THE
Freeman

JULY 1955 50¢

Collectivism Rebaptized
Frank S. Meyer

Conceived in Liberty
William Henry Chamberlin

Education of King Jerk
Edward A. Tenney

Chrysler Windsor 4-Door Sedan

THE *FORWARD* LOOK

It's America's newest love affair

Last November, when the 1955 Chrysler Corporation cars were introduced, it was immediately clear that America liked THE FORWARD LOOK.

Now, after six months, it is fair to say America *loves* THE FORWARD LOOK. People who own these cars say they're the finest they've ever driven.

America's motorists, long aware of the mechanical excellence of Chrysler Corporation cars, are finding even more special values in THE FORWARD LOOK than they might have expected. No cars were ever so responsive, so effortless to drive, so sure to handle.

The *full-time* Power Steering affords far greater control and ease than part-time devices of other makes. The finest V-8 engines and 6's made provide more efficient power. Exclusive *PowerFlite* provides the best combination of smoothness and acceleration of any automatic transmission. The modern positioning of the drive selector on the dash makes for easier, surer operation.

Perhaps even more compelling is the *beauty* of THE FORWARD LOOK—a long, low, wholly contemporary style that suggests motion even when the car is standing still!

To inspect and to drive the cars of THE FORWARD LOOK is to establish a new sense of value of today's motor cars. THE FORWARD LOOK has *caught on*. This truly is the year to change to a Chrysler Corporation car!

CHRYSLER CORPORATION

PLYMOUTH • DODGE • DE SOTO • CHRYSLER • IMPERIAL

See Chrysler Corporation's great TV shows, "Shower of Stars" and "Climax!" Thursday evenings, CBS-TV Network

All-New Tubeless Super-Cushions give you

MORE MILES OF WEAR!

We put conventional tires and tubes and new Goodyear Tubeless DeLuxe Super-Cushions through murderous 100 m.p.h. speed runs on Daytona Beach. When each of the cars stopped, we tested the tire temperature: 228 degrees for the tires and tubes—only 199 degrees for the Goodyear Tubeless DeLuxe Super-Cushions—proof that Tubeless Super-Cushions run cooler, even at high speeds, and build up less mileage-robbing heat.

Goodyear's exclusive 3-T Cord and Grip-Seal construction make possible this ultra-modern tubeless tire!

You're miles ahead with the new Tubeless Super-Cushion. This great new tire is lighter, runs cooler, wears longer. And it fits your present wheels.

Underneath this advanced tread is the stoutest heart on the highway—3-T Cord. In its exclusive 3-T process, Goodyear triple tempers tough cord sinews and integrates them with improved rubber compounds under Tension, Temperature and Time to produce the most durable tubeless tire body made!

It gives greater protection against blowouts, too! Any tire may blow out if it is severely cut or damaged. But naturally the tire with the strongest cord offers the greatest protection against cuts and bruises. 3-T Cord is so tough that breaks grow slowly—you get a gradual, harmless loss of air. Goodyear, Akron 16, Ohio.

MORE PEOPLE RIDE ON GOODYEAR TIRES THAN ON ANY OTHER KIND!

TUBELESS DELUXE SUPER-CUSHION

GOODYEAR TIRES

by GOODYEAR

Look for this sign; there's a Goodyear dealer near you.

Super-Cushion, T. M.—The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company, Akron, Ohio

THE Freeman

A Monthly For Libertarians

Editor — FRANK CHODOROV
Managing Editor — MABEL WOOD
Business Manager — IVAN R. BIERLY

Contents

JULY 1955 VOL. 5, NO. 13

Editorials

On Stockpiling Hamburgers 546
Conservatives Conserve 547
The Point of Diminishing Returns 547
In One Year 548
Sucker States 549
Beware of the "Summit" 549
Notes on the News 549

Articles

Conceived in Liberty .....WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN 550
The Tale of a Shirt .....W. M. CURTISS 554
Collectivism Rebaptized .....FRANK S. MEYER 559
Education of King Jerk .....EDWARD A. TENNEY 563
The World's Greatest Suckers .....GEORGE W. PRICE 565
To Shakespeare and the Bible.....HOLMES ALEXANDER 567
Ted Williams' Take-Home Pay..... 569
When the Government Is Boss .....GEORGE WINDER 570

Books

A Reviewer's Notebook.....JOHN CHAMBERLAIN 572
Second Defense Line .....HUBERT MARTIN 574
New Light on Pétain.....FELIX WITTMER 574
Calm Optimism .....F. A. HARPER 575
Essay in Confusion .....WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR. 576
From Plato to Dewey .....THOMAS J. SHELLY 576
T. R. at Home .....ROBERT PHELPS 577
Land of the Great Lie.....SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE 578
Free Market Miracle .....HELMUT SCHOECK 578
Man Belittled .....REV. EDMUND A. OPITZ 579
The Pasadena Story .....C. O. STEELE 579
Well Worth Reading..... 580

Washington, D. C......FRANK C. HANIGHEN 557

Readers Also Write..... 544

The FREEMAN is published monthly at Orange, Conn., by The Irvington Press, Inc., Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y. Entered as second class matter at the Post Office at Orange, Conn.

RATES: Fifty cents a copy; five dollars a year; nine dollars for two years.

SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE: Send subscription orders, correspondence and instructions for change of address to:

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

CHANGE OF ADDRESS: Send old address (exactly as printed on wrapper of your copy) and new address, with zone number, if any.

EDITORIAL AND GENERAL OFFICES: Address the FREEMAN, Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y. The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Manuscripts must be typed double-spaced. Articles signed with a name or initials do not necessarily represent the opinion of the editors.

Printed in U.S.A. by Wilson H. Lee Co., Orange, Conn.

For the Fourth

Suppose the signers of the Declaration had been "practical" men. Suppose they had made King George III a "sensible" proposition, something like this: If you will call off all your petty repressive measures, all your nasty little taxes, and give the thirteen colonies representation in Parliament, we will allow you to tax our incomes "from whatever source derived." (Which is the wording of our Sixteenth Amendment.) Would His Royal Highness have accepted? Would there have been a Revolution? An Independence Day? Would WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN have written his article "Conceived in Liberty" for this issue of the FREEMAN?

Mr. Chamberlin is now on the high seas in quest of ideas. Among the countries he will visit this summer will be Austria and Yugoslavia. The readers of the FREEMAN can therefore look for penetrating analyses of the course of independence in the one country and the progress of communism in the other.

The theme of "Collectivism Rebaptized" will be developed into a book, at the suggestion of a publisher. This will probably be the first time the strategy of the collectivists—of distorting the meaning of words that have achieved prestige—will be met head-on before the sabotage of language has been accomplished. We predict that "conservatism" will not go the way of such established words as liberalism, freedom, democracy. . . . Recently, the Harvard Conservative Club staged a "debate" between Dr. Russell Kirk and Dr. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. In the question and answer period, a student voiced this protest: "I came here to hear a debate between a conservative and a liberal, and all I got was an argument between a conservative liberal and a liberal liberal."

Quite properly, we look upon acts of government as invasions of freedom. But freedom, in the final analysis, is a spiritual value, residing in the individual and completely impervious to political power. So long as people voluntarily and instinctively recognize a supra-personal and final authority, freedom is not lost; nor is it even impaired if men find wisdom in a Shakespeare rather than in acts of Congress. HOLMES ALEXANDER, a Washington newspaper correspondent, makes this point in "To Shakespeare and the Bible."

Another newcomer to our pages is GEORGE W. PRICE, a young Chicago chemist who dabbles in psychology. "The World's Greatest Suckers," he writes us, is his first published article. EDWARD A. TENNEY is a professor of English at Indiana State Teachers College.

GEORGE WINDER is a journalist and a farmer, residing now in Sussex, England. In New Zealand, his birthplace, he was an active free-trader, and has since contributed free trade and anti-collectivist articles to British journals.

Volume 5 of the FREEMAN will include eighteen numbers and will continue through December 1955. Starting with the January 1956 issue, volumes will conform to the calendar year and include twelve numbers.

THOMPSON BRINGS TV TO GI'S IN MID-OCEAN

First complete "Packaged Station" telecasts big-time programs to servicemen in the Azores

Up goes the TV antenna . . . and GI's stationed in the Azores are all set to watch programs from their own island "packaged station", as complete as your own local station!

GI's put a local TV show on the air from studios of the Azores station. Cost of station installation was about one-fifth that of the usual broadcasting station equipment—so low that the airmen paid for it themselves through their own welfare funds. Design and construction were so simple that it was in full operation less than 2 weeks after arrival in the Azores.

Eight Hundred Miles off the coast of Portugal, the Dage Television Division of Thompson Products has built a *complete* local TV station . . . supplying everything but the actors and commercials!

The development of this "packaged unit" by Thompson-Dage electronic engineers has made it possible for servicemen stationed in remote places to enjoy popular network programs. Live local programs also originate from this unit. It includes TV cameras, projectors, transmitters, antennae, microphones, studio monitors, as well as complete lighting, testing and servicing equipment . . . *the works.*

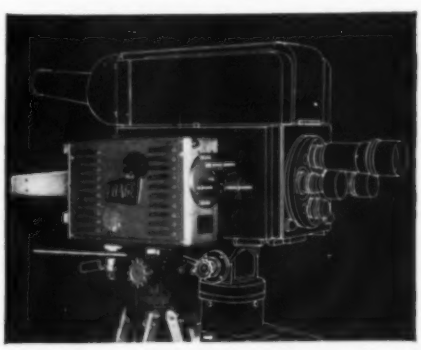
Final training of operating personnel under Thompson supervision is included in this package, now being duplicated at other American military outposts. All personnel and equipment used in the Azores TV station were flown 3,250 miles to the building site where Thompson-Dage engineers supervised the installation.

The field of television electronics is but one of many where Thompson Products engineering and manufacturing skills and facilities are developing amazing new products and improving old ones for such widely-diversified industries as automotive, aviation, light metals, metallurgy, home appliances and many others that have learned you can *count on Thompson!* Thompson Products, Inc., General Offices, Cleveland 17, Ohio.

You can count on

Thompson Products

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



The Heart of the Thompson-Dage Packaged TV Station is this very small Dage TV Camera. It weighs about one-third as much as the average commercial TV camera, and requires about one-third the space. A conventional camera is traced behind the Dage unit for size comparison. The Dage TV Camera is naturally much easier to handle, allowing greater flexibility to get "good shots" without a costly, cumbersome carriage.

Another Thompson-Dage development is this "pint-sized" TV Camera, weighing just 7¼ lbs. It is the smallest, self-contained television camera and operates on a closed circuit. It has unlimited uses in industry . . . to check dangerous operations, guard plant gates and instruct trainees. In stores it helps spot shoplifters, in homes it keeps an eye on nursery or sickroom, in hospitals it shows operation "close-up" to medical students.

Readers also write

Customers Can Strike

"Your Job: Where Does It Come From" (April) should be MUST reading for every jobholder. . . . Our labor leaders and pro-labor politicians should begin to realize that when wages and benefits force the cost of the product too high, customers go on strike.

Lebanon, Pa. RUTH MONROE

Immigration

An article in the May FREEMAN asks "What would you call Mr. Hoiles?" I would call him a friend who would undoubtedly profit from a bit of neighborly counsel. . . .

Mr. Hoiles believes in freedom no more than I do, but I do not join those who advocate removal of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act. There is a time when that restriction on free and unlimited immigration might be removed, but that time is not now when America is operating under a political philosophy which permits, and even demands, that government reach into the pockets of those who display ability to support all those citizens who display need. Freedom in relation to immigration at the present time would bring millions to our shores with their hands outstretched, and their numbers, and needs, would destroy what freedom still remains in America. . . .

Hudson, N.Y. HOWARD L. FREEMAN

Federal Aid to Education

. . . Exponents of federal educational subsidy maintain that the central government can thus serve the general welfare better than the individual states. But the federal government gets its money from the people and spends much of it for the machinery of administration, something with which the states are already supplied in the case of education. If the taxpayer can support federal grants, he can pay for state education.

Advocates of federal aid say their purpose is to help less prosperous states, thus equalizing educational opportunities for all American children. Dr. James B. Conant has gone one step farther. He has publicly decried the continued existence of private schools, on the grounds that independent institutions keep all children from getting the same kind of education. Perhaps these will be the strings attached to "equalizing" federal aid—abolition of all schools except federally-controlled indoctrination centers.

In fact, federal aid means federal control. American farmers are assured a "fair" price for their produce, but they are told by the Washington bureaucrats in qualitative and quantitative terms just what crops to plant. If federal money pays for teachers, federal authority will control their selection. The same applies to books and educational facilities.

Moreover, federal aid is unnecessary. A report prepared by a subcommittee of President Eisenhower's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations includes the following statement: "We have been unable to find a state which cannot afford to make more money available to its schools or which is economically unable to support an adequate school system." The report went on to assert that federal money "is not necessary."

Federal debt is nearly 275 billion dollars; the combined indebtedness of all state and local governments in all forty-eight states is about 18 billion. Which is in better financial condition to pay for a school system?

The need of our schools is great, but in our anxiety to find a source of funds we must not fall into the trap of nationalizing education.

Deerfield, Mass. E. WARDWELL STONE

Misses Humor

. . . Ever since the management changed I have missed a great deal the occasional flashes of humor and tongue-in-cheek articles . . . although I do detect in recent issues some return to this attitude in places.

To my mind the best article you published in some time was the one by Max Eastman on modern art (May 3, 1954). It was good not only because it wrote lucidly and delightfully about the subject, but also because it was the sort of article one could give without apology to one's "liberal" friends. It is no use giving the latter an article that resembles an economic tract—and I must admit that I am not too enthusiastic about those myself. . . .

On all counts, more power to you. I sincerely hope you can build the magazine into a real and potent voice in cultural as well as political activities.

Bethesda, Md. JOAN R. CLARK

Uphill Fight

I haven't lost faith in America, but sometimes I think it's an uphill fight.

I'm glad to subscribe to the FREEMAN and to pass on my copy at our school (a private school). Maybe, just maybe, there are enough Americans left who together can put this great country of ours back on its original standards.

Milwaukee, Wis. MARY CECI

It seems to me . . .

by Philip M. McKenna

President, Kennametal Inc., Latrobe, Pa.

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

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

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

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

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

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

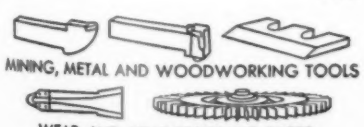
It seems to me that the people who have supplied gold to our Government should have the right to get it back at a standard rate when they want it. A Gold Coin Standard will re-establish that right. Such a standard will also re-establish a standard of measurement for business, for industry and for finance.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

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

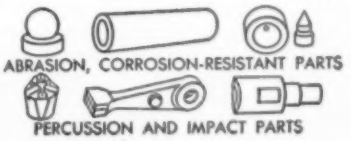
*Kennametal is the registered trademark of a series of hard carbide alloys of tungsten, tungsten-titanium and tantalum, for tooling in the metal-working, mining and woodworking industries and for wear parts in machines and process equipment used in practically every industry.

One of a series of advertisements in the public interest.

7256



INDUSTRY AND **KENNAMETAL** ...Partners in Progress



THE Freeman

JULY 1955

On Stockpiling Hamburgers

IT WAS all so excruciatingly funny. Somebody dug up from a Hoover Commission report the statistic that the Navy had stockpiled enough canned hamburgers to supply its estimated needs for sixty years. The newspaper wits grabbed on the item and worked it over. A filip was added by the subsequent discovery that the Navy had taken similar forethought in the matter of the necessary condiment, catsup, at the rate of one gallon for each pound of hamburger in the larder.

If that kind of "news" makes good copy, the editors would do well to assign a research worker to any department of government; he would come up with plenty of laughs. He would learn, for instance, that one department had a century's supply of paper clips on hand, that another had a warehouse full of carbon paper. The history of the United States Post Office would furnish the gag writers with material enough for a full edition of any newspaper.

The real laugh is on the editors themselves. For the editions that told the hamburger story also ran serious editorials on the government's mishandling of the polio vaccine. It did not occur to the pundits that if the government could not run a hamburger stand efficiently, it certainly could not be trusted with so big an undertaking as medicine. The expectation of bureaucratic efficiency in any field is really funny, if one's sense of humor goes that far. For efficiency in government is in itself incongruous.

Efficiency is a standard of performance. It is arrived at by comparison only. Thus, the clipper ship was the most efficient thing on the high seas until the steamship came along; and an efficient worker is one who, compared with the performance of other workers, achieves the desired result with less effort, more expeditiously, more neatly.

Where the performer has no competition, efficiency is a meaningless term. He sets his standard of performance to suit his own convenience. That is the purpose of monopoly. The monopolist, having control of supply, fixes his output by the star of his net profit; if he increases his output he will dispose of it only by lowering his price, and that may not render him the same net. If he raises his price, his sales may drop to a point where his net will be reduced. His profit and loss statement is the measure of his performance.

A private monopoly, however, is never completely free of competition. There is always the possibility of buyers turning to a substitute, as when the high price of coffee made many tea drinkers. Then there is the constant threat of technological competition; the railroad was forced off its high perch by the advent of air and motor transportation. For such reasons, the private monopolist is under some pressure to keep a weather eye on his efficiency.

But a government is monopolistic in composition—you cannot have two governments in the same area—and all its operations are free of competition. It begins with a monopoly of coercion, which it extends to any operation it may take under its wing. It cannot work otherwise. In the early days of the Post Office Department there was some competition in the business, and since the government could not meet the standard set by the private operators it outlawed them. Right now there is ado about the comparative efficiency of private power plants and those run by the government; when the government forces private plants out of the field, as it must if it continues to operate its own, the question of efficiency will be purely academic. The consumers must take whatever service the government offers (you cannot take your mail to a competing post office), and pay for it with compulsory taxes.

Why, then, talk about efficiency in government? There is no basis for comparison, which efficiency implies. It is interesting to note that the commissars of the U.S.S.R. speak of the efficiency of their socialistic enterprises in terms of comparative performances in countries where competition obtains. How else would they be able to set standards for themselves?

And we, on our part, criticize the post office only because we can compare its socialistic service with that of the private telephone or telegraph companies. But, if our government became the complete monopolist, as it is in the U.S.S.R., any judgment of its performance would be suspended in mid-air. In fact, we would not see the humor in the stockpiling of hamburgers, for that kind of thing would be the regular order—as it is now in every department of government.

Addendum:

A few days after the hamburger story appeared in the newspapers, the *New York Times* reported that "the Army has been unable to find suppliers of all the beef it wants in the future." Apparently, the efficient Navy had raided the market.

Conservatives Conserve

THE VICTORY of the Conservative Party in the recent British elections has encouraged hopes similar to those that were entertained in this country when Eisenhower was elected in 1952. Ferhaps, after all, the trend toward socialism has been stopped. Perhaps public opinion has turned from big government and toward freedom. Perhaps the lesson of the ages has been relearned, that the good society is one in which the inherent rights of the individual are respected, and that henceforth the mass mind will cease to seek heaven on earth by way of political legerdemain.

