

THE *Freeman*

JUNE 1955

UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN

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READING ROOM

"Downtown" Socialism

E. W. Dykes

A Farmer Fights for Freedom

Cy Peterman

Toward a Labor Government

Donald R. Richberg



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Editorial

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THE Freeman

A Monthly
For
Libertarians

Editor
Managing Editor
Business Manager

FRANK CHODOROV
MABEL WOOD
IVAN R. BIERLY

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New Names

A secondary, but important, function of the FREEMAN is to offer a medium of expression to embryonic writers who have something of interest to contribute. Since the advent of the New Deal (an Americanized version of Fabian socialism), the mass circulation media in this country have virtually closed their columns to opposition articles. For this they can hardly be blamed; their business is to sell paper at so much a pound and advertising space at so much per line. They must give the masses what they believe the masses want, if they are to maintain their mass circulation business; and there is no doubt that the promises of socialism, reiterated by the propaganda machine of the government, have made it popular and dulled the public mind to the verities of freedom.

Under the circumstances, those who aspired to be professional writers were compelled by economic necessity to fall in with the socialistic trend; the editors wanted nothing else. Those who could not stomach that trend had to abandon the writing field. As a result, the skill that writing requires was not developed by those convinced that freedom is best.

As far as its limited space permits, the FREEMAN hopes to offset this deficiency. To do a good job of developing writers, a dozen publications spelling out the story of freedom, in its various phases, are needed.

In the meantime, we offer in this issue three articles by writers who are new to the trade:

NATHANIEL BRANDEN, doing graduate work in psychology at New York University.

STERLING MORTON, chairman of the board of the Morton Salt Company, Chicago.

E. W. DYKES, an architect of Canton, Ohio.

Others we are pleased to add to our contributors:

REV. IRVING E. HOWARD is associated with the Christian Freedom Foundation, Inc.

ANTHONY T. BOUSCAREN is an associate professor in the Department of Political Science, Marquette University.

DONALD R. RICHBERG is the well-known national authority on labor legislation.

ANDRÉ VISSON is a roving editor for the *Reader's Digest*, specializing in international affairs.

EDWARD R. VINSON is now in the D.A.'s office in Dallas, Texas. His articles have appeared in the *American Legion Magazine*, *American Weekly*, *Christian Herald*.

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and Power Companies

On the opposite page appears the first "Advertisement of Note," the FREEMAN's badge of excellence for free enterprise copy—prepared by N. W. Ayer & Son, Inc.

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Readers also write

Governor Lee of Utah

In the article on Bracken Lee (April) your writer stated that he was in favor of the handing over by Lee of the State Teacher Training schools to the Mormon Church. Has not one of the basic principles of American freedom been the separation of church and state? Has not another of the basic freedoms been a free school system? ...

How can you, who claim to publish only that which is pro liberty, come out for a deed which is a step for a state church? I am well aware of the fact that the majority of the residents of Utah are of the Mormon faith, but there are other denominations represented in that state. ...

Stony Brook, N. Y. ROBERT KNECHT

Frank Hughes' fine article on Governor Bracken Lee did three things to me. It made my mouth water, it brought a tear to my eyes and made me wistfully dream of—and then, profoundly pray to God for—more statesmen like Bracken Lee and more writers and reporters like Frank Hughes.

Park Ridge, Ill. BEA VON BOESELAGER

Capsule Comment

... Boy, that UN issue (March) was a beaut!

Beverly Hills, Cal. MORRIE RYSKIND

Baseball

As editor of the Little League Baseball page in our very local news weekly, I have often been stumped in trying to answer the question, "Why shouldn't every boy have the right to make a Little League team?" Your editorial, "Play Ball" (May) is such a perfect answer to this question that I would love to run it on my page. ...

I would also like to congratulate you for the splendid articles in the FREEMAN. I really think the May issue is superb.

CAROLYN E. FINNERAN
Rockville Center, N. Y.

The Lippmann Line

After reading excerpts from Walter Lippmann's book, *The Public Philosophy*, appearing in a recent issue of *U. S. News and World Report*, I was just about to write that magazine's editor, David Lawrence, and rake

him over the coals for "carrying water on both shoulders." ... Also, I was about to write you folks suggesting that you sic one of your good reviewers on Walter Lippmann's shrewdly disguised line of baloney. Either you folks are really alert, or else the old libertarian mental telepathy is at work; in any event, Frank S. Meyer in his review of the book (May) has exposed the intellectual dishonesty of the "liberals" once again. Good work.

Houston, Tex.

HENRY C. YOUNG

"Why Teach Freedom?"

If I were to accept the hypothesis in your May editorial, I, too, would ask the same question: "Why Teach Freedom?" The editorial says that no "Socialist" is sincere. And if, by chance, he is sincere, he is not rational. With this I cannot agree.

Men are all alike in one respect: they act, or refrain from acting *purposely*, in the hope of improving their situation. Their choice of means may be wrong ones, but the fact remains that all men strive to improve their situation, as they see it, with as little effort as possible. And here lies the answer to your question. Teachers should explain the laws of human action and the science of economics which show why the free market is the best way for men to attain their goals, both material and spiritual. They should explain why government interference actually causes conditions even worse, except from the point of view of the would-be dictator, than those it was designed to correct.

Both "Socialists" and "libertarians" want to use the best known means to attain their goals. And this is the reason for teaching freedom, to help folks learn the best way to accomplish their desires, intelligently, by peaceful and moral means.

Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.

BETTINA BIEN

Your editorial "Why Teach Freedom?" contains this sentence: "Perhaps it is an inner need that impels the Socialist to his ideology, for I have never met an advocate of government intervention who did not admit, inadvertently, his own capacity for commissariat functions." And "But socialism is not an intellectual pursuit, it is primarily a drive for political power. . ." These thoughts hit the nail on the head. All teachers, preachers and writers who advocate socialism display this propensity. They all think that in the upheaval they will receive the managerial positions and boss things. Truly, socialism is primarily a drive for political power.

Kansas City, Mo.

R. W. BYRNIE

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Progress Report 1954

Safeway's Story in Figures...

	1954	1953
SALES	\$1,813,516,636	\$1,751,819,708
Income from dividends, interest and other sources	226,002	283,199
Cost of merchandise—paid out to farmers and other suppliers of goods and expended for manufacturing and warehousing	1,531,502,208	1,484,147,500
Total operating and administrative expenses, other charges and provision for income and excess profits taxes	268,256,659	253,410,675
NET INCOME	13,983,771	14,544,732
Dividends to preferred stockholders	1,915,397	1,914,418
Net Profit applicable to common stock	12,068,374	12,630,314
NET PROFIT PER SHARE OF COMMON STOCK based on average number of shares outstanding during the year	3.52	4.31
Dividends to common stockholders	8,336,264	7,090,916
Dividends per share to common stockholders	2.40	2.40
Number of new stores opened during the year	44	16
Number of stores closed during the year	83	71
Number of stores in operation at end of year	1,998	2,037

Quick Facts:

Safeway set a new sales record in 1954. Total net sales showed an increase of \$61,696,928 over 1953.

Due to the Company's decision to meet trading stamp competition head-on throughout its operating territory, net profit was slightly less than earned in 1953.

All of the Company's 4½% Convertible Preferred Stock was called for redemption April 1, 1954. All outstanding Convertible Preferred was converted into common stock.

April 21, the Company issued and sold 267,000 shares of new 4.30% Convertible Preferred Stock. Proceeds from the sale were applied on short term bank loans.

Uninterrupted cash dividends have been paid on all outstanding shares of Safeway's common and preferred stocks since the Company's incorporation in 1926.

1954 was impressive from the standpoint of Safeway's construction program. 44 new retail stores, 39 in the United States and 5 in Canada were completed.

74 retail stores were under construction and should be completed by July, 1955. Plans and specifications were prepared or in the process of preparation for 94 retail stores. These stores should be in operation before the end of 1955.

Excellent relations existed between Safeway, its employees and their union representatives during 1954. No serious labor controversies or work stoppages took place during the year and none existed at the year end.

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Lingan A. Warren
President



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THE *Freeman*

JUNE 1955

Freedom Isn't Cheap

THE LATE Gareth Garrett had a genius for terseness. He could say in a sentence what another writer would need an editorial to explain—like this one—and say it better.

One evening a group of businessmen had foregathered in a private dining room of an exclusive club for the purpose of discussing the state of free enterprise. In due course, Garrett—who was one of several writers invited apparently for garnishment—was asked to contribute his wisdom to the subject. He said: "Free enterprise can be saved only if you are willing to risk bankruptcy for it." That was all.

Garrett was evidently indulging in a bit of hyperbole to drive home the point: free enterprise is under attack from powerful and determined forces—educational, social and political—and a successful counterattack calls for equal determination and equal power. It is a struggle to the death; either freedom (of which free enterprise is an integral) or collectivism will prevail; coexistence is impossible. Unless and until free enterprisers recognize the nature of the struggle and are willing to meet it head-on, regardless of cost, their case is lost. So far, taken as a class, they have shown neither an understanding of the principles involved in the fight, nor a willingness to risk their all for these principles.

The collectivists have the advantage in that they know what they want: the abolition of the right of private property and the establishment of a strong centralized State. For the moment, they may advocate nationalization of the educational system (so that they may the better indoctrinate the young), or FEPC, or further debauchery of the currency (for the purpose of destroying the value of savings), or a spate of "social legislation." But whatever their immediate urgency, their ultimate aim is the liquidation of private initiative and the substitution of a regime of regulation. Whether or not they so state their case, the direction of every measure they advocate is toward the centralization of political power.

What do the free enterprisers want? It is dif-

ficult to say. In their public pronouncements they are frequently sound enough; they are all for private property, competition to the hilt, the dignity of the individual, and all that. But too often these generalities do not square with their conduct. As an illustration, I once found myself in a heated discussion with the head of a real estate lobby in Washington; he was against public housing on the ground that it was an invasion of private industry; on the other hand, he was strong for government guarantees of mortgage loans. No amount of reasoning could convince him that these guarantees put the government into the banking business, with more far-reaching effects than its going into the building business. And it is a notorious fact that so-called free enterprisers have never been able to equate their principles with free trade. The evidence is all too clear that free enterprisers are willing to strengthen the hand of government (just like the collectivists) when a special privilege to them is involved.

Freedom involves an obligation and a responsibility. It puts on the individual the obligation of self-reliance and the responsibility of respecting the rights of every other individual. The golden rule of freedom is a fair field and no favors. The observance and the violation of this rule are illustrated in two articles appearing in this issue of the FREEMAN. In "A Farmer Fights for Freedom" we have the story of a man who insists that the government must not intrude in his private affairs because he has neither asked for nor accepted its proffered subsidy; he is a true free enterpriser. In "'Downtown' Socialism" we have a case of so-called free enterprisers asking that their fellow citizens be compelled to provide a facility that will prosper their businesses.

It is this ambivalence, this contradiction between their stated aims and their actions that keeps the free enterprisers on the defensive. They fight with their hands tied by cupidity. Their philosophy—if they knew it—would tell them that a government that does things *for* you can

also do things *to* you, and that the cause of freedom is advanced only as the power of government to do anything for the advantage of any group is restrained. Freedom is a social environment in which government is restricted to the function of safeguarding the individual in the enjoyment of his inalienable rights; whenever it goes beyond that it is a threat to freedom. The strategy of the free enterprisers should be, therefore, to relentlessly oppose any program tending to enhance the power of government, even when such enhancement might redound to their own benefit.

As a beginning, free enterprisers would do well to urge the repeal of all laws which give them profitable advantages. Perhaps that is what Garrett meant when he said that free enterprise could be saved only at the risk of bankruptcy.

Spending Money

ANOTHER YEAR—and our Chief Executive again asks us to shell out more billions of our hard-earned money for “foreign aid.” The brazen reiteration of this hackneyed phrase lends support to the Hitlerian theory of the Big Lie. Even though the idea has worn thin, and the proponents of “foreign aid” now have to support it with another spurious argument—that it is related to our “defense” program—there is some belief, officially encouraged, that our money goes to feed, house and clothe the unfortunate victims of war. That is the Big Lie.

“Foreign aid” is merely spending money. It is all spent in the United States. What little is distributed abroad, by soldiers and roaming bureaucrats, also comes home to claim goods made in this country. To buy a bottle of wine in France you need francs.

In short, the billions appropriated by Congress for “foreign aid” have all been spent in this country; they paid for goods manufactured here and exported. Whether or not any of it reached indigent persons is a matter of doubt; there is evidence that most of it went to shore up socialistic governments and their paternalistic schemes.

This “foreign aid” money is spent here for purely political purposes: to keep the wheels of industry going, so as to simulate “prosperity,” so that the deluded electorate will return the spenders to office. It is a vote-buying scheme, supported by the Keynesian notion that a nation can spend itself into plenty.

Now, if you and I could keep the \$3.5 billion that Mr. Eisenhower is requesting for next year’s “foreign aid,” what would we do with it? We would spend it, of course. But we would spend it for things we want, things that improve our circumstances, not for the building of air strips in the Sahara. Some of it we might save and invest, but

in either case, your economy and mine would be bettered, and the prosperity of the country would be real, not fictitious, because it would be based on production, not on spending.

The President Resists

THE OPPOSITION of President Eisenhower to the proposed Bricker amendment is historic, not personal. Executives have always been jealous of their prerogatives and powers, have always resisted efforts to curtail them, and have never relinquished any of them except under pressure. It is characteristic of authority to expand, not to contract. General recognition of this fact led to the introduction of constitutional restraints on executive power, particularly the device of shifting the law-making authority to legislative bodies. But throughout history the head of state—czar, commissar or president—has tended to resist or outflank such blocks to his freedom of action.

President Eisenhower is no exception. We must keep in mind, however, that the President is not a person but an institution. If Mr. Eisenhower were a private citizen he might well be on the other side of the controversy; as President, his judgment is rather that of the bureaucracy over which he presides. This is necessarily so, because in a management as large as that of the government of the United States, the decisions of the titular head must approximate the consensus of his staff. And the staff of the executive is even more jealous of his powers than he is, for the importance of each member of it is in direct proportion to the authority he wields. The royal court is always reactionary.

The case of John Foster Dulles is illustrative. As a private citizen and as a lawyer, he provided, in a public speech, the basic argument now being used by the proponents of the Bricker amendment: that treaty law can supersede the Constitution and bypass the Bill of Rights. Now that he is Secretary of State, the most important cog in the machinery that is the President, he finds reason enough to refute the judgment of his private days. Yet, one can dismiss his logic-chopping in the knowledge that he is only rereading the script of history: the head of state must not permit the shackling of his authority.

Despite the legalisms that are being bandied about in the present debate, the issue is not unlike that which was fought out at Runnimeade, whether the executive shall have a free hand in carrying out his purposes. The opinion of the majority of the constitutional lawyers of the American Bar Association is that treaty law as currently interpreted can invest the President with powers that he does not have under the Constitution, that he can use it to defeat the decisions of Congress

and to override the autonomy of the states. In short, he can use it to achieve that centralization of power which the Constitution specifically prohibits. If the Bricker amendment is passed and ratified, this easy access to the pinnacle of executive success will be blocked. Therefore, he is against it.

Political Polio

WHEN penicillin was first discovered, there was great skepticism about it among the doctors. The responsibility for using it was on their shoulders, and until experimentation had proved the drug efficacious they withheld their endorsement. Their personal reputations, and their incomes, were at stake.

Now comes the polio vaccine. If it were left to the doctors and pharmaceutical manufacturers, as free enterprisers, the same skepticism, caution and experimentation would have preceded the general use of the drug. This would take time, but in the end, if the vaccine proved itself to the satisfaction of those whose integrity and livelihood is involved, its use would have been free of doubt.

In this case, however, the politicians decided to take a hand in the medical business. First they licensed certain manufacturers to make the vaccine; thus the manufacturers were relieved of all responsibility save that of following the prescribed formula. Secondly, the administering doctors were reduced to mere technicians, without other responsibility; if the drug proves ineffective or harmful, they can in clear conscience tell the bereaved mothers, "sue the government."

The politicians got into the business of vaccination for purely political reasons. As parents, to be sure, they are interested in saving children from the terrible disease. But as politicians, the possibility of making political capital did not escape them. If the "ins" could point with pride to their achievement in public welfare through the handling of the vaccine, their chances of being returned to office would be improved. (Public sentiment prevented the "outs" from opposing the move, even if they wanted to; but, if anything should go wrong with the politico-medical program, they will have a much-needed campaign issue.)

Something did go wrong with the political venture into medicine, at the very outset, and the "ins" are in a quandary. They cannot let go without admitting failure, which a politician simply cannot do. If they continue to act as doctors, they assume a responsibility for which they have no competence; what, for instance, will they do if a better vaccine is discovered? On the other hand, further mishaps can be politically ruinous.

All of which simply proves again that we are better off if the government minds its business, which is not medicine.

Profits and Profits

"HOW," yelled a man from the audience, "did the corporations make twenty-eight billions last year?"

The query fairly reeked of socialism. Behind it was the notion that profits are part of production which the owners of capital filch from the workers. The questioner wanted to draw me into that argument; so did the audience, which applauded the question, loud and long. When quiet was restored, I said to the questioner, who apparently did not have the price of a clean shirt:

"The corporations made those profits simply because you bought the goods they made. If you had gone without those goods they would have had no profits. If you object to profits, don't buy."

The answer served its purpose, which was to confound the heckler; but it was one-sided.

There are profits and profits. When they are derived from voluntary sales they reflect the well-being of the customers. The buyer willingly gives up possession of what he esteems less in order to acquire possession of something he puts a higher value on. He profits by satisfying a desire, while the seller profits by giving up what he has in abundance for what the buyer has to offer. In a free economy, therefore, profits are an exact measure of the general welfare.

However, if the profits are derived from sales to the government, they may, and usually do, indicate a diminished standard of living in the country. The payer is compelled, through taxation, to foot the bill for something he does not want, something that does not add to the sum total of his satisfactions, and is thus deprived of something he would like to have. The manufacturer of an elevator donated by the government to India will profit from the transaction, but only at the expense of the taxpayer, who gets nothing in return for his forced contribution. He is exploited, as the Socialists say, but by his government.

