

THE *Freeman*

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

FEBRUARY 1960

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Washington Monument

RALPH BRADFORD

FROM A MOUND on the Mall at Washington a stately obelisk points skyward—the Nation's monument to its first President, whose birthday we celebrate this month.

But it is more. That splendid shaft of old-fashioned, marbled masonry is a symbol—an emblem of our country itself, and of the spirit of persistence and freedom which made possible that country and its institutions of government.

Like the country and its government, and like most of us as individuals, the Monument has had its vicissitudes. The story of its construction is one of delay, disappointment, criticism, suspicion, accusation, ridicule, bigotry, political chicanery, and general frustration. But it is also a story of courage, high purpose, determination, tenacity, sacrifice, devotion, persistence, and finally of achievement.

Mr. Bradford is a well-known writer, speaker, and business organization consultant.

Illustration: A. Devaney, Inc., N. Y.

A monument to honor George Washington was first given consideration by the Congress of the Confederation as early as 1783, the year in which, as a victorious general, he surrendered his commission to the Congress at Annapolis and retired, as he thought, to private life. But it was too soon. He was still alive, and so were his critics and detractors. He was a man, already elderly at 51, hollow-cheeked, heavily pockmarked, famous as a war hero, but not yet become a legend. Parson Weems had not yet invented the cherry tree story, nor had Gilbert Stuart painted that majestic portrait. So nothing was done.

On the twenty-fourth of December that year, accompanied by his aides, Colonels Walker, Cobb, and Humphreys, the General rode home from Annapolis to Mount Vernon. He arrived late, but in time for Christmas, as he had promised Martha he would do in a letter he had sent her from Philadelphia two weeks before.

And while in Philadelphia, amid all the preoccupations of closing out his affairs as Commander-in-Chief, he had not forgotten the approaching Yuletide. For Martha, or Patsy, as he called her, he had purchased a locket, a hat, and a silver coffeepot. For Jackie Custis' widow, Eleanor, he had provided a fine silk handkerchief. For Elea-

nor's three little girls, Eliza, Martha, and Eleanor, a pocketbook, a thimble, and a colored sash apiece. He had also bought several children's books to be distributed among them; and for little George Washington Parke Custis, aged two, there were a toy fiddle and a whirligig. There were other things, too, less sentimental and more utilitarian: fifty yards of carpet, a reading glass to aid his failing eyes, a handle for his letter seal, a shaving outfit, a tea waiter, an umbrella, and several pairs of hose.

This was the man pictured by some "modern" writers as cold, austere, unsentimental, and burnt out inside by the war!

It had been enough to burn him out, heaven knows. He could remember bitterly his own mistakes and the nagging failures of the Congress. His pride was still galled by the remembrance of the cabal against him in that body, when he escaped dismissal by only one vote. He could still flinch at thought of the disgraceful rout of his troops at Kip's Bay, or the fiasco of the Brandywine, or the failure at Germantown. But he could also remember, and with satisfaction, the redeeming success at Harlem Heights, the victory at Monmouth, the near-miracle of Trenton, and the final triumph at Yorktown.

But that was all past now. Once he had written: "When we assumed the soldier, we did not lay aside the citizen." Now he would lay aside the soldier and resume the citizen. And there would be much to do. He must develop his farms, which had gone sadly to pot during the war under the slipshod management of Cousin Lund. He must improve his stock. He wanted also to experiment with various seeds, and with crop rotation. There were commercial projects in his mind, too — a grist mill on his place not far from the Mansion House; another mill and a foundry at the Great Falls of the Potomac; his lands in western Pennsylvania to develop or sell; a canal around the Potomac shoals for commerce with the western territory. Yes — much to do.

The Country Needed Him

But he reckoned without the fame that had come to him. It would never again be possible for him to be a private citizen. He had been touched by destiny.

The war had left the colonies bankrupt. Some twelve million dollars were owed abroad on borrowings made from foreign governments during the war. At home the continental debt in principal and unpaid interest was around 40 millions. The several colonies or states were also in debt in amounts

variously estimated at from 50 to 70 millions. In addition, there was a huge volume of paper money, called "Continental," which had been lavishly issued during the war, and which had shrunk in value to almost nothing.

All this was partly the result of a fundamental weakness in the political organization of the new country. It was called the United States, but actually it was still only a loosely-knit federation of thirteen independent countries. When a man from Williamsburg referred to "my country," he did not mean the United States; he meant Virginia. These thirteen "countries" were ineffectually tied together by the Articles of Confederation. The Congress, which consisted of a single legislative body in which each state had one vote, could make no laws respecting individuals. It could only act for, and upon, the several states; and even so, a state could do pretty much as it pleased, in spite of Congress. Moreover, the states distrusted each other, and many disputes arose among and between them. New York enacted a tariff against New Jersey; Pennsylvania and Connecticut were on the verge of going to war with each other over their respective claims to the Wyoming Valley.

The National, or Confederation, government was powerless to pre-

vent such threats to the general peace and welfare because it didn't have money enough to support even a police-force army. It could levy no taxes, but had to depend upon requisitions which it might make on the several states — but which the latter could pay or ignore, as suited their pleasure. Perhaps it was only the enormous asset of holding title to all the vast public domain west of the Alleghenies that enabled the Congress to continue its precarious existence as a government.

Certainly this was an impossible situation if the United States was ever to become a nation.

George Washington, private citizen, saw all this quite clearly. In 1783, he wrote Hamilton that unless Congress were given the powers it needed, then "the blood we have spilt will avail us nothing." And later, in writing about the necessity of pointing out the defects of the Articles of Confederation, he added, "All my private letters have teemed with these sentiments . . . and I have endeavored to diffuse and enforce them."

His private letters! When you keep in mind that such letters in those days were handwritten by their author, the volume of correspondence he turned out is almost unbelievable. The Library of Congress has about 40,000 Washington papers, of which about

18,000 were either written by or to or for, or signed by, Washington; and Dr. John C. Fitzpatrick, who edited the 37-volume edition of *The Writings of Washington*, estimated that the General wrote with his own hand between eight and ten thousand letters!

I do not know how many of these were written between 1783 and the Constitutional Convention of 1787, but it is certain that they were many. In his excellent book, *The Constitution of the United States*, Mr. James Mussatti says of Washington: "He had . . . kept alive the idea of union at a time when his countrymen were in deep despair. In his ceaseless activity and work through correspondence with the leaders of other states, the Convention had had its origin."

A Target for Criticism

Of course, Washington was guilty of one grave offense in the eyes of certain leftish modern historians — namely, he was rich! So were some others of the Convention, such as Robert Morris, George Mason, John Rutledge, and the Pinckneys. One writer of some note, very popular a few years ago as a debunking biographer of the great, described the Convention as "fifty-five sleek, well-to-do gentlemen, sitting carelessly in a closed room." And with a touch of venom

he added that Washington, as presiding officer, was "grave, serious and bored."

Bored? Maybe he was. Ninety-nine days of presiding over sharp argument and listening to long-winded speeches might bore almost anybody. But *he was there!* He was there, guiding, counseling, and lending his great prestige to the Convention. As for those well-to-do, "sleek" delegates, iconoclastic writers have belittled nearly all of them, just as they have the signers of the Declaration of Independence. One historian some years ago was at great pains to trace each one's economic status and commercial and financial connections; and he came up with what he seemed to think was the scandalous information that a good many of them were holders of the worthless paper that had been issued under the Confederation. The inference was that the whole idea of the new Constitution was therefore simply a scheme to validate their paper and redeem their losses!

The answer to such nonsense is: Suppose it were true—so what? It would have been very strange indeed if many of those delegates had *not* possessed some of the near-worthless "Continental," or other paper obligations of the states or of the Confederation: Nearly everybody did, down to the

village shoemaker; and these men were leaders—businessmen, lawyers, bankers, educators, land-owners. Naturally, most of them were men of substance. And, *of course*, they wanted that near-worthless paper to have value. So did everybody else who had any of it. Was that bad? Was it an evil thing to get the new government out of bankruptcy and into solvency? True, there was shameless speculation in the depreciated paper; but that can hardly be laid at the door of the delegates.

Many of those delegates had abundantly proved their ability to rise above merely personal interest. The assembly included lawyers, merchants, farmers, educators, financiers. More than half of them were graduates of institutions of higher learning. About two-thirds of them had served either in the Continental Congress or in the Congress of the Confederation. Eight had helped write their own state constitutions. Some had seen actual service under fire in the Revolutionary War. Some of them had put their necks in a noose a few years before when they signed the Declaration of Independence.

They were an able, representative group of men, hard-headed, practical, business-minded. They knew the importance of trade and commerce and of a stable cur-

rency. They wanted to bring order out of chaos. They wanted — shame on them! — to restore the value of the country's money. They wanted to re-establish the credit of the new nation. They wanted to create a government that would be strong and that would last. There were extremists among them. There were long and sometimes bitter arguments. There were also compromises and accommodations. At times the Convention threatened to blow up, but the wise counsel of 81-year-old Benjamin Franklin and the leadership of George Washington kept them at their difficult task. And so at last they finished the job. At last they hammered out a Constitution and made a nation.

And then by unanimous choice George Washington was elected to be the first President of that nation. It was a hard task. There were great problems. There were no precedents. Everything he did was being done for the first time. He had to feel his way. He made mistakes. He worried too much about relatively small matters of protocol. He lacked imagination. He was not a theorist. He could not turn a graceful phrase. He was awkward when he tried to speak in public. He was criticized and vilified.

But he was a great rock of patient strength and towering in-

tegrity. He was "the Cincinnatus of the West." He was truly the Father of his Country.

The Long-Delayed Memorial

On December 14, 1799, he died at Mount Vernon, a world figure, honored and revered. He had scarcely been laid in the old family tomb when Congress took action authorizing the erection of a suitable memorial. But as many an ambitious seeker of government funds has since learned, there is a notable difference between an authorization and an appropriation. A monument was authorized, but no funds were made available for its construction.

This is hardly surprising, in view of the financial condition of the government in the years following the Revolutionary War. The matter was later brought up in Congress in 1816 and again in 1819 with negative results because the costs of the War of 1812 were to be met. It is an interesting point that even though veneration for Washington was by that time well-nigh universal, members of Congress nevertheless stopped to consider the condition of the treasury. What a shockingly unprogressive attitude that must be for some of our present-day spenders to contemplate!

But the members of Congress evidently felt the same way in

1824 when President Monroe again laid the matter before them, and in 1825 when the subject was reopened by John Quincy Adams. Finally in 1833, a group of leading citizens was called together by the then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, John Marshall. As a result of that meeting, the Washington National Monument Society was formed, for the purpose of privately erecting the long-delayed memorial.

The Society went earnestly about the business of raising funds by subscription. It was slow work; and it was not until fifteen years later that enough money had been raised to begin construction. Meantime, a great competition had been held to determine the design of the proposed monument. Many entries were received, some of them approaching the fantastic in their proportions and ornamentation. The winning submittal was by Robert Mills, a well-known architect of that time. It called for a decorated obelisk 600 feet tall arising out of a sort of colonnaded Roman temple arrangement, circular in form, about 100 feet high and 250 feet in diameter. This was finally modified to the classic obelisk design now familiar to all the world.

Finally, in 1848 all was ready to make a beginning on the actual construction. Congress again "au-

thorized" the monument; a site was selected; the foundation was put in; and on July Fourth the cornerstone was laid by President Zachary Taylor, who used the same silver trowel Washington had used 55 years before when he laid the cornerstone of the Capitol building.

For the next six years the work progressed slowly but satisfactorily, in spite of obstacles and opposition. Some people ridiculed the design. Others said the monument would fall of its own weight. There were not wanting those who charged that the Monument Society was corrupt, and that funds had been misused. A few grumbled because the shaft was not located where L'Enfant had said it ought to be when he laid out the city — the grumblers being oblivious to the fact that this would have put the Monument in the middle of what was then an extensive swamp. Such things are the petty annoyances that plague those who undertake most any such great public work. It remained for the most insidious influence of all — religious intolerance — to bring the great enterprise to a halt.

As a means of stirring up widespread interest in the project — what we would now call the public relations angle — the Monument Society had encouraged the contribution of memorial stones to be

placed in visible positions on the inner walls of the Monument. The stones came from many sources — from cities, states, territories; from fraternal and patriotic organizations; and from foreign governments that wanted to pay tribute to Washington and cultivate American good will.

Among many such stones, a block of Italian marble from a Roman temple had been sent by the Pope. It created no particular stir; it was just another memorial stone among many. And then one day — or perhaps one night — in 1854, it was stolen — and a very large chunk of fat was in the fire! To this day it has never been recovered, and nobody knows who stole it. The theft was generally attributed to the so-called Know-Nothing political party, which at that time had a very large following and which, among other things, was strongly antiforeign and anti-Catholic. The Society and the Monument were immediately and helplessly thrown into the middle of a prolonged and bitter religious controversy. The flow of contributions shrank to a trickle and soon stopped altogether — and so did the work.

Perhaps the storm would have blown over in a few years; but by 1854 the clouds of sectional acrimony were growing very dark indeed; and before the Society could

weather the “Know-Nothing” flurry, a real storm had broken upon the country, and the Civil War was beginning its work of desolation.

Of course, quite apart from the Know-Nothing issue, work on the Monument would in all probability have closed down anyway during the war. Even such a distinctly national piece of construction as the new dome over the Capitol building was continued only because Lincoln insisted that it proceed as an evidence and an emblem of national strength and unity. At any rate, the Monument was stopped cold. Wartime pictures of the Washington scene show the unfinished, truncated shaft, 154 feet high above the foundation, and to all outward appearance completely abandoned. And there it stood for 25 years until the project was finally resurrected, this time by the government itself under an act of Congress signed by President Grant on August 2, 1876.

