

THE
Freeman

SEPTEMBER 1954

50¢

As Britain Sees Us

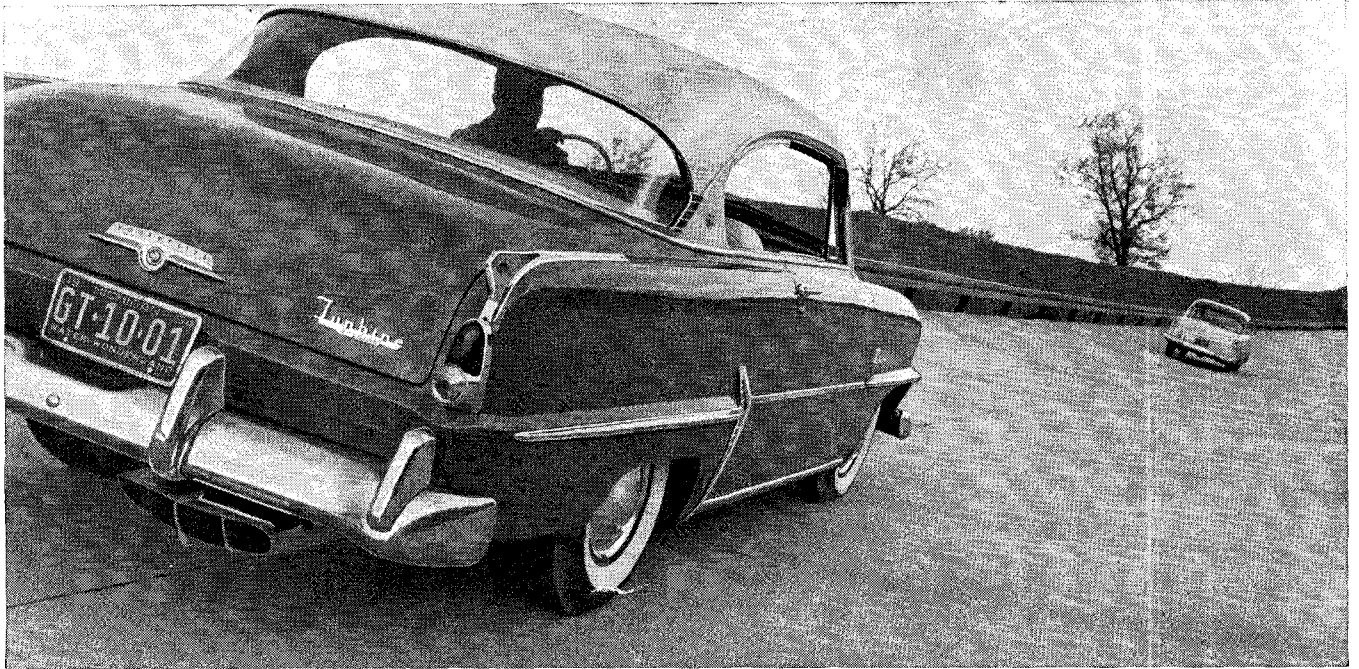
Colm Brogan

Bulls in China's Shop

John C. Caldwell

The Case for Tax Relief

Robert B. Dresser



Chrysler Corporation does it again . . .

Scoops industry with **Gas Turbine** *development*

Chrysler Corporation unveils America's first successful gas turbine passenger car engine!

Chrysler Corporation's leadership has recently been dramatically reaffirmed by its development and announcement of the first gas turbine powered passenger car ever built and tested in the United States.

The practical thinking behind this revolutionary engine is evidenced by its installation in a production-model Plymouth Sport Coupe. The car was thoroughly tested on Chrysler's vast proving grounds and proved as practical and roadable as any standard automobile.

Industry-wide amazement has been expressed at the advanced stage of development achieved by the Chrysler turbine engine. Previous gas turbine ventures had shown enormous fuel consumption. An-

other major problem had been posed by the force and extreme high temperatures of exhaust fumes that threatened to "fry" anything in their path.

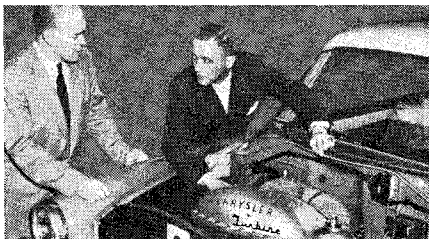
The significance of the Chrysler development is shown by the fact that *both of these major problems have been solved!* Fuel economy is in the range of conventional automobiles, and exhaust temperature is cooler than that of an average car!

This radical new power plant is not ready for general use. Manufacturing and metallurgical problems must be solved before it can be made available to the public. Still Chrysler engineering has so greatly advanced the gas turbine engine

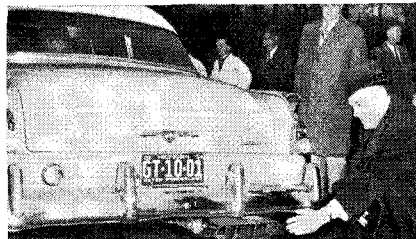
that its eventual use on the road can now be considered seriously.

Why tell you of these future things we cannot sell you today? The same sound thinking that went into bringing this engine into being is behind the cars we make today.

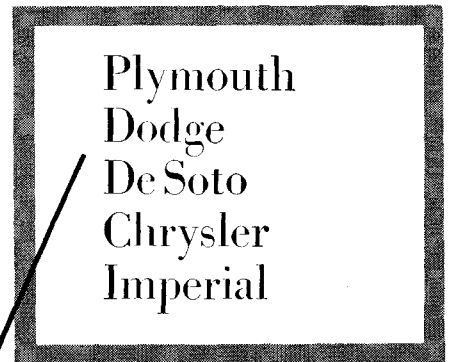
We invite you to discover for yourself the excitement and money's worth that you can have right now in the 1954 Plymouth, Dodge, De Soto, Chrysler and Imperial cars at your dealer's. Pay him a visit and try the many dozens of driving advances that put you ahead on the road. You'll find these cars have already wrapped up much of the future of motordom and are placing it right in your hands—today!



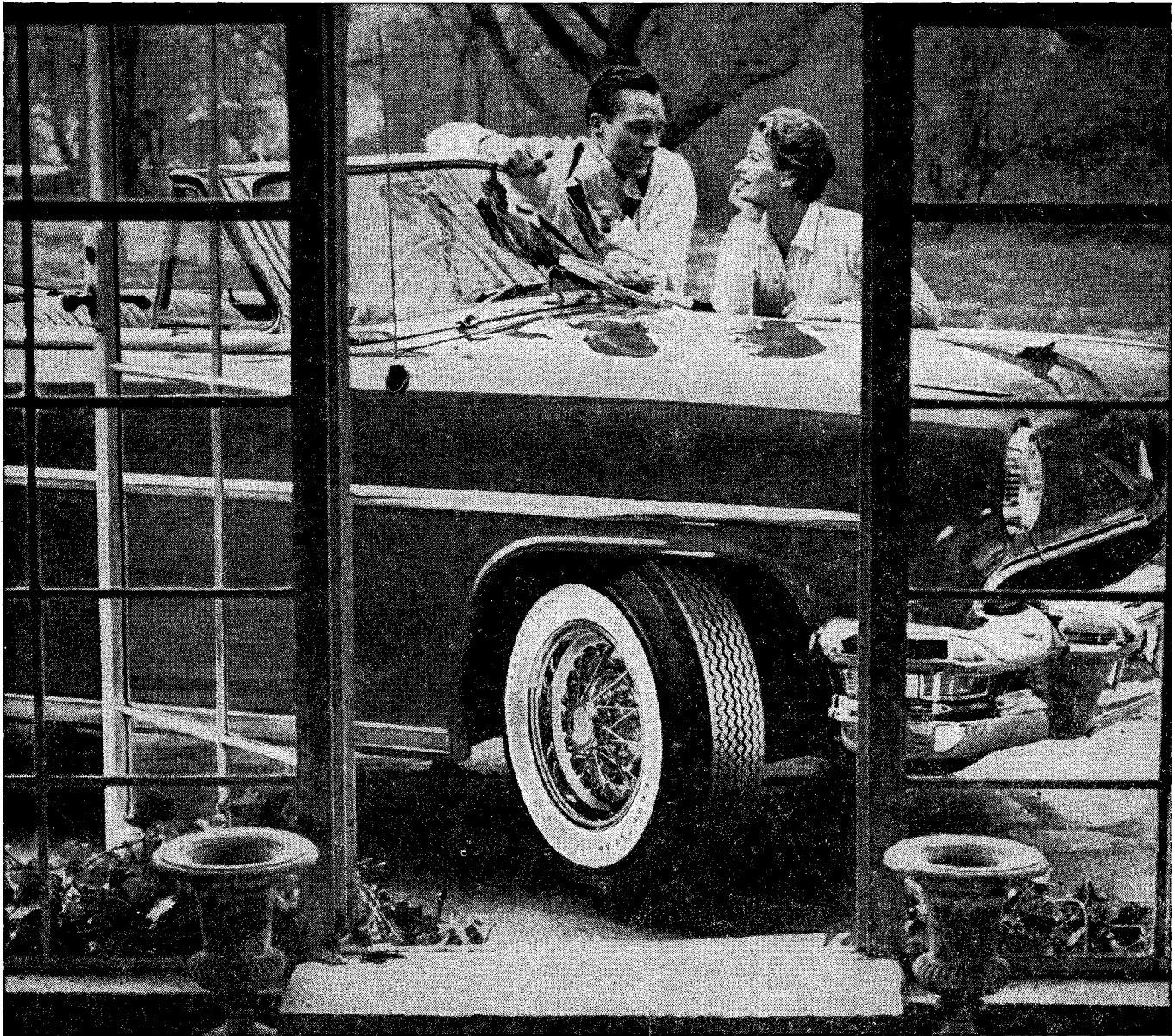
Simplicity has been achieved in the Chrysler gas turbine engine. It is 200 lbs. lighter, has one-fifth as many moving parts as the piston engine it replaces. It is air cooled, eliminating all radiator and liquid cooling components.



Exceptional Power for its size is developed by the gas turbine engine. Rated at 120 hp, it is equivalent to 160 hp in a conventional engine. Engine exhaust, above, is cooler than that of a standard auto.



Wonderful things keep coming your way from **Chrysler Corporation**



Sheer Luxury...and worth every cent of it!

New All-Nylon Cord Double Eagle

with the new quiet

"Velvet Ride"!

Though no expense was spared in its manufacture, the new All-Nylon Cord Double Eagle by Goodyear is the best investment you can make in a passenger car tire.

Ingenious new "Safety Silencers" in the tread practically eliminate "squeal" on turns to give you a new, smooth, "velvet ride."

And you get greater traction from its exclusive diamond pattern Resist-a-Skid Tread. Greater mileage from its tougher, wear-resistant tread. Greater protection from impact blowouts, too, for the All-Nylon Cord Double Eagle is actually up to 1½ to 2 times stronger than standard cord tires.

And remember, *only* Goodyear gives you Triple-Tempered 3-T Nylon Cord. Goodyear, Akron 16, Ohio.

GOODYEAR

The world's finest tire...by miles!

Double Eagle, T.M.—The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company, Akron, Ohio

THE Freeman

Editor
Business Manager

A Monthly
For
Libertarians

FRANK CHODOROV
JAMES M. ROGERS

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THE FREEMAN is published monthly. Publication Office, Orange, Conn. Editorial and General Offices, Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y. Copyrighted in the United States, 1954, by The Irvington Press, Inc. Leonard E. Read, President; Fred Rogers Fairchild, Vice President; Claude Robinson, Secretary; Lawrence Fertig, Treasurer; Henry Hazlitt and Leo Wolman.

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Why They Write

Consider this fact—that every contributor to the FREEMAN could, if he were skilled at the trade, earn more money at laying bricks in the same time that it took him to write the article. In fact, no self-respecting bricklayer would put in anything like the effort at mixing mortar that the FREEMAN author does in the selection of his words.

The bricklayer is a professional, selling his services at the highest rate, while the FREEMAN author's concern with his purpose takes precedence over the paltry check he will receive. He is an amateur, in the best sense of the word. That dedication often makes for friction with the editor who, also jealous of his amateur standing, feels impelled to make liberal use of his blue pencil prerogative. He, too, is under obligation to "save the world."

Nevertheless, an issue must be produced every month, and somehow authors and editor get together to meet the deadline. The following "names" are herewith introduced:

COLM BROGAN was for some years editor of *Individualism*, organ of the British Society for Individual Freedom. He is the author of *Our New Masters*, a study of the first British socialist government of 1945, and other books.

ROBERT B. DRESSER is a prominent Providence, Rhode Island, lawyer whose current mission in life is promoting the Reed-Dirksen Amendment; reputedly puts more effort into this project than into his large law practice.

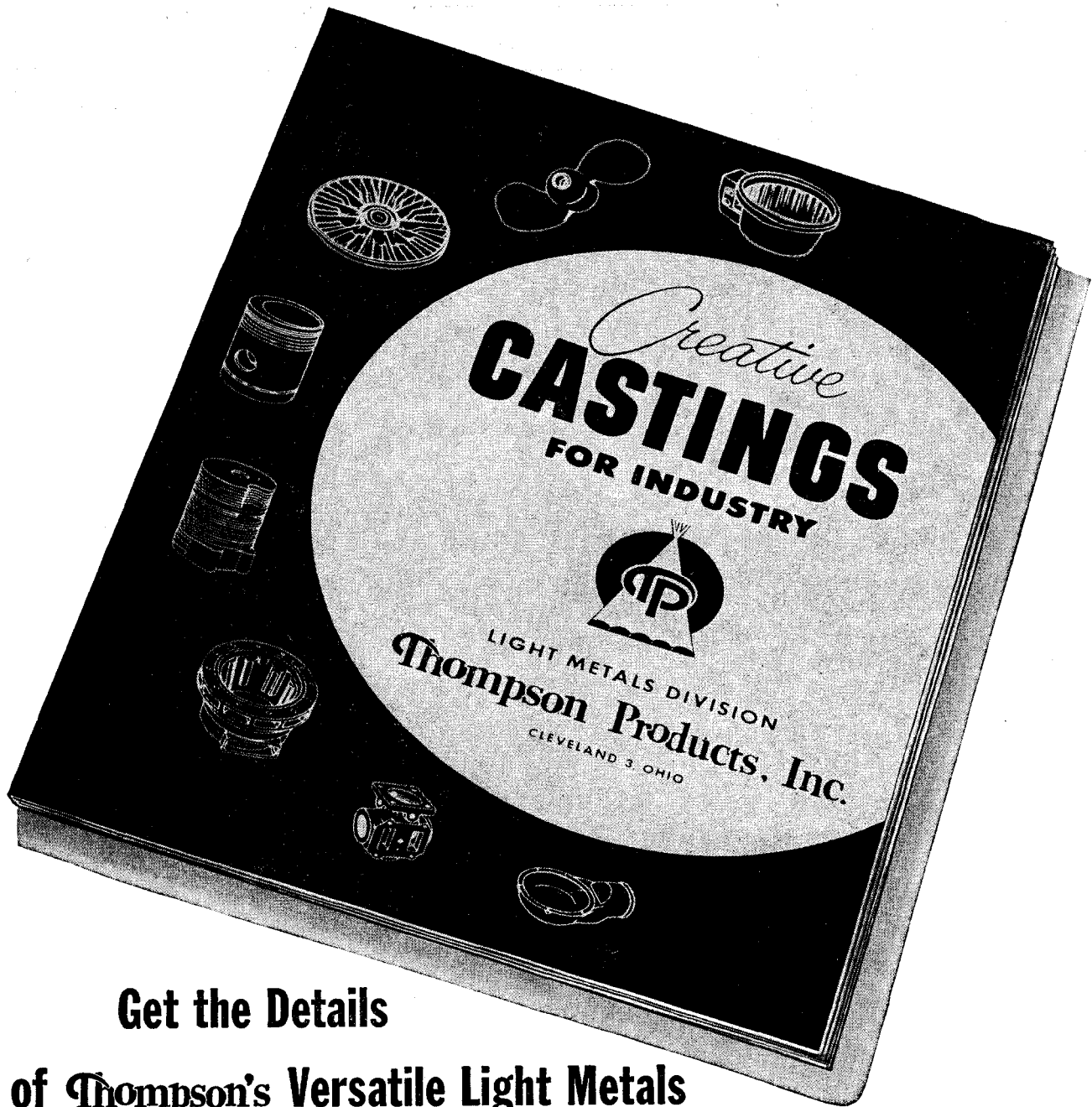
JOHN C. CALDWELL was born in China and has lived in the Far East most of his life. He was in the government service in that part of the world for seven years, ending up as Deputy Director, USIS, in Korea. His book, *Korea Story*, is a telling account of official bungling.

