both objectives prosper in proportion to the widening of its activities. In the case of the Army, generals must have soldiers to command; and the more soldiers, the more generals. Since peacetime volunteering never produces enough soldiers for enough generals, conscription is the solution of this bureaucratic problem.

But peacetime conscription runs counter to the interests of the people, who are everywhere peace-loving; that is, life to them means the making of a living and the raising of a family. Army service interferes with both of these primordial impulses, and they naturally shun it. Also, since the Army represents pure waste, and therefore costs which the people must bear, their attitude toward it is none too kindly.



To overcome this resistance to their purposes, the Army, aided and abetted by civilians who stand to prosper by militarism, turns to the propaganda of fear. If the people can be convinced that the "enemy is at the city gates," that their homes and their families are in imminent danger of being violated, then they will submit to the indignity of involuntary servitude. In this respect, the advocates of UMT are in a better position than Napoleon, who did not have the use of radio, television and monstrous printing presses.

Just by way of documentation, there is extant a military order promulgated by the Japanese authorities when they found apathy among their conscripts, and probably among the civilians: "To make a good soldier, there must always be an immediate enemy. He must be led to believe that this enemy may strike today. He must be convinced that the enemy is prepared to annihilate our country at the first opportunity." The "enemy" was the United States.

### Global Police Action

The case for UMT is improved not only by the existence of an enemy, but by the fact that he is all over the world, and that to contain him we must have soldiers everywhere. The global policing action we are engaged in, for defense purposes only, calls for an army of 2,500,000 potential fighters at all times. And that means conscription as a fixed national policy.

But, as every general knows, the "morale" of an army deteriorates unless it can be put to the job for which it prepared. The "morale" of the people also suffers from the constant drain on their pocketbooks, to say nothing of their anxiety for the sons taken from the fireside. A deteriorating "morale" consists of restlessness arising from dissatisfaction and annoyance. Something must be done to overcome this emotional reaction to militarism.

The Army is in far better position than any other bureaucracy to counteract a deteriorating "morale." The other bureaucracies must resort to handouts or promises of good things to come; the Army has an "incident" up its sleeve. If it hasn't one quite ready, the Foreign Office, which always collaborates with or dominates the Army, can be obliging. Actual fighting has a way of improving "morale."

The case of Japan in 1931 illustrates the point. The civilian government was being hounded by the people to reduce the burden of military expenses. The country was suffering from depression. The Army and the civilian government responded to the complaints by maneuvering a war incident in Manchuria, and the national "morale" was improved.

So it has always been. Proponents of UMT say that the record of the other countries that went in for conscription does not apply to the United

States. We are a peace-loving nation, entirely free of imperialistic ambitions, and need the conscript army for the sole purpose of safeguarding our national existence. It is inconceivable that the Army would maneuver us into war for reasons of "morale."

Perhaps so. But a few figures make us wonder. In 1939 our national security expenses were just over a billion and a quarter. In 1953 they came to over 52 billions, an increase of 4,100 per cent. A billion dollars a week of spending money creates a potent political power, one that cannot be discounted too easily. Not only is the bureaucracy interested in its continuance, but also a host of people whose economic condition depends on the race to war.

To be sure, the U.S.S.R. is a threat to our nation. But is conscription the protection we need or will it not rather bring in its wake a more serious threat? That is the question that the advocates of UMT have not yet satisfactorily answered. Twenty years ago, Germany, Italy and Japan, neighbors of communism, were similarly terrified by it and acceded to the militaristic demands of their rulers. What happened to these countries?

It is still true that you can do everything with bayonets except sit on them.

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## The Fine Print

"Bigger Benefits for 75 Million People," scream the headlines. The 83rd Congress amended the social security system to allow "more money for nearly everybody." Then in the body of the main report follow the glamorous details of the pumped-up pensions and bigger benefits.

But what of the fine print at the bottom of the page? One line of it explains that, beginning in 1955, the social security tax will be \$168 on a \$4,200 yearly wage; that the tax will rise to \$210 a year on such a wage by 1960; and then work on up to \$336 a year by 1975—unless the present plan is changed again. So it isn't something for nothing at all for the young man who still has thirty or forty years of "covered employment" between now and his sixty-fifth birthday.

Elsewhere in the fine print, or between the lines, one discovers that every promised boost of one per cent in social security benefits represents an accrued liability of \$2 billion. And some actuaries estimate that the 83rd Congress raised benefits by 30 per cent! If so, \$60 billion has just been added to the burden of federal debt to be borne by the folks who worry about growing old. This promise, of course, is not backed by bonds; so it won't appear officially as part of the federal deficit.

The promise hits the headlines, and in the fine print is the cost.

PAUL L. POIROT



# Caution at Evanston

By REV. EDMUND A. OPITZ



Rev. Edmund A. Opitz

Evanston will no doubt go on being the suburb of Chicago, but it is now also a landmark in Christendom. It takes place with Edinburgh, Oxford, Stockholm, Lausanne, Madras, Lucknow and Amsterdam as a focal point in the efforts of ecclesiasts to find ways in which churches can work together.

The Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches held session in Evanston during the last two weeks of August; 1,600 delegates, accredited visitors and consultants from forty-eight countries attended the meetings. There were also seven hundred press, radio and television representatives. A staff of three hundred and fifty handled the promotion and publicity, the translating, the mimeographing and the thousands of details that go with an operation of this size.

What was said at Evanston was heard 'round the world. With the help of one hundred and fifty telephones and sixteen teletype machines installed especially for the occasion, the men and women of the press filed an average of one hundred thousand words of copy a day. The Assembly was captured on thousands of feet of documentary film.

No one could complain about not being kept busy. In addition to the plenary sessions, there was a well-planned program for the delegates and another for the accredited visitors. There were meetings of six sections to hammer out reports. There were two press sessions a day, and a morning and evening service of worship. After the official close each night, informal discussion and debate went on until the coffee houses turned out their lights at various hours after midnight. Evanston is a dry town, and some of the European churchmen were heard to complain that the human being is just not constructed so that he can keep up this sort of thing on coffee!

Evanston was a big and expensive operation. But what did it come to, besides size?

Among other results, some of which are incalculable at this time, Evanston produced six papers and a Message. For the past four years six study commissions have been seeking to shed some light on the problems confronting the contemporary Church in six fields: 1) Faith and Order—"Our Oneness in Christ and Our Disunity as Churches," 2) Evangelism—"The Mission of the Church to Those outside Her Life," 3) Social Questions—"The Responsible Society in a World Perspective," 4) International Affairs

—"Christians in the Struggle for World Community," 5) Intergroup Relations—"The Church Amid Racial and Ethnic Tensions," 6) The Laity—"The Christian in His Vocation." A seventh commission prepared a long statement on the Evanston theme, "Christ—The Hope of the World."