It is good to hope, but it is better to face the realities, so as to avoid the despondency that follows from frustrated expectations. The exuberance of anticipation which, in certain circles, sprang from the Republican victory has in two years subsided into dull disappointment; we still have with us the same high taxes, the same political profligacy, the same interventions in our private lives that characterized the regime to which the GOP succeeded. In short, the trend toward socialism has not been stopped and certainly has not been reversed; the best that can be said is that its velocity has been somewhat retarded.

What reason is there to expect a different result from the return of the Conservative Party to power? In the pre-election campaign its orators did not even promise an abolition of the interventionist measures which the party had inherited from the avowed Socialists. Why? Simply because any intimation of an intention to free the British from their fetters would have cost them the election. Years of inurement to paternalism have robbed the British of that sense of spiritual self-reliance that is the keystone of freedom.

So the Conservative Party can be depended upon to conserve what they found: socialism. But that has been its historic role—to conserve the status quo. It has always opposed change. In the nineteenth century, the Conservatives bitterly fought any modification of the protectionist system even in the face of a national famine; they upheld an antiquated election system; they supported the prerogatives of the House of Lords, and in general challenged change. The only policy the Conservatives ever had was to hold on to whatever is—and in holding on to the going socialistic order, they are acting in character.

In this country there is a nascent movement among Socialists—that is, New Dealers and self-styled liberals—to appropriate the Conservative label. (See "Collectivism Rebaptized," by Frank Meyer, page 559 of this issue). There is some logic in their claim to the name. Socialism being the order of the day, both in mass thought and in public affairs, those who aim to keep it going are in fact Conservatives. The libertarians, those who would kick socialism out of our lives, are really the radicals.

The libertarians like to describe themselves as conservatives because they aim to conserve certain values. But even in this they are radicals, for the values they seek to conserve are rooted in basic principles, and a radical is one who always goes to the root of things. It is the function of radicals, like the Hebrew Prophets, to stress the eternal verities as against makeshift devices, and to warn the mass mind of the consequences of trying to circumvent natural law. No political party is equipped for that job.

The Point of Diminishing Returns

SUPPOSE YOU were the Ford representative in the recent negotiations with the union. What would your guiding star be? Would not the immediate circumstances, rather than a consideration of long-term effects, determine your judgment?

Among these circumstances, the fact that your company has a backlog of orders would loom big. If the Ford plant is closed by the promised strike, the orders will be cancelled, and more than the loss of profits on the unconsummated sales is involved.

First there is the loss of capital. Maintenance of a nonoperating plant is costly. The managerial staff which was built up at great expense over a period of time, and which cannot be replaced at a moment's notice, must be retained against the time when operations will be resumed; that is an outlay which cannot be recouped. Also, there is the matter of contractual advertising obligations; this, too, will become a lost investment in the event of a strike.

Perhaps an even greater consideration in your mind is the possibility of permanent loss of trade. For strategic reasons, the union leaders will not call a strike on your competitors while your plant is shut down. The public, in need of cars, will turn to these other makes, find out that there is not much difference between them and Ford cars, and, having formed the habit, will continue to patronize your competitors. Ford will have lost that valuable intangible called "good will."

All in all, you cannot afford a strike—and the union leaders are counting on that fact. So you consider their demands. As an economist, you may realize that in the long run these are impossible. For instance, you know that wages come from production—nowhere else—and that the union's demand that workers be paid when they are not producing is sheer lunacy. What they are demanding is that you set aside a fund, taken from current production, to be distributed among workers when they are not producing.

But where is this fund to come from? From the cars currently sold and paid for. That means that the price of these cars must be increased, and the *only* question in your mind is, will the car-buying public (which includes wage earners in the Ford plant) absorb the increase? You are concerned with what economists call the "point of diminishing returns."

It has happened that unioneers have pushed their demands beyond this "point of diminishing returns." Five years ago, the *New York Sun*, after a century of continuous operation, sold out to the *New York World-Telegram*. On the front page of its very last edition, the *Sun* ran an editorial, signed by its publisher, saying that the demands of the union had forced it to discontinue. It was no longer possible, the editorial asserted, for a newspaper to operate in New York with only 30,000 circulation; advertisers will not pay more for space, and readers will not pay more than a nickel per copy. But the main cost of production, labor, had been pushed beyond the point where revenue would meet costs.

When the *Sun* went out of existence, the number of jobs available for newspapermen in New York diminished. You cannot have two city editors on one newspaper, and two reporters of a baseball game is one too many; and what can a newspaper do with an extra mechanical staff? The "point of diminishing returns" had been reached, and a number of workers were out of jobs. They had to look for wages in some other field.

Incidentally, the *World-Telegram* itself was a consolidation of three other papers, two of which had gone out of existence: the *Telegram* and a morning edition of the *New York World*. And, come to think of it, when New York had half the population and newspapers sold at one cent each, there were at least twice the number of newspapers that now appear on the stands. The "point of diminishing returns" interred many of the missing mastheads. The last casualty came this year, when the *Brooklyn Eagle*, also a hundred years old, died in a strike. What happened to all those fine newspapermen, and their wages?

And so, as negotiator for the Ford plant, you weigh the demands of the unioneers against the "point of diminishing returns" in the automobile business. What is it? Time will tell.

In One Year

IT'S TIME to take stock. A year ago this month the FREEMAN, a fortnightly, was acquired by the Irvington Press, Inc., turned into a monthly, and I was invited to be the editor. The customary thing to do in the circumstances is to present a progress report.

Statistically, for what it is worth, we can paint a pleasant picture. The circulation of the FREEMAN, though still slightly below the mark we had set for the first year, is 65 per cent above what we inherited. This may be due to our promotional efforts, but a good part of the increase can be credited to the efforts of our readers to interest their friends in the publication. This cooperation, for which we are deeply grateful, indicates that we have made progress editorially. This needs some explanation.

A journal of opinion is preeminently a readers' publication. Its prime purpose is to give expression, in a general way, to a philosophy of public affairs to which they hold. Though the readers of the FREEMAN may not always agree with the position taken by a writer, or the editor, on some specific issue, it is not to be expected that they would read the publication unless they accepted its basic premises: that a government of narrowly limited powers is best for society, that a free economy furthers man's pursuit of happiness. A Socialist would find the FREEMAN quite uninteresting, if not revolting.

If this should be interpreted as a policy of "talking to ourselves," our answer would be that there is no known way of converting a confirmed collectivist to libertarianism. The best that logic and precept can do is to catch the undecided and to help those who confess their confusion; and, if truth were known, we can catch them only if they had a natural inclination toward freedom in the first place. At any rate, the "ourselves" for whom the FREEMAN is published is a much larger host than our present readership; we estimate that at least 100,000 Americans would welcome the publication if they knew about it. Telling them about it is a job in which our readers can be of great help.

Finally, a personal note. I am grateful to the necessarily underpaid contributors who have made the FREEMAN what it is. May they continue to write better and better articles, that I may shine in their reflected glory.

Sucker States

WHEN THE Sixteenth (income-tax) Amendment was ratified by the state governments, the compelling idea was that the "rich" states should support the "poor" ones. In the early years of income taxation, 41 states got back in grants-in-aid more than they paid in to the federal government; there were only seven sucker states. In due time the federal "take" was increased, so that now the only "poor" state is the District of Columbia; all the rest contribute more to its upkeep than they get back.

In 1954, the gross Internal Revenue collections came to more than $70 billion; of this, a little more than $4 billion—or about six cents on the dollar—was returned to the states, including checks to individuals.

A movement for the secession of the 48 states from Washington would be in order.

Beware of the "Summit"

ONE THOUGHT suggests another; as when a new romantic novel brought to mind an entirely different kind of book I had read thirty years before.

The novel—*The Twelve Pictures*[1], by Edith Simon—is a new twist of the Nibelungen story, with some of the mythology taken out, of Siegfried and Brunhilde and Kriemhilde and Hagen the One-Eyed, and has nothing to do with political science; just a well-told tale. But somehow as I was reading it I thought of *How Diplomats Make War*[2], by Francis Neilson, which was published after he had resigned his seat in Parliament when World War One broke out.

The title of the Neilson book is quite descriptive of its thesis; that the war was actually framed, in the colloquial sense, in the capitals of Europe, where meetings held for the advertised purpose of "preserving the peace" resulted in understandings that led to, and apparently were intended to lead to, armed conflict. In *The Twelve Pictures*, likewise, the climax is a mass murder that results from a goodwill meeting of kings; antecedent thereto is a sequence of intrigue and double-crossing, all in the diplomatic manner of the times.

The main difference between fifth-century and twentieth-century Big meetings is in protocol; the latter-day "summit" gatherings are far more devious, far more long-winded and far more impersonal in setting up the conditions of conflict. In ancient times, too, kings did not rule out the possibility of doing a little dying on their own account; they did not leave it all to their subjects; they even risked their personal fortunes on the gamble for power.

The two books, one an historical novel, the other an historical record, underline the fact that wars are made at the "summit," and that the popular expectation that the conditions of peace can result from such meetings is fatuous. Take the present international strains which, it is hoped, the proposed Big Four meeting will ameliorate; are they not the consequence of other Big meetings at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam? Were we not inveigled into war at the melodramatic Churchill-Roosevelt meeting in mid-Atlantic? Is it not a recognized fact that the prelude to World War Two was the Versailles Peace Conference? We have no precedent for the assumption that the dove of peace will be hatched at the "summit" sittings in prospect.

We need not go behind the historical returns to prove that such an assumption is unwarranted; to do so would involve us in a discussion of the inadequacy of political power in the arts of peace, and to show that built into government is a propulsion toward war. That's another subject. It is enough to point out here that you and I could not frame a war even if we wanted to; besides, we haven't time for such peccadillos because we are too busy pursuing happiness, which is the business of peace. Wars are always made at the "summit."

1. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.95
2. New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation. $1.00

Notes on the News

Centralized Education: There seem to be as many ways for the federal government to wangle its way into control of education as there are for skinning a cat. The current Congress has before it eighteen bills aimed to provide "aid." They range all the way from giving post-high school scholarships to grants for the study of foreign languages.

* * *

He Who Pays the Piper: The City of Yonkers has been warned by the New York State Education Commissioner that unless it "improves" its public school system, it will lose its state grants to education. Beggars cannot be choosers.

* * *

"Confession" of the Dead: When Krushchev came a-wooing to Belgrade, he began his courtship in characteristic Soviet fashion, with a "confession of guilt." The "crime" of disrupting communistic solidarity, he said, had not been committed by Tito, as the Kremlin had asserted in 1948, but by the traitor Beria. It was a "confession" *in absentia.*

* * *

No Time for Anything Else: In a republic, the first job of a politician is to get elected; the second is to get re-elected.

Conceived in Liberty

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

***There could be no better Fourth of July reading than the Federalist Papers and de Tocqueville's* Democracy in America.**

One hundred and seventy-nine years ago, a short span in the life of a nation, the representatives of the American people, in arms against the British Crown, proclaimed on a new continent a new philosophy of government. After the end of the military struggle for independence this philosophy was set forth in detail, and with rare insight and erudition in the Federalist Papers and finally embodied in the Constitution of the United States.

The Fourth of July could well be an occasion for getting a firm grasp on the principles on which the American Republic was founded. Our educational institutions have not coped adequately with the task of communicating these principles to students. I know from personal experience that it is possible to go through a first-rate preparatory school and an excellent college without being impressed by the sheer thrill of political and intellectual adventure associated with the launching of the United States as an independent nation.

For it was an adventure, about which there were many prophets of gloom and doom on the other side of the Atlantic and some in the newly emancipated colonies themselves. Here were thirteen sparsely populated states, more distant from each other in terms of travel and communication than New York now is from London or Tokyo, starting out as a new nation without institutions which most Europeans then regarded as essential to stability—without a monarchy, an hereditary aristocracy or an established national church.

It was easy to imagine a relapse into anarchy, followed by the emergence of a "strong man" as dictator. But apart from the tragic schism of the Civil War (and slavery and the right of a state to secede from the Union were two issues which the Constitution left unsolved), the United States has enjoyed almost two centuries of ordered freedom, unmarred by plots, internal sedition and successful or unsuccessful *coups d'état*.

The ideal of self-government, first proclaimed for the three million Americans of 1776, scattered along the Atlantic fringe of the country, still works for 160 million Americans who have filled up a vast country. The debt which Americans today owe to the men who framed the institutions of the young Republic, to Washington and Jefferson, Hamilton and Madison, Adams and Jay, is beyond estimation. These men sometimes differed among themselves; but when they differed, it was usually because they emphasized two aspects of a single political truth. The product of their collective wisdom, the United States Constitution, is a mechanism of extraordinarily delicate balance. So far as human wisdom could foresee dangers and provide safeguards, the individual is secured against oppression by the central government, the states are left in possession of all the functions which are not clearly the proper concern of the federal government, and the powers and limitations of the three branches of the federal government are so defined that no one of these branches can dominate the others and become all-powerful.

The Founding Fathers' Forethought

No form of government devised in history was so careful to avoid the dangers of concentrated power and so favorable to letting the citizen go as far and as fast as his individual capacity would carry him, without State coddling, State regulation and State domination, which always go hand in hand. The Founding Fathers were mindful of the admonition voiced by one of the strongest and clearest political thinkers of the Revolution, John Adams:

"The institutions now made in America will not wholly wear out for thousands of years. It is of the last importance, then, that they should begin right. If they set out wrong, they will never be able to return, unless it be by accident, to the right path."

Adams and Jefferson, Madison and Hamilton and many of their colleagues were men of exceptional learning. They were steeped in the Greek and Latin classics, in the history of medieval and modern Europe, in British and French constitutional theory and practice. At the same time they were not cloistered scholars, but men of action, who played leading roles in overturning an old form of government and setting up a new one. As a result of this double capacity, they possessed a panoramic view of the rise and fall of States in the past combined with a clear, intimate knowledge of the special conditions of America.

A coherent body of ideas figures prominently in the philosophy of the founders of the American Republic and may be studied to advantage in the Federalist Papers. These ideas, incidentally, are not only of tremendous historical importance, but

are of the utmost reality and vitality in our own time. For the noble ideal of liberty, the word most often used in the literature of the American Revolution, has been horribly perverted by fanatics and cynically misused by tyrants.

It was not only in Jacobin France that many crimes, as Madame Roland cried on the scaffold, were committed in the name of liberty. As Professor J. L. Talmon brings out in his erudite and stimulating book, *The Rise of Totalitarian Democracy* (Beacon Press) the ideological origins of Soviet communism are not entirely in the writings of Marx and Engels. Robespierre and the French Jacobins, nourished on Rousseau and some of the less known collectivist thinkers of the eighteenth century, worked out a conception of a virtuous elite that was morally entitled to persuade the people—with the aid of the guillotine, and for the people's own good, of course—to hold and express unanimous opinions which would coincide with those of the virtuous elite. This was the Model T version of modern communism, and fascism borrowed something in theory and a good deal in practice from communism.

Against all utopian conceptions, such as Rousseau's "general will," which would lead to an absolute concentration of governmental power, the Founding Fathers set their faces like flint. From study and personal experience they knew what liberty was and what it was not. They knew that a mob or political party operating without opposition could be just as cruel, just as destructive of freedom as an absolute monarch or a military dictator. One of the clearest and profoundest statements of this deep distrust of concentrated State power is that of Madison in Number 47 of *The Federalist*:

"The accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive and judiciary, in the same hands, whether of one, a few or many, and whether hereditary, self-appointed or elective, may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny."

Safeguards against Big Government

Far from deifying the State, the Founding Fathers regarded government as a necessary but dangerous instrument, which required many safeguards against abuse. Although they were accustomed, especially in New England, to the grassroots local democracy of the town meeting, they drew a careful distinction between the terms democracy and republic. Madison states the distinction in Number 14 of *The Federalist*:

"In a democracy the people meet and exercise the government in person; in a republic they assemble and administer it by their representatives and agents. A democracy, consequently, will be confined to a small spot. A republic may be extended over a large region."

It is evident from the tone of *The Federalist* and other political writings of the time that the Founding Fathers were not devotees of unlimited majority rule or of overstrong government. They recognized that minorities and individuals have rights, such as life, liberty and property, which no majority may lawfully take away. It is significant that the Constitution devotes at least as much attention to telling the government what it may not do as to telling it what it may do, and its prohibitions are expressed in plain, unambiguous, uncompromising language:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press."

It is worthwhile to contrast these simple flat assurances with the long-winded resolutions of the United Nations on these subjects, full of escape clauses, weasel words and loopholes for evasion.

The Declaration of Independence takes its stand on "the laws of Nature and of Nature's God"; and belief in natural law and inalienable rights which men possess independently of government and which no government may lawfully deny, withhold or abridge is one of the cornerstones of American liberty.

In the literature of the American Revolution there is no demagogic attempt to set human rights against property rights. In the Federalist Papers and in other publications it is recognized that the right to acquire and own property is a basic and very important human right. As John Adams wrote: "The moment the idea is admitted into society that property is not as sacred as the laws of God, and that there is not a force of law and public justice to protect it, anarchy and tyranny commence."

Here, then, are the foundations of the free society of the American Republic: belief in natural law and inherent, inalienable human rights, intense distrust of any concentration of power in government, a suspicious attitude toward tyranny, whether of monarch or mob, including tyranny of the majority. Insofar as these foundations have been respected, America has prospered and grown great. It is where they have been most eroded and whittled away that some of the clearest danger signals in our national life are flying.

The Young French Visitor

Some of these danger signals were clear as early as the 1830s to the most profound and clear-sighted observer of the young American Republic, Alexis de Tocqueville. His work, *Democracy in America*, is a double masterpiece. It is a most penetrating study of the United States, its political institutions, its psychological traits, at the time of Andrew Jackson's Presidency, and contains some strikingly accurate predictions of the American future. It is also a most searching study of the positive and negative sides of the leveling democ-

racy which was beginning to prevail in the Western world. And it is written in a style that is always lucid and readable and often strikingly brilliant. For understanding the main political and psychological currents in the American history, de Tocqueville's work is a worthy companion of the cogent, close-knit reasoning of the Federalist Papers.

As an observer of American life, de Tocqueville steers a middle course between sentimental gush and the squeamish repulsion which some cultivated Europeans like Mrs. Trollope felt for the free-and-easy frontier manners, with the copious expectorations of tobacco juice and the habit of calling all and sundry colonel or captain. He notes the self-reliant individualism of the American character:

"The citizen of the United States is taught from his earliest infancy to rely upon his own exertions in order to resist the evils and the difficulties of life; he looks upon social authority with an eye of mistrust and anxiety, and he only claims its assistance when he is quite unable to shift without it."