CLARENCE MANION—as every conscious American knows—was fired as chairman of the Commission on Inter-Government Relations by the Eisenhower Administration, because of his staunch advocacy of the Bricker Amendment. His latest book is *The Key to Freedom*.

ROBERT LE FEVRE wrote an essay—"Even the Girl Scouts"—for our contemporary, *Human Events*, that had a profound effect upon the leaders of that organization. Formerly a news commentator for a Miami radio-television station, now writing for the N.E.C.

FELIX WITTMER is the author of *The Yalta Betrayal*, reviewed in this issue, and has just finished a book on collectivism in our colleges which is scheduled for publication in the spring. His articles have appeared in the FREEMAN and *Human Events*.

FRANK S. MEYER came out of Princeton, Oxford, the London School of Economics and the University of Chicago—a Communist. He left the party in 1945 and has since put in a lick or two at exposing the communist threat. His articles have appeared in the FREEMAN, the *American Mercury*, the *Saturday Review* and once in the *New York Times*.



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FROM OUR READERS

Clarity Needed

This lead issue of the "new" FREEMAN was indeed a fine one. I was particularly impressed by its readability—the use of plain straightforward English. It had been my feeling that during the last year or so the language of the FREEMAN had become much too erudite—a trend which can, in a magazine of opinion, easily obscure the ideas needing expression. And it would certainly seem that the task for the libertarian . . . is to make known far and wide the basic tenets of individualism and free enterprise with the greatest degree of clarity. It is a sad footnote to this age that our socialistic and communistic "friends" have been able to achieve a great measure of success by beclouding their insidious campaign against our free society in the most popularly appealing words. . . .

Montclair, N.J. ROBERT W. PFEIFER

Competitive Schools

As I am a public school teacher, "A Really Free School System" (July) attracted my attention. . . . Those of us who look with favor on a competitive school system are not very well received. The fact remains, however, that we are having troubles in education. . . . We know what is wrong; let's work on Mr. Chodorov's suggestion of remission of school taxes to parents who want to send their children to private schools.

New York City WILLIAM E. IRWIN

As a student in a well-known preparatory school, I would like to thank you for the excellent article, "A Really Free School System." It smacks of a deeper understanding of the real problem at hand than I have read in a long time.

CLARENCE D. FLEMING, JR.
Branford, Conn.

Cheers for Col. Armas

The invincible Communists before whom the whole world trembles like a great, cosmic bowl of gelatin were on the run in Guatemala after only a ten-day assault. . . . Colonel Armas didn't make beautiful speeches about "peaceful co-existence"; he didn't go whining to the United Nations where Russia would have bound him hand and foot; he didn't run all over the world begging aid from unwilling allies. . . . The whole quaking world owes him a great debt of gratitude for showing it the victorious way of courage, of love of liberty. . . .

ELIZABETH LIPITT
San Francisco, Cal.

Mr. Thomas Objects

A friend has sent me a clipping from your issue of July 1954, containing the editorial, "Subversives Needed." I quote two sentences: "Norman Thomas, the perennial Socialist candidate, has underscored the entrenchment of socialism by advocating the dissolution of the Socialist Party as a useless organization. We have socialism."

At no time did I advocate the dissolution of the Socialist Party as a "useless organization." I have argued that the present situation forces different tactics upon it and I have insisted that what we have to work for is a mass party, democratic socialist in outlook, if not in name. We do not, in my opinion, "have socialism," although American capitalism has saved itself by adopting a great many ideas once regarded as socialist.

New York City NORMAN THOMAS

Beliefs Confirmed

I agree with Mr. Read (p. 52) that people I know ought to read the FREEMAN, but I also believe with Albert Jay Nock that people are not educable . . . and that ignorance is a constant. These beliefs are confirmed by Mrs. Heath's article, "The 'Liberals' of Smith," as well as by the rest of your excellent August issue.

My conclusion is the same as Mr. Chodorov's: "What can a fellow get out of life more valuable than fun?" and what fun it is to have the FREEMAN to look forward to.

Stonington, Conn. J. WINTHROP DAVIS

In "My Friend's Education" (August) you emphasized that some people are uneducable. . . . Have you forgotten how inexhaustably curious a little child is?

Brookville, Ohio MILDRED LOOMIS

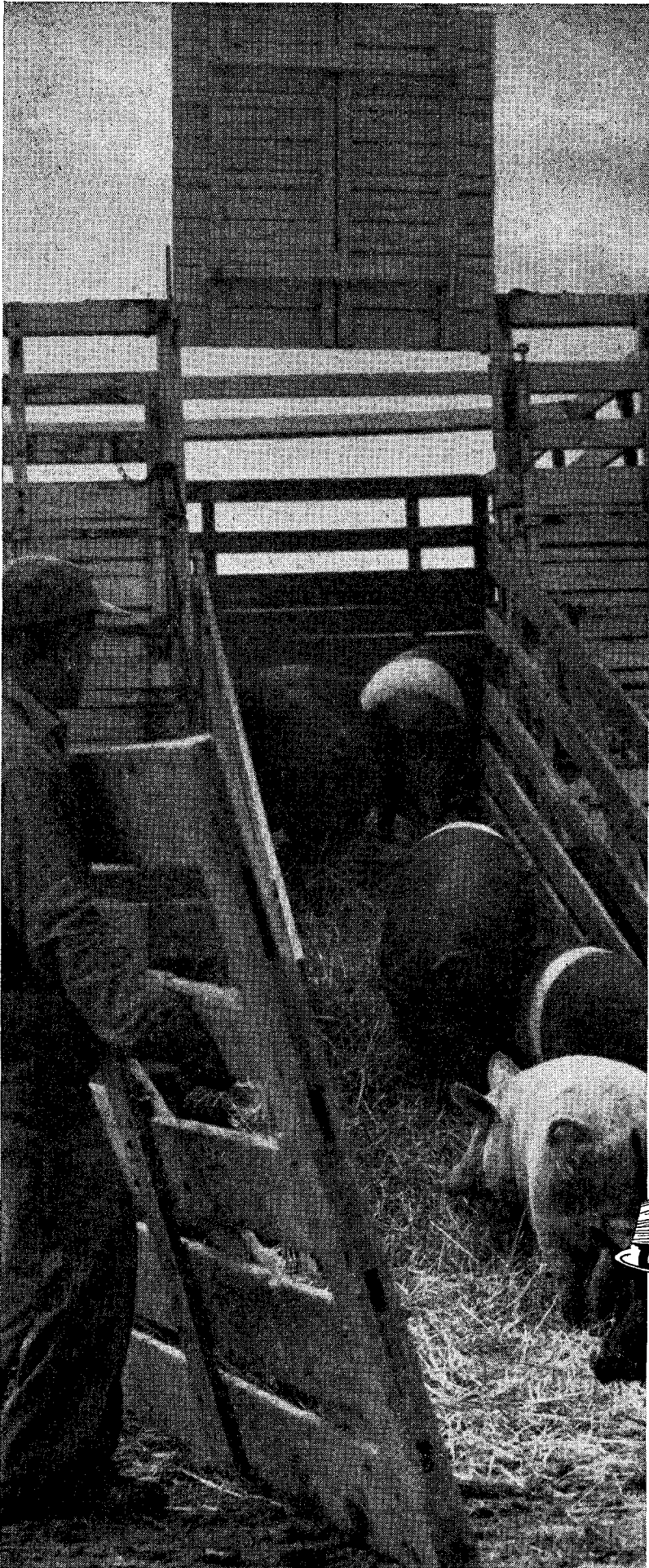
Re Copycats

What gives? On page 44 of the August issue, you or one of your hired men call Brazil a "copycat." And yet exactly five paragraphs earlier on the same page, without benefit of quotes and without batting an eye, you . . . run a paragraph lifted, body, soul and boots, out of a book you may have read, *The Income Tax: Root of All Evil*.

It's a darn good paragraph in both instances, and I'm for the sentiments it expresses till the last horn blows. But ain't they somethin' in the Constitution of the U.S. about double jeopardy?

Lynchburg, Va. J. CAMERON

[Rest easy, friend. We lifted the lines from our own book. Modesty restrained us from mentioning it. THE EDITOR]



705 pork chops

...coming right up! When you ask for pork chops on a restaurant's "Blue Plate Special" or buy lean, loin beauties from your favorite butcher, you might thank this farmer and his truck-load of 15 hogs that they are "just an order away."

Last year, trucks brought to national markets nearly 75 percent of all livestock . . . 72 percent of all milk . . . close to half of all fruits and vegetables . . . practically 100 percent of all poultry and eggs. Farmers simply could not help feed the millions they do without trucks *and*, of course, modern, well-maintained roads on which to keep them rolling every day.

Farmers use trucks, too, for more than transporting products to market. Hay, grain and other crops are brought by truck from field to barn or silo. Fertilizer and seed are brought from town. Scores of other farm jobs are done *easier* and *faster* by truck. It's not surprising that farmers own nearly 30 percent of all the trucks in the country!

Truck transportation has helped to make us the healthiest, best fed people in the world. Behind most of the food you eat is a farmer behind the wheel of a truck!



IF YOU'VE GOT IT - A TRUCK BROUGHT IT!



AMERICAN
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Washington 6, D. C.

This advertisement sponsored by
INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER COMPANY
builders of International Trucks

Put this
Question
before
Congress
NOW!



Why Don't You Defeat Communism with Sound Money

by returning to the
GOLD COIN STANDARD?

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

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

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

Excerpt from Republican
"Monetary Policy" Plank



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

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

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

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

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

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

We must resume without devaluation or delay.

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

KENNAMETAL Inc.
Latrobe, Pa.

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

The Return of 1940?

Two years before Pearl Harbor the libertarians of the time began taking sides on this question: shall we postpone our fight for freedom until after the menace of Hitlerism is disposed of? The debate was for some time conducted along rational lines, but eventually the issue became beclouded by bitterness and name-calling; one side was dubbed interventionist, the other isolationist. I was among the latter, and in a publication—oddly enough called the *FREEMAN*—pressed my position hard. My erstwhile friends soon disowned me, and some of these advocates of freedom called upon the minions of the law to look into my case.

My well-trained nostrils detect the aroma of a similar stew now in the making. The ingredients are strongly reminiscent of 1940. Already the libertarians are debating among themselves on the need of putting off the struggle for freedom until after the threat of communism, Moscow style, shall have been removed, even by war. The cogent argument is being advanced, as it was in 1940, that the conquest of America by a foreign foe will wipe out every vestige of freedom, will impose on us a dictatorship that will ruthlessly obliterate even the concept of freedom. First things first, it is being said; the Soviets must be destroyed.

In view of the similarity of the currently developing debate, still quite rational and without rancor, with that of pre-World War Two days, it might be well to review the old "isolationist" side, to see whether subsequent history supported its predictions. If its anti-war argument was validated by results, it comes into the present case with strong support. I do not refer to the humanitarian or pacifist argument against war, but rather to the position held by the torchbearers of freedom, that their cause would be set back by war, regardless of the military outcome. Was it?

As a consequence of the war, the country carries a debt-burden from which there is no prospect of relief except by outright repudiation or repudiation by inflation. How free are a people who must face that prospect?

As a consequence of the war, the taxes we are compelled to pay come to a third of all we produce. Nazism, the virus which we went to war to exterminate, did little worse. While we resent the suggestion that perhaps we are tending toward the slavery of the Germans under Hitler, in point of taxes we are little better off than they were. A people who are not permitted to retain their earnings are hardly free.

As a consequence of the war, conscription has become a permanent fixture in the American way of life, even as it was under Hitler. To be sure, we call it a "democratic" army, having become inured

to it, but in point of fact, conscription is involuntary servitude. Only words can equate conscription with freedom.

As a consequence of the war, we are saddled with a bureaucracy that compares favorably in size with that of the Nazi regime. We still think of our government as representative in character, as responsive to the will of the electorate, but that is only because our tradition cannot face up to the reality: we are governed by a self-sufficient and self-centered army of 2,500,000 time-servers. It is they who draft our laws, administer them and interpret them to further the interests of the bureaucracy. It is they also who carry on an interminable propaganda intended to condition our thinking to an acceptance of their purposes.

As a consequence of the war, we have as a people lost our sense of personal independence, and have adjusted our concept of freedom to accord with government intervention. Most of us see no contradiction of freedom in social security, no mitigation of freedom in subventions, no invasion of freedom in regulation and controls. Our schools and textbooks, since the war, have made freedom synonymous with collectivism and paternalism.

All this, though not in detail, the "isolationists" of 1940 foresaw. Not because they were endowed with any gift of prevision, but because they knew history and would not deny its lesson: that during war the State acquires power at the expense of freedom, and that because of its insatiable lust for power the State is incapable of giving up any of it. The State never abdicates.

If, therefore, another Pearl Harbor is arranged for us, and we are rushed into World War Three, what can we—those of us who put freedom at the pinnacle of human values—expect? Some kind of imperialism, as a matter of course. No war can be conducted these days under less stringent rule. Not only will our inalienable rights be strangled, but thought and expression, the essential weapons of freedom, will be impounded, so as to immobilize any effort to restore some freedom after war is done. This is admitted by those who fear the Soviets at least as much as they love freedom, but, as did the "interventionists" in 1940, they stress the immediate rather than the ultimate danger, and are willing to gamble with freedom. I am not.

There is a plausibility being advanced by some of the modern crop of "interventionists" that is worth mentioning. It could not have been thought of in pre-atom bomb days. Suppose, they say, that the war should result in the destruction of our civilization, the chief characteristic of which is

materialism. What could we lose? The destruction might be so thorough that the debris would cover up even the memory of machines, and men would live happily on potatoes and poetry. Quite a prospect for a Chaucerian.

Railroading Communism

Communism will not come to America by way of Moscow. It will sprout in our own backyard. And its taproot will not be the teachings of Karl Marx, but rather the shortsightedness and cupidity of Big Business. Yes, if communism comes to America, it will have been brought in by its intended victims, the capitalists.

Which brings us to a ferment in the railroad world. Last July 12, President Eisenhower set up a Cabinet Committee on Transport Policy and Organization, to submit to him a "comprehensive, up-to-date review of over-all transportation policies and problems." Why? Well, for one thing, the railroads are in a bad way; taken as a whole, they are not earning anything like what their capital investment would yield in other lines of business; competition from other means of transportation has made things difficult for this erstwhile "natural monopoly." What to do? Following modern practice, these captains of industry appeal to government to show them a way out.

The "way out" that has long been advocated—not only by anxious politicians but also by hard-pressed railroad men—is "unification." That means the consolidation of the nation's transportation services into a single unit, to be regulated and controlled, if not owned and managed, by an agency of government; perhaps headed by a Secretary of Transportation. This is not a new idea. As far back as June 7, 1935—six years before war dropped a bonanza into the laps of the railroad companies—President Roosevelt wrote Congress, "It is high time to deal with the nation's transportation as a single, unified problem." And in August 1949, President Truman said, "I have for some time been concerned about the need for the greater coordination of federal policies and programs related to transportation."

Now, unification means monopolization. Whether the government actually owns an industry, or confines itself to regulation and control, it cannot and will not permit entrepreneurs to enter the field at will. Therefore, the proponents of an American Ministry of Transport are actually plugging for the abolition of competition in the field of transportation. Under communism there is no competition.

The motives of both the politicians and the railroad men urging this monopoly scheme are quite human. In the case of the former, any acquisition of power is to their liking; a department

of transportation would make for many political jobs, for more emoluments, in ostentation as well as in pay, for officeholders. As for the railroad men, the prime attraction of unification is the promise of security that it holds forth; the government might guarantee them against loss of capital, or assure them, at the expense of taxpayers, of a fixed income on their investment. Little is being said about the likelihood of government purchase of their equities, which would be the logical consequence of unification; but if it comes, even if it smacks of socialism or communism, what of it? One has the government's bonds in one's pocket, and the next generation will get used to the kind of transportation service that the bureaucrats provide.

