THE Freeman

NOVEMBER 1955 50¢

Large



# The Main Gear in the UN

C. M. Chen

# Labor Pays for Services Rendered

Rev. Edmund A. Opitz

# The Bear Smiles Again

Eugene Lyons

# NEWS! . . . FROM THE *FORWARD* LOOK '56

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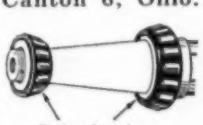
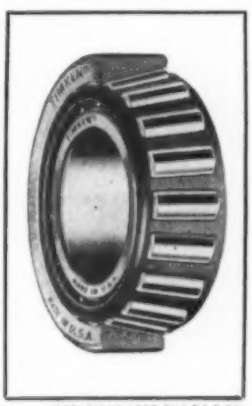


Timken bearings on tractor axle





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THE Freeman

*A Monthly For Libertarians*

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**Assistant Editors** ELEANOR B. ORSINI
M. STANTON EVANS
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NOVEMBER 1955 VOL. 5, NO. 17



The **FREEMAN** is published monthly at New York, N.Y., by the Irvington Press, Inc., Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y. Copyrighted in the United States, 1955, by The Irvington Press, Inc., Leonard E. Read, President; Fred Rogers Fairchild, Vice President; Claude Robinson, Secretary; Lawrence Fertig, Treasurer; Henry Hazlitt and Leo Wolman.

Re-entry as second class matter pending at Irvington, N.Y. with an additional entry at New York, N.Y.

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

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

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

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

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

Printed in U.S.A. by Blanchard Press, Inc., N.Y., N.Y.

## On Campus *(See page 748)*

This new department of the FREEMAN comes as a result of a remark made at a meeting of the staff: "If we get such a kick out of these letters from students maybe our readers would like to look at them." And so, you are invited to look over our shoulders as we read the correspondence from college libertarians. We cannot print all the letters, nor print them in their entirety, but enough will appear under "On Campus" to give you some idea of the anticollectivist revolt brewing in our institutions of higher learning.

These letters come to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. There are at this writing over 3,600 students enrolled in this "organization of ideas." Every one of these students "joins" by merely requesting that libertarian literature be sent him. And everyone can drop out just as easily—so that ISI is indeed a self-selective group. These students are the "educable elite," the nonconformists who question the current Statist orthodoxy, the intellectually curious with a "why" always at the tip of their tongues.

A number of our readers have made it possible for about a thousand of these students to get the FREEMAN regularly. All the others should be on our mailing list and we are making an effort to raise enough money to make that possible. Maybe you would like to help; four dollars will pay for an annual student subscription; you can name the student (or students) or we will take care of that.

## Book Reviews

Despite the profusion of books coming off the presses, we find it difficult at times to pick titles enough for review in the FREEMAN. That is because we limit ourselves to those books that make some contribution to the cause of free enterprise, limited government and the philosophy of individualism. In that category, for good and sufficient reason, the books that reach us are few and far between. On the other hand, we get a slew that give aid and comfort to collectivism; of these we review only those that have achieved notoriety and then only to expose them for what they are. We leave it to other review media to advertise the inconsequential books of that genre.

In pursuance of this policy, if books of the kind we ought to review are not forthcoming we shall limit our review space accordingly. Or, we shall give more space to titles that deserve more space in the FREEMAN.

Newcomers this month to our roster of contributors:

C. M. CHEN is a member of the Chinese Nationalist delegation to this country. He uses an obviously anglicized name.

FREDERIC NELSON is an associate editor of the *Saturday Evening Post.*

# Readers also write

### Right to Be Wrong

The article, "The Right to Be Wrong" (September), seems rather out of place in a publication like the FREEMAN. There is, of course, no right to be wrong, else right and wrong would be one and the same thing, and our jails, prisons, etc. would all be infringing on that "right."

If you will excuse two subjects in one letter, I would like to say that the article "Revolt of the Classes," by F. R. Buckley, made me very happy. It is the first I have heard of ISI, but as a "rugged individualist," I say more power to it.

*Carmichael, Calif.* CHARLES T. MENTEN

I was extremely glad to see the sound, crisply written, and quite realistic article on the segregation issue ("The Right to Be Wrong," September). It is particularly commendable for its grasp of the larger issues that underlie the South's resistance to the Supreme Court decision, which in its implications is dangerous to the liberties of the country as a whole and is a threat to much more than the South's biracial system.

Mr. McComb, however, is very much in error in classifying the "Citizen's Councils" movement as belonging to the "Ku Klux Klan way." . . . I have followed the movement closely, particularly in Mississippi. My understanding is that the movement developed in order to prevent and forestall any tendency toward Ku Klux types of violence, disguise and secrecy. Inquiry would disclose, I think, that the Citizens Councils are organized on a peaceful, educational and legal basis, and that they are led, at least in Mississippi, by very able and responsible people.

*Nashville, Tenn.* DONALD B. DAVIDSON

### Buy Bonds, Bye-Bye

In your "Well Worth Reading" section (August) you say, "If John Smith buys a U.S. bond he shares only in creating a national deficit." Well, I am John Smith. The government . . . exhorted us to buy these bonds—"defense bonds," mind you. Every ranking executive of management did likewise, and paid for advertisements to that effect. They paid us 2½ per cent, made it difficult to cash them for several years, and when we finally looked at them ten or twelve years later we discovered we had the accumulated interest to pay in one tax year. . . . We were saps; we did not realize the truth of the old saying about "the last refuge of a scoundrel"; but the unkindest cut of all is to learn from the FREEMAN that we have been contributing only to the national deficit. How do you propose to avoid staggering debt? By keeping out of wars. I agree. . . . I would not have entered World Wars One, Two, or Three, and I disagreed with this administration's attempt to put us into World War Four (in Indochina).

*Los Altos, Calif.* GEORGE T. KEATING

### Anticommunism

A short article in the September issue entitled "An Editorial Problem" is so apt that I cannot resist a comment.

Unfortunately it is not only you who read these anticommunist manuscripts, or your subscribers who read them in published form, who are aware of their negative qualities. On the contrary, there are many excellent citizens—friends of mine among them—who are repelled by this very quality in articles, books, and many of the talks by these few commentators on the radio who are "conservative."

I wonder if it is not due . . . to the fact that the writer or speaker is so identified with the "true liberalism" that it hardly occurs to him to emphasize the alternative to the heresies that he sees around him.

*San Francisco, Calif.* D. HANSON GRUBB

In regard to your editorial (September) in which you explain your reasons for not publishing more anticommunist articles: in the late thirties and on through the war years, most Americans became so obsessed with

(*Continued on p. 722*)

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 of the *Freeman* Magazine, published monthly at Irvington, New York, for October 1, 1955. 1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business manager are: Publisher, The Irvington Press, Inc., Irvington, N.Y.; *Editor*, Frank Chodorov, Irvington, N.Y.; *Managing Editor*, Eleanor Orsini, Irvington, N.Y.; *Business Manager*, Ivan R. Bierly, Irvington, N.Y. 2. The owner is: The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc. (sole stockholder), Irvington, N.Y. 3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders, owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None. 4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting: also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

Leonard E. Read, *President*, The Irvington Press, Inc. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 5th day of October, 1955. W. Marshall Curtiss, *Notary Public*. (My commission expires March 30, 1956.)

(*Continued from p. 721*)

anti-fascism that they were blind to the threats of communism. Now they —or I should say some of them—are blinded to other threats to freedom by their obsession with communism. I think that the real job of the libertarian is to get across the concept that there are really only two basic forms of government—freedom of the individual with restricted government, or restricted individuals with freedom only for the government.

*Falfurrias, Tex.* GARDNER B. MILLER

**"National Interests"**

James Burnham in his . . . "No Firecrackers Allowed" (October) remarks that "in recent years there does not seem to be much effort to convince young men to volunteer, or to explain the national goals and interests that might inspire citizens to enlist of their own free will."

Is there not a good possibility that an attempt to explain our "national goals and interests" might touch off a first-class debate? Having gotten possession of the young men, through the draft, the "mechanical state" presumably does its explaining; although I did read a newspaper item not long ago to the effect that General Hershey complained of the Army having to teach men the "why" as well as the "how" of what they were doing, saying that "some place our homes, schools, or churches are failing" in this matter.

*Boston, Mass.* RICHARD T. HALL

**Selling Freedom**

It is refreshing to read an article such as "Salesmen for Freedom Wanted" (September). . . . In plain, terse sentences it gives the lie to the false propaganda which such speakers as Truman and columnists of the Thomas L. Stokes type continually feed to poorly informed millions of voters.

We seem to be in great need of forceful salesmen who can and will, without fear of political repercussions, answer these propagandists with actual figures and results achieved.

*Toledo, Ohio* W. F. MOORE

Some years ago an astute politician remarked, "You can always depend on the American voter voting right, but he must be hanging over a precipice before he does so."

*Centerville, Mass.* WILLIAM EWALD

**English Liberals**

As an English Liberal, might I say how much I admire your publication. You have, however, a tendency to view the Liberal party in England as a home for sentimental socialists and super-staters. This is not so; for we have many sturdy individualists and free economy men in our ranks and among our leadership. We may have some black sheep around, but *we* are fighting for free trade and against farm subsidies! What about the G.O.P.?

*Kent, England* A. J. S. ADDISON

*What, indeed?*—ED.

THE Freeman

NOVEMBER 1955

# *Laws the Government Cannot Make*

SEVERAL READERS, businessmen, took exception to a remark I made in an editorial on the minimum wage law. I said the law was not enforceable, and the impression these men got was that the FREEMAN was editorially lined up with lawbreaking. The misunderstanding was due to a grievous and frequent fault in my writing, that of assuming that the reader can fill in the reasoning behind some sweeping remark. That is technically called "tight" writing; it is bad writing.

When I said the minimum wage law is not enforceable I implied that it is in conflict with a force of higher potency and therefore could not be made to work. I had in mind what is sometimes called "natural law." It is due time that I spelled out this concept, because the advocacy of the free economy, to which the FREEMAN is dedicated, rests upon it. We are opposed to socialism, or the planned economy, not as a matter of taste, but because we are convinced that the inevitable consequences of it are socially undesirable, and that these consequences are inevitable because parliamentary interventions in the economy run up against inexorable natural forces which do not bend to the will of men.

The case for the free economy hangs on the theory that "natural law" operates in the field of economics even as it operates in the field of physics.[1] Just as stepping off a high place will be followed by destructive consequences because the law of gravitation is at work, so man-made laws that do not take into account the inexorable laws of economics must result in economic disorder.

A "natural law" is simply an invariable causal relationship between events. It is derived from close observation of how nature applies means to ends. Thus, we see that a certain seed will blossom only when it drops on a given soil, with a given amount of moisture and with proper exposure to the sun; nature so dictates, and all laws passed by Congress cannot change this causal relationship. If we want that kind of flower or vegetable, we make sure that we plant that seed in a manner harmonious to nature; we do not try to get the desired results from ground that does not have sunlight or water. What we learn from nature we apply to our own ends, which is the reason we study nature to ascertain her laws.

The progress that man has made in science has been due only to his constant, meticulous and objective study of nature. When he finds "in the nature of things" some invariable cause-and-effect relationship, he sets it down in a formula, and calls that a "natural law." He then has a positive guide by which to predict what will happen if he does so and so. He does not ask a policeman or a "medicine man" or a golden calf to produce the results he has in mind; he knows what will happen because he has ascertained how nature always does it. Science is, in the final analysis, a search for the laws of nature—even if the scientist prefers to call them by some other name.

Whether he knows it or not, or even if he has never given thought to it, the advocate of the free economy assumes that in the field of economics there are inexorable laws of nature. He rejects the thesis of the planner that economics is merely a branch of politics. He maintains that politics is to production and exchange what sand is to a delicate machine—a disturbing or inhibiting intrusion, a cause of friction; if not removed it will ultimately stop the economy. Why? Because politics is the art of ruling and can be applied to human behavior but not to the operation of economic laws. They keep on their appointed way regardless of King Canute's fiat.

Take the case of the minimum wage law. It assumes that the wages of a worker can be politically fixed. Yet it is an invariable fact that the rate of wages is a ratio between the number of laborers willing to apply themselves to production and the demand for their output. No policeman can change this ratio; no amount of political force has ever been able to change it. When force is attempted and wages are arbitrarily raised, the result is to decrease the demand for the thing produced, which in turn reduces the demand for labor; or, the market takes resort to circumven-

tion of the arbitrary force, so as to make it ineffective; or, the government distributes more money, or claims on production, which in turn reduces the purchasing power of the arbitrarily raised wages. In any case, the ratio between the number of laborers and the demand for their output remains constant. It is "in the nature of things."

In our practical behavior we recognize this constant. If the demand for turnips pays lower wages, we plant less of that commodity and turn to raising something wanted more. Then, again, we try to anticipate the kind of services that will be wanted in directing the training of our children; right now, because engineers are in great demand, and therefore earn high wages, the engineering schools are well patronized. It is only in our impractical, or political, behavior that we try to regulate what cannot be regulated, the law of wages.

Behind the minimum wage law is the admitted fact that the supply of marginal workers is greater than the demand for their services. Our sympathy for these human beings prompts us to forget the law of wages and to resort to force. Nevertheless, as consumers, our humanitarianism falls apart and we refuse to pay the higher price which the arbitrarily imposed wages make inevitable. We who pass laws refuse to abide by the consequences. The marginal worker, the supposed beneficiary of the minimum wage law, is out of work and earns no wages at all. A machine takes his place.

But, the marginal worker must live, and his urgency to do so leads to lawbreaking. The "black market" comes into being. Since the consumer will not pay the legally established price for his services, he will take less and will resort to all sorts of subterfuges to earn some sort of a living illegally. One device is to work by the week without recording the number of hours put in; another is to work by the job, not by the hour. I recall the case of a girl of less than normal intelligence who was not worth the required minimum wage; her mother, working in the same plant, offered to give the employer part of her own wages to make up the difference between what her daughter was worth and what the law demanded.

During the OPA days we had what amounted to a maximum wage law. It did not work. Employers (even those producing for the government under penalty of not delivering on time), were forced to circumvent OPA regulations in order to carry out the terms of their contracts; sometimes a key worker's rent was paid by the employer and charged to "business expense," sometimes his nonworking wife was put on the payroll. The OPA regulations did not regulate it. It is not moral turpitude that causes the breaking of the law when it violates the invariable law of wages. The cause is in the legislation.

No, the FREEMAN does not advocate lawbreaking. But it recognizes the fact that when a law runs contrary to "natural law," lawbreaking is inevitable. And it insists that the free economy—something no people have fully enjoyed anywhere—is in the "nature of things," not in the statutes.[2]

1 Some economists—of the laissez-faire school—find the "natural law" theory repugnant, mainly because it involves a metaphysical argument which they deem both unnecessary and irrelevant. They hold that the free economy proves itself by its efficiency, its utilitarianism. Socialism, they maintain, is disqualified by the scarcity it produces. But, why does socialism result in an economy of scarcity? To answer that "why" you must take recourse to the argument that there are economic forces which operate regardless of man-made law.

2 For a full analysis of the doctrine, read *The Law*, by Frederic Bastiat. Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y. $1.25.

## *"Liberalized" Trade*

CUSTOMERS, according to an old business saw, are of two kinds: those who do not let you eat and those who do not let you sleep. In this classification, the politics of buyers plays no part. Such things do not count; only their willingness to pay a price that will yield a profit and their ability to pay their bills.

When the State turns businessman, this classification becomes extinct. To the merchant-State a good customer is a probable ally, or one that can be bribed into becoming an ally, and a bad customer is a possible enemy. Politics, not profit, is the measuring stick. A loss can be made up by taxes, and even the nonpayment of the bill is of no concern, since the books can be balanced by a "loan" to the defaulting buyer.

This distinction between private business and a business in which the State acts either as principal or as permissive agent will be brought out in the coming session of Congress. The question of "liberalizing" trade with Russia is on the agenda; and, from past performances, we can predict that the economic plight of England will come up. Let's look to the Russian question first.

If a businessman were to consider trading with the USSR, his first question would be: Can I trust those fellows to pay their bills? On the basis of their past performances, the Kremlin would hardly pass muster as a credit risk. Therefore, if the matter were left to the businessman, acting entirely on his own, all trade with the Soviets would have to be on a spot cash basis. Under those circumstances, very little goods would move from this country to behind the Iron Curtain.

Then there is the matter of profit. All trade is the exchange of goods for goods; a merchant accepts money for his goods only because he has confidence that the money will fetch him more goods. A seller considers the trade profitable because he gives up goods he values less in order to get goods he values more. So, the question of "liberalizing"

trade with Russia (provided it were left to private business) rests on the possibility of getting from that realm goods we value more than the goods we have to give up to get it.

What has Russia got in the way of a bargain? It is admitted, even by the commissars, that production costs under socialism are high as compared to production costs in this country; therefore, her manufactured goods are not likely to attract American buyers. That limits possible trade with Russia to such minerals as may lie in profusion within her borders. Hence, if "liberalization" means permitting American concerns to do business with the Soviet crowd, the transactions would be confined to the swapping of our manufactures for her minerals, on a barter basis. The volume could not amount to much.

Unless, of course, "liberalization" means that the United States government (the merchant-State) would handle the transactions. In that case, the volume would be considerably greater, because the government, minding politics only, would guarantee American concerns against nonpayment; or, maybe the United States Treasury would hand the Russians its taxpayers' dollars so that they can pay for the goods they "buy" from us.

So much for Russia. Reports from one of our most "liberalized" customers, England, are disturbing; her export situation is on the downgrade, meaning that she is finding it hard to sell her products abroad. The cost of maintaining her socialistic paraphernalia has boosted the price of her goods beyond that of her less wasteful competitors, particularly West Germany and Japan. Price-conscious buyers won't pay for "welfarism."