Corporations do not report, and perhaps do not keep records of, profits on government orders and profits on consumer sales. That is a pity. For, if such records were kept and made public, it would be possible for the exploited taxpayer to recoup some of his earnings by investing what he can save from the tax-collector in the securities of the companies which show large profits on government business. The dividends he would receive on such investment (though the government will take part of that, too) are part of what he was compelled to contribute to the company's profit account.

Perhaps the public, in its usual hit-or-miss way, has discovered this method of getting back something of what government takes out of peoples' mouths and off their backs. In the current rise of stock market values the "war babies" are doing quite well.

"Downtown" Socialism

By E. W. DYKES

What's wrong with the proposal for city-owned parking lots now being made by many merchants.

"Downtown" is an institution created by transportation facilities. Because the consumers can get there easily, merchants locate there; and because many merchants do so, more consumers come to the area so that they may "shop around" with the least exertion. "Downtown" is a convenience as well as a business center.

But we are really talking of the past. A new kind of transportation—the automobile—has created a condition that threatens the growth, if not the existence, of "downtown." This personal, pleasant and fast means of transportation has made it possible for many of "downtown's" customers to live outside the congested city areas, beyond the reach of the public conveyances which channel customers "downtown." Where there are people, there will be merchants and other servicers to cater to their wants; so that many who formerly took their trade "downtown" are now taking it to the local shopping centers that have sprung up in suburbia. The automobile has created serious competition for "downtown."

The old and established "downtown" still has advantages over the upstarts in that, because of its larger clientele, it can offer a greater variety of goods and usually at more favorable prices. The automobilist knows this and would like to patronize these merchants, but the inconvenience of getting rid of his automobile once he reaches the central mart induces him to pay more for what he can get at the neighborhood shop. The parking problem is more of a threat to "downtown" than new outlying competitors.

The merchants and servicers who built "downtown" thrived on competition and the problems of business. They met them in their own ways and never asked for help from government. But these are different times. It is in the modern spirit to seek "security" in the bottomless pit of the public treasury. So, instead of tackling off-street parking as a business problem—like advertising, merchandising, warehousing, etc.—"downtown" in many cities is demanding that the taxpayers come to its rescue. It is after the city to provide parking lots; of course, it insists that these facilities are for the "general good," not for the benefit of its own business interests. In short, these dauntless free enterprisers are taking to the path of socialism. And most of them don't even know that they are.

It is interesting to note the "public spirit" that pervades the arguments of these proponents of

city-owned parking lots. (Socialism is always "public spirited.") They run like this:

1. Unless "downtown" is saved, its taxable property values will decline, and the city will lose needed revenue.

This is a specious argument. No business is established for the purpose of providing revenue for the city or any other taxing body. If "downtown" were really sincere in its solicitude for the city's revenues, why doesn't it ask the tax appraiser to assess its properties at their true market value? It is a well-known fact that "downtown" is always objecting to what it calls over-assessments.

Putting that aside, the proponents of city-owned parking lots overlook the fact that real estate values rise in the outlying sections built up by the automobile, and that the increased taxes on these locations will offset the loss of taxes on "downtown" properties. If they are really concerned about tax revenues, why don't they provide their own parking lots so that the values of their properties will not decline?

2. Private parking lots are poorly located.

That is, they are not located next door to the stores that need them. So the city should exercise its right of eminent domain to obtain "proper sites." To which one is prompted to ask, how arrogant and selfish can a special interest get? What "downtown" is saying is something like this:

"We believe that our businesses are more important (to the community, of course) than are the businesses in the areas where we would like to have parking lots. Unfortunately, the law does not compel a man to sell his property to another man, regardless of price. Eminent domain solves that problem. The city could use this power to seize the property we want, the court could set a proper price, and we could have the parking space so badly needed by the public."

That is in essence the proposal made by those who consider themselves champions of private property.

3. Private lots are inadequate, and besides they are generally held on short-term leases, with no assurance of continuity.

The charge of inadequacy of the lots is based on the fact that there are times when they are full. But there are times when the lots could use customers. Every business has its peak periods, and to provide facilities for more than that is to

court losses. Should the city be asked to establish banks so that depositors would never have to stand in line?

It is true that private parking lots are subject to short-term leases. But this is also true of many retail stores, restaurants, beauty shops, every sort of service. Like any other business, the private off-street parking lot will be operated only as long as it is economically justified—as long as it pays its way. And no longer.

4. *Cities with parking meters are already in the parking business; the lot would simply be an extension of established practice.*

This is what logicians call the "undistributed middle"; it is fallacious reasoning. The fact is that meters were introduced for police purposes—to stop the practice of all-day parking, to try to keep cars off the streets as much as possible—and not as a business venture. The coin put into the meter is in the nature of a tax or fine, since it goes into the city treasury along with other taxes and fines, and is in no way related to services rendered. Renting parking space on a competitive basis, or at fees having some relation to costs, is an entirely different thing.

Private Lots Could Not Survive

5. *City-owned lots will be in competition with private lots, and parking fees will thus be kept down.*

This is true only because government competition with private business is unfair in the extreme. The government does not tax itself, and therefore does not have to include this cost in its price. Besides, the government can and does, for political reasons, set its prices below operational costs, passing the loss on to the taxpayers; the private operator has no such escape.

If the city, therefore, should go into the off-street parking business it would drive the private operator out of business. Nobody in his right mind would risk capital in the parking business (either in lots or buildings), since there would always be the possibility of the city's opening up next door and undercutting parking fees. Thus, what "downtown" is asking for is the elimination of private enterprise in this particular field; and "downtown" consists of men who beat their breasts for free enterprise.

"Downtown" insists that the city would lose nothing in the operation of off-street parking facilities; the business would be at least self-supporting. Putting aside the fact that the government seldom makes ends meet in its enterprises (except by trick bookkeeping), the question arises: if the city can do it, why can't the businessmen? Their establishments prove that they have the experience and the acumen for running businesses, and surely the parking business is not beyond their capacities. Or is it possible that they

have looked into this business and know that it is not likely to be profitable or even self-supporting? In that case, they are advocating that the city (the taxpayers) take the loss.

There is an excellent reason for "downtown" going into the parking business even if an operational loss is inevitable. Just as a merchant spends money on advertising with the expectation of recouping through increased sales, so the cost of providing parking space for his customers would be offset by the profits on their trade. The merchant does not suggest that the city publish a newspaper for the purpose of carrying his advertisements at lower rates. Why should he ask the city to provide a service which is fast becoming as essential as advertising to his business?

But, when you start thinking about getting something for nothing, the principles of free enterprise, or self-reliance, slip out of your mind and you find it easy to invent schemes to further your purpose. For instance, the "downtown" Socialists not only advocate city-owned parking lots but also advance a plan for financing this venture in socialism. They propose the issuance of municipal bonds to provide the money. They point out that since such bonds would be free of federal income taxes there would be no difficulty in floating them.

The thought arises, why does not "downtown" borrow money for the proposed enterprise by issuing its own IOU's? The reason is this: when a private enterprise borrows money, the loan becomes a lien on the business, and the borrower must run his affairs efficiently so that he can meet the terms of his obligation. A government bond, on the other hand, is a lien on the general taxing power of the government, not on the specific purpose for which the money was borrowed. If the city should lose money in the off-street parking business, for which the loan was made, the bondholders will still get the interest called for in the indenture; even if the city should abandon the business, the taxpayers would have to meet the payments. So, what "downtown" is suggesting is that the city should hang on the necks of the citizens, present and future, a long-term or permanent debt so that "downtown" can get the benefit of a service which it does not want to provide for itself.

No matter how you look at this effort to get the municipalities into a business which is essentially a private affair, you find that it is a step toward socialism—advocated not by long-haired doctrinaires but by many who loudly proclaim their adherence to the principles of free enterprise.

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The Age of Un-Reason

By NATHANIEL BRANDEN

"It is foolish to imagine that man can think," declared the professor of psychology.

It was my first year at college and my first class in psychology—so I asked the professor what seemed like the most self-evident of questions: "But, if that's true, then by what process did you reach that conclusion?"

"What?" said the professor, frowning; he looked slightly puzzled. For the past half-hour he had been explaining that everything an individual thought, said or did was determined by his heredity and environment; that it was childish to believe that anyone had real freedom of choice; and that "mind" was only an old-fashioned metaphor which referred to what was actually a collection of neural impulses and complex conditioned responses.

I repeated my question: "If all our thinking is determined by factors over which we have no control—namely, our biological inheritance and our environment—if we cannot think in any free or volitional sense of the word, then how, Professor, were you able to arrive at *that* knowledge? Wouldn't *that* have taken thinking? And if your position was arrived at *without* thinking, then what's your claim to its validity?"

"Oh," said the professor, shrugging, "now you're getting philosophical on me." He turned away and, without another word, went on with his lecture.

I did not know, as I walked out of that classroom, that in the four years that followed—during which I studied at two of America's largest universities—I was to hear a great many such ideas. I was constantly to be battered with assertions that—"objectivity is impossible, impartiality is a delusion"—"man can know nothing for sure"—"the decision to be reasonable is an arbitrary preference"—"all our ideas are the product of accidental conditioning"—"reality, if it exists at all, is forever beyond human grasp." These ideas were taught to students in almost every subject I took; the forms of presentation varied, but they all seemed aimed at achieving a single result—the destruction of the student's confidence in reason and in his own mind.

In the space of those four years, I had the opportunity to observe the exact nature of this destruction, who was accomplishing it—and whose purpose it was serving.

A great deal of attention has been given to the communist penetration of our colleges—but what I saw was that the major threat to modern educa-

"Who can be sure of anything?" is now the watchword of the collectivist professors' attack on logic and the reasoning process.

tion is not, contrary to common belief, represented by the card-bearing professors, planted on faculties by the Communist Party, nor by advocates of Marxist economics. It is represented, rather, by the vast number of teachers who have accepted premises fundamental to collectivism without identifying them as such and who, day after day, preach all the ideas that lead the student, if he accepts them, into the camp of the Statists.

The philosophy of collectivism—of communism, fascism or the "mixed economy"—cannot be defended by reason. It is a philosophy filled with contradictions which have been exposed over and over again; its economic tenets are of a kind no serious economist could permit himself to endorse. Collectivists are not unaware of this. Consequently, if they wish to win acceptance for their doctrines, there is but one means open to them: *to destroy reason itself.*

Unwitting Allies

The official form of the collectivists' attack on reason is represented by their doctrine of class-logic and by dialectical materialism; but they are aided in this process of destruction by all professors—including conservatives—who proclaim that man is a mindless robot.

They are aided every time the teachings of their unwitting allies permit students to ask—as I have frequently heard them ask: what credit is due a successful industrialist if his **productive ability** is the result of his heredity and the chance factors of his particular surroundings? Since—I've often heard classmates argue—the rich and the poor, the competent and the incompetent, are conditioned to be what they are, it is unfair that certain "environmentally favored" individuals should enjoy the material advantages which the less fortunate lack. Why, they ask, should one man be allowed to live in a mansion and another sentenced to live in a slum, when neither is responsible for his position? And since all financial inequalities are a matter of blind chance, shouldn't the State, being the guardian of justice, rectify the error made by an arbitrary environment?

If psychology teaches students that thought is impossible, philosophy teaches them that knowledge is impossible. "Logic"—asserted a professor who was a follower of a leading contemporary

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philosophical movement—"is an arbitrarily chosen tool of investigation; we have no right to believe it will lead us to any understanding of reality, since it is only a product of human imagination."

"Logic"—asserted a professor who was a follower of another major but not very different philosophical movement—"is a social convention, an instrument of inquiry which must evolve with the times; what is logical in one age may not be logical in another; today, we declare that a contradiction is impossible—but we cannot say with certainty that it *always* will be impossible."

There are, students are frequently told, no unalterable principles of existence; existence is in a constant state of change. "And don't be so sure,"—some professors like to add—"that there's such a thing as existence at all, perhaps there's *only* change."

The doctrines taught in psychology and philosophy—the two fields in which I specialized—filtered down through all my courses, so that I encountered one version of these ideas or another in almost every classroom I entered.

"Who can be sure of anything?" asked the professor of economics who declared that there are no economic laws, and that the government can enforce whatever restrictions it pleases and make them work, if only the public will "want" them to work. "Who can be sure of anything?" asked the professor of physics who announced that the activity of science is the manipulation of arbitrary symbols which may or may not have anything to do with material reality. "Who can be sure of anything?" asked the professor of aesthetics who insisted that there are no rational principles applicable to art, and that an artist is successful to the extent to which he does not think. "Who can be sure of anything?" asked the professor of government who stated that the kind of government men want—a free society or a dictatorship—is only a matter of personal preference. "Who can be sure of anything?" asked the professor of political science who claimed that there are no moral principles, and that a man's right to exist is a matter, not of justice, but of a special privilege granted by society.

Few professors who hold such ideas as these are members of a conscious political conspiracy. Although some professors are avowed collectivists, many others are not, and would insist that they have no sympathy with any totalitarian movement; they would insist that they simply are expressing those beliefs which constitute the dominant intellectual trend of our day. But the intentions or motives of these men do not alter the consequences of their teaching. And one of the more blatant consequences of their teaching may be observed in the too-frequent, unprotesting silence with which students greet references to "our archaic Constitution"—"the outmoded doctrine of inalienable rights"—"the final breakdown

of capitalism, evidenced by the 1929 depression"—"the philosophy of individualism which has been conceded to be inadequate to the needs of our age"—"greedy industrialists who trample on rights"—"the moral superiority of socialism over capitalism."

Collectivist professors feel free to toss off such ideas as these, as though their allegations were incontestable, self-evident truths, because the act of pronouncing an assertion as true or false, rational or irrational, is the very responsibility their students have been taught to renounce.

Heard in Classrooms

In a Political Science class, a professor announced: "Any individual—any decent individual—must applaud the goals of communism." The statement was presented as a fact, with no attempt at justification. It was not the sort of remark one heard often, but the students listened in respectful silence. It might be true, and it might not be true—who were they to say?

In an American Government class, when I attempted to state to my professor why slave economies initiate wars, why, after a dictatorship has looted the wealth of its own citizens, it must look elsewhere for sources of exploitation—I was answered by him, not with a rational argument, but with a reprimand: "The trouble with you is that you're just prejudiced against dictatorships." He did not find it necessary to answer or refute what I had said: he knew he had an advantage over me that would carry more weight with his class than any argument he might muster: *he* was an authority. Who were the students to think for themselves?

In an Economic Theory class, I heard a professor advocate the doctrine that the solution to all governmental financial problems lies in the expediency of printing more paper money. I asked the professor to explain the difference—in moral terms, and in economic results—between what she was suggesting and the action of a gang of counterfeiters flooding the market with millions of phoney dollars. She refused to answer, stating that my question was not relevant. She left her class with the problem of choosing, not between two arguments, but between a student and a professor. But the students were not disturbed: truth, they have been taught, is a matter of opinion. This same professor endorsed the belief, as part of the above doctrine, that men may consume more than they produce. Her students were not disturbed by this, either: had they not learned that the law of cause and effect was a myth?

I do not mean to imply that students agree with every theory their collectivist instructors present; many of them emerge from college untouched by a belief in a power philosophy, but with the uncomfortable feeling that the realm of

politics and economics is confusingly beyond them. But to the extent to which any student—regardless of his stated political convictions—has permitted confidence in his mind to be breached, he has granted a victory to any potential dictator: of what danger to power-seekers can men be who are certain of nothing, who have been taught that to be in doubt is the highest virtue, who have accepted that nothing is ever totally right or totally wrong, who are not even sure whether reality or themselves exist?

The students who do become actual collectivists become so, less by a process of conscientious study or rational conviction, than by a process of osmosis: by an indifferent, semi-conscious absorption of the not-to-be-questioned political bromides of many of their Statist professors.

There are, undoubtedly, educators who abhor the anti-mind assault dominating our universities—men who have no patience with the self-evident absurdity of those who proclaim that they think they cannot think, they know they cannot know, they are certain they can be certain of nothing, and that they and their listeners are mindless. There are, similarly, students who have not been affected by the irrationalist philosophies to which they have been subjected—philosophies which compete with each other, not by measuring the respective achievements they claim to have attained, but by measuring the extent to which they assert that no achievement is possible. A great number of students, however, have been influenced by those philosophies, and the degree of that influence is the degree of the beachhead won by collectivism in the colleges of this country.

I do not know who—if any—of my professors were actual members of the Communist Party. Possibly, none were. It is of little importance, one way or the other: the Communists profited, whether by the professors' intention or otherwise. The professor who asked: "How do you know reality exists?" may have had no political motives, but he prepared his students for the professor who *had* political motives and who echoed that question with: "How do you know slave labor camps in Soviet Russia exist?"

America, the country of individualism, is a product of the Age of Reason. This country was built on the knowledge that man *can* think, that his life is his own to shape, and that men, as rational beings, must deal with one another by persuasion, not by coercion. Those who now seek to destroy this country wish to inaugurate the Age of Force—as they have inaugurated it through most of the world. Their deadliest enemy is the independent mind; it is the independent mind which they are struggling to kill. Individualists must understand this; they must understand that their cause is the cause of reason—and that the destruction of man's mind is the first step down the road that ends with the enslavement of his body.

Fore!

By STERLING MORTON

In the community of some 50,000 people where I spend the winters, there is agitation for a public golf course. We have several golf courses, both private clubs and fee courses, but proponents of the public golf course maintain the fees are too high. It is even suggested that the proposed course be made free to all.

Thirty years ago, if Angus MacDonald wanted to play golf but could not afford the dues of a country club or the charges of the fee courses, he had two alternatives, aside from not playing. He could 1) try to earn enough money to take care of his golf, or 2) steal the golf money from neighbor Jones. Now, neighbor Jones wouldn't like this very much and might have Angus put in jail. But if golf was really so necessary to him, Angus might risk it.

This approach is now obsolete. Today, parsimonious MacDonald starts agitation for a public golf course. Other ardent golfers like the idea of getting their fun at less expense and add their voices to MacDonald's. Jones, a non-golfer, heads an opposition party. But the members of the City Council, always sensitive to the demands of vociferous minorities, finally vote to establish the municipal golf course and add something to the tax rate to cover the cost thereof.