Each of these reports runs to nearly twenty thousand words. Further meetings produced a working paper from each of the reports. Evanston also issued a Message to the churches. What the churches do with these reports and the Message will be left for them individually to determine, and until the churches take some action the work of Evanston will be incomplete. All one can do at the moment is to take the reports at face value.

Social questions have occupied a prominent place in the ecumenical movement. One of the early mottoes was "Doctrine divides, but service unites." The kind of service the modern world wants is social service, and it wants it through the good offices of the State; the social thinkers in the ecumenical movement think along the same lines. An official of the World Council of Churches, writing the preface to an official compilation entitled "Ecumenical Documents on Church and Society" says, "One of the major forces which has drawn and held the Churches together in the ecumenical movement has been the necessity of their uniting in thought and action on the vast political, economic and social problems of the modern world. A very large part of the energy of the movement has in turn been directed toward seeking together as Christians ways of meeting the challenge of human social disorder."

Human social disorder was no less challenging at Evanston than it was at Amsterdam, say, but the official statements now are much more cautious than they were six years ago. The Responsible Society now has a place for a sector of private enterprise, the price system and the businessman, along with a large sector for State

intervention. One of the preliminary reports contained this sentence: "Many Socialists in western Europe now realize the importance of the private sector of the economy and the necessity for the energetic, enterprising and expert businessman, as well as being aware of the needs for state action to be decentralized . . . and adaptable."

The Evanston report on the Responsible Society bears witness to the fact that the significance of the events of the six years since Amsterdam has not been lost on theologians. The ecumenical social thinkers seem to have kept pace with developments in secular thought and have abandoned theoretical socialism for the simple reason that it has been found unworkable, if not unthinkable. In any event, the present report says what it has to say in a less antagonistic manner than the earlier one.

### Less Stridency

In addition to the sobering effect of the events of the immediate past, two other factors have contributed to soften the earlier stridency of the social actionists. The first of these is the Evanston theme itself, centering around the Second Coming of Christ; the other is the participation of theologians from behind the Iron Curtain in the ecumenical movement.

The socialistic emphasis in religion took its rise in a period of "muscular Christianity," when theologians were going to usher in the Kingdom of Heaven on earth by eliminating poverty and giving everybody an education. A churchman who still maintains the "this-worldly" hope which prevailed a generation ago, wrote recently, "For me the welfare state par excellence is the Kingdom of Heaven." Once this would have been considered a typical expression of the Christian hope, but no longer. The catastrophe of World War One pulled the rug from under part of the prevailing optimism, but some churchmen carried on in the old vein by stuffing themselves full of moonshine about the virtues of socialism and communism. One would almost conclude, upon reading certain rhapsodical accounts, that some of these people believed that a communist cell had its counterpart in the early church and that Joe Stalin was a Fifth Amendment Christian! But now there is disillusionment, and with it a revival of ideas about the end of the world and the imminent reappearance of the Lord.

The opening keynote speech at Evanston was delivered by Professor Edmund Schlink, of the theological faculty at Heidelberg University. He said, "For those who hope in Christ . . . the tumult of this world is a sure sign of Christ's coming. . ." This point of view represents a growing emphasis in contemporary religious thought, especially in Europe. One result of this emphasis is a relaxation of interest in social

uplift; it is impossible to arouse much enthusiasm for a Five Year Plan among a people who believe that Christ will appear in four!

Several churchmen from behind the Iron Curtain were at Evanston. One of these, Bishop Janos Peter of Hungary, was a member of the group which drew up the paper on the Responsible Society. In one of his appearances, Bishop Peter declared that the Church "is not bound up with any social system, but serves the Lord independently of the changes in the social system." There is some truth in this remark, but it also has the earmarks of an attempt to make a virtue out of necessity. The Church in Hungary has to ride out a storm; it lives on sufferance under a regime which would not take kindly to efforts to throw the Church's weight around in the political arena after the manner of the American social actionists. In these circumstances, the Church lays emphasis on ritual and avoids things which carry political overtones.

This being the situation of certain member churches of the World Council, it would have been unseemly for a declaration to come out of Evanston urging the churches to shape themselves into political power blocs. Thus the success of the Communists in several countries of Europe has, in a left-handed sort of way, clamped a lid on our local political actionists.

The term coined at Amsterdam, "Responsible Society," has become a trademark of ecclesiastical social thought. The concept boils down to this: society should be so organized that its political agency, the State, will see to it that no one falls below a minimum standard of housing, wages, education and medical care. This is the Welfare State idea. In a sense, the report amounts to an endorsement of the Welfare State, but the endorsement is hedged by a warning that "We never make an idol of any social cause, institution, or system. . . Christians are called to live responsibly . . . in any society, even within the most unfavorable social structure."

It is impossible to know precisely what making an idol out of any social cause means to those who wrote the report, because there has been a lot of idol making in the social actionist camp. As evidence, one might cite the once-popular old slogan, "Christianity is the religion of which socialism is the practice." It is well that those in this tradition should do some idol smashing, but they have not yet stopped worshipping some of the broken pieces. They still press for social remedies which cannot be put into operation unless political power is obtained to force the remedies on those who hold other convictions about what is good for society. Also, they act as if to raise questions about the Responsible Society concept is to commit *lese majesté*.

A good example of this is to be found in the preliminary study. The co-chairman of the study

commission declared: "Now there has developed in our Protestant churches a very extreme type of individualism which wants to go back to an absolutely unreconstructed capitalism." This irresponsible statement lacks charity and understanding, but it is not untypical of the set of mind which is so sure of its inside track to the Deity that it cannot but regard opposition as of the devil.

### No Guidance on Statism

The State plays a large role in the Responsible Society:

While the State is sometimes the enemy of freedom, under many circumstances the State is the only instrument which can make freedom possible for large sectors of the population. . . . When necessary in the public interest, the State must intervene to prevent any center of economic or social power which represents partial interest from becoming stronger than itself, for the State alone has the power and the authority under God to act as trustee for society as a whole.

When the private sector of the economy acts out of selfish interest and the State acts altruistically for society as a whole, it is not difficult to see which is to be given first place!

How do we know when the State is an enemy of freedom? If, when this happens, we are entitled to say that the State has gone too far, we are entitled to ask: How far is far enough? Is there anything in Christianity which provides criteria which help us determine the place and functions of the State in society? The report offers no guidance on this point. It does say that we shouldn't make an idol out of the State, and it asserts that "no one form of government has a universal claim on Christians"; but this labors the obvious.

The Church has survived many changes in the forms of government, and it lives today under several conflicting varieties. In the past, many churchmen have yielded to the temptation of being monarchists under a monarchy, republicans in a republic, oligarchs under an oligarchy, and so on. But just as the Church got itself comfortably hitched to one of these wagons, the horse died! The lesson is that the Church shouldn't seek a preferential position in the State. But one cannot logically infer from this that there are not some forms of government more out of harmony with Christian principles than others. And it is plausible to assume that there is a form of government which is theoretically more in harmony with Christian principles than other forms of government.