Praised Local Initiative

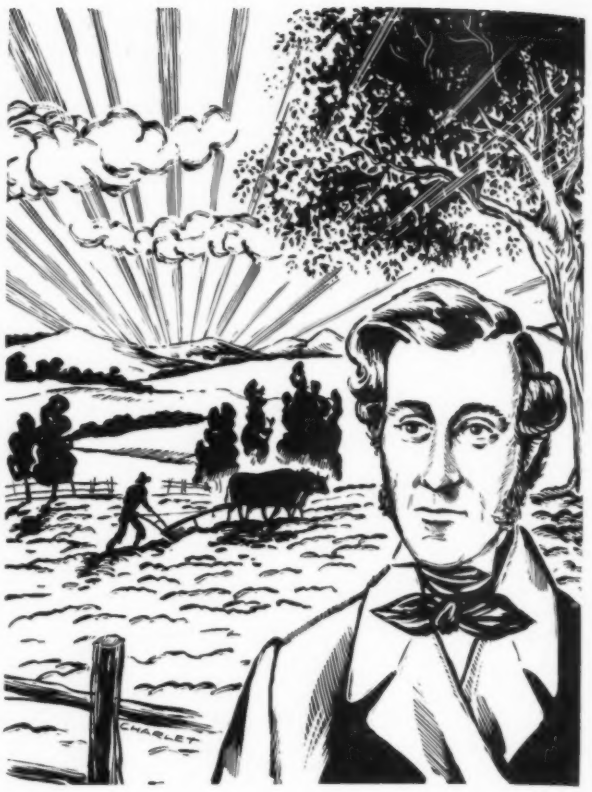
As an authentic nineteenth-century liberal, de Tocqueville approves this tendency; he notes that the sum of private undertakings far exceeds all that the government could have done. He notes that there is no such thing as an American peasant and that although education is spread thinly, there are no pools of total illiteracy and stagnation. Again and again he praises the vitality of local initiative which builds excellent schools and churches and keeps the roads in good repair without any meddling interference from a centralized bureaucracy. And he pays to America of that time two compliments which are more impressive because he does not spare criticism on other points:

"The European generally submits to a public officer because he represents a superior force, but to an American he represents a right. In America it may be said that no one renders obedience to man, but to justice and to law. . .

"All commodities and ideas circulate throughout the Union as freely as in a country inhabited by one people. Nothing checks the spirit of enterprise . . . The Union is as happy and free as a small people, and as glorious and strong as a great nation."

De Tocqueville is not blind to the fact that Americans possess the defects of their virtues. He notes a considerable downgrading of intelligence in high places since the formative years of the Republic. There is a memorable picture of the restless materialism which causes Americans to pursue illusions to the end of their days:

"A native of the United States clings to this world's goods as if he were certain never to die; and he is so hasty in grasping at all within his reach that one would suppose he was constantly



De Tocqueville in America

afraid of not living long enough to enjoy them. He clutches everything, he holds nothing fast, but soon loosens his grasp to pursue fresh gratifications. . . Death at length overtakes him, but it is before he is weary of his bootless chase of that complete felicity which is forever on the wing."

A source of fascination in de Tocqueville is his rare gift of accurate prediction. Some of his observations fit America, and the world, in the middle of the twentieth century even better than the conditions of his own time. There was no income tax in the America which de Tocqueville visited; but he foresaw the shape of things to come:

"Universal suffrage invests the poor with the government of society. . . Wherever the poor direct public affairs and dispose of the natural resources it appears certain that, as they profit by the expenditure of the State, they are apt to augment that expenditure. . . I have no hesitation in predicting that, if the people of the United States is ever involved in serious difficulties, its taxation will speedily be increased to the rate of that which prevails in the greater part of the aristocracies and monarchies of Europe."

There is the famous and remarkable forecast of the era of the American-Russian cold war:

"There are, at the present time, two great nations in the world which seem to tend toward the same end, although they started from different points: I allude to the Russians and the Americans . . . All other nations seem to have nearly reached

their natural limits. . . but these are still in the act of growth. . . The Anglo-American relies upon personal interest to accomplish his ends, and gives free scope to the unguided exertions and common sense of the citizens; the Russian centers all the authority of society in the single arm; the principal instrument of the former is freedom; of the latter servitude. Their starting point is different and their courses are not the same; yet each of them seems marked out by the will of heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe."

De Tocqueville was alarmed not by "excessive liberty" in the United States, but by inadequate securities against tyranny. For, like other nineteenth-century libertarians who were democrats only with reservations—like Burckhardt, Acton, Mill—he realized that there was danger in the tyranny of the majority and sensed that the dykes which the framers of the Constitution had erected against this kind of tyranny were being weakened by the upsurge of democracy in the raw.

He realized that the day of the absolute hereditary monarch and of the privileged aristocrat was gone; but he saw new perils to liberty on the horizon of the future. With remarkable perspicacity he foresaw two developments which became realities in the twentieth century: the totalitarian society of communism and facism and the paternalistic Welfare State. Regarding the former, he noted the likelihood that "those hideous eras of Roman oppression, when the manners of the people were corrupted, their traditions obliterated, their habits destroyed, their opinions shaken and freedom, expelled from the laws, could find no refuge in the land," might recur. Certainly the crimes of a Stalin, a Hitler, a Mao Tse-tung, far exceed anything that could be laid to the charge of a legitimate ruler in the era of royal absolutism.

Still more vivid and eloquent is de Tocqueville's imaginary sketch of a paternalistic State which would not practice the bloody oppression of dictators, but would reduce each nation "to nothing better than a flock of timid and industrious animals, of which the government is the shepherd," that would undertake "to spare its subjects all the care of thinking and all the trouble of living."

The American Republic was, in the winged phrase of Lincoln, conceived in liberty. But liberty is one of the most complex, as it is one of the most precious, of human conceptions. It flourishes best in the kind of equilibrium between government and citizen, individual and society, majority and minority which the Founding Fathers wrote into the Constitution. The dangers to true liberty vary from generation to generation; but it can never be maintained without constant struggle. There is no surer guide to the principles of political liberty than the Federalist Papers; no more penetrating and imaginative study of the forces that may wreck or sap liberty than de Tocqueville's great classic.

There could be no better Fourth of July reading than some of the outstanding passages in both these works.

Thomas Jefferson Said:

A wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned—this is the sum of good government.

Writings, Vol. 3, p. 320

If we can prevent the government from wasting the labors of the people, under the pretense of taking care of them, they must become happy.

Letter to Thomas Cooper, 1802

I like a little rebellion now and then. . . . The spirit of resistance to government is so valuable that I wish it always to be kept alive. It will often be exercised when wrong, but better so than not to be exercised at all.

Letter to Mrs. John Adams, 1787

Were we directed from Washington when to sow and when to reap, we should soon want bread.

Papers, Vol. 1, p. 66

The Tale of a Shirt

By W. M. CURTISS

When you pay three dollars for a cotton shirt, only 48 cents of it goes for materials, tools, land, risk-taking. All the rest goes for labor.

This is the story of a shirt. Joe Evans, the proprietor of a clothing store in Middletown, U.S.A., has it; John Jones, a townsman, wants it.

"Good morning, Mr. Jones."

"Hello, Joe. What have you got in shirts?"

"What kind did you have in mind?"

"Oh, something to wear around—nothing expensive."

"Here's something that might be just what you're looking for."

"That looks O.K. How much is it, Joe?"

"This one's $3.00, Mr. Jones."

"That's pretty steep, isn't it?"

"Well, shirts have gone up like everything else. We sold this same shirt before the war for $1.25."

"It looks to me like someone must be making a terrific profit in the shirt business. After all, Joe, you know there isn't much cotton goes into a shirt. And as I get the story, the farmer doesn't get anywhere near $3.00 for the cotton in that shirt."

"You're right, Mr. Jones. I think you might be interested in a story I picked up the other day from a little booklet one of our shirt manufacturers sent us. It gave a breakdown of all the costs that make up the price of a $3.00 shirt."

"Can you believe the figures? Maybe the manufacturer was just trying to justify the high prices he was charging."

"They are all government figures. Now the farmer, Andy Johnson, has a little cotton farm in Texas. He owns his farm, which includes a house for his family, a barn and a shed for his machinery. He also has a couple of tenant houses for the folks who help him take care of his cotton.

"In the spring he has to get his land ready; then he plants the cotton, and during the summer he has to cultivate it to keep down the weeds. When harvest time comes, he and his family and all the hired help turn out to pick the cotton by hand."

"O.K., Joe, but it didn't take much of that cotton for this $3.00 shirt. How much of the $3.00 did Andy Johnson get?"

"Actually Mr. Jones, Johnson got 22.5 cents for the cotton that went into the shirt. Now you can see that most of the 22.5 cents was for labor—his own, labor of his family and his hired help. The figures showed that 16.8 cents of the 22.5 cents he got was for labor; the rest, 5.7 cents, was for the use of his land and buildings and his equipment. You might say that the 5.7 cents was pay for the capital he had invested in his business. Of course, cotton farming, like most other kinds of farming, is a risky business. There's always the chance of poor weather and a crop failure. Then there's the risk that when Johnson gets his crop ready to market, the price of cotton may have dropped and he will have to sell at a loss. I suppose you might figure that part of that 5.7 cents is pay for the risk he takes. In good years he may make a little extra to offset the bad ones."

"Well, Joe, that 22.5 cents looks reasonable enough and it's easy to see that most of it is for labor. But you're still a long way from the $3.00 that I am asked to pay for the shirt."

"Let's follow this cotton along."

Through the Cotton Gin

"The next fellow to handle the cotton was Walter Brown. Walter operates a cotton gin. He takes the cotton as it comes from the farmer and cleans it. Then he puts it through the gin which separates the cotton seed from the cotton fibers and then packs the fibers into bales of about 500 pounds each."

"How much of the $3.00 does Brown get for his job of ginning?"

"He gets 2.1 cents, but of course he's set up to handle a lot of cotton, and it doesn't cost much to handle the small amount required for a shirt. Again most of the 2.1 cents goes to the labor which Walter Brown supplies, and a little is pay for the use of his machinery, equipment, and buildings."

"What happens to it after the ginner gets through with it, Joe?"

"The next step takes the cotton from the ginner to the mills, and some important things happen in between. For want of a better name, let's call the next handler the merchandiser, Albert Hunt. He's a fairly large operator and assembles cotton from many gins in sufficient quantity to have something to offer to the mill operators. Mr. Hunt has a powerful cotton press that compresses the bales as he receives them into smaller bales—still weighing about 500 pounds, though. He does a lot of other things to the cotton. He takes samples of his cotton and grades them, so that he can sell it to the mills on specifications. Then, too, he stores the cotton in his warehouse until the mills

are ready for it. Naturally, he has to pay insurance on it and finance it while it's in storage."

"Well, Joe, what does Hunt get out of the $3.00 for all these services?"

"Out of the $3.00 the merchandiser gets just 6.3 cents. Most of this is for the labor of handling and sampling the cotton and moving it in and out of warehouses. Some of it, though, has to pay for Hunt's machinery, for his warehouses, and for the money he has tied up in the storage of the cotton until the mills want it."

"I suppose the mills get it next. We haven't used up much of the $3.00 yet."

"Right. The Apex Company gets the cotton from Mr. Hunt. The first thing they do is to card and comb out the cotton fibers. Then they put these fibers through a machine that spins them into cotton yarn. The yarn is then knitted or woven into cloth."

"What part of the $3.00 do they get?"

"They get 31.5 cents for their job of spinning and weaving. It is estimated that 26.7 cents of the 31.5 cents is for labor in their plant and 4.8 cents is pay for the use of their extensive plant and machinery."

"Now, I suppose, we're ready to put the shirt together."

"No, not yet. There's one more process we haven't covered. The cloth must be bleached or dyed or printed. That is the job of the Unicorn Corporation. Then they put up the cloth in finished bolts ready for manufacture. The Unicorn Corporation gets 25.5 cents of the $3.00 for their work on the cloth, and a small part of the 25.5 cents is for the use of their machinery and equipment; again, most of it is for labor in the plant."

"So far, Joe, we've taken the shirt through five different processes and if I've added correctly, we've accounted for less than 90 cents of the $3.00 and we're all ready to manufacture the shirt. Is that right?"

"Yes, Mr. Jones. The Quality Shirt Company takes the bleached, dyed or printed cloth and makes it into shirts. The process includes cutting, assembling and finishing, as well as the addition of buttons and thread, which is also cotton. For its job, the Quality Company gets about 90 cents of the final $3.00. Approximately 76 cents of this is for labor in the plant and 14 cents is pay for the plant capital."

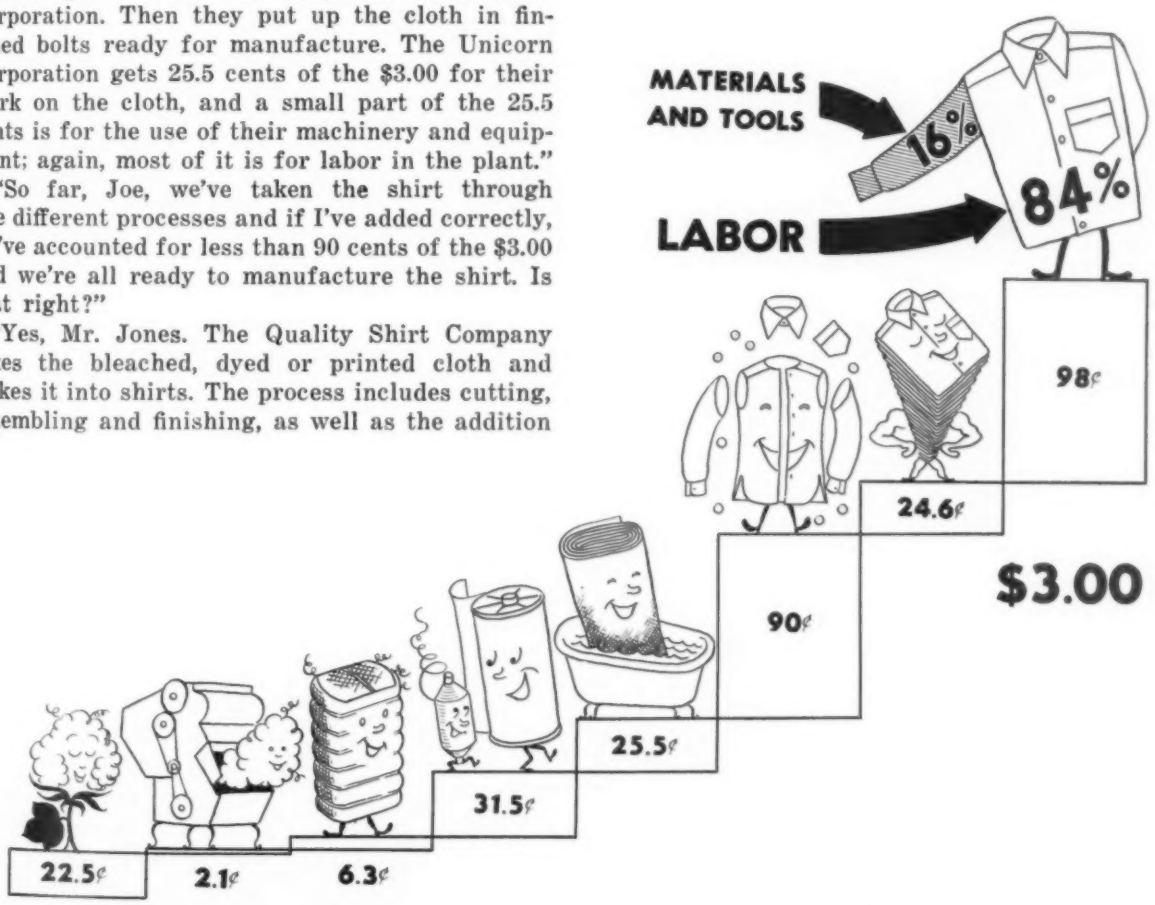
Distribution Services

"Now that the shirt is made, I'd think that it's about ready for the customer; but I see we've used only about $1.80 of the $3.00 he pays for it. How come, Joe?"

"Well, Mr. Jones, the rest of it is in the field of distribution and that's getting close to the job I know something about. I believe many people overlook the importance of that part of it. It includes services we can't very well do without in our complex economy. Let's see what it costs.

"First, there's the wholesaler who takes the shirts from the manufacturer to the retail store. The manufacturer must assemble and warehouse shirts from many different manufacturers. He also stores them until the retail trade is ready for them. Of course, there's transportation every step of the way for this shirt. For all these services, the wholesaler gets 24.6 cents of the final $3.00 paid by the buyer.

"Now comes the last job in getting the shirt from the farmer to you, Mr. Jones. That's retail-



ing—the job we do right here in the store. That may seem like a simple job to you, but actually it's a bit complex. We must try to anticipate our customers' demands and plan our business in advance. We must stock a few of many different sizes and kinds of shirts. We must display them in an attractive way. We have an advertising bill, too. We must hire salesmen to sell them. We often sell on credit terms. Every retailer makes mistakes and finds he has to sacrifice some of his merchandise at reduced prices, sometimes at a loss.

"For all these services, we get 98 cents out of the $3.00 you pay for the shirt. You may think this is too much. Apparently other people have thought so, too, and have tried to do it for less. You probably recall several up and down the street who have tried it and have gone broke. There's tremendous competition in the retail business and I believe you would find that if 98 cents is too much, competition would soon force it down."

"Well, Joe, the way you put it seems reasonable enough to me. It looks to me like competition all along the line would tend to keep the prices reasonable. Now that we see what the $3.00 was used for, why can't we add all the costs together?"

"We can, and when we do, we find that Andy Johnson the farmer, Walter Brown the ginner, Albert Hunt the merchandiser, the Apex Company, the Unicorn Corporation, the Quality Shirt Company, the wholesaler, and our own retail store here—all of us got a part of the $3.00. The amount spent for labor was about $2.52 of the $3.00 and the balance, 48 cents, was pay for tools, machinery, land, buildings, financing and even a little for risk all along the line."

"It's really amazing to me that workers along the line get that much of the $3.00. If my arithmetic is correct, they get 84 per cent of the amount the customer pays and the 16 per cent left over goes for the tools which the workers use. Isn't that what is commonly referred to as capital?"

"That's right, Mr. Jones."

"What you say is probably true for shirts, but how about automobiles, refrigerators, food, houses, and all the other things we consumers have to buy? Is the final dollar which the buyer pays divided between the worker and his tools in the same way?"

"No, Mr. Jones, not exactly the same way. But the booklet I told you about gave a similar breakdown for all manufacturing combined. For the five years before the war, out of each dollar of income contributed by all manufacturing in the United States, 85 cents went to workers for their labor, and 15 cents was pay for the tools which workers used."

"Then the shirt business looks just about like all manufacturing, Joe?"

"That's right, Mr. Jones, and similar figures for all corporations in the United States tell about the same story. Even if you consider the entire nation's business, 82 per cent of the income was for labor and 18 per cent for the tools which workers use."

"Well, Joe, I must confess I've picked up some new ideas from your story. I always figured that labor got less than half of the value of a product sold and that the rest was profit to middlemen and manufacturers. When you put it on the basis of providing tools of the workers, it throws a new light on it. Actually, these tools must be pretty important, aren't they?"