The Scar of War

And then a strange thing occurred. The first 150-odd feet of the shaft had been built, or at any rate faced, with dressed white Maryland marble in 2-foot courses, backed with rubble masonry. When work was resumed after the quarter century hiatus, a few

courses were pulled off to get down below possible weather damage. These were replaced and a few more courses added with white marble from Massachusetts. But then the builders went back to the same quarries, near Baltimore, from which the original marble had been obtained. But the old quarry had been flooded, and was under some 90 feet of water. However, the same marble (so they thought) was obtainable about a mile away. It was of a little finer grain, but was the same color, and possessed even greater strength when tested. It was not until it had been incorporated into the Monument's face and had been exposed to the weather for some time that it was seen to be of a slightly different color. But by that time it was too late to do anything about it. As a result, even an untrained eye can detect the difference today, after the passage of 80 years.

A second interesting problem was the foundation. Originally, it was 80 feet square at the base and about 23 feet deep, rising in stepped-pyramid form to where the shaft proper began. It was built of blue Potomac rock, laid up in ordinary lime and sand mortar, with some cement added. When the Army engineers, who now took over, refigured the weights and stresses, they decided that such a

foundation was not adequate to take the enormous pressure of the finished monument. It must be enlarged, they figured, from a bottom area of 6,400 square feet to an area of 16,000 square feet. But the structure, including the existing foundation, was already nearly 180 feet tall, and weighed about 137,750 tons! The trick was to insert, so to speak, a new foundation, without weakening or disturbing the towering segment of the Monument that was completed.

The job involved digging out about 70 per cent of the earth under the old foundation to a depth of 13 feet 6 inches beneath it, and replacing the excavated earth with concrete. This concrete must reach back about 18 feet inside the outer edges of the old foundation, and extend about 23 feet outside. Also, in order to distribute the weight over the new foundation, it was necessary to pull out the old rubble-stone foundation from under the walls of the shaft, and replace it with concrete. This meant that a little more than 50 per cent of the old foundation was removed, and that about 48 per cent of the shaft's area was undermined and replaced with concrete. It was an engineering problem of serious proportions; and it was solved without causing the smallest crack in the masonry above it.

For What It Stands

So much by way of history. But what of the symbolism mentioned at the beginning? In what ways is the Monument emblematic of our country?

Like that country and like all its institutions of government, it was born of a great idea, but came into being through toil and trouble, accompanied by delays, disappointments, vilifications, internal dissensions, and financial disaster. And just as its original foundations were insufficient and insecure and had to be strengthened with new undergirding while the structure was still a-building, so the original foundations of our government, the Articles of Confederation, were weak and inadequate, and our fathers had to replace them, even while the nation was still a-building, with the new foundation of the Constitution.

And what of the demarcation in the color of the marble, the line that divides the Monument into two sections? That is the scar tissue, so to speak, of the Civil War — and it is significant that while the scar is there, it represents no weakness in the structure. I am told that there is no stronger spot in all the masonry than along that old line where the work was stopped so long.

Of course, it is easy to pursue such analogy too far; and yet cer-

tain considerations do emerge, and should be of particular meaning to those who are prone to dwell upon our country's shortcomings rather than to enlarge upon its virtues. The shortcomings exist, of course; and there are also flaws and imperfections in the Monument.

For instance, there is the relatively insignificant size of the individual marble blocks that face the shaft. One would think that the designers would have had greater regard for architectural relevancy; but as you stand close and look up at the towering face of the Monument, you are struck unpleasantly by the apparently trivial size of the blocks, compared with the height and breadth of the space they cover.

Also, some of the blocks are chipped a little, and surface-cracked here and there from pressure; and, of course, there is absolutely no adornment of any kind. Even all kinds of planting are absent from its base. The place is bare and stark and vault-like as you stand near it. The doorway is low and squat and uninteresting.

But now turn your back on the offending portal; on the too-small courses of marble, on the whole Monument. Walk rapidly away — not just a few hundred feet, but several blocks. Leave the Mall and start walking up 14th Street. Soon

you will think you have lost yourself in the crowded city. But suddenly over your shoulder, or over the shoulder, it may be, of some building, you catch a breathtaking glimpse of the great white shaft, lifted against the clouds.

Or walk down the Mall toward the Lincoln Memorial. Go past the reflecting basin. Then turn suddenly and look back — and be prepared for a veritable shock of pleasure that borders upon awe.

At such moments you are not conscious of any architectural incongruity. Etched sharply in the sunlight of noonday; bathed at night in the soft light of the moon; or when the night is black, picked out and dramatized by the floodlights that surround it — there it stands, a thing of massive and yet somehow fragile beauty, perfect in its dimensions and in its conception.

And one wonders: how long would it stand if a group of people, without engineering knowledge or acquaintance with the laws of weight and stress, moved in some day and began pulling out sections of the carefully built foundation?

And what would happen if such people, ignoring the foundation and its limitations upon the superstructure, chose to festoon the shaft with great stone balconies or other adventitious monstrosities that not only marred its clas-

sic beauty but threw it out of balance?

Washington's Monument! The phrase summons up the image of that stately and beautiful marble shaft. It evokes, too, an image of the towering figure the shaft memorializes — grown remote and almost legendary now with the passing decades, but real, human, dedicated, and of such transcendent historic importance that his real monument is a thing that rises higher than the great obelisk, and casts its shadow infinitely farther.

His real Monument is a nation which, like the obelisk, was placed upon a safe and secure foundation; a nation which bears the scars of disunity, now happily cemented; a nation which, whatever its defects and incongruities, yet rises as a majestic whole among the other nations of our globe.

Shall we keep it so? Or shall we overload it with debt and inflation and the concentrated power that Jefferson feared, until it totters off balance and on the brink of collapse?

Shall we keep it bravely and beautifully erect against the skies? Or shall we hack away at its foundations until a breaking point is reached, and the noble structure is brought down in ruins, to become a rubble monument to our greed, stupidity, and folly? ●

DEAN RUSSELL

THE *Silent* PARTNER



WE AMERICANS are only 6.4 per cent of the world's population, living on less than 6 per cent of the world's land area. But we produce more than 60 per cent of the world's cars, trucks, buses, tractors, and other such automotive equipment. We also lead every other nation in the production and use of steel, rubber, oil, clothing, books, housing, medicines, meat, milk, and almost any other product or service that the people want or need. The reason for our productive leadership is *not* natural resources; for several other nations equal or excel us in that respect. Nor are we inherently more intelligent than others; for, after all, we Americans are merely a conglomeration of peoples from every nation on the face of the globe. And certainly we don't work any harder than the people of various other countries. Thus the only ma-

yor difference between us and others would appear to be our form of government. For a moment, let's return to that Constitutional Convention of 1787 and try to discover just what those founding fathers were trying to accomplish.

The primary objective of our forefathers was to insure maximum freedom of action and equality of opportunity to every citizen in his personal and business affairs. To insure that primary objective of the Revolution, the founders of this nation designed a cumbersome governmental system of checks and balances, of limited powers, and much division of those powers between the federal and state governments. And by arranging for frequent elections of officials, they hoped thereby to prevent any one person or group from holding for long the few powers that the government did have. With a few minor exceptions, the founders did all in their power to bar the government from

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the general area of economic activities. In fact, they deliberately designed one of the most *economically inefficient* forms of government ever known. The reason for that becomes more understandable when we remember that they had just led a successful rebellion against the planned economy of the government of King George III. They were in no mood to endorse in a new form what they had just rejected in an old form.

Except in time of war, the government wasn't expected to do much of anything. And it didn't. It bumbled along slowly and inefficiently, generally doing only those few things that had to be done in order to keep it operating at all. On occasions, the duly elected and appointed officials of our government rose to great heights of statesmanship. On other occasions, they sank to equally great depths of sordid logrolling. All in all, the system of government established by our forefathers was a pretty good mechanism to insure the primary objective for which it was established — maximum freedom for the individual citizen.

In the area of economic goods and services, the government generally confined itself to encouraging and aiding others (both persons and companies) to exploit, develop, and settle the nation. Throughout the early history of

our nation, the main highways were generally built and operated by private turnpike companies. Water transportation was controlled by private interests. The railroads were all privately owned. The active part played by government varied from nothing to very little in meeting the economic needs and desires of the people. Never before in the history of the world had a government sat idly by while its people did almost anything they wanted to do. And as a direct result of that inactivity, this nation experienced a release of human energy and accomplishment that astounded the world.

Inevitable Mistakes

Were there injustices? Of course there were. Was there suffering? Yes, there was. Did some persons exploit other persons? They did. Were the votes and influence of some senators and governors for sale? They were — and they were bought. Was there any favoritism? There was indeed. Were there many examples of greed, stupidity, and outright criminality? Yes, there were countless such examples — by both governmental and private interests.

Point out all the mistakes and evils you wish (they are easy enough to find), and then look again at the over-all record. Never

before in all history were so many people so well fed, clothed, and housed. There was more laughter and human happiness in this land than in any other. Never before had the world ever witnessed such an outpouring of the material things of life — as well as an unparalleled abundance of charity, love, and respect for the individual person. Thousands and hundreds-of-thousands of schools and churches sprang up across the land. Here the Biblical injunction to feed the hungry and clothe the naked became a part of our daily lives. Provision was made for the widow and the orphan, the sick and the poor, the halt and the blind. We first helped ourselves, and then we helped our less productive neighbors — both at home and abroad. For the most part, our government remained strictly passive in the market place. It seldom concerned itself with what was produced or how it was distributed. And millions of people, from lands where governments actively participated in both production and distribution, came pouring into the United States.

They came in search of opportunity for themselves and their children. Here a man could work for others or for himself. Here there was no state religion, no hereditary nobility, no rigid class barriers, and, especially, no gov-

ernmental controls over economic affairs. Here a man was his own master, and both he and his children could rise as high as they were capable of rising. Many of them became rich and famous, and almost all of them improved their lot in one way or another. There were no price controls, and food and manufactured products were both plentiful and cheap. There were no wage controls, and wages were the highest in the world. There were no limits to the profits a man could make, but he had to produce something the people wanted to buy before he could make any profit at all. We were the “melting pot” — for dreams and economic ideas, as well as for persons with different backgrounds. We were a brawling, sprawling melange of all races, religions, nationalities, and languages. Among us were the ambitious and the lazy, the weak and the strong, the fool and the genius, evil men and honorable men. We could (and did) tolerate strange religious ideas. We could (and also did) tolerate equally foolish ideas about carriages that would run without horses.

Unofficial Growth

Meanwhile, the government continued its traditional policy of doing mostly nothing — except to act as a sort of referee that did

a reasonably fair job of restraining murderers, robbers, and outright frauds. The government didn't concern itself at all about Oliver Evans and his ideas for a road vehicle that would run under its own power. True enough, in 1792 the new government granted him a patent, but what he did with it was strictly up to him. When Charles Goodyear patented his method for vulcanizing rubber in 1844, the government obviously knew about it since a patent was involved. But it showed no further interest in the process. (The commissioner who issued that patent, Henry Ellsworth, stated in his 1844 Annual Report that "the advancement of the arts from year to year taxes our credulity and seems to presage the arrival of that period when human improvement must end.")

As far as can be determined, the government knew nothing at all about the world's first oil well that was brought in by E. L. Drake at Titusville, Pennsylvania, in 1859. The government had neither encouraged nor discouraged him. The problem of what to do with the oil (if anything) was left strictly with "Colonel" Drake. In due course, the government also issued patents on several types of internal combustion engines that had been invented or improved upon by its free citizens — but

that's all it did. And when John B. Dunlop, a Scottish veterinary surgeon living in Belfast, Ireland, first developed his idea for an air-filled rubber tire, neither London nor Washington knew anything about it. Dr. Dunlop was merely trying to devise some way to prevent his young son from shaking himself to pieces as he rode his iron-tired bicycle over the cobblestoned streets of that city. When his idea proved to be a practical success, both his government and ours learned about it only when he applied for a dual patent in 1889. While bicycle companies in both countries were most interested in his invention, neither of the two governments appeared to care about it one way or the other.

When, in 1893, the Duryea brothers used a by-product of Colonel Drake's oil to supply the power for their "horseless carriage," our government had no idea at all that America's first practical automobile was finally in operation. The officials in Washington couldn't have cared less.

Nor did the government have any interest at all in the first factories built specifically to manufacture automobiles in 1899 — the Olds gasoline cars in Detroit, Michigan, and the Stanley Steamers in Tarrytown, New York, and Bridgeport, Connecticut. The government treated R. E.

Olds and those twin brothers (F. O. and F. E. Stanley) exactly as it was later to treat Henry Ford and the thousands of other persons who went into the automobile business — it just ignored them entirely. When, over the years, almost all of those automobile companies failed and went out of business, the government did nothing. When a few of them succeeded and made fortunes for the owners, the government continued to do nothing.

Nor did the government in any way encourage Captain Anthony F. Lucas as he began drilling into those strange "dome formations" he had observed all along the coasts of Louisiana and Texas. Actually, Captain Lucas was mostly interested in finding salt and sulphur. He was about as astounded as anyone else on January 10, 1901, when his drilling rig was hurled skyward by the fantastic gusher of oil he had tapped at "Spindletop" near Beaumont, Texas. There was a good market for sulphur and salt, but about the only use for oil lay in the kerosene that could be refined from it. One cynic looked at that 160-foot geyser of gas and oil and asked Lucas, "What are you going to do with it — feed it to the longhorns?" Captain Lucas found the answer to his problem in Detroit, *not* in Washington. In due

course, the booming automobile industry began using so much gasoline — the "useless" by-product of oil — that millions of persons all over the world were soon depending on it for their livelihoods. Until the oil industry was a highly successful business, the government left it completely alone.