If one regards government as an instrument or means of effecting certain kinds of relationships between men, then these relationships must be judged by the standard which Christianity says should guide men in their dealings with one another. This standard is the love commandment.

Here is a criterion to play the role of Everest to our moral strivings. Even though every kind of human relationship exhibits shortcomings when measured by this standard, Christians do recognize it as being universally binding on them. It is a standard that applies to the human relationships which result from political action.

Political action is indubitably coercive. When this fact is recognized, the choice of political forms narrows down to two. On the one hand, we may choose a scheme which uses political power to put the energies of the bulk of men at the disposal of the few who wield political power. This involves the use of the threat of coercion to make some men in some degree the creatures of other men. On the other hand, political action may be theoretically limited to the restraint of those who injure their fellows. Which of these alternate political forms measures up more nearly to the Christian moral standard: "Love thy neighbor as thyself?" It is true that the idea of limited government falls short of being Utopian, but among the kind of creatures human beings are it does give as much weight to the love commandment as is possible in the political arena.

The rise of communism receives some attention in the report. Communism is regarded as a threat to any responsible society, but the growth of communism "is a judgment upon our modern societies generally for past or present indifferences to social justice, in which the Church is also involved." One of the dangers in the present situation is "the temptation to succumb to anti-communist hysteria and the danger of a self-righteous assurance concerning the political and social systems of the West." The report contains no warning about the dangers of hysterical anti-anti-communism.

One might sum the matter up by saying of this report, and of the other five: It is all familiar stuff. The active work of the ecumenical movement has been in the hands of men who live on that level of society where the intellectual fads and fancies flow fastest, and these people talk among themselves in terms most soothing to each other. The ecumenical movement has not got down to the grass roots. This fact has often been lamented, and it was lamented again at Evanston by Dr. S. M. Cavert, associate secretary for the U.S.A. of the World Council of Churches. He said, "We must frankly admit that the average church member does not see far beyond his denominational boundary or even his parish. . . This is the most disturbing weakness in the ecumenical movement."

This may be disturbing, but there is one thing more disturbing still: that the ecumenical movement so far has produced so little that would provide the average churchman with an incentive to step across his local boundaries.

# A Reviewer's Notebook

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

In the Dark Ages the Christian monks kept alive the flickering flame of individualistic Western values. Today, although there are as yet no visible signs that the scientific fruits of Western values are disappearing, we are threatened with a new Dark Age, a collapse of the very philosophy of freedom that has made scientific advance possible. Where are the latter-day counterparts of the monks who read Aristotle along with Christian theory and so kept the intellectual bases of Western civilization alive? Quite definitely they are not in the universities, which seem wedded to a relativism that weakens the search for truth by its very doubt that eternal laws are discernible, particularly as they relate to society. If there is any latter-day equivalent, on a secular plane, of the medieval monasteries, it is to be found at Irvington-on-Hudson, where a devoted economic evangelist named Leonard E. Read runs something called the Foundation for Economic Education.

This Foundation for Economic Education is really far more than that; it is also a Foundation for General Inquiry into the Nature of Man. It disdains the mere collection and correlation of statistics. Open the envelopes containing its dignified releases and you will find no inductive studies of demand curves, no factual demonstrations of the inflationary effect of Federal Reserve policy, no chartings of the progress of real wages in the garment industry. The Foundation for Economic Education is distinctly not to be confused with such pragmatic outfits as the National Industrial Conference Board or the Bureau for Economic Research. What Mr. Read's organization does is to regard economics as a branch of morals, of ethics. It studies economic law in the wider setting of natural law. The analogy to the monastery

applies with quite obvious force to Mr. Read's staff of "economists," for they are really men of the spirit who would hate communism, socialism or any variant of collectivism even if it were to be proved more efficient than capitalism and its attendant values of free choice.

In conducting their search for truth, Mr. Read's staff build on the traditional individualistic values of Christianity and Graeco-Roman culture. The essays that come from the Irvington-on-Hudson sanctuary invariably begin with the "self-evident" truths of the Founding Fathers, that all men are equal in the sight of God and have inalienable rights to life, liberty, property and the pursuit of happiness. This latest book-length product of the Foundation is *Essays on Liberty: Volume II* (442 pp. Irvington-on-Hudson: The Foundation for Economic Education. \$2.50 cloth; \$1.50 paper). Edited by Mr. Read, it contains many of the admirable philosophical discourses of the Foundation staff—essays by F. A. Harper on such topics as "Gaining the Free Market," by Dean Russell ("My Freedom Depends on Yours," etc.), by Russell J. Clinchy ("Two Paths to Collectivism") and by Mr. Read himself ("Combating Statism"). It also contains essays by outsiders which have been deemed worth preserving by the Foundation's staff.

The modern reader, who has been trained to think in terms of a thousand-and-one exceptions to "general" rules, might be somewhat flabbergasted by the doctrinal purity of Mr. Read and his colleagues. In this day of high tax brackets, of federal and state budgets that take almost a third of the national income, of State aid to virtually everybody and his grandmother, it may seem a trifle Quixotic to be arguing in rigidly pure terms that would have seemed quite logical to Herbert Spencer a hundred years ago. Mr.

Read and his staff push their anti-Statism to such unqualified limits that they often seem like Sisyphus trying to get that rock up the ever-impossible hill. *Essays on Liberty* is resolutely against any and all government activity that involves taking the substance of one citizen to support or aid another. The TVA idea gets no mercy here. The tax-supported government school is anathema. Price-fixing, even in time of total war, is regarded as a perversion of justice. Conscription for the armed forces is anti-freedom, and therefore immoral. And the natural deduction from *Essays on Liberty* is that roads, hospitals and soil research should be left in private hands.

Since I am pro-freedom, I agree wholeheartedly with Mr. Read's general position. But is it effective in



John Chamberlain

1954 to push the doctrine of anti-Statism without recourse to the literary values of irony, sarcasm, humor, parody and occasional birching of the specific sinners who are busy committing the sins which Mr. Read deplores? Mr. Read dislikes "personalities," preferring to stick to abstract argument. He rightly says it is not important to make a play to reach the "masses." But even to reach Albert Jay Nock's "saving remnant" involves the specific attention-getting use of logically extraneous devices. Nock's own writings are a case in point. Nock was fully as convinced as Mr. Read that "masses" do not count in moving the world. But Nock was never contemptuous of the virtues of style,

humor, ridicule and all the other things needed to lure even the most literate man's eye to the printed page.