"You're right, Mr. Jones, they are important. It is no accident that American workers can earn a pair of shoes with seven hours of work compared with 104 hours required by an average Russian worker. I've seen estimates that the value of tools which workers have at their disposal in this country averages around $10,000 per worker. No wonder he's so productive."

"But where do these tools come from, Joe?"

"They are made possible by savings. A great many people in this country save a little of the income they get for their work and invest it in tools which make the workers more productive. People will not save their money for future use instead of spending it when they get it, unless they are paid something for it. This payment is like interest or dividends, and much of the 15 cents for tools we were talking about is in the form of pay for savings, or interest and dividends."

"All right, Joe, wrap it up."

[*Joe made no mention of the taxes that help boost the price of the shirt to three dollars. But that's another story.* EDITOR]

The Common Impulse

Forty years ago, when he was the vogue, the fictional philosopher Mr. Dooley spoke of "th' common impulse f'r th' same money." He was speaking of politicians. But is not "th' common impulse f'r th' same money" the glue that holds together the United Nations, NATO and all other international clubs concocted in Washington?

WASHINGTON, D.C.

by Frank C. Hanighen

In the House gallery, newspapermen have long had a gag about the legislative body they covered. "It's the greatest organized inferiority complex in the country." What they had in mind was, among other things, the disappointments suffered by House members who had to accept, because of protocol, a place inferior to a Senator. But now in the 84th Congress the epigram has come to be applied to the whole Congress.

What bloc of representatives of the people could offer a more vivid picture of psychic frustration than the followers of the late Senator Taft? Bedeviled by their conservative constituents on the one hand, they are pushed around by the New Deal-ish emissaries of the White House on the other. Similarly, conservative Democrats — mostly from the South—feel they have to play along with New Deal members of their party from the North to forward the chances of victory in 1956. "You don't want to lose your committee chairmanships, do you?" is an unanswerable reminder. Nor do the New Deal Democrats display signs of mental integration and serenity, for they writhe under the conviction that the White House has taken their New Deal program away from them. Only the 100 per cent pure GOP New Dealers seem happily uninhibited; for them there's but one idea and issue —"Ike."

Fortunately, the legislative process—in its very complexity—offers opportunities for a healthy release of bottled-up steam, so that the representatives of the people can occasionally cast a decisive vote *pro bono publico,* and can virtuously feel they have discharged their responsibilities to constituents. Late in May, such a chance came to voice the popular will on the subject of the Status of Forces Treaty, something which has stirred anger in the grass roots for the past two years. When that Treaty was passed in 1953, and executed with other NATO nations, it became the law of our land (like other treaties). Americans have come to realize this principle since the commencement of the highly educational discussion of the Bricker Amendment.

Under the Status of Forces Treaty, members of our Armed Forces, charged with violations of the laws of the country in which they are stationed, are turned over to the police and courts of the country. Traditionally, such servicemen were always tried by the U. S. military courts and enjoyed due protection of our constitutional rights. Since the passage of the treaty, many American GI's—some without trials or Anglo-Saxon procedures of justice —have been lodged in foreign jails, often for cruel and unusual terms of sentence.

Among these cases was one of a U. S. soldier convicted in a trial in which he had not been permitted to put on his own witnesses; in another, a soldier, suffering from TB, was confined in a damp underground cell; and in another a serviceman, on appealing his sentence, had his original sentence increased from ten to sixteen months.

Disgruntled parents have been bombarding Congress with letters of protest for some time. The Hearst and McCormick-Patterson newspaper chains have publicized those evils, and a little Washington organization of civil libertarians, Defenders of the American Constitution—headed by former General P. del Valle, Mr. Eugene Pomeroy and General Bonner Fellers—have moved in various ways in the field of the courts and Congress. Largely, the press has given little attention to the matter, and the Judiciary has disdained efforts to challenge at least one case—that of Pfc. Keefe of Maryland. Many in the country, usually clamoring about civil liberties, particularly in behalf of accused Leftists, are silent.

It remained for Representative Frank Bow (Rep., Ohio) to seize a legislative opportunity to bring a test on this matter. In the midst of the debate on the President's Military Service bill (correctly diagnosed by the House as a veiled UMT measure, and therefore blocked), Bow proposed an amendment to bar the sending of any "trainees" under the program to countries making use of the Status of Forces Treaty to impose their own peculiar judicial procedures and punitive jail treatment on American servicemen. The House leadership—obviously not in sympathy with Bow—called for a division vote, a procedure in which only the "ayes" and "nos" are recorded. The Bow proposal won, 174 to 56. Newspapermen say that if a record vote (names of those voting are recorded after their votes are cast) had been taken, the majority

would have been larger. A division vote, it is said, enabled some—under the prodding of the whips—to vote against the Bow measure because their constituents would not know how they voted. Bow, flushed with victory, thereupon offered a resolution directing the President to renegotiate the Status of Forces Treaty and, if foreign governments involved then refused to denounce the treaty, the President should make it void.

Harry Truman once remarked, sourly, that there were too many "birds" in the Senate, seeking by this pun to make official his political dislike for the senior Senator from Virginia, Harry Flood Byrd. On May 25, President Eisenhower (who sedulously refrains from such personalities) may have concurred. For the Senator was chief orator, politician and strategist, rolled into one, as he dominated the fight which led to the Senate's defeat of the Administration's federal highway bill.

That measure, announced early in the session with no little fanfare, projected a $100 billion interstate road grid, for which the federal government would put up about $30 billion over a ten-year period. Initially, the plan—buttressed with the usual argument for an *Autobahn* essential to national defense—struck a sympathetic chord in the breasts of motorists and seemed an admirable, imaginative and "progressive" piece of legislation. The road building and road machinery industries, businessmen worried over a recession, Keynesian spenders anxious for more appropriations, anyone (that's the majority) concerned about traffic congestion, and finally GOP politicos (ah! we've again taken the New Deal spending ball away from the Democrats)—all responded gratefully. The Eisenhower liberals saw another step toward re-election. But Congress, as John T. Flynn once remarked, constitutes in itself a "powerful prophylactic against perpetuated power."

Senator Byrd quickly seized upon one extraordinary feature of the bill—the Administration's plan to underwrite the federal contribution by a special bond issue which would be serviced outside the federal budget and apart from the public debt (now over the original legal limit of $275 billion). Byrd pointed out that if the federal government should borrow money without recording it as debt, and should proceed to disburse the money without budgetary controls, all sorts of similar projects—for education, hospitals, etc.—would inevitably follow. "You cannot avoid financial responsibility by legerdemain." Thus from the outset of the forensics, the great Southern Democrat, national exponent of fiscal responsibility and economy, emphasized the outstanding flaw of the measure and—by his prestige and continuous efforts—rallied conservative sentiment throughout the country. It was a good job.

It was an excellent job which he performed in the Senate late in May, when the Administration measure was finally considered, as against the Democrat alternative road bill sponsored by Senator Albert Gore (Dem., Tenn.). The small businessman and farmer (Byrd is a successful apple-grower and newspaper proprietor in the Shenandoah Valley) took the spotlight to defend sound finance against the floor leader for the bill, Senator Prescott Bush (Rep., Conn.), a Wall Street banker, who rashly engaged Byrd in debate. Observers found a bit of symbolic significance in this match. On the one hand was a representative of New York finance—perhaps more exactly, that financial element which has attached itself from the beginning to Eisenhower, and is not always too careful about the soundness of its ventures in "partnership" with Big Government—and against this spokesman was pitted the authentic voice of grass-roots America.

The efforts of Senator Bush to throw Senator Byrd off balance were brave, but as the day wore on, became progressively weaker—to the point that he almost conceded that the federal highway bonds should be recognized as the obligations of the United States Government. Meanwhile the Virginia Senator hammered away: "No such proposal has ever been enacted into law by Congress"; "I still say when bonds go through the books of the Treasury . . . the bonds should be regarded as a deficit. That is the only honest procedure"; "No corporation of this kind has ever been formed by any state in the Union"; "Nothing has been proposed during my 22 years in the United States Senate that would do more to wreck our fiscal budget system." Finally, he concurred in the description of the scheme as being a "double-budget system," as did also Senator Walter F. George (Dem., Ga.).

Although the term "states rights" did not appear, that concept permeated the utterances of those attacking the Administration highway measure, whether from Republicans or Democrats. Senator Robert S. Kerr (Dem., Okla.) displayed concern that for the next ten years—the term of the federal payments—the Secretary of Commerce, now Sinclair Weeks, should dominate and allocate the mileage of and expenditures on the interstate roads in the several states. But not more so than Republican Senators Francis Case (South Dakota) and Edward J. Thye (Minnesota).

But it was Senator Byrd who underlined this offending aspect of the bill: "It would turn over to the federal government absolute control over 40,000 miles of our most important roads heretofore under the control of the 48 states. This plan would be the greatest single step yet taken toward federal paternalism."

In the end, the Administration measure was defeated. The Senate passed the Gore Bill which, whatever its defects, did not contain the features of the White House bill as above debated.

Collectivism Rebaptized

By FRANK S. MEYER

The New Conservatism, so widely heralded in the last two years, is at bottom but another guise for the collectivist spirit of the age.

When two or three years ago Russell Kirk, then a member of the faculty of Michigan State College, published a volume called *The Conservative Mind*, he hardly expected, it is to be presumed, that within a short time it would make him the major prophet of a flourishing new movement. But the emergence of the New Conservatism, which has for some time filled the columns of the quarterlies and magazines of opinion and is now spilling out into the larger world, can indeed be accurately correlated with the appearance of that book.

There were, it is true, earlier premonitions—the shrill cries of Peter Viereck, scattered articles here and there on a more urbane pitch, and other books of the serious caliber of Dr. Kirk's own writing, such as Robert A. Nisbet's *The Quest for Community*. But it was *The Conservative Mind* which precipitated the New Conservatism.

The speed of its development has been enormous, even for a time like ours, when ideas are packaged into trends and movements long before they have had a chance to cure properly. Within the past year or so a multitude of books has appeared, carrying the general theme. To mention only a few, Dr. Kirk himself has produced two more volumes (in descending order of quality, as he grapples with more concrete problems), *A Program for Conservatives* and *Academic Freedom*. Walter Lippmann in *The Public Philosophy* has jumped on the bandwagon, although without explicit acknowledgment, giving a more journalistic twist and more practical momentum to the movement. And the real proof that Dr. Kirk's donnish speculations have brought forth a gusher is the recent appearance, under the aegis of a publisher whose scent for current intellectual fashion is second to none, and with the seal of approval of the Charles Austin Beard Prize, of *Conservatism in America* by Clinton Rossiter. This book, hailed as "an eloquent appeal for a new conservatism to sustain the Republic in the troubled years ahead," presents nothing in its essential principles and program with which Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. or Adlai Stevenson would seriously disagree.

This fundamental compatibility with the collectivist trend of the time which comes out so blatantly in Mr. Rossiter has been implicit in the New Conservatism from the beginning, despite much just and tonic criticism of positivist ethics and the blatant centralizing *tone* of the "liberal" atmosphere by Russell Kirk and his more serious colleagues. Why, then, the tendency in circles usually strongly critical of collectivism, to receive the New Conservatism as a valid theoretical foundation for a movement of opposition to it?

This is perhaps partly a matter of words, of labels. The term "liberal" has for some time now been captured by the proponents of a powerful State and a controlled economy and has been corrupted into the opposite of its true meaning. To be conservative has, therefore, by usage and consent come to mean to be an opponent of that false "liberalism." From a certain point of view there has been logic to this custom, when by conservative was understood loyalty to the established traditions of the Constitution and to a free American social structure, as over against the Roosevelt revolution.

A Difference of Principle

But, in fact, conservatism is not a body of principles, but a tone, an attitude. That attitude does indeed tend to conduce toward a respect for the wisdom acquired by human beings through long ages, and toward a skepticism of social blueprints, of utopias, of the approach of the Socialist and the social worker. It carries with it, however, no built-in defense against the acceptance, grudging though it may be, of institutions which reason and prudence would otherwise reject, if only those institutions are sufficiently firmly established.

The fundamental political issue today is that between, on the one hand, collectivism and statism which merge gradually into totalitarianism, and, on the other, what used to be called liberalism, what we may perhaps call individualism: the principles of the primacy of the individual, the division of power, the limitation of government, the freedom of the economy. This is not a problem of tone nor attitude, not a difference between the conservative and the radical temperament; *it is a difference of principle.* What is at stake are fundamental concepts of the relationship of individual men to a society and the institutions of a society.

On this issue, Dr. Kirk, and others who are seriously interested in the fundamental questions which concern him, are at the best equivocal, while

the more journalistic New Conservatives, Viereck, Lippmann, Rossiter, seize upon the attitude of conservatism to justify conservation of—the New Deal and its works. This kind of conservative must, in Clinton Rossiter's words, reject the "indecent anti-statism of laissez-faire individualism." For the New Conservative must not forget man's "need for both voluntary and submissive association with other men. The individualism of the Right has not been an inspiration for all Americans, but a clever weapon with which the rich could defend their riches and the powerful their power."

"Liberalism" is wearing a bit thin, fraying at the edges. Provided the fundamental realities of power — group and State over the individual, "sober community responsibility" over "laissez-faire anarchy"—are retained (and consolidated), the mantle of the conservative tone can well befit the established order of the welfare society. After all, that order is in its twenty-third year since the fateful election of 1932. The New Conservatism is, on an intellectual level, a natural complement to the Eisenhower version of Rooseveltism. Conservatism, after all, is a relative term. The question is: what do you want to conserve?

What, then, do the New Conservatives want to conserve? What is the content of their position and the principles for which they stand? To answer that question in a brief article requires at the best some simplification. There are different men and different emphases among the New Conservatives. It would hardly be fair to take as representative Clinton Rossiter's vulgarizations of the New Conservatism, or the tired platitudes of Walter Lippmann, or the strident diatribes of Peter Viereck as his New Conservatism leads him to the glorification of Adlai Stevenson. However a doctrine may be perverted or misused, its essential value stands or falls on its own merit. That it can be misused is of course a primary reason for examining very carefully its pretensions; but in the end, whatever is made of them, it is the ideas themselves with which we have to come to grips.

The Thinking of Russell Kirk

Therefore, it is to the effective thinkers of the movement that analysis and criticism should be directed. Of these Russell Kirk is undoubtedly the most significant. But it is not an easy matter to pin down Dr. Kirk's thinking. There is no doubt as to his general tone and attitude nor as to the source and content of his ultimate values; but in the field of human action—the area of ethics, politics and economics—it is almost impossible to find clear and distinct principle.

To suggest the quality of his tone, one can perhaps do no better than to quote Dr. Kirk himself: "Now, in sober reality, conservatives are . . . a number of persons, of all classes and occupations, whose view of life is reverential, and who tend to be guided by the wisdom of their ancestors, instead of abstract speculation."

The source of his ultimate values is the accumulated wisdom of Western civilization, impinging upon his imagination most strongly, it would seem, in the forms achieved by the English eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and with the spiritual content of High Anglican Christianity. Those ultimate values can be and have been the starting point for many modes of action in the world, but integrally they lead to a belief in the unique value of every individual person, a belief which is the first principle of any philosophy of freedom (and which can, of course, also be arrived at in other ways).

But it is only the first principle. However deeply it is held, it is not by itself sufficient to guarantee the freedom of men in society. Too many interpretations are possible as to what the "integrity of the individual person" consists of. And, given the persuasiveness of one of these interpretations, men will always be found who, if they possess the power, will attempt to enforce their interpretation on other men. The only way the freedom of individuals can be protected against this ever-present danger is through a second set of principles. While these principles have for their aim the actualization of the philosophical and spiritual end, the freedom and integrity of the individual, they are themselves derived not only from this end but also from the realities of human life. They are framed with full awareness of the propensity of human beings to translate the freedom of other human beings into their freedom to do what those with power think is right and just.

In the ethical, the political, the economic spheres, these practical principles are as vital as the general philosophical principle, if freedom is to be transformed from a dream into the actual situation in which men live. They can be rather simply stated, and they are the criterion by which the pretensions of a political philosophy, by whatever name it calls itself, must be judged.

The first of these principles is no more than the restatement of the innate value of the individual person in political and social terms: *all* value resides in the individual; *all* social institutions derive their value and, in fact, their very being from individuals and are justified only to the extent that they serve the needs of individuals.

From this fundamental axiom of the good society are developed two others, which arise from experience and from understanding of the dangers to freedom which lie in the very nature of human beings. Since power is the instrumentality of control by men and groups of men over other men, and since in this imperfect world, in the end, the only check

upon power is power, the division of power (both within the political sphere and between the political sphere and other spheres) and unceasing vigilance to keep it divided, is the essential safeguard of freedom.

With this goes the other and corollary principle, a special case of the principle of division of power, but of the greatest importance: the entire sphere of economic activity must remain free of political control. For only the strict separation of the sources of a man's material existence—property, employment, provision for illness and old age—from political institutions can enable him to maintain his independence of them. And further, if the State, which is the legal repository of force for the preservation of the conditions of peaceful civil life and for defense against external enemies, gains control over any other sphere of human activity, the very possibility of effective division of power is gone.

Rejects the Tradition of Individualism

If Dr. Kirk's thinking is judged by these principles, it becomes apparent that he lacks the standards to effectuate politically and socially his undoubtedly genuine concern for the integrity of the individual person as a philosophical and spiritual truth. He can criticize with great cogency the dehumanizing aspects of the federal social security program. He can stigmatize the totalitarian implications of the federal school lunch program. But on these, as on a dozen other practical issues of growing collectivism and the State's encroachment, he shows no sign of understanding the problems of principle reflected. He can write feelingly of the dangers of concentration of power without ever indicating by what standards over-concentration is to be judged and to what limits it is to be restrained. His books are full of just and shrewd critiques of aspect after aspect of the contemporary world, but for every such critique there is, implied or explicit, a condemnation of the ideas and the institutional frameworks which are essential to the reversal of the trend.

Nor is he merely neutral or undecided in his attitude toward these principles. Once they are stated clearly and unequivocally, he castigates them as the abstractions of "defecated intellectuals." He detests them and the men who formulated them and the whole tradition of individualism as heartily as he does Marxism and contemporary materialist collectivism.

If Dr. Kirk is so concerned about the evils he sees around us, the fruits of developing collectivism, and nevertheless rejects the principles of a free society, what does he propose, what does he stand for positively? Since he presents himself and his beliefs always rhetorically, never on a reasoned basis, he can succeed in establishing the impression that he has a strong and coherent outlook without ever taking a systematic and consistent position. In justice to him, it must be said that he would make a virtue of this. He pours scorn on all the systematic positions he discusses as being "abstract," "radical," "Jacobin," "liberal"; and he exalts, as the model of conservative statesmanship, disdain for systematic thought and respect for "prejudice and prescription," that is, for the traditionally accepted.