Now, you see, the situation has actually been reversed. Instead of protecting Jones against MacDonald's theft, the law compels Jones, under dire penalties, to pay for part of the golf facilities enjoyed by Angus. If Jones refuses to pay, he is subject to prosecution—might even be sent to jail.

So the course is built. Part of a public park is devoted to the pleasure of a small minority of the population. With a course established, more people take up golf and the minority group finally becomes so strongly entrenched that any attempt to reconvert the land to its original purpose would meet with desperate opposition, and any advocate of such a heinous crime might well lose his political life.

Where will we find a logical stopping place for this sort of thing? If the taxpayer is called on to provide golf courses, swimming pools and tennis courts for those who could not otherwise afford such sports, why shouldn't the taxpayers likewise provide the clubs, balls and racquets?

Maybe I'm just an Old Scrooge, but I just can't see any end to it! If the taxpayer must provide one kind of amusement, why not other forms—free theaters (band concerts we have already), free baseball games, free peanuts, free hot dogs? Why give children at school free lunches and deny such a boon to their parents! And if lunch—why not breakfast and dinner?

Did I hear someone say, "Bread and circuses"?



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WASHINGTON, D.C.

by Frank C. Hanighen

The clammy shadow of economic controls falls athwart the Republican Administration in Washington. Removal of controls and reliance again on the free market during the first years of the Administration brought a new vigor into the economy and a psychological assumption that the country was permanently released from the hampering restrictions that marred the Roosevelt and Truman regimes. However, the philosophy of the Eisenhower regime has been based on the same notion that the welfare of the people depends on the actions of the State, and therefore it is not surprising to veteran observers to note the reappearance of demands for some of the outstanding features of preceding Administrations.

The intensification of the foreign crisis has inevitably inspired cries for stand-by controls of prices, wages and rents. The matter was referred to the Defense Production Board, while many businessmen moved nervously. The wonder has been that so little protest against consideration of such measures has been raised in the press. For the experience of the last fifteen years might well have prompted economists to point out that such controls do not control. The contortions of the OPA during World War Two and the inevitable inflation, with halving of the value of the dollar, could quite justifiably have risen to the minds of many. If so, little has been said openly.

The more recent economic happenings during the Korean war can scarcely be forgotten. William J. Grede, then President of the National Association of Manufacturers, told the House Banking and Currency Committee on May 13, 1952, when the Defense Production list of two years before was up for amendment and extension, "The record against economic controls is overwhelming. They impede production, impair incentives and increase costs both for industry and government. . . They deal only with symptoms and not with causes. Instead of continuing economic controls, we urge the adoption of a program which will eliminate the causes of inflation." Mr. Grede advocated 1) cuts in government spending; 2) balancing of the budget by such cuts and taxing as much as the government spends; 3) use of the Federal Reserve System to stop inflationary expansion of credit.

The NAM official reviewed the sad performance

of what was hopefully named the Wage Stabilization Board. "Since controls were imposed, wages have risen at a rate of over 70 per cent greater than have prices and the level of prices, of course, has not been primarily determined by price controls." And he went on, "Inflation is the result of more purchasing power coming into the market to buy goods than there are goods available. . . In the case of some materials, the government has done more than just predict scarcities; it has allocated us into shortages."

In view of this history, President Eisenhower's request for stand-by controls of prices and wages got a chilly reception from conservative legislators, particularly when Barney Baruch's old phrase, "economic mobilization," popped up again. The term, it was pointed out, is a misnomer, for it would engender obstacles to "mobility." Price and wage controls could hardly be motivated by the desire that everyone should be "frozen" in the position he had been in before a war started. That would scarcely constitute "mobilization." As Henry Hazlitt remarked: "Free prices act faster than fumbling bureaucrats," in supplying the incentives and deterrents that divert production most quickly into the lines where it is most needed.

As it stands today, industry representatives in the nation's capital believe that commercial and manufacturing associations will do well to oppose such controls. They can envisage the possibility that the mere existence of such governmental authority over prices, wages and rents would create a tendency on the part of a seller to maintain his quoted prices high; thus, so runs the calculation, the seller would not be caught in a disadvantageous position if prices were suddenly frozen at the outbreak of an emergency. Also, stand-by wage and price controls might contribute to inflation and consequent general and continuous unsettlement of business. The existence of such controls might also prompt a tendency on the part of labor to insist on the highest possible wages in the anticipation that a wage freeze might catch them at a disadvantage.

In case stand-by controls are passed and an "emergency" appears, who will man the operation? The matter is now in the hands of the Defense Mobilization Board, whose chief is Dr. Arthur S.

Flemming. For his record see *Who's Who in America*, which details his numerous positions in government in recent years. A member of the Civil Service Commission between 1939-48 (where old hands characterize him as a "New Dealer"), he has a long record of service under many "alphabet" agencies of the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations. One of his chief aides in the Defense Mobilization Board is Edward F. Phelps, who was assistant to Michael di Salle in the OPS during the Korean war, and before that served in OPA.

"The purpose of the Office of Education is the collecting of such statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education in the several states and territories and of diffusing such information respecting the organization and management of schools and school systems as shall aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country." So runs the basic law of 1867 which is supposed to shape the activities of the U. S. Office of Education, part of the Department of Health, Welfare and Education, presided over by Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary in the President's Cabinet.

Under Mrs. Hobby is the Commissioner of the Office of Education, Dr. Samuel M. Brownell (brother of Attorney General Brownell). Dr. Brownell recently told a House Committee: "In trying to define the function of the Office of Education . . . we are guided by the principle that the control and management of the schools in the United States is a local and state function and that the proper role of the federal government is to aid and assist in the advancement of education without interference with the state or localities. To that principle we are dedicated."

Dr. E. A. Fitzpatrick, a Wisconsin educator, writing in the *American School Board Journal* for March, points out that the "neglected and underemphasized" phrase in the basic law is, "the people of the United States," and that the Office of Education would do well if it were preoccupied with the people who support the schools rather than the "professional interest of educators." Dr. Brownell in his utterances seems to have a sound attitude toward the relationship between the federal government and local schools. But does his Office staff possess the same view?

Around Washington, those who watch the legislative maneuvers for federal aid to education, which has received backing from the White House, are impressed with the rather shocking kind of statistics brought forward to justify large federal appropriations. Federal aid advocates claimed that there exists an acute classroom shortage

throughout the country, and that failure of state and local authorities to face it make federal aid imperative. Mrs. Hobby declared that 407,000 classrooms would be needed by 1960. Challenged by the press, she withdrew the figure and said it should have been 176,000 classrooms by 1960. Also, her report asserted that the state of Indiana suffered from one of the worst classroom shortages in the country; the press challenged her on this and could find no authorized statistics to show that such claims had any foundation.

These affrays in the public prints lead to two conclusions: 1) while Mrs. Hobby and Dr. Brownell were honest in putting out such charges, they were obviously badly served by their statisticians—apparently, a bureaucracy in the Office of Education which allowed its hopes for federal aid to outweigh its judgment on figures; and 2) if classroom "needs" have so little basis in statistics, why any appropriations for federal aid to schools at all?

Opponents of federal aid here found encouragement in the appearance of representatives of numerous taxpayers' associations from all over the country to protest such aid. When these individuals testified before the House Labor and Education Committee, they did not confine themselves merely to refuting economic and financial assertions of the Federal Office of Education. Throughout their testimony there were expressions of fear that acceptance of federal aid in constructing schools would lead to dictation by the central government of what is taught in local schools. What Mr. Robert Armstrong, Executive Director of the Nebraska Citizens Council, says is typical:

"Our educators and public officials, and the people generally, abhor federal control of their activities. They have been forced to yield in the matter of public roads, public assistance and many other categories of federal handouts. We here and now draw a line across which we say you shall not encroach further, particularly in the field of education. We know that eventually, if not at the beginning, standards of construction, and later standards of curricula, administration and certification of our schools will be dictated by the government which hands out the money to pay the cost.

"Our state officials, the members of our legislature, the members of our State Board of Education, and our Commissioner of Education have publicly expressed themselves as opposed to the principle of federal handouts for education, largely because of their fear of encroachment upon the administration and operation of our public schools. This, they say, is entirely a matter of state and local control."

Want to Be a Bee?

By REV. IRVING E. HOWARD

The author concluded that he didn't, after studying the communal life of the hive he set up in his backyard.

Someone had told me that bee stings would be good for arthritis and anyhow I wanted to get back to nature, so I ordered a complete beekeeping outfit from a mail order house. The bees arrived in a wire cage, with some on the outside—to the distress of the postmaster. The hive came as a box full of sticks; I puzzled over this for hours before it began to look as if it would house bees. I did not know at the time that this type of beehive is a wicked capitalistic improvement over what the bees would build if left to follow their own inclinations. Finally, however, the bees were merrily setting up housekeeping in the new hive, and my education began.

Between struggling with frames full of angry bees and reading Maurice Maeterlinck's *Life of the Bee* to find out what it was I was looking at, I began to learn something about my new playmates.

First of all, as I suspected, the honeybee is an enlightened Socialist. There are individualists in the bee family, solitary bees who live an independent, happy life; but the honeybee has chosen to practice a community of goods and has carried out the implications of that with a vengeance.

A Matriarchal Society

Secondly, I discovered that the beehive is a matriarchal society; the male bee is a relatively unimportant fixture. The drone, as he is called, is a stupid, bumbling individual who shambles around the hive all summer, sucking honey, sleeping in a corner and fulfilling but one purpose in life.

His day comes when the virgin Queen dances out of the hive and begins her bridal flight. All the drones follow madly after, the largest and strongest usually catching her high in the air over the hive where the mating takes place at the cost of the successful drone's life. He falls to the ground dead, leaving his reproductive organs and all his entrails dangling from the Queen who returns to the hive never to mate again.

The rest of the drones pay dearly for their life of leisure, too, for as the days grow shorter and the nights colder, a time arrives when the worker bees are suddenly seized with a frenzy and leap upon the drones, gnawing off wings, legs, antenna or whatever comes first. Some are stung, others are driven out of the hive to freeze in the night;

and by morning a pile of dead drones litters the ground before the Welfare State that has supported them in comfort. The drone fulfills his solitary purpose during the summer months, and no drone ever lives through a winter to see a spring. The Welfare of the community has been served.

The worker bee is a frustrated female. Energetic, nervous and cantankerous, she is wonderfully efficient in carrying on the hive. She, too, is a victim of the hive she serves. An elaborate division of labor assigns different tasks to the buzzing workers. Some make honey from the nectar brought in by the field bees; others nurse and care for the larvae; others attend to the Queen and feed her.

Some bees attend to the air conditioning, an important task because evaporation of the nectar in the hexagonal vats is an essential part of the process of making honey. Several worker bees are stationed at the entrance of the hive,



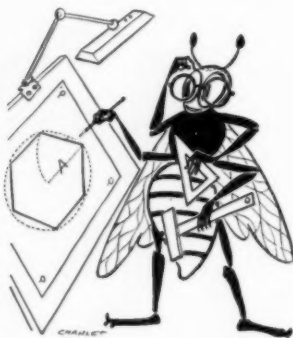
tails in air and wings buzzing to start the flow of air. Other bees are scattered around the hive to keep the air in movement. On hot days the number is increased.

Some bees are wax workers. They are the structural engineers who lay out the streets and build the hexagonal cells, solving complicated problems in higher mathematics. Others forage for nectar or pollen, never for both at the same time. Other bees are water carriers, especially in early spring when water is needed to mix with the pollen that has hardened in the hive and needs softening to make the bee bread that is fed to the young to provide the much needed protein for growth. Other bees sweep the streets of the hive and clean up after the careless drones. Some bees do guard duty at the entrance to keep out strangers and robbers who would otherwise make off with the golden treasure. (All of these seem to be the "experts" who loom large in Welfarism.)

Who, in this complicated division of labor, decides which bee will perform which task is one of the mysteries of the hive. The collective seems to dictate.

The worker bee's labor for the "greatest good of the greatest number" is ill rewarded. When a worker bee returns to the hive with wings frayed, she is stung to death. Inefficient bees cannot be tolerated. The hive must go on!

The larva is fed for a proper length of time, then sealed up for metamorphosis; it awakens a bee, but must force its own way out of the waxen prison. The nurses will give the bee no help in the matter, for the struggle to get out rubs off a thin membrane that releases the bee's wings. If



a bee escapes without the membrane being rubbed off, it can never fly and is executed as worthless to the hive. The hive is supreme!

The Queen, the most important member of the hive, is hardly the ruler. She does not make the decisions, but is the dumbest member of the collective, who must be fed, watched over and protected by the alert workers. Her reproductive organs have been developed at the expense of her brain. She is no more than an efficient egg-laying machine. Like the workers who care for her, she is the victim of the hive she serves.

The first time a hive swarms, the amateur beekeeper enjoys a thrilling experience. The common theory that swarming is caused by overcrowding is not supported by the facts, for many an overcrowded hive never swarms. One of the interesting explanations that has been suggested for this phenomenon is that the frustrated female workers who have been deprived of a normal sex life swarm to give expression to their pent-up feelings. They just revolt against their collectivized life and assert their individuality for a few intoxicated minutes.

Whether true or not, the bees swarm out of the hive as if drunk, reeling giddily around in the air until they cluster upon some nearby bush or tree where they hang like an enormous festoon with the Queen in the center. Bees are in a happy frame of mind while swarming and rarely ever sting. After a short rest, the ball of bees takes off through the air like a great football. It makes straight for some predetermined site of a new housekeeping venture which scouts have gone before to choose. Thus, the hive multiplies itself.

However, even in this brief flare of individualism—if such it is—the bee is the victim of the socialistic state it has evolved.

The bees did their best, but their stings did not cure my arthritis. However, they did contribute something more important. They confirmed my misgivings of the collectivist heaven. I don't want to be a bee.

A Status and a Number

In the welfare state the government undertakes to see to it that the individual shall be housed and clothed and fed according to a statistical social standard, and that he shall be properly employed and entertained; and in consideration for this security the individual accepts in place of entire freedom a status and a number and submits his life to be . . . directed by an all-responsible government . . . the government cannot really guarantee security until it goes to the logical end, which is to ration the national income in time of peace just as all goods . . . are rationed in time of war.

GARET GARRETT in *The People's Pottage*,
Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1953

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Distrust Thy Neighbor as Thyself

By ANDRÉ VISSON

At Geneva, the Chinese Reds and Soviets watched each other's moves in an atmosphere of suspicion not allayed a bit by the fact that they were allies.

Since Stalin's death there have been many dramatic changes in the Kremlin. Malenkov and his short-lived slogan of "peaceful coexistence" have been succeeded by the hydrogen-bomb rattling of comrades Krushchev and Bulganin.

But whatever the slogans coming out of the Kremlin, whoever the men taking over the helm of the Soviet empire, one basic feature of the communist regime remains unchanged. All communist leaders live and work in a miasma of mutual distrust. The members of the Politburo distrust one another. The Communist Party distrusts the Red Army. The Red Army distrusts the Soviet police. The men in the Kremlin who use the secret police to spy on the Red Army, and on all the party organizations at home and abroad, distrust their own secret agents and informants. They have at least two secret police organizations, one keeping a close watch on the other. Every man in a responsible position in Moscow regards his subordinates as secret informants or potential rivals.

Since they harbor such corroding distrust, one for the other, at home, it is to be expected that the Soviet leaders would distrust their satellites, and even more the nations of the free world.

It is both amusing and disturbing to observe the Communists at international gatherings, such as the Geneva conference last year. The Communists had every reason to feel confident and happy: the Red regime in North Indo-China was to be ratified, and the communist position in North Korea consolidated. Outwardly they were all smiles. But their behavior betrayed deep-rooted insecurity and gnawing distrust.

The Western delegations brought to Geneva as many people as they thought the work would require. But the Chinese and the Russians vied with each other for the prestige of having the largest delegation. When the Russians announced that their delegation would number 160 persons, the Chinese asked for accommodations for 180. When the Russian delegation increased to 200, the Chinese raised theirs to 220. This went on until each delegation boasted about 300 members.

All international conferences attract anonymous agents from every intelligence service. Expecting an intensive scramble for secret information, the delegations from the larger countries brought to Geneva a considerable number of se-

curity people. The United States had in all 32; the Russians and Chinese each had more than 70.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and Under Secretary Walter Bedell Smith got about in cars rented from a hotel garage at Lausanne, driven by Swiss chauffeurs. The Soviets brought 20 cars, two trucks and a complete workshop to service their cars and planes. Practically all the food for Molotov and the top Soviet officials was brought daily by plane from Moscow and East Berlin. It was prepared by cooks and served by waiters brought from Moscow. They had eight DC 3's assigned to regular flights between Moscow, East Berlin and Geneva. Six of them made two flights daily. The other two were held in reserve at the Geneva airfield. The Soviets refused a Swiss offer to store the planes in Swiss military hangars guarded by Swiss soldiers. They wanted them out in the open ready to take off at all times; in addition to the Swiss guards they kept a watch of five Soviet security men day and night.

Bulletproof Cars Not Enough

The Red Chinese felt even more insecure than the Russians. Though they accepted two Soviet bulletproof limousines for the use of Foreign Minister Chou En-lai, they were careful to supply their own drivers. They brought their own security agents, and they insisted on a direct teletype line to Peiping.

But the bulletproof limousines did not provide Molotov and Chou En-lai with adequate protection. Nor were they satisfied with the five Swiss plainclothes men attached to each of them. Their limousines were always preceded and followed by cars carrying four or five of their own security people. Three more bodyguards rode inside each limousine—one seated beside the driver, the others flanking the chief's right and left. For greater protection Molotov's seat was lower, so that the two bodyguards could better conceal his stocky figure.

Before Molotov's arrival in Geneva the Soviet security officers asked for the suspension of traffic signals when Molotov's limousine was taking him to or from the conference hall. This the Swiss police refused to do. In democratic Switzerland even the Red leaders had to respect a red

light. Molotov's drivers studied the city and chose streets with the least number of signals.