And England, as is well known, must export, simply because she must import food for her welfarees to live on and raw materials for her pampered workers to work on. Her problem could be solved by the simple process of reducing her manufacturing costs, which means the abandonment of the policy of pay for no work. That, however, is politically dangerous. The prospect is that England will continue on the course that is pricing her out of the world market.

That would mean, for us, the weakening of an ally upon whom we rely in the cold war, if not in the prospective hot one. To prevent such a calamity, our merchant-State will come to the rescue of her socialistic economy by further "liberalization" of trade with England. Dollars will be made available to her so that she can "buy" our goods—if not with a direct grant or "loan," then with stepped up "offshore" spending for "defense," or some other device cooked up by our State Department.

If the reader cannot reconcile the prospect of "liberalizing" trade with a possible enemy and with a potential ally, it is because the reader is trying to reconcile common sense with political wisdom; it can't be done.

# *On Brainwashing*

THE ONLY effective antidote for a lie is the truth. But you cannot use the truth unless you know it. In the absence of such knowledge the lie carries weight.

This was the obligato of a recent report by the Department of Defense on the brainwashing of American prisoners by their Chinese captors. The gist of the report was that the boys had no answers to the arguments of the Communists—they knew neither communism, what it really is, nor the philosophy of freedom. In effect, the report underlined a deficiency in our current educational curriculum: the lack of emphasis on the doctrine of inherent rights, the concept of limited government, the proven fact that the political establishment can do nothing that individual initiative cannot do better. These are axioms in traditional Americanism; the boys had not been exposed to them in their schooling and therefore could not throw them at their tormentors. They were easy prey for indoctrination.

Come to think of it, is this ignorance confined to boys just out of high school or college? How many Americans who came into maturity since the advent of the American brand of socialism, euphemistically called New Dealism, are familiar with the indigenously American philosophy so that they can recognize its essential opposition to communism? For instance, how many know that social security is in no way akin to insurance, as advertised, but is in fact a step forward toward Statism, which is the essence of communism? As is so-called unemployment insurance, or "farm relief," or State-controlled education, or State-sponsored power plants? Do the bankers know that they are pushing themselves out of the private banking business by buying government bonds with their depositors' money? That they are actually preparing the way for government control of the economy, even as it is under communism?

The lie has a way of filling in the vacuum created by ignorance. Communism, or Statism, insinuates itself into our consciousness because we are unprepared to oppose it with understanding. If we do not recognize in every measure parading under the name of "welfarism" a step toward the enlargement of State power and the consequent diminution of individual dignity, we are as susceptible as were the boys who fell into the hands of the Communists. And we are being brainwashed —not by doctrinaire Communists, but by power-hungry demoniacs in our midst.

# The Main Gear in the UN

By C. M. CHEN

***Can "international peace and security" be implemented through the UN? Not while terms of the Charter enable Russia to run the show, a former UN delegate declares.***

When Dr. Eelco van Kleffens, chairman of the United Nations tenth anniversary commemorative conference, tried to silence Cuba's Emilio Nunez Portuondo and Nationalist China's George K. C. Yeh for attacking communism, the world got a glimpse of the peculiar climate which characterizes the thinking and action of the UN.

Dr. van Kleffens is neither procommunist nor pro-Soviet. But he had to stop criticism of the Soviet Union because the UN cannot exist without the participation and the support of Moscow.

The climate of the UN is the child of the Charter itself. On the one hand, the Charter contains a parcel of high-sounding clauses reaffirming faith in fundamental human rights and calling for the maintenance of international peace and security. On the other hand, the Charter makes the Soviet Union, one of the most tyrannical and bellicose nations of the world, a permanent member of the Security Council, endowed with the right of veto. She is in a position to block any UN measure which might implement the high-sounding clauses.

The idea of the veto was first suggested at the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations in the fall of 1944. It was agreed upon in the Yalta conference in February 1945. Thus, long before the San Francisco conference convened in April 1945, the big powers had fixed the veto into the unwritten charter. Some of the "middle" and "small" powers at San Francisco protested loudly and vigorously, but to no avail. Stalin's position was unequivocal: no veto, no UN. Since then, the Soviet Union has cast sixty-one vetoes. Far from being the "action body" of the UN, the Security Council is paralyzed. The Charter talks about "the equal rights . . . of nations large and small." The Soviet Union dominates the UN completely.

Apologists for the UN protest that the situation is not nearly as bad as it appears to be. Conceding that the Security Council is not what it should be, they assert that the free nations, led by the United States, have outsmarted the Russians and have shifted the center of gravity of the UN to the General Assembly in which the veto does not apply. The General Assembly, they claim, has taken over the task of maintaining international peace and security.

Such talk is unsupported by the facts. However, it requires close examination because it comes from high sources, such as Dean Acheson, Trygve Lie, Eleanor Roosevelt and the American Association for the UN.

The late Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg once said that the Assembly would be the "Town Meeting of the World." Composed of all member nations of the UN, large and small, it is supposed to reflect "the collective opinion" of the international community. Be that as it may, the Charter itself limits the Assembly to making recommendations, and that's all.

### Corrective Measures Sabotaged

In 1947, General George C. Marshall, then Secretary of State, sought to overcome the paralyzing Security Council by setting up an Interim Committee of the Assembly to sit between the annual sessions of the General Assembly. Andrei Vishinsky promptly denounced the proposal as "unconstitutional," and announced that the Soviet Union and its satellites would have nothing to do with it. The Interim Committee, or the Little Assembly as it was nicknamed, died a-borning.

In 1949, another Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, proposed a "Uniting for Peace" resolution, permitting the convocation of the General Assembly on twenty-four-hour notice, setting up a Peace Observation Commission, and recommending that the member nations hold available in their national armed forces contingents to respond to the call of the UN, with further amplification of the system to be studied by the Collective Measures Committee. This resolution leads many to believe that the Charter is "flexible," and that it was adopted to overcome the crippling Soviet veto.

I was on the Political Committee of the General Assembly when this proposal came up for debate. Vishinsky was at his best. Again he argued that the measure was "unconstitutional." The Soviet Union decided to sabotage the whole thing; his legal arguments were only window-trimming.

Has the Assembly been called in emergency session? No. Has the Peace Observation Commission done anything substantial? No. Has any one of the sixty member nations designated military contingents to serve UN purposes? No.

When the Chinese Communists set up their regime in Peiping in October 1949, Stalin decided that Mao's government should be admitted into the

UN. When the UN showed some hesitation, Jacob Malik promptly walked out of all UN meetings.

The Soviet walkout of 1950 rocked the UN to its foundation. Secretary General Trygve Lie became panicky. The UN General Council, Abraham Feller (who jumped to his death in 1953 during the McCarran hearings on communist infiltration into the UN), prepared a memorandum supplying the legal arguments in favor of admission of Red China into the UN. "The question at issue," Feller opined, "should be which of these governments (nationalist or communist) in fact is in a position to employ the resources and direct the people of the State in fulfillment of the obligations of membership." The Charter provision that member nations must be "peace-loving states" was completely brushed aside.

Armed with Feller's memo, Lie toured the major capitals of the world. Lie, of course, had no trouble with Stalin, whose cause he was championing. London, which had already recognized Peiping, presented no difficulty. Paris hesitated only because Mao Tse-tung had recognized Ho Chi-minh, who was fighting French colonialism in Indo China. Washington alone was difficult. Lie believed this was due to "Chiang Kai-shek's powful and well financed 'lobby' in the United States," rather than to the aroused public opinion against Peiping's barbaric behavior toward Americans in China.

Lie believed that his campaign was "in the best interests of the Organization." He wrote the Norwegian Foreign Minister: "I have no desire to be sitting here with the sole responsibility, should the United Nations collapse." The Soviets must be brought back at any cost. He appeared genuinely hurt when somebody called him "a stooge of the Reds."

### The Climate of the UN

In fairness to Lie, it should be said that he was only reflecting the climate of the UN. It is poisonous and contagious. As soon as one gets into the glass house along New York's East River, his views on world affairs somehow undergo a change. As he walks out, he is likely to leave a substantial chunk of his common sense behind.

A couple of years ago, I met a member of Congress serving on the American Delegation. It became clear to me that the climate of the Delegates' Lounge had claimed another victim. "How wonderful it is," my friend said to me, "to have different people from different countries of the world, embracing different ideologies and worshipping different gods, come together to talk things over! As I have always said, as long as we keep on talking, we would not be shooting at each other." He had been brainwashed by the climate.

The most distinguished characteristic of the UN climate is that the Russians must always be accommodated. This must be done to avoid another walkout or withdrawal. To put it another way, the Russians hold in their hands the power of blackmail over the UN.

During the UN's ten-year existence, the Soviet delegates have attacked practically every noncommunist country in the world. In all that time, only one serious attempt was made to bring the Soviet Union to the bar. That was the charge of Soviet aggression against China brought by the Chinese Nationalists in 1949. Nationalist China's case was so well documented, including 455 cases of Soviet murders and rapes in Manchuria, that Malik refused to take part in the debate. The pathetic thing was the fear on the part of the British (Sir Gladwyn Jebb) and the United States (Philip C. Jessup). They just could not bring themselves to say one harsh word on Russia's atrocious behavior in Manchuria. Only the small nations, such as Cuba, Ecuador and Peru, were brave enough to challenge the Russian bear. The so-called big powers devoted themselves to parliamentary maneuvers to squash China's charge. In his private conversations with the Chinese delegate (Tingfu F. Tsiang), Philip Jessup even threatened to "attack the Chinese National Government in the debate." In the final tally, the United States voted with the Soviet Union and in the minority.


**UN Delegates' Lounge**

The UN war in Korea inflicted 140,000 casualties upon the United States, not to mention the millions suffered by the Republic of Korea. In

the protracted debates in the UN year after year, scarcely any mention has been made of the tanks and MIG's and military advice supplied by the Soviet Union to the Korean and Chinese Communists. Not one word was uttered by the big powers condemning Russia's complicity in the crime. In the end, the UN, at the suggestion of India, even accepted the Soviet satellites, Poland and Czechoslovakia, as members of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission.

When I joined the representatives from other nations to journey across the American continent in April 1945 to attend the San Francisco Conference on a special de luxe train provided by the State Department, our train was met at every stop by enthusiastic crowds. When we arrived at San Francisco, a small girl walked up to shake my hand and exclaimed: "Thank you, sir, for bringing history to San Francisco." On our way back the California wine industry supplied us with free drinks. Jealous Los Angeles provided us with cars chauffeured by volunteer housewives. Hollywood outdid all the others by assigning to each one of us a genuine movie star as a guide. The beautiful lady assigned to take me around even asked for my autograph. In return, I asked for hers on my conference identification card which now bears three names: the movie star's, mine as bearer of the card and that of Alger Hiss, the General Secretary of the conference who issued the card.

The enthusiastic hope which characterized the beginning of the UN has not abated among Americans. It is rather stronger than ever. And when one questions the usefulness of the organization, on the basis of fact, the usual report is that Charter revision, due this year, will correct its defects. But will there be any revision? Will anything substantial come from the hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations on Charter revision?

As long as the Russians are in the UN, the UN machinery will not undergo any change. The Russians like the UN as it is. The Alice-in-Wonderland climate is congenial to the men from Moscow. What more can they ask for than an organization that they can completely dominate? Whenever Molotov, Gromyko, Malik and Sobolev speak, the sessions are always jammed and the galleries packed. The *New York Times* will carry stories of their speeches on the front page and the full texts inside. When a delegate from another country wants a photograph as a souvenir, all he has to do is to walk over to shake hands or chat with one of the Soviet bigwigs. The Russians are the stars of the show.

# *Colonialism à la Moscow*

THE MOST telling event of the past month was the walkout of the French Delegation from the General Assembly of the United Nations. It was an augury of the eventual crack-up of this international monstrosity. When foreign diplomats undertake to debate the "domestic" affairs of a nation —and that is how the French look upon the proposed inquiry into its suzerainty over North Africa —it is simply impossible for that nation to recognize or take part in the discussion; its sovereignty is at stake. France is admittedly a second-rate power and the members of the General Assembly did not think that offending it would endanger the life of the United Nations. But, suppose there were an uprising in Czechoslovakia and the Assembly voted to look into the matter, how would the Soviet delegation react? And if it took a walk, a long walk, could the United Nations stand up under the shock?

The question which the General Assembly put on its agenda is French colonialism. The communist bloc voted in favor of the resolution, thus demonstrating that the Kremlin is definitely opposed to colonialism. Yet one wonders how a clear distinction can be made between a colony and a satellite country. In both cases an alien people are put under the domination of a foreign government and are exploited by it. The difference is in method only. In the old-fashioned colonialism the conqueror imposes its own regime on the conquered, while in the new style colonialism, as developed by those clever Communists, native puppets carry out the orders of the conqueror. The satellite nation retains the appearance and structure of an independent entity, although in reality it must do as it is told.

The Russians have repeatedly given notice that the question of satellite states is beyond the purview of the United Nations or any other international body, thus underscoring the colonial character of these states; they belong to the Kremlin. And the hypocritical internationalists—"in the interest of peace"—have accepted this distinction between a satellite and a colony. But in due time—it has always happened in the past—a Tito on the perimeter of the Soviet Empire will decide to go it alone, free from Moscow. When the noncolonial rulers of the Empire meet the challenge by invading the rebellious satellite country, will the General Assembly decide to debate the merits of the case? If they do, how will the United Nations stand up?

The French did not pull out of the Security Council. There it can use its veto to vitiate any decision taken by the General Assembly. Thus the veto becomes an instrument for saving the United Nations from collapse.

# Money

By ALBERT JAY NOCK

The "hurricane of farcicality" which the Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset speaks of as raging through Western society at this time played inordinate tricks with the structure of economic law. Many no doubt remember the "new economics" hatched in the consulship of Mr. Coolidge, whereby it was demonstrated beyond question that credit could be pyramided on credit indefinitely, and all hands could become rich with no one doing any work. Then when this seductive theory blew up with a loud report in 1929, we began to hear of the economics of scarcity, the economics of plenty, and then appeared the devil-and-all of "plans," notions about pump-priming, and disquisitions on the practicability of a nation's spending itself rich. America's economic aberrations during 1920-1942 . . . defied all criticism, surpassed all comment; they stood entirely outside the purview of serious consideration. . . .

### What Will Money Buy?

The oddest of these infatuations is perhaps worth a word or two because only now, at the time I am writing this [1943], it seems to have reached its peak. Ever since 1918 people everywhere have been thinking in terms of money, not in terms of commodities; and this in spite of the most spectacular evidence that such thinking is sheer insanity. The only time I was ever a millionaire was when I spent a few weeks in Germany in 1923. I was the proud possessor of more money than one could shake a stick at, but I could buy hardly anything with it. I crossed from Amsterdam to Berlin with German money in my bill-fold amounting nearly to $1,250,000, prewar value. Ten years earlier I could have bought out half a German town, lock, stock and barrel, with that much money, but when I left Amsterdam my best hope was that it might cover a decent dinner and a night's lodging. One might suppose that a glance at this state of things would show the whole world that money is worth only what it will buy, and if it will not buy anything it is not worth anything. In other words, one might suppose people would be set thinking, not at all about money, but about commodities.

But nothing of the kind happened. The general preoccupation with money led to several curious beliefs which are now so firmly rooted that one hardly sees how anything short of a collapse of our whole economic system can displace it. One such belief is that commodities—goods and services—can be paid for with money. This is not so. Money does not pay for anything, never has, never will. It is an economic axiom as old as the hills that goods and services can be paid for only with goods and services; but twenty years ago this axiom vanished from everyone's reckoning, and has never reappeared. No one has seemed in the least aware that everything which is paid for must be paid for out of production, for there is no other source of payment.

Another strange notion pervading whole peoples is that the State has money of its own; and nowhere is this absurdity more firmly fixed than in America. The State has no money. It produces nothing. Its existence is purely parasitic, maintained by taxation; that is to say, by forced levies on the production of others. "Government money," of which one hears so much nowadays, does not exist; there is no such thing. One is especially amused at seeing how largely a naïve ignorance of this fact underlies the pernicious measures of "social security" which have been foisted on the American people. In various schemes of pensioning, of insurance against sickness, accident, unemployment and what-not, one notices that the government is supposed to pay so-much into the fund, the employer so-much and the workman so-much. . . . But the government pays nothing, for it has nothing to pay with. What such schemes actually come to is that the workman pays his own share outright; he pays the employer's share in the enhanced price of commodities; and he pays the government's share in taxation. He pays the whole bill; and when one counts in the unconscionably swollen costs of bureaucratic brokerage and *paperasserie,* one sees that what the workman-beneficiary gets out of the arrangement is about the most expensive form of insurance that could be devised consistently with keeping its promoters out of gaol.

### Tricksters at Work

The sum of my observations was that during the last twenty years money has been largely diverted from its function as a mere convenience, a medium of exchange, a sort of general claim-check on production, and has been slily knaved into an instrument of political power. It is now part of an illusionist's apparatus to do tricks with on the political stage—to aid the performer in the obscenities incident to the successful conduct of his loathsome profession. The inevitable consequences are easily foreseen; one need not speak of them; but the politician, like the stockbroker, can not afford to take the long-time point of view on anything. The jobholder, be he president or be he prince, dares not look beyond the moment. All the concern he dares have with the future is summed up in the saying, *Après moi le deluge.*

# Labor Pays for Services Rendered

By REV. EDMUND A. OPITZ

*Protestant churchmen in the ecclesiastical bureaucracy espouse the currently fashionable labor movement—and find it pays off.*

The recent gift of $200,000 from the CIO's Philip Murray Foundation to the National Council of Churches (NCC) cannot be described as a bribe. It is more like a part payment for services rendered.

The Federal Council of Churches, a parent organization of the present National Council, was established in 1908 primarily to be an instrument of the Social Gospel. The men of various denominations who brought it into being had discovered a common ground in politics, not religion. They each held to their separate doctrines and denominations. Some were Socialists, others favored what is now called the Welfare State. Christianity in its social application meant, for them, an increasing number of government interventions.

