

The Vigilantes of Beverly Hills

Morrie Ryskind

Progressive Education Undermined China

Dr. Kao Chien

Jefferson Revisits America

Thaddeus Ashby

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Question
before
Congress
NOW!**



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Excerpt from Republican
"Monetary Policy" Plank



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**SERVING INDUSTRY...
WHICH SERVES MANKIND**

THE Freeman

A Monthly
For
Libertarians

Editor FRANK CHODOROV
Business Manager JAMES M. ROGERS

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Pros, Semi-Pros, Amateurs

Take the case of ROBERT R. LENT. As far as I know, he never published an article in his life. In the course of a conversation he told me about his experiences in the Air Force with scientific personnel. "Can you write?" I asked. "No." "Good. Just write out what you have been saying and send your script to me." He's a full-fledged amateur, but he knew about something—which is the first requirement of a writer—and that something was worth telling.

I like amateurs. If they work at it, they become professionals, and the cause of libertarianism is badly in need of professional writers. Like, for instance, MORRIE RYSKIND, the author of *Of Thee I Sing* and other plays and movies. In his metier, satire, he's tops, having got there by dint of hard work, even though he may have acquired a penchant for satire by way of the umbilical cord. When you get a piece from him, or any professional, you have little editing to do; he knows what you want and don't want, and writes accordingly.

The emergence of the professional from the amateur ranks is largely, I think, a matter of learning what to leave out. The beginner is inclined to throw into his piece everything he knows, to the disadvantage of the point he is making and to the distraction of the reader. THADDEUS ASHBY told me a few weeks ago that he hasn't as yet mastered the art of omission, but he is coming along fast. I expect great things from him, because he has imagination and industry. At present he is on the staff of *Faith and Freedom*.

I don't know anybody who has as thorough an understanding of libertarianism as my friend F. A. HARPER. In fact, he knows too much. When he has finally rid himself of the academic curse, he will take his place high among the professionals.

DR. KAO CHIEN was a professor at Canton University and editor of the magazine *Wen-Tsao* when "progressive" education infiltrated the Chinese culture and rendered it vulnerable to communism.

JEROME LANDFIELD, retired engineer and editor, spent many years in Russia (for a while a prisoner of the OGPU), and was instrumental in preventing, up to 1932, American recognition of the Soviet Union.

Our reviewers of the two books on General MacArthur are particularly qualified for this assignment. IRENE CORBALLY KUHN, who knows the Far East well, collaborated with Father Raymond de Jaegher on *The Enemy Within*. BRIG. GEN. BONNER FELLERS served on General MacArthur's staff for six years.

The FREEMAN is devoted to the promulgation of the libertarian philosophy: the free market place, limited government and the dignity of the individual.