In short, it is safe to say that the government played no part whatever in the development of the automobile and the primary industries based on it — except the crucially vital part of doing absolutely nothing, one way or the other. And for that, we are forever indebted to the founders of our nation who deliberately planned it that way.

True enough, the government did build almost all of the roads the automobile now runs on. But it is doubtful if anyone will claim that our highways have kept pace with the development and needs of the automobile. Even if the proposed Interstate Highway System is completed, the over-all road situation will still be grossly inadequate for the amount and type of traffic it must carry.

Just Suppose!

A student of this problem once succinctly summed up the difference between public and private development of transportation fa-

cilities in this novel manner: Suppose, he said, that around 1900, the government had decided to assume full responsibility for developing and building automobiles — and had left the building of roads to private enterprise. What might have happened? He predicted that, under those circumstances, we would today have a highway system far superior to the few, crude automobiles that would have been produced by government. (And he might well have added that a privately-owned “General Roads Corporation” would probably be running a national contest to solicit ideas whereby government might be encouraged to build more and better cars to run on the private highway system.) Actually, of course, we can never know what might have been. But we do know beyond any shadow of a doubt that the government’s roads have not kept pace with the development of the automobile.

In no sense is this a criticism of government as such. Actually, when all is said and done, our government has done a far better job of road building than we had any reason to expect. And as time goes on, perhaps it will do an even better job. Even so, we are fortunate indeed that the developing and building of our automobiles, railroads, and airplanes was left

mostly to private initiative. We are further fortunate that the actual building of our highways is also done by private construction companies, with the government confining itself to a supervisory capacity. Otherwise, the present deplorable situation might well become intolerable.

The Modern Trend

Be that as it may, the traditional American role of government as a “silent partner” has been steadily changing over the past 50 years or so in all economic areas. It is changing because we citizens want our government to become more active in our daily affairs. In no sense is the change due to any “plot,” either foreign or domestic. We ourselves demanded it and voted for the persons who promised to do it. And as was to be expected, we are getting what we want.

Perhaps we are wise enough (and are now experienced enough) to keep our active and largely unrestricted government within reasonable bounds. Perhaps we aren’t. No one can say with absolute certainty. But this much is sure: The continuing trend toward more active participation by our government in our daily affairs and problems is a complete reversal of the principles laid down by the founding fathers in 1787.

Today, it is becoming increasingly popular to scoff at their concepts of eternal principles, personal responsibility, and severely limited governmental powers. Those ideas of our forefathers are now often called "horse and buggy" principles that might work in a frontier community but not in an industrial age of rapid transportation and communication. The fact remains, however, that it was those "horse and buggy" principles

themselves that caused the development of the automobile and the countless other products and services that have made this earth a more pleasant place to live. Conversely, the world-wide situation that has been threatening for so many years to plunge us back into the barbarism of complete governmental controls is due almost exclusively to a rejection of those principles and concepts — in *all* nations, including our own. ♦

Toward a BETTER FUTURE

HOWARD E. KERSHNER

THE BEST estimates indicate that by 1975 there will be about 100 million Americans under 20 years of age, and another 21 million over 65. About one half of our population will be nonproductive. Moreover, all of us want a higher standard of living. How can a smaller percentage of the population produce more for all?

A partial answer to the problem would be to encourage older people who are in good health and who desire to do so, to continue working. Another part of the answer would be to encourage more saving, with the thought that one should strive to accumulate enough to care for himself in retirement without becoming a burden on his family or on society.

If fewer workers in proportion to the total population are to pro-

Dr. Kershner is president of the Christian Freedom Foundation. This article is from his weekly column, "It's Up to You," September 28, 1959.

duce more for all, greater efficiency must be developed and man-hour output increased. Working harder will help, but mainly such increased production must come from better tools and equipment. In order to provide these we must have more saving. We will have more saving if we offer more substantial reward to those who are willing to deny themselves the pleasures of current consumption in order to accumulate capital. Encouragement for savers is perhaps the keystone of the arch leading to more abundance.

Another important stone in this arch is to encourage every person to do his best by assuring him that he will be permitted to enjoy the "fruits" of his efforts. That is, that he may be allowed peaceably to possess whatever he earns, accumulates, and creates. One will live frugally and accumulate property if he has no fear that it will be taken from him by bandits or excessive taxation. If we give our citizens that assurance, we may be sure that capital accumulation will proceed rapidly and that increased production will keep pace with it.

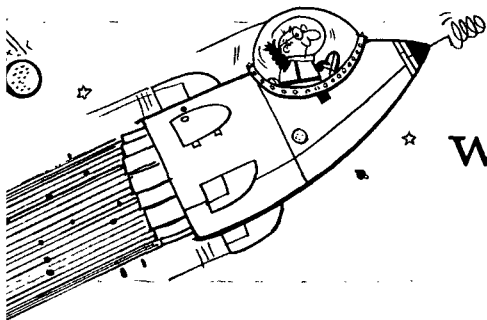
With better tools and equipment the one half of our people who will be working in a few years can provide more for all of us and at the same time work fewer hours. Capital accumulation is the key to better material conditions. And

capital accumulation is sure to come if we reward the saver and protect the individual in the right to enjoy, possess, and dispose of that which he earns, as he pleases.

Forcible distribution of wealth by means of increasing welfare-statism will discourage effort and so slow the creation of wealth that poverty will be the lot of all.

One is forced to save when he pays his Social Security taxes, but these sums do not increase production. They are not used constructively for better tools and equipment but are immediately expended. On the other hand, if we were responsible for ourselves, our savings would be invested constructively and production would expand accordingly.

Another keystone in the arch leading to a better future is to avoid excessive government spending, leading to inflation. Inflation not only steals the savings of thrifty people and destroys the security which they, by hard work, have accumulated for the future but it also discourages the oncoming generation from attempting to reach security by that means. Thus, it not only destroys existing capital but militates against the creation of new capital. It is the deadly enemy of greater security for all men and more abundant living. ◆



With tongue in cheek, a well-known individualist explains . . .

WHY THE U.S.S.R. **MUST** SUCCEED

FRANK CHODOROV

SOME American scientists have cautiously questioned the authenticity of the Luniks. Nobody has said flatly that these trips to the moon are hoaxes; scientists are not given to such accusations, for their disposition is to accept at face value the statements of all scientists, including those of communist persuasion. Such skepticism as has been expressed rests on the lack of independent, non-communist evidence supporting the claims from Moscow. Furthermore, they say, the announcements from Moscow always come a day or two after the Luniks are supposed to have been launched, which is too late for verification. And, in further support of their doubts, they point to the fact that the Soviets do not supply the rest of the world with such information as would help track the satellites in their course. What have the Russian scientists to hide? The truth?

The average American citizen, whose knowledge of physics is at best limited to a six-months course at high school, is ill-equipped to get into the hassle. The best he can do is to recall that Edgar Allen Poe in one of his stories described a trip to the moon in such detail that the scientists of the time asserted the thing could have happened. Well, if a storyteller could fool the scientists, why cannot a commissar?

Nevertheless, a view prevails that even if these moon satellites are mere fantasies, we must accept them as fact. For, if it should be proven that the Luniks were hoaxes, the bottom would fall out of our "race" with the communists. Our Washington spenders, backed by ambitious civilian and military scientists, would lose valuable support for their requests for more money.

This Lunik business suggests

how important it is for some of our citizenry that the commissars make a bang-up success of all their ventures. Whenever they succeed in doing anything spectacular, or even claim an achievement, somebody with an axe to grind can use the event to scare the American citizen out of his wits, so that he loses all power of resistance to demands made on him. That is to say, there is in this country a vested interest in the success of the U.S.S.R.

Various Vested Interests

When the first Sputnik hit the air, a cry went up that we must increase the number and improve the brand of our scientists. Who raised the largest howl? The professional educationists who had long been demanding the nationalization of our schools through "federal aid." For many years before the advent of the Sputnik, these opinion molders had been harassing Congress, and the country, with their demands for federal funds to overcome statistical shortages of teachers and classroom space. Now the Sputnik gave their cause a fillip: money was needed to make scientists!

Recently, a story of the remarkable advances by the Russians in the development of hydroelectric plants hit the public press. To the advocates of public power this

news was a godsend, and to those who yearn for federal monopoly of atomic power, it was a stimulant. Certainly, they said, we must not let the Russians get ahead of us in this business, even though we are now producing as much electricity as we can use with low-cost, conventional methods. We must have nationalization — and quickly!

When Khrushchev announced the Kremlin's intention to outdo us in handouts to underdeveloped countries, our proponents of foreign aid were in their heaven. The fact that Khrushchev wasn't giving anything but a little well-secured credit, and that he made sure of getting his pound of flesh in every transaction, was blithely overlooked; nor did anybody ask whether Soviet production was capable of supporting such gifts. Our foreign-aidists accepted his announcement as a challenge: If we want to win the good will of the world, we must pit the dollar against the ruble!

And so it goes. Despite the fact that every achievement claimed by the commissars is guarded from scrutiny, despite the fact that what little information escapes the Iron Curtain throws doubt on these claims, there are Americans who are most anxious to accept them at face value. Such persons seem to have a pathological inclination to believe every word and

every statistic published in *Pravda*, not because they are pro-communist, but because they are convinced that political power can accomplish miracles; a Soviet success supports their faith in the competence of government and gives them courage to demand more intervention at home. They have an intellectual interest in the success of the U.S.S.R.

The biggest and most powerful vested interest in Russian achievement is the American bureaucracy. Their jobs depend on it. If the American people can be convinced, for instance, that in the so-called propaganda race these clever communists are outdistancing us, the United States Information Service can wangle a sizable appropriation from Congress. Foreign aid does not spend itself; thousands of agents all over the world must work hard to get rid of billions. The huge State Department thrives on this so-called competition from the Soviets. How many government jobs would lose justification if it were demonstrated that Russia is about as competitive to unhampered private enterprise as a high school football team is to a professional eleven?

The Common Sense Approach

Since we who have to foot the bill are in no position to challenge the information or misinformation

emanating from the Kremlin — and supported by American propagandists — the best we can do is to fall back on common sense and principle. We know from the evidence of the ages that slaves are poor producers. That is the same as saying that when the worker is deprived of the right to possess and enjoy the fruits of his labor — which is private property — he has no interest in production, and his output will tend toward the minimum of mere existence. That is a universal truth. True, he may produce a little more to avoid the lash of the master's whip, but that little more cannot constitute prosperity. Therefore, since the denial of property is the basic tenet of communism, we can assert without fear of contradiction that Russian production is necessarily limited and that there is no possibility of its matching capitalistic production. There is no competition for us there — unless we persist in going socialistic.

We know, too, that it is a matter of principle with communists to lie. They have made it plain in all their authentic literature since *Das Kapital* that truth is anything that promotes the cause of communism, and if a statement favorable to communism is contradicted by fact, the fact must be denied, altered, or hidden. That is dogma with all true communists. Why,

then, should we accept any claim they make without demanding supporting evidence, and evidence not of their own making? Would it not be wiser to begin by doubting every statement they make? Taking them at their word, we should judge every statistic they produce, every promise they make, every word they utter as to its importance to the cause of communism; what may be true to them may not be truth at all.

If, on the other hand, we continue to act on the assumption that communists can be believed

without question, if we heed our own people who have a vested interest in the "race" with Russia, what will be the result? We shall spend ourselves into a socialistic regime. We shall give our own government more and more power to do with our wealth as the bureaucrats see fit, and in the end our political and economic system will approximate that of our presumed competitor. And the communists will match or exceed our accomplishments, not because they have progressed but because we have retrogressed.

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Political Behavior

IT IS TRUE that human beings fall farther below their own standards when they are acting in the plural, as "we," than when each of them is acting in the singular, as "I." We know from personal experience that, when we are acting as parents or as practitioners of a profession, we act more responsibly, more altruistically, and more humanely than when we are acting as members of a committee or as voters in an electorate.

Yet, when one has faced and acknowledged the matter of fact, the choice between right and wrong still

confronts us in our public life as well as in our private affairs. The fact that we do behave worse in the plural than in the singular does not make our political bad behavior good.

The choice between right and wrong is intrinsic to all human action. I do not escape it by changing over from the first person singular to the first person plural. I am still misbehaving when I misbehave as "we."

ARNOLD TOYNBEE
New York Times Book Review
 August 30, 1959

Two Kinds of

PAUL L. POIROT

POWER

FOR YEARS, the term “economic power” was used almost exclusively to suggest something bad about Big Business. But now, with the increasing concern over the “economic power” of labor unions, it seems high time to examine the charge. Just what is the nature of economic power? And to what extent, if any, do labor unions have it? Or, is it some other kind of power that unionism exerts?

In terms of human relationships, the word *power* means the ability to influence others, whereas *economic* has something to do with the management of one’s own business. *Economic power*, then – unless it is a total contradiction of terms – must refer to the voluntary market-exchange arrangements in a so-called free society. It must mean purchasing power, or the ability to get what you want from others by offering to trade something of yours that they want.

A workable exchange economy presupposes various conditions, including the infinite variability in human beings with their differing wants and differing capacities to fulfill such wants. Men with specialized skills, tolerant of their reasonable differences, and respectful of the lives and properties of one another, have reason to cooperate, compete, and trade, thus serving others in order to serve themselves. This is the kind of noncoercive, creative power that has provided most of the tools, capital, technological development, goods, services, and leisure that are available in increasing quantities to increasing numbers of persons over the world. This, briefly, is economic power.