What I am trying to say is this: *Essays on Liberty* is wonderful stuff, but it isn't presented in a form to rivet the attention of the college student, the law school professor, the editorial writer. For that, a libertarian Henry L. Mencken is needed. Argument is fine, but not until the whole armament of literary presentation, from poetry to clowning, is brought to the service of the libertarian movement will we make a beginning at saving the "saving remnant."

[The above review is reprinted by permission from *Classic Features*, 434 Broadway, New York 13, *The Literary Journal*, E. M. Case, editor]

Since writing the review of *Essays on Liberty* which is reprinted above, I have had some correspondence with the gentle F. A., or "Baldy," Harper of the Foundation for Economic Education staff. Dr. Harper is an eloquent and persuasive enemy of "logically extraneous" literary devices: his feeling is that irony, invective, sarcasm and parody lead to unfair and clouded judgments. With Dr. Harper reason and logic are everything. I must hasten to point out that I, too, believe in the ultimate triumph of logic: I would hardly have chosen to make my living by writing if I did not. But logic often needs a prod; it often needs help from those whose professional skills are devoted to what might be called the "creation of perspective."

Jonathan Swift knew this; so did Finley Peter Dunne's Mr. Dooley. Finley Peter Dunne was utterly unfair to Theodore Roosevelt when he spoke of the latter's Rough Rider exploits as accomplished "alone in Cubia," but nobody who reads "Mr. Dooley" on the subject of the charge at San Juan Hill would ever make the mistake of overlooking Teddy Roosevelt's faults of theatricalism. The truth would seem to be that irony, burlesque and such are needed to open the road for logic: often one cannot see the truth until the emotional desire not to see it has

been destroyed or punctured by something that shows the incongruity of the reigning falsehood.

Logic should tell anyone that collectivism outrages the nature of the individual. Unfortunately, logic has not been able to combat the fashionable rage for all sorts of Fabian and Marxian heresies. The collectivist fashion has dominated the literary scene for at least a quarter of a century. Collectivism has not won its literary victories by argument: it has won them by making people feel that it is *démodé*, old hat, even "Neanderthal" and "troglydytic," to believe in the primacy of the individual, or in the doctrine of natural rights. The Communists did not put over the fashion, but they encouraged it; and by their superiority at literary politics they have succeeded in destroying the reputations of those who have opposed the spread of the idea that "rights" are the gift of the State.

The way the Communists worked in the background to influence and control the various Fabian groups in the thirties forms the substance of John Dos Passos' new novel, *Most Likely to Succeed* (310 pp. New York: Prentice-Hall, \$3.50). Mr. Dos Passos' "hero" is a playwright who caught the fashionable disease of proletarianism quite early in his career. The playwright, Jed Morris, has a phenomenal rise in Hollywood as a script writer. He was not a Communist at the start, but the Communists see to it that his reputation depends on the "movement." Bit by bit, Jed Morris is caught in the toils. In the end he is forced to become a party member as the price of his continued fashionable success.

Mr. Dos Passos' novel is strictly "naturalistic" in its surface manifestations. But the "naturalism" is overemphasized for reasons which have to do with contemporary literary warfare: "good" is subordinated to "evil" for the purpose of underscoring a parable. Jed Morris is a despicable worm by all moral standards—but Mr. Dos Passos' point is that moral standards no longer prevail in literary circles dominated by collectivist fashions. What *Most Likely to Succeed*

shows is that, in a collectivist age, the worst elements gravitate to the top of all power-wielding bodies.

For purposes of enduring fiction Mr. Dos Passos' method has its drawbacks: *Most Likely to Succeed* would have been a better novel if it had portrayed the noble fight which such anti-Communists as Morrie Ryskind, Adolphe Menjou and Jim McGuinness waged against the comrades and the fellow-travelers of Hollywood. And it is quite possible that *Most Likely to Succeed* would also have been better propaganda if nobility had been accorded a chance in its pages. But the grisly nature of the literary power game is most adequately brought out by the Dos Passos method of showing how the commissars make use of weaklings who depend on literary fashion for spiritual and economic sustenance.

The question is: how to replace a bad—or collectivist—fashion with a good libertarian fashion. Logic will play its role in changing the literary climate. But it is my firm belief that not until collectivists become a subject for laughter and for scorn will logic have its chance with the young, who live by imitation.

## The Totalitarian State

**Totalitarianism**, edited with an introduction by Carl J. Friedrich. 386 pp. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. \$6.50

This book is a collection of nineteen (out of a total of twenty-one) papers which were read at a conference held by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences last year, and a record of the discussions to which they gave rise. Although the papers are of unequal value, they are all stimulating, some by their merits, others by their defects. The defects spring mainly from an unwillingness to define totalitarianism and an inability to distinguish between its essential and accidental features. Several of the contributors desire to see in it something that is unique and peculiar to our time. That leads them to stress the dependence of contemporary totalitarianism on modern technology and to

forget that totalitarianism is fundamentally a problem of human character, and that the question of what totalitarians are logically takes precedence over what makes them efficient.

Mr. George Kennan, for instance, who read the introductory paper and who believes that there are no better examples of totalitarianism than Germany and Russia, makes the startling admission that "Never, as it seems to me in retrospect, did we foreign service officers have occasion to systematize what we knew about the regimes of those countries, to attempt the general assessment of that sort of power from the standpoint of its place in history and its relations to our civilization as a whole." Nevertheless, when he was told "by well-informed people that all the essential features of Soviet communism could be observed in certain ancient oriental despotisms," he "would be inclined to doubt that this could be wholly true . . . because of the importance of the technological component in the totalitarian system as we know it today."

This lack of a systematic attempt to grasp the inwardness of totalitarianism and this clinging to externals explains perhaps why we fared so badly in our dealings with the Soviets. If, instead of rejecting a potentially profitable line of inquiry for the sake of a difference which might or might not be significant, our foreign service officers had made an effort to draw upon all the available past and present experience in an attempt to understand totalitarianism and to develop ways of coping with it effectively, the international outlook today might be less glum.

Fortunately, one of the contributors, Mr. N. S. Timasheff, has made a systematic and successful attempt to define totalitarianism. He sees its basic trait in the unlimited extension of State functions and declares that "a society is totalitarian if the number of the auxiliary functions of the State (*i.e.*, of State activities other than those concerned with the conduct of foreign affairs and the maintenance of law and order) is so high that almost all

human activities are regulated by it."

Mr. Timasheff's definition was, on the whole, disregarded in the discussions that followed. For the implication is that the antidote to totalitarianism is liberalism which tries to restrict State activity to its logical minimum. This, of course, runs counter to the craze for State intervention to which even professed anti-totalitarians have succumbed.