A cardinal plank in the platform of the Social Gospel was that the labor union offered the best means for realizing religion's apocalyptic dream of an earthly paradise. "If the banner of the Kingdom of God is to enter through the gates of the future," wrote Walter Rauschenbush of Rochester Seminary, the leader of the Social Gospel forces, "it will have to be by the tramping hosts of labor."[1] This expectation was widely shared by the churchmen who organized the Federal Council of Churches.

A sympathetic historian of the Social Gospel, H. F. May, writing a few years ago of its impact on American life, says: "The fullest measure of victory [for the Social Gospel] was achieved with the organization of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in 1908. In this federation, representing the liberal elements in all denominations, Social Gospel advocates were able to put American Protestantism officially and repeatedly on record in comparatively concrete terms as a warm supporter of labor's cause."[2]

This support continues. John C. Bennett, Dean of Union Theological Seminary, declares that "the large-scale economic group to which the churches during the past half century have given most support is the labor movement. . . . This interest in the labor movement has been characteristic of the national leaders of the denominations, of the Federal Council of Churches, and of others who have been most articulate in interpreting Christian social ethics. It has not necessarily represented attitudes that have been dominant within the membership of Protestant churches."[3]

This last sentence suggests the actual situation in the contemporary religion-labor entente. Power-hungry men in the ecclesiastical bureaucracy who do not represent the average clergyman, much less the rank and file church member, have reached an accord with the power-hungry men in control of the huge monopoly unions who do not represent the average American workingman.

Ever since Constantine the Church has been plagued by power seekers within it. These men adopted whatever political camouflage the occasion warranted, from monarchy to democracy. They heard God's words only when He spoke as they wanted Him to speak. They put up a good case, on religious grounds, for slavery and war. During the Gilded Age of the latter nineteenth century they paid nauseating tribute to the heavy-handed robber barons who loomed large on the American scene.

And now that the incidence of power has shifted so that the big social fact is "the accession of the masses to complete social power," as Ortega y Gasset puts it, the power seekers within the Church attach themselves to mass movements for social revolution. An item of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam's creed is: "I am convinced that tomorrow's world is to be labor's world."[4] If it is a fact that "tomorrow is to belong to the worker," as Bishop Oxnam prophesies, then a church which takes thought for the morrow must come to terms with the "worker" to whom tomorrow belongs. But for the church which is at home with the concept of eternity, there is not only tomorrow, there is also next week, next year, and time beyond that which must not be compromised for the sake of an immediate program. Religion has always suffered from the efforts of some churchmen to finesse the Church into endorsing, underwriting and promoting the currently fashionable social concept.

## "Labor's Cause"

If labor's cause is the cause of all humanity, as it appears to be to its partisans in the churches, then all who fail to do it homage virtually excommunicate themselves from membership in the human clan. As viewed through Social Gospel lenses, "labor's cause" is the sum of everything noble and uplifting. It is the way to better housing, finer education; and it is an up-to-date way

of practicing religion besides! Sarah Cleghorn wrote in a celebrated poem,

> Ah, let no Local him refuse!
> Comrade Jesus hath paid his dues.
> Whatever other be debarred,
> Comrade Jesus hath his red card.

Jerome Davis, formerly of Yale Divinity School, dedicated his book, *Labor Speaks for Itself on Religion* (Macmillan, 1929), to the labor leaders of all nations, and went on to say, "In aiding labor they have been followers of the carpenter of Nazareth." And John Ramsay of the CIO, whose job is to work with clergymen, pays tribute to the labor leaders who have left the Church: "I do not feel," he says, "that they lost their religion. The labor movement became the outlet for that religious zeal. To me, those men who have built the great labor unions in our country have been motivated by a spiritual zeal. . . ."[5]

One more quotation in this vein will indicate why it is so difficult to discuss unionism with churchmen of that kind on its merits. Kermit Eby, a churchman who became an education director for the CIO, regards the labor movement as "a militant effort to bring about the age of the common man and the elimination of poverty." It is "the alternative to wars and revolutions." It is "the way to produce houses, schools, and playgrounds for happy families and healthy children. Those who stand in the way of such an achievement are sinners, and it is our task to convict them of their sin."[6]

More in the same vein is to be found in the volume from which these quotations were taken, *Labor's Relation to Church and Community,* edited by Liston Pope, Dean of Yale Divinity School, from speeches delivered at the Institute for Religious and Social Studies.

In the presence of such sentiments as these, the only proper discussion may be an awe-struck silence. Simpler than discussion would be to line up all those who favor wars and revolutions and who can't stand happy families and healthy children, and so to dispose of them as to leave no mess to clean up afterward; then the world could safely be turned over to the righteous remnant —the labor leaders and the supporting churchmen. In actual fact, of course, every man of good will wants to see others decently housed, fed, and clothed; he wants them to be healthier, better educated, and with fewer prejudices and hates. The big question, then, is how to go about achieving these admittedly desirable ends. But this is to put the issues on the mundane level of means, operational procedures and techniques—than which nothing is more irritating to those working time-and-a-half against a deadline to bring in their Kingdom of God on earth.


**On the Picket Line**

### The Nature of Unionism

To assert that trade unionism is a device for ushering in the millennium is to avoid saying what unionism really is. The person who approaches social problems from an ethical base cannot make up his mind about the right and wrong of unionism unless he understands the necessary conditions surrounding it, as well as the premises upon which it is based.

Trade unionism stands or falls on its claim to raise wages. If unions do not improve the material lot of their members, then every other reason adduced for union organization has the rug pulled out from under it. In modern times, the general level of wages and well-being has been raised by vast accumulations of capital—by the multiplicity of machines and industrial processes. These things, which have made the worker more productive, have, for that reason, raised his wages, for wages are part of production. The unions neither seek nor deserve credit for inventions or for accumulations of capital; what they claim is that by an organized threat of violence they have pried the employer off his moneybags so that the share of created wealth going to the man who works for wages has increased percentage-wise. Jerome Davis voices the sentiments of many unionists when he declares that "capitalism, by its inherent nature, tends to exploit the worker."[7] The militant union is the answer to this alleged exploitation.

Have the unions raised the general wage level? If their claim holds water, statistics should show a sharp rise in the wage level coincident with their rise to power. The figures do not show any such upgrading. The cumulative effect of statistics gathered for more than half a century indicates that the percentage return to wage earners of the total value added by manufacture has remained remarkably constant. Some spectacular and temporary gains made by some unions have been at the expense of other wage earners, organized and unorganized, and too often these spectacular gains put workers out of jobs. The general wage level, as a proportion of production, remains constant.

### How to Raise Wages

The only way to raise wages is to increase the productivity of labor. But the last thing the unions can claim is an interest in increased productivity. On the contrary, union strategy, based on the fallacy that the economy has only a certain number of jobs, relies on the slowdown, on featherbedding, on seniority and the like—every device that slows down production. From what source, then, does the union expect to draw its increased wages? Obviously from accumulated capital. This idea stems from one of the oldest economic fallacies, the Wage Fund Theory, the theory that wages are drawn from capital. Economists of last century and this have exploded this notion many times. Recently the job has been done again in an excellent little book by W. H. Hutt entitled *The Theory of Collective Bargaining* (Free Press, 1954). Even without intricate analysis, a moment's thought should convince anyone that if capital is used to pay wages capital would have been used up long ago.

These and other union fallacies have been linked to the violence which is incipient in all union activity. The major union weapon is the strike. Everyone has a right to quit work; but in a strike, the workers do not simply walk off their jobs, they try to prevent anyone else from accepting the jobs they have vacated. If a striking union did not have a license to use violence on would-be strikebreakers it would lack the necessary and minimum condition for being a union. Violence is not incidental to trade unionism, it is an essential part of it.

### Theological Rationalization

Once the nature of unionism is seen, one is led to inquire into the climate of theological opinion in which the necessary violence of union activity is rationalized. The customary rationalization is in terms of the class struggle ideology. A sample of this thinking is taken from the writings of John C. Bennett. He says, ". . . violence is itself one of the things in this world which is in the long run self-defeating," but then he immediately qualifies this sweeping observation. He goes on to say that while such is clearly the case in war, it does not hold in "direct action which may be accompanied by violence against a class so small in numbers [the capitalist class] that when once its power of ownership is taken away it ceases to be a dangerous opposition and can be treated with moderation."[8]

### Is Violence Immoral?

Writing on the same topic, the usefulness of violence in the class struggle, Reinhold Niebuhr, also of Union Seminary, says, "The middle classes and the rational moralists . . . are wrong in their assumption that violence is intrinsically immoral."[9] In deciding whether or not to implement a policy with violence, he says, the considerations are pragmatic, resting on the answer to such questions as "How great is the immediate and less inclusive value which is sacrificed for a more ultimate and more inclusive one?"[10] Apparently, for this theologian, there are no other than pragmatic guides, for he says, "It is well to note that even in the comparatively simple problems of individual relationships *there is no moral value which may be regarded as absolute.*"[11] (Italics added) This from a religionist is startling indeed.

In view of such whitewashing of union tactics, such high-sounding support of violence from professional moralists, the $200,000 gift from the CIO to the NCC was hardly extravagant.

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1 *Christianizing the Social Order* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1912), p. 449.
2 *Protestant Churches and Industrial America* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949), p. 203.
3 *Christian Values and Economic Life* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1954), p. 238.
4 *Labor and Tomorrow's World* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1947), pp. 150, 25.
5 Liston Pope (ed.), *Labor's Relation to Church and Community* (New York: Institute for Religious and Social Studies, 1947), p. 105.
6 Ibid, p. 94.
7 *Capitalism and Its Culture* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1935), p. 418.
8 *Social Salvation* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1935), p. 207.
9 *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1934), p. 170.
10 Ibid, p. 170.
11 Ibid, p. 174.

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# *A Suggestion to Ministers*

CLERGYMEN who are concerned with such mundane affairs as foreign policy, including the UN, would do well to shape a sermon or two around the following texts:

"Withdraw thy foot from thy neighbour's house; lest he be weary of thee, and so hate thee." (Proverbs 25:17)

"He that passeth by, and meddleth with strife belonging not to him, is like one that taketh a dog by the ears." (Proverbs 26:17)

# Child's History of the People's America

**By CEDRIC SILVERFISH, Ph.D**

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**(Published 1984)**

## Chapter 21: The Ten Terrible Years of the McCarthy Terror

*The* FREEMAN *presents herewith a real "scoop"—a chapter from a book to be published twenty-nine years from now for the edification of American school children of 1984. This chapter was brought to our attention by writer FREDERIC NELSON, who is endowed with the gift of foresight.*

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The middle two decades of our century were blackened by a horror which every citizen of our Totalitarian Liberal Free State would like to blot from the pages of its history: McCarthyism and the Terror of the Intellectuals.

Although some written accounts of this shameful era have been preserved, the great mass of the record was lost in the Burning of the Books (1951) and the wave of intolerant suppression inaugurated by Gauleiter J. Edgar Hoover. This modern Nero wielded dictatorial power following the burning at the stake of Elmer Davis whose books exposing the McCarthy tyranny had been circulated underground from hand to hand by brave men willing to risk the fierce vengeance of the Senatorial Gestapo.

Even so, despite the martyrdom of Henry Steele Commager, placed in the stocks as a "common scold" in New York's Union Square, the terrible story could not be suppressed. We must rely for a true record of this disgraceful decade on chronicles written on the walls of blood-spattered cells in the cellars of the grim Jenner Jugs in which dissenters were usually confined.

It is difficult for us in our enlightened socialist era to realize that within the memory of men now alive, this Totalitarian Liberal Free State was the scene of such brutalizing events as the Carttail Flogging of Freda Kirchwey, the Moll Pitcher of Greenwich Village; the Defenestration of Adlai Stevenson; and the confinement of Doris Fleeson in a loathsome concentration camp manned by sadistic DAR flagellants. A particularly cruel event was the banishment to Sea Island, a desolate pile off the coast of Georgia, of the brave senators who had voted to censure Senator McCarthy. Cut off from television interviews, committee hearings and free haircuts, the lot of these unhappy men was indeed pitiful. This outrage has been exposed in a work which ranks with *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a novel of liberation—*Ordeal by No Quorum* by Marquis Childs.

Although mass publications like *Human Events*, the *Freeman* and the *American Mercury*, with their readers numbered in the millions, supported the Reign of Terror and did their best to hound honest liberals from public positions, copies of the works of Elmer Davis, Owen Lattimore and Alan Barth were read by small groups meeting secretly, or in the guise of Poker Clubs. Portable radio stations, which the Inquisitors seemed never to locate, kept the truth alive with broadcasts by Edward R. Murrow and Quincy Howe, each of whom had a price on his head. Despite the best the Reaction could do, many saw the plays of Arthur Miller and Lillian Hellman. These forbidden works were produced in isolated groves and carefully guarded barns. Despite the shameful dragging of Bishop Oxnam through the streets of Chicago by a mob led by Publisher Henry Regnery, Progressive Religion was kept alive by heroes who can well be compared to Cranmer, John Huss and the Reverend Harry L. Ward.

Many efforts were made to inform the oppressed people of the McCarthy Era of their miseries, but the masses, beguiled by diversions like baseball, a Bull Market and a magazine called *Confidential*, seemed indifferent. The *Red Book* magazine dared to publish articles protesting against the suppression of civil liberties; the *Reporter* magazine printed an article called "What Happens to the Victims of A Nameless Accuser?"

It was the device of the Award which eventually broke the fascist grip on the Totalitarian Liberal Free State. In 1955 the Fund for the Republic, by Hutchins, out of Ford—issuing its orders from a secret hideout which the Gestapo was never able to find—spread it about that an award of $5,000 had been made to a Pennsylvania library for courageously refusing to discharge a female librarian who had defied under torture the inquisition of a fascist investigating committee. The woman had refused to say whether or not she was a member of the Communist Party on the ground that a truthful answer would incriminate her. Inevitably, the fascist street mobs did their best to

harry this courageous woman from her job, but this modern Edith Cavell stood her ground, and the library committee stood its. The village withstood a state of siege until the Fund for the Republic came to the rescue with its Award of $5,000 to those who had refused to yield to mob pressure.

It was now clear that, since there was to be financial gain from rewarding Fifth Amendment Heroes for defying the tyrants, public sentiment would hesitate between the emotionalism set afire by the McCarthyites on the one hand, and the profit motive on the other. With Free Enterprise enlisted in behalf of freedom, the end of the reign of the Fascist Beasts was clearly at hand.

Inasmuch as the money distributed by the Fund for the Republic could not be taxed, it has been aptly said that the American Financial Imperialists were liquidated with their own money.

Although victory for the People was inevitable, the final break through the clouds came in the summer of 1955 when V. M. Molotov made a discreet jest in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, followed later in Moscow by the visit of Mr. Khrushchev to the American Embassy to obtain a free drink of champagne. The revelation that Mr. Molotov was "just folks" might not of itself have been sufficient to break the McCarthy spell. But the fact that Mr. Khrushchev was willing to settle for a single glass of champagne, to be drunk on the premises, instead of twenty carloads to be charged to Lend Lease, would have melted a heart of stone. The Progressive Activists did the rest, and by the date of President Hiss' inauguration, all but a few remnants of the reactionary hooligans had been disposed of. Secretary of State Howard Fast was able to state to a wildly enthusiastic press conference: "Our problem was to give them a slight push, and they jolly well knew who pushed them."

The Reign of Terror was over.

**Review Questions and Suggested Exercises**

1. Classify McCarthyism, McClellanism, Eastlandism, patriotism and Jennerism in order of their importance in the Ten Terrible Years.
2. Organize a debate in your grade on the question: "Resolved that Elmer Davis gave more lives for his country than Nathan Hale."
3. Cooperate with your local chapter of SOFA (Sons of the Fifth Amendment) in celebrating birthdays of People's Patriots like Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White, Milton Silverman and Harold Ware.
4. Compare J. Edgar Hoover, Himmler and Herbert Brownell.
5. Why is the late President Roosevelt now known as the "Poor Man's Kerensky"?

## Loaded Terms

**Making Democracy Work.** This phrase, exuding some indistinct promise, is stock usage with the leaders of organized raids on the Treasury. The assumption is that "democracy" is a social system—rather than a form of government, as defined in the dictionary—in which the individual is merged with the mass with no rights that the majority must respect. In short, "democracy" is used as a synonym for "socialism," which word is avoided because it is in disrepute in this country. To "make democracy work"—judging by usage—it is necessary to increase federal interventions, federal subventions and, of course, federal power. The tip-off on what these "democrats" have in mind is their use of another gem of vagueness—"social gains."

RANDOLPH VAN NOSTRAND, *Los Angeles, Calif.*

**Expanding Democracy.** This phrase is frequently found in the literature of the National Citizens Committee for Public Schools, a group hell-bent for the nationalization of our educational machinery. If they succeed, the indoctrination of children in the tenets of socialism—beg pardon, "democracy"—will hasten the coming of the collectivized heaven on earth.

MRS. WM. B. DODGE, *Dallas, Texas*

**Mixed Economy.** An offspring of intellectual miscegenation, the phrase describes an economy that is partly free and partly controlled. Its proponents see it as a mechanism by which heartless capitalism is held in check by benevolent socialism. Actually, the tyranny of socialism is kept within bounds by its own need of capitalism. Every thief needs a victim to steal from.

ROBERT P. JONAS, *Oyster Bay, N. Y.*

*Suggestions for this column are invited. The* FREEMAN *will make a token payment of five dollars for each suggestion accepted for publication. The right to edit is reserved.*

# The Bear Smiles Again

By EUGENE LYONS

***In spite of wishful thinking, the Kremlin's elaborate charade of good will is, according to this observer, but preparation for the next big push.***

Senator George W. Malone of Nevada, during nine days of exploring the entire Soviet Union, saw no barricades and stumbled into no anticommunist undergrounds. Not one Soviet citizen took him trustingly aside to denounce communism. In short, as he informed the press, he found "no evidence the people are going to rise against the Soviet regime."