One day the Chinese informed the Swiss that Chou En-lai intended to go to Bern to pay a government call. The date was set, but they wouldn't say whether he would travel by train or car. If he chose to go by rail, they wanted a pilot train to precede him. However, in case he chose to motor—and they would not say by what route—they wanted to be sure that there would be Swiss soldiers at every crossroad. For three days the Swiss inquired in vain whether Chou En-lai had made up his mind. Until the very morning of his trip the Chinese withheld the information—from the very people they were asking for protection!

For his headquarters Molotov rented a spacious house, "Les Chatillons," which belonged to an official in the Geneva canton council. The Soviets immediately had it surrounded by a heavy picket of Swiss soldiers. When Molotov arrived, his personal bodyguards and security officers objected to the tapestried wall panels. They feared concealed microphones and wanted to remove the tapestries. When the owner refused to have his walls defaced, the Soviets reluctantly accepted the house as it was.

"Les Chatillons," cleared of all Swiss personnel, became Molotov's official residence. But the Swiss believe that Molotov hardly spent a night there. Each evening after dark two heavily armored limousines with drawn shades left "Les Chatillons" for a town house which the Russians had acquired from the Latvian Republic when they absorbed the Baltic countries during World War Two. No outsider ever saw who stepped out of the cars, or who stepped in them in the morning. The Soviets' town house was less comfortable, but sure to be free of microphones.

For Chou En-lai, the Chinese security people inspected the Montfleury estate, a 20-room mansion not far from Molotov's official residence. They were about to close the deal when they heard that the place had been looked over and rejected by the Russians. They went into a huddle. Did they fear that the Russians had planted microphones in the house? The Swiss told them that the Soviets' visit had been brief, and that they had not been left alone. With this assurance the Chinese decided to take the place—and they camped right there, apparently afraid to leave the new residence of Chou En-lai unguarded for even an hour.

As soon as they occupied the estate the Chinese dismissed all Swiss servants, and put up a barbed-

wire fence around the place. Inside the estate all the guards were Chinese. Outside it was guarded by a picket of 40 Swiss soldiers.

The North Korean delegation was completely under the Soviet thumb. Nam Il, the Foreign Minister and head of the delegation, was trained in Russia and only returned to Korea in 1945. The Vice-Minister, Ki Sek Pok, was born in Russia. It was a complete puppet show. They moved around in Soviet cars with Russian drivers and Russian guards.

The Case of the Counterfeit Bills

In such a climate of fear and distrust, the slightest incident takes on the proportions of a catastrophe. One day two White Russian émigrés came to Geneva from Brussels and threw some phoney Russian money on the sidewalk in front of the hotel housing the Soviet delegation. One side of the counterfeit bills looked like real Soviet currency. But on the other side was an eloquent plea to the Russians to see for themselves how much more attractive life was in the free world, and to throw off the Soviet yoke. The chauffeurs of the Soviet limousines standing at the hotel entrance naturally picked up the "money." The Soviet security people thereupon became frantic. Though the Swiss police quietly sent the two White Russians back to Brussels, the Russians continued to go about as if the next move of the two might be to bomb the hotel and wipe out the entire Soviet delegation.

The Soviet officials were afraid of all anti-communist refugees, but they were equally suspicious of their own men abroad. Lesser members of their delegations, housed in hotels, were allowed out only in groups, and always watched by security men. It was an atmosphere of double or triple-decker security; every Soviet official was afraid of his own shadow, and every Soviet security man was regarded as a potential traitor, and watched by the other security men. When the conference ended, the Soviets took with them their diplomatic successes, their secret papers, their cars, their planes and their stooges and put them once again behind their Iron Curtain.

Whenever and wherever the Soviets sit down to tackle fundamental problems with the representatives of other countries—be they from the communist East or the free West—one finds the same atmosphere of suspicion and distrust that prevailed in Geneva. It is as if the Kremlin's constant watchword, at home and abroad, is "Distrust Thy Neighbor as Thyself."

The whole of the history of civilization is strewn with creeds and institutions which were valuable at first, and deadily afterwards.

WALTER BACEHOT

A Farmer Fights for Freedom

By CY PETERMAN

The case of Joseph Blattner has become a national issue. The outcome will determine whether farmers have the right to plant their land as they please.

Spring planting had begun, and 82-year-old Joseph Blattner, a pious poultryman who has farmed 108 acres in southeastern Pennsylvania since 1903, was musing on the Apostle Paul's epistle to the Galatians: "... for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap."

Farmer Blattner wondered. In half a century, man and boy, he had seen about all that can happen upon the average acreage: drought, flood, frost, fire, blizzard, death, depressions. The Scriptural figure of speech had covered a lot of territory, thought the elder agriculturist. But there was more, something St. Paul could not have anticipated: the often amended but seldom questioned Agriculture Adjustment Act of 1938. Revised for wartime with price floors and ceilings, the Act's farm marketing and crop acreage control provision had at last ensnared him. Because of that law, the Blattner who sowed 24 acres in wheat for his chickens—instead of the government-allotted 16—had as part of the previous harvest reaped a legal whirlwind which today is moving toward the United States Supreme Court.

There at last, it is hoped by Blattner and his smallholder friends, the case of the farmer who wants no government help and takes none, may obtain justice. And, in the process, may restore a measure of private, competitive enterprise to the American farm. Blattner is appealing against the AAA, alleging that his freedom to farm and earn a living as provided under the Fifth, Ninth and Tenth Amendments to the Constitution, is being denied. Along with tens of thousands like him, he is fed up.

For Joe Blattner, God-fearing, unsubsidized and independent, is an old-fashioned, grass-roots American who decided to put up a good fight. He is at odds with the world's bulkiest wheat broker, Uncle Sam. He has dared to oppose the United States Government agency that has been buying up and storing wheat for so many years it's now running out of the federal ears, bulging every granary and available storage, including makeshifts and stacks that spoil in the field, until the surplus is reported to be a billion dollars' worth. Such a surplus, in fact, that a White House expert, Mr. Nelson Rockefeller, was asked to devise ways to give some of it away.

At the same time, it must be noted, U.S. farm agents continue to promote bigger wheat crops

among top growers, so that five of the very biggest in 1953 collected \$500,000 each in federal loans on their crops. And the same agencies, dealing with little farmers, pace off, measure and restrict by aerial photographs the precise amount they may grow. In the case of Blattner, they didn't even care whether he had signed on for the government aid; and that's where the trouble began.

Grain for Their Own Hens

When the County Production and Marketing Administration office in Collegeville, Pennsylvania, notified Blattner and his son John, who manages the farm, that they could plant 16 acres of wheat and no more, they paid no attention. They sowed 24 acres, with more in corn, enough for the proper feeding of 6,000 laying hens that are the mainstay of their operation on North Wales Road, near the old Welsh community of Center Square in Worcester township, just beyond Philadelphia's suburbs.

When the agency men came to check on the acreage, Blattner told them to go away; he wasn't having strangers tromp down his wheat.

But after the harvest came a notice from the Collegeville office. The Blattners were fined \$1.12 a bushel on an estimated 160 bushels produced on the excess eight acres—a total of \$179.20. Moreover, their entire wheat crop for that year was subject to government lien, to insure payment. When the man came around, Blattner said:

"I won't pay. This is still a free country, ain't it? We need that wheat for the chickens. A man still has a right, if he don't obligate himself to government, to farm the way he likes."

The story broke on August 11, 1954, when Blattner's lawyer-farmer neighbor, J. Kennard Weaver, backed by an indignant farmer group that included Bert Shontz, farmer-publisher of the *Montgomery County Farmer*, filed suit in U.S. District Court, to have the federal farm marketing and administration features of the Act declared unconstitutional. Specifically, the complaint asked that the government also be enjoined from interference with the plaintiff's sale of his produce, or purchase of wheat and raising of grain to feed his chickens.

The basis of the suit was in the fact that none of the Blattner farm produce—grain, chickens, or eggs—was involved in interstate commerce, the

regulation of which provides an all-covering canopy under which Washington legislates and controls.

In short, the Blattners, their neighbors, and most of the 1,400 farmers in Montgomery County merely sought to be let alone. Joe Blattner didn't complain about what others were doing or receiving; he simply asked for his inherited privilege of farming his own land in his own way, with the right to sell the product of his own hands in a free market.

People from nearly every state wrote to Blattner and his group. Letters and telegrams poured in, and checks in modest sums for the "war chest" needed to carry the suit through the courts.

"It is a rare and wonderful experience, in these times, to know that one man has courage enough to challenge the world's course toward tyranny and slavery, by recognizing this trend in our own country," wrote an Easton, Pennsylvania, citizen.

Joseph Blattner's house became a meeting place, his farmyard an open-air forum. Television and movie cameras were set up in the chicken runs; his story went coast-to-coast by press, radio, TV and the magazines—it lasted several weeks.

Editor Shontz blazed away with letters, editorials and reports. Farmers' associations watched closely, and the leaders took counsel. Some came out on Blattner's side, others rode the fence. Privately, many a farmer accepting government aid, and not a few in the agencies themselves, hoped the old man might win his case. But it was expected the government would make a strong defense, and it did.



Farmer Joseph Blattner, eighty-two years old, and his son John read a wheat acreage control notice they received from the Federal Marketing and Control Agency.

Appeals were anticipated, and the fund raising became serious.

Incidentally, it is a curious fact that though the 1,400 Montgomery County farmers were predominantly against farm supports and controls, only 85 of that number were eligible to vote on this question, under the Farm Administration's rules. Any farmer planting less than 14 acres of wheat had no vote. Only 27 of the 85 eligibles voted, and they were 22 to 5 against taking federal aid.

The "Wheat Penalty Minutemen"

The original committee formed to push the suit included besides the two Blattners and Shontz, the Herr brothers of Trooper, Harold Fink of North Wales, and Charles Jensen and his son of Lansdale. They called themselves the "Montgomery County Wheat Penalty Minutemen," and met the first time in Mr. Jensen's home. The latter is a cattleman, lost a son in World War Two, and holds strong feelings on freedom and individual liberties. These men put up the first money needed, and called on their neighbors for donations.

A bank account was opened, and enough contributions—from 25 different states—were received to carry the case through U.S. Appeals Court.

"Task Force Blattner" was variously warned to lay off, but the farmers didn't scare. There were hints of reprisals—the long-practiced "runaround" by federal agents, withholding of marketing cards, added penalties, reduced allotments—suggesting Russia.

"In this part of the country we are not radicals," wrote Schontz, "nor are we reactionaries. We'd like the rest of America to know we aren't federal aid moochers, either. We just want to operate under laws of supply and demand, restoring our God-given, democratic fashion of living."

Charles Edwards, up from a sick bed, showed up one day at Blattner's farm and endorsed over a \$100 check. "I farmed 200 acres here until five years ago," he reported. "Had three nice farms. But I just got tired being pushed around by government-backed competition. When the hired hands began telling me what they would and wouldn't do, and I found myself doing the heavy jobs, I gave up. Small farmers don't have a ghost of a show, nowadays. . . ."

Nevertheless, the Pennsylvania Farmers Association and the Farm Bureau urged Shontz and his colleagues to "duck it." They said it might prove "economic suicide." The farmers responded by collecting \$3,500 and filed the complaint.

The original bill of particulars, as written by attorney Weaver, alleged that the U.S. Government, through farm price and marketing acts originally passed by Congress to encourage the wartime production of more food, was depriving Blattner of the right to make a living and would ultimately put him out of business. Because the government limited

his acreage, forcing him to buy wheat outside at subsidized prices, Blattner could not remain in competition, the brief held. His income from poultry did not permit purchase of the extra wheat required.

Moreover, said the complaint, Blattner's chicken and egg production went into strictly local markets. Since it is the constitutional provision for control of interstate commerce that opens the door for the whole AAA program, and in Weaver's words, "permits the government to take from one group to give to another," this point comprised the heart of the suit. The brief also stated the grievances of thousands of small farmers who are today in this predicament of being "frozen out" because of the farm assistance act—a boon to the big boys, but a heartbreak to the small holder.

Were the decision to favor Blattner, it would of course upset the whole farm price and control structure, a multi-billion-dollar operation that has continued now for 17 years. It would likewise cramp the farm-vote seeker in some sections, send many a rural tycoon back to the law of supply and demand, and put an awful dent in Welfare Statism.

Complaint Dismissed

But Joseph Blattner wasn't destined to win quickly. In a brief opinion expressed February 3, 1955 by U.S. District Judge Allan K. Grim, the complaint was dismissed on the grounds that all its contentions "have been denied in a previous suit (Wickard vs. Filburn, 317 U.S. 111) in 1942."

Attorney Weaver promptly charged the federal court was "passing the buck," an old maneuver in such highly charged political legislation. He said the Wickard-Filburn opinion, written by the late and liberal Justice Robert H. Jackson, took cognizance of three important factors not present in the Blattner suit. These were as follows:

1. In the suit of Roscoe C. Filburn, an Ohio farmer, against the then Secretary of Agriculture, Claude R. Wickard, the plaintiff was found by Justice Jackson to have suffered no loss. In Blattner's case, definite loss is admitted in the Court's ruling.

2. In the Filburn case, a subsidy was received by the plaintiff, making him more or less subject to regulations contained under the Act. Farmer Blattner refused all subsidies, and none were given.

3. In the Filburn bill of particulars, it was shown that some of the wheat had been sold, and while Justice Jackson said its precise disposition was not shown, it must be presumed to have entered into interstate trade. Blattner sold no wheat whatever, and the product of his own wheat—eggs—was sold for local consumption on the domestic market.

For these "controlling reasons," and because the government's authority is claimed under the interstate commerce regulation clause, and because plaintiff Blattner is deprived of the use of 92 of his acres for wheat growing—thus violating his rights under

the Fifth Amendment—an appeal was immediately taken.

One of attorney Weaver's strongest arguments is his declaration that the Agricultural Adjustment Act is class legislation, in that "it takes property from one class, the raisers of poultry, and gives it to another class, the big growers of wheat." Under the Fifth Amendment, which, he remarks, is today frequently used to protect traitors and criminals, the taking of property without due process of law is prohibited. But, he adds wryly, "that process" is harder to obtain for the honest citizen.

"If this Court does not stop the defendant, the protection of the good individual and his property by our Constitution has become a mirage," Weaver's appellant brief continues. He describes the buck passing between legislative and judicial branches in the following way:

The legislator considers enacting of economic legislation by which to transfer by legal force the property of one class to another class. But the constitutionality of this legislation, this transfer, is quickly raised. Does the legislator pause? He does not.

"Pass the law, and let the courts decide its constitutionality," says the legislator. . . .

Later, the courts refuse to consider its constitutionality, saying: "The decision as to whether taking from one class for the benefit of another promotes the general welfare, is a political decision for the legislator." In the case of Wickard vs. Filburn, on page 13, the Justice did just this in the following terms:

"It is said, however, that this Act, forcing some farmers into the market to buy what they could provide for themselves, is an unfair promotion of the markets and prices of specializing wheat growers. It is of the essence of regulation, that it lays a restraining hand on the self-interest of the regulated, and that advantages from the regulation commonly fall to others. The conflicts of economic interest between the regulated and those who advantage by it, are wisely left under our system to resolution by the Congress, under its more flexible and responsible legislative process. Such conflicts rarely lend themselves to judicial determination. And with the wisdom, workability, or fairness of the plan of regulation, we have nothing to do."

This is twentieth-century legalism for Pilate's old hand-washing act. In effect, it is the court saying: "Yes, boys, this is a little rough, but it's regulation, and when it comes to that our Congress wisely takes charge, and you mustn't expect the courts to step in with a little jurisprudence."

Professor Walter Gellhorn, Columbia University's law authority, recently took a dim view of this legislature-to-judiciary shuttle game.

"Nothing is so destructive of democracy as a Constitution which we believe protects our freedom, but which in practice is construed away by the courts," he said, although the statement had no connection with the Blattner case.

The Fifth Amendment has come into the news in recent years because Americans called before congressional committees, merely for questioning, have invoked it, and almost unanimously the American

press, radio and intellectuals have made much of it. Yet in cases like Blattner's, where government agents with no other purpose than to promote paternalist measures march in with allocation orders, acreage charts, aerial photographs, and per bushel levies if there be overlimit production, these same defenders of the citizen's rights remain strangely apathetic, if not altogether silent, says Weaver.

"Nor shall private property be taken for a public use, without just compensation," reads the Fifth Amendment.

Whereupon, Weaver states, the government seeks to take \$179.20 from the plaintiff in fines, and would force him to buy government-priced wheat from already oversubsidized wheat tycoons, so that the small operator grows smaller and the wealthy government ward grows richer.

Under the Ninth and Tenth Amendments, the brief continues, the plaintiff is denied rights reserved to states under the Constitution, and spe-

cifically Blattner's right to make a living by feeding his own wheat to his chickens.

"We here reach the Rubicon in our constitutional history," the attorney concludes. "The denial of the complaint by this farmer will effect the crossing.

"If this Court gives the Federal Government absolute control over this non-subsidy taking farmer, it is the same as saying: 'The Ninth and Tenth Amendments to the Constitution are hereby repealed. The Federal Government now has full control over the individual and his property in every activity in all states of this Union.'"

To Joseph Blattner, pondering in the twilight of a life spent upon the free soil of a once free America, it was all legalistic and very confusing. St. Paul had stated the problem more succinctly. In the third verse of the sower and reaper parable he urged the Galatians:

"And let us not be weary in well doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not."

The Double Standard in Education

By ANTHONY T. BOUSCAREN

William E. Bohn, writing recently in the *New Leader*, discussed the Remington and Hiss cases, and concluded that a system of education which appears to regularly produce this type of mind needs overhauling. He expressed concern that our young people are not receiving "a realistic education which will fit them to stand up against the strains and tricks and traps of life in this complicated age."

Unhappily, there do not seem to be any changes forthcoming in our schools and colleges. I refer specifically to the double standard which has long prevailed in the social sciences especially: nazism and fascism had to be stopped, even at the risk of war; communism, on the other hand, needs to be "understood" and accommodated; we must coexist with communism because the alternative is war.