Still, many judicious observations were made in the course of the conference. A significant point which emerged in various disguises was that arbitrariness and absence of the rule of law are essentials of totalitarianism. This was brought out mainly in connection with the role of terror, but ought to be borne in mind by all those who want to believe that some kind of reliance can be placed upon agreements concluded with totalitarian governments.

HUBERT MARTIN

## Philosophy and Life

**The Spirit of Philosophy**, by Marcus Long. 300 pp. New York: W. W. Norton & Company. \$4.00.

Marcus Long's new book is what one might call an enjoyable experience in reading philosophy. Written in a refreshing and almost narrative style, with a minimum of technical language, it will interest the layman as well as the beginning student.

Philosophy can no longer be considered an abstract intellectual game entirely divorced from one's daily life, and Long is successful in showing its applicability to actual problems. Even one's allegiance to a specific political system assumes acceptance of certain basic philosophic concepts concerning man, his freedom and law. Every position one takes on social, political or economic issues has its basis ultimately in the principles of one of the philosophic disciplines.

As an introduction to philosophy this book is meant to stimulate a questioning attitude rather than to give final answers. By this approach

the author furthers what he considers the true spirit of philosophy, the free and rational examination of unquestioned assumptions. He believes that philosophy no more than science can claim certainty, because the goal of infallible truth can be approached but never reached by man. The kind of skepticism found in science is also needed in philosophy, Long thinks, in order to combat the dogmatisms and superstitions that bar progress today. By skepticism Long means not cynicism but open-mindedness.

The author covers most of the basic problems of philosophy, including space, time, substance, value and God. In doing so he gives the reader something of a history of philosophy by discussing the positions of the outstanding men in each area. Beginning with Plato and Aristotle, he traces problems up to the present time and shows their significance to contemporary issues.

Like many philosophers, Long feels that, with philosophy as with science, there can be no contradictions in a sound system. For example, one cannot logically hold the philosophic view of free will, and then in community affairs support a theory that juvenile delinquency is entirely the result of social circumstances. Environment may be responsible to some extent for the behavior of children; but if one is to argue for freedom of the will, he must admit that children, as free human beings, are responsible to some extent for their actions. Freedom, as Long points out, is determinism; but it is a self-determinism which is neither mechanism nor caprice. Freedom means that each man is responsible for his actions because of his faculty for making decisions independently of his environment. What he does is of lasting consequence, not just a choice of fleeting importance.

A philosophic system must be a personal production. The most any author or teacher can do is to stimulate another person's thought. It is only by satisfying his own intellectual curiosity, not by accepting what someone else has said is so, that man can find answers to his problems. BARBARA HARPER KEITH

## Mexican Martyr

**Padre Pro**, by Fanchón Royer. 248 pp. New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons. \$3.50

Visitors to present-day Mexico are often impressed by the great number of incredibly lavish and beautiful churches to be found amidst humble and relatively inaccessible towns, as well as in the great urban centers. What they may not reflect upon are the scarcity of Catholic priests, the disappearance of traditional religious processions in public places, and the total absence of religious schools. Some knowledge of the historic background of these phenomena—the fateful events immediately following 1926 when Mexico's politicians and the Church fought a titanic and bloody struggle—is needed to understand the place which Father Pro occupies in the history of the Catholic Church in Mexico.

The book is a semi-novelized account of the brief career of a gallant Jesuit who offered his life in defense of the Church's right to minister openly to the spiritual needs of the Mexican people. Catholic opposition to the corrupt Calles regime had led to the enforcement and implementation of anti-religious provisions of the Constitution of 1917, which had hitherto been ignored by general consent. Foreign-born clergymen were banished, religious elementary schools closed, and Mexican priests forced to register or go into hiding to continue their ministrations.

This is the background—however sketchily drawn here—which Fanchón Royer fails to give the reader. Instead, one is treated to more than a hundred pages of inconsequential anecdotes about Padre Pro's boyhood and family life. In fact, not until its final third does the book come to life as we follow his clandestine activities to bring spiritual comfort and material assistance to thousands who remained faithful to their religion and church in adversity.

An abortive attempt on the life of President-elect Obregón by members of the Catholic Defense

League, in which Father Pro was not remotely implicated, provided an excuse for his summary execution without charge or trial. The account of the courageous and forgiving way in which he faced a firing squad (to which photographers and newspapermen had been invited as though it were a circus performance) provides stirring but revolting reading.

It is not too ungenerous to remark that Mrs. Royer is a special pleader for the Catholic cause. As such, she presents a convincing

picture of an admirable man who may some day be canonized as the Mexican workers' saint. However, it would have been a greater service to her cause had she placed the life of Padre Pro within the framework of the struggle between Church and State. For only in that way can the reader appreciate the full implications of his life, which surely have pertinence at a time when religion is being persecuted in many parts of the world in the name of the omnipotent State.

ROBERT E. KINGSLEY

## How Scientific Is "Social Science"?

**Social Problems and Scientism**, by A. H. Hobbs. 413 pp. Harrisburg, Pa.: The Stackpole Company. \$4.75

In a previous book, *The Claims of Sociology*, Dr. Hobbs, an associate professor of sociology at the University of Pennsylvania, analyzed 129 textbooks generally used in social science courses since 1925. It was an important piece of work, since it exposed to public view the dismal mishmash of collectivist notions that has conditioned the minds of millions of young Americans in high schools and colleges.

The preface to this book says: "I shall try to point out that it is no accident that the recommended solutions to a wide variety of personal and social problems center around moral relativity, internationalism, economic determinism, governmental collectivism, pacifism, and a grouping of other beliefs which constitute what is currently called *liberalism*. . . . My purpose is to show that such beliefs are not based on scientifically validated theories. Whatever they may be, they are not science."

Dr. Hobbs, a sound sociologist himself, is not attacking either sociology or science within their limits. What he wants to demolish is the pretentious claims of the social engineers. In nine closely reasoned and tightly documented chapters, he does a devastating job on

the prophets of statism. The remedies they propose for crime and "juvenile delinquency" may be good things in themselves, or they may not, but the fact remains that they do not work and have not worked. By any true scientific standard they are failures.

In this country and in England, "social gains" over the past twenty years have not reduced crime in the slightest. On the contrary, the number of arrests doubled. Sex crimes were up 150 per cent, and so was drug addiction. "Offenses against family and children (nonsupport, neglect, etc.) resulted in an increase of more than 400 per cent," Dr. Hobbs notes. His recommendation is "to look at the data yourself and come to your own conclusions about the 'splendid progress we are making as we use the new scientific knowledge of human behavior to combat crime.'"

Dr. Hobbs has pointed out, concerning the most widely used introductory text in the field (Ogburn and Nimkoff's *Sociology*): "In their overdrawn endeavor to convince their readers that sociology is really scientific they designate vague hypotheses as scientific laws, confuse facts with generalizations, dignify projections by calling them scientific predictions, and compare the collection of statistical data with the laboratory method."