The Senator therefore recommended that propaganda by the Voice of America and other agencies "designed to increase dissatisfaction and promote resistance" be forthwith called off as "pointless and wasteful." (The Kremlin thinks the propaganda has enough point to justify jamming our broadcasts.) He further recommended that this country "review its ban on trade in stragetic materials with the Soviet bloc."

With the unerring instinct of total illiteracy in this area, Mr. Malone thus put an approving finger on the objectives of Moscow's current conduct. These are: 1) To obtain access to Western technology, its products and its specialized personnel, by opening wide the sluices of trade and "exchange of persons." 2) To beat down actual and potential resistance in the Soviet orbit by demonstrating to its peoples that they cannot hope for free-world support—on the valid theory that without such hope opposition sentiment must wither and die.

The Senator's readiness to give the Soviets precisely what they want, without so much as a face-saving *quid pro quo,* cannot be dismissed as one man's fatuity. Unhappily, it fits too well into the euphoria and credulity now spreading through the non-Soviet world. It is of a piece with the inanities voiced by other hurry-up foreign investigators of Russia; with announcements that the cold war is over; with the resolute eagerness everywhere to believe that this time the Red geniality is sincere.

Only a few weeks after descending from the Summit, President Eisenhower tried to brake the runaway inflation of optimism. In his Philadelphia address on August 24 he warned:

"There can be no true peace which involves acceptance of a *status quo* in which we find injustice in many nations, repressions of human beings on a gigantic scale, and with constructive effort paralyzed in many areas by fear.

"The spirit of Geneva, if it is to provide a healthy atmosphere for the pursuit of peace, if it is to be genuine and not spurious, must inspire all to a correction of injustice, an observance of human rights and an end to subversion on a world-wide scale."

To demand that a totalitarian police state observe human rights, that world communism cease to be subversive, is to demand the impossible. The President must know that such conditions cannot be met, short of a successful anticommunist revolution in the Soviet empire. In effect, he was repudiating the illusions he had himself helped generate. Secretary Dulles and Vice President Nixon then spoke out in the same vein but even more emphatically.

Clearly, Washington was alarmed by the tidal wave of uncritical faith in the efficacy of smiles, handshakes and social affability. No doubt it sensed that the ballooning optimism was leaving free governments disarmed, without the support of a sober and vigilant public opinion, in their further dealings with Moscow.

But there is small reason to believe that the surge of wishful thinking can be stemmed even by our government. It is being fed by cold-war fatigue, by dread of nuclear war, by the normal tendency of officials in democracies to settle for temporary expedients and let their successors take the hindmost.

With the hocus-pocus of amiability as their main weapon, the Communists have won their latest battle almost before it was well started. Know-nothing optimism has become the fashion, almost literally: the other night a dress designer explained on television that the new styles will reflect the gayer, more relaxed moods in the world!

### Moscow's Standard Tactic

The Kremlin's elaborate charade of good will is not as hard to read as those with a talent for forgetting the past assume. The tactic is standard for Moscow's times of trouble. The same kind of show, and for approximately the same purposes, was put on by Stalin in the 1930's, until the eruption of the blood purges, and again during the war years.

In the thirties, peaceful coexistence seemed a settled fact. United and People's Fronts flourished. Western industrial specialists by the thousands worked on the initial Five Year Plans. Foreign tourist hordes, delegations and missions rummaged cheerfully among the man-made famines and as-

sorted horrors (since then fully documented) without recognizing them. They returned home babbling of improved conditions and signs of a new liberalism, pretty much in the language we are hearing today. There were a new Constitution, "breathtaking" statistics, pictures of a "mellowed" dictator kissing children to fortify their errors. In the League of Nations, Litvinov played the role of apostle of collective security and peace.

Two thirds of his main industries, Stalin would one day tell Eric Johnston, had been built with "material assistance or advice from Americans." Without Western machines and techniques and engineers, Russia would have remained an agrarian country offering no direct menace to our civilization. Its regime might, indeed, have collapsed under the weight of popular hatreds generated by collectivization.

The magnitude of internal opposition in those years was not merely admitted but even exaggerated by the Kremlin itself during the bloodlettings of the thirties. What would have happened if the outside world had supported that opposition, or at least refrained from intervening on Stalin's side?

**Repeat Performance**

During the Soviet-German war, of course, the performance was repeated. The Kremlin perforce posed as a freedom-loving ally, actually subscribed to the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms, and "abolished" the Comintern. A new era of Soviet cooperation with the non-Soviet nations was generally taken for granted. Again the fruits of our free economy were made available on a gigantic scale to salvage the crumbling Soviet State.

Politically, the very fact of alliance with the great democracies seemed to the Soviet citizenry a guarantee of some freedom after the victory and helped reconcile them to the hated regime. When this hope faded, the West's anxious friendship for the dictatorship, devoid of sympathy for its victims, helped convince the masses of the futility of resistance. Once more we had contributed lavishly to the survival of the regime.

What is happening today therefore seems, to those of us who have watched Soviet history attentively, like the unreeling of an old, boringly familiar film. The principal difference is in the accelerated pace of the action. It is as if all the actors, by this time letter-perfect in their roles, were able to speed up the proceedings.

The fact is that the Soviet system periodically reaches an impasse created by the cumulative pressures of its inherent fallacies, excesses and bureaucratic rigidities. Lack of personal incentives, fear of responsibility, the passive resistance bred by growing discontents, isolation from the main currents of scientific and technological progress—these chronic faults of the totalitarian society make stagnation inevitable. There is a point beyond which propaganda and purge, exhortation and terror, cease to be effective.

At that point the Kremlin has little alternative but to turn to the despised capitalist world for assistance. And that world, tragically deficient in the will to survive, eager for an easy accomodation with evil, always obliges. Indeed, the existence of the noncommunist world, as a reservoir upon which Moscow can draw when necessary, is probably what has made the survival of a great communist empire possible. The Kremlin need only turn on the charm, dangle the twin boon of profits and "peace," and the West promptly does handsprings of joy. One is reminded of the tough boy who came home clutching a quarter. He earned it, he explained to his mother, for doing Tommy a big favor—he had stopped beating Tommy on the head.

There is always an element of plain blackmail in the Moscow tactic of temporary restraint. In the past it was the threat of intensified communist mischief if the free world refused to play the game; today there is, in addition, the threat of unloosing a nuclear war. The fact that the USSR

has as much, and perhaps a lot more, reason to fear war is somehow overlooked.

Consider a curious revealing thing—revealing, that is, about our own state of nerves:

After the demise of Stalin, there was a widespread belief that Moscow was liberalizing its regime. The world press and neutralist statesmen hailed the New Look in Russia. The principal element in that New Look was the government's promises of more consumer goods, even if it

meant curtailing heavy industry. This sacrifice of capital or war goods in the interest of a better life for the masses was the gist of the argument in books by Isaac Deutscher, Harrison Salisbury and others celebrating the new Soviet liberalism.

One would suppose, therefore, that the abandonment of the consumer-goods priority would turn the tide of optimism. But it scarcely rated as news. The dismissal of Malenkov, because it was sensational *per se*, was played up abroad. The fact that it marked a return to Stalinist concentration on defense production, without regard to the needs of the individual citizen, was merely noted in passing.

Only a fortnight before the Geneva conference, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party met in Moscow. Its principal speeches and resolutions ran in *Pravda* on the very eve of the conference. Emphasis on heavy industry and defense marked all these documents —but our press and experts had their minds on less distressing things.

"The general line of the Party," said Bulganin, "aimed at preferential development of heavy industry, has been and remains irrevocable." He called for "the further upsurge of heavy industry" for "the invincible defense capacity of our Homeland." Those who prated of consumer goods, he said, were "sorry theorists" who "would disarm the Soviet Union in the face of the enemy imperalistic camp, would weaken the economic and defense potential of our Homeland."

How was the outside world to make that jibe with a New Look without puncturing the soaring hopes released at the Summit? Only by self-hypnosis. The character of Soviet industrial priorities, so recently treated as the very symbol and substance of the new Soviet era, was now largely discounted or ignored.

Less inhibited analysts of the published materials of that Plenary meeting discern an "alarmed note" in the proceedings. Bulganin and others were unusually frank in admitting bottlenecks, gaps, deficiencies in Soviet economy; serious regressions in science and technology compared with the West; shockingly low levels of labor productivity; bureaucracy and waste.

Citing the Ministry of Fish Industry as an example, the Premier declared that it had "one administrative worker for every six workers . . . The number of administrative-managerial personnel of the plants and trusts exceeds the number of workers almost two times. Here one really can say, 'One with a plow-share and seven with a spoon.'"

Such was the tenor of all the speeches and resolutions. The admissions and disclosures, peppered with warnings and threats, indicate, in the words of one highly qualified Soviet émigré, "not bankruptcy but very serious organic defects of the whole communist economic system."

What is true of industry is, as always, doubly true of Soviet agriculture, despite the simple-minded reports of some of our touring farm experts. The productivity of the Soviet farmer remains alarmingly inadequate, while the number of mouths to be fed grows apace and the State's build-up of military food reserves takes precedence over hunger.

### Moscow Is Worried

Against this background it would be a miracle if the chronic discontents were not at levels disturbing to the Kremlin crowd. The Red bosses are not risking a relaxation of police terror. They are struggling against revolutionary trends in schools and among the youth generally; some refugees claim that the majority of inmates of the slave camps are between nineteen and twenty-five years of age.

In the satellites, sabotage and noncooperation have not abated, and popular hostility to the puppet regimes cannot be concealed. Meanwhile, the cream has been skimmed from the economy of these captive nations; some are becoming more of a liability than an asset. Red China's insatiable demands for capital goods and raw materials must be met despite domestic shortages.

American psychological warfare, small and timid though it has been, has Moscow profoundly worried. The continually stepped-up jamming, the current drive to demoralize the Soviet emigration through an all-out campaign for repatriation, the official protests by Moscow and puppet governments against Western broadcasts and balloon barrages, and against the activities of some émigré organizations—these are all symptoms of the fear of their own subjects that haunts the Soviet hierarchy.

They need time. They need to dig into the free-world economic reservoir, to share the West's prosperity and fast-marching technology. They need to neutralize and if possible cancel our American cold-war counteraction. In short, the time has come again for a period of peaceful co-existence, in preparation for the next big push against the "degenerate West."

And all the indications are that the purblind capitalist world will again come efficiently to the rescue. A civilization hell-bent for suicide will proceed joyously to strengthen and arm its self-declared enemy. Already its governments are busy disowning and betraying the hopes of its natural allies—the captive countries and peoples, including those in Russia proper. Already its business leaders are tearing at the leash to rush in and save communism from the consequences of its own follies and fallacies.

Lenin once said that when the time comes to hang capitalists, they will bid against one another for the sale of rope. The bidding is under way.

# WASHINGTON, D.C.

## by Frank C. Hanighen

**The Dixon-Yates controversy** goes on, with the New Deal Democrats laboriously seeking to wring some drops of political poison out of it. Through the forensic smoke screen some facts emerge: the Budget Director talked to a man about the project; that man got no fee out of it, but he had given advice to a bank with which he had been connected. Nor did the bank get any fee. Pretty thin stuff.

Meanwhile, on the other hand, the myth of TVA seems to have suffered considerably as a result of a thoroughgoing nation-wide debate on Dixon-Yates in particular and public power in general. Many areas of the country have learned — what they should have noted from the first — that TVA pays little in taxes and does not bear the amortization, fiscal and interest burdens which the private power companies have to shoulder. In short, there exists a much wider understanding that TVA is a Tennessee boondoggle for which the taxpayers of the rest of the nation have to pay.

Surprisingly, a Tennessee paper, the Knoxville *Journal,* recently remarked that "politicians and the political organization known as Citizens for TVA, Inc., may in fact be hastening the end of the power project which they are ostensibly trying to preserve. This may well come about through familiarizing the people all over the nation with the financial details of TVA's operations and the favored spot occupied by its power users." While the fact that the "biggest power empire in the world was being built with Federal funds was completely ignored," this disregard was not realized for a long time, points out the *Journal.* But then came the Dixon-Yates controversy, and "other United States citizens now know, as a result of all the speeches and newspaper interviews, that the rates do not stem from any mystic TVA formula, but straight from the federal Treasury."

In Arizona, the Prescott *Courier* has an editorial entitled, "The TVA Power Controversy Backfires." The paper says that advocates of TVA want to commit the federal Treasury to "further give-aways of millions and millions of dollars for the benefit of one section of the nation. This means that the farmers, the retailers and all forms of business in other parts of the nation would be required to put up their tax dollars for the benefit of the TVA region."

Finally, a labor union newspaper, the Jefferson City, Mo., *Labor News,* explains that the TVA has low rates for two reasons: "One is that the TVA pays no taxes or other charges on a scale comparable to those paid by private companies, and the other is that TVA pays little or no interest on capital costs, which are met by the United States Treasury . . . the nation as a whole is helping pay the electric bills of consumers in the Tennessee Valley. The fact that TVA electricity is virtually tax-free means that taxes paid by all the rest of us are a little bit higher . . . and the TVA's call upon government financing can be costly too. Because it helps raise our national debt, it has an inflationary effect that reduces the value of our money, our savings and our wage dollar."

**With this intelligence spreading,** if an alert press dramatizes the controversy, perhaps the general public can accurately appraise the TVA as "big dam foolishness" and the sophisticated public might see it, in the perspective of history, as a scandal —as the French under the Third Republic saw the waste of money in the Panama Canal affair, which upset French governments. There is no reason why the squandering of taxpayers' money by the bureaucracy should not be viewed in the same light as the embezzlement of stockholders by a Ponzi operating in the free market.

Before such a state of aroused public opinion is achieved, however, defenders of private enterprise had better take a careful look at another big public power project looming on the horizon—the projected Colorado River dam. Heartless newspapermen who watch such matters in Washington are dubbing the project, "The Republican Administration's TVA." It is true that the White House beamed on this initially. It is also true that such eager beavers as Sherman Adams did not put the heavy pressure on GOP members of Congress to get it through in the last session. Some Republicans on the Hill, therefore, took that to mean that the White House merely gave the project formal backing, as a gesture to the "liberal" public power crowd, and was not really in earnest.

However, right after Congress adjourned, President Eisenhower gave the Colorado proposal very public and emphatic blessing. Observers interpreted the presidential statement as the foundation of earnest backing for a "GOP TVA" in the next

session. After all, the GOP National Committee nurses some concern about the 1956 vote in the great open spaces of the West. Recently, Democratic Senator Alan Bible of Nevada, no wild New Dealer, issued a considered statement expressing confidence that the Democrats next year will sweep the mountain states (where public power has many supporters).

**What are the facts** about the Colorado dam project? The Council of State Chambers of Commerce (Room 513, 1025 Connecticut Avenue, Washington 6, D. C.) casts a very critical eye on the project. In its bulletin No. 134, the Council points out that the Colorado River project would operate in a region which is "one of the greatest sources of thermal energy to be found anywhere in the world." The resources include vast deposits of coal, reservoirs of oil and natural gas, of oil shale and of uranium ores. These could be tapped for steam plant construction.

Combined with the generation of public power, according to government plans, there will be extensive irrigation and reclamation work which will create hundreds of thousands of new farm acres. It is estimated that the cost per acre of this reclaimed land to the taxpayer would run around $3,500, although irrigated farm land in Colorado is at present valued at $150 to $200 an acre.

The State Chambers of Commerce notes that the U.S. Department of Agriculture studies indicate "that the food needs of the nation for years to come can be met from existing acreage." But if more acres are needed, the Department's studies show "that about 20,000,000 acres of present unused lands east of the Rocky Mountain area can be reclaimed at a fraction of what it would cost per acre in the upper Colorado River basin."

The land reclaimed will provide pasturage for sheep and hay for cows. Thus the production of wool and dairy products will be stimulated although there are large surpluses in both at the present time. In consequence the taxpayer will be taxed to furnish more storage space for agricultural products in excess supply. Congressman Ralph Gwinn (R., N.Y.) observes that the reclaimed land will be developed at altitudes of over 6,000 feet where, because of snow and frosts, the growing season will not last over three months. He says, "We don't have to go to the top of the Rockies to create new farms on poor land at fantastic cost."

This project would wipe out, by permanently flooding, one of the most beautiful parks in the nation—Echo Park, and wild life groups are bitterly opposed to the Colorado River project on this score. It is recalled that the original TVA permanently flooded an area of choice farm lands approximately equal in size to that of Rhode Island.

Finally, what would it really cost? There is one estimate around town, which says that the cost will exceed five billion dollars (construction costs plus interest on the money advanced by the Treasury). Proponents for the Colorado scheme claim that revenues from power and sale of reclaimed acres will eventually repay the cost to the Treasury. That is as it may be. But those who know the actual record on other public power and reclamation projects where the same claim was invariably made think otherwise. In conclusion, it is pointed out that the Colorado project is for the sole benefit of four states, while the taxpayers of the forty-four other states will actually pick up the tab.

No wonder that the State Chambers of Commerce remarks: "There are good reasons why the taxpayers as a group should question the wisdom of the federal government embarking on this project."

**If the Colorado dam** wins, another corps of bureaucrats will be added to Big Government, and the job of checking on their activities will impose additional duties on an already over-burdened legislature. It is a byword on Capitol Hill that the organizational structure of Congress badly needs overhauling. Members literally wear themselves out running (not walking) from one committee hearing room to another. Some committees duplicate some of the activities and inquiries of others. There are so many committee proceedings going on at the same time that the press finds it impossible to cover them all. The consequent mood on the Hill is that "something ought to be done about it."