In what respects, then, and to what extent, do labor unions possess and wield economic power? Unions, as organizations of laborers, represent a great deal of economic power in the form of

ever-scarce, always-valuable, creative human effort. Any person with the skill and strength and will to produce something of value to himself or to any potential customer possesses economic power. If others will buy his goods or services, he has purchasing power. Every man who works with head or hands and has a valuable service to offer is a potential customer or trader or buyer for the services of other laborers. The variability of natural talents, magnified in many instances through specialized training, explains why laborers can and do trade services to mutual advantage. All savers and property owners also are potential buyers of labor, particularly when their savings are in the form of business properties with facilities and tools and managerial talent of the job-providing type. The greater such capital accumulation within a society, the greater is the demand for human labor to put it to its most productive use, and the greater is the purchasing power of every available laborer. Clearly, human labor possesses tremendous economic power, with infinite opportunity for multiplication through judicious accumulation and use of savings. But such purchasing power inheres in individuals, whether or not they belong to labor unions.

As previously hinted, one of the

prior conditions for an optimum of production, trade, and voluntary cooperation among men is a common or mutual respect for human life and for the personal means of sustaining life: namely, private property. Peace and progress within society are threatened every time any person resorts to violence, coercion, theft, or fraud to fulfill his wants at the expense of, and without the consent of, others involved. Such power, used in an attempt to obtain something for nothing, is in sharp contrast to the economic power involved in peaceful purchase or trade.

Respect for Life and Property

Obviously, if human labor is to achieve its maximum purchasing power, then it is essential that savings, as well as skills, be protected as private property in the hands of, and under the control of, those individuals responsible for their accumulation and development—those who have proven themselves in open competition most fit to be in charge of the economic goods or services involved. Throughout history, mankind has looked to government to provide such protection for life and property. Government is organized coercive power, hopefully designed to suppress any and all attempts at violence, force, or fraud that might threaten the life or prop-

erty of any peaceful person. The power of government is political rather than economic, a power of taxation and seizure rather than purchasing power through voluntary exchange. This is why the ideal of a free society requires that government be strictly limited in scope to the defense of life and property, otherwise leaving all peaceful persons to their own devices, producing, trading, and what not.

Examples of Coercion

Now, consider for a moment some forms of human action — some expenditures of human labor — that might be classified as coercive rather than economic. For instance, robbery, or seizure of another person's property without his consent, would so qualify. The enslaving and forcing of other human beings to work against their will could not properly be called an exercise of economic power. It isn't economic power if force is used to curb active or potential competition — as when one producer or group threatens or employs violence to bar the efforts of others to produce; or when one or more sellers deny other sellers access to an uncommitted market demand; or when certain laborers combine to deny other laborers access to open job opportunities. Such individual ac-

tions or combinations in restraint of production and trade are coercive in nature — monopolistic attempts to suppress, prohibit, re-pulse, control, and interfere with the economic power of peaceful cooperation.

It is precisely such coercive practices that the government is supposed in theory to suppress, so that all individuals may concentrate on their respective creative specialties. And whenever the officially recognized government cooperates with, condones, or merely fails to inhibit private or unofficial resort to violence and coercion, these forces, in effect, take control and become the government, thus perverting it from an agency of defense to one of actual assault against life and property.

Well-Intended Mistakes

Nor is this abuse of coercive power always or necessarily the product of bad intentions; more often than not the aims may seem quite laudable — to aid the poor, the weak, the young, the old, the underdeveloped, the sick, the starving. But however worthy the aims, troubles arise the moment coercive power instead of economic power is employed to achieve such goals. Coercive power, while the safest and most effective kind of power when politically organized and managed for protec-

tive purposes, is wholly unsuited for any creative purpose. That's why it is so very important that government be strictly limited in scope and function to the suppression of lesser or private attempts at violence and coercion. Leave all else to the unbounded creative economic power of individuals competing and cooperating voluntarily in their mutual interest and to their mutual benefit. Every extension of coercive power, beyond the bare minimum required to maintain peace and order, is at the expense of economic power and diminishes its potential achievements for the improvement of man and society.

Let us summarize here with a listing of some of the major distinctions between the two kinds of power:

<u>Economic</u>	<u>Coercive</u>
Purchase	Seize
Exchange	Tax
Diversify	Conform
Compete	Monopolize
Advertise	Suppress
Promote	Prohibit
Serve	Control
Cooperate	Interfere
Assist	Restrain
Attract	Repulse
Create	Destroy
Develop	Limit
Multiply	Divide
Tolerate	Assault
Reward	Penalize

Union Power Reconsidered

Now, let's return to our original question and consider in what respects and to what extent labor unions in the United States today possess and wield economic power as distinguished from coercive power. We have already recognized the tremendous economic power possessed by laborers in the form of creative human effort. But what happens to this economic power in the process of organizing a labor union?

If membership in the union is voluntary, then exchange presumably occurs, the laborer offering his dues in return for something useful from the union such as improved communication with management, better knowledge of job opportunities, of market conditions, of competitive wage rates, and the like. Conceivably, some laborers may well gain considerably from such an expenditure or trade, greatly improving their capacities to serve themselves and others, without coercion against or injury to anyone concerned. Such a beneficial representative function would clearly come under the category of economic power in a labor union.

But what can be said of other union powers: the flaunting of minority and individual rights; the tax-like collection of dues for uses objectionable to some mem-

bers; the enforced conformity to featherbedding and make-work practices, boycotts, seniority patterns, slowdowns, strike orders, and the like; the monopolistic practice of excluding nonmembers from job opportunities; the war-like picketing of private property; the shootings, bombings, wrecking, destruction, open violence, and intimidation? What kind of power is this?

If it is a coercive threat to life,

liberty, and property, then in theory the government must suppress it. Otherwise, such coercion will, in effect, displace the duly constituted government and pervert it into an agency of assault against life and property. In any event, it seems highly improper to refer to this major, coercive aspect of modern labor unionism as a form of economic power. Economic power is a blessing — not a burden — to individuals and to society. ♦

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Comedy at the Bargaining Table

DURING the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the "commedia dell' arte," an Italian form of drama, was very much in fashion in our part of the world. Characteristic of this drama were such standardized roles as the deceived and ludicrous husband, Pajazzo; the cunning servant, Harlequin; the comic fat man, Pulcinella; the blustering soldier, Il Capitano; the coquettish young woman, Colombine.

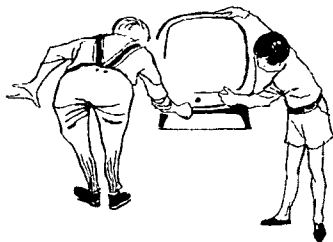
The annually recurrent comedy around the bargaining table, where employers and employed play the main parts, reminds one of the "commedia dell' arte." The employers always play the part of the villain in the piece by appearing to oppose with all their might the workers' demands for wage increases. The trade union representatives, on the other

side of the table, just as consistently play the hero's role by indefatigably fighting for higher wages and thus a higher standard of living.

In spite of the annual comedy, everything shows that it is actually the competition on the labor market that decides the wage level. If negotiations with the trade unions were discontinued entirely, employers still would be forced by competition with other employers to pay about the same wages as they now do. Why is it that, in such circumstances, the employers agree to take part in the annual comedy around the bargaining table and, in front of the whole country, play the part of villains — reactionaries who are trying to put the brake on progress?

PROFESSOR SVEN RYDENFELT
University of Lund, Sweden

PURE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING



or — THE BURDEN OF SPOTLESS POWER

It was a chilly evening
At story-telling time.
Old Kaspar chewed a dead cigar
And nursed his rum-and-lime,
While Peterkin and Wilhelmine
Warmed up the futurama screen.

They saw a squad of marching men,
All dressed in dazzling white,
Who halted where a factory gate
Was bathed in neon light.
Then facing left and hoisting signs
They blocked the gate with solid lines.

"Now tell us what it's all about!"
The little children cried.
"It's Pure Collective Bargaining,"
Old Kaspar soon replied.
"They'll keep blockades at all the gates
Until the firm capitulates."

"But why are pickets dressed in white?"
Asked little Peterkin.
"It symbolizes Purity,"
Said Kaspar with a grin.
"The unions say they've purged their ranks
Of robbers, thugs, and mountebanks."

"It seems a very great reform,"
Breathed little Wilhelmine.
"It does indeed," Old Kaspar sighed,
"The greatest ever seen.
But still the cost of living soars
And wealth escapes to foreign shores."



H. P. B. JENKINS
Economist at Fayetteville, Arkansas



A GREAT MAN WARNED US of DANGERS AHEAD

HAROLD BLAKE WALKER

WHEN we celebrate the birthdays of men like Abraham Lincoln, it is well to be reminded of what we owe to yesterday. America the Beautiful, as we know it, was purchased by the courage and dedication of men and women who assumed responsibility in days of crisis. We may wisely profit by their understanding of both the nature and the hazards of freedom.

"At what point shall we Americans expect the approach of danger?" Mr. Lincoln wondered in an address to a young men's lyceum in Springfield, Illinois, on January

27, 1837. "By what means," he asked, "shall we fortify against it? Shall we expect some trans-Atlantic military giant to step the ocean and crush us at a blow?"

Thoughtfully, Lincoln answered his own question: "All the armies of Europe, Asia, and Africa combined, with all the treasure of the earth . . . in their military chest . . . could not by force take a drink from the Ohio or make a track on the Blue Ridge in a trial of a thousand years."

What, then, is the danger Lincoln foresaw in 1837? The danger, "if it ever reach us . . . must spring from amongst us; it cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of

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Illustration: Culver Service, N. Y.

free men, we must live thru all time or die by suicide."

Lincoln, of course, knew nothing of rockets or sputniks or jet planes. He lived in a different age, and yet what he said in 1837 remains true today. The crisis in our day, as in Lincoln's day, is far more internal than external. It is in the softness of our self-indulgence; in the prejudices of our minds that masquerade as truth; in the failure to discover for ourselves and for our nation centers of meaning and value to undergird creative struggle.

We will not "live thru all time" with nothing to live for except full dinner pails, two cars in every garage, and color TV in every room. The good life of free men involves something more than a standard of living. If we want nothing more than extravagant reward for minimum productivity, we are asking for the danger Mr. Lincoln foresaw. If we wish to be indulged by a paternalistic government, assuming the role of Dodo in *Alice in Wonderland*, saying pontifically, "Everybody has won and all must have prizes," we are inviting our own destruction.

The Responsibility Is Personal

No nation can bear the burden of the self-indulgent revolt of its people against personal responsibility. To be sure, we live in a

complex society, in a crowded world, but in it individuals are no less significant than in the days of the pioneers. Persons who think and serve and assume responsibility for society are the clew to triumph or disaster.

Individuals, assuming responsibility in thousands of communities, will determine what happens to our schools and colleges. Persons, getting under the load, will say whether we have honest or dishonest government in villages and cities and in Washington. Citizens everywhere can work in precincts and wards and preach from street corners if they are willing to think their way to convictions worth preaching about and working to accomplish.

The ultimate question is whether we care most for our comforts or most for our convictions. Do we believe enough in the truth that shall make us free to serve it? Do we care enough for integrity to risk popular scorn for it? Do we cherish freedom enough to turn from our self-indulgence to the altars of self-discipline?

Ours is a day demanding greatness in individual men and women, greatness in thinking, greatness in sacrifice, and greatness in disciplined service of the highest. As Lincoln noted, "If destruction be our lot, we ourselves must be its author. . . ." ◆

EDMUND A. OPITZ

Socialism-

SUBSTANCE *and* LABEL

AMERICANS appear to like most everything about socialism except the name. Let a politician lift a plank out of the old time Socialist Party platform, paint it red, white, and blue to disguise its origin, and the voters will go on a stampede until they find some office for him. Socialism, thus domesticated, is safe and sane enough for a Fourth of July oration. But if an opinion poll is taken of these same voters it reveals that they are as hostile to the socialist label as they are friendly to its substance. "For the great majority of Americans," laments a pair of certified thinkers who jointly edit a socialist monthly, "'socialism' is little more than a dirty word."

Thus it was necessary for Mr. W. Averell Harriman, when he directed the mutual security program, to explain away foreign "socialism" for the inquiring

members of a Senate committee. "Now this word (sic!) 'Socialist Party' is much misunderstood here, because it is a general term. In many countries the Socialist Party is what we would call here the New Deal Party or a Fair Deal Party and not the theoretical socialist of the historic kind."

This confusion about socialism as between substance and label bespeaks the need of a definition. As a first step, turn to Webster's dictionary. There we read this: "Socialism: A political and economic theory of social organization based on collective or governmental ownership and democratic management of the essential means for the production and distribution of goods." This definition may be sharpened to read as follows: "A conviction or belief that organized police force — government — should dictate the creative activities of citizens within a society by the ownership and/or control of the means of production and exchange."

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Such definitions as these are all right as far as they go, but they omit an important fact about socialism: that it is a substitute religion for many people, arousing all the emotional response and ethical fervor of genuine religion. It is a dream of the kingdom of God on earth — but, as von Huegel observed, “without a king and without a God.”

It was such a religion to H. G. Wells, for example. Wells stands about halfway between Karl Marx and the present. He was active among the early Fabians in Great Britain and wrote his book, *New Worlds for Old*, about fifty years ago. In it he said,

“Socialism is to me a very great thing indeed, the form and substance of my ideal life and all the religion I possess. I am, by a sort of predestination, a socialist. I perceive I cannot help talking and writing about socialism, and shaping and forwarding socialism. I am one of a succession — one of a growing multitude of witnesses, who will continue. It does not — in the larger sense — matter how many generations of us must toil and testify. It does not matter, except as our individual concern, how individually we succeed or fail, what blunders we make, what thwartings we encounter, what follies and inadequacies darken our private hopes and level our per-

sonal imaginations to the dust. We have the light. We know what we are for, and that the light that now glimmers so dimly through us must in the end prevail.”