The immense influence of the sociological myth, as distinguished



from sociology, needs no demonstration. Yet its practitioners are uneasy, sensing the absence in their field of the rigidly controlled conditions at the command of the physical and natural scientists who do not have to work with such ungrateful material as human beings. It may be this envy of the true scientific worker that makes so many social scientists yearn for the completely controlled totalitarian society. There, indeed, interesting experiments are possible, as in the butcheries of Buchenwald and the madness of Maidenek.

PAUL JONES

## A Myth in Oil

**The Growth of Integrated Oil Companies**, by John G. McLean and Robert Wm. Haigh. 728 pp. Boston: Division of Research, Harvard Business School. \$12.00

There is, apparently, no limit to the flow of propagandistic gasses which are capable of being generated by collectivist smokepots when it comes to the job of obscuring simple truths about complex industries. One of the most complex and certainly one of the most often obscured is the petroleum industry. Here, the super-planners hint and even openly say, is an industry grown so monopolistic that it should be, not a private but a State monopoly. They say that the oil tycoons have driven away competitors and greedily grab up every component of the industry that "the little man" possibly could own. Well, the oil industry is big. And the planners are plain liars.

At last, and fortunately not from the industry itself, there is striking and documented proof and illustration of just how the "big" oil companies got that way, and why.

First of all, this massive, but not eye-straining volume lays to rest the biggest myth of all: that oil companies extend their holdings (to buy up drilling companies, refineries, service stations, etc.) in an atmosphere of no competition. Intense competition, in strict fact, is *why* oil companies, as they grow, must grow into all fields of the industry.

A merchandising company which must sell hundreds of thousands of barrels of oil to meet competition cannot risk tardy supply and therefore, say, starts its own drilling or refining. Or, a producer who sees a great flow from his wells might be well advised to have proper retail outlets of his own to dispose of it. But at each end of the process there is a single objective: competition.

Today there is another factor: cost. Refineries can cost from \$20 to \$30 million. Who could put up such sums if not assured of (integrating "backward") a steady supply from wells or (integrating "forward") constant wholesaling and retailing facilities? This by no means squeezes out the lone operator, the small beginner with big plans. The McLean and Haigh study shows that although "integrated" companies hold 93 per cent of this nation's refining capacity, and better than 80 per cent of its various types of pipelines, they own only 35 per cent of all producing wells, 7 per cent of all drilling equipment, and 51 per cent of the service stations. And, even in the big integrated fields, the planners forget, the competition only gets stiffer as the company expands.

Summing it all up, McClean and Haigh, professors who worked under Harvard's graduate business school in making their study, put the growth of integration into a picture of natural law:

The series of changes or steps by which the oil companies have continually shaped and reshaped their structures is closely akin to that which may be found at work throughout the entire world of living organisms. Living organisms are continually making a progressive adaptation to the physical environments in which they exist. As new conditions emerge, organisms which fail to make the necessary adaptations inevitably suffer a competitive disadvantage in nature's struggle for survival and, in some cases, gradually become extinct. So, too, it is in the economic world; and business corporations must continually alter their structures and seek new adaptations to the realities of their surroundings if they are to remain strong and vigorous and able to withstand the relentless pressure of business competition.

For the oil companies, this book shows, the challenge of competition continually is being accepted and met. The big and threatening challenge, actually, is from the statist who would end that competition.

KARL HESS

## Kremlin Orchestra

**Brainwashing and Senator McCarthy**, by Joseph Z. Kornfeder. With an introduction by Archibald B. Roosevelt. 18 pp. Alliance, Inc., 400 East 9 St., New York 9, N. Y. \$.25

My concern for the reputation of the Ford Foundation leads me to offer its directors some free public relations counsel. In order to refute the damaging allegations made against them at the Reece Committee hearings, let them promote the mass distribution of Joe Kornfeder's pamphlet. Only a paltry sum would be required, because *Brainwashing and Senator McCarthy* is so well written, illuminating and easy to understand that it would sell itself if it could be enabled to penetrate the barriers put up against effective anti-communist literature, and be on sale in every drug store and book shop.

In spite of its title, the pamphlet concerns Senator McCarthy only insofar as the attacks on him afford an outstanding example of how a hard core of American Communists, at the center, is able to utilize concentric circles of fellow-travelers and sympathizers, Socialists, liberals and dupes, for the purpose of smearing or destroying Soviet Russia's enemies, and to praise and promote those who serve her interests. It demonstrates how Americans who think themselves loyal have been so successfully brainwashed by the constant repetition of falsehoods that they become the unconscious instruments of the Kremlin's psychological and political warfare. Using the simile of an orchestra in which the performers hear only their own themes, the author shows how issues such as the Rosenberg case or "McCarthyism," are "orchestrated" for the various instruments, to produce



a stupendous communist symphony in which discords are harmonized. Archibald Roosevelt picks up this simile in a brilliant introduction:

The Kremlin conductor, who is conducting the orchestra for disintegration of the United States, is very skillful, indeed. He uses the respectable citizens on the boards of the foundations. He uses the respectable owners and editors of the great newspapers throughout the country; teachers in the colleges and the schools, sponsors of radio programs, and the fine men and women who belong to the labor unions, in order to form one large destructive symphony of political warfare.

By serving to each his own "cup of tea," the Communists utilize the various hopes and fears, prejudices and emotions of multitudes of people to serve their aims, which might be described as the destruction of America by auto-suggestion.

By falsely equating "McCarthyism" with fascism the Communists have skillfully played upon the "public psychosis" created by the war and two decades of agitation against fascism, which now stands as the symbol of "almost anything reprehensible" or illiberal. And here the Communists profit enormously from the false thesis sold to us long ago by the New Dealers, namely that capitalism develops into fascism, whereas communism, in spite of its present tyrannical practices, will develop into a better form of "democracy" than our own. Although the majority of Americans no longer believe that communism is "progressive" (and even some of our "liberal" intelligentsia now have their doubts), they have not yet rid themselves of the guilt complex engendered by the New Deal misrepresentation of fascism as a capitalist dictatorship.

Mr. Kornfeder describes the day-to-day work of the Communists as consisting of calls for the advocacy of frustrating and defeating policies; separation of the masses from the leadership; smear agitation against leaders and institutions; the prevention of strong leadership or effective policies—in a word, "psychological sabotage."

Joe Kornfeder was at one time a

member of the Anglo-American secretariat of the Comintern. He has long been a dedicated and most effective anti-Communist, whose intimate knowledge of the methods and aims of the enemy in our midst is equalled only by his capacity for lucid exposition. FRED A UTLEY

## Psychology and Faith

**The Need to Believe, The Psychology of Religion**, by Mortimer Ostow and Ben-Ami Scharfstein. 159 pp. New York: International Universities Press, Inc. \$3.00

Like the young man who watched his mother-in-law drive his new car over a precipice, people with strong fixed religious beliefs may read this book with mixed emotions. They'll like it for the way it stresses the importance of a good reasonable faith (and who does not think his faith is reasonable?); they will dislike it because it may point up some aspects of their faith as manifestations of a psychosis.