Thus is the seed of communism being planted in American soil. Not by the agents of Moscow, nor even by the professors in our colleges, but by the capitalists who, for an immediate profit, are willing to sell out their children's birthright of private property.

"Shall I Get Out?"

Last month, a city desk ran a headline that it had been mulling over for months: "Stock Market Hits the 1929 High." Now, a headline is not supposed to convey information, but to arouse emotion. In this case, the emotion it was intended to evoke was fear—fear that a crash similar to that which the stock market experienced in 1929 is imminent. Since I own ten shares of stock, I called the matter to the attention of an economist and asked the question which other "economic royalists" are no doubt asking these days: "Shall I get out?" He took the matter under advisement, meaning that he pulled down from his library a couple of tomes and started digging. He came up with the following information:

In September 1929, just before the crash, the Dow-Jones Industrial Average was 381. On July 28 this year, the corresponding figure was 345. This indicates that the headline was a bit premature—unless the city desk had some other "average" in mind. However, that is unimportant.

What is important is that the Consumers' Price Index—sometimes called the cost of living—has in the meantime risen to where a dollar now buys only 64 per cent as much as it did formerly. The meticulous economist worked out this statistic for me with a set of equations, and came to a conclusion that my wife came to without equations: namely, that your share of common stock, at today's "average," will fetch less "bread and shoes" than a similar share of stock did in 1929. How much less? Forty-two cents on the dollar less.

From this one must conclude that the "high" of

today is comparable with that of 1929 in dollars only—not in real value. The upward trend of market prices is not a reflection of a burgeoning national prosperity, in terms of goods, but of a depreciation in the value of money. The stocks, like “bread and shoes,” have risen in price because of inflation. There is more money around bidding for things, and that is what makes everything “high.”

Of course, the plenitude of money is traceable to the speed at which the government printing and lithographing machines have been running this past quarter of a century. We must keep in mind that the manufacture of money is a government monopoly; a private citizen engaging in that business courts incarceration.

So the question that the bulls and bears of Wall Street are confronted with, in trying to guess the future trend of stock prices, is this: will the government continue on the inflationary course it has followed in the past, and for how long? If it keeps on manufacturing more money, and permits us to have some of the increase, it is a certainty that a considerable part of these depreciated dollars will come into the market to bid for stock. In that case, the pre-crash 1929 “high” is not a guidepost to go by. It might be lower than you think.

I am not advising.

The “Extreme Right”

In reporting the FREEMAN’s change of management *Time* takes occasion to describe us as a “publication of the extreme right.” The weekly, which affects objective reporting, obviously refers to our editorial policy. But the cryptic phrase has us puzzled; just exactly what is meant by “extreme right”? Inquiry reveals that it is an amorphous concoction of connotations, and that its meaning varies with the predilections of the user. Sometimes it is used derogatorily, even to describe a person of evil intent; always it is applied to a point of view quite the opposite to that of the “extreme left”—whatever that is. In short, it is a subjective phrase, and one cannot be sure what it means, in any particular case, unless the user reveals his predilections. *Time* does not help us out in this respect; in fact, the publication confuses us all the more by its pretensions to objectivity.

This problem in labeling, however, can be readily solved. That is because the basic editorial policy of the FREEMAN is a fixed quantity, one that can be put down categorically. There is nothing equivocal about it. We need only state this policy—the purpose to which the publication is dedicated—and if that is the information which *Time* intended to convey, we proudly accept the appellation.

The FREEMAN is dedicated to the proposition that the society of humans flourishes best under a condition of freedom. We are for freedom, one hundred per cent, no discount. What we mean by freedom is quite simple: it is the right of the individual to work out his destiny, with whatever capacities he possesses, without interference from government beyond that necessary to prevent him from interfering with the freedom of others. We are convinced that freedom is inherent in the individual, the gift of God, and that the function of government, the only function for which it has any competence, is to protect the individual in the enjoyment of that endowment. If it goes beyond that field, if it invades any area of human activity, it necessarily transgresses the freedom of some or all of the people. Therefore, freedom is best served when government is small, acting under clearly delimited powers, and is subject to constant surveillance.

Is that what is meant by “extreme right”? If so, then the phrase implies that those who are to the “left” are opposed to freedom, in varying degrees. Those who are three-quarters to the “right” advocate the curtailment of freedom, or government intervention, in approximately one-quarter of the area of human activity; the “center,” by definition, propose that the government take a hand in about fifty per cent of our private affairs; while the “extreme left” must be for the abolition of all freedom and a condition of slavery under government.

It would be quite to the point, therefore, for the FREEMAN—“a publication of the extreme right”—to inquire of those who do not go along with its policy: “How much freedom are you against?” Or, “what particular freedom would you compel an individual to give up?” These questions, however, are not directed to *Time*, which is, by its own admission, an objective publication.

About a Word

Libertarians are individualists, and individualists are rightly jealous of their philosophy. So much so that they are prone to argue among themselves over the correct expression of every concept, and are particularly resentful of the introduction of a new word. Like all perfectionists, they suffer from *definitionism*, which is a dread disease.

For instance, a number of readers have objected to our use of the word “libertarian,” maintaining that it is a concession to modernism and a misnomer. So we took to our dictionary for the meaning of the word and found, in Webster’s Unabridged, that a libertarian is “. . . one who upholds the principles of liberty, esp. individual liberty of thought and action.”

What’s wrong with that?

As Britain Sees Us

By COLM BROGAN

The average Briton's attitude toward America is compounded of ignorance, misinformation and a natural resentment at playing second fiddle.

Today there is more anti-American feeling in Britain than at any other time within living memory. The causes are complex and some of them obscure, though others are patent enough. First, there is the understandable primitive feeling of envy. Many Britons have a resentful feeling that there is something unfair about American prosperity. The war, they will tell you, made America rich. In the next breath they will tell you that the war made Britain poor. How the same war could have opposite effects on two countries fighting on the same side is a problem never considered.

Resentment at American prosperity sometimes leads to an illogical attempt to belittle it. There are people who will tell you that high American wages are an illusion, for they are all swallowed up by the enormous cost of living, and life for most Americans is a perpetual losing struggle against installment debt. Convinced Socialists are particularly keen on this line of argument, for it does not pay them to admit that capitalism can produce the goods. Ever since the end of the war they have been watching and waiting for the great American slump, as if they were waiting for a man to fall over and break his leg.

These Socialists, however, constitute a small and dwindling minority. The ordinary British worker favors nationalization only if and when it promises to give him greater security and an easier time. But his attitude on the productive process is greatly and increasingly different from the American attitude. To the average British worker a job is simply a privilege to collect wages. The number of hours worked, the rate of production and the social value of the work are matters of minor importance, if they are considered at all.

Some time ago British Railways had a hard fight on their hands to get rid of five hundred "knockers-up." These were men who went around the streets of railway towns, knocking on windows to waken railwaymen. They have been a total anachronism since the invention of the alarm clock, but their abolition was opposed because it meant the end of five hundred jobs. Making two jobs out of one is held to be a social advance.

There is an awareness that American workers have a quite different point of view, and that knowledge engenders a certain amount of hostility. For a variety of causes, high taxation being one,

most people in Britain prefer leisure to money. The pace of British industry is therefore slow and in some trades, building among them, it is scandalously slow. There is talk of the wonders that could be worked by the application of American industrial know-how, but the talk misses the point. The decisive obstacle to higher productivity in Britain is the attitude of the men. The Ford and Briggs plants in Britain are machined just like the American plants. The British executive and technical staffs are every bit as good as their American colleagues, but they cannot get the same results. The attitude of the man at the bench defeats them.

People seldom think kindly of those who have a different view of life. There are many British workers who think and openly say that the furious industry of the German worker is degrading, almost immoral, and constitutes unfair competition. They also regard the fast pace of the American worker with suspicion and dislike, partly because the contrast implies some criticism of themselves. They may talk loftily of American materialism, but they also want cars and expensive gadgets for the home. However, they do not want them badly enough to work hard for them. In a minor degree, they resemble the colonial peoples who angrily demand the material comforts of the industrial West but are not willing to adjust their lives to the demands of an industrial society.

A Gulf of Misunderstanding

The worker who votes for the Socialist Party in Britain is committed to the furtherance of a type of society whose philosophy is flatly contradictory to the American philosophy. This clash has no immediate relevance to international policies, but it creates a state of mind inclined to assume that Americans are wrong on all major issues. Apart from the Communists and their associates, there are few who suspect Americans of belligerent intentions, but most Britons suspect the United States of pursuing policies which might well lead to war. Socialists believe that it was Mr. Attlee who dissuaded President Truman from permitting the bombing of Manchuria. Both Conservatives and Socialists believe that it is only the mature wisdom of Anthony Eden that has frequently saved Secretary Dulles from disaster which might

have engulfed the world. Many Britons believe that Dulles is a well-intentioned but rash and inexperienced young politician. I pointed out to one man that Dulles was at the Conference of Algeciras when Eden was running about in short trousers. He was surprised and asked me if I was not thinking of Dulles' father.

The incident was trifling, but it illustrates the gulf of ignorance as well as of misunderstanding. The ignorance should not be surprising, for British newspapers are wretchedly small, and in the popular press the meager ration of American news is mostly composed of sensational trivialities. There is also a danger in selectivity of presentation. The British people were told that the Churchill-Eden visit to Washington had been a great and unqualified success, with the British statesmen winning their American counterparts to a saner and more constructive policy. The backwash of American criticism and opposition took some Britons painfully by surprise: the others never heard of it.

British interest in foreign affairs was never so low. The fear of a third war is so deep that it inhibits thought and interest. The British, for the most part, cling to the hope that so long as their representatives keep talking to the enemy somewhere about anything at all, the worst will not happen. Given the choice between a policy which would involve some risk of war now and another which would keep the peace for the moment but would involve a much greater risk in a few years, they would choose the first, not by logical and conscious decision but by a simple shrinking from the thought of war. It must be emphasized that it is not simple physical fear which induces this hypnotic state of mind, but a profound moral disgust at the thought of renewed slaughter. Both parties, and especially the Socialists, would follow Eden in any parley which might postpone a sharp decision. Opposition to German rearmament is widespread. After two wars with Germany, this reaction is understandable enough; but behind it is also the fear that German rearmament would be a challenge to Russia, and Britain is in no mood to challenge anybody.

Britain is fundamentally isolationist. Ever since the end of the war we have been absorbed in disputes over social policy at home. An argument about subsidized rents or free medical care will rouse interest and even passion, but it is hardly possible to start an argument about foreign affairs. The official socialist paper, the *Daily Herald*, wanted to get rid of all its foreign correspondents because of the lack of interest shown by their two million readers, and agreed to keep one correspondent only for the sake of appearances. Among the vast majority of Socialists, apathy about foreign affairs could not be more intense. Among Conservatives, the situation is not much better. There would be widespread relief if Russia

and China consented to call off the cold war at the price of securing a guarantee of all their conquests. The word "appeasement" is unpopular, but the spirit of appeasement is rife. That is why Eden's proposal for a Far Eastern Locarno was welcomed in Britain.

Another cause for resentment is Britain's reduced strength. The British have not yet accepted the obvious proposition that the major power in an alliance simply must have the major share in policy-shaping, because the major power cannot indefinitely commit its strength to policies it believes to be to its disadvantage. In European defense this fact is signified by the superior positions given to American military, naval and air commanders. The more far-sighted Britons welcomed these appointments because they committed America to the defense of Europe, but the man in the street was far from pleased.

The Legend of McCarthyism

A natural resentment at falling into a secondary position after a long spell of world leadership is joined by a lack of faith in American judgment. This lack of faith has been gravely emphasized by the monstrous growth of the legend of McCarthyism. It is difficult to indicate the extent of the grotesque misrepresentation of the McCarthy controversy in Britain. A majority of the British believe that Senator McCarthy conducts a reign of intellectual terror in America and that no man who incurs his displeasure can make a living or find any protection under the law. There are Socialist leaders who talk openly of the rival tyrannies of the East and the West and of the British duty to offer asylum to American refugees. It goes without saying that the Communists make the most of the gross misunderstanding, but in circles far removed from communism it is regarded as somewhat disreputable to suggest that Senator McCarthy might possibly have something to say for himself. The reports of the Army-McCarthy hearings in the British press furnished another example of misleading selectivity. Only a small minority in Britain suspects that the Army might be sorry the affair ever took place.

It cannot be said that the misleading reporting is deliberately meant to mislead. It happens because British journalists in the United States see what they want to see, while those who prune the news in Britain print what fits into their preconceived picture. But the results are gravely damaging. Educated Englishmen will tell you complacently that Britain was never so popular and admired in the United States as she is today. They will also tell you that every American lives in terror of the Committee on Un-American Activities. The word "McCarthyism" has become an almost meaningless incantation of abuse.

For that reason, the Oppenheimer case got a

thoroughly bad press in Britain and the case of Dr. J. H. Cort was invested with every absurdity. Dr. Cort, an American citizen living in Britain, refused repeatedly to present himself for medical examination for the U. S. Army. When his permit to stay in Britain was withdrawn by the Home Secretary, a large-scale agitation was at once organized, demanding that he should be accorded political asylum. The agitation was based on the assumption that he could not possibly expect justice if he returned to the United States, and that his calling-up was merely a device to bring him home and persecute him. It is difficult to imagine a more insulting assumption concerning a friendly country, but Mr. Attlee himself raised the matter in the Commons. That fact may give some measure of the stupefying effect of the McCarthy myth. (Significantly, Dr. Cort has now been given "asylum" in communist Poland.)

There are other reasons for anti-Americanism. Britons who find it hard to get any kind of accommodation near an American base in England are apt to be annoyed, but seldom stop to think that the Americans may also have a grievance in the rack rents they must pay to British house-owners. Sensational and trashy publications for children and morons are always known as "American comics" even though most of them are printed here, and are taken as evidence of the deplorable standards of American taste. On a slightly more

serious level, the socially slanted American crime stories have helped to spread the idea of deep corruption and brutality in American public life and extreme immorality in private life.

Nevertheless, these factors are of minor importance. Personal animosity toward Americans is not the explanation of anti-Americanism. It springs from fear of American power and its possible misuse. If the presence of American troops in Britain creates some friction, it is much less and not more than may be expected in such circumstances. If at times there is a readiness to condemn the mote in the American eye while condoning the beam in the Communist eye, that bias is, in a way, a compliment. Americans are expected to be better and to know better than Russians or Chinese.

It is profoundly difficult for the British people to accept the fact that Americans are foreigners. They nearly all have relatives in the United States and do not easily remember that few Americans have relatives in Britain. This illusion of close kinship encourages the sharply critical mood which people feel for those of their own family group. But the fundamental reason for anti-Americanism is a consciousness that the American attitude to life is radically different, and that that difference both in economic competition and international policy constitutes a great threat to the British peace of mind.

The Case for Tax Relief

By **ROBERT B. DRESSER**

By reducing excessive and discriminatory taxes, the Reed-Dirksen Amendment will benefit all the people.

The legitimate function of taxation is to raise revenue, not to change or destroy a system of society.

One hundred years ago Karl Marx, who very definitely proposed to destroy the capitalistic or private property system, substituting for it a communistic regime, recognized the destructive potential of taxation, and advocated, therefore, in his *Communist Manifesto*, the following measures:

1. "A heavy progressive or graduated income tax."
2. "Abolition of all right of inheritance."

Our federal government has for some time been following the course prescribed by Marx, with particular urgency during the last twenty years. It now imposes a "heavy progressive income tax," running from a beginning rate of 20 per cent on incomes of \$2,000 and under to 91 per cent on incomes of more than \$200,000. Also, while not

abolishing the right of inheritance, the federal government has been increasing the rates of the estate or death tax until the top rate is now 77 per cent.

As yet, the Marxian Utopia has not been achieved. But since the ultimate result of confiscatory taxation must be the impairment of capital accumulation, or savings, the result which Marx anticipated is only a matter of time. The only sure and effective way of preventing it is to amend the federal Constitution so as to limit the power of Congress to tax incomes, inheritances and gifts.