This curious double standard is further manifested in these various ways: no diplomatic recognition of Manchukuo or *de facto* Hitlerian Europe, but recognition for Red China; support of congressional committees investigating crime and corruption, but not of congressional committees investigating communism; censure of McCarthy for intemperate language, but not of Flanders for intemperate language; economic aid to communist-ridden Indonesia but not to Spain; effective aid to anti-fascist undergrounds in a

past era, but no effective aid to anti-Soviet undergrounds today; no aid to Finland in 1939 because it might jeopardize our neutrality, but all-out aid to the Popular Front regime in Spain; antagonism and hostility to McCarran, Jenner and Knowland, but tolerance and understanding for Glen Taylor, Henry Wallace and John Stewart Service; communist teachers in the schools in the name of free speech, but no Bundists or advocates of racial supremacy; and so it goes.

"Understanding" the Communists

Far from abolishing this double standard which creates a blind spot in the thinking processes of many who later find their way into government, education and the mass media, modern education seems to be perpetuating it. Recently the *New York Times* Youth Forum discussed the question "Is Coexistence With Russia Possible?" The general consensus of guest Harrison Salisbury and five of the six college students participating was that we had to coexist with the U.S.S.R. or there would be war. It is not the purpose of this article to analyze the coexistence issue, but suffice it to say that if we have decided to coexist with an expansionist-minded dictator, we will have to continue to retreat "in order to keep the peace." Neville Chamberlain wanted so much to coexist

with Hitler that he handed over Czechoslovakia to "keep the peace." Roosevelt at Yalta wanted so much to avoid a showdown with Russia that he conceded East Poland and Manchuria (without consulting the Poles or the Chinese). Truman was so eager not to antagonize the Soviets that at Potsdam he granted almost all their requests in East Germany, East Austria and the Danubian basin. Eisenhower wanted "peace" and coexistence in Korea so much that he permitted the aggressor—Red China—to remain in North Korea which had been invaded in violation of the UN Charter and UN resolutions. Mendès-France was similarly motivated when he and his associates sacrificed twelve million North Vietnamese on the altar of coexistence at Geneva. Here was the true measure of the morality of the coexist-at-any-price policy.

Student Opinions

Getting back to the *New York Times* Youth Forum: Mr. Salisbury started things rolling by stating that coexistence "could be accomplished if there is courage and good will by both parties" (one is tempted to say here that the courage and good will of the Czechs in 1938 and the Koreans in 1950 was of little avail). Edward White of New York University expressed the opinion that the UN would serve as "a buffer" to preserve the peace between the United States and the U.S.S.R. (just like the League of Nations served as a buffer between the West and Hitler?).

Leland Jamieson of Trinity College insisted that we must offer the Soviets a "*modus vivendi*" that is not anti-Russian" (recognition of Red China and no rearmament of West Germany?). Sarah Lawrence's Ruth Acker said: "I don't think the Russians want war. We have to give

them credit for realizing that war won't solve the problem. . ." (communist attacks on Poland and Finland in 1940, Greece in 1947, and Korea in 1950 were not wars?).

Bertrand Pogrebin of Rutgers reduced the matter of our relations with the Soviets to a relationship between democracies and dictatorships, as did Gracine MacCarrone of Hofstra College. The former held that we should be able to get along with Russia because "the United States has found it possible to get along with other nondemocratic nations" (like Hitler and Tojo?). This argument also overlooks the fact that some dictatorships, however undesirable, refrain from aggressive wars against their neighbors. Miss MacCarrone sought to clinch the argument when she exclaimed: "I feel that we can get along with Russia; we get along with Franco, who is a dictator" (but not a dictator who invades the territory of his neighbors, inflicts casualties on 150,000 American boys, and murders 10,000 war prisoners).

The only dissenting voice was that of Judith Sheridan of St. Joseph's College, Brooklyn. She suggested that Russia should "prove her good intentions" before the United States removed trade barriers. From what the other panelists had said, however, it was clear that this sort of "anti-Russian" talk would only serve to "increase tensions" and jeopardize "coexistence."

I sympathize with William Bohn's appeal for more realistic education about totalitarianism. Experience indicates, however, that a double standard of thinking continues in our schools. Unless and until social science teaching cleans house, we shall be educating more Hisses, Remingtons, Coes, Whites and Glassers. As things stand now, education is *not* the answer to communism.

As a Private Citizen

. . . I would flatly oppose any grant by the federal government to all states in the Union for educational purposes . . . unless we are careful, even the great and necessary educational processes in our country will become yet another vehicle by which the believers in paternalism, if not outright socialism, will gain still additional power for the central government. . . . Very frankly, I firmly believe that the army of persons who urge greater and greater centralization of authority and greater and greater dependence upon the federal Treasury are really more dangerous to our form of government than any external threat that can possibly be arrayed against us. I realize that many of the people urging such practices attempt to surround their particular proposal with fancied safeguards to protect the future freedom of the individual. My own conviction is that the very fact that they feel the need to surround their proposal with legal safeguards is in itself a cogent argument for the defeat of the proposal.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, from a letter to Ralph Gwinn, published in the *Congressional Record* for June 14, 1949

Toward A Labor Government

By DONALD R. RICHBERG

The purpose of the leaders of organized labor to establish a socialist labor government of the United States was made evident in an argument made by the American Federation of Labor, in a case which I argued against it in the Supreme Court of the United States:

The worker becomes a member of an economic society when he takes employment . . . The union is the organization or government of this society . . . It has in a sense the powers and responsibilities of a government.

Obviously, to govern such an economic society you must control its political machinery. This is well understood by our labor leaders, whose immediate program to increase their political power has two principal objectives:

First, to unite all labor organizations in one federation, or at least in a concert of action, to have laws enacted which favor union labor.

Second, to repeal the state laws that forbid a union closed shop, and then to force employers everywhere to agree not to hire or to retain any employee who does not join a union, pay its dues, and submit to its discipline.

There is nothing uncertain about this determination of union officials to acquire monopoly power over all industrial employments. Again I quote from the Supreme Court argument of the A. F. of L.:

We can summarize the nature of union membership as a common condition of employment in an industrial society by again comparing it to citizenship in a political society. Both are compulsory upon individuals.

The union leaders have a short answer to the argument that compulsory membership in a union is a violation of the fundamental freedoms which are constitutionally guaranteed to all Americans. The A. F. of L. argues:

The liberty of the individual is not the right to license, but participation in a social organization founded upon equality, justice and law. The union is that organization for employees.

Accordingly, the liberty of an American worker does not include the right to refuse to join a union, but only the right to be a member of a union. Even this peculiar liberty, however, does not include a right to join any union the worker chooses because, under a union shop agreement,

Leaders of labor unions, a favored class, now seek openly to establish a compulsory society under their personal government.

he must join the particular union which made the agreement with his employer—or lose his job.

You may also note that all kinds of unions are included in the description of a "social organization founded upon equality, justice and law." Perhaps you may wonder whether communist-ruled unions merit such a flattering description, or, whether unions ruled by extortioners or violent and tyrannical bosses should be classified as exemplars of "equality, justice and law."

A Challenge to Liberty

Now, as a matter of fact, unions at best are simply organizations of men and women who by concerted action try to make a better living under better conditions. This is also the aim of many other organizations that make no claim to holy virtue and immunity from criticism. But there is a vast difference between voluntary organizations, whose members can resign if they don't like their policies or their management, and a closed shop union whose members are compelled to support union policies and bosses or lose their livelihood.

The development of societies of human beings cooperating for their mutual benefit has raised man from animalism to civilization. But even a voluntary society must have some sort of government. As long as membership in it is voluntary some restraints of individual liberty are necessary, and will be accepted, to prevent disorder and anarchy.

Unfortunately, the organization of any society develops a governing class that inevitably seeks to increase its power. Sometimes this desire for power rises from apparently laudable motives: to make people happier, more prosperous or more virtuous. Such intentions are always claimed by aspiring rulers. Sometimes power hunger is just a base desire for power itself, an ambition to rule others for personal profit or glory. These intentions are never admitted. The corrupting influence of power is one of the few positive laws of political science.

For centuries, human beings formed economic and political societies of every conceivable character for mutual aid and protection. As these societies grew larger, their governments became bigger and more powerful—and more tyrannical. Then

the demand for individual freedom, which seems to be born in every human being, became strong enough to challenge the concept of a compulsory society governed by a divinely qualified ruling class. A free society for free men under controlled government became the objective of mankind.

Here in America it seemed for many decades that this ideal had been achieved. The only challenge to our concept of individual liberty, the only demand for unlimited government, came from a small number of ineffectual Socialists. Then came a great depression and two world wars, each contributing to the expansion of government power; the expansion was made possible by a growing acceptance of welfarism.

Welfarism included a special solicitude for organized labor. Laws were passed favoring the purposes of the union leaders. Their political power increased even as did their economic power, and in time they conceived the idea of making big government subservient to big labor.

The strategy of the political laborites was, first, to capture the Democratic Party. But because in some areas—particularly the South—the party was historically committed to the principle of local self-government, and was therefore opposed to the centralization that welfarism requires, the labor leaders could not put all their eggs in this basket. Nor did they write off the Republican Party; it contained a number who had been fortuitously converted to welfare state socialism. Their support of the laborite majority in the Democratic Party was needed. So, the purpose of achieving a socialist labor government called for bi-partisan activities.

We now have a Republican President who, despite his earlier opposition to welfarism, has promoted many of its projects, like social insurance, public housing, federal control of education—all deserving of more applause from labor than it has given. Eisenhower has not been adopted by the leaders because of a friendly disposition toward free enterprise. They do not trust him to go all the way with them. When his Secretary of Labor openly advocated compulsory unionism, he said that the Secretary spoke for himself only.

We have a Democratic Congress. But there are many Republicans in Congress who are easily persuaded by union labor arguments, and many Democrats who are not. So it is still sound strategy to work on both parties so that union labor can always command a bi-partisan majority on crucial issues. The crucial issues are more pro-labor laws, of course; but even more important is the prevention of any government action aimed to free industry from organized labor violence, or to weaken the monopoly control of labor by its leaders.

So long as government—local and federal—allows labor unions to use brute force to paralyze vital industries and to compel business enter-

prises to yield to their demands, the union bureaucrats will be able to maintain their private tyrannies. The unions are the only private organizations permitted to carry out vicious conspiracies against public and private interests in open disregard of the laws that elsewhere protect the lives, business and property of a free people.

It is not surprising that such a favored class now seeks openly to establish a compulsory society under their personal government. Already the unionists have been authorized by federal laws to fortify their autocracies with union shop contracts under which every worker must pay them tribute and become subject to their rule. All that now stands as a legal barrier to compulsory unionism are the laws of eighteen states which forbid the union closed shop contracts which in other states employers are compelled to sign; a clause in the Taft-Hartley Act permits the enforcement of these laws by the states. This is most offensive to the unionists because otherwise in all interstate enterprises the unions would be permitted by federal law to ignore and nullify these state laws.

Competition to Union Monopoly

Their campaign against state right-to-work laws emphasizes the fact that union officials are not sure they can persuade more and more workers to join their unions. Most workers know how helpless they are to control union policy or to advance their ideas or complaints. They have one of two choices. They can remain voiceless and accept the inevitable. Or they can resign from the union if employment in a non-union field is available. But if there is a union monopoly of the employments for which they are fitted, they will submit to compulsory unionism rather than starve.

There is plenty of evidence that high union officials are concerned over two threats to their monopoly position. One is competition between unions; the other is competition between union and independent workers. They aim to end both competitions. First, they would stop the unions from competing for members. Second, they would end the competition between workers by making all workers submissive members of non-competing unions. The A. F. of L. argument in the Supreme Court made this policy plain in the extraordinary contention that "workers cannot thrive but can only die under competition between themselves."

It is a curious fact that for thousands of years workers have been competing without dying as a consequence. Despite labor organizations that from time to time have tried to limit or end competition between workers, they have, under persistent competition, steadily improved their abilities, increased their productivity and their wages. With the aid of machines and other managerial devices to increase productive capacity,

which labor organizations have usually opposed, competition between workers has brought about a constantly rising standard of living. The greatest restraint on the continuing increase of the workers' productive capacity is imposed today by uniform union wages and rules which are designed to end this beneficent competition.

The real fear of labor officials appears to be that the power and profit of their offices might vanish if they depended on the voluntary support of their members. They fear to have the value of their services tested by competition. Their customary claim is that practically all union members are loyal supporters of their union bosses and that only the non-union man is a menace to union solidarity. But now and then an important unionist reveals the truth, which is that the object of compulsory unionism is not to bring in new members but also to establish a power of discipline over old members. This was the frank admission made to a Senate committee by George M. Harrison, President of the Railway Clerks and a notable labor politician.

Harrison told the Senators that he wanted to be able to impose discipline on old as well as new members by having the coercive power of a union shop contract. Later he testified before a presidential emergency board that it was very difficult to govern an organization of 300,000 persons without having the police power of a public government.

Peace or Submission?

There is a vast difference between the present campaign for universal compulsory unionism and the negotiation of many closed shop contracts in the past. In the days when competition between many employees and between many unions left many doors of employment open to independent workers, no labor monopoly was established by such contracts. There was no threat of the concentration of economic and political power in the hands of a union autocracy. Frequently an employer only sought industrial peace by ending union rivalries when he signed an exclusive contract with one union.

The repeated claim of the unions today is that labor monopolies will bring peace. The establishment of a business monopoly will likewise end competitive strife. But a labor monopoly as well as a business monopoly can bring only the peace of submission to dictatorial power.

Today the union bureaucracies are plainly seeking supreme economic and political power. The union closed shop contract is a weapon of awesome force in that battle for power. The prospect of a socialist labor government is not remote. It would be clearly an early prospect except for two retarding factors. One is the rivalries and jealousies that still divide union labor and hamper the exertion of united strength. The other retarding factor is the disillusion spreading among the American people,

first, as to the unselfish virtue of labor unions and labor leaders, and, second, disillusion as to the comfort and security of life in the welfare state which organized labor is promoting.

[Reprints of the above article are available from the FREEMAN. See bottom of p. 505 for prices.]

World Trade War

By OSCAR W. COOLEY

"Pure, unadulterated dumping," was the bitter comment by the New Zealand Dairy Board when the U. S. Department of Agriculture offered ten million pounds of butter for export at competitive bids. Similar sentiment was expressed by Australia. The Netherlands and Denmark dispatched sharp notes to the U. S. State Department.

Meanwhile, the House Appropriations Committee urged that more government-held commodities be offered in the world market on competitive bids. Secretary Ezra Taft Benson asked if he should sell commodities to the point of breaking world markets. Jamie Whitten (Mississippi) chairman of the agriculture subcommittee, replied: "If it is essential to keep the American farmer from being cut back to domestic consumption, I would say yes."

Benson indicated he favored offering other commodities competitively, but he is opposed to "dumping." Commenting on competitive bids, he said: "That's about the only way to find out what the world market price is. . . We've got to get our fair share of the world market and fight for it."

That, according to Henry Gemmill of the *Wall Street Journal*, is what practically every government is doing—fighting for a share of the world market, using export subsidies and aids of a dozen kinds, including tax rebates, government loans, guarantees against trading risks, currency retention privileges, barter, double-price systems, and provision of artificially cheap raw materials to manufacturing exporters. France this year is budgeting 100 billion francs for export aids. When a Frenchman exports a bushel of wheat and gets, say, 600 francs for it, he in addition gets a subsidy of some 440 francs from his government. When a Brazilian sends a dollar's worth of coffee to this country, he also pockets more than a dollar's worth of cruzeiros from the government of Brazil. Thus, foreign protests at our dumping are very much a case of the pot calling the kettle black.

When governments support the prices of domestically produced commodities, a world trade war is bound to ensue. The obvious and only remedy is for governments to get out of the business of trading in commodities.

A Prediction for America

This letter was written nearly a century ago by Thomas B. Macaulay to Henry S. Randall, an American literary friend.



Kensington, London, May 23, 1857

Dear Sir,

... I have long been convinced that institutions purely democratic must, sooner or later, destroy liberty, or civilisation, or both. In Europe, where the population is dense, the effect of such institutions would be almost instantaneous. What happened lately in France is an example. In 1848 a pure democracy was established there. During a short time there was reason to expect a general spoliation, a national bankruptcy, a new partition of the soil, a maximum of prices, a ruinous load of taxation laid on the rich for the purpose of supporting the poor in idleness. Such a system would, in twenty years, have made France as poor and barbarous as the France of the Carolingians. Happily the danger was averted; and now there is a despotism, a silent tribune, an enslaved press. Liberty is gone, but civilisation has been saved.

I have not the smallest doubt that, if we had a purely democratic government here, the effect would be the same. Either the poor would plunder the rich, and civilisation would perish, or order and property would be saved by a strong military government, and liberty would perish.

You may think that your country enjoys an exemption from these evils. I will frankly own to you that I am of a very different opinion. Your fate I believe to be certain, though it is deferred by a physical cause. As long as you have a boundless extent of fertile and unoccupied land, your labouring population will be far more at ease than the labouring population of the old world; and, while that is the case, the Jeffersonian policy may continue to exist without causing any fatal calamity. But the time will come when New England will be as thickly peopled as old England. Wages will be as low, and will fluctuate as much with you as with us... hundreds of thousands of artisans will assuredly be sometimes out of work. Then your institutions will be fairly brought to the test. Distress every where makes the labourer mutinous and discontented, and inclines him to listen with eagerness to agitators who tell him that it is a monstrous iniquity that one man should have a million while another cannot get a full meal.

In bad years there is plenty of grumbling here, and sometimes a little rioting. But it matters little. For here the sufferers are not the rulers. The supreme power is in the hands of a class, numerous indeed, but select; of an educated class, of a class which is, and knows itself to be, deeply interested in the security of property and the

maintenance of order. Accordingly, the malcontents are firmly, yet gently, restrained. The bad time is got over without robbing the wealthy to relieve the indigent. The springs of national prosperity soon begin to flow again: work is plentiful: wages rise; and all is tranquility and cheerfulness. I have seen England pass three or four times through such critical seasons...

Through such seasons the United States will have to pass, in the course of the next century, if not of this. How will you pass through them? I heartily wish you a good deliverance. But my reason and my wishes are at war; and I cannot help foreboding the worst. It is quite plain that your government will never be able to restrain a distressed and discontented majority. For with you the majority is the government, and has the rich, who are always a minority, absolutely at its mercy. The day will come when, in the State of New York, a multitude of people, none of whom has had more than half a breakfast, or expects to have more than half a dinner, will choose a Legislature. Is it possible to doubt what sort of a Legislature will be chosen? On one side is a statesman preaching patience, respect for vested rights, strict observance of public faith. On the other is a demagogue ranting about the tyranny of capitalists and usurers... Which of the two candidates is likely to be preferred by a working man who hears his children cry for more bread?