About ten years ago, the same mood resulted in action fervently demanded by all. Senator LaFollette and Congressman (now Senator) Monroney constructed a bill to "streamline Congress." It went through with no little support. The Congressional Reorganization Act of 1946 provided, among other things, that a senator could serve on no more than two committees and a representative on no more than one. The Act also cut the standing committees from 81 to 34.

Today, after nearly ten years of the Reorganization Act, Congress unhappily contemplates some discouraging statistics. Besides the 34 authorized standing committees, there are 10 joint committees (composed of members from both Houses) and 5 special committees (for example, the House Un-American Activities Committee). In addition there are 180 standing subcommittees. The total number of committees and subcommittees numbers 229. In short, although the number of standing committees was reduced, subcommittees multiplied in number.

Why did this increase occur? Human nature is one factor. The desire of the humble member of the lower house and of the greenest "freshman" in the Senate is to get on an important committee, or to obtain a subcommittee chairmanship. So ensconced, he would enjoy prestige and power.

But, no one blinks the fact that the fundamental cause of the trouble is the massive growth of the Executive branch, the increase and proliferation of agencies and activities of Big Government.

# Socialism in Bloom

By COLM BROGAN

***Nationalization in Britain has caused untold damage to industry; but worse, it has warped the thinking of the workers.***

Ever since the last General Election, British Socialists have been sitting back, rubbing their chins and wondering what hit them. The mere fact of defeat was not the source of their woe, for defeat had been anticipated. It was the drop of one million and a half in their popular vote that set the various socialist factions busily putting the blame on each other. From the catastrophic crisis election of 1931 until this year, the Socialists steadily scored more votes at every time of asking. It appeared that the changing pattern of the electorate was working inexorably in their favor.

Needless to say, the Bevanites blamed the anti-Bevanites, who returned the compliment in full measure. Some blamed a scrappy and uninspiring election manifesto, which was, in any event, issued far too late to have effect. A good deal of play has been made with the superiority of the Tory machine and the shortage of paid socialist constituency officials. This last excuse was the most puerile of all. If the Socialists wanted more paid officials, they knew what to do about it: pay them.

The fundamental reason for the severe setback was simple enough and obvious enough. The people were bored with the Labor Party. The old attitudes and policies inherited from the depression years were as out-cf-date as a silent movie. To the younger men who have never known a day's unemployment, the facts and the lavish mythology of the depression had as much contemporary relevance as the mismanagement of the Boer War. This is a fact which vexes Mr. Bevan, who has publicly rebuked the younger men for their lack of interest in the ancient wrongs; they are still not interested.

Nor are they interested in nationalization, for the massive experiments in that direction have never produced any marked improvement and have often produced a spectacular decline. The panacea of socialism has been an even bigger failure than its severest critics foretold. The men in the nationalized industries would mostly oppose any change back to private enterprise, but for reasons of simple self-interest. Under nationalization they have a political as well as an economic lever to employ for the extraction of more money and other benefits. Nationalization makes life easier for the nationalized worker, but correspondingly harder for everybody else. Yet, it is psychologically impossible for the Labor Party to produce an election manifesto without making some pious gestures toward further extensions of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange.

The Labor Party tried to stir the fading emotions evoked by half-forgotten wrongs, and clung stubbornly to a principle which had proved itself a total and manifest failure. No wonder they were badly beaten. The most sensible socialist electioneering came from Hugh Gaitskell, the former Chancellor of the Exchequer. He sharply criticized his successor, R. A. Butler, for sunshine economics and gave warning of serious approaching trouble. He had a solid case to make, but he struggled against a fatal handicap. Nobody wanted to listen, not even the Socialists. The reason was simple.

## Money to Spend

This year and last year, ordinary Lancashire mill girls have spent on a ten-day holiday in Blackpool more than the bloated rich are allowed to take out of the country for a continental holiday. A motor show was held in the Midlands for the miners alone, and brisk business was done in shiny and expensive cars. The Coal Board is now acting as travel agent to arrange Riviera holidays for the downtrodden toilers of the pits. The dockside warehouses are jammed to bursting point with excellent imported meat which the working-class housewife indignantly rejects as "scrag"; nothing but the prime home cuts will satisfy her, whatever they cost.

With all this money to spend, people were in no mood to listen to prophets of woe. Indeed, the socialist campaign made no impact at all, and the drop of one and a half million votes was much less than the true measure of the lack of public interest.

The Tories sailed home on a flowing tide of prosperity, but that did not mean that they would be either able or willing to carry out a thoroughgoing antisocialist policy. There was no suggestion that coal, gas, electricity, railroads or air transport would be denationalized. Indeed, some of the Tory leaders showed distinct nervousness when their followers talked too loudly about the failure of nationalization.

But that failure is manifest to all, and it is a

heavy burden on British industry. Heavy capital investment and great increases in wage rates have totally failed to get any response from the miners. Expectations that miners would work zealously when they knew they were working for the common good have been shatteringly disproved. To the miners themselves the change of ownership means that they are no longer working for the capitalist but for the State bureaucracy instead, and their traditional dislike of the white-collared official was by no means softened by a great increase in the number of officials. Deliberate absenteeism is more than twice what it was before the war, there is a large and scandalous traffic in unjustified medical certificates, and wildcat strikes are nearly a daily occurence.

### In the Coal Industry

This has meant, among other things, the death of one historic British trade. As late as 1938, coal exports provided work for one hundred thousand British miners. Recently the Coal Board has been forced to extinguish almost the last of the export trade with the exception of trade with Eire and Denmark. It was a gesture of defeat. On the other hand, imported coal is now causing a loss of twenty million pounds a year, and home production is getting steadily worse.

The miners never wanted socialism as the Fabians understood it. Socialist propagandists working on their hostility to the owners made them campaign for public ownership, but they did not induce them to accept the inevitable conditions of public ownership. Propaganda turned the miners into syndicalists, not socialists. British miners are not merely hostile to capitalism. Ever since the general strike the rank and file have been hostile to the nation and to other trade unionists, who, they assert, betrayed them in their hour of trial. There are long and bitter memories in the mining areas, and there is also a great deal of provincial narrow-mindedness and corporate conceit. British miners have so long been told that they are the spearhead and the elite corps of the proletariat that they have come to believe it and are fiercely resentful of any criticism.

A large number of them are quite deliberate in their restriction of production. They are not merely disinclined to work steadily and hard, but are positively determined to maintain a shortage of coal to strengthen their bargaining position. Their leaders understand the gravity of the situation and the folly of the miners' recalcitrance, but the men are obdurate.

The socialized railways are in not much better case. The two main railway unions compete with each other in putting in extra wage claims without any pretense that the railway economy can meet the bill. The losses rise briskly year after year, there is scarcely any attempt to get rid of surplus staff, and bitterness between the two unions is sharper than it has been for thirty years. There is an immense long-term plan of modernization; but already some critics are asking if there is any sense in spending more than a thousand million pounds in improving efficiency, if the syndicalist spirit among the men will defeat the economical working of the improved system.

A strike of the locomotive footplate men did serious damage to the national economy, but not so much as the dock strike which affected part of London and some large northern ports. The set-up in the British commercial docks is a strange example of semisocialism. It would be tedious to explain the system in detail, but it is a mixture of State paternalism, syndicalism, union bureaucracy and handcuffed capitalism, with a touch of anarchy thrown in for good measure. Since this system was introduced there have been five thousand strikes in dockland, most of them partial and short-lived affairs, but some of them very serious.

The latest strike was a faction fight between the members of one union and the members of another. The strike made enemies of neighbors who had lived socially in each others' pockets for generations. It even split families. In London pubs where men were accustomed to drink together in amity, it has happened more than once that one docker would point his argument by pushing his glass hard into another man's face. There were battles in the picket lines, and the atmosphere in some of the docks is now poisonous. Discipline varies, but in some places it is nonexistent. Equipment is old-fashioned, and the pace of work is often funereal, while large-scale pilfering is rife. Yet at the mention of a committee of inquiry to recommend improvements in dock working, there was an instant threat of a national strike. The dockers dislike the existing system, but they will take the field to defeat any attempt to make it more efficient.

### The Overtime Habit

It would be wrong to imagine that the entire British economy is a theater of lethargy, recalcitrance and inefficiency. The steel and the automobile industries are highly modernized and efficient, and so are many more. But costs are everywhere shot up by overtime. It is the established trade union tradition that overtime should be regarded as an unwelcome and occasional emergency measure, not to be considered in negotiations on standard wage rates; these negotiations should be conducted on the assumption that a man has right to a living wage for a normal week's work. This is still the view of the leaders, but the men who are up to the ears in installment debts have different ideas. The younger men, newly married or about to be married, will go to no plant except with a guarantee of plentiful

overtime. (There are firms which go so far as to advertise Sunday work as an attraction!) This has led to the artificial creation of overtime by a slow pace of work during the normal hours.

The overtime habit is socially as well as economically mischievious, for it is unfair to the working housewife. Enough of the old tradition remains to induce men to regard overtime and bonus payments as extras, apart from the basic wage from which household needs must be met. As a result, many wives get a much smaller proportion of the husband's total income than they did before the war. That is not to say that all the husbands spend the money selfishly. They may spend a lot of it on a fur coat for the wife or on a holiday for the family, but it does mean that many families with a considerable income are on a tight rein for basic essentials—and it also means that these same families snatch at every Welfare advantage.

### Economic Instability

There is no sign of any halt in the rise of British production costs, but they are already having a serious effect on economic stability. In the first seven months of this year the trading deficit as of exports against imports was in the region of six hundred million pounds. World trade has expanded remarkably, but Britain's share in that trade has shrunk from one quarter to one fifth, while Germany's share has doubled.

The most important reason for the decline is the easy conditions of the home consumer market. Manufacturers are not much inclined to fight for orders overseas when they can easily dispose of their goods at home. Added to this, the uncertainty of British costs and the equal uncertainty of delivery dates constitute a steadily increasing burden which will be highly advantageous to Germany and Japan.

The postwar picture in Britain is one of mounting and apparently irresistible inflation. Even if the official production figures can be accepted, wages and salaries have risen at twice the rate of production. Pressure for still higher wages is gathering at a time when it must become increasingly difficult to keep production rising and sell goods abroad.

In the foreground of the British scene there is every evidence of abounding prosperity. Motor cars pour in a flood off the assembly line. There are shops in shabby Lancashire cotton towns offering the kind of tweeds formerly the exclusive wear of the exclusive county ladies. Children everywhere are well and expensively dressed and fed. The great sporting events are packed to suffocation. There are loud grumbles about the cost of living, but the spending spree goes merrily on.

Behind the scenes an anxious Chancellor studies the yawning gap in his finances. He is wondering how much more will have to be paid out for foreign coal to keep the nation from freezing. He must deal with the confederation of shipbuilding and engineering workers whose chairman has just given him an ultimatum. If the Chancellor's policies do not bring down the cost of living, then no sooner will one pay claim be granted than another will be put in. The chairman speaks for three million workers.

### What Do Bigger Wages Mean?

For ten years the British workers have been ceaselessly told by men of all parties, except the Communist, that every increase in wages without a corresponding increase of production can mean only a rising cost of living, which will completely wipe out the value of the wage increases. After ten years of subjection to sermons the men still refuse to believe this, and for the best of reasons. It is not true.

If the organized workers obtain an increase in wages, then the consequential increase in prices is spread over the entire community. It will be shared among those who got the increase and those who did not. The burden will fall on the pensioners, the fixed income groups and a high proportion of the salaried class. The wage-earners know quite well that when their increase takes its due effect, they will lose something of the value of their money, but not so much as they will gain by the increase. The more helpless sections of the community will also lose and will gain nothing. It is not an altruistic calculation, but it is sound.

But the organized workers are now moving fast into dangerous waters. Every upward twist of the inflationary spiral means that the weaker British citizens accept a lowered standard of living to subsidize a higher standard for the stronger. They accept this because they cannot help themselves. But foreign buyers can help themselves. When the rising British cost of living reflects itself in noncompetitive export prices, then the consequences will fall most heavily on those who are primarily responsible for the situation.

What is the answer of the more combative spokesman of the workers to do this self-evident fact? Indoctrinated by socialist teaching and conditioned by socialist practice, they say it is the job of the Chancellor to bring down the cost of living. How this is to be done while they themselves are pushing it up they consider not to be their affair. "It's up to the government." This widespread attitude of abdication and dependence on State action for almost everything is the most unhealthy feature of British life today, and it is the most evil legacy of socialist rule. The damage done by nationalizing great undertakings has been severe, but far worse is the damage done by nationalizing the mind.

# Toward an American Collective

By WILLIAM H. PETERSON

***Fantastic farm surpluses in the United States may have puzzled the Soviet farm delegation. What are the implications for the American farmer?***

"What do Americans mean, 'free enterprise'?"

That's a question that Vladimir V. Matskevich, Russia's First Deputy Minister of Agriculture, and the eleven other members of the Soviet farm delegation to the United States might ask as they mull over their impressions of American farming.

For while the American farm is a far cry from the Russian collective, there is an affinity between the two—both are products of government intervention. For the American farm, the degree of intervention is much less but, viewed in historical perspective, is yet substantial and growing.

The United States government, through thousands of its agents in county seats, buys most of the grain. It lets farmers know how many acres they may plant, with inspectors checking in the fields to make sure there is no "overplanting." It insures crops. It stores crops. It plans and partly finances soil conservation. It lends money to farmers for equipment, livestock, planting, fertilizer and harvesting. And through tariffs it bars foreign competition. This is hardly "free enterprise."

Other incongruities doubtlessly have been spotted by the visiting Russians. While Russian intervention produces scarcities, American intervention produces gluts. Mountainous gluts. Even caves, abandoned factories, hangars, oil tanks, World War Two moth-balled merchant vessels and shut-down movie houses have outrun normal terminal and elevator space for grain storage. The current wheat carry-over has topped the one-billion bushel mark, over four times the surplus of just three years ago. Now, as huge combines cut a swath through the nation's ripened wheat fields, the Department of Agriculture is frantically seeking new storage facilities. The department, already spending more than a million dollars a day for storage costs alone, has just taken bids from contractors to build some 14,000 more new bins to hold 47 million bushels of grain. If past history is a guide, the addition will be too little and too late.

For one thing weight-conscious Americans are including fewer grain products in their diets. For another, wheat farmers have just voted overwhelmingly for acreage restrictions in return for government price supports at 76 per cent of parity. This means that the giant wheat surplus will be practically as large or, barring a major crop disaster, even larger than it is today. The surplus flood will not be limited to wheat alone. Just before it adjourned, Congress increased the "loan" authority of the Commodity Credit Corporation from $10 billion to $12 billion. The corporation, which as of June 30 had $8.7 billion of taxpayers' money tied up in surplus crops, must now be prepared for still greater hoards of rye, wool, cottonseed oil, butter, cheese, tobacco leaf, powdered milk, oats, sorghum, hay and pasture seeds, barley, soybeans, flaxseed, feed corn, linseed oil, cotton linters, peanuts, gum resin and cotton.

Despite these apparently unconsumable gluts, the Russian farm experts may shock their Soviet planning bosses by reporting that the United States government will further aggravate the surplus problem by its huge land reclamation program. For with the obvious situation of far too much American land under cultivation, such reclamation and power projects as the Upper Colorado River Project will put still more acreage to the plow and hence more crops into government inventories.

Should the visiting Russians do research on the background of the American farm problem, they could well start with the unsuccessful McNary-Haugen agricultural bills of the twenties. These bills sought to cure depressed prices caused by World War One overproduction by a two-price system—low foreign prices would be offset by high government-administered domestic prices. In this way, according to the authors of the bills, industry's advantage of tariff protection would be in effect shared by agriculture. The reason for the failure of the McNary-Haugen bills, which twice cleared Congress, was plain: President Calvin Coolidge. President Coolidge, a rock-bound Vermonter, anticipated the repercussions from which we suffer today in his veto messages:

"Government price-fixing, once started, has alike no justice and no end. It is an economic folly from which this country has every right to be spared. . . . There is no reason why other industries —copper, coal, lumber, textiles and others—in every occasional difficulty should not receive the same treatment by the government. Such action would establish bureaucracy on such a scale as to dominate not only the economic life but the moral, social and political future of our people."

Coolidge out of the way, pressure for farm ac-

tion mounted. Ironically, it was the Hoover Administration which signed into existence the Federal Farm Board armed with a $500 million "price stabilization fund." The Board, set up in September 1929, was soon wiped out by the depression. To bat came the Democrats. With them came such farm schemes as "parity," "marketing agreements," an "ever-normal granary," "surplus food stamps," "loans without recourse" and the "Brannan Plan." None of the schemes really worked, and surpluses dogged the New and Fair Deals as they did the Republicans in the twenties and do now. The Brannan Plan, a sort of Guaranteed Annual Wage for farmers, would have let the free market set prices while the Treasury paid direct cash subsidies to the farmers. It never got out of committee.

### The Farm Bloc

Masterminded by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson, Republican strategy to beat the glut problem is to cut down the amount of subsidy through a program semantically camouflaged as "flexible supports." This is a ticklish business; Republicans are painfully aware that the farm vote probably cost them the 1948 election. Moreover, the farm bloc, composed of both Democrats and Republicans, is so powerful that the range of "flexibility" is almost as narrow and as high as the high rigid support level it was to replace. And to make matters worse, last May the Democratically-controlled House voted 206 to 201 to junk "flexible supports" in favor of a high rigid support level. The bill never reached the Senate floor.

Politics being what it is, the farm problem is apparently here to stay. The visiting Russians can rightly be amused. Where is this free enterprise American farmer?

He exists all right. Not all American farmers find shelter under price supports. Far from it. Of the approximately six million farmers, only two-and-a-half million are recipients of the government's largess. The rest—fruit, vegetable and livestock farmers, for example—are generally facing the rigors of a substantially free market economy, and prospering by it. Without supports, these farmers do not face what economists call "disequilibrium"—a prolonged imbalance between production and consumption.