Such an amendment is now pending in Congress. Known as the Reed-Dirksen Amendment (H. J. Res. 103; S. J. Res. 23), it was introduced in January 1953 by Congressman Chauncey W. Reed and Senator Everett Dirksen, both of Illinois. It limits income taxes to a maximum rate of 25 per cent, but permits Congress, by a vote of three

fourths of the members of each House, to exceed that rate at any time. When the top rate exceeds 25 per cent, however, it can be no more than 15 percentage points above the bottom rate. For example, if the bottom rate were 15 per cent, the top rate could not exceed 30 per cent. If the bottom rate were 20 per cent, the top rate could not exceed 35 per cent. If the top rate does not exceed 25 per cent, however, there is no restriction at all on the bottom rate. It could be one per cent, or one half of one per cent.

This would make it in the interest of *every* taxpayer (1) to keep the top rate down to 25 per cent (as compared with the present rate of 91 per cent), and (2) to keep the bottom rate no higher than 10 per cent (as compared with the present rate of 20 per cent).

The Small Taxpayer Would Benefit

The proposed amendment is just as important for the small taxpayer as for the large. This united self-interest of all taxpayers is relied on as a force that would keep the tax rates within reasonable bounds. There are 66,000,000 individual income-tax payers in the United States. Most of them vote.

It should be noted that the proposed amendment merely limits the degree of tax-rate progression. It does not prescribe the top rate that Congress may impose. Hence, it cannot be argued that the amendment impairs the government's power to raise needed revenue during either war or peace.

The ultimate objective of the amendment is a top individual income-tax rate of 25 per cent and a beginning rate of less than 10 per cent. This is not an unreasonable expectation. The budget for the current fiscal year is \$65 billion. The Committee on Federal Tax Policy headed by Roswell Magill, Under Secretary of the Treasury in 1938, in a private study recently released, stated that government spending in the current fiscal year could be reduced by \$5 billion below the Administration's estimate of \$65 billion.

Government expenditures for the comparatively recent years 1948 to 1951 were as follows:

	<i>Expenditures in Billions</i>
1951 (which included a full year of the Korean war)	\$44.058
1950	39.606
1949	39.507
1948	33.068

Prior to 1942, which was a war year, the largest expenditure of the federal government in any year was \$18.4 billion in 1918, which was also a war year.

By way of illustration, at the present level of national income, a rate of 7 per cent on net taxable income up to \$10,000, with a rate of 25 per cent on the excess, could be established and the

budget balanced if the government's expenditures were reduced to the \$44 billion of fiscal 1951, which, as noted above, included a full year of the Korean war.

The Reed-Dirksen Amendment also deprives Congress of the power to impose death and gift taxes and leaves these means of raising revenue exclusively to the states, where they belong, and where competition among the states would tend to keep the rates within reasonable bounds. Under existing laws the tax on the estates of decedents runs to a high of 77 per cent, and the tax on gifts to 57.75 per cent. These rates are manifestly confiscatory, and they have very harmful economic effects. They not only seriously impair the incentive to work, save and invest in productive enterprise, but they are extremely destructive of capital and, in the long run, will destroy the accumulations of capital that are so necessary for industrial activity and expansion, with the resulting beneficial effects on our economy.

Moreover, the heavy taxation of large estates compels the rich to seek comparatively safe liquid investments in order to provide for the heavy taxes that will be imposed upon their estates at death, thus further reducing the capital available for risky business ventures.

The harm done to the economy by the present high rates of death and gift taxes is out of all proportion to the revenue produced, and cannot be justified by any argument based on fiscal needs. Even with the very high rates now in force, the revenue from these taxes is comparatively trivial. In 1953, it was \$891 million from the two sources. This was a little over one per cent of the total budget of \$74 billion—enough to pay the government's expenses for about four days. The gift tax is merely auxiliary to the estate tax, and both should be dealt with alike.

A "Millionaire's Amendment"?

Incidentally, the Reed-Dirksen Amendment should not be confused with other similar amendments, from which it differs in important respects.

Certain critics of the proposed amendment refer to it as a "millionaire's amendment," and assert that it will shift the burden of taxation from the rich to the poor, and make the rich richer and the poor poorer. Their criticism implies that the two classes are static—that the rich are always rich, and the poor are always poor. Of course, this is not the fact. The poor of today are often the rich of tomorrow, and vice versa.

The proposed amendment will reduce the burden of taxation on those with the smaller incomes. A fact not generally realized is that the great bulk of the revenue from the individual income tax comes not from the taxpayers with large incomes, but from those with small incomes. That is so simply because the small incomes, in the

aggregate, constitute the bulk of the national income. For example, only 3 per cent (about \$2 billion) of the total estimated federal revenue of \$62.642 billion for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, is produced by the individual income-tax rates above 34 per cent, which is 14 percentage points above the present beginning rate of 20 per cent.

Contrast these figures with the effect of an increase of only \$100 in the present \$600 personal exemption and credit for dependents. Such an increase would result in a reduction of 7,000,000 in the number of income-tax payers and a revenue loss of \$2.5 billion. This is one-half billion dollars more than the total revenue received from the individual income-tax rates above 34 per cent.

Accordingly, if we are to have enormous expenditures and correspondingly large revenue, the great bulk of the revenue must come from persons of small and moderate means.

The only possible way to give relief to the small taxpayers is either (1) by reducing the need for revenue through cutting expenditures, or (2) by increasing revenue through a drastic reduction of the present confiscatory higher bracket rates so as to increase incentive and investment in productive enterprise. This would increase the national income, which constitutes the tax base, and thereby increase the revenue.

Any immediate loss in revenue through the elimination of the higher individual rates would undoubtedly be only temporary. Eventually, the lower rates would produce greater revenue than the higher rates now in force.

Reducing the high surtax rates is not a discrimination in favor of the rich, as some assert. It is rather the partial removal of an existing discrimination *against* the rich of a most extreme character. This will benefit not only those in the higher brackets, but the people as a whole, as I have pointed out.

Opponents of the Reed-Dirksen Amendment assert that it violates the principle of "taxation according to ability to pay." That so-called principle is not an economic concept having any defined limits or scientific basis. It is more in the nature of a political slogan. With a flat rate of taxation, a man with a \$20,000 income pays twice as much as a man with a \$10,000 income. This certainly gives recognition to the ability of a man with a larger income to pay a greater amount of taxes. When, however, you accept the principle that a man with a \$20,000 income shall pay a higher *rate* of tax than a man with a \$10,000 income, where is the stopping point? Carried to its logical conclusion, the principle of progressive taxation would mean the reduction of all incomes after taxes to the same level, which happens to be a socialistic goal.

That the present confiscatory rates of the individual income tax are not approved by a large

majority of the American people is shown by Gallup polls. The vote of those having an opinion was two to one in favor of a 25 per cent top limit in the September 1951 poll, and three to one in the July 1952 poll.

Attempts are frequently made to justify the very high tax rates on individual incomes on the ground that they effect a redistribution of wealth, to the great benefit of the less fortunate. The statistics on this subject are enlightening. Based upon figures taken from a report of former Secretary of the Treasury Snyder to the Ways and Means Committee on February 5, 1951, the results of such a redistribution would be as follows:

If the total taxable income, *before* taxes, in the income-tax brackets over \$6,000 were divided equally among the 155,000,000 people in the country at that time, each person would receive \$80.

If the total taxable income, *before* taxes, in the brackets over \$10,000 were so distributed, each person would receive \$50.

If the total taxable income, *before* taxes, in the brackets over \$20,000 were so distributed, each person would receive \$25.

The lesson to be learned from this is that what is needed to improve the lot of the less fortunate is not a redistribution of existing wealth, but the production of more wealth. This can be accomplished only by providing a proper incentive for people to work, save and invest in productive enterprise. The removal, or partial removal, of this incentive by excessive taxes leads to the production of less wealth and defeats the objective of improving the lot of the less fortunate.

If the heavy progression in individual income-tax rates is destructive of the private enterprise system, and if the high rates produce relatively little revenue *now* and will ultimately produce less revenue than lower rates, what excuse is there for continuing them? Not a single valid reason for so doing can be given. They are manifestly a penalty imposed upon success. Dr. Willford I. King has very aptly asked the question, "Is success criminal?" It is so treated by our present tax laws.

For a government to profess to favor a system of private enterprise and then to confiscate by excessively high tax rates the incomes and estates of the successful differs from what we call "robbery" only in form.

As we go to press, the author points out that the Reed-Dirksen Amendment has gained wide approval and has already been endorsed by a number of the country's leading organizations, including the American Bar Association, the National Association of Manufacturers, the American Legion, the Committee for Constitutional Government, the Life Insurance Policy Holders Protective Association, the Western Tax Council, and the National Small Business Men's Association.

Bulls in China's Shop

By JOHN C. CALDWELL

The same kind of naive, biased and inaccurate journalism that helped the Reds to gain control of China continues, as American correspondents report the Nationalist activities on Formosa.

Once again, with the aid of Americans, communism has been presented with opportunity for a victory in China.

United Press reports, appearing in our newspapers a few weeks ago, called attention to the possibility of a major Chinese Communist attack against the Nationalist-held Tachen Islands, off the coast south of Shanghai. In May and June, UP reported the situation so serious that all civilians were being evacuated to Formosa. And according to one UP story, these islands form "the classic invasion route to Formosa."

The statement that this barren, rocky chain of islands is "the classic invasion route to Formosa" is so impossibly false that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the "error" was premeditated. The islands have never been an invasion route to any place, either in ancient or modern times. The total land area of *all thirty islands* in the Tachen group is 30.7 square kilometers. The total population of *all* the islands is 18,576. Only a half dozen islands are inhabited by more than a hundred people. The chain possesses no major harbor, the islands are so small or so precipitous that it is not possible even to land a light plane on any of them. Half the islands are so small or so close to the Communist-held mainland that only token garrisoning is possible. As of three months ago, total Nationalist strength in the Tachen group consisted of 6,000 guerrillas who had not yet received advanced training, and less than one division of regulars.

As far as any old China hand knows the only invaders ever to approach the inhospitable isles are the fishermen who settled them during the Min dynasty. Yet this is UP's classic invasion route to Formosa.

The implication of the false report is clear: that loss of the Tachen Islands will be a major blow to Nationalist China and Formosa will be threatened. The anti-Chiang lobbyists will be able to crow with glee, for the simple truth is that the islands can be taken. Having built up the importance of these least strategic Nationalist holdings, the UP has almost made it mandatory that the Reds take over. And in doing so they will achieve a United Press-created military victory of great importance.

"See," the anti-Chiang lobbyists will say, "Chiang

can't even hold the most important islands along the China coast. He can't even protect Formosa!"

If the Tachen Islands are lost, what should have been described and evaluated as a skirmish among the never-ending skirmishes along the China coast, will become magnified into a first-class communist victory.

Chiang's "Uncooperative" Officials

Yes, once again, with an able assist from Americans, communism is on the march in China. For ten years the pattern of biased, inaccurate and half-baked reporting has continued. At times the bulls that have wandered through China's shop have been simply naive, sometimes they have been vicious, sometimes merely stupid.

Last fall two bright young Americans, a world-famous movie and TV camera team, arrived in Formosa. The Korean truce had been signed; Operation Big Switch was over; the young men sought new worlds to conquer. Their request of Chinese Nationalist authorities was simple: they wanted to be dropped, with equipment and interpreter, three hundred miles in the interior of communist China. Then they would go about photographing and recording life under Mao, turning over their data to the Chinese Navy at a pre-arranged place.

The request was politely refused. Courteous Chinese officials tried to explain the facts of life to the young Americans. Thereupon cables began to fly, thick and fast, to the New York network offices. The uncooperative Chinese authorities were denounced. When the American Ambassador and the Commanding General of the U. S. Military Assistance Advisory group refused to intercede, they too were denounced. The net results of the activities of this duo of bulls was that feelings were unnecessarily ruffled; all the guerrilla islands for a time put out of bounds to all American correspondents; the already difficult task of reporting on this important sector on the cold war front was made more difficult.

The Nationalist government is well aware of the importance of good public relations. It maintains a Government Spokesman's Office in Taipei with specific responsibility to help all visiting correspondents. The help is given generously. Inter-

preters are provided for those who do not speak Chinese, transportation is set up, appointments made quickly with top-echelon officials.

But the poor Chinese are damned if they do, damned if they don't. It is commonly reported by American correspondents in the Far East that the Chinese use these services, not to help, but as a method of controlling what the visiting writer sees. It is, of course, well-known that all Taipei hotel rooms are wired for sound, that every visiting American is tailed wherever he goes, that baggage and rooms are searched, that all mail is censored. Or at least that is the story that every new correspondent receives from the advance anti-Chiang press forces he meets in Tokyo.

Has anyone ever had actual evidence of tampering with his mail, or actually seen the recording devices, or actually caught a Nationalist secret agent in the act of searching his hotel room? No, it's always third- and fourth-hand information, received from so-and-so who is now in the Balkans or dead. Yet the stories go on, filling every incoming American writer with prejudice.

She Eluded the "Secret Police"

A few months ago in Taipei I ran into a charming young American woman reporter whom I had known in Korea. She was happy to see me, for she wanted my help. Could I somehow arrange for her to visit beautiful Sun-Moon Lake over the week end so that "they" would not know it? Patiently I explained that it was only necessary to buy a train ticket, make reservations at a hotel, go to Sun-Moon Lake and enjoy the scenery. No amount of explanation on my part could convince the young lady that she was not being tailed, would not be tailed wherever she went. When last seen, she was slipping off to the railroad station, eluding the nonexistent secret police of a government which had not the slightest interest in her plans.

During the past year I have visited Formosa twice, have traveled all over the island, have toured the guerrilla bases along the China coast, have gone on raids. On an extensive trip into central Formosa it would have been impossible for the Chinese government to tail me. I made my own arrangements, planned my own stops, talked to people in Chinese without an interpreter within earshot. I mailed all of my stories to the United States; none were tampered with, none delayed in any way. I wandered at will even on the guerrilla island bases, talked to whomever I wished. Obviously, certain areas are off bounds for any reporter. It is not possible for any Americans to go into the mainland on a raid. Special passes are necessary (and should not be) to visit aborigine country in the interior of Formosa. Otherwise the American correspondent who comes to Formosa is free to see what he wishes and to report what he sees in Chiang's China.

But the truth is that American correspondents do not want to report the truth. Last January I met an old friend from China days, in Formosa to write a story for the *Reporter*. His was to be a report on economic progress. How long was he planning to stay in making his research? Seventy-two hours.

Experts in Two Days

The average stay of the American correspondent is 48 hours. During that time he lives in the swank Friends of China Club (wired for sound, of course!). He sees nothing of Chinese official activities outside Taipei. He then reports learnedly upon conditions in Free China.

The most celebrated recent bulls are columnist Joseph Alsop and novelist Verne Sneider. Mr. Sneider spent three weeks in Taipei, gathering material for his book, *A Pail of Oysters*. He came armed with letters of introduction from Chinese diplomatic officials in the United States. He was given every cooperation possible by the Chinese government. If he got outside Taipei during his three weeks, it was not far distant. He, too, stayed at the Friends of China Club. Free China was set literally on its ear when Sneider's book appeared last fall, for it is the nastiest bit of untruth that has appeared about China in a decade. In passing, it might be interesting to note that the book got rave reviews. The *Saturday Review* concluded its accolade with the statement that the book cast a bright light on the infected peritoneum of Formosa. "It is a true light," opined the reviewer.

Joseph Alsop is, of course, an Old China reporter, intimate of Vinegar Joe Stilwell when the latter was fighting Chiang and trying to arm the Chinese Reds. Mr. Alsop visited Formosa for almost 72 hours last fall. He found the Nationalist government somewhat improved, but decided that there were no guerrillas to worry the Communists. His major piece, in the *Saturday Evening Post*, was devoted to the invincibility of the Chinese Communist army.

Having spent almost three weeks with Mr. Alsop's nonexistent guerrillas, having talked to them, lived with them, I am interested in his findings. Mr. Alsop should have informed the Chinese Communists that there are no guerrillas. On February 25, 1954, the Communist press reported a force of 140,000 to 150,000 well-trained, well-organized guerrillas in one part of one province. And the Provincial Administrative Council of Yunnan Province reports that 200,000 guerrillas were killed during recent months in Southwest China.

Perhaps it's all a matter of terminology. The Communist press doesn't actually call them guerrillas. They are "reactionary armed forces" or "dissident peasants."