I seriously apprehend that you will, in some such season of adversity as I have described, do things which will prevent prosperity from returning; that you will act like people who should in a year of scarcity, devour all the seed corn, and thus make the next year a year, not of scarcity, but of absolute famine. There will be, I fear, spoliation. The spoliation will increase the distress. The distress will produce fresh spoliation. There is nothing to stop you...

As I said before, when a society has entered on this downward progress, either civilisation or liberty must perish. Either some Caesar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand; or your republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the twentieth century as the Roman Empire was in the fifth—with this difference... that your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your own country by your own institutions...

I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your faithful servant,
T. B. MACAULAY

Why Do It Yourself?

By F. R. BUCKLEY

When one of my neighbors discovered how much it would cost to build a walk from his front stoop to his garden, he decided to cut expenses by pouring his own concrete. An energetic sort, he did, and he buried his billfold (all but the tip), and with it seventy-five dollars, his driver's license, assorted keys and photographs. The moral of this story, he tells me, is that there is more than one way to pour money down the drain.

Verily, agree economists, we worship at the clay feet of a new craze—the “do it yourself” fad which has swept the country, causing the sharpest increase in the accident rate noted in the last thirty years and creating a brand new and booming business for the hobby-shop proprietors. Five years ago, it is estimated, there weren't 400 shops in the nation devoted exclusively to hobbies. Today, they reckon the number at 8,000. And while the “do it yourself” spirit has helped to create a flourishing industry in the manufacture and supply of cement mix kits and three speed power screwdrivers, economists regard the phenomenon with glum disapproval, wagging their heads and reminding us that “do it yourself” has but one economic significance: we are retrogressing to the primitive days of our pioneering forefathers.

How so? Because unions have priced labor not only out of competition, as in the coal industry, but out of work itself. I remember what may have been the start of this “do it yourself” revolution (a revolt against the high cost of labor). Ten years ago my father told me the story of a friend who decided that his house stood in need of a new coat of paint. He got hold of a painter and asked for an estimate. When he received the estimate, he could not credit his eyes. It seemed to him a monstrous charge for doing a small home. He called the painter and said, “How can it possibly be so much?” The painter looked at him, abashed; he answered in a conciliating tone, “I know it seems like an awful lot, but that includes my helper, and he gets a dollar an hour.”

“Your helper!” father's friend cried, “Why would you need an assistant for this little job—and if you had one, why wouldn't the painting go faster?” The housepainter, apparently an honest fellow, seemed even more confused. He said, “You see, the union insists that I have a helper. He doesn't paint. He just hands me my brush and

The current “do it yourself” movement is more than a craze or a reversion to the stalwart pioneer: it's a revolt against the high cost and inefficiency of labor.

stirs the mixture to keep a scum from forming on it.”

You can guess what happened. My father's friend, an elderly gentleman, got to work with his son and did the job himself. He simply was not going to be taken for a financial ride by the union, and his determination caused a man to lose business through no fault of his own.

It Can Snowball

Laissez-faire economists, a more humane bunch than people give them credit for being, worry about a man who is deprived of employment. This kind of thing can snowball, they muse. And rubbing bald spots into their hairlines, they ponder what may be the consequences. They mumble, thinking out loud, “One housepainter, plumber or carpenter out of work can act as a symbol of the inability to buy. A sudden lack of wherewithal on the part of a considerable segment of the consuming population can be disastrous in a nation geared to high production. If there is a temporary abatement of demand in an economy still largely based upon the law of supply and demand, it is economically like being all dressed up with nowhere to go.”

Let's leave the economists muttering to themselves for a few moments and see what other factors may have brought about the “do it yourself” spirit. The high price of union labor isn't the whole story. Most people are willing to pay for production, but they are not willing to pay to be cheated. Three years ago there were several bricklayers engaged in putting up a garden wall at a resort town in South Carolina. Union regulations decreed that only two (or three) hundred bricks could be laid by a man in a day; and yet the employer was charged several dollars an hour for the labor. Work proceeded slowly, with many men employed at great expense, and it seemed as if the garden wall would never be completed. One evening, the houseowner took a walk in his garden. Since it was way after working hours, he was surprised to find an old man still on the job. The speed at which this ancient worked was something to see! The movements of his hands were deft, and a smile of satisfaction hovered over his lips as he manipulated trowel, mortar and bricks

with the perfection of a person who loves his occupation.

As the houseowner came up to him, the bricklayer started back, a fleeting shadow of fear clouding his face. When he saw who it was, however, he was visibly relieved. He laughed. "I guess you think I'm crazy working overtime?" The houseowner did not know how to answer, except to remark on the man's skill. "Yes, I'm a master," the old man agreed with straightforward regard for the truth. "These apprentices, nowadays, they're no good—never will be. Why, any bricklayer worth his salt, any master, can lay fifteen hundred bricks a day without sweat. That's why I'm here. I couldn't stand the slow pace. They get real mad if you do any more than you're supposed to, so I had to sneak back. Somehow, it isn't right to cheat the man who pays you."

Ridiculously high wages, coupled with the slowdown practices of unions, result in that absurd economic condition—expensive inefficiency. It is



"For years Crosscut had me believing his union wouldn't let him repair things around the house."

this factor which makes a man take up his trowel and do his own bricklaying; the significance of "do it yourself" lies in the fact that it indicates expensive inefficiency is becoming the rule. One doesn't have to be an economist to realize what this can do to a nation. A member of the French Maquis blamed his country's humiliating defeat on just such a situation. He told me that several months before the war the French military aircraft industry was producing but one airplane

* The cartoon for this piece has been reprinted by permission of Julian Messner, Inc., distributors of the book, *Do It Yourself, Or: My Neighbor Is An Idiot*, by Brickman. 176 cartoons. New York: Gilbert Press, Inc. \$2.95.

every thirty days. This worried the politicians, who were hellbent on creating a national emergency, and an elaborate study was rushed through to see if production could not be raised. Six months of study and many Gallic tempers later, not an additional airplane had been produced. Of course, one might lift up one's hand in mock despair, shrug one's shoulders, and say "*Mais les français; que voulez vous?*" And the man who told me this may have exaggerated. But the moral of his story is clear. No government blueprint can shore up an economy staggering under the twin burdens of high costs and low production.

Bad Economics, but . . .

Economists are quick to point out that "do it yourself" is not an answer to sky-high wages and inefficient labor. Rather, they claim, "do it yourself" compounds the bad economics of the situation which it reflects. It is scarcely efficient (or cheap) to have Joe Dough, the accountant, play the plumber; or John Brown, the bank clerk, attempt to build his own fireplace. Plumbing and masonry require high manual skill. They are not talents easily come by, acquired with the donning of khaki pants and an old shirt. Joe Dough and John Brown usually end up, after great expenditure, bleating for the man who is trained to do the job.

Sometimes, though, the amateurs muddle through. The chair an amateur hammers and tacks together may not bring much at an auction in Parke Bernet, but it can be sat upon. This partial success is further weakening to the general economy, for it builds an economy based upon the jack-of-all-trades. The industrial progress of the last century has taught one important lesson, and that is that the jack-of-all-trades, however lovable, is not efficient. Specialization is required for the complex system of mass production and distribution which makes a modern industrial economy strong.

Laissez-faire economists scoff at "do it yourself" enthusiasts who applaud the "new spirit of self-sufficiency." Economists are realistic fellows, and they are not taken in by romantic allusions to our pioneering forefathers; how those wilderness-tamers stood on their own two feet, did everything for themselves from ploughing the ground to hewing the timber. Economists jeer at such notions. Nonsense, they chorus. Our forefathers may have been handy chaps, but they were a harassed lot living in a primitive economy, and quick as a flash they would have traded (in fact, did) some of their precious self-sufficiency for one or two of the conveniences we possess today. Economists, who may be joy-killers, delight in pointing out that if you would replace the population of New York City with seven million sod-busting pioneers, they would all starve to death.

The laissez-faire economist does not argue the

value of material progress—whether it is good or bad. He is content to maintain that if you want a lot of the things people seem to like, such as television sets, foreign sports cars, mixmasters and, yes, even “do it yourself” kits, specialization’s efficient mass production system is the only way of getting them. This system works to the advantage of the consumer only if government does not artifi-

cially boost prices by inflation and subsidy, and only if the unions do not try to get something for nothing. “Do it yourself,” warn laissez-faire economists, means that prices have risen so far above the market value that people no longer will tolerate them. When this happens, we had better watch out. The man who can do it himself is likely to build his own cradle and dig his own grave.

I Left Government Service

By EDWARD R. VINSON

Ten months ago, I resigned from an \$8,000 position with Uncle Sam, and took a job for approximately one half that much. I did this after putting in more than ten years with the government, after passing my fortieth birthday, and with two children to support. Was I in my right mind?

The end of World War Two found me with a good legal background and a multitude of friends, but no office, no clients and no income; so when I found a job with the Veterans Administration near home, I swung onto it. It was in Civil Service; it offered short hours, long vacations, loads of sick leave and retirement benefits that would take care of me in my old age. What more could a man want? I found out, in short order.

I had not been working for Uncle Sam a week when the boss called a meeting and told us that we were making a bad impression on the public by leaving the building for coffee; we would have to get our coffee inside the building. That didn’t sound too bad, but a few months later, we received another call. This time it was decided that too many of us were going for coffee together; the coffee break would have to be staggered. Next time we were staying too long. The time limit was ten minutes. New orders were issued. The brass met every week, and although there were other problems discussed, coffee was the one we heard the most about.

Getting to work on time was almost as bad. It didn’t matter very much what you did after you reached your desk, but if you were two seconds late arriving in the morning, you were in serious trouble; and that was true whether you happened to be a file clerk or a medical doctor. You had to explain your tardiness.

It was not at all unusual to find a \$9,000 boss in front of the building in the morning, taking names of late comers, hanging around in the coffee shop to see if anyone stayed too long, or watching

A first-hand story of how it feels to be enmeshed in the red tape, directives and demoralization of the federal bureaucracy.

to be sure that no one sloughed off five minutes before quitting time. One tall and bony boss I remember particularly. He would flit from one door to another, appearing suddenly out of nowhere only to vanish and reappear in another doorway a second later. It was like seeing an old-time Mack Sennett comedy, without being able to laugh.

No Safety Valve

And speaking of laughs, that brings me to a subject that is closest to my heart. The going can get awful rough and the future dark and dim, but if a man can laugh at himself and at the brass, he can endure almost anything—for a while, anyhow. That is one of the purposes of a company magazine. It allows the hired help to forget their troubles; it lets the bosses see how they look to the employees, and provides a safety valve for pent-up complaints and emotions.

That is what we thought was the purpose of our publication until one day a hapless reporter made a crack about “the boys from the bridge,” and before he knew what was taking place, the unfortunate scribe was summoned to the sanctum of the holy one and ripped from stem to stern for his ill-chosen words. I know because I was in the defendant’s chair. The only excuse, said the prosecutor, for a company paper, was to tell the employees about marriages, births and deaths, and when a reporter ventured outside that field, he might hurt someone’s feelings. Needless to say, nobody’s feelings were ever hurt by this reporter from that day on, because he never reported for the paper again. Topside maintained its self-respect.

One day a field representative from Washington was in the office looking things over to see if we were following the manual. (A manual is a book of instructions which tells an employee the proce-

ture for carrying out a given law.) I had just completed a legal decision. It contained all the essentials of a decision and was only five lines in length. I showed it to the man from Washington. "It's got to be longer," said he, "if you don't want your pay grade cut. Stretch it out."

So we stretched, although we already had more work than we could possibly do, and claims were stacked to the ceiling, waiting to be adjudicated. Several years later, when the work began to slacken, there was no need for any such instructions. The natural processes of governmental operations had been at work, and decisions had to be long in order to comply with the multitudinous regulations that had been issued.

A simple law may be enacted by Congress, but by the time an administrative agency of the government has gotten hold of it and sprayed it with interpretations, garnished it with regulations and bolstered it with bulletins, it cannot be recognized. It is like a snowball that grows larger and larger as it rolls down the mountainside. But the snowball must stop rolling some time; regulations continue until death of the statute, and old statutes never die.

When I entered the government service, the law upon which our operations was based was comparatively new, and we worked close to the statute itself, but as time went on there began to pour forth instructions and directives, manuals and flow charts, procedures and regulations, technical bulletins and emergency issues, and by the time I left, everything we did, from the way we punched holes in paper to the wording in our decisions, was governed by some specific instruction. On top of all this procedural mess, there was a little matter of reports.

The person who received the mail in the office had to keep a report covering the various types of letters received every day; the lawyers kept a record of the cases they handled and where the files went after leaving their desks; the stenographers kept a record of the number of lines they typed each day, and everyone's supervisor kept a record of the mistakes made by those under his supervision so that he might prepare efficiency reports. There were also daily reports, weekly reports, monthly reports, annual reports, work measurement reports and time-lag reports. Throw all these things together and you can understand why most federal employees were desperate.

And there is the problem of supervisors. Are they untrained or inefficient? Not on your life. They have to spend half their time training and learning how to do their jobs better, and the other half is spent making reports. Yet the supervisors I knew were, like the thousands who worked under their direction, as conscientious and honest as any people I have ever known. The trouble is there are too many of them.

Job descriptions are written and rewritten all the time, and civil service teams are constantly investigating to see that federal employees are doing what the job descriptions tell them to do, to see that pay grades are proper and that unnecessary positions are eliminated. Since the Republicans have been in power, large cuts in personnel have been made; but as a rule, the lower paid positions suffer the most, and when the shuffling is all over, the supervisors are still there.

I am not taking the position that the federal government should do away with all supervisors. I do believe, however, that Uncle Sam's white collar workers are sufficiently intelligent and responsible for the government to get by with a whole lot less supervision, without sacrificing the quantity or quality of work performed.

Is There Security?

One day I was expressing my views to a well-known civic leader. "There are bound to be objectionable features," said he, "to working for Uncle Sam. You have to expect that, however, because any organization that is so large must operate systematically. But," he went on, "you can get one thing in federal employment that you cannot find anywhere else. That is *security*."

There may have been a time when the civic leader's statement was true; there may be some agencies of the federal government today where you can be sure, if you do your work well, that you will have a job until you are sixty-five. But that is not the way I found it.

From the time I entered the government service until I resigned, there was never a month free from rumors of one kind or another, demoralizing rumors. Reductions-in-force, commonly referred to as RIF's, were forecast every four to six months, and were a constant specter haunting every office. Topside was usually operating far enough below ceiling so that when the RIF's took effect, few people actually lost their jobs; but no one knew for sure how drastic the cuts would be, and the employees with the lowest retention points (figured on the basis of veterans' preference and number of years in civil service) live in dread of a letter of termination.

I remember two lawyers in the office with me. They received formal notice of termination to take effect thirty days hence, and suffered the usual strains and rigors of facing unemployment. On the 29th day they were saved when two others resigned, but like the condemned man who receives a last-minute reprieve, they will never be able to forget those hours when the future looked dim.

Rumors of RIF's are bad enough, but rumors of consolidation are worse. Under General Bradley, the Veterans Administration was decentralized,

and instead of one mammoth organization in Washington, there were created 13 branch offices, strategically located over the nation. But when General Bradley left the VA, reports began to circulate that some of the offices would be consolidated with others. When the axe fell the first time, the number of Branch Offices was reduced from 13 to 10, and soon rumors began to boil again—of further consolidations. If you have ever faced the threat of having to pull up roots and move your family to a strange city, you know what I mean when I say that it shakes you to the base of your spine, especially when the move does not carry a promotion with it.

The ten offices were reduced to five, and then to three. And although I believe that the Administration acted wisely in consolidating the offices, I have to think of all the thousands of government employees whose lives were changed by the moves. Everyone was assured that he would be given a job of some kind if he wished to transfer to the new office, but the principal reason for the consolidation was to save money for the government, and you don't do that by keeping the same number of employees as before.

"Bumping" employees with less retention points determined who got the jobs, and when one person was "bumped" out of his position, he proceeded to "bump" the person beneath him, retention points permitting, and so on down the line until someone was pushed out of the bottom. Many people lost from one to four pay grades in order to stay on the payroll, some of them with thirty years of service; others lost out completely or resigned rather than start again down the ladder. Don't talk "security" to these people.

On Compulsion

The only substitute for voluntary cooperation is compulsory cooperation. Where men cannot hope to receive an increased individual reward for increased exertion, the only alternative capable of inducing exertion is compulsion. Fear must take the place of hope; sullen resentment that of cheerful anticipation; distaste for exertion that of joy in the work produced. The feelings and opinions of the slave-gang, cowering under the lash of a driver, must displace all other motives to exertion, and the efficiency of labor under socialism must sink to the inefficiency which is the universal attribute of slave labor. . . .

The inevitable result of reduced efficiency is a reduction of the amount and a lowering of the quality of goods and services rendered. . . . As labor becomes less productive, the production of goods required for comfort and for ornamentation must be curtailed, and labor must be concentrated upon the production of bald necessities. With every further loss of efficiency this process must be extended, until the national dividend, receivable by every citizen, will consist of a smaller amount and variety of goods and services than is now at the command of average artisans. Not only monotonous uniformity, but general poverty, is thus the inevitable result of socialism.

MAX HIRSCH, *Democracy Versus Socialism*, 1901

If there are so many things wrong with federal employment, why do so many people continue to work for Uncle Sam? The answer is simple.

In the first place, most federal employees develop hobbies which take their minds away from the frustrations of government work and give them a certain peace of mind. Among thirty or forty persons in the office where I was employed, there was almost every kind of hobby imaginable, from raising dogs, birds, flowers and cattle, to painting, writing and building. Here the employee was boss, there were no regulations, no ceilings and no limitations. Here was something positive and creative.