For the cause of disequilibrium in supported commodities, it would do the Russian farm experts little good to consult Marx. Better they dip into the classical economics of David Ricardo and his law of rent. Ricardo explained that as population increased, demand for food increased and more and more land, previously marginal and submarginal, had to be put into cultivation. Naturally, the working of this additional land was dependent on higher crop prices.

The United States support policy works the Ricardian law in reverse. *Before* population and demand increase, crop prices are forced up beyond what the market would have set. The higher prices simultaneously stimulate production and repel consumption, with farmers openly admitting they are producing for government loan and not for the market. For example, 1955 wheat is supported at $2.08 a bushel against average production costs of $1.70; corn at $1.55 against average production costs of $1.20. Little wonder that the Commodity Credit Corporation owns or holds nonrecourse loans on enough wheat and corn to fill freight cars standing five abreast from San Francisco to New York.

The Russians have probably noted other repercussions besides gluts plaguing our farm planners. To stem the flood of crops heading for government storage, the planners resort to acreage limitations and marketing quotas. Marketing quotas violate the spirit if not the letter of our anti-trust laws. Acreage limitations are especially inept, for farmers then cultivate intensively, using such new wonder fertilizers as anhydrous ammonia to boost per-acre yields, and thereby nullify the acreage limitations. Many farmers, moreover, choose to defy the federally-imposed restrictions—either openly or covertly. Last year, for example, some 45,000 farmers were forced into litigation or payment of $8.5 million in cash penalties for acreage or marketing infractions.

International complications are also exacerbated. Our freer trade policy inconsistently includes high tariff walls against crop imports attracted to the U.S. by our supported domestic prices. Recurrent proposals that we "dump" part or all of our surplus abroad alarm and antagonize scores of exporting nations fearful that we will undercut world prices and disorganize world markets.

### A Solution?

Perhaps the exchange of farm delegations between the U.S. and the USSR will work out to everyone's benefit. Communist planners see the bountifulness of the incentive system, even if government-stimulated, in American agriculture. American planners see the sparse diets of Russian socialism. Maybe both sets of planners will conclude that the only workable solution is the free market.

The one bar to the solution is political. In Russia the Communists would have to deny their basic creed of Marxian socialism. In America the farm bloc would have to deny the principle of reciprocity in the web of American intervention. For if in the web the workingman gets a minimum wage, the veteran free schooling and cheap loans, the union boss anti-trust exemption, the industrialist a government contract and tariff protection, what, asks the farmer and the farm bloc, does the farmer get? Or is he the orphan of socialism?

# The Green-Eyed Monster

By LUDWIG VON MISES

*A new book by European economist William E. Rappard analyzes American prosperity and suggests a way to improve economic conditions and raise the standard of living of peoples of "underdeveloped nations."*

The United States is today the world's most prosperous nation. There is no need to dwell upon this fact. Nobody contests it.

But, in the present-day political and ideological climate, riches are held in evil repute. By and large, people look upon the more prosperous with unconcealed envy and hatred. The New Deal philosophy assures that an individual's fortune which exceeds that of the much talked-about common man is ill-gotten and that it is the task of government to equalize wealth and incomes by confiscatory taxation.

### Foreigners View American Prosperity

Most Americans fail to realize that the same ideas that shape the anticapitalistic bias of American domestic policies also determine foreign nations' attitudes toward the United States. The average European—not to speak of the Asiatics and Africans—looks upon the United States with the same envy and hatred which the American "progressive" displays toward American business. He finds fault with America because it is more prosperous than his own country. In his opinion all Americans are bad for the simple reason that they enjoy a higher standard of living than he does. And just as the American "progressive" disparages as bribed "sycophants" of the exploiting bourgeoisie those few economists who have the courage to raise their voices against the New Deal, so the European "progressive" condemns as traitors all statesmen and writers supporting his government's pro-American policy in the Cold War.

The many billions of dollars that the American government has distributed all over the world have not tempered these anti-American sentiments. This aid, say the Socialists, is a mere pittance, a quite insufficient payment on the immense debt that America owes to the rest of mankind. For, by rights, all the wealth of the United States ought to be equally distributed among all the nations. In the opinion of foreign radicals it is an infringement of divine and natural law that the average American lives in a nice gadget-equipped home, and drives a car while millions abroad lack the necessities of a decent existence. It is a shame, they say, that the scions of the peoples who have created Western civilization are living in straitened conditions, while the Americans, mere moneymakers, lead a luxurious life.

In the opinion of the typical foreign "intellectuals" mankind is divided into two classes: the exploiting Americans on the one side and the exploited have-nots on the other side. The communist "intellectuals" put all their hopes on "liberation" by the Soviets. The moderates expect that the United Nations will one day evolve into an effective world government that by means of a progressive world income tax will try to bring about more equality in the distribution of incomes all over the world, just as national income tax laws try to do within their respective countries. Both groups agree in rejecting what they call a pro-American policy on the part of their nation and favor *neutralism* as the first step toward the worldwide establishment of a fair social order.

This blend of anticapitalistic and anti-American sentiments plays an ominous role in present-day world affairs. It excites sympathies for the cause of the Soviets and jeopardizes the best designed attempts to block the further advance of Russian power. It threatens to overthrow Europe's civilization from within.

### Rappard Views American Prosperity

Sober-minded European patriots are worried. They are aware of the dangers that the neutralist ideology generates. They would like to unmask its fallacies. But they are checked by the fact that the essential content of the anti-American doctrine fully agrees with the economic—or rather, pseudo-economic—theories that in their own countries are taught at universities and are accepted by all political parties. From the point of view of the ideas that determine the domestic policies of most European nations—and, for that matter, also those of the United States—the cause of a man's penury is due to the fact that some people have appropriated too much to themselves. Hence the only efficacious remedy is to bring about by government interference a more equal distribution of what is called the national income. No argument whatever can be discovered to show that this doctrine and the practical conclusions derived from it ought to be limited to conditions within a nation and should not also be applied in international relations in

order to equalize the distribution of world income.

The ideological obstacles that stand in the way of a European who wants to attack the prevailing anti-American mentality seem therefore almost insurmountable. The more remarkable is the fact that an eminent author, braving all these difficulties, has published an essay that goes to the heart of the matter.

Professor William E. Rappard is not unknown to the American public. An outstanding historian and economist, this Genevese who was born in New York, graduated from an American university and taught at Harvard, is the world's foremost expert in the field of international political and economic relations. His contributions to political philosophy, first of all those expounded in 1938 in his book *The Crisis of Democracy,* will be remembered in the history of ideas as the most powerful refutation of the doctrines of communism and nazism. There are but few authors whose judgment, competence, and impartiality enjoy a prestige equal to that of Rappard.

In his new book* Professor Rappard is neither pro-American nor anti-American. With cool detachment he tries to bring out in full relief the factors that account for the economic superiority of the United States. He starts by marshaling the statistical data and proceeds with a critical examination of the explanations provided by some older and newer authors. Then comes his own analysis of the causes of American prosperity. As Professor Rappard sees it, these causes can be put together under four broad headings: mass production, the application of science to production, the passion for productivity and the spirit of competition.

The political importance of Professor Rappard's conclusions is to be seen in the fact that they ascribe American prosperity fully to factors operating within the United States. America's present-day economic superiority is a purely American phenomenon. It is an achievement of Americans. It is in no way caused or furthered by anything that would harm foreign nations. There is no question of exploitation of the "have-nots." No non-American is needy because there is well-being in America. Professor Rappard carefully avoids any allusion to the heated controversy concerning the European nations' attitudes toward the United States. He does not even mention the exploitation doctrine and the complaints of the self-styled have-nots. But his book demolishes these counterfeit doctrines and, by implication, the political programs derived from them.

It can hardly be disputed, says Professor Rappard, "that the wealth of a country very largely depends on the will of the nation. Other things being equal, then, a country will be richer and its economy will be more productive in proportion as its inhabitants want it to be." America is prosperous because its people wanted prosperity and resorted to policies fitted to the purpose.

### Prosperity and Capital

The operation of the four factors to which Professor Rappard attributes the superior productivity of labor in the United States is certainly not confined to the United States. They are characteristic features of the capitalist mode of production that originated in Western Europe and only later came to the United States. Mass production was the essential innovation of the Industrial Revolution. In earlier ages craftsmen produced with primitive tools in small workshops almost exclusively for the needs of a limited number of well-to-do. The factory system inaugurated new methods of production as well as marketing. Cheap goods for the many were and are its objective. It is this principle that—combined with the principle of competition—accounts for the expansion of the most efficient enterprises and the disappearance of inefficient ones.

It is true that these tendencies are today more powerful in the United States than in European countries this side of the Iron Curtain. But this is principally due to the fact that political antagonism to big business and its superior competitive power set in earlier and is more drastic in Europe than in the United States, and has therefore more vigorously curbed "the rugged individualism" of business. The difference which in this regard exists between Europe and America is a difference of degree, not of kind.

With regard to the application of science to production and the passion for productivity, there is little, if any, difference between America and Europe. There is no need to stress the fact that the passion to make his outfit as productive as possible is strong in every businessman. Concerning the application of science to production, Professor Rappard observes that the most knowledgeable and sincere American writers recognize "that the most fruitful investigations of recent years have nearly all been carried out by Europeans working either in their own countries or in American laboratories." Not the discovery of new theoretical truth, Monsieur Rappard goes on to say, but the rapid and constantly improved application of discoveries of any origin whatsoever explains the industrial lead of the United States.

In enunciating this fact, Professor Rappard gives us the decisive answer to the problem he has investigated. America's industrial superiority is due to the circumstance that its plants, workshops, farms and mines are equipped with better and more efficient tools and machines. Therefore, the marginal productivity of labor and consequently wage rates are higher than anywhere else. As the

*William E. Rappard, *The Secret of American Prosperity,* translated from the original French by Kenneth A. J. Dickson, with a Foreword by Henry Hazlitt. New York, Greenberg—A Corwin Book. $3.50

average quantity and quality of goods produced in the same period of time by the same number of hands is greater and better, more and better goods are available for consumption. Here we have the "secret" of American prosperity.

With some insignificant exceptions, there is no secrecy whatever about the best modern methods of production. They are taught at numerous technological universities and described in textbooks and technological magazines. Thousands of highly gifted youths from economically backward countries have acquired full knowledge of them at the educational institutions and in the workshops of the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany and other Western countries. Besides, a great many American engineers, chemists and agriculturists are prepared to offer their expert services to the business of the so-called underdeveloped nations.

Every intelligent businessman—not only in western Europe, but no less in all other countries—is obsessed by the urge to furnish his enterprise with the most efficient modern equipment. How is it then that in spite of all these facts the American (and Canadian) firms alone make full use of modern technological achievements and by far outstrip the industries of all other countries?

It is the insufficient supply of capital that prevents the rest of the world from adjusting its industries to the most efficient ways of production. Technological "know how" and the "passion for productivity" are useless if the capital required for the acquisition of new equipment and the inauguration of new methods is lacking.

What made modern capitalism possible and enabled the nations first of western Europe and later of central Europe and North America to eclipse the rest of mankind in productivity was the fact that they created the political, legal and institutional conditions that made capital accumulation safe. What prevents India, for example, from replacing its host of inefficient cobblers with shoe factories is only the lack of capital. As the Indian government virtually expropriates foreign capitalists and obstructs capital formation by natives, there is no way to remedy this situation. The result is that millions are barefoot in India while the average American buys several pairs of shoes every year.

America's present economic supremacy is due to the plentiful supply of capital. The allegedly progressive policies that slow down saving and capital accumulation, or even bring about dissaving and capital decumulation, came later to the United States than to most European countries. While Europe was being impoverished by excessive armaments, colonial adventures, anticapitalistic policies and finally by wars and revolutions, the United States was committed to a free enterprise policy. At that time Europeans used to stigmatize American economic policies as socially backward. But it was precisely this alleged social backwardness that accounted for an amount of capital accumulation that by far surpassed the amount of capital available in other countries. When later the New Deal began to imitate the anticapitalistic policies of Europe, America had already acquired an advantage that it still retains today.

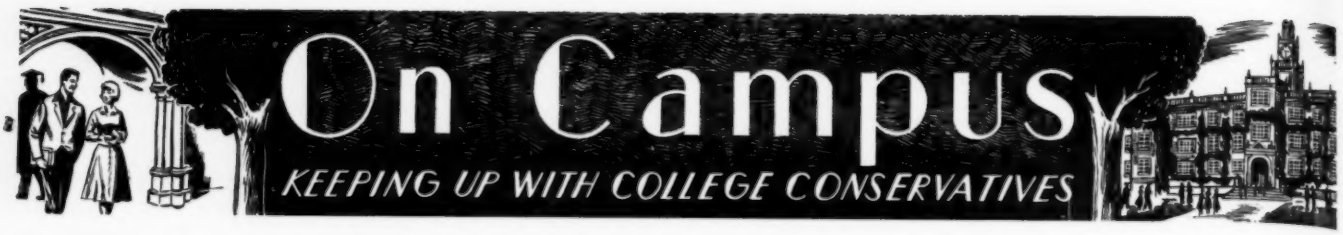
Wealth does not consist, as Marx said, in a collection of commodities, but in a collection of capital goods. Such a collection is the result of previous saving. The antisaving doctrines of what is, paradoxically enough, called New Economics, first developed by Messrs. Foster and Catchings and then reshaped by Lord Keynes, are untenable. If one wants to improve economic conditions, to raise the productivity of labor, wage rates and the peoples' standard of living, one must accumulate more capital goods in order to invest more and more. And there is no other way to increase the amount of capital available than to expand saving by doing away with all ideological and institutional factors that hinder saving or even directly make for dissaving and capital decumulation.

This is what the "underdeveloped nations" need to learn.

## What Is a Semantic?

If you have been reading much lately, you no doubt have come across the word "semantics," and you have probably wondered just what a "semantic" is. A semantic is very important. Skill with the semantic and a consequent ability to destroy the English language have been necessary for the success of the New Deal liberal. As an example, consider the terms "political democracy" and "economic democracy." Because the "political" variety nurtured freedom, "democracy" became a prestige word. It meant the *absence* of governmental controls. The New Deal grabbed off the word and came panting forward with something called "economic democracy." This meant the *imposition* of governmental controls. Don't try to conjure up a definition for "democracy" on the basis of these two usages. It can't be done. In the one case it means "freedom," in the other it means "slavery." That's a semantic.

M. STANTON EVANS




*This month marks the first appearance in the* FREEMAN *of an "On Campus" section — summaries of ideas and activities written by college students. We have begun it in recognition of the uprising which, in various guises, is taking place on American campuses. Protesting vigorously against the still-fashionable orthodoxy of collectivism, today's rebels style themselves in many ways—as conservatives, libertarians, individualists. All of these labels signify one important thing —a common feeling of frustration at the ethical and intellectual impotence of the liberal conformism.*

**NOTRE DAME** (Notre Dame, Ind.): —There is an obvious lack of interest here, generally speaking, in any political movement, be it libertarian or collectivist. The only outlet for political discussion is the Academy of Political Science, which presents a number of very interesting programs, one of which is a mock national convention held every four years.

My own conservative activities are limited to informal discussions with friends who are of the same mind, and they are few. Any attempt to organize conservatives would no doubt be frowned upon from all channels, and thus conservatives at Notre Dame will have to continue hibernating until a more pronounced interest in politics appears in the student body.

RICHARD V. ALLEN, '56

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**CARLETON COLLEGE** (Northfield, Minn.):—Libertarians at Carleton are sometimes able to get together in our Economics Club, but otherwise there is practically no formal organization of activities here. By way of making some headway against the "liberal" climate of opinion, I am going to try to have one program every other week on our college radio station (KARL), discussing ideas circulated by the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. I hope it will work out into a kind of round-table discussion.

ALDEN M. COHEN, '56

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**YALE** (New Haven, Conn.):—The conservative program for the 1955-56 session at Yale will, as during the last year, center about the dual activities of the Independent Library (newly remodelled and containing over 200 libertarian and conservative books) and the Calliopean Society. The latter organization, a debating group, will hold a series of meetings at which members will meet and discuss political and economic problems with leading libertarian speakers and noted members of the Yale faculty. The Independent Library will continue publication of *The Independent*, the campus newspaper which surveys and criticizes course and text material from a conservative vantage point. Both groups will be happy to cooperate in an attempt to establish contact with similar organizations at other colleges, and to extend any possible assistance to them.

ALAN P. BUCHMANN, '56

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*(At Harvard University, two conservative groups are functioning. One is the Harvard Conservative League, and the other is the New Conservative Club. Both have projected ambitious plans for the future. This month we carry a report from the Conservative League, with one from the Conservative Club to follow in our next issue.*—ED.)

**HARVARD** (Cambridge, Mass.):—The Harvard Conservative League was formed almost two years ago, in protest against the variety of speakers which were being offered the university audience. Owen Lattimore had spoken here for the fifth or sixth time in a few years. We organized our group to bring conservative speakers to address the Harvard community. Last year we presented John T. Flynn and Russell Kirk, both with great success. This fall we expect to present Senator Jenner, William F. Buckley, Jr., Carroll Reece, and perhaps Senator Mundt. Our biggest plan for the future is to establish a newsletter much like that at Yale, *The Independent*. Before this may be done, however, we shall need to solicit more active members and also more outside financial support.