Presbyterians and A Letter

By EDMUND A. OPITZ

Behind the endorsement of the controversial Mackay Letter by the Presbyterian General Assembly was "machine control," say ministers who were present.

"Can't you churchmen ever get together without making cockeyed pronouncements about communism and capitalism?"

This question was put to me by one of a group of men who were discussing the Church's stand on political questions. Talk had drifted around to the recent Letter to Presbyterians, popularly known as the Mackay Letter from its principal drafter, the Rev. Dr. John A. Mackay, President of Princeton Theological Seminary. This Letter was released to the news services last fall and was greeted with loud acclaim and equally loud protest. There was opposition to the Letter in local Presbyteries throughout the country; but when the church commissioners gathered for the 166th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., in June, the Letter was endorsed by a vote of 880 to 1.

My questioner continued: "My own pastor is a swell guy and he doesn't go along with a lot of this stuff. That's true of most of you fellows I meet at luncheon clubs or elsewhere. You're all right until you get to some conference and then you sound off on politics and economics. I wouldn't mind so much if you were merely sounding off for yourselves, but you make like you were speaking for the whole Church—which you are not.

"My minister was at this General Assembly which endorsed the Mackay Letter. I asked him why he didn't vote against it, and he said, 'Well, it was a pretty good statement even if I didn't agree with it, and I didn't want to get into a big hassel, so I voted for it.' And what is the result? According to an editorial in the *Christian Century*, the action of the General Assembly means that the Letter to Presbyterians is 'an authentic expression of the mind and conscience of the Reformed tradition in this period in America.' It is nothing of the sort; it is merely an expression of the mind and conscience of the man who wrote it and, to some extent, of those who are willing to embrace it as their very own. It certainly doesn't express my mind or conscience."

Someone raised a question at this point about the character of the General Assembly which endorsed the Letter. Did it speak the mind of local churches around the country, or was this Assembly pretty much of a packed affair?

I managed to get in a little lecture on Church

conferences, and it boiled down to this: they appear to be loaded, just like a lot of other official meetings in which people get embroiled. But perhaps Church conferences tend to be worse in this respect than those of other organizations because ecclesiastical organizations include a high percentage of professional functionaries. These men, by virtue of their numerical strength and the lack of any real organized opposition, have far more power in practice than they are allowed in theory.

"Rigged Beforehand"

Some ministers have ventured the opinion that in choosing commissioners for the recent General Assembly which endorsed the Letter, care was taken to select delegates who would be inclined to support the hierarchy on the Letter. Let me relate the experience of a prominent Presbyterian minister by quoting from his letter:

"I have talked with four different men who were at the Assembly. Their stories are identical. They were all disgusted with the complete machine control of the Assembly. It was not a deliberative body in any sense of the word, as it should have been. Those who objected to what was being done had no opportunity to voice their objections. It is true, of course, that the machine cut out many by the election of delegates in the Presbyteries. For example, I was in line to be elected by this Presbytery for this General Assembly. My stand being known, I did not have a ghost of a chance to be sent—even though it was my turn. All this emphasizes the fact that the machine is in complete control and the Church is drifting further and further away from the truly representative body which the Presbyterian denomination used to be. I am opposed to any hierarchy and, therefore, to any change in policy, but what is happening in the State is happening in the Church—a drive toward centralized control.

"In view of the attitude of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, many younger men are afraid to open their mouths. They see, for example, how I am being treated and they don't want to pay such a price for independent thought and action."

Another Presbyterian minister who attended the meetings writes: "The whole performance of justification of the Letter was meticulously rigged beforehand and carried out at the General

Assembly—a fascinating study in ecclesiastical politics.”

At this point the group was willing to agree that maybe a good deal of church politicking surrounded the official endorsement of the Letter, and that returned the discussion to the document itself. What is it? What does it say?

The Letter is a message sent to the member churches—and the news services—by the Presbyterian General Council, the governing body of that Church. The General Council is instructed by the constitution of the Church “to correspond with and advise the General Councils of Presbyteries.” In its message, the General Council was “guided by the historic witness of our Church and the deliverances of successive General Assemblies.” It introduced the Letter by quoting with approval a pronouncement of the 165th General Assembly on Christians’ “responsibility as citizens of their nation, to seek as far as their influence may extend, to bring national life and all the institutions of society into conformity with the moral government of God, and into harmony with the spirit of Jesus Christ.” And then it continued, “In full accordance with this deliverance, the General Council would share with our Church constituency the following thoughts . . .”

It would be difficult for Christians to disagree with this opening statement, and one can also endorse the approach which conceives of the Letter as a sharing of thoughts. This mild and humble beginning would indicate that the General Council initially ventured to set forth its fairly commonplace thoughts for the churches to mull over, and then to accept, amend, or reject. Probably the Council was taken by surprise by the extravagant reception accorded its Letter, by the warm acceptance and the heated rejection. On the one hand, a prominent theologian hailed it as a shining example of “corporate prophetic teaching,” while on the other hand, the Letter was attacked as a device to give aid and comfort to the enemy—the enemy in this case being communism.

The General Council came back swinging. Now the issue was larger than the content of the Letter, or its lack of content; the Faith was at stake and needed defenders. All who wanted to defend the Faith must fight to keep the Letter from falling into the hands of the infidel. The proponents of the Letter chose to accord their attackers the major portion of their energies, and they met attack with counterattack, and ignored those who merely wanted to discuss the Letter on its own merits. This became an exciting crusade for those engaged in doing battle, but there was a major casualty: what began as an effort to share thoughts became a determination to lay down the law.

The Assembly vote of 880 to 1 in favor of the Letter, the whole Letter, and nothing but the Letter, is evidence of the bandwagon psychology which the whole episode has generated. Following

the adoption vote some one proposed a vote of confidence in Dr. Mackay, the author, and the gathering leaped to its feet and applauded long and loud. In such an atmosphere there can be no detached discussion of issues, and there was none.

On Congressional Investigations

The Letter to Presbyterians, like almost every other pronunciamento issuing of late from “progressive” circles, starts off by giving us the low-down on congressional committees. The Letter approves the committee system, and says that investigations have helped “to forestall the insidious intervention of a foreign power in the internal affairs of our country.” It goes on to say, “Congressional committees, which are an important expression of democracy in action, have rendered some valuable services to the nation.” But—“Some congressional inquiries have revealed a distinct tendency to become inquisitions.”

Guess which inquiries are here referred to. If you guessed the Nye, La Follette, Truman, or Buchanan committees, you are wrong! These committees never, never practiced the rough tactics that present-day committees are accused of, or if they did, look at the kind of people these committees investigated—people who deserved all they got!

Not until congressional committees went to work on security and loyalty risks in government was there a threat to basic human rights, or such is the inference we are led to draw. The Letter reads, “Favored by an atmosphere of intense disquiet and suspicion, a subtle but potent assault upon basic human rights is now in progress.” Not a few years ago, but now! This sentiment has been repeated ad nauseum by the “liberal” intelligentsia, who not only did not raise their voices against the tactics of earlier congressional investigations, but applauded the tactics, and in some cases helped engineer the investigations.

Fifteen years ago, many of our “liberal” intelligentsia, including the most prominent of our theologians, were finding a great new faith in their war of words against fascism abroad and what they called “isolationism” at home. When the New Deal sought war abroad as a means of recouping its lost prestige at home, the lay and clerical supporters of our local utopia followed the piper with even more enthusiasm than they had displayed for domestic reforms. In addition to their old targets, the “economic royalists” and the “reactionaries” who opposed the New Deal, they were given a whole set of new targets on whom to heap abuse—those who advocated United States neutrality, and on this account were portrayed as friendly to fascism.

Tolerance is not likely to thrive during a war against enemies pictured as satanic, and the “liberal” intelligentsia were intolerant toward any who questioned the idealism of the crusade. This

intolerance persisted after the war. When ardor is dampened by seeing one proclaimed aim of the war after another go sour, there is a natural tendency to want to poke beneath the surface of events in the interests of an honest historical record. The official propaganda of World War One was replaced by revisionist history when scholars began to sift the evidence. But the "liberal" intelligentsia have pretty well stopped the writing of revisionist history by contemporary scholars, and where a book has actually appeared in print, they have attempted to bury it and its author under an avalanche of smears. Not even world eminence in his field exempted the late Charles A. Beard from getting the treatment by "liberal" writers and book reviewers.

And these are the "liberal" intelligentsia who are putting up a deafening clamor that they are being silenced by democratic efforts to weed out loyalty and security risks in government!

The Letter to Presbyterians falls into step with these people and takes up their hue and cry. This is indeed a witness of a sort, but it is not the kind of prophetic witness one has a right to anticipate from an institution which is expected to live closer to its conscience than to current opinion polls.

The Anti-Anti-Communist Line

The Letter is seriously concerned because many people approach "the grave problem of communism in a purely negative way. Communism, which is at bottom a secular religious faith of great vitality, is thus being dealt with as an exclusively police problem." Communism was a philosophy long before it became the secular faith it now is for many people. Assorted tenets of its philosophy are widely held by people who are not devotees of the communist faith. They may, indeed, believe themselves to be strongly anti-Communist. Thus, while guarding against conspiracy, it is important to meet the philosophy of communism on the philosophical level. The Letter's disparaging reference to the methods of the policeman does not automatically lead to an adoption of the methods of the philosopher. There is nothing in the Letter which indicates the slightest interest in opposing the *philosophy* of communism on that level. It views with alarm our "fanatical negativism" toward communism, which may lead to a spiritual emptiness in our national house that could "be occupied with ease by a fascist tyranny" in "the case of a national crisis." It says that "attacks are being made upon citizens of integrity and social passion"; that "truth is being subtly and silently dethroned"; that "the demagogue, who lives by propaganda, is coming into his own on a national scale," and more in the same old vein.

Nothing in the Letter even hints at the lines along which a philosophical critique of communism would proceed. All it says is that communism goes

against the grain of human nature, and that it "has an approaching rendezvous with God and the moral order." That much, at least, is obvious; "for things," as Emerson observed, "won't be mismanaged long." Things may even themselves out in a thousand years!

Verbally, the Letter is aware of the menace of communism and of our need to defend ourselves against it, but at the same time it seeks to weaken one important line of defense by slandering the ex-Communist. One of the important ways of protecting ourselves against the conspiratorial activities of communism is to find out how the apparatus works from those who have been close to, or part of it. Many ex-Communists are eager to make amends for the damage they may have done our society during their party days, by testifying to what they know. Yet these men, as a class, are the victims of a scurrilous attack in the Letter to Presbyterians. The imputation is that most of them are liars. The Letter purports to be shocked "that men and women should be publicly condemned upon the uncorroborated word of former Communists. . . . The ex-Communists to whose word congressional committees apparently give unqualified credence are in very many instances people whose basic philosophy authorizes them now, as in the past, to believe that a lie in a good cause is thoroughly justified."

The Letter then performs the incredible feat of stooping even lower than this level of abuse to attack one of the great Churches of Christendom which some former Communists have joined. It says, "Many of these witnesses have done no more, as we know, than transfer their allegiance from one authoritarian system to another," and their new religious faith, the Letter informs us, authorizes them to lie in a good cause!

"That's enough for me," broke in my original interrogator, "I've had it! If that is the Church's witness, I don't want any part of it."

"Just a minute," said a young minister. "Earlier this evening you objected to a few churchmen in a conference claiming to speak for the whole Church. Now you cannot turn right around and condemn the whole Church because you dislike what a few men say in her name. If you don't like the witness of the Letter to Presbyterians, then you'd better start witnessing yourself, in your own way, in your local church. Jesus was a layman and He preached a lay religion; and one of the most hopeful signs in religion today is the revival of serious interest in religion on the part of laymen. Not only is their weight being felt in local churches, but the appearance of such organizations as the Yokefellowship, the Christophers, and now the Orpheus Fellowship, is highly significant."

Our group broke up. We passed no resolutions nor did we issue a statement to the press. But each man was busy with his own thoughts.

As Woodrow Wilson Said

By FELIX WITTMER

Today it is considered "liberal" to applaud every Executive defiance of Congress. But liberals of yesterday had a different view.

During the Army-McCarthy hearings President Eisenhower publicly approved the Army directives which enjoined Army personnel from honoring congressional subpoenas. He went further; he ordered Army Counsellor John G. Adams, then a witness before a congressional committee, to refrain from giving any answers that might throw light on the subject under investigation. He did not specify the kind of questions that ought not to be answered—such, for instance, as might lead to disclosure of information regarding our defense program; he forbade the Army counsellor to tell Congress anything whatsoever regarding a meeting at which the Army charges against a Senator were drawn up.

The meeting over which the President threw a blanket of secrecy was attended entirely by Presidential appointees. Thus the President used his power to protect from scrutiny the activities of a group inside the Executive branch of the government. He virtually informed Congress that the doings of the Executive branch were none of their business. Thus once again the issue of supremacy between the two branches of our government was joined.

The Senator from Wisconsin lost no time in defying the Presidential order and inviting officials of the Executive branch to supply his investigative committee with information which might lead to the detection of subversive or otherwise criminal activities. In the eyes of many he thus invited federal officials and employees to insubordination.

The "liberal" press, especially those metropolitan papers which are known for their opposition to congressional investigations of alleged Communists, unqualifiedly supported the President's position. The Attorney General, in a speech before the National Editorial Association in Baltimore, even charged that the Senator "would substitute government by an individual for government by law." But does not a Presidential directive come under the head of "government by an individual"?

Here is evidently an issue on which there does not yet exist enough clarity. Consequently, disagreement is likely to flare up in the future unless the limitations of Executive and congressional prerogatives can be determined, and enforced by law.

The issue currently is complicated by the semi-warlike atmosphere in which we live. Publicity that may affect the national security is admittedly un-

desirable. Employees in certain defense plants and scientists who do research in the development of new weapons, for example, must be sworn to secrecy. But it is this very secrecy that may cover up the danger it attempts to forestall.

Information "Leaks"

Let us assume that one who works in a nuclear laboratory runs into evidence of subversive activity. Dutifully he reports the case to the FBI. The latter appraises the data and notifies the Department of Justice. Months pass by, yet nothing seems to happen. What is the original informer going to do? FBI agents may be covering every movement of the reported suspect, but in order to obtain tangible proof of treason and also to discover confederates, do not have him discharged. The FBI does not take the original informer into its confidence.

After some time, the laboratory worker becomes uneasy. He recalls instances (now a matter of public record) in which the FBI was properly alerted, and, as far as is known, nothing of importance was done by the Executive branch. He knows that Hiss and Remington would not have been convicted had it not been for congressional committees of investigation.

Will this employee of the Executive branch, in obedience to the Presidential order, maintain silence, or will he leak his information to a congressional committee? Will the security of his job take precedence over conscience and patriotism?

In another case, though, a suspected Communist could in fact be an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency. Common sense requires the CIA even to mislead public opinion regarding such an alleged Communist. Misinformed action by a congressional committee against this individual could damage the project of the CIA. Not all Congressmen or Senators, it is feared, know how to keep secrets. Can we blame the CIA for at least being hesitant about taking them into its confidence?

Yet is the CIA above suspicion? Walter Bedell Smith, when head of the CIA, declared publicly that in his opinion there were Communists in his organization but that he was not able to spot them. Such inability may well stem from the lethargy which is inherent in bureaucracies.

There are also those who demand what is called open diplomacy; but open diplomacy frequently

would not be any diplomacy at all. We know that Eisenhower and Churchill recently discussed what (if any) united stand their countries might take in face of communist expansion in Southeast Asia. Newspaper reporters complained about the secretiveness of the two government heads. Yet if the President and the Prime Minister had informed their respective nationals of their decisions, they would at the same time have given Chou En-lai and Malenkov the cue for future action.

George Washington, in 1789, rejected a House resolution requesting a copy of his instructions to the U. S. Minister who negotiated a treaty with Britain. President Hoover, in 1930, held that the Senate's prerogative in the treaty-making process did not entitle it to see the confidential messages that led to the conclusion of the London treaty. It would seem that Presidents in such circumstances must use their discretion as to what actions of the Executive branch may be disclosed.

Yet in the American political system nobody, not even the President, is immune from the system of checks and balances. On the contrary, in deference to human weakness, we have traditionally insisted on keeping the Executive branch under surveillance.