This apocalyptic mood was shared by Americans in the early decades of this century. One of these was the prominent socialist, George D. Herron. He wrote, “There is approaching — and it is not so far off as it seems — a world arranged by the wisdom hid in the human heart; a world that is the organization of a strong and universal kindness; a world redeemed from the fear of institutions and of poverty. Even now, derided and discouraged as it is, socially untrained and inexperienced as it is, if the instinctual and repressed kindness of mankind were suddenly let loose upon the earth, sooner than we think would we be members one of another, sitting around one family hearthstone, and singing the song of the new humanity.”

In Aristotle's View

These harbingers of a terrestrial paradise by legislative fiat are not without antecedents. Aristotle encountered them. Proposals for legislative interference have “a specious air of benevolence,” he says, causing an audience to accept them with delight, supposing, “especially when abuses under the existing system are denounced

as due to private property, that under communism everyone will miraculously become everyone else's friend." But, Aristotle comments, "the real cause of these evils is not private property but the wickedness of human nature."

The men for whom socialism is a kind of religion, see it as the fulfillment of mankind's age-old dream of justice and good will on earth. Lenin brought to fruition the seeds planted as far back as the Old Testament prophets! Harry Laidler, of the League for Industrial Democracy, opens his *History of Socialist Thought* (1927) with a chapter in praise of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jesus, and St. Augustine. This tactic of marshaling the great figures of our religious tradition under the banner of socialism is designed to make the critic of modern socialism appear in opposition to the spiritual giants of our race.

The Methods Kill the Dream

But the dream of justice and good will among men is by no means the exclusive possession of socialists; it is a dream shared by all men of generous instincts. It is possible to demonstrate, moreover, that the good things, both material and spiritual, that we desire for all men are undermined by methods socialists use to attain them. The socialist dream is shattered

by the operational imperatives of socialist performance. This is not only true of Russian practice; it is implicit in socialist theory.

Socialists propose to realize their dreams by putting the productive powers of men under the direction and control of the state. Socialists prefer to speak of the social ownership of property. But society — which means all of us — cannot act as a whole to own and control property; it must act through its enforcement agency, which is government. The men who comprise the governing agency in any society are a small minority within that society.

In practice, therefore, a socialist society is one in which the vast majority of men are controlled by the tiny minority which has power to direct their economic activities. We might put the matter differently by saying that the socialist dream is based on the delusion that men's other freedoms will be enhanced if they are deprived of economic liberty. By eliminating economic liberty and replacing it with a planned economy socialists hope to usher in a brave new world.

It hasn't worked out that way in practice because the theory is all wrong. "Economic control is not merely control of a sector of human life which can be separated from the rest," writes F. A.

Hayek, "it is control of the means for all our ends." Eliminate economic liberty in a society and you begin to institute a master-slave relationship. The guiding ideals which ushered in the modern period aimed at the liberation of the individual; from ecclesiastical corruption, from political tyranny, and from economic bondage. These movements of liberation converge and the individual is more firmly fettered than ever before. What a strange denouement! How did it happen?

Chronic Discontent

Socialism, as mood, theory, and practice, is a result of the material abundance made possible by the industrial revolution. Millions of people had toiled close to the soil for millennia, only to be rewarded by a bare subsistence, at best; at worst by plague and famine. Until the modern era, poverty was hardly more attributed to human arrangements than to cosmic setting; one seemed about as fixed as the other. Generations toiled, fed, bred, and died and, because of the general conviction that such was man's fate, entertained little hope of bettering their circumstances. The expectation of unimaginable progress was released by the revolutionary changes which mark the modern period, a period characterized un-

til recently by expanding political liberty, invention and technology, capitalist production, and relative material abundance. Men ceased to yearn for compensatory delights in the world to come and began to dream of getting their New Jerusalem now in "England's green and pleasant land."

Secular hopes grew wildly, and material progress seemed to justify them. Conditions of existence were ameliorated. Life expectancy increased; many diseases were eliminated. Populations have increased at an accelerated rate since 1800; but in spite of this, the additional mouths were better fed and the additional bodies were better housed and clothed. But this was not enough. For those whose expectations can only be summed up by one word, "More!" no additional increment is ever enough.

Given this mood, discontent becomes chronic in the modern world. Material progress must forever trail behind expectation because, in the nature of things, economic goods are always in short supply. This does not reflect a human failure; it is a built-in feature of the universe. A thing is not an economic good unless it is scarce relative to human demand for it. Human demands, being limitless, invariably outrun supplies, which are naturally limited. This simple fact is widely overlooked,

with the result that a sense of grievance has become endemic among large numbers of people. It is simply a reflex of the contrast between a utopian vision and actual living conditions.

Being poor is endurable, and besides, poverty is a relative matter. But the feeling that one is being *kept* poor raises an issue of an altogether different sort; justice is involved. Embracing the practical possibility of a heaven on earth is the first false step; belief in a conspiracy which prevents it from arriving is the second. A mind which entertains the first foolishness is ripe to be infected with the second.

A sense of grievance is, of all human emotions, the easiest to exploit; and exploited it was, by grievance collectors and demagogues. Political power had been wrested from the kings and distributed according to the democratic formula. But after the glow of exaltation over popular sovereignty had worn off, it was noticed that the anticipated new dawn had not broken. The immediate inference was that someone must be holding it back. The bottleneck could not be political — the democratic revolution assured that; therefore, it must be economic. A conspiracy of capitalists prevented the arrival of utopia! Obviously, we needed an economic revolution.

"Das Kapital"

The word "capitalist" was a Marxian term, imported into the language for polemical purposes and as a term of abuse. The "capitalist" was the owner of the factories, machines, and tools. He employed people to run his equipment and then, in his depravity, stole everything they produced except for the pittance they needed to stay alive.

This "surplus value" theory would never have been broached — or, if broached, would never have caught on — except that the mentality of the period consisted of a utopian expectation, a sense of grievance, and a belief that the masses were victims of a conspiracy. Out of this soil sprang modern collectivist movements, Marxian and otherwise.

But collectivism has been fed by another tributary as well, a non-theoretical one. Classic liberalism distrusted the state, *per se*. On principle it threw up safeguards to protect society from undue extensions of political power. But the democratic principle does not address itself to the problem of limiting political authority; it is concerned only to get the state operating under popular auspices, or majority rule. If a majority wants the state to undertake some function, there is nothing in the democratic principle to forbid it, how-

ever unjust it might be, or however violative of the principles of liberalism, which make for limited government.

Perpetuation of Power

The nature of political action is constant, regardless of the auspices under which it operates. It is of the nature of power to want to perpetuate itself and, following this mandate, every government seeks to create the means of its own support. The Court at Versailles, under the old regime, was largely a group of wastrels depending on government handouts for their mode of life. Their consumption was nothing if not conspicuous. Political subventions, under a democracy, are more subtle, but the feeling spreads that everyone is entitled to all he can get.

Government comes to be regarded as a benign omnipotence possessing the magical properties of an Aladdin's lamp. If properly approached — by means of a lobby or pressure group which knows which buttons to push, which levers to pull — it delivers the goods as obediently as a vending machine. Government is a tool capable of accomplishing anything a majority can be mustered to demand. "Majority" is a technical term among political pros, referring to a numerical figment used by a literal minority to justify a

handout from the public treasury. Democracy and majority rule become a screen behind which insiders operate under the formula: *Votes and taxes for all, subsidies for us.*

Given popular acceptance of the Service State — a political authority presumed to be responsive to majority demand, and it is inevitable that democratic governments would get into the business of dispensing economic benefits — advantage for some at the expense of others.

Pyramiding Special Pleaders

There is only one way for mankind to live and improve its economic circumstances, and that is by applying its energies to nature and nature's products. Goods are produced in this way and in no other. But once produced, the goods of some men may be acquired by other men through political manipulation. Let government perform this service and the trek to Washington is on. Once on, it will grow in geometric progression as group after group organizes to apply political pressure to get something for nothing: organized labor, the farm bloc, veterans, regional groups, educationists, the aged, and others.

Business and industry, strictly speaking, have to do only with the deploying of economic factors and

resources — somebody making something, transporting it, exchanging it. A businessman or industrialist, pursuing his aims as an entrepreneur, seeks to turn a profit. The appearance of a profit indicates that his talents are being employed in a manner approved by a significant number of people. Absence of a profit, on the other hand, ought to be his clue that people are instructing him to go into some other line. So long as a man produces and sells things people want at a price they are willing to pay, he operates according to the rules of economics. The vast majority of our millions of business enterprises are conducted in this fashion. All that is necessary to keep this operation going is for the law to inhibit and penalize cases of theft, fraud, and violence.

A "Fair Advantage"

The processes of production and exchange are self-starting and self-fueled and need nothing from government but protection from predation. It is in the interests of business-as-a-whole to maintain this climate of freedom. But the immediate interests of a particular businessman do not always coincide with the interests of business-as-a-whole. That is to say, businessman X might find it profitable for himself if his responsive, democratic government will

intervene to give him a preferential position in the market by penalizing his competitors.

Such political intervention is contrary to the principles of classic liberalism and has the effect of giving some men an economic advantage at the expense of other men. Government intervention frustrates the workings of economic laws by forcing economic decisions contrary to the decisions of the unhampered market. The intervention annuls consumer choice, and the net result is economic advantage for political favorites.

Economic success under capitalism — the free market system — is measured by consumer satisfactions. If consumers are pleased with the goods and services provided by a producer, as demonstrated by their willingness to pay for them, the producer makes a profit. But in a political setup where the politicians stand by to confer economic advantage in return for lobbying and pressure group activity, material rewards may accrue to a man, even if consumers have returned a negative vote by not buying his goods or services.

When there is general acceptance of the idea that it is the function of the state to dispense economic privilege to its partisans, there will be competition among

“businessmen” for political largesse. This is a departure from capitalism into the practice of an under-the-counter socialism. The practice has been all too prevalent during the past century, and is one of the main influences feeding into the socialist trend. No businessman wants over-all socialism, but many a businessman wants a little piece of socialism where it is to his immediate advantage. Add up all these little pieces and the society is no longer liberal. It may be called liberal by some merely because the word has a favorable connotation, but it is not liberal in the limited government sense of the word.

The Costs of Freedom

Classic liberalism meant freedom: freedom to write and speak, to worship and teach, and, most neglected freedom of all, freedom of economic enterprise, i.e., consumer sovereignty in the market place. A believer in free speech accepts this principle even though he is fully aware that its exercise will result in campaign oratory, socialist tracts, uplift drivel, pornography, public relations prose, modern poetry, and the “literature” of a beat generation. The defender of free speech recognizes these things as corruptions of the divine gift of communication, but they are part of the price he is willing to

pay for freedom. Freedom costs, and thus it cannot endure among a people who do not understand this or, if they do, are unwilling to incur these costs.

Accept the principle of religious liberty and things will happen which the civilized man will view with disgust. There will be holy roller revivals, store-front churches, unlettered Bible thumpers, bingo, and baked bean suppers. But the man possessed of a sensitive religious conscience is aware that it is not up to him to tell God the kind of instruments He can use to work His mysterious ways; and he wishes to make it plain that the opponent of religious liberty, if he is logical, must invoke a kind of inquisition to curb those expressions of religion he finds distasteful.

Acceptance of the principle of economic liberty means that the consumer has a right to demand, and the producer a right to supply, any item which does not injure another — as injury is defined in laws against theft and fraud. This means that poor taste and doubtful morals will find expression here just as they do in the kindred fields of speech and religion. A rock-and-roll performer will ride around in a pink Cadillac while a symphony orchestra has to beg for funds. A race track will be built where common sense would dictate

a playground. People refuse to buy mere transportation; they want a chariot with lots of chrome and three hundred horses under the hood. Worse yet, when political subventions are available, some businessmen will seek to get "one up" on their competitors with government help.

Freedom costs, and the costs of freedom in the areas of speech, press, worship, and assemblage are generally acknowledged by a significant number of articulate people. These freedoms are not under assault — not in this country, at any rate. In the case of economic freedom the situation is different. Few people mistake the abuses of free speech for the principle itself; but the abuses of economic liberty loom so large in the modern eye that it cannot detect the market principle of which they are violations.

Properly Limited Government

Freedom, in sound theory, is all of a piece. It hinges on properly limiting government. A society may be called free when its government does not dictate matters of religion and private conscience, does not censor reading material, curb speech, nor bar lawful assem-

blage. But mere paper guarantees of these important freedoms are worthless if there is governmental control and bureaucratic planning of economic life. The guarantee of religious freedom is worth little if the devotees are denied the economic means to build their temples, print their literature, and pay their spiritual guides. How meaningful is freedom of the press if there are no private means to buy paper and presses? And there is no full right to assemble if buildings, street corners, and vacant lots are government owned. "Whoso controls our subsistence controls us."

If government is properly limited, men are free. In a free society a certain pattern of economic activity will be precipitated. This pattern will change constantly. It will respond as men have less or more political liberty. It will be modified as technology advances, taste is refined, and morals improve. Properly speaking, the economic pattern of a free society is capitalism, or the market economy. Under capitalism the people are economically free, exercising control over their own subsistence, and thus they become self-controlling in other freedoms as well. •



The Perils of Playing **UNCLE ATLAS**

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

THE GIANT ATLAS, sustaining the pillars that keep heaven and earth apart, is a figure in Greek mythology. But there is nothing mythological about the unique role of Uncle Atlas which the United States has assumed ever since it committed itself to participation in World War II by passing the Lend-Lease Act early in 1941.