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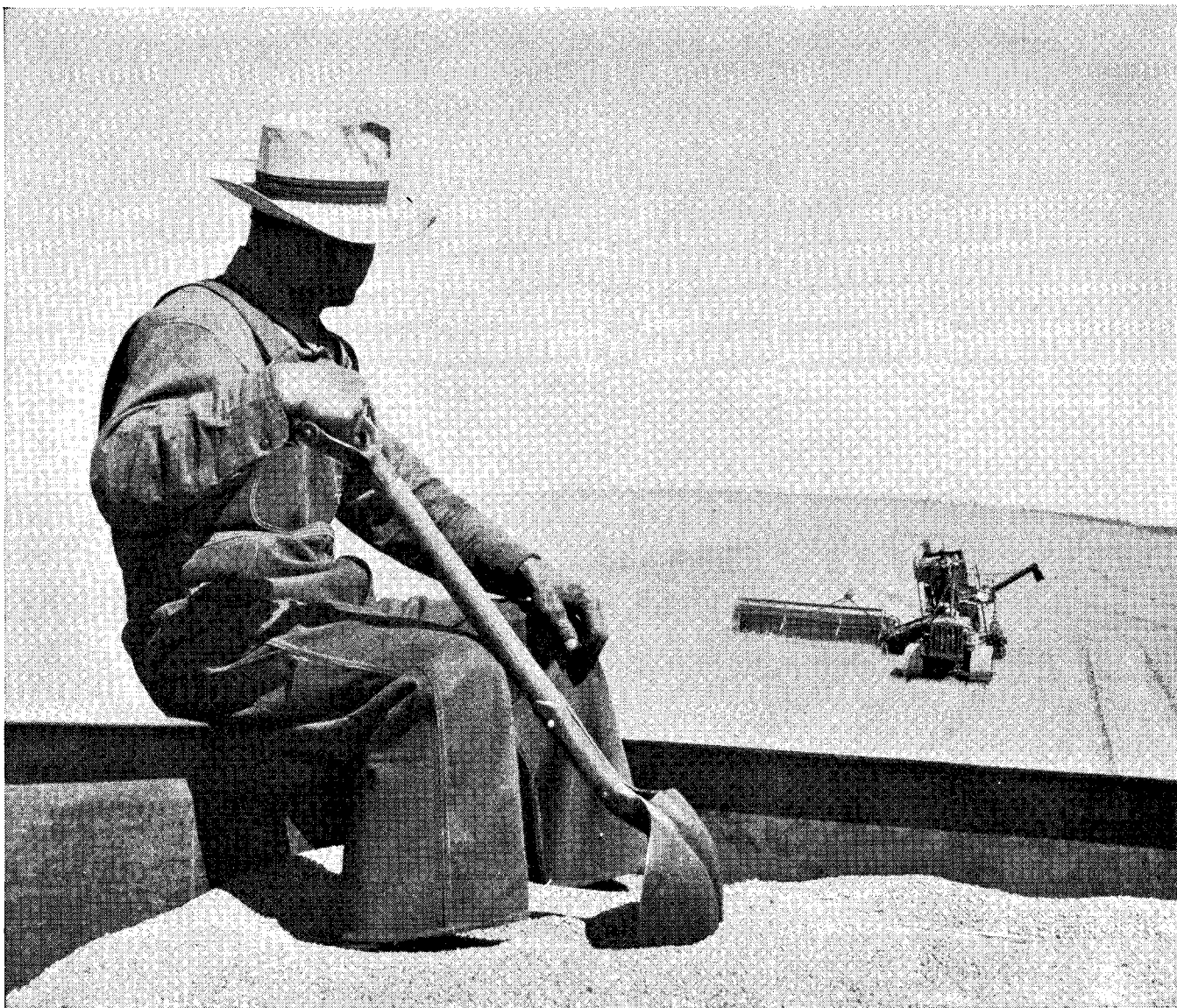
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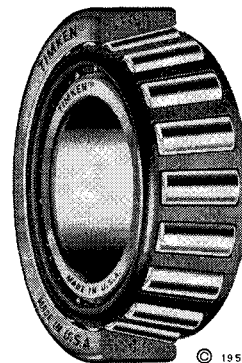
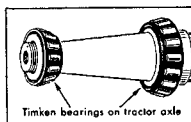
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Readers also write

History Being Repeated

May we commend you for the September editorial, "The Return of 1940?" As the front-page columnist of a local newspaper for several years prior to our entry into World War Two, I argued for peace, for isolation, for a strong America. I warned of the consequences, which you outlined as now afflicting our land.

In the beginning I was supported by the big capitalists because of my criticisms of the creeping socialism of the New Deal. . . . But their applause lessened as the rumblings of war grew louder, as they realized that booming prosperity and huge profits could be obtained only through conflict. . . . It was the same with our local Communists and radicals. They backed me in my pleas for peace while Germany and Soviet Russia were allies. They became interventionists when the two nations split. . . .

Peace was a lost cause. So was Americanism and those who sincerely fought for it. I was fired.

Now, as you wrote, the tragic history is being repeated. . . . As you realize, a third major conflict will spell the end of the American Republic, just as bureaucracy and big government are destroying democracy and freedom at home.

Miami, Fla.

H. BOND BLISS

Langston Hughes' Testimony

I wish to commend Marion Murphy, author of "And the Right Shall Triumph" (October) for her able and forthright chronicle of the left-wing infiltration into the Girl Scout movement. However, I feel that certain facts must be mentioned to keep the record straight.

Miss Murphy states that Robert Le Fevre criticized the Girl Scout organization for its 1953 endorsement of *The First Book of Negroes* by Langston Hughes. Mr. Hughes, as the article correctly stated, was a leader in the communist movement, and did write the poem "Goodbye, Christ," as well as others of similar vein. However, on March 26, 1953, Mr. Hughes testified before Senator McCarthy and his Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, and gave a rather convincing account of his disillusionment with, and defection from the Communist conspiracy. . . . The testimony developed the alarming fact that, although Mr. Hughes' disaffection from communism caused him to write several pro-Amer-

ican books after 1950, yet the State Department included only his communistic works, to the number of sixteen, in fifty-one of its overseas libraries, Mr. Hughes cited *The First Book of Negroes* as an indication of his present anticommunist attitude. . .