Dr. Kirk takes as his guide the English statesman, Edmund Burke, and puts him forward as the paragon of conservatism. But what he forgets is that Burke was fighting against the radical principles of centralization of the French Revolution in defense of a society whose traditions themselves incorporated a systematic, if incomplete, theory of freedom—the modes of the common law, a considerable degree of division of power, long-established rights of the individual and of property, the principles of 1688. His reliance upon tradition, upon prescription, upon prejudice in the circumstances of 1790 would, in the crisis of 1688, have made him the supporter of a very different policy and of very different principles. However much one may respect Burke's stand as a practical statesman, it is impossible to derive a firm political position from him. As Richard Weaver has said: "of clear rational principle he had a mortal distrust . . . it would be blindness to take him as a mentor."

It can be admitted that the long experience crystallized in traditional human wisdom is a necessary make-weight to the conclusions which reason would seem to dictate to a single group or even to the conscience of a whole generation. But to make tradition, "prejudice and prescription," not along with reason but *against* reason, the sole foundation of one's position is to enshrine the maxim, "Whatever is, is right," as the first principle of thought about politics and society. Such a position is immoral from any point of view; and actually Dr. Kirk could not accept it, for it is particularly inconsonant with that Christian vision of the freedom of the soul and the will which he holds. But we can only find what he does believe by strenuously digging it out of the rhetorical flow. What he believes seems to be that the particular strand of tradition which appeals to him, and which he presumptuously considers the only one compatible with Christianity, is right and is the only guide to a good society.

I will not imitate Dr. Kirk's own arrogance when he pontificates that "individualism is anti-Christian. It is possible logically to be a Christian, and possible logically to be an individualist; it is not possible to be the two simultaneously." No doubt his political position is compatible with Christianity, but so are many other positions. For Christianity, or any other religious vision, is concerned with the relations between the individual man and God. And while it certainly can, by affecting the inner being of individuals, affect the way in which they go about solving the problem of creating tolerable

social conditions, it does not pretend to dictate a single form of these conditions valid for all ages and all times.

Dr. Kirk, however, seems to insist that a certain kind of society is the only tolerable one, and this not because *he* believes in it and puts forward arguments to support his concept. This certainly would be his privilege, however wrong he might be. But he pretends instead to have no principles personally arrived at. He merely recognizes what is ordained by Providential prescription.

The social pattern which emerges from the hints and suggestions in his writings (for he never tells us exactly what he wants and certainly never gives any idea of what it would mean in modern circumstances) is shaped by such words as "Authority," "order," "community," "duty," "obedience." "Freedom" is a rare word; "the individual" is anathema. The qualities of this suggested society are a mixture of those of eighteenth-century England and medieval Europe—or perhaps, more aptly, they are those of Plato's Republic with the philosopher-king replaced by the squire and the vicar.

No wonder that Dr. Kirk never describes concretely what such a society would be like under modern conditions, with the enormous strength of modern industry and modern arms, the decrease in distance and the ease of communication—in a word, with the technological facilities for power and centralization which exist today. Such societies of "authority and order," societies of status, have in the past, under the scattered and decentralized nature of power then, sometimes involved a considerable measure of freedom. But, quite apart from the essential and principled superiority of a society of contract to a society of status in terms of freedom, any society of status today, with the increased potentialities of power of our times, could only move inevitably to totalitarianism.

As all around us we see signs of regression from contract to status and the growing predominance of society and State over the individual, when this is indeed the characteristic form that the attack upon freedom takes today, Dr. Kirk in the peroration of *The Conservative Mind* can complacently write: "Our world may be passing from contract back to status. Whether that process is good or evil, conservatives must prepare society for Providential change. . ."

If indeed our society ever completes the fearful voyage on which it has embarked "from contract back to status"—from freedom to slavery, not to put too fine a point upon it—it will not be the doing of Providence but of men. And alongside those men who have consciously substituted for the principles of freedom those of socialism and collectivism, the responsibility will be shared by those who, while they long for the conditions of our free ancestors, reject as abstract and doctrinaire the very principles which made them free. Dr. Kirk might well reread the passage from a speech of Randolph of Roanoke which begins the fourth chapter of his own book on that great statesman: "There are certain great principles, which if they be not held inviolate, at all seasons, our liberty is gone. If we give them up, it is perfectly immaterial what is the character of our Sovereign; whether he be King or President, elective or hereditary—it is perfectly immaterial what is his character—we shall be slaves. . ."

Liberals Welcome New Conservatives

The "liberals" are well aware of all this. They realize that the New Conservatives, with their emphasis on tone and mood, with their lack of clear principle and their virulent rejection of individualism and a free economy, threaten no danger to the pillars of the temple. The conservative tone is indeed welcome now that power is to so large an extent achieved and the time come to consolidate and "conserve" it. Even better, by the magnanimity with which they receive the New Conservatives into polite society, they justify expelling into outer darkness the principled champions of limited government and a free economy as "crackpots" and "fringe elements."

They know their enemies. Their judgment is good. Only the principles of individual freedom—to Dr. Kirk the "conservatism of desolation"—can call a halt to the march of collectivism. The New Conservatism, stripped of its pretensions, is, sad to say, but another guise for the collectivist spirit of the age.

Education of King Jerk

By EDWARD A. TENNEY

The consensus-sated mind typical of today is guided, not by thought or ethical principles, but by what is regarded as standard practice.

"We are living in the age of the jerk," wrote a business executive in defense of the low quality of some of his television programs. In so writing, he covered more territory than he knew. We do indeed live in such an age, and an inquiry into its intellectual climate produces disquieting results. For, as I shall try to show, this is not only the age in which the jerk is glorified (he was glorified in Jackson's day, too) but the age in which he is nurtured, cultivated, multiplied as the hope of America. The Elizabethans called him lout, clown, boor but never magnified his merits. We somewhat euphemistically call him (*American College Dictionary*) "unknowing." We do not say "uneducated" because he is so often a graduate of an institution of higher learning.

An unknowing person is he who cannot judge because he has no first principles upon which to base a judgment. In the absence of these inner guideposts to right action he is almost rudderless in any welter of contradictory opinions. His only guide is the consensus. He has a consensus-sated mind; a count of noses is his governor.

We meet the jerk everywhere in politics, in economics, in religion, in the schools. He dominates by weight of number the age named after him. In fact, he has a philosophy which elevates him to heights heretofore unkown. For to him, the voice of God is the voice of the lout; the consensus is the All.

I have exaggerated for the sake of emphasis, and I beg my readers' pardon. The data which led me to such emphatic expression should perhaps have been given first. I shall hereafter endeavor to dip my pen in the cool ink of sobriety.

I have said that a jerk is a jerk because he is unknowing and that he is unknowing because, never having mastered first principles, he has no means of governing his life intelligently. To illustrate how common this type of mind is, I shall take a few first principles and show how their absence creates jerks in quantity.

A major, time-tested law of the science of ethics is that the end never justifies the means nor the means the end. An evil end corrupts good means and vice versa. In the recent furore over McCarthyism, the McCarthyites threw this primary guide to accurate ethical thought out the window with "We must fight fire with fire"—a saying equivalent to "We must fight evil with evil." Similarly, the words heard on many a street corner, "I admire his aims, not his method; smoke the devils out," tell the same tale: hatred of an evil is sufficient to justify evil.

In business the same kind of reasoning occurs. Our friend, the television magnate, who gave us our punch line—"We are living in the age of the jerk"—is no isolated specimen of the commercial jerk. He attempts to justify the public presentation of debasing images on the ground that those who view them are debased also. (One can justify feeding poison to the sick by the identical argument.)

Follow the "Mostest"

Among many of my college students in recent years I have discovered a complete absence even of any knowledge of ethical first principles, principles which in any good society must take precedence over other lower principles. "A good advertiser," writes one, "is he who promotes the sales of the merchant who employs him to write the advertising; and the best advertiser is he who promotes the highest sales." The idea that the merchant might be a merchant of hate and that he who promotes or sells hate is contaminated thereby was, to the student, a patent absurdity.

The depth of this student's conviction that there could not possibly be a superior ethics which a "knowing" man will impose upon a lower ethics and thus arrive at a superior judgment astonished me until I found that I stood in the presence of a consensus-sated mind and that it had its own ethics. "This is standard practice," he said, "and what is standard practice is right." To go beyond that point is to violate the first and the only principle of consensus-sated ethics, wherein to know what a person should do, one studies what the "mostest" are doing and acts accordingly.

A study of mid-century ethics is quite beyond both me and the scope of these remarks; but because I am a professional educator I am interested in its powerful presence in academica and fear the danger to us and to our students if it is allowed to develop unchecked.

Its power over the minds of many, students and teachers alike, is to be seen in the way they think and in the way they establish or discover truth.

The most startling evidence is in the language itself. The words, "I think, I believe, I am convinced," used to be standard with freshmen coming

out of our public schools. These words are now being replaced by "I feel, my reaction is, my feeling is, it seems to me, it is felt that." A similar shift in language has gone on in the students' elders. "What is your reaction?" is now more common than "What do you *think*?" Just how this change came about is not our concern. The change has occurred and it may best be illustrated by the following incident.

I asked a class of freshmen to write an essay on: Should Benjamin Franklin have been made the patron saint of the Democratic Party instead of Andrew Jackson? The class had just completed reading biographies of each man, and was being asked to argue the case for the superiority of either one over the other. A minority answered the question; almost half hedged but gave no reason; another minority hedged and gave the reason. It was this: "Both of these Americans are national heroes by vote and common consent of the American people. It is un-American to contest the will of the people and to set one hero above another." The unexpressed thought was that I, the teacher, had been subversive in asking them to judge.

These students were my best students, as the subtlety of their argument suggests. They cogently expressed what the majority who hedged without giving reasons could not or would not express. In thirty years of teaching I have asked thousands of students to weigh such evidence, but never before has the request been denied because the consensus of the American people was so right and complete as to put the question beyond the pale of thoughtful thought. Notice the denial of the possibility of right reason: a good American must feel as the majority of Americans felt as determined by a consensus of feelings registered at the polls and in the press. (When I lectured my students on their moral and intellectual cowardice, they smiled benignly on me; for they, well-adjusted, feel for a teacher temporarily off the beam. They hold no grudges; my words represent to many of them "a typical deviation from the norm in one who is a holdover from the days when people got excited over merely emotive words like *moral* and *coward*.")

My students are the natural product of the teachings of the age; and when they reflect its predominant creed, I blame them not. But I do blame those administrators and leaders in positions of responsibility and power who, knowing better, have not gone down fighting. By this I mean those who have permitted the present situation to develop by compromising their intellectual integrity and by abandoning primary laws.

The first principle of education (as basic to this science as the principle of means and ends is to the science of ethics) is that education is a discipline and that the ideally educated man is he who possesses a disciplined imagination, a disciplined memory, disciplined emotions, and a disciplined intelligence. In proportion as any person has made these faculties his servants is he free. They serve him, and not he them. Similarly and in the same proportion is he "knowing" or "unknowing." If this basic principle is not true, then education is impossible even as ethics becomes impossible when its prime law is abandoned, or as arithmetic ceases when the laws of addition are denied. And yet we professional educators up and down the line deny as often as not the principle which makes our profession a profession. Illustrations abound; I shall cite a couple and then sign off.

Discovered: Critical Thinking

In *Current Issues in Higher Education 1954*, published by the National Education Association, pages 88-89, the question asked of an eminent collegiate group of educators (Group F) is: "Can critical thinking be taught in social science courses in general education?" A large fully printed page describes how this question had been moiled and toiled over, how opinions conflicted, and how doubtful were the statistical results of "research" on the question. But page 93 (Recorder's Report) contains another version of what transpired. It would appear that out of the discussion a *consensus* emerged. The Recorder records it with so triumphant a shout as to jolt the mind. It is: "Critical thinking can be taught. The teaching of this skill has merit in the training of good citizens." The novelty of this newly discovered truth could only have been novel or true to a group of educational jerks, minds devoid of first principles and hence surprised when a first principle is rediscovered to be what it always was and always will be—*sub specie aeternitatis*—true.

It is not to be assumed, however, that the consensus arrived at in Chicago last March will hold for more than a year. Again in March of this year the same question will probably be asked, and there is no predicting what answer the consensus will produce. On this scheme, principles are dated by the year. The book in which they are inscribed is entitled *Trends*, a well-chosen word because in the age of the jerk one studies not Truth but Trends and Tendencies.

My second illustration is from among literary colleagues, lest those in the social studies regard the previous remarks as the narrow prejudice of a professor from another department. In a textbook which I have been required to teach to freshmen occurs the following paragraph of instructions to students on how to speak or write well.

> You cannot in most cases express your appeal to motives directly or in too obvious a manner. To do so would make the technique too prominent and would develop resistance in the audience. You would not say, "I want you to imitate Jones, the successful banker," nor, "if you contribute to this cause we will print your name so that your reputation as a *generous* person will be known to everybody." Rather you must make your appeal effective

through the suggestion of these things. Furthermore, some motive appeals which are privately powerful, such as the appeal to fear, imitation, personal comfort, or pride, we hesitate to acknowledge publicly. Therefore, when these appeals are used in public speech or writing they must be worded tactfully and supplemented by other appeals which we can publicly admit as a cause for our action.

Fortunately, the principle of academic freedom allows me to take issue with the texts in the textbook. In other words, the professor in my college is still free to point out errors and untruths in textbooks. Hence I teach my students to recognize that the author of the foregoing paragraph is what Socrates describes as a sophist, what the French call a charlatan, and what we call a jerk. I attempt to demonstrate the spectrum of motives from black hate to white love and go on to discuss the problem of disciplined emotions, pausing on the text itself only long enough to point out that it teaches a low animal cunning appropriate to foxes but not to men, that it is the product of an "unprincipled" mind, and that this kind of teaching can be had outside the classroom in the "power" or "influence" books which are best-sellers in Jerkland.

To an educator it is no consolation at all to have it pointed out that the charlatan and sophist have played leading roles in every historical period. And he grows doubly disconsolate when he finds charlatanism enthroned in the seats of power and sophistry enshrined in texts. But like the physician who carries on amid the patented medicines of the day, the educator endures the present and hopes for the future. He dreams of a time when in his business the patented concept of brainwashing children and adults so that they will conform to preconceived patterns of behavior is abandoned. He looks forward to a day when men will consult the principle first and the consensus second. As of now, however, he merely endures, an eccentric figure whom the consensus-sated majority may soon eliminate from the American scene.

The World's Greatest Suckers

By GEORGE W. PRICE

They are the liberals who were hoodwinked by the Reds. Psychology can explain why many of them attack investigations of communism.

To judge by the criticism against McCarthy, Jenner, Velde, Walter, *et al*, it would appear that the very worst men in Congress have been in charge of investigating communism. Since committee posts are assigned pretty much by party caucus and by seniority, it seems rather unlikely that the Red-hunting posts should go so exclusively to all the worst men. A more reasonable conclusion, to me, is that *any* man who conscientiously and effectively investigates communism, automatically becomes the target for abuse by the self-proclaimed "liberals" and "intellectuals."

Still, you must ask, why should these people, who are not themselves Communists, object so strenuously to investigation of the communist conspiracy? How does an anti-anti-Communist get that way? Perhaps psychology offers a rational explanation of such behavior. Let's see.

One of the very important subconscious drives is the desire and need to be *right*. This is a perfectly proper function, having the utmost survival value, because it acts as a feed-back system causing one to correct and avoid repeating mistakes. Being "right" makes a person feel good; conversely, being "wrong" causes him to feel bad. That is the standard pattern in nature: obedience to instincts brings a feeling of pleasure and well-being, and disobedience brings pain and discomfiture. In this respect man is no different from other animals.

What orientals term "saving face" is a consequence of this drive to be right; it is a way to allow a person to get out from under his errors without having to lower himself in his own estimation by publicly admitting to a mistake. Saving face is by no means restricted to the East. We all tend to do it. Happily, most of us are able to say, "I was wrong," without feeling more than mild embarrassment. But there are, unfortunately, many people who cannot so easily admit to their errors.

Just Can't Confess

Often, the "rightness" drive is twisted so that the person feels that he is and must be *always right*. His mental security depends on his "rightness," and it becomes virtually impossible for him to confess making a mistake. It must be understood that such a person is not deliberately practicing deception. He is quite honest, consciously. The difficulty is that his warped subconscious simply does not allow the conscious mind to see that it has erred. We might say that the feed-back

system has become stuck in one position, so that it can return only the signal that everything is on the beam.

Whether this subconscious twist is called a compulsion or a complex or an engram or what have you, I am convinced that it is the dominating factor in the conduct of many people.

I should make it clear that while this compulsion prevents a man from admitting to mistakes, it does not stop him from making them. Quite the contrary. It leads the victim ever deeper into error, because it prevents him from profiting by past mistakes.

Now let's consider the reaction of such a person upon being confronted with evidence of his errors. He *can't* believe that he made a mistake; so it follows that the evidence must be faked or misinterpreted, and the presenter of the evidence must be out to persecute him. His reaction, quite naturally, is injured innocence, frequently coupled with personal abuse of the accuser. (I would say that this is usually underneath the classic "persecution complex.") I don't doubt that every reader is acquainted with one or more such people, for they are far too plentiful. They go to almost any lengths to avoid having to say, "I was dead wrong. That was a real bonehead play." Human capacity for self-delusion seems to approach the infinite; and too often the more outrageous the delusion, the more furiously is it defended.

Politics Their Field

So far I've been on fairly solid ground, psychologically. Now I'll offer something which is strictly my own opinion. People with this aberration have a somewhat greater tendency than others to enter the fields of public opinion and politics. This is because in other activities, such as business or engineering, mistakes usually show up quickly and are punished promptly: the business goes bankrupt or the bridge collapses. So the person who cannot admit, and consequently cannot correct, his mistakes does not last long. He generally becomes a third-rater, a failure.

But many of those who have sufficient drive and intelligence find a place in the political and public opinion field, because there "rightness" and "wrongness" are so diffuse, confused and equivocal that a man can make plenty of mistakes and still stay on top. All he has to do is blame his opponents for everything that goes wrong, while taking credit for everything right.

That is standard political method. Many of the politicians who use such tactics are quite aware of what they are doing, but many others are these people whom I have attempted to analyze, who honestly believe that they are virtually always right and are being persecuted by their benighted enemies.

Having laid the psychological foundation, let's go into a little political history. In the early days of the New Deal, the government was virtually taken over by the self-styled liberals and intellectuals. For the first time, so they thought, the government was to be directed rationally, by reason and logic. Instead, they made a horrible botch, partly because they substituted theory and book-learning for the practical methods of the "Old Guard" politicians whom they despised. When their plans failed, they placed the blame not on inherent faults of the theories (to do that would have made them admit being wrong), but on the opposition of "reactionaries."

The Reds Were Pragmatists

The worst aspect of the botch, as far as I am concerned with it here, was that the Communists were allowed to infiltrate the government thoroughly. The Reds played the liberals for royal suckers, and by using the pragmatic methods which the liberals scorned, they worked themselves into positions of influence. They managed to fool the soft-headed liberals into thinking that the Communists were on the side of the angels. "Nobody here but us liberals, boss."

Eventually came the cold war and the Great Awakening. The evidence of the Red infiltration began coming to light, and a nasty mess of evidence it was. But if the evidence showed how bad the Communists were, it also showed how tremendously mistaken the pseudo-liberals and alleged intellectuals had been. And they couldn't stand it.