The Duty of Congress

In the concept of our Constitution, the Executive and Legislative branches are not supposed to be of equal weight. Congress makes the laws; the Administration executes the laws. If Congress feels that the Administration does not act in accordance with the laws, its duty is to delimit in detail what the Administration may or may not do.

Until recently our Presidents knew quite well that ours is a government of limited powers, and that therefore they owed profound respect to the representatives of the people. Even Andrew Jackson, who let unlimited democracy loose on us, was most restrained in his language when, in 1835, he declined to supply the Senate with copies of the charges which led to the removal of Gideon Fitz as surveyor general. At any rate, he dealt with a case of minor scope, which was his proper domain, and not with such a major issue as the communist threat to our form of government.

Peremptory orders not to honor subpoenas or systematically to refuse to answer any questions a congressional committee may ask amount to contempt of Congress. Coming from the top layer of the Executive branch, such orders smack of authoritarianism. Exactly because we do not want to substitute government by individuals for government by law is there need for congressional surveillance of the administration of law.

Such surveillance is more needed now than ever before in the history of our country. In the nineteen twenties there were but 300,000 people employed by the federal government; today this bureaucracy has close to 2,500,000 on the payroll.

If it were not for the investigative committees of our elected representatives, we would not have any chance at all to check upon the activities of this vast and expensive body. Once the investigative powers of Congress are curtailed by Executive truculence, what can prevent this bureaucracy from transgressing the limits put upon it by the law? If the administrator of the law is immune from investigation, what can prevent him from perverting it? In short, the curtailment of congressional investigation is a step toward authoritarianism.

Era of Secrecy

In a speech prepared by the research staff of the Attorney General, President Eisenhower cited 26 instances in which previous Presidents had withheld desired information from Congress. It is significant, though, that only eleven of these 26 cases took place in the first 144 years of our history, while the other fifteen occurred during the twenty years of the New-Fair Deal Administrations. If, to use the figures of the Eisenhower speech, our Presidents of the pre-Roosevelt era had defied Congress as often as Roosevelt and Truman did, they would have done so 108, not eleven, times. It was during the era in which Mr. Roosevelt threatened to pack the Supreme Court and Mr. Truman seized the steel plants that Presidents refused with increasing frequency the demands of Congress to supply it with information. Secrecy kept pace with the acquisition of power.

There is something else which disturbs discerning citizens. The tone of Presidential defiance has changed. On the four occasions on which, according to Mr. Eisenhower, Presidents Washington, Jackson, or Cleveland felt obliged not to comply with the wishes of Congress, they explained that very particular factors, in these instances, compelled them to withhold the desired documents; there was none of the curtness or arrogance that typified Mr. Truman's gag order.

This change in Presidential manners significantly coincides with a change of the "liberal" attitude toward the ascendancy of the Executive over the Legislative branch. A generation ago those who claimed that title strongly supported congressional investigations of the Executive branch, while the present crop applauds every Presidential defiance of Congress. When Senators Walsh and Wheeler conducted probes in the Teapot Dome and Elk Hills cases, the then liberal Harvard professor Felix Frankfurter chided those who "seek to divert attention and shackle the future by suggesting restrictions in the procedure of future congressional investigations."

In an article under the title of "Hands Off the Investigations," in the *New Republic* of May 21, 1925, the professor conceded that (regarding inquiries into the activities of an official in the

Department of the Interior) "much of this was hearsay and gossip"; but, he continued, "If these aren't leads properly to be pursued, then we had better admit that the power of congressional investigation is a sham, and not an effective instrument for ventilating issues for the information of Congress and the public."

Nowadays the "liberals" wail and lament that congressional investigators use "uncouth" methods in ferreting out the Communist traitors. But Felix Frankfurter, *anno* 1924, had this to say: "The question is not whether people's feelings here and

there may be hurt, or 'names dragged through the mud,' as it is called. The real issue is whether the danger of abuses and the actual harm done are so clear and substantial that the grave risks of fettering free congressional inquiry are to be incurred by artificial and technical limitations upon inquiry."

The professor from Harvard, it then seemed to many, carried the torch of liberty. But who speaks for liberty now? What has happened to the liberals of yesteryear, who held with Woodrow Wilson that "The history of liberty is the history of men's efforts to restrain government"?

A Six-Billion-Dollar Trifle

By F. A. HARPER

As this is written, the Senate has just voted a \$6 billion increase in the federal debt limit. Let's be hopeful and assume the final figure will be no larger than this, after it goes back to the House, which had previously approved a \$15 billion increase.

Few of us have been interested in that particular little sideshow of the Washington circus. We have been in the main tent, watching them play with our tax rates and the lotteries for our special privileges, happy to leave the matter of debt limit to those technically minded in fiscal affairs.

Yet the increase in the debt limit, while our attention is diverted, picks our pockets as effectively as a direct tax would have done. It permits the government to live beyond its tax income, to continue being profligate. And this deficit is as much a form of tax on you as is your annual income-tax bill. It is an inflation tax, though you may not realize its tax aspect at the time. Your money is really taken from you when your pocket is picked, not when you discover it is gone.

"But it's such a small amount, as though your wife were to propose increasing your thousand-dollar mortgage to \$1021.82, because she 'needs' a new hat that is on sale for \$21.82. Let her have it! Not worth a family row." This is the argument.

Or is it? Let's see.

In addition to the fact that the \$6 billion may be used to buy something you don't want, it is authorization for many times that amount of inflation. If persons would buy all these bonds with money in their pockets, it would be more like a direct personal tax of \$6 billion. But if, on the other hand, the government is forced to find its market in the banks, the inflation becomes prolific and reproduces itself several times. That is why this sideshow is so important. And this is the way it works.

Let us say the government spends one dollar it

does not have from other taxes. It writes on a piece of paper, in effect, "I owe me one dollar." But that doesn't give it the dollar. So it takes this bond or note to a bank, and gets the dollar which it can then spend—not a dollar bill, actually, but a deposit in the bank and subject to payment by check. This is called "monetization of the debt"; the government debt goes into the bank, and comes out as money.

Then another thing happens. The government may not spend the dollar at once; or if it does, the one who receives it may not do so. Somebody is going to leave the dollar in his bank account. Banks know this, and bet on it. They can loan that idle dollar, left there on deposit, to someone else. He will probably leave it idle, too. So they can loan it again. And again.

Why is there any limit? Because the bank must protect itself against the chance of withdrawals. And anyhow, as a member of the Federal Reserve System it is required to keep on deposit with the FRS a specified percentage of these deposits, as protection. This is about 15 per cent, on the average, for all banks in the System and outside.

So, of the one dollar monetized from the government bond and left on deposit, 15 cents has to be salted away as a reserve and 85 cents can be loaned. When the 85 cents is loaned, 13 cents (15 per cent) must be salted away and 72 cents can be loaned. This goes on and on. If we add up the amounts loaned (85 plus 72 plus . . .) for all the banks and persons who become involved, we find that the original dollar becomes six or seven dollars of new money—inflation money.

The rise in the debt limit is not just a fiscal technicality. It affects all of us, first as an inflation tax and then as fuel for further inflation to a possible increase of more nearly \$40 billion. Your wife's new hat becomes pretty expensive.

That Man Gaskins

By ROBERT LE FEVRE

The story of a self-reliant Floridian who built a unique industry through pioneering and hard work, without benefit of government handouts.

Drive to Florida this year and have your cypress knee I.Q. checked. The man to do it for you is Tom Gaskins of Palmdale.

Take Highway 27 south from Tallahassee, through the forests of turpentine pines, over the hills and valleys of the beautiful lake country, and on down into palm-tree territory where the Everglades begin. You will know you are getting close when you are startled by signs made of cut-out letters artistically placed on dead tree-limbs. You get another jolt when you read, "Tom Gaskins Cypress Knee Museum—an individual thing—none of this group stuff." Many of these signs are festooned with dangling beer bottles.

Look for Fisheating Creek, and nearby you'll see a building with a large cypress tree growing out of the middle of it. There you'll find Tom.

In front of the building is a large sign. It says, "The cypress knee industry was started by and this museum was built by a selfish reactionary. Without any help ever, from any city, county, state or federal government. No RFC, HOLC, FHA, WPA, WBSOC. No price top, no price bottom, no subsidy, no labor union protection. What you see here can never be duplicated. Souvenirs of a time before civilization covered the United States." In case WBSOC is unfamiliar to you, you'll have to ask Tom.

Cypress knees might best be described as something you never saw before. In short, they are a natural growth up from the roots of the cypress tree, and they take indescribable forms. But more about them later.

Gaskins is a type. It could almost be said, a vanishing type. He's a self-reliant American who hates all government agencies, particularly those which are clothed with good intentions. And Gaskins got that way by living his own life and thinking his own thoughts.

Tom is a native of Florida. He was born in Tampa in 1909 and got himself a rattle-taggle education, according to accepted standards. He figured out at an early age that it wasn't what the teachers knew that counted—it was what he was able to learn for himself, whether from selected teachers, books, nature, or just that old school of experience.

He married Virginia Bible in Arcadia, Florida in 1934, and decided to set up headquarters on Fisheating Creek and to make a million dollars.

And being soundly American and self-reliant to the core, he planned his first million on the basis of productive energy, although he didn't call it that. He allowed he'd have to trade something he could find, grow, or make—for that million. It was this search for something for trade which caused him to trip over his first cypress knee.

But let Tom tell it. "Shortly after I was married, my mother-in-law asked me to get her a cypress knee. She wanted to use it for a flower vase. She thought knees were hollow. All dictionaries prior to 1953 say the cypress knee is hollow, but normally they are solid. I turned to my wife then and said, 'That's something that will sell.'" Thus began an industry that has spread into seventeen southern states.

His Own Handiwork

In 1937, not far from the banks of Fisheating Creek Tom began to build his home, and a cypress knee factory. He built two buildings and several sheds and lean-tos with an expenditure of little over \$300 cash. That's all the money he had. He ran out of funds before his house was finished. The house at first was 12 x 36 feet, and he covered it with cypress shingles which he had made himself. The shingles were split with a frow, a tool every household in America once knew all about. Today, along with the virtue of building one's own house, the frow is practically extinct. What did Tom do when he ran out of money? "Instead of having real windows like rich people have, I took pieces of flooring, nailed them groove side up in the window openings and slid pieces of glass in the grooves. The glass didn't cost me anything. Instead of building regulation partitions inside for the rooms, I divided the house up with sheets of corrugated cardboard. I picked that up back of the stores in Arcadia." Even the bathroom, which came in 1946, is walled with corrugated cartons.

In the midst of this poverty, Tom Gaskins and his wife were happy and contented. They had plenty of hard work to keep them busy. They helped out on the food bill by eating wild game, fish from the creek, and plenty of swamp cabbage which was to be had for a prodigious amount of effort—but is worth it, if you've ever eaten it. Hand-me-down clothes from friends and relatives were always welcomed. Gaskins never complained

about his living conditions or lack of finances. He figured he was lucky to be an American—and to have the opportunity to toil each day for his keep. But his mind was bothered.

There were two migratory labor camps the other side of Lake Okeechobee, one at Belle Glade, the other at Pahokee. They had electric lights and running water, hot and cold. They had washing machines, ironers, sewing machines—plenty of modern conveniences and all for just a dollar a week. Also, the people who lived there could buy real groceries at a real store for wholesale prices. Now, Tom and his wife spent eight years on Fish-eating Creek without electric lights. And their only running water was the bucketful they ran with. Tom didn't mind the luxury of the migratory workers. But it bothered him to think that they were considered "underprivileged." Because, despite his poverty, he was helping to pay for the things those migratory workers got, through the taxes that were collected from him every time he spent one of his few dollars. Somehow this didn't seem quite fair. Further, it didn't seem quite American.

What a Pioneer Thinks of Socialism

Despite the unfairness, the Gaskinses went to work cutting and curing cypress knees. When strangers would stop by, Tom would explain the wonders of nature and the beauty of the cypress knees. Some would buy a knee. Others couldn't figure out what it was all about. But gradually a demand was built up for this strangely beautiful, exotic growth. At first, Tom sold to big stores and shops all over the country. But as the demand grew, he stopped this practice. He explains:

"I've got a stack of orders in from the big stores but I've written them I won't fill their orders. You see, with the wage and hour laws, social security, unemployment insurance, and all the red tape, in order to fill their orders I'd have to be a big businessman. Then I'd get involved with all the taxes, and I'd worry and fret and be unhappy, and probably wouldn't end up with much, anyway. So I've written and told thousands of dealers all over the country that I am going to keep my business small because of the socialistic situation. I sell only to individuals who write in or visit my shop. I charge a dollar to see the museum. Many thousands have seen it. Millions will want to see it. It looks like I will either have to close the doors or have a large business forced on me."

Tom's museum is decorated with signs that express his opinions on social security, wage and hour laws and such things. The Labor Department became curious. They wanted to know how many people he employed, for how long and for how much, etc. Tom wrote the Department: "I think you are all a bunch of leeches and you should quit your jobs and do something worth-while." He expanded in letters to the editor. Tom (like the Mar-

shall housewives; Mary Cain of Summit, Mississippi; Roy Pursell of Plymouth, Michigan; Phil O'Connell of South Weymouth, Massachusetts and others) has refused to pay social security taxes on one of his employees who doesn't want government insurance, and on himself. Twice the government has attached his bank account. He counters with more letters to the editor.

Perhaps the thinking of this rugged swamp-man can best be illustrated by repeating here a letter he sent to the *Tampa Tribune*. It doesn't happen to be about social security. It contains a theme which in this day of seeking after security is almost as rare as the creak of the wheels of a covered wagon, the cry of the muleteers, the snap of the bullwhip and the scraping of shovels as men bent their backs with a will to build the America we used to have. It runs as follows:

A SHOVELFUL OF INDEPENDENCE

Palmdale recently lost its most respected citizen, Mr. John Hess. Not many people knew Mr. Hess, as he did not make much noise.

He lived five miles out in the woods, by himself. He owed no man, ever. On being forced to retire from the A.C.L. Railroad at age 65, he refused a pension, stating that he had been paid for his work and the railroad owed him nothing. At the continued insistence of his friends, he agreed to accept the pension on the condition that he could work two days a week for it. But there are rules and laws against such work.

As he was not allowed to work during daylight hours, twice weekly, at night, he walked five miles to Palmdale to shovel cinders off the roadbed. He was often seen walking home from work at the crack of day. This continued for some time, and the railroad people found out about it and hid the shovels. Mr. Hess then bought his own and continued working two nights every week. He wore out one shovel and ordered another.

Finally, diesel engines replaced coal burners and there were no more cinders to shovel. Mr. Hess then pulled grass from the railroad bed, keeping it nice and neat, until a few days before he became sick and died. The above continued over a seven-year period.

Whether you know anything about cypress knees or not, it's worth a stop at the museum to shake hands with Tom Gaskins, an American.

Oh, yes, the dangling beer bottles on his signs are for target practice.

Names Wanted

Because you read the FREEMAN, you know people who ought to read it. Please send in the names of these kindred spirits, so that we can introduce them to the publication by way of sample copies. Your help is appreciated.

The FREEMAN, Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y.

More Valuable than Property

By CLARENCE MANION

Unless we leave one priceless inheritance to our children and grandchildren, we leave them nothing.

Here is a personal experience that has changed the whole course of my life. It has to do with a former client of mine. My task was to try to insulate him against the post-mortem impacts of the federal tax collector.

There was a stack of documents on the desk in front of the client: a trust agreement, a will, insurance policies of various sorts—deeds of land and transfers of personal property. With a big smile on his face my client signed these documents. He was chuckling with happiness—even when he signed my check. At that point I interrupted him.

I said: "John, you seem to get a kick out of this." He laid down his pen, removed his pipe from his mouth, blew out a big billow of smoke, and said: "Yes, I certainly do get a kick out of this. I'm an old man. I've got much more property than I ever thought I would have. I had some bad luck, too. Lost my good wife a few years ago; lost my son in World War Two; but I've still got a daughter and a lot of fine grandchildren. I wanted them to have this property but I never even had a will. I knew that unless I did something like this, the government would get most of it and the rest of it might go to the four winds. We've done a good job here. And I'm really going to sleep tonight. You bet I get a kick out of this."

So he put his pipe back into his mouth and started to sign again. I interrupted him a second time. I said: "John, now that you've taken care of their property, what are you going to do about the liberty of these children?"