His testimony should be considered in deciding whether the Girl Scout endorsement of that book in 1953 deserves to be condemned.

Brighton, Mass.

CHARLES E. RICE

Literary "Come-on"

After reading John Chamberlain's reprinted review of *Essays on Liberty: Volume II* (October), I, who am lucky enough to be on the Foundation for Economic Education's mailing list, disagree with his suggestion to introduce bits of literary come-ons to woo the reader. Let Mr. Read and his staff retain at all costs their "doctrinal purity," and others like me will feel as though we have been graduated to a true institute of higher learning. The higher the literary level, the finer are the standards it sets. What better clarion call could there be to a world sunk deep in the morass of moral debasement? The seemingly unattainable offers the greatest challenge.

Santa Ana, Cal.

PEGGY K. WALKER

"Glittering Generalities"

Frankly, I have been disappointed with the FREEMAN since it has become a monthly publication; the crisp, fresh style that was once so much a part of your magazine seems now lacking. Glittering generalities concerning affairs in the United States and abroad will not win the fight that we know must be won if our nation is to survive in its present form. . . . Why not more forceful articles in support of the Bricker Amendment, or in defense of congressional investigations exposing Reds? . . .

New Rochelle, N.Y.

ARTHUR V. PARETE

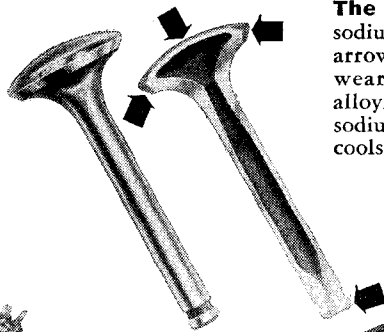
The Case Against War

William S. Schlamm (November) made out the best case possible for war. After Frank Chodorov had finished his rebuttal, there wasn't much left on the opposition side. And as usual, Albert Jay Nock has the last word. Said that revered libertarian:

"This matter of national defense would take on an entirely different aspect if people could be brought to understand that the only government they need to defend themselves against is their own government, and that the only way to defend themselves against it is by constant distrust and vigilance."

New York City

RALPH RAICO



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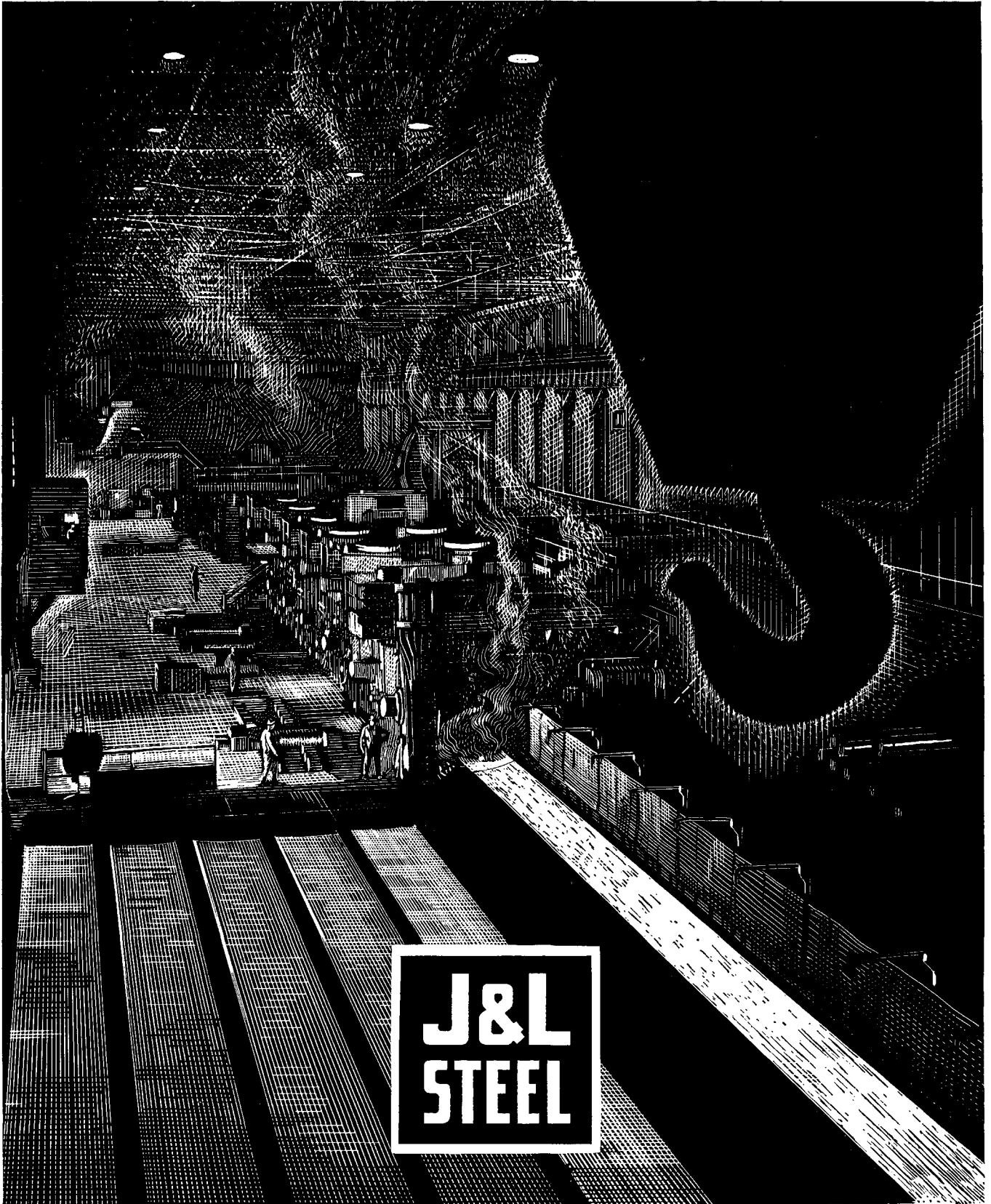
The aviation industry has learned to count on Thompson for dependable parts. From Jennys to Jets, from 60 mph to supersonic speeds, Thompson has grown with the industry. Today Thompson supplies