Never in history has there been such a tremendous economic blood transfusion, such an outpouring of subsidies from one country to the

rest of the world. Lend-lease aid to countries with which the United States was associated in the course of the war, very little of which was reimbursed by so-called reverse lend-lease, amounted to well over fifty billion dollars. It could be argued that it was more economical to sustain allied forces than to spend this money on our own military effort. Still, in view of later developments, it seems a little ironical that about eleven billion dollars of lend-lease aid to the Soviet Union (not a penny of which has been repaid) was followed by vastly larger military and foreign aid expenditures for the

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avowed purpose of containing and checking Soviet designs of expansion and aggression.

From a war emergency, foreign aid has become a permanent habit. Grants and loans of dubious security to nations in all parts of the world since the end of hostilities add up to about 60 billion dollars, and every year the Administration can be relied on to ask Congress for additional appropriations of about four billion dollars. The request is usually granted, with minor cuts.

These handouts have been used for a wide variety of purposes in a large number of countries. They paid the greatest share of food and rehabilitation expenditures under UNRRA. Some twelve billion dollars were spent on the Marshall Plan for European economic reconstruction. Still larger sums have been contributed for the martial plans that followed the Marshall Plan, for the military build-up of supposedly friendly nations in Europe and Asia.

The American taxpayer has also been footing the bill for a good deal of economic aid, some of it going to allied countries and some to neutrals like India and Yugoslavia and even to a country like Poland which, through no desire of the Polish people, to be sure, is in the Soviet bloc.

And both at home and abroad

there are always eager sponsors of bigger and better handouts for welfare purposes all over the globe. Some American Senators have sponsored support without a definite limit for India's plans of economic development. And a well-known British woman writer on economic subjects recently advanced the proposition that the fate of the free world would hang in the balance until India was tidied over the growing difficulties of its new five-year plan by an annual subsidy of one billion dollars in foreign currency. The United States was the obvious largest potential source of this proposed handout.

Insufficient Funds

Now, however, there are signs that America cannot play the part of Uncle Atlas much longer, and this for a reason that has often checked governments in extravagant courses in the past. The means to continue these lavish foreign subsidies are running out. Dollars have been used with such reckless profusion to prop up foreign currencies and foreign economies that the dollar itself is today in danger of becoming a weak currency.

It has long been a popular theory, especially among British economists, that Europe faces a so-called dollar gap. Europe can

never, so this argument runs, sell enough in goods and services to the United States to pay for what it urgently requires in raw materials and equipment from American sources. This line of reasoning easily led to the conclusion that it is up to America, in one form or another, to subsidize Europe indefinitely.

But during the last decade this theory of the inevitable dollar gap has been knocked into a cocked hat. Indeed it has been proved true, but in reverse. Ever since 1950, with the sole exception of 1957, when there was an abnormal European demand for American oil because of the Suez crisis, the United States balance of payments in relation to Europe has been unfavorable. During the last two years, 1958 and 1959, the outflow of gold and of dollars which represent claims on gold from America to the outside world has been especially strong.

Dwindling Gold Reserve

In its international accounts the United States was in the red by \$3.4 billion in 1958, by about \$4 billion in 1959. The United States gold reserve, which was \$22.9 billion in 1957, has now fallen below \$20 billion. This, to be sure, is a tidy figure, about half the known gold reserves in the world. But an unfavorable balance of payments

of \$4 billion is not negligible either. Nor is the fact that European countries hold short-term dollar liabilities in the neighborhood of \$15 billion. Were all these liabilities presented at once, the United States would face the disagreeable alternatives of going off gold, in respect to foreign liabilities, thereby producing a tremendous international financial shock, or of seeing the gold reserve diminish to a very small figure.

To be sure, this is not likely to happen. Such a massive run on the dollar would not be in the best interest of the European holders of the dollar liabilities. It is the long-range trend toward an unfavorable balance of payments that is the serious aspect of the situation.

A Weakened Economy

Long accustomed to take for granted the idea that the dollar is the king of currencies, Americans do not realize, as Europeans do, what a weak, shaky currency can mean. When a country with a limited gold reserve finds itself spending a good deal more abroad than it receives from abroad, its financial authorities find themselves tempted to resort to all sorts of disagreeable courses: to slap on quotas for the purpose of reducing the inflow of foreign goods; to limit the amount of money a citizen may take out of the coun-

try; to forbid foreigners to bring in or take out the currency of the country, and so on.

All such measures are entirely contrary to the spirit of a free economy and, in the long run, do more harm than good. But they are the usual consequences of a persistently unfavorable international balance of payments. When a currency is persistently weak it is apt, in the end, to be reduced in international exchange value. So, in 1949, the British pound, which had long been selling at a discount on foreign markets, was officially reduced in relation to the American dollar from \$4.00 to \$2.80; and most European currencies experienced the same or similar reductions in value.

Since that time, European currencies, as a general rule, have remained stable in international exchange value; but the French franc was devalued more than once before France finally set a stable currency course by introducing anti-inflationary measures in the latter part of 1958.

Prospects of Devaluation

When a currency is cheapened in exchange value, the immediate effect is temporarily to right the balance of international payments. Exports are promoted and imports are discouraged because exports are cheaper, in terms of foreign

exchange, and foreign goods become correspondingly more expensive. Just for this reason, because it makes foreign imports more expensive, devaluation means a certain amount of impoverishment for the people of a country that resorts to this practice.

Fifteen years, even five years ago, nothing would have seemed more absurd than the suggestion that the United States dollar might be exposed to the risk of devaluation. But, if one now travels in Europe and talks with financial experts in London, Zurich, and other financial centers, the possibility that the dollar might fall in international exchange value is seriously discussed. In striking contrast to the situation immediately after the end of the war, dollars are being offered more freely than they are demanded in some European exchange centers.

Unbalanced Trade

What has created a situation where the dollar, long regarded as the Rock of Gibraltar among international currencies, can be seriously suggested as a candidate for devaluation? (The suggestion, to be sure, is certainly premature and may be altogether exaggerated; yet the fact that one does hear it on occasions is not without significance.)

There would seem to be two

principal reasons for this striking change. And the first of these is the prolonged attempt to play the role of an international Uncle Atlas, supporting the universe. Our over-all commercial trade balance, the surplus of what we sell over what we buy, is still quite favorable, even though it declined from \$6 billion in 1957 to \$3.3 billion in 1958 and seems likely to decline further in 1959. We also receive a substantial income from foreign investments, notably in Canada.

But these favorable items in our international balance of payments are offset by such expenditures, involving the outlay of dollars for foreign currencies, as \$3.1 billion for United States troops stationed abroad, nonmilitary government expenditure of \$1.6 billion, \$1 billion net outflow of government capital exports and a \$2.9 billion deficit in private capital movements.

It is this imbalance that has caused America's gold reserves to diminish and its dollar liabilities to increase, to the tune of \$3.4 billion in 1958 and \$4 billion in 1959. This is why Secretary of the Treasury Robert Anderson has been demanding that discrimination against American goods in European markets should cease as not only inequitable in itself but also completely unwarranted by

present financial and economic conditions. This is why the Administration is proposing that the European countries, which have been gaining in gold reserves as the United States has been losing, should make more of a contribution to projects for the aid of the economically retarded areas of the world.

Time for Reappraisal

The lesson of this situation for the United States is clear. Until a more normal balance of international payments is established, overseas commitments that involve dollar outlays should be scrutinized with the utmost care. Military alliance arrangements should be re-examined, with a view to a fairer distribution of the financial burdens. Too often, in the past, the assumption has been made by foreign governments and accepted by the United States that Uncle Atlas should carry the whole load or a disproportionate share of the load of expenditure in a common cause.

The American financial plight that has been receiving increased attention in recent months is a powerful argument for sweeping cutbacks in foreign aid appropriations, apart from the fact that these appropriations have already been discredited, in many cases, by waste and carelessness.

The best time to stop a run on

the dollar is before it occurs. And, if the United States is to be of real help to peoples struggling against communist aggression and intrigue, the first condition is that the dollar be maintained in a sound and solvent condition. The United States has now become, in many respects, the banker of the world; and a banker must justify confidence by the prudent handling of his affairs.

Inflationary Measures at Home

It is not only profligate and reckless spending abroad that has weakened the position of the dollar. A second cause is the failure to deal firmly with inflationary trends at home. There has been too much paying not for work performed, but for work not performed, to farmers for not planting crops, to workers for unnecessary and wasteful practices, generally known as featherbedding.

Since there are in the market place no willing customers for unrendered services and unproduced goods, the financing of such something-for-nothing schemes depends on compulsion. Pressure group demands have led to government spending in excess of tax collections; and the resultant deficits, monetized through the federal reserve banking system, are reflected in rising wages and rising prices. The government has expanded the

money supply to subsidize farm, business, and labor practices that could not meet the tests of open competition.

It is interesting to note that almost every European country has been improving its balance of payments in relation to the United States in recent years. This is partly the result of a return to full normal productive efficiency on the part of European industrial nations and Japan. This is to be welcomed. It is infinitely better, from the standpoint of America's own long-range economic interests, to have Western Europe an aggressive competitor (and for this reason, a larger potential market) than to carry Europe around our collective neck as an albatross, a prospect that seemed not unlikely in the years immediately after the war.

Competitive Weakness

But, while European competitive strength is to be welcomed, American competitive weakness is not. It was a sobering experience last summer to visit a new shipyard in Hamburg, fitted out with all kinds of automatic devices, such as cranes that were operated by radio control, installed by Willi Schlieker, a Ruhr magnate who became a millionaire after the war. The workers in this shipyard were as skilled as Americans; their

wages were about 75 cents an hour, a third or a fourth of what American shipyard workers would receive.

Allowing for the fact that, by and large, a mark will go farther in Germany than a quarter in the United States, one could understand the remark of the German engineer: "No one could afford to buy ships from an American shipyard, unless it were heavily subsidized in one way or another."

There is no reason to sell America short as a major factor in industrial production and world trade. All the assets which have made it the land of the greatest prosperity for the most people (as proved by the world migration figures) are still here: an energetic, mechanically-minded population, a convenient layout of natural resources, superb engineering schools and research laboratories, a go-getting spirit that will overlook no tricks in trying to get and hold customers.

A Serious Warning

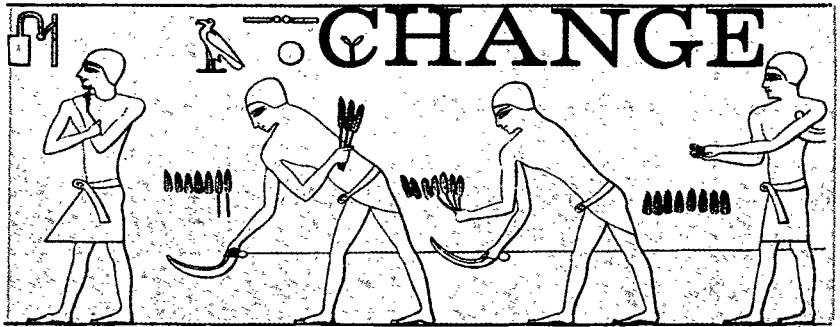
But even a champion in sport can suffer an upset if he becomes overconfident, neglects his training, lets his muscles get flabby. A negative balance of \$7.4 billion for a period of two years will not bankrupt America; probably only

a minority of Americans know there is such a deficit. But it should be taken as a warning nevertheless, a warning to re-examine two of the weaknesses that have helped to bring it about.

First, there has been the impulse to play Uncle Atlas, to assume that all the world's ills can be cured by writing bigger checks payable in United States dollars. This is not true. Countries that will not look to their own defenses, that will not put their own economic and financial houses in order, cannot be bailed out by American aid, however extensive.

Second, there has been a failure to take precautions against that modern form of clipping the currency known as inflation. As a consequence there is a danger that we may price ourselves out of foreign markets and falter in competition with people who have had the courage and wisdom to impose on themselves sterner financial discipline.

It is time to give up grandiose dreams of being an Uncle Atlas, supporting the universe on our shoulders, and to take some more searching economic physical fitness tests to see that we are qualified to hold our own in a strongly competitive world. ◆



ROBERT H. EAGLE

HISTORY records continual change. As man moved out of caves and into tents, as he began domesticating animals and devising and improving tools, as he developed the science of specialization, as his tastes and desires underwent alterations, as he began to envision different ways of living than he had dreamed of before and to realize that comforts and amenities which at first seemed visionary were really possible — these ever-changing phenomena altered the status quo. Existing patterns of conduct, production, distribution, consumption, and social relationships were more or less constantly being revised, sometimes slowly, sometimes fast. And these changes continue.

To suppose that human action will ever become static and station-

ary, all changes abolished, is hardly tenable when one considers the nature of human wants, the insatiability of man's desires, and their variety. Because of these facts of human action, any effort to maintain the status quo in economic life is doomed to failure. As new productive processes are developed, as new products are invented, existing ones revised, and others discarded, the patterns of production, distribution, and consumption will continue to be subject to alteration. Prices and wages must themselves change to reflect these more basic changes.

Rigidity and flexibility cannot coexist in harmony. As long as desires for changes and improvements collide with factors resisting change, conflict ensues. Improvements require change, and change requires flexibility. A dynamic economy that is sensitive to

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people's wants and needs must be flexible. Rigid prices and wages are barriers to progress. As long as man's desires and relative values are changing and he conceives more efficient productive processes, such rigidities cause industrial conflict and chaos.