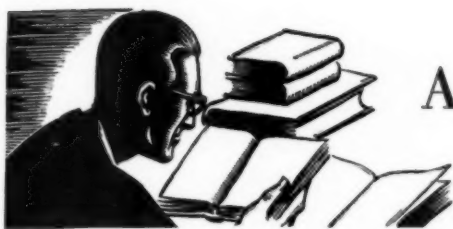
The second and principal reason is this. Experience gained in government work has little value outside of government service. With few exceptions, work for Uncle Sam has no counterpart in private industry. A civil servant may know everything there is to be known about his particular branch of the federal service, and be a real stem-winder in his department, but most of this knowledge is useless to private industry.

And in the event a government employee is fortunate enough to find someone willing to give him a trial, he must start at the foot of the ladder. This calls for the difficult job of revising one's standard of living. If he decides to leave the government, then, he must make up his mind to sacrifice the extra-curricular activities—shows, dances, football games, weekend trips and vacations. It's a high price to pay for the self-respect that comes from carving out a niche for oneself in a competitive world. But I have found it worth all the gold in Fort Knox, as well as all the tea in China.

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A Reviewer's Notebook

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Nobody wants war. On the other hand, practically nobody wants to give the world to the Communists without making a fight for it. Strung up between these emotional antitheses, the nations of the Western world pursue policies that frequently add up to precisely nothing. They are caught by the same "do-don't" psychology that kept Washington, in December of 1941, from anticipating and frustrating the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

If there is a way of voyaging successfully between Scylla and Charybdis, it would be first to find where the Communists are most vulnerable and then to act close to the point of abandon when confronting them at that particular spot. Then they would have to put up or shut up. If the calculated risk were to run into war, it would be war on our own terms. Once—and even twice—in the past five years we had the Communists right against the wall. The first time was in the spring of 1951, just before the North Koreans and the Chinese Communists called for a truce. The Reds had staged an abortive offensive. They seemed unable to push through with an attack.

It was at this moment that Brigadier General Crawford F. Sams, who was General MacArthur's public health officer, slipped behind the enemy lines in North Korea. He discovered that both the military forces and the civil population in communist territory were suffering from hemorrhagic smallpox. They also were smitten with typhus and typhoid, and had no way of controlling any of the dread diseases that were causing the communist offensives to sputter into impotence after any third day of sustained fighting.

When MacArthur got this infor-

mation from Crawford Sams, he pressed Washington for an all-out attack, including an air bombardment of the installations across the Yalu. But instead of an order to attack, Washington accepted the communist bid for a truce. The disease-ridden Red Chinese thus wriggled off the hook.

The second time they wriggled off the hook was at Dien Bien Phu. That famous fortress had been built incomprehensibly in the middle of a shallow bowl—the worst possible place for a fort in the days of old-style or pre-atomic warfare. But, as Admiral Radford, Vice President Nixon and others in Washington pointed out, Dien Bien Phu could be easily defended by the newest type of tactical atomic weapons. The thing to do would be to wait until the Reds were climbing the outer sides of the bowl in which Dien Bien Phu was situated. Then light bombers from U. S. aircraft carriers could go over the Red lines and drop the small tactical atomic bombs. The blasts would be deflected upward on the Dien Bien Phu side—and so would miss the French soldiers inside the fort. But the Red soldiers, whether Indo-Chinese or Chinese, would be wiped out.

Since timidity—"nobody wants war"—prevailed just before the Korean truce and at Dien Bien Phu, the Communists got away with victories at two places where they had led with their chins. Now, at Quemoy and Matsu, they seem about to get away with another victory while presenting a jaw that is patently made of glass.

I would not be so sure of this if I had not read John C. Caldwell's *Still the Rice Grows Green* (312 pp., Chicago: Henry Regnery, \$3.75) and Edwin O. Reischauer's *Wanted: An Asian Policy* (276 pp., New

York: Knopf, \$3.75), which are good examples of the two types of books which we have been getting about the Orient. Caldwell's is hard and factual, a book built up out of close investigation on the spot. Reischauer's is vague and ideological, based on long-term considerations that presuppose a complete willingness to test out such concepts as the "two China theory" and the possibility of co-existence and accommodation between the West and Moscow.

Now, it is entirely possible that the "two China" concept will have a ten, fifteen or twenty-year run for its money, and it is also possible that coexistence of the communist and capitalist worlds can continue just so long as the West has better military weapons. Reischauer, in other words, may be describing what is going to happen. Caldwell's book, on the other hand, causes the reader to ask just one question: why, since they are struggling against a thousand disadvantages in trying to consolidate their shaky regime, why, oh, why should we let the Red Chinese off the hook for the third time in five years?

The virtue of Mr. Caldwell's book is that he has been to Quemoy and Matsu and knows what Chiang Kai-shek has to throw against the Communists who have been trying to build up a viable force on the invasion coasts of the mainland. It is not so much that Chiang is really very strong: Quemoy and Matsu could be overrun if a good push could be mounted against them. But Mr. Caldwell, the son of a missionary, happens to have spent his childhood on the coast opposite Quemoy—or Kinmen—and he has a great deal to tell us about the difficulties which the Red Chinese are encountering in their attempt to build up a force on

the mainland capable of crossing even a few miles of water.

The first big difficulty is the tangled geography of Fukien, Kwangtung, Chekiang and Kiang-si, which are the provinces that face Formosa. From the coast of Fukien there are only two highways into the interior. The coastal highway from Amoy, which is just opposite Quemoy, to Foochow has never been completed through to the north. In order to reinforce their armies in the neighborhood of Amoy, the Communists must move troops by a roundabout way over seven hundred miles of highways from Shanghai, or over three hundred from inland Kiang-si.

John Caldwell has traveled these highways by bus, by jeep and on foot. The road from Fukien into Kiang-si crosses two five-thousand-foot mountain ranges that remind Caldwell of the Great Smoky Mountains in the American South, save that they are covered by vast bamboo forests instead of hemlock and pine.

The mountains of the China coast abound with tigers, leopards, wild boar. Tigers have been shot within the city limits of Futsing, which is on the invasion coast just north of Quemoy. It would be impossible for the Communists to mass tanks in such country—and a single bomb can block any highway in Fukien at a thousand different spots. As for the rivers of coastal China, they offer transportation of a sort. But they are not exactly barge canals for placidity. The Min River, connecting with the inland highway at Nanking, 150 miles from the sea, is wild and turbulent. It can be navigated by launch and even by sampan and junks—but no junk, says Mr. Caldwell, has ever been able to shoot the gorges and rapids of the coastal rivers at night. And, of course, the Red Chinese cannot move troops by sea to the invasion points opposite Formosa, or opposite Quemoy and Matsu, for Chiang's navy, to say nothing of the U. S. Seventh Fleet, controls Formosa Strait.

In short, both Formosa and the smaller islands are going to be the very deuce for the Red Chinese to capture. A little firmness, a mere willingness on our part to put in a small air force armed with the

tactical type of atomic bomb, and the Red Chinese would be compelled either to desist or to pay through the nose. They might get Quemoy and Matsu after a tough and debilitating fight. But Formosa, no.

Since Mr. Caldwell proves pretty conclusively that Red China can be checked by a show of firmness, why bother with Professor Reischauer's sophisticated proposals for dealing with the heirs of Mao Tse-tung over the decades? All we have to do is to sit tight and let Chou En-lai sputter. If the Eisenhower Administration should, however, make it possible for the Red Chinese to take Quemoy and Matsu without firing a shot, then Reischauer's book would become relevant. It would, however, be the relevance of impotence. For once that it is granted that the U. S. is a "paper tiger," we could hardly hope to do more than Professor Reischauer asks.

Professor Reischauer has some good general ideas. For example, he says the continental Chinese can hardly think in terms of a political alternative to communism unless they realize one exists. "Formosa," he says, "is the logical place for such a demonstration." Its seven or eight million population stands far above the mainland Chinese in living standards, technical skills and literacy. With this to build on, it is up to the Nationalist government, says Reischauer, to develop Formosa into a successful democracy—and then to advertise the product on the mainland.

Well, what has been happening on Formosa? Mr. Caldwell, unlike Professor Reischauer, went there with the precise mission of taking a long, hard look at the attempts of the Nationalist Chinese to make Formosa over on democratic lines. What he found was extremely encouraging. He discovered that real land reform was already in the works. "The thousands of ex-Communist prisoners of war who renounced Red China at the tents of Panmunjom," he says, "and who now have returned to Formosa marvel at what they have seen. Over and over they say, 'Why, if the people on the mainland knew how you handled land reform there would be a revolution!' Unfortunately the people there do not know." Nor, says Mr.

Caldwell, do they even know about it here in America.

The problem, then, is to get the news of Formosa agrarian reform to the folks in both Washington and Peiping. Professor Reischauer does not tell us how that is to be done. Lacking programmatic ways and means, his generality is hardly worth very much to practical politicians and journalists in a practical world.

This strange fact must hit a reader who has a long memory with peculiarly telling force. For it wasn't so long ago that the news about Mao Tse-tung's "agrarian reform" in Yen-an, among the loess hills of northwest China, was everywhere. The American press told about it in a score of articles. Theodore White, Edgar Snow, Agnes Smedley and heaven alone knows how many other journalists got paid handsome sums for telling us all about those wonderful "populists" and "Jeffersonians," the Chinese agrarian Communists. It all sounded just like Old Bob La Follette's Wisconsin! Yet now that Formosa has provided its own agrarian reform, an Iron Curtain seems to have descended on the U.S. press. Why? It might be worth Professor Reischauer's while to find out. Of course there is a possibility that Mr. Caldwell exaggerates about Formosa. But Caldwell is at least willing to go out into the field with a pair of ears, a pair of eyes and a notebook. He can name names and quote statements. Somehow I trust that type of reporter.

I also trust Emily Hahn, author of *Chiang Kai-shek: An Unauthorized Biography* (382 pp., New York: Doubleday, \$5). No Chiang idolator, Miss Hahn is an objective writer with a mind of her own and a style that is both illuminating and amusing. She calls a spade a spade. Writing about the Henry Wallace wartime mission to China, she says: "He was surrounded and advised by State Department officials, most of whom had made up their minds to encourage a policy of softness towards the Reds." And writing about Chiang as of now, she quotes a Kuomintang follower: "Chiang is so obstinate he won't even stop hoping." Somehow you've got to like a man like that.

Untying Knots in Nothing

The Nihilism of John Dewey, by Paul K. Crosser. 238 pp. New York: Philosophical Library. \$3.75

So many catastrophes have happened to the American mind since 1900 that it is presumptuous to choose the worst: yet we cannot be far wrong if we choose John Dewey.

Dr. Crosser's thesis is well stated in his preface: "Dewey's philosophy in all its major aspects constitutes an attempt to destroy all philosophy. . . . Dewey has deprived those Americans who have come under his influence of a general framework within which they could place their everyday activities. Dewey has made America lose its perspective and has thus greatly weakened the intellectual potential of American leadership at home and abroad." And who today has not come under his influence?

As this sound (if heavy) book proves by text and line, Dewey's nihilism—in relation to science, to art, to education—has fostered the intellectual artificialities of today, carrying us toward the famous academy of Luggnag, to which only the pen of a Swift could do justice, where blind men mix paints for artists and savants spend their time trying to extract sunlight out of cucumbers.

Dewey's prose was the bleakest aridity. Clumsy and abstract, it reminds one of a just awakened and peculiarly crabbed bear with arthritis, trying to dance a minuet. For Dr. Crosser, this is too bad; since he must quote to document, his own book is heavy with Deweyisms, as a barge that dredges a channel is heavy with sand. No one will read the book for joy; but many should read it as a supremely good summary and dismissal of Dewey as philosopher.

Dr. Crosser shows that Dewey reduced both the perceiving subject and the perceived object to shadowy abstractions, where the only "reality" seems an aroused need seeking a new equilibrium. "Mind" thus is a functional relativity—the flicker of an amoeba's pseudopodia probing water or acid for functional adjustment to need. The nature or being of amoeba or water were, to

Dewey, metaphysical — and therefore useless. In such an a-philosophy, how could science, metaphysics, truth, exist?

Dr. Crosser shows that Dewey also destroyed art. Dewey objected to reverence for great works of art—the Parthenon, the Ninth Symphony of Beethoven, the plays of Shakespeare—in themselves. The social tissue of events—the barking of an excited dog, the "need, say hunger for fresh air or food" that "denotes at least a temporary lack of adjustment with surroundings"—are the basis of art, and are more important than experience-in-itself become expression-for-itself. Creative reflection upon life which raises life to a new intensity of being was alien to him. Art was link or focus in an indiscriminate *flux quo*, always functionally seeking to change disturbance into equilibrium. Thus art was a bridge that ended in the passage across it. Art was a brute formless contact with events, not a selection and patterning of events into meaning. Denying value because he saw only use, quality because he saw life as a flux of quantity, meaning because he thought life an eternal tying and untying of knots in nothing, Dewey tended to destroy the sense for art.

Finally, Dr. Crosser proves that Dewey destroyed education. To Dewey, education must be "experience" which is "growth"—but he was unselective, uncritical of experience, void of values, so this "experience" is again a tying and untying of knots. Discipline, skills, mastery of a subject, garnering of true experience into wisdom, the discovery of truth above the battle of relativities, were alien to him. "Interrelations of means become more urgent" (he said) with maturity. "Interactions" was a favorite word. But interrelations of what, and means for what ends? Plato said that true education is to turn the eye of the soul toward light; to Dewey, it was the fixing of a blind man's fingers upon knots. The little busy bees of the world were to move, without direction or purpose, through the "existential matrix of inquiry," assuming that they were "growing" as long as "experi-

ence" led to more "experience" but never to a pearl of great price. Such a-philosophy of education, eagerly caught up and even worsened by the sedulous apes of the minor schoolmen, is a perfect explanation of our present educational debacle.

Dr. Crosser has read the books for us and borne the pain. His scholarship has documented and exposed. All serious students of Dewey will always turn to this authoritative if unhappy book, to understand more clearly why so many Americans' grasp of metaphysics is rudimentary; why so much of our criticism and creation in art today is ludicrous; and why so much of our education has been and still is a parlor game of blindman's buff.

E. MERRILL ROOT

Anti-Marxist Guide

The Anti-Bolshevik Bibliography, by Thomas Wilcox. 89 pp. Distributed by Thomas Wilcox, 712 W. Second St., Los Angeles 12, Cal. \$4.00

The author has compiled a bibliography of anti-Marxist literature which should serve as an excellent guide to libraries, bookstores and the reading public.

"Our side" has been woefully weak on the ideological and propaganda fronts because its effective literature has not only been scant, but also subtly suppressed in the popular review media and the broader fields of distribution. But the list is growing, and this bibliography alone contains more than 400 titles and 500 authors. They furnish a real insight into the results of Marxism, or, as the author prefers to call it, Bolshevism. He contends that Marxism in practice is something entirely different from Marxism in theory—this is inevitable because of the theory's inapplicability—and that the difference should be designated as such by name, i.e., Bolshevism.

Libertarians who ask for this bibliography at their library or favorite bookstore will find it an excellent reference source. And they may prod bookdealers and librarians into consulting it for guidance in recommended reading.

HELEN CARTIER

Invited Attack

Admiral Kimmel's Story, by Husband E. Kimmel, Rear Admiral USN (Ret.). 208 pp. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. \$3.75

The chief difficulty with the Pearl Harbor story is that it is "unbelievable." The normal American is asked to believe 1) that Roosevelt and Marshall had promised Churchill to put this country into the war, 2) that Roosevelt could never get a declaration of war from Congress and 3) that the only way to get America into the war was by inducing the Japanese to attack us.

This is exactly what was done. The plan was hatched at a conference in mid-Atlantic between Churchill and Roosevelt. Churchill induced Roosevelt to deliver an ultimatum to the Japanese that, if they moved further westward, the United States would go to war. Roosevelt agreed and did send the ultimatum—all of which is a matter of record.

The Japanese were fearful of American participation and sent ambassadors here who made the most extensive appeals to enable Japan to get out of the war without injuring the position of the Emperor by humiliating him—a condition essential to the Japanese government. They made sweeping concessions, but Roosevelt rejected every appeal. Meantime, the Japanese war lords had made a plan, in the event of hostilities, to begin the war by crushing the American Navy. Roosevelt, General Marshall and Admiral Stark were well aware of this plan because of one of the most closely guarded secrets of the war—the tremendous job done in the intelligence departments of the armed services where certain master code experts actually had broken the Japanese secret machine code.

The American Pacific Fleet had been ordered stationed in Pearl Harbor by Roosevelt—against the advice of his top admirals. The Japanese knew their only hope in the event of war with the United States, if their appeals for peace failed, was to destroy that fleet by a great air attack. American war plans, made long before, recognized that the fleet would be vulnerable—a sitting and helpless target—in Pearl Harbor. Its commanders'

orders were, instantly on a declaration of war, to get out of Pearl Harbor.

Roosevelt and Marshall and Stark knew the Japanese planned to attack and put out of commission the fleet under command of Admiral Kimmel. Through dispatches in the broken code they knew every move of the Japanese. But they carefully withheld these facts from Admiral Kimmel and General Short in Pearl Harbor. They wanted to ensure the attack in order to get us into the war. All through the afternoon, evening and morning of December 6-7 Roosevelt was receiving the intercepted orders to the Japanese air and fleet command.

These are the facts; and that is why I say this story is almost unbelievable. However, it is all embedded in a shelf-full of reports of a joint Senate and House investigation. Now the story is told with great restraint and conviction by Admiral Kimmel, the commander who was kept in ignorance of the approaching attack and then, with General Short (now dead), removed from command and censured.

JOHN T. FLYNN

Labor Monopolies

The Theory of Collective Bargaining, by W. H. Hutt. 150 pp. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press. \$3.00

Twenty-five years ago there was published in England a small economic treatise, *The Theory of Collective Bargaining*, by W. H. Hutt. Although it made a contribution to economic theory in a field of vital importance, few of the authors of books and articles on labor unions since that time have given evidence that they were familiar with the ideas it contained. It has been out of print for many years, but is now available once more, in a new reprint edition.

Professor Hutt is an Englishman, Professor of Commerce since 1928 and Dean of the Faculty of Commerce at the University of Cape-town in South Africa. He does not write for the dabbler in economics. This small book is a scientific critique—learned, precise, technical and detailed. It analyzes the inconsistencies inherent in the apologies for labor unions promulgated by

their supporters since Adam Smith first mentioned the so-called "disadvantage" of uncombined labor.