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THE *Freeman*

DECEMBER 1954

From Christmas to Christmas

CHRIST brought to a dispirited world the doctrine of human dignity. He spoke to men whose worth to themselves had dropped to the cost of keeping alive, and He spoke of self-esteem. Only a few listened; only a remnant understood. When the scope of human aspirations is foreshortened by continued frustration, and the primary instinct of living becomes the purpose of life, he who seeks to awaken hope speaks a strange and disturbing language. It was to men who had made adjustment with existence that Christ spoke, and they heard Him not.

The price of the political State came high. Its ally, the predatory priesthood, took its cut of production, and the remaining wage was at the subsistence level. Pharisaism, which is the art of rationalizing untruth, called upon the Highest to bear false witness for tithes and taxes, and upon that testimony the individual made peace with the verdict of his worthlessness. Being without soul, even the solace of salvation was denied the Samaritan and the Magdalene.

To this offal of the social order Christ brought the doctrine of the dignity of the individual. And what is the premise of this doctrine? That in the eternal scheme of things human existence is the only reality: therefore, in God's reckoning no person is beneath notice and esteem. "The very hairs of your head are all numbered."

Nor did He leave that thought in a doctrinal vacuum, but He implemented it with a promise: the immediacy of the Kingdom of God—on earth as it is in Heaven. "It is your Father's wish to give you the kingdom."

And in that kingdom, that social order which approximates our concept of the perfect, what must be the rule of human relations? Is it not that justice shall have its turn, that the reign of legalized injustice by which man is robbed of his products and his self-esteem shall be no more? And that the inequalities which stem from this injustice shall disappear? For the first shall be last.

Is that reading revolution into the Christ-promise? Yet, not even the most ardent apologists for things as they are dare put the Heaven-on-earth

label on the world to which Christ came, or the one in which we live. Rather, to phrase the smallest detail of that ideal it is necessary to draw upon our imagination for its opposite.

"On earth as it is in Heaven." Whatever Heaven connotes to the theologian, to the layman it spells the highest aspiration of the human spirit—which is Freedom. Can a Heaven which embraces slavery, economic or political, have meaning? It is fantastic, blasphemous, if you will, to speak of Heaven-on-earth as a place where one man must pay another for the privilege of living.

Then, again, are the standards of eternal life fixed by monopoly exactions? Is there a tax on immortality? Do soul-bureaucrats hound the spirits into collectivized subservience? Or rather, do we not think of Heaven-on-earth as an existence wherein every man may do that which he will, provided he infringe not on the equal right of every other man?

He who brought this message of Justice and Freedom to a world from which Freedom and Justice had been banished by Avarice and Power was crucified. It is to man's everlasting sorrow and disgrace that the message itself all but died with Him. For not once during these nineteen centuries has man been free from involuntary poverty, from oppression, from war. Always the dignity of the person is whittled away by the ruthlessness of a self-seeking few, aided and abetted by the prevailing Pharisaism. Currently, it is the subtle soporific of socialism. And yet, though privilege and its political satellites will do their utmost to emasculate the highest of moral values, to twist elemental truth into its opposite, to obscure light with planned ignorance, the human spirit cannot be forever stilled nor its hope forever denied. The spark that is Man cannot be extinguished.