KENNETH E. THOMPSON, '56

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**INDIANA** (Bloomington, Ind.):—The Indiana Young Republican Club is again in conservative hands, as it has been for the last five years. This year we are planning to have guest speakers periodically. Congressional committee hearings and trips make it difficult for us to acquire many persons whom we desire. As of now, however, we have John Beamer, Indiana 5th District, and Ralph Harvey, Indiana's 10th District. During the second semester, we are thinking of joining the Democrats in sponsoring two or three debates between a good conservative and a New Dealer. Last year Chuck Brownson did a good job against Paul Butler. The students seem to go for programs of that nature. JAMES S. RABER, '56

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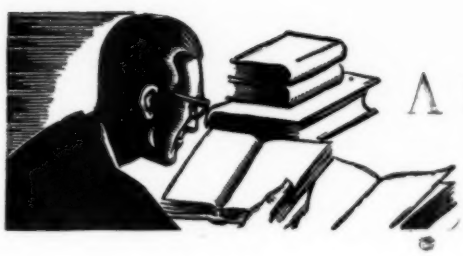
**AND FROM HIGH SCHOOLS**:—In Indianapolis, Indiana, a libertarian Youth Seminar was held, attended by high school students from all over Marion County. The speakers included Senator Jenner, Karl Baarslag, and E. Merrill Root. The students are enthusiastic in their desire to understand what, to them, are new and unusual ideas. Out of the seminar has grown an organization called "Young Americans for the Republic." The vigor and determination of these young people demonstrate that a conservative revolution is possible, and—if the field work is done—on its way as a reality. —ED.



# A Reviewer's Notebook

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

**Alistair Cooke,** a British newspaper correspondent who has never been particularly perceptive in his understanding of America (he wrote a dull-witted book on the Hiss-Chambers case), has edited a surprisingly good anthology called *The Vintage Mencken* (240 pp., New York: Vintage Books, 95 cents). His aim has been to present H. L. Mencken material in a way that serves to give a running account of the old fox's life as he lived and wrote it, beginning with the adventures of a joyous urchin in the Baltimore of the eighties and coming on down to the wearied and urbane reporter whose last assignment was to cover the Progressive Party convention of 1948, which nominated Henry Wallace for the Presidency. Since Mencken never got around to writing about his own boyhood and youth until late middle life, the Cooke schematization naturally puts the mature Mencken style up to the very front of the anthology. But the early Mencken made up in gusto what he lacked in mellowness, so there is no letdown in any section of the book. It is all Mencken, and it is all wonderful.

Mr. Cooke provides an introduction which notes that Mencken was a great humorist and a consummate craftsman with words. He also says that Mencken was overrated in his day as a thinker. One can agree with Mr. Cooke on all these counts, but the fact remains that Mencken, though not particularly penetrating as a critic of religion or philosophy, was far sounder on politics than his latest anthologizer supposes. Moreover, Mencken had a way of making political points that provokes the reader to do a lot of thinking for himself. This is the mark of the great teacher, yet Mr. Cooke does not seem to be particularly aware that Mencken, the enemy of pedagogues, was himself one of the most able of the tribe. He was more than a humorist, more than an artist with words; he was also a Socratic influence on the young. If a number of writers survived the dreadful mental collapse of the thirties to take up with the libertarianism of their youth in the forties and fifties, it is because Mencken was around in their salad days writing those marvelous things about "The Archangel Woodrow" and Mr. Justice Holmes as an enemy of the Bill of Rights.

**Mencken** was a personal journalist who dealt in invective and abuse, and in being incurably personal in his methods he ran many risks. But he got away with it all by virtue of the one thing that sets him apart from Westbrook Pegler, who has almost as many gifts as a humorist and a craftsman. What made Mencken continuously effective as a personal journalist is that he never allowed himself to become flustered into anger. There was no vindictiveness in him, no rage, no heave and sweat. He was prodigal with his name-calling, his vituperation, and his deadly use of the invidious adjective. But the personalities were always delivered with an air of great aplomb, as from an Olympian height. And there was always the grin and the dancing points of light in the Mencken eyes when the last sentence had been committed to paper.

The Olympian attitude made him singularly easy to take, particularly in his later career when he began to avoid too great an indulgence in his own particular clichés, many of them adapted from the German. If Pegler would go back and read Mencken it would be the real making of him, for Pegler has all the Mencken abilities, and an even better change of pace. But to achieve the Menckenian calm involves getting a strangle hold on one's adrenals, which is not an easy thing to do in a time when charlatans have such power for evil. No doubt Mencken's own adrenals worked overtime when he contemplated certain types of social and political lunacy, but he never betrayed the fact when he sat down to his typewriter. He always had himself under firm control, and the anger, if it were there to begin with, was firmly suppressed. If it emerged at all, it was in the delayed bite of a tellingly funny phrase.

**The first time** one reads Mencken on Calvin Coolidge, for example, one simply laughs uproariously. But reading Mencken on Coolidge the second time over, one begins to note the way he gets his effects. The trick lies in praising Coolidge for what, in most men, would be an egregious fault. Coolidge, says Mencken, "slept more than any other President, whether by day or by night. Nero fiddled, but Coolidge only snored. When the crash came at last and Hoover began to smoke and bubble, good Cal was safe in Northampton, and still in the hay."

The Coolidge gift for "self-induced narcolepsy" was, in Mencken's estimation, a blessing beyond computation. For with a President who was devoted to drowsing away his afternoons in the White House, "the ideal of Jefferson was realized at last, and the Jeffersonians were delighted." Says Mencken in peroration: "We suffer most, not when the White House is a peaceful dormitory, but when it is a jitney mars

hill, with a tin-pot Paul bawling from the roof. . . . There were no thrills when [Coolidge] reigned, but neither were there any headaches. He had no ideas, and he was not a nuisance."

The bit on Coolidge explains why Mencken's personal journalism was, in the last analysis, not so very personal after all. Actually, Mencken was not particularly interested in scoring points off "good Cal's" somnolence. What he really wanted to do was to use Coolidge as a peg on which to hang a libertarian's theory of government. He lured his readers on by staging a show, and the pedagogue's lesson emerges slyly from what at first blush seems a mere welter of gossip and buffoonery.

**The Mencken trick** with Mr. Justice Holmes is to picture the man as a legal conformist who concurred in the judgment of the Supreme Court in a ratio of eight or ten to one. But it is neither Holmes' prevailing conformity nor his occasional talent for heterodox utterance that interests Mencken. What worried Mencken about the good Justice was his willingness to let the legislative arm of government, whether in Washington or in the state capitals, violate the Bill of Rights whenever a majority so decreed. "If this is liberalism," says Mencken, "then all I can say is that liberalism is not what it was when I was young. In those remote days, sucking wisdom from the primeval springs, I was taught that the very aim of the Constitution was to keep lawmakers from running amok, and that it was the highest duty of the Supreme Court, following *Marbury vs. Madison,* to safeguard it against their forays. It was not sufficient, so my instructors maintained, for Congress or a state legislature to give assurance that its intentions were noble; noble or not, it had to keep squarely within the limits of the Bill of Rights, and the moment it went beyond them its most virtuous acts were null and void."

So, as in the case of the essay on Calvin Coolidge, Mencken is only incidentally writing about a man in his review of a book called *The Dissenting Opinions of Mr. Justice Holmes.* He pays his respects to the "peculiar salacity" of Holmes' opinions, he mentions the Justice's considerable talent for epigram, he kids the "liberals" for their failure to see that Holmes is, actually, a conservative. But the piece on Holmes is a mere excuse for getting across Mencken's own ideas about the desirability of a form of government that will protect individuals in their rights against the presumption of their legislators. Again, the end of Mencken's "personal" journalism is an impersonal lesson, one that stands true for any place and any time. The name-calling is merely part of the fun; it is the barker's titillating cry designed to lure the crowd into the tent, not the main part of the show.

**Alistair Cooke** has assembled forty-nine Mencken items, some short, some long, and all of them representative of the man. Long or short, there is never an ounce of padding in the prose. The use of a standard phrase is so rare that it sticks out like the nose on Jimmy Durante's face whenever it occurs. Describing a revival meeting which he observed in Tennessee during the month of the Scopes trial, Mencken wrote about a penitent female who "began with mild enough jerks of the head, but in a moment she was bounding all over the place, like a chicken with its head cut off. Every time her head came up a stream of hosannas would issue out of it. Once she collided with a dark, undersized brother, hitherto silent and stolid. Contact with her set him off as if he had been kicked by a mule. He leaped into the air, threw back his head, and began to gargle as if with a mouthful of BB shot. Then he loosed one tremendous, stentorian sentence in the tongues, and collapsed."

**H. L. Mencken**

This description was part of a dispatch tossed off for the Baltimore *Sun* on a roaring hot Sunday afternoon in a Chattanooga hotel room. What is chiefly remarkable about the dispatch is that the particular phrase "chicken with its head cut off" is the only cliché in some three thousand words of hot newspaper copy. All the rest is fresh, original, and 100 per cent Mencken.

Alistair Cooke says that Shaw was Mencken's "superior" in intellect and in satirical power, which is entirely doubtful. But Cooke does have the good sense to note that Mencken lacks the "shrill spinster note that in the end wearies all but the most dedicated of Shaw's disciples." Anyway, whether it is a matter of mere style or fundamental intellect, Mencken seems to be wearing better than Shaw these days. I personally think he will be read when Shaw is forgotten. The truth is that Shaw's ideas were very ordinary; they were merely a somewhat pointed parroting of the mildewed Fabian gabble that was on every "advanced" thinker's tongue in England from the eighteen eighties to the nineteen forties. Mencken's ideas on religion are not vastly different from those of any so-called freethinker of his time, which would put him on a par with Shaw for shallow conventionality here. But Mencken on politics is vastly superior to Shaw.

Since his style—to quote Cooke—emerged in late years as "purified and mellowed . . . a style flexible, fancy-free, ribald, and always beautifully lucid," Mencken should last a long time as pure literature. When college English teachers and professors of journalism begin to use Mencken as a model, then we may begin to get some good writing again in the young.

## Philosophic Decline

**The Age of Belief**, by Anne Fremantle, 224 pp., $2.75. **The Age of Analysis**, by Morton White, 253 pp., $3.00. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company

*The Age of Belief* is a beautiful and important book. Anne Fremantle has the depth and scope, the precise yet vivid style, to sum up and project this great period in human thought.

She presents the living minds of the Middle Ages as they passionately added to life a fourth dimension of thought. She says: "But neither St. Augustine, nor St. Thomas, nor any other medieval philosopher, was content just to accept what Plato or Aristotle (or anyone else) had said. The essence of philosophy is that it must be fresh; it can never come out of a can; every philosopher has to ask the old questions anew and to produce fresh answers. Thus each new philosopher builds a new story onto the house he has inherited, the house that we all inhabit, the house of human wisdom."

Yet the philosophers of the Age of Belief worked in the cosmic frame of a great coherent world view: Christianity. Tolstoi, in *What Is Religion?*, rightly said that philosophy or science discovers in detail only what was already implicit in the total religious world view which was its premise and controlling design; also, that any philosophy or science is retrogressive and partial if it sinks below the highest world view that is possible in its time. In the medieval world Christianity was the highest possible world view —as it still is. (I do not mean this ethically, I mean it metaphysically.) The philosophers of the Age of Belief had the advantage that, beginning with Christianity, they were naturally creative and profound; whereas most philosophers of the Age of Analysis have no coherent world view: not knowing the living tree in its integrity of life, they begin with the fallen leaves and the amputated twigs which they dehydrate, and thus inevitably end with a few dead splinters that they suppose a philosophy.

Also the philosophers of the Age of Belief were not intellects that once were men, but men using their intellects to think. All the great philosophers — Heraclitus, Plato, Aristotle, Bruno, Spinoza, Schopenhauer—never have regarded philosophy as a way of dehydrating life with intellect, but as a form of creative consciousness that pulses with the blood of life itself. Philosophy, to them, was not a fraction (intellect) abrogating special privilege for its limited partiality, but life as a whole looking at itself with rich concrete vision in order to discover *and use* a way of life.

Most of us today have no conception of the richness, depth, variety, of the medieval mind. Anne Fremantle helps us to step into that world of freer winds and clearer suns, as a noble imaginative adventure. She shows us, too, the final sad collapse of that great world, as philosophy lost the creative energy of belief and tried to amuse itself with quibbles, semantics, analysis.

By comparison, *The Age of Analysis* is brash, small, disappointing. Morton White has neither the travelled mind nor the literary style of Anne Fremantle; he is unable to rise and survey from above the philosophers he projects. His choice is narrow, intolerant, limited. He does not admit a single Christian philosopher into his book, and his own preference (among those he does choose) is for the bleakly analytical and the baldly empirical. Husserl, Carnap, Wittgenstein, moreover, are hardly of a stature to be called—much less chosen. Of the others selected for major treatment, Dewey (to any philosophic mind) is not a philosopher at all, while Jean-Paul Sartre is a cheap-jack barker at a literary side show. If literary philosophers are to be admitted, why prefer a nonentity like Sartre to a great man and mind like Miguel de Unamuno? Why omit Maritain? Or C. S. Lewis? Or Charles Morgan?

White dislikes the transcendental and metaphysical; he is incapable of understanding either. He dismisses scornfully the tradition of Emerson in American thought, preferring the hasty and use-fixated pragmatists.

He does not even seem to realize that the best of his philosophers—Bergson, Croce, Santayana — stem from the great tradition that is not analysis but synthesis. In general, if he ever finds himself in the presence of a mountain, he turns to the nearest molehill of a G. E. Moore, a John Dewey, a Jean-Paul Sartre.

These two books reveal in concrete terrible reality the devolution of philosophy from the medieval to the modern. Abandoning the highest (and deepest) world conception, Christianity in the metaphysical sense, the modern mind loses itself in shadows and illusions, and amuses itself with withered leaves and sapless splinters. This devolution illustrates anew Vergil's great phrase for the great truth: *"facilis descensus Averno."* As always, broad is the road and easy the descent into death: it is a popular four-lane highway for supercharged philosophers. The pity is that they help to wreck not only themselves, but also civilization.

E. MERRILL ROOT

## Not Pretty

**Beyond Courage**, by Clay Blair, Jr. 247 pp. New York: David McKay Company, Inc. $3.50

"For a minute, Shadduck sat stunned. His mind whirled wildly with visions of his hand dropping off into his lap. Then, in a frenzy, he tore at the bandage, ripping it to shreds, pulling off large pieces of scab and skin with it. He looked in horror: maggots crawled all over the burned, rotting, pussy mess that was his hand."

Not very pretty—but then neither is war. Korea was a political battle fought to a standstill defeat by our politicians. Soldiers, of course, did the dying.

Appropriately, this book is a tribute to the soldiers—in particular, to the men who refused to die. It is exclusively concerned with Air Force pilots shot down behind enemy lines, but one recognizes in the protagonists of these gripping tales qualities universal to the fighting man.

For each of these five pilots to escape, incredible fortitude was necessary. Lieutenant Summersill was wounded. His feet were frozen. But he walked 43 miles in 40 hours, and in weather more than 40 degrees below zero. Captain Thomas spent 71 days flat on his back in caves not much larger than roomy graves. Week after week, Colonel

Schinz watched air rescue planes ignore his distress signals as he slowly starved.

These nightmare existences required an endurance animals don't have. The men were forced to such extremities of physical and spiritual want that they were driven to the twin alternatives: Jim lay down and died; Shadduck prayed and lived. Animals are confined to their bodies. They cannot transcend the limits of their strength. But man, *Beyond Courage* reminds us over and over again, has a resort beyond the last resort. If he is so constituted that he can make use of this resort, his ability to take the most severe bodily and mental stresses is unlimited.

The four stories Mr. Blair recounts deal only with the men who "made it." A great part of the tension of the book arises from the thought which cannot be ignored: what of the countless numbers who did not make it? Some of them may have had equal attributes of mind and body. Some of them may have shared a faith in God which held them up to the last. Many of them, perhaps, endured tortures similar or greater than those tortures suffered by these brave men; only to die.

Repeatedly, as the magnificent stories are reflected upon, the thought intrudes: for what? The pity of it is that so much sacrifice, such wonderful, awe-inspiring grit should have been betrayed at the diplomats' table. A maggot from one of Lieutenant Shadduck's wounds makes obscene the pens which signed the meaning out of his sacrifice. These stories prove that man is noble always, in spite of his masters; a quixotic *beau geste* in the darkness which surrounds him.

F. R. BUCKLEY

## The Southern Side

**Then My Old Kentucky Home, Goodnight!** by W. E. Debnam, 135 pp. 1313 Williamson Drive, Raleigh, N. C. $1.00

Despite the volumes written on the racial segregation issue since the 1954 school decision of the Supreme Court there has been, till now, no comprehensive popular statement of the Southern position offered the public. At last W. E. Debnam, noted Southern radio commentator and author, has come forward with a calm, reasoned and carefully documented presentation of that position. No apology, but rather a frank avowal, it presents a side of the question one should hear before reaching a final decision. And it does the job in a very readable and entertaining manner.

The theme of this book may be said to be that "Race consciousness is not race prejudice; it is a deeply ingrained awareness of a birthright held in trust for posterity." This work contains no element of racial hostility. It is sympathetic in its approach to the Negro, and while frankly advocating the principle of segregation, does so on the premise that it is the policy ultimately most conducive to the welfare of both races.

Debnam accepts and argues for the Southern assumption, basic to segregation, that unrestricted social intercourse will lead inevitably to intermarriage, and that widespread amalgamation of such dissimilar races has been uniformly unsatisfactory to all concerned, wherever tried.

While the court decision is the principal subject of the book, there are numerous passages of factual and historical interest dealing with Negro-white relations in America and elsewhere. The history of Negroes in America, the record of integration wherever tried, and the economic progress and problems of American Negroes are a few of the subjects covered.

The integration decision of the Supreme Court is, of course, roundly condemned. Numerous anecdotes are given regarding the authors of that decision. One of the most illuminating passages of the entire book is a description of the background of Dr. Gunnar Myrdal's book on which that decision is apparently based.

Differences within the Negro community as to the proper approach to the racial problem are discussed, together with brief histories of several prominent Negro leaders.

The book is not, however, an attempt to whitewash the South. "Jim Crowism" is denounced as unjustifiable morally and practically. The current "citizens' council" movement springing up in some Southern states is recognized for the incipient danger it is. Debnam frankly recognizes that there has been much injustice to the Negro in the South, as well as elsewhere. Several widespread romantic myths about the South are exploded. The Southerner is portrayed as an ordinary, decent individual seeking a fair solution to a well-nigh insuperable problem.