When Government Intervenes

However, for decades, we have been witnessing two sets of countervailing human forces in constant conflict with each other — one set of pressures *resisting* change, the other set *demanding* change. Into this melee steps the State, the apparatus of compulsion and coercion, presumably to help both sides. It will try to maintain the prices of farm and industrial products, thus freezing the pattern of production and productive processes in industry and agriculture. Then, when new goods and services are not forthcoming in given amounts at the prices people are willing to pay, the government attempts to ameliorate these ineluctable results by expansion of credit, creation of additional money, by public works, social security, unemployment compensation, and so on.

By trying to keep everything as it is, the government represses progress, thus depriving the population as a whole of a large portion of the potential increase in living standards. Then when large seg-

ments of the economy are depressed as a result of the first policy, the government adopts a second policy to allay the results of the first. This is like running over a pedestrian forward and then trying to undo the damage by reversing direction and backing over him.

First, the government creates restrictions which are intended to *resist* changes and their effects which people believe harmful to them. Then it intervenes to help *stimulate* the sort of changes it first tried to prevent.

Price supports make price-supported goods more bountiful, until production quotas are instituted for the purpose of making them scarcer. These interventions reduce real income which would otherwise be available for such things as school construction and other wants and needs. Having held production down and prices up, thus resisting change in the form of greater output at less cost, the government then turns around to take care of the resulting "inadequacies" and "deficiencies" in the economy, usually asserting such deficiencies to be implicit in the free enterprise system. The government then attempts to allocate from the remaining resources funds for school construction, low-price public housing, and the like.

In a free economy, however, the forces making for change (includ-

ing more goods at lower prices) provide an *increase* rather than a *restriction* of output and productive capacity which are available for meeting the wants and needs of the people, as the people see their own wants in accordance with their own scale of values.

It has always been characteristic of Americans to want more and more education for their offspring. The free market makes increasing resources available for meeting such wants and needs through changes — through more efficient productive processes and the increase and utilization of capital accumulation. But capital accumulation is much more forthcoming when the value of the dollar is not being constantly eroded by monetary expansion on the part of the government. Government price supports and production quotas are the very antithesis of economic growth, if by economic growth one means more goods and services of the kind people want most. It is only in the free market economy, unhampered by price maintenance and restrictions on production, that needs are optimally met.

Gradual Change Is Tolerable

One consideration put forward to urge state intervention is that economic change affects some people adversely compared to others. This fact cannot be denied. One

must always adjust to necessary changes. However, the most drastic changes, the upheavals in the economy, the crash programs, have resulted from governmental intervention. Left alone, the economy tends to progress in a more normal manner. Capital accumulation, essential to increased productivity, results from individual savings. There is a natural tendency, when economic growth is left in the hands of individuals working alone or voluntarily through corporate instruments, for new and expanded projects not to outstrip their potential profitability, or more accurately, profitability as it can be foreseen and predicted by individuals risking their own savings in new ventures.

However, when investment comes out of heavy taxation falling upon the public as a whole, and directed by functionaries whose own savings are not as directly involved, vast projects are undertaken which draw away from other potential projects the required factors of production. Whether these projects are the ones that people would willingly support through their voluntary purchases is another question. And if the people don't want these projects enough to indicate their approval by paying freely for the services offered, then why should such "services" be undertaken by taxation, borrow-

ing, and the creation of additional money which does not represent actual willing abstention from current consumption on the part of individuals? What the people cannot do for themselves, the government cannot do for them, except by making a government decision which the people have not made independently, and then enforcing the decision on all. Even so, the government cannot of itself "provide services." Only people can. So interventions on the part of government themselves make for changes — the effects of which the government in the first place intervened to ameliorate.

Entrepreneurs vs. Bureaucrats

When an entrepreneur sees a potential profit in a project, what is he really envisioning? That by borrowing money which has been saved by those who have not consumed all their income or wealth, accumulated in banks and insurance funds, he can hire men and buy materials, build plants, and produce products at a price which people will willingly pay and which will pay the wages, interest, and other charges which constitute the costs of the potentially profitable project. The profits accruing to the entrepreneur under free enterprise reflect the approval the consumers have bestowed on his enterprise.

But we should also observe the factors that bring about undesirable results. They include increasing the money supply artificially, causing misinvestments of capital and maladjustments in labor, and handouts to industries which are not profitably serving the public. Such interventions, by postponing adjustments necessary to reflect the changing demands of the people and improvements in productive processes, make the inevitable adjustment much more severe when it finally occurs.

Restrictions on production, price supports, tariffs, embargoes, quotas, and wage and price control, dampen the changes that are latent and inherent in economic and social life. Like a dam which builds up an overpowering volume of water, they finally inundate society like a tidal wave. But our present-day politicians seem to reflect the attitude of Louis XV and Madame de Pompadour: "Après nous, le deluge."

Unchanging Basic Principles

Is there, then, nothing changeless and absolute? The changes discussed in this paper come about as a result of decision and choice (conscious or unconscious). In other words, change is directed toward a goal or goals. It is the very existence of eternal principles and immutable laws that makes

human progress a possibility. Progress consists of gaining a better understanding of the changeless and eternal laws of the universe and living more in accord with them. Change for the better consists of acknowledging the changeless values of individual liberty and moral responsibility, and taking the realistic, rational steps that follow from an ever clearer discernment of those timeless ideas inherent in the God-given human spirit. Change for the better consists of a greater realization of the idea of freedom as opposed to slavery in any form and under any guise—the idea of individual worth as opposed to the deification of “the masses”—the idea of human equality before the law as opposed to special privileges and immunities.

Changes That Bring Progress

Recognizing the inevitability of change in technology, production, and taste — the mutations of physical phenomena — we also need to recognize the immutable framework of universal laws and absolute values within which they exist — recognize those things that remain constant. The recognition of the existence of those things that never change enables us to work most effectively with the changeable. So-called changes for the bet-

ter that ignore basic principles are not feasible and eventually result in chaos and turmoil. Operating in accordance with the laws and values that are changeless enables change to be progress, brought about rationally, based on principle, and consciously directed toward the enduring goals of mankind.

These goals, ideas, values, laws, absolutes, never change. But as long as they are not fully realized, any step toward a greater expression and implementation of them implies a change—a change for the better. It is only because of the existence of immutable laws and ideals that there can be any pattern, guide, or rationale for purposeful change in contrast to purposeless drifting—a meaningless ebbing and flowing. The immutable relationship between cause and consequence furnishes a framework within which all changes take place.

Change for the better, the status quo, or retrogression — which shall it be? Our problem lies in understanding the ultimate goals of human action, in recognizing the available alternatives for that action, and choosing the appropriate means for attaining the desirable ends. Then change will mean a better life for all mankind. ♦

RESTORING THE TOOLS OF LEARNING

TEN YEARS AGO if an editor had the temerity to publish an article attacking "progressive" education, he could count on a torrent of mail denouncing him as a fascist. Today, though the "progressives" still dominate the teaching hierarchy in the public schools, the standards of controversy are at least a little more gentlemanly. One can now make the argument for "basic education" — as eighteen authors and scholars have made it in *The Case for Basic Education*, edited by James D. Koerner (Little, Brown, 256 pp., \$4.00) — without running the risk of total ostracism.

So much, then, has been gained for the right to argue — which is what "free speech" is about anyway. Since argument may now proceed without too much interruption from those who consider vituperation the crowning glory of literacy, we are very probably at the beginning of a new period in education. The "old" will hardly be restored as it existed forty or more years ago. But there will be

synthesis of the old and the new, and "experiments" will cease to run one way only.

To some extent, at least, the new synthesis will undoubtedly restore the old "tool" courses of the past to their ancient high estate. But what do we mean by "tools"? Wasn't the "instrumental" philosophy of John Dewey, which has dominated the public schools for several generations, the very thing needed to give the student the means of getting along in his world? Isn't "vocationalism" the proper educational "instrument" — or "tool" — for preparing the student to adjust himself to the demands of society?

No "Generating" Power

The answer provided by Mr. Koerner's contributors is that vocational tools, as Clifton Fadiman puts it in the opening essay, have no "generating" power. A course in hotel keeping, or in driver-education, is "self-terminating." A course in French, on the other hand, is a "generating" tool in

that it will enable the serious student to unlock as many doors as may be found in books written by Frenchmen. In a secondary school that knows its business, the student will finish senior year — or the “twelfth grade” — with the ability to read, write, speak, calculate, and listen. He will go forth into the world possessing some of the elements of reasoning, and, as Mr. Fadiman so succinctly states, he will be “put on to the necessary business of drawing abstract conclusions from particular instances.”

When Mr. Fadiman went to high school back in the period 1916-20, he had four years of English, four of German, three of French, three or four years of history, a nonsensical factual course in civics, a year of physics, a year of biology, and three years of mathematics, through trigonometry. He didn't learn about “dating,” he took no course in square-dancing, he had to discover the secrets of cookery for himself, and his instruction on how to be a good husband began when he took unto himself a wife. Yet, strangely enough, his high school curriculum proved to be quite adequate to the “life-adjustment” which Mr. Fadiman had to make as an editor, writer, translator, and public speaker.

Mr. Fadiman mentions these

“practical” advantages of his education merely to explode them; the important thing, he says, is that his “basic” foundation gave him the wherewithal for the self-education that should be every man's concern to the hour of his death. It even allowed him to unlock the manual of instructions which he had to master in order to get a license to drive a car.

The “Social Studies”

After Mr. Fadiman's opening essay, there come the more specialized contributions. George C. S. Benson, President of Claremont Men's College, thinks students should learn that the United States is not only a democracy but a federated republic. Ray Allen Billington of Northwestern University and Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia lament that both American and European history have been denatured by being presented as part of “social studies” courses that offer a vague mish-mash of geography, ecology, civics, economics, sociology, history, and current events. Clyde F. Kohn of the State University of Iowa pleads for a straight treatment of geography as something that “deals consistently with the location and distribution of phenomena over the earth's surface.” Donald R. Tuttle of Fenn College and Douglas Bush of Harvard

speak for less preoccupation with radio techniques and business-letter writing and more concentration on grammar, syntax, the "conscious art" of composition, and a few masterpieces such as the King James Bible, Milton, and Shakespeare.

Some of the "Basics"

The case for the classical and foreign languages is made by Gerald F. Else of the University of Michigan and Hunter Kellenberger of Brown, who note that English-speaking students have much to gain from exposure to other cultures and to languages which have structural characteristics of their own that may or may not carry over into English. As for mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology, Stewart Scott Cairns, Sydney S. Greenfield, Joel H. Hildebrand, and M. H. Trytten argue convincingly that there are other necessary ways of "reading" the universe than those supplied by the "language arts." The truly educated man must be able to express physical laws in mathematical formulas and to translate them back into ordinary English. And biology is certainly essential to a perspective on the humanities. Even the "electives" — art, music, philosophy, and speech — have their claims to a place in the "basic" secondary cur-

riculum, as the essays of Oliver W. Larkin, Joseph Kerman, Douglas N. Morgan, and Bower Aly insist.

Herbert M. Schwab, who sums up "the prospects for Basic Education" in a final essay, speaks out of his experience as a member of the Portland, Oregon, school board. Out of his knowledge of the ways of the "educationist" hierarchy, he doubts that leadership in the "basic" movement will "come in sufficient force from the ranks of public educators." It is the private citizen — the parent — who holds the key to the "restoration of learning." And — though none of the contributors to Mr. Koerner's symposium seems anxious to make the point — the competition of the private school is certainly needed to spark the revival.

Need for Economic Education

None of Mr. Koerner's contributors thinks that economics should be made a "specialized" high school course, although Dr. Benson does say that the intelligent high school senior is "capable of learning about price control in the eighteenth century, tariffs in the nineteenth, and agricultural price support in the twentieth." But even if the high school is not the place for economics as such, the bright college student with the "basics" behind him would not

easily be duped by socialist propaganda.

"Life-adjustment" courses in the high schools are, on the other hand, a fecund spawning ground for collectivists. When John Dewey stressed "learning by doing," he was acting as a traditional American pragmatist. But Deweyan "experimentalism" has, over the past three decades, recoiled upon itself. The typical modern Dewey "experimenter" seeks the approbation of his "group"; he "learns to do" in company, as part of a team. "Group dynamics" is the word for it. By stressing the "social" aspects of "learning by doing," the modern disciple of Dewey usually ends by endorsing the tyranny of the crowd. Thus what began as an exaltation of individual experimental "action" ends, paradoxically, in killing the urge to do new things in unconventional ways. The "group" might not like it.

Mr. Koerner's contributors have not dealt in controversial matters that bear on the conflict of social and economic philosophies. The Council for Basic Education, which sponsors this book, is, after all, a socially non-partisan body. But the American tradition was created by men who had had a "basic" education — and that tradition should benefit immeasurably

from a recrudescence of an educational philosophy that stresses clarity in thinking above all. ◆

► FREEDOM AND FEDERALISM

By Felix Morley. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. Xii-274 pp. \$5.00.

MR. MORLEY means to use his terms with precision, and this precision starts with his title. When he says "federalism," he is referring in no way to our misnamed federal government (we ought to call it the central or national government), but to a structure by which a group of more or less independent units can be brought together in a single political system. This structure may differ in different manifestations but is always characterized by a distribution of power between the central government and the participating units, by a written constitution "subject to amendment by some prescribed process," and by a supreme court "empowered to decide just where the division of sovereignty lies in any contested case, at any particular time."