To those to whom the ways of Justice and the means of Freedom are known, the meaning of the Christ-promise is clear. And every day, from Christmas to Christmas, they rededicate themselves, because they cannot do otherwise, to the struggle for the attainment of man's greatest ideal—the Kingdom of Heaven on earth.

The Sovereign Incompetent

WHEN YOU voted last month, you assumed the responsibility of American citizenship. You loaned the sovereignty which resides in you to your chosen agent for a designated period, and ordered him to use it to manage the affairs of the community. It is a loan, not a transference of sovereignty, according to the American doctrine, and you are the final judge of whether the trust was faithfully executed.

That is, you are a citizen, not a subject. A subject owes allegiance to a ruler, who is presumed to be endowed with the special gift of rulership. A citizen, on the other hand, owes allegiance to his conscience, and in this country his conscience is presumed to be guided by the principles of government embodied in our Constitution.

During the campaign, all the candidates iterated and reiterated the dignity of the sovereign citizen. Not one of them even hinted that the citizen gives up any of his independence in voting, or rids himself of the responsibilities that freedom of choice imposes on him. Each of the candidates, rather, begged for the suffrage of the citizenry on the ground that he was best qualified to carry out their will and their purpose.

The day after election, this relationship between the citizen and the successful candidate changes. The elected official now assumes that the sovereign citizen is in fact his ward, somebody to take care of because he is incapable of taking care of himself. He is now a child, or perhaps an imbecile, who must be protected against the consequences of his inadequacy. He must be compelled to "save" for his old age because he is incapable during his years of productivity to look ahead; he must be provided with a "minimum" wage because he cannot cope with the competitive conditions of the market place; since he hasn't sense enough to look after his health, or the education of his children, or to market his skills, or to provide shelter for his family, or to successfully manage his business without subsidies, it is incumbent on the chosen agent to nurse, succor and guide this erstwhile sovereign citizen through the vicissitudes of life.

In short, the citizen who before election was deemed capable of deciding on the affairs of state becomes helpless and incompetent immediately after he has made this momentous decision. He must be done "good" to.

This before-and-after-election contradiction is not a new or purely American phenomenon, although it is true that it has become more pronounced since the advent of New Dealism. In 1850, Frédéric Bastiat, a French legislator, phrased it as follows in his famous monograph, *The Law*:¹

¹ The Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y. 76 pp. \$.65

How does he [the politician or do-gooder] regard the people when a legislator is to be chosen? Ah, then it is claimed that the people have a instinctive wisdom; they are gifted with the finest perception; *their will is always right*; the general will *cannot err*; voting cannot be too universal.

When it is time to vote, apparently the voter is not to be asked for any guarantee of his wisdom. His will and capacity to choose wisely are taken for granted. Can the people be mistaken? Are we not living in an age of enlightenment? What! Are the people always to be kept on leashes? Have they not won their rights by great effort and sacrifice? Have they not given ample proof of their intelligence and wisdom? Are they not adults? Are they not capable of judging for themselves? Is there a class or a man who would be so bold as to set himself above the people, and judge and act for them? No, no, the people are and should be *free*. They desire to manage their own affairs, and they shall do so.

But when the legislator is finally elected—ah! Then indeed does the tone of his speech undergo a radical change. The people are returned to passiveness, inertness and unconsciousness; the legislator enters into omnipotence. Now it is for him to initiate, to direct, to propel and to organize. Mankind has only to submit; the hour of despotism has struck. We now observe this fatal idea: the people who, during the election, were so wise, so moral, so perfect, now have no tendencies whatever; or if they have any, they are tendencies that lead downward into degradation.

Political Smog

FOR WEEKS that peculiar atmospheric condition popularly known as "smog" had settled on Los Angeles, and the eye-irritation it causes was beginning to make life in the city quite a chore. Following the usual American pattern, a number of citizens got up a "protest committee," meetings were held and the politicians were memorialized.

Chemists who have been studying the problem have not yet come up with a solution, but it is generally believed that smoke mixed with fog is at the bottom of the annoyance. Therefore, when the governor of the state received the call from the up-in-arms citizenry, he wrote the five oil refineries in the city to please shut down their plants for a week to learn whether the smoke from their stacks is the culprit. For good and sufficient political reasons, he suggested that the refineries pay wages during the experimental shutdown.