There is even part of the book written just for me. In the first chapter, paragraph one, it says: "Books of essentially psychiatric interest are more often assigned for review to nonprofessionals than to men of the field." Nonetheless, other nonprofessionals will enjoy this discussion of the union between psychoanalysis and religion in a very nontechnical way.

It has been difficult for really sincere persons to utilize the healing to be found in both the religious and psychiatric fields. Extremists on either side have seen to that. It's good to see this professional recognition of the need to believe in religion, and to see it coming from the other side.

"It is not hard to theorize on the effect of religiousness on mental health. Religion is specifically directed against guilt and depression, and unless it takes a pathological turn, one would expect the devout to suffer less from psychic diseases that are marked by guilt and depression." By such a statement the authors do not overlook the ways in which religious faith might lead one

to a substitution of fantasies for reason. They also supply reasonable evidence to the effect that there is no reasonable evidence proving one religious group to be in possession of the best medicine for the prevention of juvenile delinquency, adult crime or other troublesome social problems. "There is no form of belief that fits men in general; some are better off as Catholics, some as Protestants, some as Hindus. But to be a conscious unbeliever—a state of mind also motivated by irrational forces—is to invite psychic disaster."

Not recommended for people who take their religious convictions so seriously that an examination of them in some form of laboratory proves distasteful.

JAMES M. ROGERS

## The Income Tax

**Man to Man**, by Bernard N. Ward. C.P.A. 346 pp. Caldwell, Idaho: the Caxton Printers, Ltd. \$4.00

This book is about the income tax. The author doesn't like it. He says: "No good citizen, having substantial knowledge of the effects of this law upon the morals of our people, will suffer its continued existence." Then he proceeds, in some detail, to offer this substantial knowledge.

Bernard N. Ward speaks from thirty years of experience as a certified public accountant in the Bay City area of Michigan. From personal knowledge, he offers case histories showing how the income tax has resulted in shocking injustice, fraud and evasion of the law.

*Man to Man* is a timely book, what with the recent major revision of the nation's tax laws by Congress. One cannot help being sympathetic with those charged with the administration of our tax laws.

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We can applaud their efforts to plug leaks, to streamline collection procedures and remove some of the injustices. However, after reading Ward's book, you will probably conclude with him that nothing short of the complete elimination of the graduated income tax will really solve those problems.

The way in which the State raises its revenue is important, of course. But even more important is the amount which the government spends. Any government which attempts to confiscate one third of a nation's annual production, which we have been doing in this country for many years now, is certain to run into difficulties with its citizens. People simply resent giving up that much of their income and devise all sorts of ways to avoid it. But a government has power and can be desperate. If a progressive income tax is denied it, there are other ways.

During the French Revolution, when the government was heavily in debt and running a large deficit, the printing presses were started. True, the people were led to believe that their paper money was backed by the confiscated Church lands. In modern times, the printing presses

have run in Germany, following World War One, and more recently in China, in Greece, and in Hungary. The insatiable appetite of a hungry State will be fed one way or another. The basic problem is keeping this appetite within bounds.

*Man to Man* is a companion piece to Frank Chodorov's *The Income Tax: Root of All Evil*, reviewed in the FREEMAN for May 31, 1954. In a little over one hundred pages Chodorov challenges the income tax from a philosophic basis. Ward shows how it has worked in practice. From either approach, the result is the same. The tax is immoral and evil. Quite aside from its economic consequences, which alone would convict it, the income tax has created a citizenry of cheaters, chiselers and informers.

What is the solution? Both Chodorov and Ward suggest the repeal of the Sixteenth Amendment which legalized the federal income tax. Chodorov argues that this would dry up the federal revenue and return competition in government to the several states, where our Founding Fathers placed it. Ward offers a substitute tax which would permit the federal government to continue to hog the tax dollar.

W. M. CURTISS

## READERS ALSO WRITE

(Continued from page 114)

### Harding College Recommended

In answer to the very interesting article by F. A. Harper (August), may I highly recommend Harding College at Searcy, Arkansas, as a place to expose Junior to the philosophy of freedom?

Dr. George S. Benson, its distinguished President, would no doubt feel diffident about making such a bold statement. But as a retired General officer of the Army, lastly as the Assistant Chief of Finance, and now executive assistant of Dr. Benson, I can support the view of many industrial leaders as to the merit of Harding College.

In connection with the Army ROTC program, I visited a great many colleges throughout the United States, and I can assure you that I have never found any college or university so dedicated to the teachings of our Founding Fathers from the standpoint of Christian patriotism, as I have found here. It has a devoted faculty and staff with high academic principles, and a hard-working and sincere student body. It is eminently successful in its purpose of developing a solid foundation of intellectual, physical and spiritual values upon which students may build useful and happy lives.

WILLIAM P. CAMPBELL

Brig Gen., U.S. Army, Ret.  
Searcy, Ark.

### Pro-Socialism Seen

In the Business Branch of the Indianapolis Public Library, I had occasion to read an article "Socialism" in the 1953 *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. The article was written by Oscar Jaszi, and it is to me 100 per cent pro international socialism. This set of books will be widely read by students in our colleges. . . .

Greenwood, Ind.

J. C. CUTRELL

### Rep. Shafer as Author

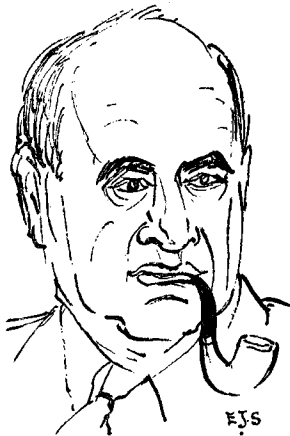
Readers of the *New York Times* obituary (August 18) in memory of the late Representative Paul W. Shafer of Michigan were not reminded of his study of the subversive movement in the public schools. In addition to his activities as lawyer, judge and legislator, he was also co-author with John Snow of *The Turning of the Tides*, published in 1953 (The Long House, Inc., P. O. Box 1103, Grand Central Annex, New York 17, N. Y.), which documented in considerable detail the growth of anti-capitalist sentiment influencing so many of our school teachers today.

Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.