Here are these people, thoroughly believing in their own intellectuality, convinced of their complete rightness, suddenly confronted with incontrovertible evidence that they have been the World's Greatest Suckers, and have fallen for the biggest and most blatant con game in history. The guilt feeling must be enormous. Most people, even apart from the "always right" compulsion, would do almost anything to avoid facing the fact that they had helped betray their country. Their minds try to reject the terrible truth, and seek for some other, any other, explanation. When the desire to escape guilt is coupled with the compulsive inability to admit mistakes, the result is inevitable. The reaction, in line with the psychological theory which I outlined, is to sweep everything under the rug and pretend it never happened. And, of course, to subject the investigators to a constant stream of abuse and counteraccusations.

This is what is happening to the congressional Red-hunters. To many critics, their real fault is not in their methods, reprehensible as those may be in some cases, but in the very fact that they are digging out communist subversion, and in so doing are exposing the guilt and foolishness of the "liberals" who were hoodwinked by the Reds.

To Shakespeare and the Bible

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

A generation in quest of lost values is returning to the religion and the poetry that sustained our ancestors.

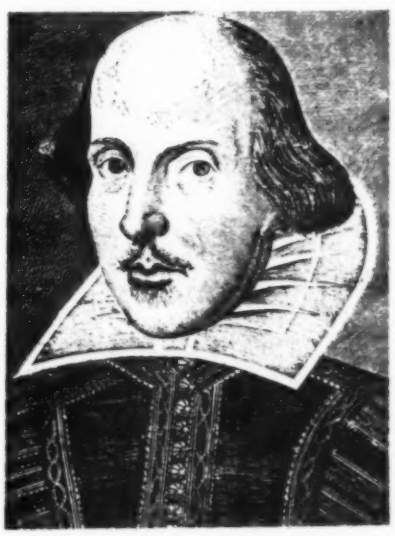
Ghosts are at large in America. Ancestral spirits walk the night and call out for us to pay them heed. Our disillusioned and bewildered country, both sinned against and sinning, is being haunted by the shades of its forefathers and being implored to seek again the high altars of tradition.

There are many manifestations of this haunting-and-yearning in our uneasy land. One that everybody knows is the return of religion. Statistically speaking, we are in a boom period of church-building and church-going. The success of young evangelists, notably the ebullient Billy Graham, is common knowledge. The seventeen-day meeting last summer of the World Council of Churches was the biggest event for press-radio-television coverage since the Republican Convention of 1952.

Religion—yes, poetry, too. There are scholars who say that the affinity between these two is so intimate as to make them one and the same thing. It's undeniable that poetry and religion have made a fast union in our American tradition. On what meat did our ancestors feed that made them so psalm-singing and so eloquent in the use of the English tongue? That's easy. Shakespeare and the Bible.

Side by side with religious revivalism today goes the renaissance of Shakespeare, not on Broadway, but in the provinces, at the grass roots. During a week last summer I saw seven Shakespeare plays and attended six round-table discussions of him at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. When the Antioch festival under-the-stars opened in 1952, it drew twelve thousand persons in ten weeks. In 1953 it drew twenty-three thousand. Last summer it pulled forty thousand; and it has two more years to run before completing the presentation of all Shakespeare's known plays.

These figures are almost unknown in urban centers. As a Washington newspaperman, I tried to discuss them at the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Nobody had heard about Shakespeare sweeping the country! I tried also at the Folger Shakespeare Library, where Shakespeare scholars abound. But they hadn't heard about Shakespeare-in-America until I told them. Last summer there were at least 44 productions of 21 Shakespeare plays by more than twelve companies in ten or more American states and Canadian provinces.



The Bard: Newly Popular

Grass-Roots Success

What's the meaning of it all? As a reporter on vacation at Antioch for the past two years, I have been quizzing what experts I could catch—educators, critics, actors, producers, anybody who seemed to make sense. One school of thought maintains that the Shakespeare renaissance can be explained by the law of supply and demand. The Bard still provides the best entertainment that money can buy. He comes across best on a bare platform stage, preferably outdoors at night, with a fair-to-middlin' company of non-celebrities. The best Shakespeare in the world is Shakespeare-with-the-bark-on, no frills, no nothin'. That must be one big reason for his grass-roots success. People get the mostest for their money.

But in addition to such bread-and-butter reasons for the Shakespeare boom, there were others, I think, more profound and persuasive. Without being a preacher and much less a prude, Shakespeare is the greatest evangelist of the historic English tongue. He's not a moralizer, but he's a moralist of the loftiest order. He speaks something special to an American generation in quest of lost values.

Have you ever thought how continent, how constant, how conventional Shakespeare's typical heroines are? Juliet goes to her bridal tryst with "a pair of stainless maidenhoods." Miranda and her betrothed are on an island where they cannot marry and yet they agree not to consummate their love without marriage. Desdemona, a blameless wife, is coarsely ac-

cused by her husband of adultery. She goes grieving to bed and wondering in her innocence if "there be women do abuse their husbands in such gross kind?" Other wives, like Brutus' Lady Portia, demand to share their husbands' troubles —or to die, as Portia did, sacrificially. There never was a better-trained, more obedient wife than Katharine, the ex-Shrew.

Shakespeare in our day and age would be taunted by the liberal press as a "patrioteer" and "narrow nationalist." What a braggart he was for "this England"!

Of Kings and Kings' Fools

It has seemed to me, as a daily writer of Washington politics, that much of our groping in the dark is a quest to rediscover the dignity of office. Historians have often regarded the election and administration of Andrew Jackson as the Great Divide of American history. Liberals proclaim Jackson's presidency as the triumph of the common man. Conservatives point out that the six Presidents who preceded Jackson—Washington, the two Adamses, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe—were singularly uncommon men. While the six who followed Jackson—Van Buren, Harrison, Tyler, Polk, Taylor, Fillmore—were the beginners in a long line of mediocrities and hacks.

Well, Shakespeare has much to say about rulership. The kings on whom he puts his stamp of approval are gentle and gracious, like King Duncan in *Macbeth*, or of great intellectual and moral stature, such as Prince Hamlet describes his dead father to be. But it has occurred to me that what Shakespeare stresses most about rulership is that it be continuous and self-disciplined. He is telling us that government should be unbroken and orderly; dignified, not self-serving.

The best source of Shakespeare on rulership are the so-called Chronicle Plays. The best of these are *Richard II, Henry IV*, parts 1 and 2, and *Henry V*. In the first we are shown Henry Bolingbroke, an ambitious noble who usurps the crown, causes the true King to be assassinated and begins what to superficial observation is a successful reign. But behind all the pomp and seeming success, King Henry IV is suffering agonies of conscience. This is not so much because he conspired in the murder of Richard II—in fact, Henry can almost rationalize himself out of that one—but because he broke up an orderly father-to-son succession. To add to his torments, Henry is afflicted with a playboy son, Prince Hal, who roisters about the taverns with the disgraceful old rogue, Sir John Falstaff.

It just doesn't seem possible for Henry's life to end happily, but it does. Lying on his deathbed, he's able to place the crown physically upon the head of his grieving and repentant son. Thus a new royal line has been commenced, and everything's going to be all right.

Now, it's my belief that the story-line of the Chronicle Plays has its parallel in American history. Jackson's election broke the succession, the royal line of Great Men, and failed to start another such dynasty. The rest of the nineteenth century after Jackson saw only one man of real merit in the White House—Abe Lincoln. By the twentieth century our politics had fallen into such Falstaffian disrepute that today it's a near-insult to call a man a "politician" unless you smile. Are we yearning for something better? Isn't the country a little ashamed that its true aristocrats of intellect and character are passed over in favor of demagogues, showmen or empty duds? What they wouldn't give for a Prince Hal to restore the dynasty of Great Men!

Finally, as it seems to me, Shakespeare speaks to Americans through his recognition of a cosmic kinship between Man and God. All of his fully realized characters, whether kings or kings' fools, think of themselves as creatures of a universe where goodness and harmony seek to reign.

As a nation, we Americans have stood at the summit of military and economic power. We find ourselves with weapons to conquer the world; we have the wherewithal to make the rest of civilization look like a poorhouse. Yet what have these supremacies availed us? We are far from triumphant in the world today. We are conspicuously unloved. We are bewildered.

Many strange philosophies and policies have been urged upon us in this time of trouble. We have tried some very complicated doctrines upon the advice of statesmen and for the good of our souls. But it could be that we were right in the first place, long ago. We did a lot better when we learned about life, domestic and global, from those old stand-bys—Shakespeare and the Bible.

Nor stony tower, nor walls of beaten brass,
Nor airless dungeon, nor strong links of iron,
Can be retentive to the strength of spirit;
But life, being weary of these worldly bars,
Never lacks power to dismiss itself.

SHAKESPEARE, *Julius Caesar*, I, iii, 93

Ted Williams Signs for $100,000 Tops Babe Ruth's $80,000 in 1931

Boston, May 13 (UP)—Ted Williams signed a one-year contract for an estimated $100,000 today. Then he promptly announced he would be ready to play "any position" for the Boston Red Sox in "a week or so."

The New York Times, May 14, 1955

After 24 years of inflation and rising taxes, how do the two salaries compare?

DOLLAR SALARIES

This is a comparison of Ruth's and Williams' dollar salaries

Ruth 1931 — Williams 1955

TAKE-HOME PAY

But after federal income taxes, this is a comparison of their take-home pay.

Ruth 1931 — Williams 1955

WHAT THE TAKE-HOME WILL BUY

Inflation has shrunk the buying power of the dollar since 1931, so Williams' take-home pay will buy only about one-third what Ruth's did.

Ruth 1931 — Williams 1955

If Ted Williams were to have as much buying power in 1955 as Babe Ruth had in 1931, he would have to be paid about $940,000.

When the Government Is Boss

By GEORGE WINDER

A report from England gives facts and figures on the nationalized mines and railways: their failure in both production and labor problems.

In the FREEMAN of November 1954 Mr. William Henry Chamberlin tells us that the British labor leaders have become lukewarm about nationalization of industry, and that neither British mines nor railways offers any evidence of the superiority of public to private ownership. Mr. Chamberlin is, of course, quite right; but it may interest the American to consider these two industries in some detail, for they have now been under State ownership long enough to provide the facts for an impartial judgment.

In the case of the nationalized mines, failure is particularly damaging to Great Britain, for coal is the very basis of her industrial and trade prosperity. Could her mines since nationalization have provided coal in quantities as great as those once supplied by private enterprise, much of her postwar difficulties would soon have been solved, and the financial aid so generously provided by America could have been largely dispensed with. In fact, so important is coal to the British economy that the production figures for the industry must be considered as almost the sole criterion for its success or failure under nationalization.

In the three years before the last war, British coal mines produced an average of 233 million tons of coal a year. The mines, still in private ownership, could meet any demands made upon them, though they were suffering from many disabilities due to the Coal Mining Act of 1930, passed by the socialist government of Ramsay MacDonald. In 1947 production was 240 million tons, in 1930 it was 243 million, and in 1929, 257 million. In the days of real free enterprise, before the first World War, a production of 250 million tons a year was common. In 1913 production was 287 million.

Yet under nationalization, in spite of the fact that millions of pounds have been spent by the State for new machinery, including 100,000,000 pounds spent in 1947, the highest production has been 214,324,000 tons in 1952. To this figure, however, we should doubtfully add 12,110,000 tons of open cast coal. This is coal lying near the surface under valuable farm land. This coal was not mined under private enterprise because of its poor quality, and because the destruction of the surface land had to be taken into account when estimating costs. The use of this open cast coal was first introduced as a wartime measure. Its mining, or to be exact its quarrying, is continued today only because of the low production of deep mined coal. However, even if we include this open cast coal, total production since nationalization is still lower than under free enterprise.

In the years before nationalization Great Britain had a great export trade in coal. In 1938, 35 million tons were exported; in 1929, 60 million and in 1913, 73 million. Under nationalization, although demand has been very great, coal exports reached their highest figure in 1953, with 13,972,000 tons.

Coal Shortage

Coal is the one commodity still rationed by the British government. During the long cold winter that has just passed, the British people suffered considerably as a result of the coal shortage. This is a country where, as Mr. Aneurin Bevan once informed the public, only an organizing genius could produce a shortage of coal.

The favorite excuse made by the Socialist Party for this reduced output of the British Mining Industry is that the number of mine workers has fallen from 766,000 in 1939 to 717,000 in 1953. But in spite of the increased mechanization of the industry, the production of coal is down by a greater percentage than the number of workers. In 1953, for example, 82 per cent of the coal produced was mechanically cut, as against 57 per cent in 1937: but output per mine worker was 296 tons per year in 1953, as against 309 in 1937.

This shortage of mine workers is itself a by-product of the planned economy. Under free enterprise the miner's wage level ranked third among Great Britain's industrial wages. Today it ranks first. But, at the same time, there has been a great leveling of wage scales, and this near equality of return has been increased by social services which are available to all, irrespective of wages. The miner has reached the top of the wage scale only to find that this means comparatively little. In the old days when he was paid three times as much as an unskilled road worker, there was some inducement to undertake the arduous and dirty job of mining, but today few men wish to work underground when nearly as much money can be obtained working at an unskilled job in the open air.

In most planned economies the solution of this difficulty is found in the State direction of labor; but, although this method was used in Great Britain during and immediately after the war, it rightly offended the public conscience, and has been abolished. The result has been inefficiency in the planned economy, and the continued shortage of miners is one of the many problems, apparently insolvable, now facing Great Britain.

Needless to say, nationalization has not prevented the price of coal from rising. Coal which cost 18 shillings a ton at the pithead before the war and 40 shillings a ton in 1947, was 57 shillings last year and is due for another rise almost immediately. In the first year of its operation the Coal Board lost 23,000,000 pounds, but the following year it rectified this by increasing prices by 7 shillings a ton. Since then, by increasing prices every year, a small profit has been made in most years, so that the total loss has now been reduced to 14,000,000 pounds.

The Board ignores the theory of marginal costs in arriving at prices, and prefers instead to base these on average costs. The result of this is that 452 mines, with an output of approximately 140 million tons a year, work at a profit; and 460 mines, with an output of about 70 million tons a year, work at a loss. In some mines this loss is as much as two pounds per ton.

One of the favorite arguments of those who advocated nationalization was that it would increase production by doing away with discontent among miners. Mr. Shinwell, who became the socialist Minister for Fuel and Power, once informed Parliament that with no owner to interfere between the "manager and his comrades, the workers in the pit," an entirely new atmosphere, favorable to production, would be created. Technical reorganization at the pits, and the new human relations would lead to abundance of coal.

Sir William Lawther, President of the National Union of Mineworkers, in a letter to the London *Times*, wrote, "The elimination of private profit would enable every industry dependent on coal to obtain all the supplies it required at prices more favorable than at present, and British coal would take its rightful place in the world's markets."

But nationalization has not satisfied the workers' demands, and there is more discontent than ever. There have been more than eight thousand unofficial strikes throughout the industry since the Coal Board took control, and absenteeism, fluctuating at about 12 per cent, is roughly twice what it was before the war.

The Acton Society Trust, a body set up to promote non-party economic and social research, recently sent representatives into the minefields to investigate the miners' morale. The following is an extract from their report:

"The intensity of the hatred and scorn which is felt for the administration is perhaps conveyed by some of the names which are freely given to them —'glamour boys,' 'fan-tailed peacocks,' 'little Caesars.' There seems little doubt that the miners have a general impression that they are carrying on their backs a horde of unproductive officials. The miners conclude that posts have been made solely to provide 'jobs for the boys.' "

The Railroads Fiasco

So much for the miners. Let us now consider the nationalized railways. Here failure cannot be proved simply by producing production figures from the Statistical Digest. Here we must rely on public opinion, where there is a general impression of growing inefficiency which is particularly manifest in dirty carriages. Several branch lines have been closed, much to the astonishment of those who believed that, once the railways were nationalized, the government would carry any losses such lines incurred. There is a report of a growing lack of discipline among railway workers which is not liked by the majority, for lives may depend on strict adherence to rules.

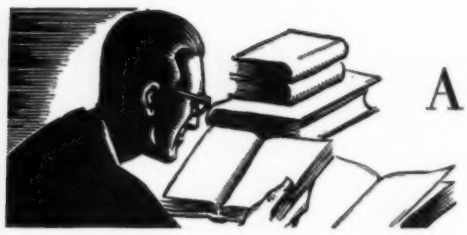
There is a growing loss of business to the privately owned road haulage industry. The Socialists countered this by the nationalization of road transport, thus suppressing the competition. Now that the Conservative government has restored their trucks to the former owners, the railways are becoming steadily and more obviously out of date.

The railway employee, comparing his wages with those in the privately owned engineering industry, has concluded that he is one of the worst paid workers in Great Britain. He has chosen the last two Christmas seasons to threaten strike action to hold up the whole railway system.

[*Shortly after Mr. Winder sent us this article, came the railroad strike which created a national crisis in Britain and threw people out of work in many industries.* EDITOR]

It was recognized on the last occasion that the railways could not afford the increased wages demanded, so that in surrendering to the strike threat the government took an important step in Great Britain's economic history. It accepted the principle, so far avoided, that the nationalized industries need not be self-supporting, and that a subsidy would be paid where necessary. At the same time as the government admitted this surrender, it issued a White Paper containing a very ambitious plan for modernizing the railways. Many people look upon this as a mere political gesture to cover surrender, and believe that it will be a long time before much of this plan is put into effect.

Mr. Chamberlin is quite right in his contention that in Great Britain neither the mines nor the railways offers any evidence of the superiority of public to private ownership. In fact, his contention is a very great understatement.



A Reviewer's Notebook

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Wall Street is so mixed up with the mental and emotional stereotypes of a score of interest groups that no one, to my knowledge, has ever described it accurately. To William Jennings Bryan it was a place where gamblers bet upon the price of grain. To the Communists it is the headquarters where the "staff work" of capitalism is done before the orders go out to strangle a colonial people or to grind the faces of the southern sharecroppers or the California wetbacks. To Senator Fulbright it is the source of the "speculative" fever that periodically drives common stocks too high. Practically nobody sees it for what it is, a place that registers the impact of decisions made elsewhere, whether in Washington, in Vienna, in the board room of a Chicago corporation, or in a professor's study in a university.

As Bernard Baruch has said, Wall Street follows the economy—or, to put it more broadly, the culture. Even in 1929 it followed the egregious hopefulness of a people who had caught a legitimate glimpse of plenty; stocks went higher and higher as the academic prophets of the New Era—Professor Irving Fisher and the rest—kept saying that we had reached a new plateau, or that the business cycle was a thing of the past. Knowing Wall Street for what it is, Martin Mayer has made a praiseworthy attempt to describe it behavioristically, without looking for villains. His book, *Wall Street: Men and Money* (274 pp., New York: Harper, $3.50), has certain deficiencies in vision, but as a reportorial job it is solid and first-rate. It tells all about the *mechanics* of trading in old securities and raising money to float new issues—and if this explains little of the "why" of booms and depressions, well, that is part of its realism. After all, Wall Street is a place of mechanics, not of production, consumption and the disposition of human energy in general. The "why" is the province of the economist, not of the behavioristic observer of events at the corner of Broad and Wall, which is all that Mr. Mayer has set out to be.