Most of the adults in Los Angeles smoke. Possibly the volume from cigarettes, cigars and pipes equals or exceeds that from the refinery smokestacks, but it never occurred to the governor to suggest to the citizenry that they suspend their smoking habits for a week. Why?

The senatorial candidate got himself into the papers by announcing that he had wired the President of the United States to come to the aid of Los Angeles, and that dignitary replied that he

would put the Department of the Interior on the job immediately. Even a candidate for the state legislature fervently promised to heal the eyes of Los Angeles—if she were elected.

The ardor of these politicians is understandable. The annoying “smog” came upon Los Angeles during the month before election, and it would have been quite out of character for them to say frankly that until the chemists learned the cause of “smog” the citizens would have to suffer. Such honesty and decency in a politician is not to be expected. But the disheartening thing about the furor is the childish faith that Americans have in the power of politics to cure their ills. In what way is this faith different from that of primitive people in their medicine men?

Politics versus Economics

A FRIEND of the FREEMAN complains that too much space in it is devoted to political subjects, too little to economics. As an organ of libertarianism, he maintains, the publication should regularly spell out the operations and virtues of the free market.

If we were to follow this advice to the letter, I am afraid we would soon run out of material and would have to close up shop. For all that can be said of the economics of the free market could be put into a medium-sized pamphlet. After you have described how men, operating under their own steam and without hindrance, go about the making of a living, you have covered the subject completely. You don't need a long-winded textbook to explain the conditions which govern the swapping of tops for marbles—which is a free market operation—and you don't need charts, graphs and calculus to describe the way in which men go about improving their circumstances. The free market is a natural mechanism, and the economics of it are simple.

Only the sick know how healthy they are, said Carlyle, and it's the same way with freedom; men never think about it until they lose it, and then they write books about it and invent theories to explain what it is. We study economics only because the free and healthy market is interfered with. The interferences with the operation of the free market are all political, and so economics becomes the study of the monkey wrenches that have been thrown into the machinery.

For instance, right now a good deal of economic writing is devoted to the subject of inflation. But inflation is simply legalized counterfeiting, no different in essence from robbery. It has nothing to do with the study of the production and distribution of wealth, which are the proper subjects of the science of economics, and it ought to be relegated to a department of political criminology.

Taxation has nothing to do with how producers (not politicians) make a living; and after you have mentioned the fact that taxes deprive the producer of some of his purchasing power, you have said all that economics should say about it; but since so much of this depletion of purchasing power is going on, your economics textbooks deem it necessary to devote chapters to the subject of taxation. And the more the government clutters up the market with regulations, restrictions and subventions, the more the study of economics becomes involved with politics, and the student never knows whether he is studying the one or the other.

It is no wonder that modern books of economics deal with the subject as if it were a branch of political science, which is not a science at all, but rather a hodgepodge of interventions. Faced with the fact that these interventions are riveted into the market, the writers of the textbooks have given up on the possibility of a free and healthy market, and concern themselves with explaining an economy completely dominated by politics. Indeed, most of the textbooks which the students are compelled to read are devoted to justifying and applauding the interventions; the professors who write them are like doctors who accept cancer as a natural condition of life and advise their patients to make the best of it.

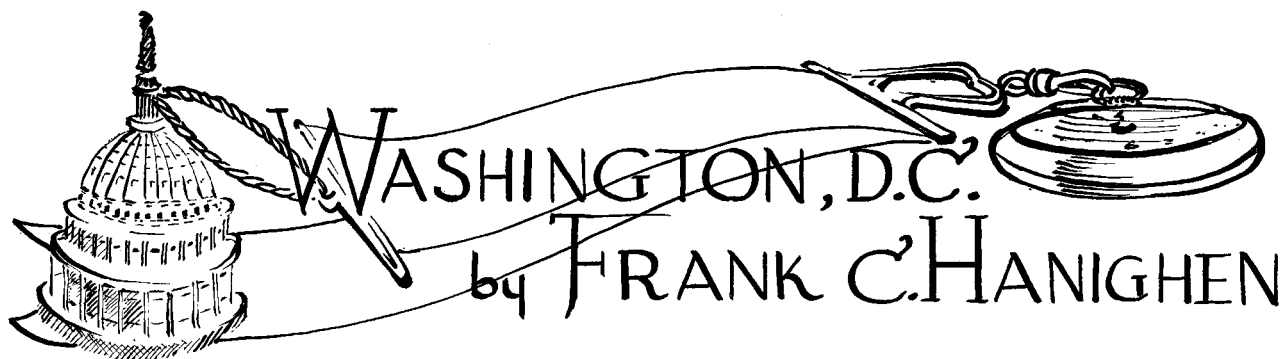
The FREEMAN is dedicated to the proposition that a sound economy is one that is free of politics; it looks upon the invasion of politics into the market as a disease. But it is compelled by the ubiquity of the disease to be harping on politics to the apparent exclusion of economics. What else can it do in the circumstances?