He didn't stop signing; he just laughed out loud. "Oh, I don't know anything about liberty," he said. "I'm just a merchant, and I've made some money, but I'm going to have to leave that liberty business to the professors and politicians." He kept on laughing and kept on signing.

Then I told him something that I'm going to tell you—something I want you to remember. I said: "Tear up that will, throw away the insurance policies, forget the trust agreement, forget all the things we have done here this afternoon, because unless you leave your children liberty, you leave them nothing at all."

Ask the wealthy Jews in Germany what their property did for them, if you please, when they were facing up against the concentrated, unlimited power of government.

Ask the kulaks, ask the ghosts of ten million kulaks murdered by agents of government. Say: "Fellows, you had a lot of land, a lot of property over there in Russia. Didn't that property and that land help you when you were faced up against this concentrated, unlimited power of government?"

Ask the imprisoned or expelled or dead Chinese landlords and merchants what good their property did them when their government decided "to own and operate the means of production for the good of all people." Is that the future you want to will to your children?

A One-Way Ticket

Wherever you look, at whatever page or period of history you ask that question, the answer comes back always the same: In time of tyranny, in time of concentrated, unlimited governmental power, your money is going to buy your children just one thing—a ticket to the concentration camp, a one-way ticket to the point of no return.

Will you think of that the next time you pay that life insurance premium? The next time you put a codicil on your will for the next grandchild, or stash away a few dollars for a rainy day, or set up a trust fund, stop and think a moment. When the power of government is unlimited and centralized, the inevitable result is a one-way ticket to the point of no return.

Think of it, please, when you gather those youngsters around you. What is your personal contribution to the fate of the next generation? When you gather those children, as I have gathered mine, look into their faces and ask yourself this question: How much unlimited, centralized power is my government going to have when these children are as old as I am?

That will do it! Thereafter, you'll do your own individual bit to preserve human liberty—which is to be found only in a limited constitutional government with strict divisions of power and unbreakable checks and balances. Then and there you'll make a solemn resolution that your legacy, not of property, but of liberty to these children, is going to compare favorably to the big fortune of freedom which the Founding Fathers devised at much sacrifice and willed to you as a trust for your children and their children. I pray that we will deserve the help of God in keeping it.

The Rotten Apple in Our Schools

By FRANK S. MEYER

The tragedy of the new education for "adjustment to society" is that the philosophy of Deweyism substitutes for our great cultural heritage the fallacies of today's fashionable collectivism.

The symptoms of deterioration in our educational system—long apparent to serious observers—have become so obvious that the fact of deterioration is now a matter of public concern. Everyone except the educational bureaucrats, whose vested interest is under fire, and the "liberals," to whom any attack on any state institution is impermissible, agrees that something has gone wrong. But what? Why is it that the school graduate accumulates so little learning from the years invested in the modern school? And why is he so devoid of any sense of values?

Starkly, in the corruption of our children, we stand face to face with the truth that "ideas have consequences," that philosophical thought is not a dreamer's luxury but the most powerful of forces. The present state of American education is the direct consequence of the pragmatic-instrumentalist philosophy of John Dewey. Applied to the educational process and transmitted to the American educational system through a network of associations, training schools and publications, these theories have, in little more than a generation, annihilated the education which for a thousand years formed the men who made Western civilization. This education, inherited from classical Greece and transmuted by Christianity, molded the framers of our Constitution and the leaders of the Republic in its early years.

It was based on the assumption that the function of the school is to train the mind and transmit to the young the culture and tradition of the civilization—leaving everything else necessary to the raising of the new generation to the family, the church, and other social institutions. This assumption, of course, implied the acceptance of certain other assumptions of a philosophical kind: that there is such a thing as truth; that the tradition of Western civilization embodies the conclusions of countless generations in the search for truth; that value resides innately in the individual, so that the claims of society and the State are secondary to and derived from him. It implied definite social and political beliefs: that, although all men are created with certain inalienable rights, individuals vary in capacity and ability; that, therefore, in the name of equality, to deprive the able of the opportunity to realize their ability is as great an oppression as to enslave the many for the

benefit of the few. And it implied an important psychological presupposition: that, like everything else worth having, education can be acquired only at the cost of work and pain.

Today, one can examine volume after volume of the proliferating official literature which prescribes the practice of our educational system and find scarcely a trace of the great concepts of Western education. It is not that the training of the mind and the transmission of the truths asserted by our civilization have been forgotten; they have been deliberately and consciously eliminated. Those who have done the eliminating have made no secret of their intentions. From the writings of John Dewey himself down through all the literature of the "philosophy of experience," as Dewey liked to call his instrumentalist pragmatism, these concepts are branded as reactionary obstacles to the development of the New Education.

For the instrumentalist there can be no cultural heritage worth transmitting; values are a superstition left over from the Middle Ages; what is right and good is what serves as an instrument to achieve adjustment to the society immediately around. Therefore, the aim of education must be "life adjustment" and the method, "life experience." Above all, the teacher must "impose" nothing. His role is not to teach the wisdom that a great civilization and a great nation have created, but to "cooperate" with the child in gaining "acquaintance with a changing world," where "experience" and "free activity" will somehow magically educate him. Thus he will grow up free of the "stifling authoritarianism" of the old education, and become independent of mind and will.

Collectivism Fills the Gap

Now, as a matter of fact, it is nonsense to assume that because the child is not taught values and drilled into habits of thought he will spontaneously develop an educated independence of thought. What will happen instead is what is happening. The teacher, freed from the responsibility of teaching "abstract values" in a disciplined manner, must fill the gap with something. Being under pressure to bring about "adjustment" to the environment, he fills it with the current

prejudices of his environment, and the prejudices of a contemporary educationist or a teacher trained by educationists are certain to reflect the fashionable collectivism of the day.

This nihilistic method not only ends thus in collectivism; it destroys the very ability to think clearly about anything. To learn to think requires effort and pain. There being no pressure to exert effort or to undergo pain, the mental habits of run-of-the-mill students are simply slovenly, while the bright ones develop into brash youngsters in whom flashes of brilliance only emphasize lack of intellectual development. That there are still a few hard-thinking young people about can only be put down to the remaining vestiges of home influence and the providential survival of a few good teachers in the interstices of our educational institutions.

A Dearth of Leaders

This is a tragedy, first of all because it dwarfs the true potentialities of man. It makes scarcer and scarcer, year in and year out, the development of individuals strongly rooted in the wisdom of the past and capable of standing on their own against error, whim and fashion. But it is also a social tragedy. Such individuals are the only kind of men who can give society the leadership it must have if it is to solve its problems in the spirit of right and justice, to reject facile and erroneous solutions, and to survive as a free association of individuals.

The primacy of society and the state over the individual, which is the essence of collectivism, can never be enforced so long as such men exist in reasonable quantities. The New Education, by destroying the possibility of rearing such men, by inculcating "adjustment to society"—which can only mean subservience to society—has been perhaps the most important factor in making possible that widespread acquiescence in collectivism with which the body politic is today so deeply infected. It has left its students bereft of any defense against the fallacies of collectivism, unable to think their way through political problems, and with a vague uneasy feeling that anyone who puts the individual above the group or the State is somehow evil. Its effect has been catastrophic, and that catastrophe is the direct outcome of the philosophy of John Dewey and his followers.

But the question still remains: what were the political and social conditions which made it possible for this philosophy to prevail? In my opinion, the conditions for the triumph of Deweyism in our schools and the consequent decay of education were created by a process which set in a hundred years ago or more. The invasion of the field of education by public tax-supported authority was the first great breach in the concept of a government limited in its powers to the

maintenance of internal and external order, the concept upon which our Republic was founded.

The movement for universal free compulsory state education begins simultaneously with the emergence in American history, in the person of Andrew Jackson, of the type which Franklin Roosevelt brought to perfection, the demagogic "leader of the masses." By the turn of the century the movement was largely successful. The decay of the quality of American education had already been signalized by many eminent observers, and the foundation had been laid for the debacle of the past thirty years.

If all must be educated equally and in the same way, and if education must be "produced" without competition under the monopolistic control of a bureaucracy, then the very idea of quality in education will go by the board. What is wanted is not the development of the spirit of man but its acclimatization to the mediocrity of the mass. To such a system of "education" Dewey's theories were well adapted; when quality and differentiation were rejected, his ideas were bound to win out.

Triumph of the Mediocre

Education in the true sense, the opportunity for every individual to develop himself to the limits of his ability, is the most valuable thing a father can provide for his children. Had the spirit of the American Republic been fulfilled in this field, is there any reason to doubt that, with the increase of wealth in the last 150 years, there would have been as multifarious, diverse and brilliant a growth of educational opportunities under the enterprise of private individuals and independent groups, as has taken place in other fields? Under such circumstances, if the false theory of Deweyism had gained influence in some institutions in a competitive educational network, its obvious inferiority would soon have put them out of business. Or, at the least, it would have restricted their patronage to those who could not recognize a superior product. Nor can it be alleged that this would have restricted good education to the wealthy. Competition would have made educational opportunities as common as it has made the automobile.

The entrance of the State into education, however, moving inevitably through quasi-monopoly toward monopoly, crushes all differentiations. Its leveling effort to assure that no unworthy son of a wealthy father shall receive an education he does not deserve, has made it certain that no one, rich or poor, shall receive an education pitched above the dead level of the mediocre.

For the achievement of the mediocre, for the destruction of individualism, for the transformation of a Republic into a mass State, the philosophy of Deweyism has created the ideal educational system.



A Reviewer's Notebook

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Igor Gouzenko is the code clerk who startled the world back in 1945 by deserting the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, Canada, carrying with him 109 secret documents bearing irrefutable proof of a superbly organized Communist spy ring in Canada, the United States and Great Britain. Since the time of his melodramatic defection, Gouzenko, with his wife and two children, has been living under the protection of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. A man who knew his secrets about ciphers would have need of shelter in any case, but Gouzenko, as it turns out, has an extra reason for wanting protection that is totally unconnected with his 1945 break.

The truly astounding thing about this man is that, in addition to being an expert on codes, he happens to be Russia's greatest living fiction writer. And the book he has written while living under the protection of the "Mounties," a long, rich 629-page novel called *The Fall of a Titan* (New York: W. W. Norton, \$4.50), discloses hundreds of things about contemporary Russia that are far more damaging to the Soviet government than anything that could be told about the operations of spies or informers.

The story is obviously based on the career of Maxim Gorki, author of *The Lower Depths* and many other contributions to the literature of revolt that helped pave the way for the Bolshevik Revolution. As everyone knows, Gorki returned from Europe to his native land after Lenin and his gangsters had seized the political power in Russia. His once keen eyes blinded by his hatred for the Tsar, Gorki was willing to believe in the "proletarian" future. Idolized by the Russian masses, and needed by the Bolsheviks as a "respectable" front for their cruelties, Gorki accepted all sorts of honors

from the party. His native Nishni Novgorod on the Volga, city of a world-famous Fair, was renamed Gorki; and palatial living quarters were put at the disposal of the one-time tramp author. The spectacle of such a great "free spirit" as Maxim Gorki living in presumed amity with the Bolsheviks was swallowed by the eggheads of the Western nations without so much as a single grain of salt. But during the period of the Great Purge, Maxim Gorki died. In death he was officially praised by Stalin, but there is considerable evidence that he was poisoned at party orders. The party could put Gorki's reputation to good use, but it couldn't trust *any* intellectual with memories of Western liberties to keep quiet forever about the terrible things that were being done to individuals in the name of collectivization and the Five-Year Plan.

Gouzenko has taken Gorki as the ironic "hero" of his story, renaming him Mikhail Gorin for purposes of fiction. And around this Gorin, with his titanic airs, he has written a truly terrifying parable. Returning to Rostov, at the mouth of the Don, in the early years of Stalin's rule, Gorin is granted the use of a magnificent country house and park. From his long exile in Capri Gorin has brought with him his wife, a former Russian countess, his beautiful and talented daughter Nina, and his strange, super-sensitive son Pavel. During his first months in Russia Gorin sings paeans to the Bolsheviks. Naive and self-deluded despite his genius for writing about tramps and waifs, Gorin overlooks such items as concentration camps, firing squads, slave labor and forced "confessions."

The day comes, however, when Gorin falls silent. And this, of

course, is a greater sin in Stalin's eyes than outright denunciation of Soviet barbarities. Accordingly, a "secret agent" is called in to "persuade" Gorin to continue his literary justification of the Bolshevik terror. The secret agent, Feodor Novikov, is a professor of history in his daylight hours. But his academic status, though real enough in his own eyes, is, to the party, a mere cover for Novikov's NKVD work as a spy and an *agent provocateur*.

Introduced into Gorin's house, Novikov undertakes the job of stimulating his victim to write a play about no less a person than Ivan the Terrible. By providing Gorin with some artfully edited "research," Novikov builds up a picture in the genius's mind of an iron-willed emperor who wades through blood in the name of "historical necessity." Gorin swallows the claptrap: he is willing to condone Ivan's atrocities simply because they led to a unified and centralized Muscovite State. Stalin is infinitely pleased when the *Pravda* critics draw the obvious contemporary Bolshevik inferences from *Ivan the Terrible* when it is performed in Moscow.

The special quality of Gouzenko's story of Gorin's "fall" is its refusal to deal in simple blacks and whites. For Gorin, as it turns out, is just as much the villain of the piece as Novikov himself. Gouzenko does not justify Novikov's career, but he explains it as the "normal" consequence of a decision to remain alive. Novikov had seen his father, a bourgeois builder of railroads, witlessly shot by a white guard officer in 1917; he had seen his mother die of grief. These experiences hardened him, and he swore to himself that he would do anything at all to get along in the jungle society established in the name of "security" by the Bolsheviks. In the course of

pursuing his single-minded objective, Novikov falsifies history as a professor, and even kills people without more than a momentary qualm. He falls in love with Gorin's daughter Nina, but jilts her as a matter of course on party orders. Later, as a measure of pure careerism, he marries the kindly Lida Sidirov, daughter of a tank plant manager. When the tank plant manager is himself liquidated for "nonfulfillment" of his factory quotas, Novikov tosses Lida and his own unborn son aside without thinking twice about it.

Such a career in practically unadulterated Machiavellianism is revoltingly unappetizing, to say the least. But Novikov has one virtue: he does not lie to himself. He knows that he is evil, and he is even capable of doing good in secret. Gorin, on the other hand, is a living lie. And it is in contemplation of this living lie that Gouzenko rams home his moral: it is the Gorins of the world, the supposedly "honorable" intellectuals, who prepare the way for the triumph of the gangsters.

In three or four particularly powerful pages Gouzenko constructs his rationale of what "three generations" of hate have done to his native Russia. In Dostoevski's time Alyosha Karamazov preached love where his brother Ivan Karamazov preached hate. Mistaking the import of Dostoevski's prophetic novel, the intellectuals of Russia chose Ivan Karamazov as their spiritual leader. The "second generation" of Ivans—Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin and the rest—thought they could hack their way through to "Utopia" by killing everybody who was their "class enemy." Their "morality" was simple: anything was justified in the name of power for the Bolsheviks. But the "third generation" of Ivans—Malenkov and his bureaucratic henchmen—was formed by the consistent practice of terror. To this generation "Utopia" is here already: it consists of murder and slavery as a way of life.

What Gouzenko cannot forgive in his figure of Gorki-Gorin is the inability to see that the attempt to control society in the name of a

planner's blueprint must always eventuate in a sea of blood unless "reaction" comes along in time to put a stop to it. Gorki-Gorin is the symbolic projection on the modern Russian scene of all the Fabians, all the eggheads, all the believers that a little more socialism can be accepted each year without any danger to the human liberties that have been established by centuries of struggle against the overriding presumptions of the State. And just to make it doubly plain that he does not regard Gorin as a purely Russian phenomenon, Gouzenko contrives to have a Western intellectual, Romain Rouen (modelled apparently on the figure of the great French novelist, Romain Rolland), visit Gorin in Rostov. Rouen's point of view is identical with Gorin's: as Gouzenko puts it, the French novelist suffers from "a disease very common among so-called broad-minded intellectuals—the disease of subconscious egoism." Together, Gorin and Rouen prove that "intellectual" is by no means synonymous with "intelligent." Clemenceau once said that war is too important to leave to the generals. Just so is thinking in this mid-century period of the cold war too important to leave to those who call themselves intellectuals.