The author's thesis is that when laborers organize, excluding non-union members from the special privileges they obtain, the effect is not only to hurt non-union workers but also to reduce production of the goods consumers want most, and to raise prices to all purchasers, including union members.

The evil in labor monopolies lies not only in their driving the less fortunate to relatively badly paid occupations but also in their raising the cost of living to them as well. . . . The ultimate gain of workers by combination when not at the expense of excluded competitors are obtained by exploiting the consumer. . . . Hence, we can say that monopoly-gains by any factor are ultimately obtained by exploiting the consumer, although incidental losses are usually thrown upon other co-operant factors. . . . Workers' combinations are impotent to secure a redistribution of the product of industry in favor of the relatively poor. Such a result cannot be achieved by interference with the value mechanism.

If the demand for labor is inelastic enough, Professor Hutt shows, unions may appear to gain advantages for their members in the short run at the expense of capitalists and other workers. But the ultimate cost must be paid by consumers. Union practices create rigidities, distort production and destroy the sensitivity of prices and wages to market conditions. This interference with market phenomena increases costs. And so dues-paying labor union members help pay the cost of their own higher wages through higher prices and a lower standard of living.

This book has lots of other information on the history and development of the theory of collective bargaining. The author explains that labor unions could perform a benefit to all workers and consumers if they "had, and exercised, the power to break down capitalists' monopolies." But, in fact, their actions encourage capitalists to join with unions, frequently abetted by the State, in a "joint monopoly," thus lessening competition, production and job opportunities.

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pression in Great Britain in the 1920's was "primarily due to the widespread existence of monopolistic bodies on both [capital and labor] sides," which prevented necessary adjustments of wages and prices. Similar policies are pursued today, and we can only hazard a guess at what the result will be for this country and for the world.

Serious economists will find much of interest in this little book.

BETTINA BIEN

Honestly Partisan

Making Democracy a Reality: Jefferson, Jackson, and Polk, by Claude G. Bowers. 170 pp. Memphis, Tennessee: Memphis State College Press. \$3.75

Mr. Bowers always has been a democrat and a Democrat; indeed, he has long implied that the two are identical. Loyalty is a noble emotion, and loyalty to party is a good loyalty. Without true party, as Burke argued two centuries ago, representative government is impossible. A more well-defined party loyalty, and a better understanding of what our American parties represent today, are much to be desired in our present hour. When, then, I say that this readable little book is partisan history, I do not mean to denigrate Mr. Bowers' work. One of the last (I am afraid) of our long line of literary diplomats, Mr. Bowers always has written history with feeling and sincerity, and has made no secret of his allegiance. Honestly partisan history is much to be preferred to a pose of "objectivity," or to the self-delusion of writers who think themselves most innocent of prejudice when actually they are steeped in doctrinaire assumptions.

Mr. Bowers' opinions on Jefferson and Jackson are well known: his three books on Jefferson and his *Battles of the Jackson Period* have exerted a wide influence. (I think, however, that *The Tragic Era* is his best book.) His lectures on these Presidents, in this new slim volume (the first book to be published by the Memphis State College Press), are intended principally to describe the part that Jefferson and Jackson had in molding the Democratic

Party. As Mr. Bowers suggests, it is only through a healthy party-system that "democracy" (though I should prefer to write "free government") can exist in modern States. The less attractive aspects of party-management, however, Mr. Bowers leaves out of account: there is no mention of Jefferson's abandonment of strict-construction doctrines, once he was in power, nor of Jackson's spoils system. Far more than Macaulay, Mr. Bowers tends to bestow a monopoly of virtue upon his heroes: Adams, because he happened to disagree with Jefferson, is described as unbalanced; while as for Biddle, he was a deep-dyed villain.

Mr. Bowers' endeavor to restore the reputation of James K. Polk is courageous. President Polk has been harshly treated by the New England school of historians, and his memory is neglected even in Tennessee, where his house near the Capitol in Nashville has been de-

molished to make way for a parking lot. But though Polk was an interesting man, Mr. Bowers applies his whitewash with rather too enthusiastic a brush. In his discussion of the Mexican War, there is scarcely a mention of the "Sable Genius of the South," the Slave Power, which was the proximate cause of that arrogant and ill-conducted conquest: Polk is presented without qualification as the champion of democracy against the lesser breed without the law, the Mexicans. On reading these pages, I could not help recalling Irving Babbitt's powerful chapter entitled "Democracy and Imperialism," in *Democracy and Leadership*.

Nevertheless, this is a book written with a kind of Roman piety, and I like it. I hope that Mr. Bowers, now retired from the world of diplomacy, will have time to write longer books. It would be good to see him try his hand upon Alexander Stephens.

RUSSELL KIRK

FRANCE

**The Tragic Years
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Behind the Mask

School of Darkness, by Bella V. Dodd. 262 pp. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. \$4.00

The repentant ex-communist teacher, Bella V. Dodd, calls communism a "school of darkness," and her book which bears this title discloses the aptness of the phrase. This volume of experiences and confession has more value than most books written by former Communists, because it gives the clearest picture yet of how communism was able to recruit intelligent, educated persons during the twenties and thirties. But while Bella Dodd is able to explain convincingly the reasons she embraced communism, she does not make clear why she could not recognize the true face of communism behind its mask, why she did not understand the real nature of this "device to control the common man."

There was a touching and beautiful musical which played for many months in New York, *The King and I*, and through it ran the refrain of the Oriental monarch's bewilderment over the many differences between his Eastern world which respected power and force, and Anna's world of English justice and individual rights and dignity. "It's a puzzlement," cries the King, over and over; and, in a smaller voice, "It's a puzzlement," echoes his son.

Dr. Dodd's intense nature and real identification with the causes of the poor and the oppressed enveloped her in such emotionalism through the years she was a Communist that she could use her not inconsiderable brains and talents only to obey orders and serve the cause. Her "sense of dedication" appears to have become habit or hypnosis, and to blind her to the way she was being used; and, it must be said it appears also to have enabled her to rationalize about the way she was using others to serve the Communists. The party's cynical use of her fidelity is found in the fact that although she worked like a dog for communism, sacrificing her marriage, even, and the family relations she set such store by; and although she did every single thing the party asked of her all those years, she was not given a party card until 1944—and not until she had put

up a little fuss to get it. That date, in itself, is proof of the hypnotic hold communism had on her, for by that time virtually all the "idealists" had been disillusioned. World events were awakening even some of those warped personalities whose emotional insecurity had driven them into communism's shelter.

The evidence Bella Dodd presents in this autobiography shows she was not one of these unstable people. On the contrary, she was voted the most popular girl in her senior year at Hunter College; she was successful as a high school teacher and later as a Hunter College professor. And she was able to pass the bar examinations easily in 1930 after she had studied law.

It was as a student that Dr. Dodd became interested in communism. Then, as both a teacher and a lawyer, she was for thirteen years a lobbyist and top-level leader of the New York Teachers Union and the American Communist Party. The steps by which she became involved with the Communists, the work she did, the associates she had, are all described with telling force in this book.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the book for serious students of the utter subservience of the American Communist Party to Moscow's orders, is her portrayal of the comrades' reaction to the change in party line in 1945. The beginning of her doubts and disillusionment are here set down from the time Earl Browder was suddenly ousted from command and she saw the meanness, pettiness and downright evil, the cowardice and frantic fear in her "dedicated" associates as they sought to escape the consequent purge.

Dr. Dodd was expelled on June 17, 1949 after a farcical "trial," conducted by "petty employees of the party, those at the lowest rung of the bureaucracy." When the trial was over, she was dismissed. She walked downstairs and into the street. "The futility of my life overcame me," she says. "For twenty years I had worked with this party and now at the end I found myself with only a few shabby men and women, inconsequential party functionaries, drained of all mercy, with no humanity in their eyes, with no good will of the kind that

works justice. Had they been armed I know they would have pulled the trigger against me."

Now, at last, she saw the evil face of communism, felt its ruthless power. She was persecuted, reviled, her livelihood virtually destroyed. In this terrible period of darkness and despair she turned back to the Catholic faith into which she had been born; once again enfolded in its strength and mercy, she came into peace of mind and soul.

IRENE CORBALLY KUHN

Competition Does It

Material Human Progress, by Jacob Dolson Cox, Jr. 107 pp. Cleveland: Cleveland Twist Drill Co. \$2.00

If you were to ask a cross section of successful American businessmen why they have been so successful, probably not one in ten would mention the fundamental reason on the first try!

A popular answer would be "hard work." Yet few if any of them work any harder than the ten-cent-a-day Chinese coolie who may labor from 12 to 14 hours every day!

While none would say it, some might think that their material success is due to superior intelligence. Yet, on a truly objective test, equal inherent intelligences can be found among comparatively poor persons in Japan, Russia, Spain, and other countries.

Many might say that the correct answer is "natural resources." But the Arabs, Indians, Africans, and others are literally sitting—and often starving—on natural resources which compare favorably with ours.

Probably the most frequent answer would be this: We have accumulated more capital, and employ more "mechanical horsepower" per person, than the people of other nations. That is true, but it still leaves unanswered why this greater industrialization, mechanization, specialization, and capitalization exist in this nation than in others. What lies behind our *Material Human Progress*?

The answer is given to us by Jacob Dolson Cox, after a lifetime as a successful businessman. Mr. Cox completed his 107 page book in 1953, at the age of 71. He is dead now, but

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his logical development of the reasons for our progress—both material and spiritual—is destined to live on.

Mr. Cox's simple answer is "competition." His thesis is that as long as we can compete in an unrigged market, the other necessary factors for progress in any sphere of human activity will automatically appear. But if competition is forbidden, progress stops and the people stagnate in body and mind.

Restrictions of all kinds against competition are responsible for poverty. There can be no economic progress without political stability and just government. Without them you have tyranny on the part of individuals, and competition ceases. Government must be strong enough to provide protection for persons and property and to enforce just laws.

On the other hand, government is frequently responsible for the fact that competition is suppressed or not allowed to happen.

In some cases the government hamstring competition by granting monopolies to private owners. In other cases, the government suppresses competition by becoming the sole owner and employer. But it may accomplish the same thing by excessive rules and regulations.

Every man's wages are a part of some other man's cost of living, and only increased efficiency of production can raise the purchasing power of the wage earners as a whole. To increase efficiency of production, we must stimulate capital development and use.

When governments legislate 1) to force up wages; 2) to force down prices, and 3) to confiscate profits through excessive taxation, they unwittingly slow down progress by hindering competition and the formation of new capital. The only way for all to have more is for all to produce more. Juggling with money, wages, prices, or profits will never do it.

Probably the most thought-provoking passage in Mr. Cox's book is this idea:

If the American people had an opportunity to place under contract a large number of the ablest and most successful businessmen in the United States, to work for them on the terms that the businessmen would take for their pay a part of

whatever savings they might make, and get no pay if they made no savings, the people would jump at the chance to sign them up. Yet these are the very terms on which all American businessmen are working for the American consumers right now.

Mr. Cox combines theory and practical experience—plus a talent for writing simply and clearly—in explaining the functions of prices and profits in a competitive economy. He also effectively demolishes the familiar claims for the socialist or Marxian economy. And he shows beyond a shadow of a doubt that in a truly competitive economy the "ultimate benefits necessarily go to consumers, and it is controlled and regulated by them so as to yield them the maximum satisfaction. . . . Throughout a free economy the consumers are in the driver's seat, and they should think a long time before they consent to surrender their position of control to someone else."

DEAN RUSSELL

A European's View

Liberty or Equality, by Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, 284 pp., notes and index, Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd. \$6.00

Like all good books, this bears the unmistakable stamp of its author. Dr. Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, from the Austrian Tyrol, has studied and taught in various places in Europe and at Georgetown, Fordham and Chestnut Hill.

The jacket-blurb states that "This is a European view of ideologies and their implications" and speaks of "the Continental mind." Mind, however, is where you find it, and when the "Continental" thinks correctly, his thinking is just as valid in the New World.

With intellectual honesty and logic, Chapter I is devoted to definitions and basic principles which foreshadow the author's line of thought. In Chapter II he marshals an array of classic writers, represented by most quotable prophetic quotations. It is many years since we have encountered such erudition—not since Oswald Spengler's *Decline of the West* in 1920. Libertarians should be pleased to see their thinking, including what part they may have considered original,

confirmed by great names of the past. To name just a few, Polybius, Nietzsche, Montesquieu, Burckhardt, Herman Melville and a de Tocqueville shown to be just the opposite of the "democrat" he has been made out to be, are no mean allies.

Liberty and equality (while a contradiction in terms) are associated in most people's minds by the French Revolution's *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*. Kuehnelt-Leddihn undertakes to demolish this conception in Chapter III, "A Critique of Democracy," written in a delightful style reminiscent of Anatole France. The author takes a rather dim view of the chances of survival of democracy as against totalitarianism, and finds even the Constitution no absolute safeguard, pointing out that "The Constitution of the United States has been successfully adopted by many a South and Central American dictatorship . . ." Perhaps he should have said "adapted" instead of "adopted." He argues, in essence, that democracy, the rule of the people, can only function as the rule of the majority; and that, in turn, premises equality, which really does not exist in nature. He finds a "leveling tendency" in democracy, an antithesis to liberty. Democracy, we are told, is basically collectivist. As for the voter who votes in "irresponsible secrecy," he "is counted and not weighed." A lukewarm 51 per cent may rule a fervent 49 per cent. Candidates and platforms being "prefabricated," the voter "can often indulge merely in negations ('voting against' someone or something)"; or, one might add, not voting at all. As for candidates for office, Kuehnelt-Leddihn finds "a fatal Gresham's Law operating: the inferior human currency drives the better one out of circulation."

H. C. FURSTENWALDE

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LABOR

They bashed Ellis Poole's face in with a lug wrench. They threatened his wife, using foul language; they told her they would kill her children. Even after Poole shot one of his attackers in self-defense, and the law took the matter up, they continue to threaten him and his family. Who? The union. Why? Because he won't join, he won't strike. Poole has been driven to cry, "Why do good Christian people believe the unions are working for Christian brotherhood and support them in their violent actions? . . . Is it possible for a workingman to live without violence in America?"

Shooting on South Flower, by Thaddeus Ashby. 6 pp. March issue, Faith and Freedom. Los Angeles: Spiritual Mobilization, 1521 Wilshire Blvd. 25 cents

ECONOMICS

Today, nearly all of us pay an income tax. Strangely enough, few of us have any real knowledge of its origin and development. How many of us know that this form of legalized thievery began in 1580 B. C., when the Grand Vizier of Egypt was charged with collecting income

taxes? And it was President Taft, not some wild-eyed Populist, who broke the dam and started the revenue flood by back-paddling from a previous stand when he (in his message to Congress, June 16, 1909) advocated a constitutional amendment which would authorize the income tax.

The Income Tax, A Concise History, by Wilbur E. McCann. 16 pp. Los Angeles: Lorrin L. Morrison, 1915 South Western Ave. 25 cents

Cutting taxes without cutting government spending is a way of kidding ourselves: we're like drunks pretending to reduce our consumption by taking scotch without soda. Cutting taxes without reducing government extravagance means inevitably either further inflations to cheapen the dollar or more taxation. One buck in 1939 could buy you not only a pound of coffee, but also a pound of hamburger, a dozen eggs, a quart of milk, a pound of shortening—and even a loaf of bread. Today? Not even the coffee and the bread. Inflation did that to the dollar. Progressive taxation (thanks to government spending) has meant that if you earn from \$3,000 to \$10,000, your group pays 48 per cent of all income taxes.

\$20 Bid—For Your Vote! by Harry T. Everingham. 3 pp. Chicago: The Fact Finder, 35 East Wacker Drive. Single copy five cents

Presumably, every American wants the nation to have a sound dollar. This can't be had unless immoderate pressures are resisted through a determination to keep the country on a sound fiscal basis. The new highway program has been produced by just such pressures. This program will be "paid for" by an issue of bonds. Based on all recent federal experience, it is a violent assumption to predict these bonds will be paid off at maturity. "You can not avoid financial responsibility by legerdemain and you can not evade debt by definition. The obligations of the Federal Government and all

its citizens will remain!" We must have an amendment which will force taxation to provide revenue at least equal to appropriations.

We Must Reduce Federal Spending, by Senator Harry F. Byrd. 2 pp. Spotlight for the Nation, No. E-307. New York: Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., 205 E. 42nd St. Single copy free

They tell a story in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, about a merchant who received in the same mail the reward of a trip to Europe for selling so many refrigerators and a notice fining him severely for selling below the fair trade laws. Apparently, we are all for competition, but. . . Any competition which is keen enough to threaten our complacency and make us return to earlier habits of hard selling is nasty and bad and ought to be put a stop to. Indignation at such competition garbles syntax and spumes out copybook virtues as businessmen trample each other in the rush to Washington for subsidy and legal protection against a competitive economic system.

Competition? Yes, but . . . by Charles F. Phillips. 21 pp. Irvington, N. Y.: The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc. Single copy free

SOCIALISM

The totalitarian mind is rationality debauched into reflex. The totalitarian mind is a reflection of party dogma, and all deviationism from the totalitarian mentality is indication of capitalist intransigence. "Goodness alive," shriek the totalitarians quoted in this pamphlet, "independent thinking is an intolerable canker that might knock the daylight out of the grand uniformity of the party!" Passage after passage in the communist lexicon shows this repeated emphasis on the fact that the totalitarian mind must cease to be a thinking organ in order to remain useful.

The Totalitarian Mind, compiled by Rev. Claude Bunzel. 15 pp. Pasadena: Twentieth Century Evangelism, PO Box 234, 15 cents

SOCONY MOBIL OIL COMPANY, INC.

Dividend No. 177



The corporate name of Socony-Vacuum Oil Company, Incorporated, has been changed to SOCONY MOBIL OIL COMPANY, INC.

The Board of Directors on April 26, 1955, declared a quarterly dividend of 50¢ per share on the outstanding capital stock of this Company, payable June 10, 1955, to stockholders of record at the close of business May 6, 1955.

W. D. BICKHAM, Secretary