BETTINA BIEN

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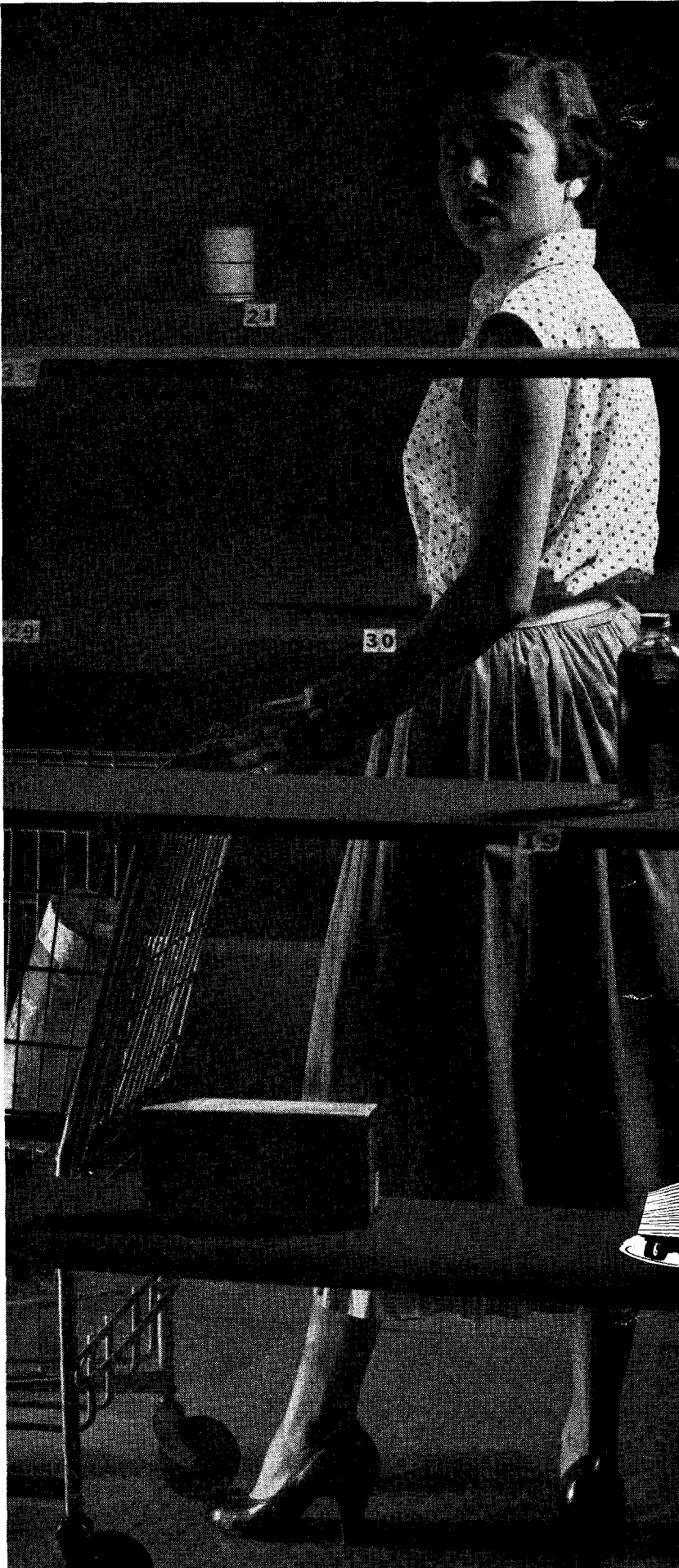
## The Source of Rights



By FRANK CHODOROV

Editor of  
the FREEMAN

The Foundation for Economic Education  
Irvington-on-Hudson, New York



## Food Store...1954

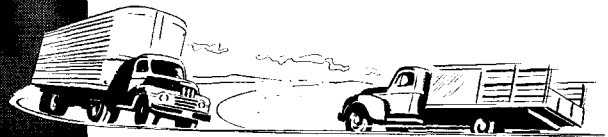
(if there were no trucks!) Know what's missing from this picture? This is the way your favorite food store would look at opening hour... if trucks stopped rolling!

No bread... no meat... no milk... no sweets. No food for your family... on those shelves or on the shelves of any other store in town.

Yes, *trucks*, motor trucks... are missing from that picture.

One important measure of transportation service is *tons hauled*. The startling truth is that trucks haul 77 percent of total tons shipped. Behind everything you buy are trucks... doing their important jobs moving raw materials, helping in manufacturing, and of course moving goods to stores of all kinds. Hardware stores, grocery stores, department stores, laundries... all depend on trucks and good, well-maintained roads on which to assure dependable delivery. So then, trucks influence your life... for the better... many times every day.

The modern up-to-date food store you visit has arrived on the American scene... by truck!



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**Professor Edmund P. Learned**

Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration—writes on

# **The Truth About Gasoline Prices**

**I**n these days of high prices it seems as if *everything* we buy costs at least twice as much as it used to. That's why it's encouraging to tell you about a commodity which, outside of increased taxes, actually costs little more than it did in 1925. I'm talking about today's gasoline.

It is very important to note that the consumer owes this favorable price situation to one basic factor—the healthy struggle for competitive advantage among all U. S. oil companies and gasoline dealers.

I can demonstrate how this competition works by a study made of a typical midwestern oil company. This company was considered a price leader because of its dominant market position. Yet in Ohio alone its products were in active competition with the brands of 7 large national companies, 5 smaller but well established regional companies and the private brands of jobbers and large retailers.

The company's retail prices were the result of keen local competition. Except for differences in customer services or unusual locations, prices out of line with competition caused loss of trade. From the social point of view, retail prices in Ohio were sound. Consumers had ample opportunity to choose between varying elements of price, service and quality. Their choice determined the volume of business for the dealer and the supplying company. New or old firms were free to try any combination of appeals to attract new business. Even the biggest marketer had to meet competitive prices. And price leadership—in the sense of ability to set prices at will—was impossible. If, as rarely happened, a price was established that was not justified by economic forces, some competitor always brought it down.

Consider the effect of this competition since gasoline taxes were first introduced. The first state gasoline tax was enacted in 1919. Last year, in 50 representative American cities, federal, state, and local gasoline taxes amounted to 7½ cents that had to

be included in the price paid by consumers. Nevertheless, management ingenuity contrived to keep the actual advance in price to consumers down to 3½ cents. This is an outstanding record in view of the general increases in wages and higher costs of crude oil.

This same competitive force among oil companies has resulted in the 50% gasoline improvement since 1925. The research and engineering efforts of the oil companies supported by the improved designs of automobile engines, have produced gasoline so powerful that today 2 gallons do the work that 3 used to do in 1925.



**Edmund P. Learned**, professor of Business Administration at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration is the author of a study on the pricing of gasoline by a midwestern oil company. This study, considered to be a classic on the gasoline price question, was published in the *Harvard Business Review* and is the basis for this article.

*This is one of a series of reports by outstanding Americans who were invited by The American Petroleum Institute to examine the job being done by the U.S. oil industry.*

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