A Prediction

THE CONGRESS which begins its two-year term next month will not reduce the public payroll by a single dollar, nor will it abolish a single governmental agency or subdivision thereof (unless the personnel are transferred to an existing or new agency), nor curtail the squandering of tax money either at home or abroad, nor discontinue deficit spending or attempt to balance the budget, nor retard inflation, nor reduce the tax-burden of the nation.

On the positive side, this Congress, like those before it, will grant the Executive further power to intervene in the private business of the nation, and to limit the personal liberty of the people, and to extend our involvement in foreign entanglements, and to further undermine the authority of the states; and will by legislation further weaken the Legislative branch of the government, to the greater power and glory of the Bureaucracy.

Wanna bet?



Some day some one—maybe it will be John T. Flynn—will write a book entitled *The Eisenhower Myth*. The author might have as his climactic chapter the election campaign of 1954. For, in the recent polling, the asserted overwhelming popularity of the President received a staggering blow (or, at least, should have—for the prevailing press thought-control apparatus seems intent on proving the whole outcome a great personal success for Eisenhower).

Never before in recent American history has a President gone so far in staking his personal reputation on an off-year election, and never has one suffered such a reverse. Under President William Howard Taft in 1910, the Republicans lost the House of Representatives, but they retained the Senate. Under Woodrow Wilson in 1918, the ruling Democrats lost both Houses; but Wilson's only effort to obtain a Democratic Congress was one statement. Hoover (often classified by "liberal" columnists as the perfect symbol of GOP defeat) found at the end of the 1930 election that both Houses still had Republican majorities; the lower House was organized by the Democrats some months later, after deaths and by-elections had wiped out the GOP majority. Truman lost both houses in 1946; but in 1950 he campaigned for a Democratic Congress, and won.

For retention of the Senate, Eisenhower made a three-day "whirlwind" tour by airplane, making speeches in four states for election or re-election of Republican candidates: Senator Homer Ferguson of Michigan; Senator John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky; candidate George H. Bender of Ohio, and candidate Herbert B. Warburton of Delaware. Three of these—Ferguson, Cooper and Warburton—were beaten by their Democratic opponents. One—Bender of Ohio—got in by approximately 6,000 majority. But few maintain that this victory resulted from Eisenhower's half-hour stop in Cleveland. The cause seems to be quite different. Two weeks before the election, Senator Burke, Bender's Democratic opponent, announced that he would vote for the censure of Senator McCarthy. At the time, the GOP national headquarters expert on Ohio estimated that this statement would cost Burke 100,000 votes in the urban areas. Even the *New York Times* reported the unfavorable effects of Burke's statement on this vote. In short,

Joe McCarthy, not the President's popularity, was a probable reason for the only victory among the four solicited by the President on his "whirlwind" tour.

And Colorado—where the President spent most of his time? The Republican candidate for Senator unexpectedly defeated the Democratic candidate, John Carroll. Dispatches from that state believe that it was Vice President Nixon's last-minute visit to Denver and his strong attack on Carroll for being "soft" to communism that defeated the Democrat. Eisenhower said nothing whatever about this during his prolonged sojourn there.

The loss of the Senate is all the more striking because of a parliamentary situation which is well-known to the professional politicians but little realized by most of the people. This was the year when Republicans hoped not merely to retain control of the Senate, but also to pile up a considerable margin of Senate seats. One third of the Senate membership is up for election every two years. In some election years, most of the seats under contest are Democratic, in other years Republican. This year a large number of seats held by Democrats, in the North, were at stake. Hence the GOP had legitimate confidence before the campaign that they would increase their majority in the Upper House. We recall how, early in 1953, Senator Taft, the majority leader of his party in the Senate, talked extensively to colleagues about what he thought would be certain gains. The result, as we now see, is quite the contrary.

This situation assumes an even more worrisome shape for the GOP when it is realized that in 1956 (when again one third of the Senate seats are at stake), the cards will be stacked against the Republicans. This year 21 Democratic Senate seats were in contest, and only 11 Republican; in 1956, 16 Republican seats, 15 Democratic and one independent (figures—*Congressional Directory*, 1954). Hence there seems a diminished chance of Republicans regaining control in that year.