Mr. Mayer begins by describing the canyons of downtown Manhattan, the banks, the offices of the underwriters, the brokerage houses, the odors (fishy when the wind is from the east, a smell of roasting coffee on a nice day), the restaurants, and so on. He goes on to the people, and then to the all-important paper abstractions — common and preferred stocks, mortgage bonds, debentures. He takes you inside the Exchanges, both Big Board and Curb, and he goes on to present some good take-outs on such brokerage firms as Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Beane ("We the People") and the company run by Carl Marks (a trader in foreign securities who is not to be confused with Karl Marx). It is all very crisp and lively, and a thorough reading of it will make the financial pages more intelligible to almost anyone.

The justification for Wall Street becomes absolutely clear as Mr. Mayer shows his brokers and underwriters, his Stock Exchange specialists and his professional traders, living at one end of a telephone line or within quick reach of the ticker tape. To begin with, it is a fanatically honest place insofar as the daily transactions go: when a man says, "Buy me a hundred at the market," it doesn't have to be put into writing; and when a broker says "yes" to a customer it remains yes, come hell or high water. Given this conception of the pledged word, it is scant cause for wonder that when Cyrus Eaton's Cleveland house of issue failed to go through with a disadvantageous Kaiser-Frazer stock underwriting, the Wall Street community was thunderstruck. The Wall Street conception of the sanctity of the given word is the only thing that makes possible the vast number of transactions that take place within its environs on any given day.

But beyond this, Wall Street is what makes the free disposition of human energy possible within the whole United States. As Mr. Mayer says, "the free financial market, combining the judgments of industry, underwriters and investors, is the only known way of allocating resources so that successes can be noted and continued, failures recognized and punished." If Senator Fulbright or anybody else were to abolish Wall Street, some one would have to invent it all over again the very next day if we were to continue as a free society. This particular truth has not been a popular one in recent years, but, as Mr. Mayer notes, the general animus against Wall Street is passing. "The 1950's," says Mr. Mayer, "are a new period in time: puritanism and class guilt have both gone out of fashion. Young men are no longer reluctant to come down to Wall Street and work with stocks and bonds; people in general are no longer ashamed of making money with money. Money has, at long last, become respectable."

The one big deficiency in Mr. Mayer's book is its failure to focus clearly on the lines that make Wall Street an integral part of the U.S. —or, indeed, the world-economy. Mr. Mayer gives some interesting facts about the *Wall Street Journal*, for example, noting that it is a "complete business newspaper." But the *Wall Street Journal* owes its success as a national newspaper to the fact that, while it may be *in* Wall Street, it is very definitely not *of* Wall Street. The *Journal* is run by Hoosiers who came up through its Washington, D. C. office in the time of the Great Depression; it derives its great vitality from editorial antennae that pick up tremors from Oshkosh, Ypsilanti, Walla Walla and Timbuktu. I started reading it a decade ago in preference to the up-

town New York newspapers because it was the only paper that told me what *America* was doing. Its end column features on the front page are daily *Fortune* Magazine articles without the *Fortune* concentration on reams of minutiae that one is going to forget the next day, anyway. And its editorial page is one of the few in the country that says things clearly, and with homely humor. Moreover, its foreign coverage has proved to be pretty prophetic: it took the measure of Britain's failure with socialism long before any other newspaper of importance. Altogether, it is quite a paper—and Mr. Mayer's failure to point this out is an indication of slight myopia.

Another thing that Mr. Mayer misses is the general failure of the Wall Street market analyst fraternity to give enough weight to the fact that economic decisions are made within the context of a *political* economy. A friend of mine named Eliot Janeway is currently having quite a success as a market analyst because of one simple reason: he keeps his Washington, D. C. pipelines open. A defense economy is bound to rise and fall with orders for planes, for stockpiling, for capital goods ordered on certificates of military necessity. Many analysts set great store by the stock-bond yield ratio in making their predictions of stock behavior. But the stock-bond yield ratio in many lines depends, for better or worse, on political decisions—and the analyst who knows his Washington is one up on the rest. In a truly libertarian society this would not be true—but, unfortunately, we do not live in a society in which economic decisions are made for reasons that make purely economic sense.

Mr. Mayer's book is almost wholly contemporary: it wastes little time on back history, or on the pre-SEC rules—or lack of rules. But there is enough in it of the past to enable the reader to make a judgment on the SEC. In the long perspective of time the SEC is likely to prove the single Rooseveltian reform that was worth the making. The SEC does not undertake to "redistribute" the wealth, to take from one person in order to give something to another. All it does is to define the rules of honest trading, and to prescribe standards of honest organization. In other words, it sticks to the proper function of government, which is to protect free individuals in the exercise of their rights.

Since the SEC, there may have been instances of what one of Mr. Mayer's characters calls "massaging" the market. But with "full disclosure" the rule, the buyer of stocks these days needs no Fulbright Committee to weep crocodile tears for his plight if he happens to lose money. Moreover, if stocks are "too high" at the moment, let the politician look to his own behavior.

If the market is a reflection of economic activity, it is also a reflection of what the government chooses to do about the money supply. When a man can borrow practically the entire amount necessary to build a home from a lender who has a political guarantee, no company making wallboard or kitchenware or washing machines or prefabricated houses is going to suffer unduly from deflated stocks. If Senator Fulbright wants to get the market down, all he has to do is to persuade Congress to stop subsidizing certain segments of the economy. In 1933 it was good politics to go after the "money-changers" with a snake whip. But the money manipulators these days are in Washington, not in Wall Street. Senator Fulbright's investigation missed fire for the simple reason that the "villain" was hiding in the Senator's own closet, not in the building at the corner of Broad and Wall Streets.

Wall Street, as Mr. Mayer describes it, is a fascinating place. But a little bit of it goes a long way if you are a person who cannot live by abstractions alone. The other day, while eating lunch in Eberlin's Restaurant, which is a block away from Wall Street in New Street, I saw a man stop several times between mouthfuls of Baltimore crabcakes (a delicious dish) to go over and read the stock ticker. That way lies ulcers; it is even nerve-wracking to watch such a performance. It is a relief, then, to turn from a book like Mr. Mayer's to Louis Bromfield's *From My Experience: the Pleasures and Miseries of Life on a Farm* (355 pp., New York: Harper, $4), with its unabstract pleasure in oinking pigs and fragrant alfalfa and cold watermelon and spring-chilled beer. Mr. Bromfield knows as well as any Wall Streeter that the abstract laws of production cannot be flouted in agriculture any more than in industry. He can talk about farming in terms of production per dollar of investment, per man hour, per unit of machinery. But he can also talk about it in terms of gusto and delight; the abstractions of economics are fleshed out and take on living form in Mr. Bromfield's random chapters about his Pleasant Valley home in Ohio and about the adventures he had in Brazil.

Mr. Bromfield is insatiably curious, and he is willing to learn from anyone, whether "crank" or not. But while he makes use of the "organic" fanatics who decry commercial fertilizers and the use of the moldboard plow, he does not let them ride him. What he has done at his Malabar Farm is to combine the old and the new, choosing the methods that work best after long experimentation. His work in building topsoil proves that no land within reach of water can be permanently worn out. Most of his book is about bread-and-butter farming, but there is also a delightful chapter on gardening and landscaping. When he returned to Ohio from his long period of expatriation in France, Mr. Bromfield tried to reproduce a European garden on American soil. It couldn't be done; the Ohio earth was too luxurious to permit a French sense of design and order. Finally, Mr. Bromfield discovered a way of letting the genius of the local take over. Oddly enough, two Englishmen showed him the way—English gardening methods worked better than the tricks and stratagems that Mr. Bromfield had learned in France.

Incidentally, there is a lot in Mr. Bromfield's book that transcends the subject of farming. Liking to fling out at stupidity wherever he finds it, Mr. Bromfield is quick to speak his mind on such things as foreign policy, collectivism, education and the American character. Altogether, this is a book for anyone who is interested in the state of a civilization, whether he is a farmer or a gardener or not.

Second Defense Line

Treaties Versus the Constitution, by Roger Lea MacBride. 89 pp. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd. $1.00

Whatever may have been the intention of the framers of our Constitution, the words in which they expressed it make it lawful to overthrow that Constitution by the simple device of an international treaty. We may deplore that possibility, we may protest against it, but, as things stand now, our dissentient opinions are unlikely to prevail. "No lawyer today," warns the author, "could conscientiously advise a client to risk his liberty or his property on the ground that it [an international treaty] is invalid because not in conformance with the Constitution."

It is unfortunate that, while the wording of Article VI of the Constitution requires that the laws of the United States should be made in pursuance of the Constitution in order to become the supreme law of the land, no similar limitation is imposed upon treaties which need only be made "under the authority of the United States." It is, of course, true that the reference to the authority of the United States was inserted in order to cover the treaties that had been concluded before the adoption of the Constitution and not in order to differentiate between the relative importance of laws and treaties. It is also true that none of the members of the Federal Convention envisaged the possibility of treaties at variance with the spirit of the Constitution. There seemed thus no need to guard against it.

The effects of this absence of detailed definition have been aggravated by the Supreme Court's view that "the very nature of executive decisions as to foreign policy is political," and the Court's consequent refusal to review their constitutionality. Clearly, remedial action is needed, and Mr. MacBride reviews the various constitutional amendments proposed to this end and adds one of his own.

Mr. MacBride also deals with the pet argument of the opponents of the Bricker Amendment that the proposed limitations of the treaty-making power would weaken the national government at the conference table. He points out that the Canadian government is subject to similar limitations, but is not known to have yet been seriously hampered by them. He rightly asserts that the proposal to make all treaties non-self-executing would achieve nothing more than to bring the United States in line with the principles and the practice of the majority of the States of the world. He is too generous to taunt our internationalists with their inconsistency in refusing to follow the majority in this respect, but they might give the matter some thought and might even consider whether our most serious handicap in international negotiations is not precisely this absence of a second line of defense which might make our negotiators bolder and allow them to take more initiative than would be prudent under present conditions.

HUBERT MARTIN

New Light on Pétain

France: The Tragic Years, 1939-47, by Sisley Huddleston. 360 pp. New York: Devin-Adair Co. $5.00

Those of us who have been watching French postwar publications have long known that the author of *Terreur 1944* had a pertinent story to tell, a story which our "court historians" have managed to suppress. We salute the Devin-Adair Company for at last giving us Sisley Huddleston's stirring account of the folly and terror which swept over France from 1939 to 1947. (English publishers considered the manuscript inadvisable.)

This report by the famed Paris correspondent, who died in 1952, is intensely personal and not free from debatable (though thought-provoking) generalizations about peoples, political movements and individuals. On the whole, however, it is a trustworthy personal history of recent European events which breathes the air of integrity and courage.

This Englishman who, out of love for France, became a French citizen, recites chapter and verse to prove that Marshal Pétain was one of the most devoted, farsighted and intelligent Frenchmen of our century. Others ran away to incite Frenchmen to premature revolt from their sheltered exile, but Pétain chose to stay and serve his Fatherland. The defeat of France had been accomplished by the little politicians; the aged Pétain emerged from retirement to save what could be saved, by an armistice and by his prudent though painful policy of waiting, of *attentisme.*

At no time did Pétain betray the Allies. He could have handed over the still powerful French fleet to the Nazis and could have ranged his country with the victorious Germans. He preferred to scuttle the Strasbourg, seven cruisers, an aircraft carrier and numerous other vessels. He kept the French empire out of Nazi reach so that it might be thrown into the battle against Nazism in due time.

When it became apparent that the unscrupulous Laval had surrendered to the Nazis, Pétain dismissed him curtly. After eighteen months he was forced to take Laval back, against his will. Unlike other Western statesmen, Pétain always realized that it would have been best to let the Nazis and Bolsheviks destroy each other. It was—in Huddleston's considered opinion—the superficial, vain and impractical de Gaulle who made common cause with the Communists and permitted them to terrorize and almost destroy France.

Huddleston furnishes a vast array of facts to prove that the lawlessness and terror of the so-called Liberation by far exceeded the abominations of Robespierre's madness and that of the 1871 Paris Commune. At least a million citizens, most of them far more loyal to France than the Communists, were incarcerated. Over a hundred thousand Frenchmen, most of them genuine patriots, were murdered.

The last safeguards of personal freedom were swept aside by de Gaulle's foolish collaboration with the Communists and Socialists. The press was expropriated and practically donated to the protagonists of the collectivist bureaucracy. France was made to suffer the bungling and corruption-bearing experiments of the planners who wasted the fruits of her once free economy.

Sisley Huddleston's substantial work is a much-needed and long-awaited antidote to such spurious commentaries on Vichy France as Professor William L. Langer's *Our*

Vichy Gamble. It at last restores to the Marshal the honorable place which he has held in the hearts of the French. It effectively exposes the fallacies of that ballyhooed Resistance movement which had little to do with the patient and silently heroic resistance of those patriots who refused to jeopardize France's heritage by making common cause with hooligans, neo-Jacobins, opportunists and the lackeys of Moscow. This is an important book which no friend of liberty can afford to miss.

FELIX WITTMER

Calm Optimism

In Search of Serenity, by R. V. C. Bodley. 175 pp. Boston: Little, Brown and Co. $3.00

The lover of freedom who upholds all possible dignity for fallible man must breast the storm of overwhelming opposition these days. And in doing so he may have failed to find adequate serenity.

Now a book comes along that clearly and reasonably portrays the qualities evidenced in serene yet principled persons, like those most admired among one's acquaintances in a world full of tensions of mind and body. As such, R. V. C. Bodley's *In Search of Serenity* is to be prized.

A quarter century ago the author, then sick in mind and body from the whirl of the "civilized" world, took the personal advice of Lawrence of Arabia and visited the nomadic Arabs. He stayed seven years and found there the beginnings of his search for serenity. These experiences were reported in his earlier book *Wind in the Sahara.*

As the author was once hastening somewhere, an Arab stopped him and asked: "What do you do with the time you've saved?" That is an incisive question for Americans as they whiz on toward that predicted time when one in five will spend some of his lifetime in a mental institution.

Bodley does not scorn pursuit of economic wants, but he pleads that they be kept in proper focus in one's life. "Money is a convenience," he says. But: "It certainly does not enhance the character of men and women or raise them to positions of moral superiority." And: "It is chiefly the search for material wealth which leads men to uproot ancient customs and, in the name of progress, substitute their frenzied conception of living."

He tells us that a prime requisite to serenity is humility combined with proper self-confidence. And he reminds us of Cicero's admonition: "The higher we are placed, the more humbly we should walk."

The author confesses that acquiring a belief in his own lack of importance was one of the hardest lessons he had to teach himself. As a lecturer of note he found that "Lecturing is not good for humility." After one has attained proper perspective as a bit player of his minor role in the infinite universe, he is then ready to appreciate this gem of advice: "Anyone who really wants Serenity should try not to regret and never give rein to remorse."

The author, with that calm optimism of a careful student of history, gives us these words which reflect the book's spiritual beauty:

> It is the sea and the rivers and the mountains and the deserts which cause men to know themselves. It is their association with lonely places which teaches them self-discipline. It is the silence which gives them divinity and then tranquility of mind. A man who has known these pageants of empty lands, who has heard the roar of the immortal ocean, who has listened to the wind in the Sahara and stood beneath the thundering God of the Himalayas can accept the discord of the modern world knowing that everything has some meaning. He can be grateful and generous. He can, above all, love with the unselfishness of deep understanding. And that, more than anything else, will give him permanent and satisfying Serenity.

F. A. HARPER

Essay in Confusion

Academic Freedom, by Russell Kirk. 210 pp. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. $3.75

Dr. Russell Kirk's book about academic freedom will not really please anyone except those who have more or less decent impulses in every direction, a certain amount of love for everybody and everything, but wouldn't for the world engage in hand-to-hand combat with an intellectual problem which habitually licks all comers and leaves them scarred. What I mean to say is that Dr. Kirk's book on academic freedom has something in it for everybody from Meiklejohn to Zoll. But no one could conceivably refer to this book as a reasoned statement of a coherent position on academic freedom.

Dr. Kirk tells us, repeatedly, that teachers need and merit certain immunities and privileges in virtue of their service in behalf of "Truth"—for "it is Truth they worship, not humanity, and . . . it is by Truth they must be judged, not Demos." Teachers are, Dr. Kirk simplifies it, "bearers of the Word."

The very fact that so careful a writer as Dr. Kirk capitalizes "Truth" and "the Word" highlights the difficulties he walks into. What Word? The Word of Christ? Kirk must think so, for he says elsewhere that the beginning of wisdom is the fear of God. In that case, where would Sidney Hook, a persistent God-baiter, get off asking for academic freedom for himself? Or the "Word" of Caesar? What *is* the word of Caesar, and who bears it, Harold Laski or Friedrich Hayek?

The point is that the doctrine of academic freedom cannot be defended on the premise that those who defend truth are entitled to certain immunities because to do so requires the identification of truth and the social discrimination that would follow against those who believe in error.

Is it, then, the *search* for truth, rather than the dissemination of it, that necessitates these special immunities? It would appear so from the definition of academic freedom (by Mr. W. T. Couch) that Dr. Kirk cites with heartiest approval. "Academic freedom is the principle designed to protect the teacher from hazards that tend to prevent him from meeting his obligations in pursuit of truth." Now, unlike many of his fellow-teachers, who talk about the pursuit of truth but would be dismayed at the suggestion that any truth exists, Dr. Kirk *believes* in truth and its discoverability, and is realistic enough to know that under certain circumstances, scholars need protection from the forces of darkness. But then again, Dr. Kirk makes a major analytical blunder. In defending academic freedom for these reasons, he blandly assumes that all teachers are scholars engaged in searching out truth.

Yet it is a safe guess that Dr. Kirk is not unaware that in most cases the teacher is not a scholar. For in one paragraph alone, he refers to "the teacher and the scholar" four times, and one must assume that so fastidious a verbalizer as Dr. Kirk would use two words in the place of one only if he had two objects, not one, in mind. Why then, adopt for the active teaching profession a doctrine which is useful only for a few, and can be defended only for the few? And then on top of it all, having been told with some eloquence about the importance of shelter while we search out the heavens for new stars, we run into a statement by Edmund Burke, quoted with excited approval by Dr. Kirk, in which we are foreclosed from finding new truths in one very broad area of inquiry, ethics, and discouraged from searching them out in another broad area, government.