An "outstanding asset of the federal form of government" is its flexibility. "By the device of keeping certain governmental powers under strictly local control, people with great diversities may be en-

couraged to unite under one flag." Examples of federations promoted by this flexibility are the Swiss Confederation, joining together German-speaking, French-speaking, and Italian-speaking cantons; Canada, unifying communities "distinctively English and French in their linguistic, religious and cultural backgrounds"; and the German Empire from 1871 to 1918, integrating separate monarchies.

The concept of federalism continues to live, is indeed taking on fresh life. A chapter is entitled "The Vitality of Federalism," and in this many illustrations are given — including the German Federal Republic, the Federation of Malaya, the recently organized Federation of the West Indies. The "resurgent vitality of federalism . . . is encouraging to all who look for something better than 'cold war' ad infinitum. For through the gradual formation of perhaps a dozen great federations, of which the United States and Russia [Russia not now in reality federal] would certainly be two, those polarized enemies would be disengaged, a balance of power would be re-established, the backward nations might look forward to some such blossoming as came to our own backward States when they federated, and above all a better basis of less recriminatory

international cooperation might well be laid."

I have followed through, sketchily, the second part of the title *Freedom and Federalism*. What relation does Mr. Morley find between the two concepts named? Roughly, this might be summed up in terms of a direct proportion: the less federalism, the less freedom. What Mr. Morley fears is undue concentration of power, especially perhaps when, as he thinks is now the case, Rousseau's concept of a *volonté générale*, so recognized or not, is rife, and encourages the executive of a central government to identify with the "general will" his own ideas and predilections.

The title of the volume, and its purpose (to which I shall come later), warrant, I think, the prominence I have given the general idea of federalism; but what lingers in the mind as the core of the essay is the account of federalism in the United States: its original nature, involving an extension of "the doctrine of the separation of powers a great deal farther than is required by the mere structure of federalism"; its great deterioration in the direction of an all-powerful central government; facts and forces which show its persistence in the national consciousness or counter its downward motion; and its present prospects.

What in all this most engages

the attention is the series of steps — a sort of Rake's Progress — by which the staunch federalism of George Washington and even Abraham Lincoln becomes the *quasi* national socialism of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Successive chapter titles hint the central story: "The Fourteenth Amendment," "Commerce and Nationalization," "Democracy and Empire," "Nationalization Through Foreign Policy," "New Deal Democracy," "The Service State." Some readers may be especially struck, as I was, by the immense importance attaching to the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment, which gave Congress "for the first time power to enforce, in all the States, rights as to which it had previously possessed no power to legislate."

Prospects for American Federal System

What is to be the future of our American federal system? It hangs in the balance. "There is a *prima facie* case for thinking that . . . [it] will continue to serve for a future now unusually unpredictable. . . . At least equally possible is the alternative that federal theory will be discarded, even without war, by the voluntary actions of Americans themselves, in favor of that highly centralized, managerial form of government which to many now seems demanded by the complexities of modern civilization."

As to what Mr. Morley himself desires, there is no doubt, objective as he has tried to make his discussion; he is *for* federalism, and the freedom which it promotes. Indeed, his chief concern in this book (as I interpret him) is to voice a warning that as governments the world over become more concentrated (a development he expects) liberty is endangered, and to suggest that the general adoption of federalism is its best protection.

The essay is a labor of patriotism — and, scarcely less, a labor of piety. The second aspect becomes evident in the last chapter, where good government is bound up with religious faith. A distinction is made between freedom and liberty. "Liberty has a religious association which freedom lacks." "Liberty is depicted by these definitions ['Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty']; the service of God is 'perfect freedom'] as earthly freedom perfected by faith in values not of this earth." With all due respect to the high purpose of the author in making it, I confess this distinction appears to me an impossible one to establish in the mind of the body politic, and therefore to be of little general value. Let us simplify, rather than unnecessarily complicate, our political vocabulary. The dictionary, says Mr. Morley, seems

to sanction the interchangeable use of the two terms: I should be inclined to maintain that when one is concerned with the meanings of words, and especially of words that are to have wide public significance, one does well, first of all, to make the incorruptible dictionary one's ally.

I could pick a gentle quarrel with Mr. Morley on other counts too.

His idea — he may be bending over backwards a little — that constitutional interpretation “must take cognizance of changing circumstance,” and, again, that “in this [the integration] case the Supreme Court had to interpret wording of 1868 in the light of conditions in 1954,” appears to me radically and gravely in error. A federal constitution, including its amendments, should be applied in the sense it was meant to have by those who wrote and adopted it — so far as this may be ascertained; if changing circumstance renders a provision no longer acceptable, the only defensible remedy lies, not in imposing on this a new meaning, but in altering it by the method prescribed.

His idea that there is a causal relation between climatic and geophysical conditions on the one hand, and political views and requirements on the other, seems to me to be largely an illusion, and to hark

back to certain naturalistic fallacies which have been more characteristic of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries — in the Occident at least — than of the twentieth. I will quote one (to my mind) astonishing sentence. “Even identical twins,” says Mr. Morley, “will develop very different political outlooks if one lives in a well-watered area, the other on land which requires constant irrigation.”

His characterization of Franklin D. Roosevelt as “this great American President” — when one considers his candid account of the New Deal era — is hard to understand. A single item in this account will go far to explain my difficulty. The speech in which the Four Freedoms were announced, Mr. Morley declares, is “an excellent illustration of the subtle manner in which — with the aid of war psychology — this great American President waged his uphill fight.” He describes the Four Freedoms — and this description, let me say, admirably, contains the first correct assessment of the formula I have seen or heard — as an “inharmonious quartette,” and a “monstrosity” produced by a “clever amalgamation of contradictory concepts”: note well that word “clever.” Can anyone imagine a great American President — a Washington, a Lincoln — descending to such intellectually

puerile and morally offensive antics as are here alleged?

But enough of reservation. *Freedom and Federalism* can be recommended to anyone interested in its subject — and what citizen is not, or should not be? — and especially the parts of it which deal with the merits and prospects of federalism and with the history of the decline of federalism in the United States. If a reader thinks he wants a highly centralized government, as against a federal system, he will find matter here which he would do well to consider; if he is already on the side of federalism, he will find here support for his convictions — and who of us does not take pleasure in seeing his own positions, on whatever field of conflict, fortified or defended?

FREDERICK A. MANCHESTER

► POWER AND MORALITY

By Pitirim Sorokin and Walter Lunden. Boston: Porter Sargent. 206 pp. \$3.50.

THE PRINCE, declared Machiavelli, must be lion and fox — a lion to defend himself against wolves, a fox to recognize traps. To hold power the prince simply could not afford to be all virtue and no sin, or, in the Machiavellian phrase, “a prince who wishes to maintain the State is often forced to do evil.”

The Machiavellian theme of the general incompatibility of political power and ethical principle gets provocative treatment at the hands of the eminent sociologists, Professors Pitirim Sorokin of Harvard and Walter Lunden of Iowa State, in their book, *Power and Morality*. The Sorokin-Lunden analysis of history from the premise that “power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely” is brilliant and persuasive. But the authors’ follow-up thesis that the nations of the world should throw away their destructive weapons and embrace a new kind of world government based on scientific knowledge and creative love, well, is not this latter viewpoint of human nature quite inconsistent with the former?

Nonetheless, the first half of the book, which breaks down history into noble declarations and ignoble policies, is a gem. Politics from Genghis Khan of Cathay to Boss Frank Hague of Jersey City is indeed a sorry game, almost regardless of who is playing it. The game is, among other things, a word game. History records millions of innocents who were murdered in massacres, “crusades,” “purges,” “liquidations,” “holy wars,” “restorations of order” always solemnly declared “for the Good of the Country,” “Nationalism,” “Purity

vious subjugation and exploitation; inspired them with the dignity of responsible members of the new society; alleviated the poverty and misery of vast downtrodden masses; opened to all capable citizens highways to the highest educational and social positions . . . [etc., etc.]”

One can sympathize with the desire of the authors for a new order with the awesome prospect of an atomic holocaust close by. One can hail their call for crusaders of love as opposed to crusaders of conquest. We need men of the mark of Gandhi, Vinoba Bhave, L'Abbé Pierre, and Albert Schweitzer to turn the love of power into the power of love. With all this, Professors Sorokin and Lunden score some points; and their call for total universal disarmament — if under continuous inspection — makes sense.

But their faith in a “noble civilization” makes one wonder. Will human nature be uplifted by the absence of hydrogen weapons? Can politics be purified by scientific knowledge and by saints and sages? Could the Soviet Union be trusted to use what would be the world's largest police force to but maintain law and order within their own borders? And does not the Sorokin-Lunden documentation of the well-nigh inevitable corruption of power, as detailed in the first half of their book, pre-

clude purification based upon the mere banning of overt weapons? For as the authors themselves ask: “Who shall guard the Guardians?” Who indeed?

WILLIAM H. PETERSON

► ON PLANNING THE EARTH

By Geoffrey Dobbs, Liverpool 2, England: K.R.P. Publications, Ltd. (7, Victoria Street), 96 pp. 98¢.

GOOD WRITING combines with profound thinking in this book by Geoffrey Dobbs, Senior Lecturer in Forest Botany at the University College of North Wales. *On Planning the Earth* is a sweeping, brilliantly generalised attack on large-scale land planning, hydroelectric schemes, and other major reconstructions of the earth's surface.

Dr. Dobbs has a profound sense of Christian values as they apply to things of the earth and to worldly powers expressed in temporal government. He analyzes the “planning” movement as a whole as “the major manipulation of natural resources in the interests of centralized power,” using for his primary example the Tennessee Valley Authority, held up by planners in Great Britain as an example to be followed. Dr. Dobbs is professionally equipped to deal with the consequences of the TVA in the physical area, but he is

of Race," "God," and all sorts of justifying mottoes and catchwords aimed at masking the ugly power motives of the rulers.

And no matter what era you pick in ancient, medieval, or modern history, the pattern of power and corruption is virtually inescapable over the long run. Consider the Byzantine Empire. In Constantinople no sovereign was safe. Of the 107 sovereigns that occupied the throne between 395 A.D. and 1453 A.D., only 34 died in their beds. The rest either abdicated — mostly unwillingly — or died violently by poison, smothering, stabbing, mutilation, or strangulation. Some 65 separate revolutions took place during the 1,058 years of Byzantium. Grim stories abound. The devout Irene had her son Constantine VI blinded in the very room in which he was born. Leo V, the Armenian, was assassinated in 820 A.D. — in St. Stephen's chapel. Theophano had her husband murdered in the Sacred Palace and his severed head displayed to the soldiers.

Yet the point of all the documented violence is the double standard that pervades history and today's society. For whether history is judging Theophano of Byzantium, Catherine the Great of Russia, or Elizabeth I of England, the overriding excuse for violence — then and now — is that beautiful

catch-all, *raison d'etat* ("reason of state"). All too often, the State can do no wrong — the king is above reproach (and nowadays substitute "the people" for "the king"). The petty criminal is by and large caught, tried, and punished. Not so with the criminality of rulers. If anything, history books not only whitewash the criminal acts of the State but parade them as brilliant strokes of statecraft. One is reminded of the old English rhyme:

The law locks up both man and woman
Who steals the goose from off the common,
But lets the greater felon loose,
Who steals the common from the goose.

A New Order?

Where Professors Sorokin and Lunden go off the deep end is in the second half of their book. After their incisive and thoroughly provocative first half, they go sailing off on a pink cloud of "a new order." It becomes a confusing discussion, filled with dubious economics and facts. Consider this bit about Red Russia (p. 150):

"Side by side with inhuman regimentation and enslavement of millions of their citizens, the Soviet and similar regimes have liberated these millions from many forms of pre-

equally competent when dealing with the social, political, and religious side effects.

Dr. Dobbs raises questions about the long range effects of the TVA on soil erosion, for example, which cannot be ignored. More good agricultural land is flooded by the TVA than is reclaimed by irrigation, and the damage done to the productive elements of the earth's surface is nature's reply to the promises of the planners.

If the TVA is really an anti-conservation project, despite claims to the contrary, the real incentive for such land planning and water collection schemes must be sought elsewhere. Perhaps the incentive is political. Planning implies control, and control over the world is an end admirably served by the projects for which the TVA is an admitted model. The powers given to the Authority by Congress are such that the "spread of control from water to almost everything else makes an instructive study of the totalitarian nature of planning."

"It has been noted," Dr. Dobbs writes, "that the rain falls upon the just and the unjust, but such an arrangement is not regarded as fair by our Planners, who would prefer that the rain should be gathered into one place, and then 'delegated' under strict control

through the sluices to the people in strict proportion to the 'justice' of their claim, as determined by an impartial Committee."

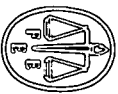
The importance of the control of water in totalitarian planning is not new. The first centralized state arose on the banks of the Nile on a basis of water control. It is symbolized by the vast slave-built pyramid tombs of its rulers. For the People of God it typified the slavery from which they fled in search of the Promised Land where freedom was supported by the "former rains and the latter rains" that could not be apportioned through irrigation systems.

The ultimate evil of centralized planning is that it is "the stealing of choices." The government committee, by depriving people of the opportunity of making their own choices, thereby reduces them to slavery. "The effect . . . of making other people's choices instead of one's own, is to destroy the personality. It is suicidism — suicide of the self (soul); perhaps the only way in which the soul of man can be destroyed."

It is not merely freedom that is at stake; not even this mortal life. It is the soul of man. This is the prize for which Hell has contended from Paradise on, and for which the Son of God suffered even death at the hands of a world government.

T. ROBERT INGRAM

THIS Freeman



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LET US BE DIVERTED by none of these sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored — contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between right and wrong; vain as the search for a man who should be neither a living nor a dead man.

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