Debnam concludes with a constructive suggestion for approaching the school problem, which, if it should survive probable NAACP court attack, would preserve the principle of public education and protect the now endangered right of the individual to choose freely his associates. The proposal is that the public schools be racially integrated, according to Supreme Court fiat, but that the states reimburse white or Negro pupils up to a reasonable amount for tuition to private schools, if they preferred these schools. It is a solution deserving widespread attention and probably would have as good a chance of surviving court action as any approach heretofore suggested.

National publishers seem either to fear or to object to an out-and-out presentation of Southern racial views. Including one great Southern publishing house, they even refused to read the manuscript of this book! This, although the book is in good taste and the last book by the author has, to date, sold some 210,000 copies.

JAMES FRANCIS MILLER

## Stalin's Triumph

**The Interregnum,** 1923-1924, by Edward Hallett Carr. 392 pp. New York: The Macmillan Company. $5.00

This fourth volume of Mr. Carr's history of Soviet Russia covers the period from Lenin's second and final breakdown in March 1923, until the Thirteenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party in the spring of 1924. This was, as the title suggests, a period of interregnum, when there was no clear replacement for Lenin's leadership.

However, by the time of Lenin's death, in January 1924, the first round of what might be called the war of Leninite Succession had been fought and won against Trotsky, long bracketed with Lenin as one

of the two supreme leaders of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution, by the triumvirate composed of Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev.

Triumvirates have seldom, if ever, proved durable instruments of rule. One recalls Caesar, Pompey and Crassus in Rome and Robespierre, Danton and Marat in the French Revolution. The time would come when Stalin would not only discard his partners, Zinoviev and Kamenev, but would include them and all the surviving members of the Politburo, highest executive organ of the Communist Party as it was composed at the time of Lenin's death, in one vast batch of "liquidations."

But this is a story for future books. Of the four volumes which Mr. Carr has published, this is distinctly the best. The first volume was conceived along a very peculiar plan—the personalities, the events, the historical drama of the Revolution being pushed into the background in favor of dry disquisitions on points of Marxist and Leninist doctrine. The second and third volumes were devoted to topical studies of economics and foreign policy in the first years of the Revolution.

In the present work the author takes up the political, economic and foreign policy aspects of the Soviet regime during a limited period and produces a much sharper and more coherent picture. His diligent scholarship is worthy of high praise and extends to very small details, such as the underground groups which sprang up during the NEP.

The pro-collectivist bias which could be criticized in the first volume is not to be found in the present work. The author constructs a plausible and objective narrative of a period which has been very one-sidedly described by Stalinite and Trotskyite special pleaders.

Apart from the loss of Lenin's guiding hand, the Communist Party faced a severe economic crisis in 1923—with the industrial workers, in theory the rulers of the country, worse off than they had been under the Tsars, and the peasants suffering from a tremendous spread, to their disadvantage, between industrial and agricultural prices.

These two factors helped to bring about an upsurge of demands for democracy within the Communist Party, especially among students and younger party members. Had Trotsky realized that he faced a life-and-death struggle for power, he might have ousted his rivals, seized power and changed the course of Soviet history. But Stalin outmaneuvered him at every turn; and a mysterious illness, which took Trotsky out of political activity in the months before and after Lenin's death, sealed his political fate.

From this conscientious and reliable narrative the reader may draw two morals: there is no lasting quality about freedom that is jealously restricted to the membership of a ruling party; and if economic freedom is suppressed by a ruling bureaucracy, political and personal liberty are certain to be additional casualties.

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

## Decay, Then and Now

**The Years of the City,** by George R. Stewart. 567 pp. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $4.50

Phrax is a Greek city-state. You will not find it referred to in any book about ancient Greece, either historical or mythological. It is the creation of George R. Stewart, a novelist who is as much a scholar as a storyteller.

According to the oracle, which sent this pioneer fleet on its way to found a new city, the establishment would last for little more than three generations. And so, Stewart proceeds to tell the story of Phrax, from its inception, growth, achievement of greatness, decadence and decline. When you are finished with the 567 pages, you have been treated to a good story; also a cameo history of civilization.

If you are so inclined, you will find in this unfoldment of the life of a city-state much that is applicable to what we know of the rise and fall of Rome and, more particularly, what we see about us in America. There is even a hint of what happens to the basic laws of a political institution when the moral fiber of the people begins to disintegrate, and what Stewart says of the Laws of Zenotor is strongly suggestive of the American Constitution.

Stewart tells a story and at no point descends to didacticism. Nevertheless, you can hardly help seeing a parallel with America in the increase in taxes, the centralization of power, the decadence of its intellectuals, even in the abandonment of a volunteer army for conscription, in the mythical city-state of Phrax.

F. C.

## Modern Gulliver

**The Dollar Dilemma,** by Melchior Palyi. 208 pp. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. $2.75

To those who think the Europeanization of America is taking place, and wonder how it will turn out, this small book is a gold mine of factual information. It is valuable also to American businessmen interested in foreign trade and investments. To high school and college lads debating the pros and cons of a free market economy, it is a one-volume library.

No one is better qualified to report on conditions in the European countries than Dr. Palyi, a distinguished economist born in Hungary, who had years of experience in the banking world abroad and was economic adviser to Germany's largest bank before he came to America in 1933. He knows the score.

His main theme is that United States economic aid to European countries should be stopped, both in our interest and theirs. But collateral to this, Dr. Palyi describes in fascinating detail the maze of governmental interventionism and political red tape that strangles the domestic and foreign business of both Britain and the continental countries.

If Jonathan Swift had never written *Gulliver's Travels,* but was looking for a giant enmeshed in a web woven by little men, he could have found ample data for his satire in this description of Europe two hundred years after his death. As every sticky thread encircling one man is another man's legally protected racket, no one will let go of his own little privilege for the sake of his country. The fatherland becomes submerged as the slow accretion of privilege, subsidized by the United States, gathers momentum.

The dollar dilemma, in Dr. Palyi's view, boils down to the simple but acute problem of anyone, or everybody, living beyond their means. He pays his respects to the give-it-away propagandists on both sides of the Atlantic, including Mr. Paul Hoffman, one-time Marshall Plan administrator, who said it would be "an immoral act" for the United States to extend to Europe repayable loans! Strange is the power of this "collective guilt complex," built up by people who expect to profit by having payment for their exports guaranteed by the American taxpayers.

He quotes the *London Times* as telling Britons that they "have had a holiday from reality long enough." The economic and moral deterioration of living on perpetual boondoggles from a rich and fatuous uncle is presented in minute detail.

He tells of a group of islanders waiting for a relief boat bringing goods for which they would not have to pay. One of them said: "If it were not for the famine, nobody could live here!" Every page is studded with facts and figures showing the effects of trying to live without the sweat of one's own brow. All of which is contrary to the teaching of Genesis, chapter 3, verse 19. Would that our smiling President might get away for a week in a wilderness cabin and read *The Dollar Dilemma.*

SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL

## Every Man an Island

**Our Yankee Heritage,** by Carleton Beals. 311 pp. New York: David McKay Co. $4.00

"What is history," asked Napoleon, "but a fable agreed upon?" And though he was hardly allowing for the degree of policed agreement which *Pravda's* fables would require a century later, still he was probably right. We do take our history in the rough, just as we take our geography. For the complex profile of inlets, bays, peninsulas and atolls which may really make up a coastline, we let our maps substitute a thick, unwavering line. And in the same way, for the bristling enterprise that went on in New England from 1620 to the first years of the Republic, we substitute calendar tableaux: the Pilgrims Landing, the First Thanksgiving, the Boston Tea Party, and so forth.

In *Our Yankee Heritage,* Carleton Beals very engagingly dilates this era into keen, lively focus. Without ever being owlish, he has interwoven his text with bits from contemporary diaries, town records, family papers that represent long, loving research. And the stories he tells about the clock industry, the first iron foundries, about Charles Goodyear and Eli Whitney and an extraordinary man named Abel Buell, who made the first map of the United States ever engraved in America, are all fascinating.

But most moving of all is his reconstruction of the day-by-day experience and resourcefulness of the one hundred men and women we call the Pilgrims, from the bleak November day their boat entered Cape Cod Harbor through their long, bitter first winter at Plymouth. It is a harrowing story. Reading it, I wished all the school children in

America could hear it this fall. Better still: I wish they could spend an entire semester discussing its events, people, and human values. I believe it would teach a so-called "civics" class, or a "social studies" class, more about society, government, liberty, law, not to mention courage, endurance, piety, God, agriculture, self-defense, minority groups, and the sheer mystery of human pluck than all the American History Outlines ever printed.

It would also teach them something about communism, with and without a capital C. On December 25, six weeks after arriving, the Pilgrims began to build their first house at Plymouth. It was a communal house, called "The Rendezvous." But a week later lots were drawn for individual dwellings. Then, reports William Bradford's journal, "we agreed that every man should build his own house," for all would *"make more haste than working in Common."* (my italics.)

This is something which not only our school children, but our President, Congress and Supreme Court might ponder. It has become an almost unquestioned assumption about human nature that a man works better when "working in Common," and that John Donne was right when he said that "no man is an island." This isn't wholly true. We are not merely spokes attached to a hub. In a profound, necessary way, every man *is* an island. And even with hostile Indians, starvation, freezing weather and an unknown continent surrounding them, the Pilgrims were canny enough, honest enough, commonsensical enough, to know this. A man will build his own house better and more quickly than he will build another's.

I wonder if there is an American citizen who could read this chapter without feeling not only ashamed, but bored by the goody-goody tameness of his own enterprise today.

ROBERT PHELPS



## A New Philistine

**The Demon of Progress in the Arts,** by Wyndham Lewis. 97 pp. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. $3.00

It will be noted with horror in many sectors of the art world that Wyndham Lewis has deserted to the philistines. Which is to say, Mr. Lewis has talked some sense about art, about what it should be, and about what it has to be. His book, *The Demon of Progress in the Arts,* is guaranteed to gravel quite a few people, particularly modern art *philosophe* Herbert Read, who gets dragged over the coals precisely when they are the hottest.

Looking askance at modern art, Lewis constructs a very simple and self-evident thesis. Because he makes his case by assertion, rather than argument, the logical thread is not always explicit. Basically, however, his position may be stated as follows: if there is no definition of art, then *everything* is art—which is the same as to say that *nothing* is art; on the other hand, if there is any definition of art, then there are perforce excesses which must be considered beyond the pale of the definition. This is the logic of the situation—yet the moderns refuse to go one way or the other; they will not say that there is no definition, and yet they will not admit that it is possible for any excess to be outside of a definition. They remain static in meaninglessness. This is, I think, what irritates Lewis: the refusal of the moderns to choose, to opt for sense or for nonsense. Chosen or not, however, nonsense is their element.

Led forward by the art critics—the "word men" who know nothing of art—the unintellectualized "painting animals" have swept past the point where abstraction ceases to be art, and are thundering down an inclined plane of sham into what Lewis calls "absolute zero." Lewis does not condemn all extremism; on the contrary, he feels that some "extremist" work has enriched art, given it a new dimension. But extremism for its own sake, he contends, is quite different from extremism for art's sake.

In an energetic prose style, which can best be described as a cross between Ezra Pound and Irving Babbitt, Lewis lays into all varities of sham and pose. Implied in his assault is a condemnation of the real sickness of modern society—which is relativism gone wild. For it is relativism which refuses to allow of the existence of any objective standards, either moral or aesthetic. It is the toxin which has corrupted our cultural as well as our political existence. Because it is itself disorderly and soggy, it inevitably gives rise to some horrendous dictatorship. Allowing everything, it can disallow nothing. Thus it is impotent to crush the harbingers of malevolence and the despotism of nonsense. All our tragedies, as Lewis' book so forcefully points out in the field of art, can be traced to the fact that we have lost our moorings in definition and principle.

M. STANTON EVANS

## Foreign Affairs

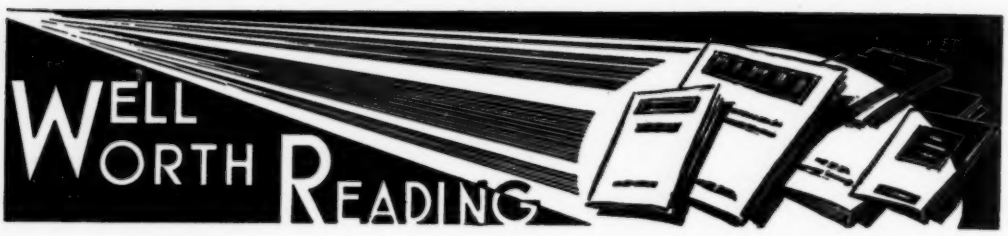
**Foreign Affairs Bibliography: A Selected and Annotated List of Books on International Relations, 1942-1952,** edited by Henry L. Roberts. 727 pp. New York: Harper and Brothers. $10.00

This list of nine thousand titles in thirty-four languages is the latest addition to a valuable series which now includes three volumes, covering the years from 1916 through 1952. Inclusion of titles is based on the bibliographical notes in the periodical *Foreign Affairs.*

Mr. Roberts has adopted as his motto Browning's phrase, "How it strikes a contemporary." He emphasizes the importance and the difficulty of compiling a bibliography that is "international" in a world divided by tensions, one that is "reliable" in a world of conflicting ideas, and one that is characterized by sound judgment in a world of swift and extraordinary changes.

The bibliography's classified arrangement adds to its value and readability. The overlapping of titles which inevitably results is not a disadvantage because of the excellent indexes and cross references.

EDNA HAAS




## JUSTICE

The flow of "foundation" money and the uproar of the liberal press make it clear that only those who are striving to destroy America, either through communism or through the construction of an internal tyranny, have any "rights" worth defending. Thus it is reasonable that someone who seeks to oppose tyranny, who doubts the constitutionality of the draft law, and who says as much, should be declared insane, given no trial, and thrown into the foulest ward of St. Elizabeth's mental hospital; and it is reasonable that no committees or foundations should come panting to her rescue. Lucille Miller's lonely battle is a capsulized history of America's moral decay. For the grim irony of today's fustian over "rights" is symptomatic of the fact that our country is dying. Lucille Miller will be remembered as a victim of that irony—one who was sacrificed so that the freedom to destroy could be preserved.

**The Lucille Miller Story,** by William Johnson and Thaddeus Ashby. 19 pp. *Faith and Freedom,* September. 1521 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles 17, Calif. Single copy .25

## COMMUNISM

The fact that modern-day Socialists and Communists are frequently at each other's throats should not mislead us into thinking that there is a real ideological split between these two varieties of collectivism. "The common blood relationship asserts itself whenever the interests of the socialist family are endangered." Socialism necessarily merges with communism, because the compromised Socialists must always surrender when the Communists are outbidding them on the left. To the European voter communism still looks like socialism getting there quicker—which it is.

**Socialism v. Communism,** by Viscount Craigavon. 2 pp. *Freedom,* Journal of the Fighting Fund for Freedom, July-August. 1, Dover Street, London, W.I. 6d. (.12)

## JUST A SECOND

Because the Republicans have gone back on every one of their campaign promises which served to distinguish them from the Democrats, the American voter is confronted by a homogeneous gray mass of collectivism and anti-anticommunism, disguised as "our two-party system." When only one set of opinions in a great controversy is allowed a national forum, you can be sure that we are to all intents and purposes in the grip of tyranny. The liberals who yelp about a "reign of terror" are correct, of course; they falsify their plaints only in concealing the minor point that they are the ones who are honing the guillotine. We don't need a third party—just a second one!

**When an American Policy?** Economic Council Letter for September 16; 4 pp. Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y. Single copy .15

## POWER

Low costs and rates should not enter into findings of the Federal Power Commission concerning conflicting claims of public and private power. Underwritten by the whole tax structure of the United States, free from the taxes which private enterprise must pay, unhindered by high interest rates on credit to begin construction, the federal government can of course put together a phony low-rate yardstick. The falseness of this frequently employed subterfuge lays bare the real driving force behind the advocates of government control in Niagara and Hell's Canyon; *they simply believe that natural resources should be nationalized.* Why not, the logical implications of the pro-government argument are, nationalize coal, or the land? Why not nationalize *everything?* You answer that one.

**Private Enterprise? or Public Subsidy?** *Legislative Daily,* June 28, 1955; 4 pp. Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1615 H St., N.W. Washington 6, D.C. Single copy free

## HUMILITY

"The unwary democrats are always humble. They tell themselves that . . . the truth lies between two extremes. Consequently, they are always ready to make more and more concessions. Having lost almost one-half of the world already, they do not realize that in the end the only successful way is to demand its liberation. Instead, some among them think in terms of giving away still more, in order to buy a willingness from the conquerors to give up the total goal of world conquest. . . . The free world agrees that we must negotiate from strength. This means a strength of purpose and a strength of ideals, as well as a strength of arms. There is no other way. Even now strength may save us all."

**Freedom through Strength,** by South Korean President Syngman Rhee; *Korean Survey,* August-September; published by the Korean Pacific Press, 1828 Jefferson Place, Washington 6, D. C. Single copy free

## THE PRESS

Although the vicious "closed shop" is now illegal, action cannot be taken against a union unless the employer complains. While newspaper shops are *de facto* "closed," the publishers have kept mum. This strengthens the grip of the unions, and in turn the columns of the newspapers become less and less accessible to anti-union opinion, while union acts of cruelty and violence somehow manage to go unreported. The American Newspaper Guild and the printers' unions now straddle the newspaper industry and are its effective masters. This mess can be cleared up only if the publishers have the courage to face down the unions' tyrannical threat to our principal medium of communication.

**Freedom of the Press and the Newspaper Unions,** by Joseph C. Wells. 3 pp. *Spotlight for the Nation,* Committee for Constitutional Government, 205 East 42nd St., New York 17, N. Y. Two copies free; additional copies, .04 each