Having, then, endorsed virtually every claim for privilege advanced by the American teacher, Dr. Kirk sets out to list those qualifications he feels justifiably limit academic freedom: 1) No teacher "may endeavor to subvert the foundations of society." Why not? 2) The teacher must not "abuse his opportunities by indoctrinating his students." Shouldn't students be indoctrinated in the Word? 3) Teachers should show "a decent respect" for the consensus of opinion of the ages and "the prevailing opinions of the age in which the community of qualified scholars exist." Does this mean that all we need to do to strip, say, Henry Steele Commager of his privileges under academic freedom is to demonstrate that he doesn't show such respect? 4) No teacher should fail to acknowledge "a loyalty to the moral order which transcends the foibles of human reason." Implement that one and you'll *really* have a shortage of teachers. 5) "Academic freedom may properly be restrained, in some degree, by the right of any society to ensure its own preservation." There is, at last, a pretty general consensus on that point. 6) Dr. Kirk "doubts" that "the community of scholars has an unqualified right to tamper with every prescriptive moral value." So off with Bertrand Russell's head? And Kinsey's, too? And, come to think of it, Oliver Wendell Holmes'?

To sum up: I believe that an analytical book that seeks to throw light on a pressing contemporary problem is not very useful if significant hunks of it can be justly quoted to defend virtually every consistent position in that controversy. WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

From Plato to Dewey

A Layman's Guide to Educational Theory, by Charles W. Coulter and Richard S. Rimanoczy. 153 pp. New York: D. Van Nostrand Co. $3.50

Are you a "conservative," or a "progressive," with respect to educational theory? According to Messrs. Coulter and Rimanoczy you are a "conservative" to the extent, for example, that you believe that: 1) the common sense of adolescents is not, by itself, a safe guide of conduct; 2) students should be required to compete with each other for high grades; 3) the learning process must involve some involuntary hard work; 4) class work should be carried on within a framework of imposed discipline.

You are a "progressive," however, to the extent that you believe, for example, that: 1) scholastic accomplishments should be measured only in relation to the natural ability of the student; 2) the learning process can be an entirely pleasurable experience; 3) discipline should be entirely voluntary self-discipline.

Most persons interested in educational matters take sides. This, however, is nothing new. It has gone on since the beginnings of society and, as the authors say in their preface, the explanation lies partly in the nature of society itself and

in the strains it develops. To help interested laymen understand the present strains in American education this book was written. "It is our purpose," the authors say, "to discover through a survey of the most important writings on education, preceding the twentieth century, what have been the changing goals or purposes of educators: for out of the accumulated variations of thought has come the educational philosophy of today."

In this book are set forth in most readable fashion the educational views of the Sophists; of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle; of monasticism; of Charlemagne and Alcuin; of Scholasticism and Thomas Aquinas; of Petrarch, Vergerius, Erasmus, and Luther; of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Bacon; of Comenius and John Milton; of John Locke, Rousseau and Kant; of Pestalozzi, Herbart and Froebel; of Horace Mann, McGuffey and John Dewey. "Each school of thought is thoroughly discussed and great stress is laid upon the teachings of Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century—how he was the first to unite the teachings of Aristotle with those of Christ, thus laying the groundwork for theories and systems that have markedly influenced both Catholic and Protestant education alike."

Perhaps there was a time when you, a layman, could look upon the educational views of those historically important persons as being outside of your concern; as being of concern only to professional educators. This is no longer so. Your school officials are asking you to take a more active interest in what the schools are trying to accomplish. Hence, you are probably finding it necessary to activate your knowledge of these matters, and even to add to that knowledge. If so, you will find this book helpful and refreshing. There are, in fact, almost no limits to the pleasure which you could derive from it by inquiring whether the educational views you hold resemble those held, for example, by Thomas Aquinas or by Francis Bacon; by Martin Luther or by Rousseau. Incidentally, while engaged in this pleasurable exercise you will discover how many of the new ideas are "old," and how many of the old ideas are "new."

I was a classroom teacher for many years. I speak from experience, therefore, when I say that teachers prize above all else your understanding of their creative efforts. Consequently, they would, I know, appreciate your reading of this book and discussing it with them.

THOMAS J. SHELLY

T. R. at Home

The Roosevelt Family of Sagamore Hill, by Hermann Hagedorn. 435 pp. New York: The Macmillan Co. $5.00

This is a leisurely, affectionate book, full of anecdotes, legends and bits from letters, diaries and newspaper files. Its hero is Teddy Roosevelt—certainly the most personable President we have ever had—and though it does not avoid his public career, its emphasis is elsewhere: upon his equally vigorous private life and the abundant family which flourished around him for 32 years, for a time in the White House but chiefly in a sprawling, architecturally undistinguished, but warmly loved and lived-in house named after the Sagamore Indians and overlooking Long Island Sound near Oyster Bay.

A man's home is usually a good index to his character. Teddy had planned his house himself, and in a letter to the editor of *Country Life in America,* he not only described how he went about it, but inadvertently revealed a good deal about himself. "I did not know enough to be sure what I wished in outside matters," he wrote, "but I had perfectly definite views of what I wished in inside matters. A piazza where we could sit in rocking chairs and look at the sunset, a library with a bay window looking south, and big fireplaces for logs. . . . I had to live inside and not outside the house, and while I should have liked to 'express myself' in both, as I had to choose, I chose the former."

Does anything characterize Teddy, as a man as well as a political leader, more than the confidence with which he always lived "inside and not outside" himself? The candor with which he always began with his own individual knowledge and experience, and proceeded from there? In everything he thought and did, he arrived at his general view by a direct route through his own private self. For instance, he held very strong views on the "idle rich." But this wasn't because he began with any theory about social classes, the rights of the worker, or the wave of the future. He simply, pragmatically, found idleness in any form boring.

What distinguished him from all the rest of our Presidents is just this: his public self, his official identity, his world views, and his actual executive action, did not grow out of a rationalized, objective, greater-than-human point of view. They simply sprang up, out of his daily, forthright, courageous and undissimulating character, which always "had perfectly definite views of what I wished in inside matters."

ROBERT PHELPS

Land of the Great Lie

The Soviet Regime, by W. W. Kulski. 807 pp. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press. $8.00.

Anyone who wants a description of the Soviet paradise from the mouths of its makers should read *The Soviet Regime.* It is not easy reading, but it is fascinating and rewarding. Professor Kulski has written an extremely important book, and one which leaves room for no other argument than that of the farmer at the circus who denied the giraffe's existence. For his voluminous documentation is all drawn from Soviet sources. He has performed a labor of Hercules.

One impressive fact that emerges from this book is that the Soviet government has become steadily more oppressive since the thirties. This is largely the result of war, but it is also closely related to the ruthless build-up of a war machine intended to carry the blessings of communism to benighted capitalist countries. And it accounts for the current demonstration of the truth of the old adage about driving a horse to water.

The basic principle of this so-called workers' and peasants' State is embodied in these words which Professor Kulski quotes from *Pravda*: "The interests of the state are superior to everything." And the attitude of the State toward the people is defined in this quotation from Stalin: "It is indispensable to mechanize manpower." Such a State, with such an attitude, could hardly be expected to show concern for individual welfare or predilection, or even rudimentary justice or regard for human dignity; and the Soviet State shows none. But it is deeply concerned with making it appear that its worst crimes against the people express the popular will. To this end it imposes upon its helpless serfs the ultimate humiliation of appearing to acquiesce in their own abasement.

Another striking fact is the abandonment of what Russian Communists now call "rotten egalitarianism." The regime is deliberately building a society of classes as a bulwark of its power, realizing that antagonism of each class toward those more privileged will deflect resentment from itself. At the top is the intelligentsia, which may live in luxury so long as it conforms to the dictates of the ruling clique. Then come the skilled workers, the aristocrats of the industrial laboring class. Below them are the unskilled workers, and below these the peasants, the most savagely oppressed (and most numerous) class, except for the nameless millions in the slave camps, about which one wishes Professor Kulski had been able to furnish more information.

Such, after thirty-eight years, is the "Fatherland of the Workers"; a land of terror (even in the privileged upper circles), of misery and of lies. Readers of this book will understand why the late W. G. Krivitsky once said, "What everyone in Russia, even the Chekists, most longs for, is freedom."

SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE

Free Market Miracle

Germany's Comeback in the World Market, by Ludwig Erhard. 276 pp. New York: The Macmillan Co. $4.50

Seldom do we get a laboratory experiment for proving or disproving economic theories. Yet that is exactly what happened in West Germany in June 1948. On a Saturday, shops were closed under a regimented economy. Workers had wads of money that often could not buy even what the rationing board released. On Monday, every person in West Germany had forty crisp new marks which he had received for part of the inflated notes. But this new money bought anything from vegetables to chinaware and building material. On the Sunday between, Dr. Ludwig Erhard, Minister of Economics, had lifted with a single order practically all restrictions on trade. He describes the result: "It was the initiation of the market economy that awakened entrepreneurial impulses. The worker became ready to work, the trader to sell, and the economy in general to produce. In this way alone the conditions making possible a genuine foreign trade were provided."

This reviewer remembers the riots instigated by German labor unions and Social Democrats. They smashed the st e windows displaying the now unrationed incentives of Dr. Erhard's new market economy. They demanded the immediate return to a planned economy, with price controls, rationing and all that. Dr. Adenauer and Professor Erhard remained adamant in their decision to let the free market put Germany back on her feet again.

Not a single principle was compromised. For this reason, more than anything else, West German economic growth was unparalleled. Strangely enough, in our "liberal" metropolitan press the return and success of the free market economy in the German Republic got only a fraction of the space that was devoted to the socialistic experiment in Britain. Even our conservative weeklies now marvel at the recovery of West Germany, but make little reference to the economic system that brought it about.

A small group of European scholars predicted after the last war that only countries with courage for the market economy would return to self-supporting economies and a stable currency before the end of American aid. Men like Ludwig Erhard, Walter Eucken, F. A. Hayek, Ludwig von Mises and Wilhelm Roepke had had a closer view of Hitler's socialism than had America's pink intellectuals. So did the German people who, since 1949, have kept in power a government dedicated to a maximization of the free market.

While Germany was in the grip of Hitler's socialism, her main economic problem was how to balance vital imports with enough exports. When Hitler and his "economists" had come to the end of their rope, he declared for the economic autarky that forced him into war.

In 1948 Germany began to cast

off the restrictions which fifteen years of interventionism had piled up on her economic life. This had such an effect on business ingenuity and individual productivity that her main problem became how to import enough in the face of ever greater exports. Dr. Erhard's book deals mostly with the statistics and problems of that question.

West Germany provided the test our brainwashed generation of "mixed-economy" apostles needed. But a different story about that triumph of the market economy remains to be written. It will deal with the rapid and almost incredible improvement in human relations brought about by the return to a stable currency and a free market. It will answer the socialist or "liberal" escape from facts: "I don't care whether or not a market economy makes for highest productivity and standard of living. Look what it does to 'human values,' to the 'dignity of man,' etc." This reviewer experienced a wide range of human contacts both before and after the return to the market economy in Germany. He has no doubt as to which kind of economy safeguards man's dignity.

HELMUT SCHOECK

Man Belittled

Against the Stream, by Karl Barth. 253 pp. New York: The Philosophical Library. $3.75

What Keynes is among economists, so is Karl Barth among theologians. The list of orthodox Barthians who go right down the line for the master is small, but almost all contemporary theologians acknowledge an indebtedness to him. It was Barth who made the sharpest break with the optimistic and shallow liberal theology which collapsed in the debacle of our age. Western civilization suffered most in Europe as a result of two world wars, and consequently it was there that men were in deepest reaction against the thinking that had prevailed in the era preceding the first great war. Barthianism took hold during the twenties and received the label Continental or Crisis Theology.

Barth's massive output is volcanic and somewhat chaotic. He himself warns us against any canonizing of his results up to date, but the general drift and tendency of his thought is reasonably clear. There is in it repeated stress on the illimitable gulf between God and man; there is disparagement of human righteousness if it thinks by moral effort to accomplish anything significant; there is a general devaluation of the earth and its concerns. Natural theology—the effort to trace the workings of the Creator in the order, harmony, balance and goodness in the universe—is discarded; and so is mystical theology—the effort of persons to discover "the Beyond that is Within" and to live by the laws they find written in the deepest part of the soul.

The practical consequences of this kind of teaching outweigh the theoretical, but one theoretical observation is pertinent. If man is as impotent and reason as dubious as some modern philosophies declare them to be, how can we know this? To say, in effect, that reason is competent to declare itself incompetent is an absurdity, and raises questions about any philosophy that so concludes.

On its practical side, an ideology which belittles man will make every man small who accepts it as applying to himself. Some men will stagger under its weight and affirm their own weakness and incompetence. They will be just the sort of raw material the men who long to rule are looking for. We live in an era of big government, but before you can have big government you must have little men. Many modern ideologies have tended to make men little, and have in that way been pressed into the service of the omnipotent State. Barth's has been one of these. Barth himself has favored socialism, but while he opposes communism he still refuses to utter against it the unequivocal negative which he opposed to Nazism. "It would be absurd," he writes in the present volume, "... to mention a man of the stature of Joseph Stalin in the same breath as such charlatans as Hitler."

Against the Stream is a collection of Barth's postwar writings on social questions, and in particular on the political issue between East and West. Those who take that issue seriously will be advised not to ignore this portentous book.

REV. EDMUND A. OPITZ

The Pasadena Story

Education or Indoctrination, by Mary L. Allen. 211 pp. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd. $4.00

Mary L. Allen, Pasadena housewife and mother of school-age children, should be saluted for this book. She will be—twice. Once by people who mean it, once by people who mean it in a different way.

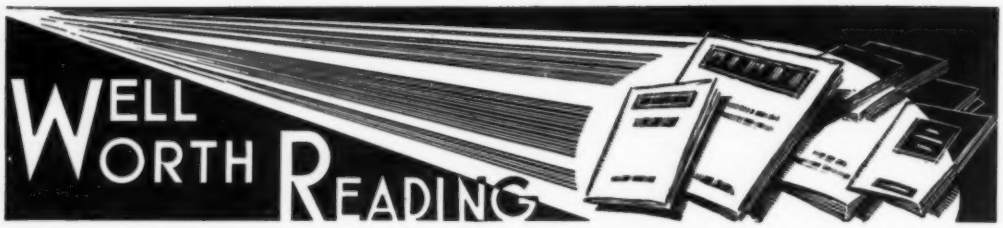
The cheers will come from the handful of vanishing Americans known as libertarians. Those old-fashioned boys and girls will greet the Allen opus with shouts of glad acclaim at the good tidings it brings.

The left-handed cheers will come from those fuzzy intellectuals who sponsor "progressive" education. They will only mean to smear. They will brand Mary Allen as an enemy of education. But if Mary has half the brains this smartly done book of hers indicates, she will take the castigation, coming from the source it does, as a compliment.

Education or Indoctrination is the story of how the progressive education group in Pasadena, under the leadership of Superintendent of Schools Willard E. Goslin, tried to take over the public school system in that city lock, stock and barrel; of how they darn near did it, and of how, finally, the attack was repulsed and the leaders given the bum's rush by an aroused electorate. A grand start has been made, and what Pasadena has done other communities can do—and will do, if they read this book and realize how their own schools are probably being readied for the kind of assault that was so nearly successful in Pasadena.

Incidentally, *Education or Indoctrination* throws light on why so many high-school students can't read, can't write, can't figure, can't spell, don't know their ABC's, and wouldn't know what in the world you were talking about if you should mention such things as individual reward for individual merit, and individual penalty for individual failure. They don't know those things because they haven't been taught them. But they do know all about the wonders of the UN and of our social security system. They are taught those things.

C. O. STEELE



ECONOMICS

Without solvency, sovereignty is a sham. It all dates back to a decision rendered by the Lords Justices of England in 1605, which ascertained that money is only "real" money when it is so defined by the sovereign. This allowed Queen Elizabeth I to pawn off a lot of paper on Ireland. This decision indirectly led to the overthrow of James II and the successful revolution of William and Mary. James was done under by his unnatural daughter as a result of his insolvency. Throughout history, the sovereignty of kings has been hinged to their solvency. In America, where every man is a king, are we secure to our position when we are liable for $5,000 each under the national debt?

Solvency and Sovereignty, by Robert Rasmussen. 6 pp. The American Mercury, 11 E. 36 St., N. Y. C. 35 cents

ONE WORLD

Only a concise and detailed study of the atheist, barbarian and totalitarian United Nations, which daily brings the time closer when the United States will be reduced to a province for the spoliation of the have-not world, will preserve us from the approaching dissolution. This study leaves few questions unanswered.

Pro America Study of the United Nations Charter and Review. 107 pp. California Chapter Pro America, 925 Union Avenue, Bakersfield, Cal. $1.00

SOCIALISM

One manager of a public housing project (a federal venture into the realm of private finance sponsored by us generous taxpayers) found himself beleaguered when he ruled against intoxicating liquors in living rooms. Seems that man has an inalienable right to doff his shoes and drink a glass of beer while watching the Yankees whup Washington over television, and members of the press fought alongside the tenants of the federal housing project for this right. The fight made copy for two days, and it ended with the ignominious defeat of the housing manager. But the incident raised some questions not fully answered: how much liberty and independence are we willing to surrender for the privilege of giveaway?

This Was the House of Our Fathers: The Implications of Federal Housing, by James J. Kilpatrick. 4 pp. Human Events, 1835 K Street NW, Washington, D. C. 20 cents

EDUCATION

If yer child is growin up ta be aletterate, do not necissirily hunt the yello pages of yer phone book for the adress of the neerest cycletrist. Like as not, yer child has only been taut ta be a dullard by the progressive ejucators in yer public skool. Readin and writtin are a thing of the past to these despensers of ablility to spel. Heres the way some skool children spelt rheumatism: roomatoose, rumertism, rumitmus, rumitisiam, rootism, rheumatisem, reuhamistism, rummatism, roomatism, rumatizism and rhumystism.

Can you believe it?

A Test For Literacy, by Mary Vinson. 18 pp. 75 Randall Avenue, Rockville Center, N.Y. 50 cents

Never before in history have so many been occupied with the improvement of so few. This hyper-social-mindedness tends to suppress individualism: authoritarians forget the greatest leaders are intensely individualistic. We need education for privacy to develop the elements of an integrated personality: an understanding of the world, moral harmony, serenity of spirit, inner resources to fall back on when in isolation. Why develop these resources? Because we will need them. Resources of the spirit are like savings: they must be accumulated *before* they are needed. Only one at peace with himself can be trusted to lead others in the ways of peace.

"To restore the individual to his former dignity as a human being is the urgent need of the day. This . . . should be the special objective of contemporary education."

Education for Privacy, by Marten ten Hoor. 33 pp. Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.: The Foundation for Economic Education. Single copy free

ART

"I am frankly bitter against those who encourage obscurity in painting —bitter because the kind of warped thinking which creates it is one of the prime movers in the current dehumanization of the arts. I am bitter about the methods of mass production which require only bright flat colors and startling designs—regardless of subject matter!—to attract the eye in the pages of slick-paper magazines. I am bitter, most of all, against the critics for either their utter irresponsibility or their auto-hypnosis—I have been unable to decide which—concerning modern art."

The Public Be Damned, by Huntington Hartford. 7 pp. Reprinted and expanded from an article in the March 1955 issue of The American Mercury, 11 E. 36 St., N. Y. C. 15 cents