It is easy to describe the skeleton of *The Fall of a Titan*, but virtually impossible to convey any sense of the richness of its portraiture within the compass of a short review. All sorts of rascals abound in the novel's pages: the bureaucracy created by Stalin spawns cheats, murderers, sadists, men who know no moral limits, as a warm sea spawns fish. Veria, the party chief of the North Caucasus region; Drozd, the NKVD man; Durov, another NKVD functionary; Oleg, the son of Durov—these and many others like them carry out their cynically depraved operations on page after page. The villains of *The Fall of a Titan* are so set in their vicious ways that they suggest the "flat" characterization of a Charles Dickens rather than the subtly modulated and rounded characterization practiced by a Tolstoy. But within their static limits Gouzenko's villains have an immense and appalling vitality.

Taken together, Gouzenko's vast aggregation of monsters superbly illustrates Hayek's conclusion, as set forth in *The Road to Serfdom*: that in any society which is planned, ordered and controlled from a central point by "social engineers," the worst elements inevitably gravitate to the top. The reason for this upward gravitation of evil is obvious: it takes men without hearts to practice the arts of a Procrustes. If men are to be fitted into a centrally ordered and enforced scheme, they must be knocked in the head if they prove recalcitrant. And only gangsters can be trusted to knock people in the head as a means of obtaining professional advancement.

What is really astounding in Gouzenko's book is that goodness survives in the hearts and minds of some men and women who have never had contact with the libertarian currents of the past. Lida Sidirov, the daughter of a plant manager, was born too late to know from personal experience that, to use Max Nomad's famous description, "the Kaiser and Tsar were liberals." (And liberal they were indeed when compared to the truly reactionary bureaucrats who rule the roost in today's totalitarian societies.) But even though Lida has never known the comparatively free air of Russia under the Romanovs, she has a vision of freedom and Christian morality in her heart. So, too, has Nikolai, the thoroughly decent brother of the "new Soviet man," Feodor Novikov. It is Nikolai who marries Lida when she is cast off by the monster Feodor.

The Book of the Month Club has sent Gouzenko's appallingly vivid novel to its readers, and it has been received with praise by a whole chorus of reviewers who were busy extolling the virtues of the Soviet State from 1941 to 1946. What these by now semi-repentant reviewers still do not see is that, in their willingness to tolerate "soft socialism," they are acting as the Gorins of their day in America. They do not comprehend the double aim of Gouzenko, which is to castigate all kinds of socialism, the soft as well as the hard.

Orwell's Socialism

A Collection of Essays, by George Orwell. 320 pp. New York: Doubleday Anchor Book. \$95

The genius of George Orwell is the most encouraging of our time, because—himself a Socialist—he saw and said that socialism leads at last to absurdity and horror.

Orwell was the genius of schizophrenia. Intellectually he remained a resolute collectivist, whose conscious ideology narrowed him into socialism; yet his free transcendent imagination saw the horror at the other side of all socialism and lifted it into 1984. After reading his *Animal Farm* and 1984, what man of reason can ever accept collectivism as anything but the road to nightmare? Orwell debunked the Russian "Revolution" into the triumph of the swine; he rejected the aberrations of "liberal" and Fabian with the quiet wisdom: "The basic freedom is to say that two plus two equals four. If that be granted, all else follows."

In these essays the lesser, doctrinaire Orwell dilutes somewhat the great imaginative seer. He says silly things (then sooner or later refutes them). He defines a "conservative" as one who upholds the "ruling power"—nonsense of the first water. Is a "conservative" on the side of the "ruling power" in Hitler's Reich or Malenkov's barbed-wire paradise? A conservative is a man who believes in the timeless values that transcend time and power. And Orwell speaks of the "class war" as if it were a contemporary reality—then later admits that it is not. He believes that only "socialist" nations can truly have "patriotism"; he speaks of the predatory habits of modern American "millionaires"—as if we were still living in the gay nineties. Thus his "ideas" are sometimes pterodactyls posing as inhabitants of modern Picadilly.

As a literary critic he is always interesting but not quite great. He sees finely the limitations of Hous-

man, but is blind to those of Eliot and Joyce. He is just to the superiority of Dickens, but only half-just to the greatness of Kipling—who does not appeal to the "civilized" (high unconscious praise!) and is at best "a good bad poet." He does Kipling more justice than most contemporaries, however, as Orwell's heart was too strong to be fully deceived by his head.

The major lack in Orwell's writing is that he saw life with a noble unflinching realism, but could not transcend its aspects to enter its meaning with poet or mystic. He was blind to colors that lie below red and beyond violet. Yet—though he ran away from it immediately—he was capable of saying: "The major problem of our time is the decay in the belief in personal immortality."

The total effect of the essays is wisdom and health. Orwell, impatient of all sham and nonsense, could not long endure the Left: he was too concrete a lover of Unamuno's "man of flesh and bone." Therefore, his keen fingers skin the political and cultural Left with the finesse of an Apache flaying a rancher alive. He wrote: "The Communism of the English intellectual is something explicable enough. It is the patriotism of the deracinated." "Much of left-wing thought is a kind of playing with fire by people who don't even know that fire is hot." "Most revolutionaries are potential Tories, because they imagine that everything can be put to rights by altering the *shape* of society." And he wrote nobly: "He [Dickens] is on the side of the underdog, always and everywhere. To carry this to its logical conclusion one has got to change sides when the underdog becomes an upperdog. . . . The common man is still living in the mental world of Dickens, but nearly every modern intellectual has gone over to some form of totalitarianism." Orwell knew well that the ideal of collectivism is the boot forever crushing the human face, because the rootless intellectuals are men in whom the lust for power has destroyed the power of love.

Orwell's greatness is that he was so passionately on the side of man—concrete man, "the man of flesh and bone"—that his heart always corrected his head. He tried hard to be a Socialist, but sanity was

always breaking in. So, in spite of ideology, he finally and forever took the side of Huckleberry Finn against old Miss Watson, of the private human heart against the proud Commissars. E. MERRILL ROOT

Shameful Document

The Yalta Betrayal, by Felix Wittmer. 136 pp. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers. \$1.25

The Yalta Betrayal should be required reading for students of world affairs, in order properly to evaluate the twenty-year period which brought devastating communistic inroads upon our security and our form of constitutional government. The book is a factual analysis of what were unquestionably "betrayals on a tragically dishonorable plane." It is the result in concise form of the reading and digesting of ten million words of official records by Dr. Wittmer.

What happened at Yalta is but one in the long series of betrayals which began with President Roosevelt's arbitrary and illogical recognition of the U. S. S. R. At Yalta an ill and faltering man, the exponent of Western civilization, surrendered to Stalin. Just before his death Roosevelt admitted to Ambassador Hurley that "on the last days of the conference, in a state of utter exhaustion, he had signed the shameful document."

The reader very properly asks the question: Was Roosevelt the dupe of pro-Soviet schemers such as Lauchlin Currie and others in the White House entourage, and traitors such as Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White? On the basis of Dr. Wittmer's factual analysis, the answer is obvious.

With the signing of the Yalta Agreement on February 11, 1945, the principles of the Atlantic Charter, the lives of millions of free men, and the honor of America vanished. Even the *New Republic* admitted that "on the whole, the results at Yalta represent a substantial victory for Stalin." Bulganin told his Polish stooges less than a week after the document was signed, "The Yalta Declaration is a scrap of paper."

Dr. Wittmer's book should be read and reread by every patriotic American. W. JEFFERSON DAVIS

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Shaping the Individual

Building a Philosophy of Education.

by Harry S. Broudy. 480 pp. New York: Prentice-Hall. \$5.00

What shall we teach, how shall we teach it, and how can we justify our choice? At last, in this book, we have a straightforward answer.

Education, according to Professor Broudy, is the process through which the individual achieves self-determination, self-realization and self-integration, thus perfecting himself to the point where he can create and enjoy the good life. More specifically, the task of the schools is to develop as fully as possible each individual pupil's capacity for acquiring, using and enjoying knowledge.

The field of knowledge is divided into Natural Science, Social Science and Self-Science, the last group including philosophy, religion and psychology, as well as literature and the fine arts. The pupil is to master units of progressive difficulty in each field, working always at the level of his own capacity in each subject rather than having all subjects with the same group of children. In the secondary school he will master units of work arranged on six levels in each of the three fields of knowledge; each unit will begin with a subject-matter course in which the emphasis is on acquiring knowledge, and will finish with a problems course emphasizing use and enjoyment of knowledge. Beyond the secondary school, he will prepare for a career.

We are warned against the temptation to take the easier but less rewarding course of sacrificing the good life for the pretty good life. Education thus dedicated to the perfecting of each individual is to achieve the "aristocratization of the masses." It is to abolish the Common Man, substituting uncommonly enlightened men able to envision and create the Common Good. Such men must be free not only to act but to know, and to determine action in the light of knowledge. "Every man is a potential manufacturer of possibility; to restrict him is to limit possibility . . ."

Professor Broudy seems to take tax-supported education for granted; he does not deal with the strong conviction some of us hold that edu-

cation such as he envisions would not be possible in tax-supported schools. And he will disturb some of his readers by branding knowledge, courage, honesty, fair play and respect for law as middle-class values. What becomes of the search for truth that is the essence of both philosophy and education if knowledge and honesty are only middle-class values?

In format and primary purpose the book is a college text, but it contains much rewarding reading for the layman who is concerned about education.

MIRIAM CRENSHAW

A Guaranteed Wage

Jobs? Or Jobless Pay? 90 pp.

Washington 6, D. C.: Chamber of Commerce of the United States. \$2.00

A businessman expects something in return for the pay checks offered to employees. Or at least that's the way it seems to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. In ninety pages of well-chosen words and not-so-very-helpful cartoons, the real issue behind the new proposal for a guaranteed annual wage is shown to be a question of jobs, or pay for the jobless.

Leaning over backward to be fair is an exceedingly difficult position from which to scrutinize the details of an idea, but the Chamber's Economics Research Department gave it a good try. The layout artists for the booklet obligingly adopted that same awkward stance, presenting the right-hand side of each page so that he who runs may read, while the diminutive type on the other-hand page would tempt any self-respecting reader to run. It only arouses suspicion to find such a vast difference between the categories "FACTS" and "supporting evidence."

The book merits the foregoing criticism only because it otherwise analyzes so well an exceedingly vital issue. After the evidence or facts of the first ten pages, one can readily believe that much of the clamor for guaranteed annual wages comes from persons who seem to think they merit a regular pay check whether or not they work. That's right in line with the idea that workman's compen-

sation is the employer's responsibility, regardless of how an employee injures himself. Soon the employer will be responsible, even if the man doesn't work there!

To this reviewer's taste, the second long chapter could have been omitted to good advantage. It explains that the effect of a guaranteed annual wage linked to the unemployment compensation program would be to deplete the fund built up in the name of the latter program. The greater the temptation to idleness, the more of it there is likely to be. Apparently, the Chamber believes there should be some temptation to idleness, but not enough to expose the fallacy of the whole idea. Someone in the field of economic research some time should explain that the unemployment compensation fund, just like the social security fund, contains absolutely nothing but the promise to pay out if and when the government can get it from taxpayers.

The most constructive parts of the book are two chapters in the mid-section, showing how the guaranteed wage scheme would result in the subsidy of inefficient business operators at the expense of the efficient ones, and how the worker's quest for security along these lines is bound eventually to freeze him at a job, with the government telling him precisely how to live.

Those two chapters ought to be well worth the price of the book to anyone who thinks he is interested in the guaranteed wage issue. But if not, there is a good bibliography: pick your own. PAUL L. POIROT

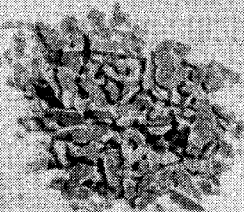
**SOCONY-VACUUM
OIL COMPANY**
INCORPORATED

Dividend No. 174  July 27, 1954

The Board of Directors today declared a quarterly dividend of 50¢ per share on the outstanding capital stock of this Company, payable September 10, 1954, to stockholders of record at the close of business August 6, 1954.

W. D. BICKHAM, Secretary

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How to make a freight train act like this Panama Limited

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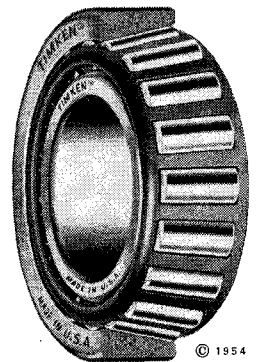
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The Unsung Hero of Automotive Progress

by

CHARLES F. KETTERING

In this nation on wheels, I think everyone is well aware of the amazing progress made by the automobile industry in the last quarter-century. You only have to get behind the wheel of one of today's powerful and efficient cars to see how far we've come.

But there is an important fact *you* may not realize—but one which we in the automobile industry never forget: In all of these years of great progress we've had a vital working partner. I'm talking about the constantly improved gasolines developed by America's oil companies.

To the eye, today's gasoline looks much like the gasoline of the 1920's. But inside — chemically — there has been a world of change, all of it for the better! For the truth is that today's gasoline, by every measure of performance and economy, is 50% better than the gasoline of the twenties. Think what this means to you. Yes, 2 gallons of today's gasoline actually do the work 3 did then.

And equally important in these days of high prices, the price of this superior gasoline is just about the same as it was in 1925—only the taxes are higher.

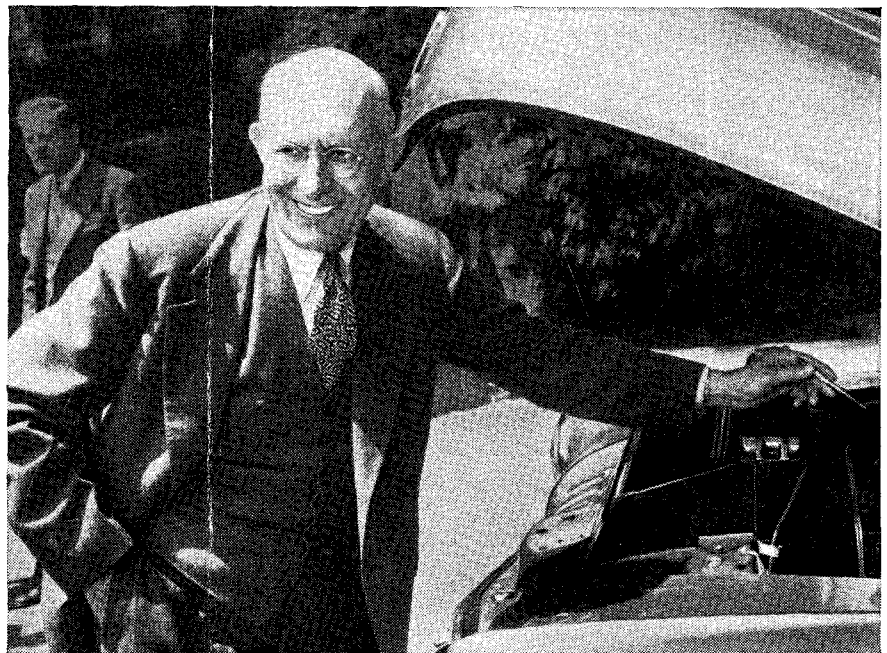
To the automotive industry, con-

stantly increasing gasoline quality has been all-important, because it has allowed us to build more powerful and more efficient engines just as fast as we were able. The oilmen have never failed us—when we come up with an advanced engine design,

they are ready with the proper fuel to power this engine efficiently and economically.

To me, this proves once again the wonders that come from keen competition in our free enterprise system. You see, the increase in gasoline quality is a direct result of the intensive competition for your business among America's oil companies. Every company knows that the only way to win or keep business is to continually offer you new, improved products at the lowest possible price.

As long as this competition continues, there is no way to predict what tomorrow's gasoline will be like—except that it's sure to be even better. Just as automobile companies are experimenting with dream cars of tomorrow, oilmen are spending millions to develop radically improved fuels to power them. So the next time you get a thrill out of the power of a '54 car, give some credit, too, to the gasoline—the unsung hero of your driving pleasure. And remember—tomorrow it will most likely be even better!



Charles F. Kettering, a director and research consultant of General Motors, has played an important role in America's automotive progress for over 40 years. The inventor of the self-starter, he is also identified with such important automotive developments as tetra-ethyl lead, four wheel brakes and safety glass.

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

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