Nor is that all. The President also went to New York and Pennsylvania, after urgent requests for help from worried GOP leaders. Despite Eisenhower's intervention, the Democrats won both governorships in these states and, in addition, defeated

GOP Governor Lodge in Connecticut. (Last year, the Democrats won the State House in New Jersey.) It is time to recall that it was the heavy delegate votes of the powerful GOP machines of these four states which defeated Senator Taft at the convention in Chicago in 1952 and won the nomination for Eisenhower. Within the party, as well as throughout the country, the Eisenhower reverse is manifest. And the election outcome carries a serious portent. Control of these state houses in the next two years will give the Democrats a great advantage in preparations for the Presidential battle in 1956.

One ray of light for the Republicans comes from the West. Conservative Republican Governor Goodwin Knight won a big victory for re-election in California. (Knight recently refused to make United Nations Day a state holiday. Eisenhower backed U. N. Day.) Knight's victory is also one over the "liberals" in the state GOP, over both Nixon and Warren factions of the party. Indeed, not only in California, but in the West generally lies the hope of the GOP. No wonder that Governor J. Bracken Lee of Utah, on the morrow of the election, noted Knight's victory and said that Republican thinking about 1956 will have to take into account what happened in this pivotal state. Finally, the rather noticeable support retained by GOP candidates in the Western farming areas (not awarded Presidential help or attention comparable to that given in the East), despite many predictions to the contrary, suggests strongly that the Republican Party must look to the West for its real political base.

The President's popularity was reported sinking three weeks ago in the *New York Times*, scarcely unsympathetic to Eisenhower. It is noted that Democratic Senator Neely of West Virginia was re-elected after a campaign in which he kept referring to Eisenhower as "the worst President." And it is now recalled that independent Republican Representative Gordon Scherer of Cincinnati was re-elected handily, after he very emphatically and publicly refused to pose with the President for news photos and asserted that he would not be subject to influence from the White House.

True, it seems likely that the last-minute efforts to save the GOP from a landslide defeat met with success. But, in the Capital, it is believed that the conservatives in high places in the party, such as Chairman Leonard Hall, swung the party strategy to the right in the last days of the campaign and saved the party from rout. (*Vide* the President's reversal of his position on the communist issue at Cleveland in the final week of the campaign.) It is strongly the opinion of conservatives that the outcome constituted a personal defeat for the President, not for his party.

It is necessary to underline this point because already the "liberal" columnists and commentators seek to minimize the defeat. These are the gentlemen who have constantly boosted the idea of his

"popularity," who have played closely with the "liberals" in the White House entourage of the President and who helped to create the split in the party over McCarthy. If Republican papers and party functionaries fail to recognize the facts and if they fall for the "liberal" line, disaster in 1956 looms.

One election outcome touched off much discussion among the professional political brethren in Washington—the announcement that a Democratic Governor had been elected in New York. The importance of New York bulks large in the political celebrations. Observers here know full well that the great political machine of the Empire State will nominate the candidate and probably bring about his election. One thing is not forgotten by the GOP national headquarters—that no Republican has ever been elected President without New York's electoral vote. No politico forgets that New York's 45 electoral votes are cast as a bloc.

These facts are recalled at the opening of this last session of the outgoing Congress, as Senator Karl Mundt of South Dakota comes back from his state. It is said that Mundt will lose no time in pushing his favorite measure, called the Mundt-Coudert Amendment, which would reform the electoral college. The proposal requires that each Presidential elector be chosen from a congressional district, with two electors at large in each state (like Senators), and the votes would not be cast as a unit by states. The proposal has historical and constitutional backing and undoubtedly should receive support on that basis alone. But it also attracts interest because it would alter the center of political power in the United States.

One consequence would be the splitting of the 45 votes of New York (probably resulting in a tally of 23 Democratic and 22 Republican electoral votes), thereby considerably reducing the influence of the Empire State. And that is a baneful influence, many members of Congress believe. One point often raised is that the electoral vote of New York in a close election can well depend on the size of the vote of some left-wing small party like the American Labor Party (as it did in 1948). (The ALP will probably be succeeded now by the misnamed "Liberal" Party.) The New Deal Administrations of Roosevelt and Truman played games with the ALP, and many here believe that the appeasement of Soviet Russia stemmed from the political need of appeasing a comparatively small number of leftists in New York City.

Mundt himself has this very prominently in his mind. In an address before the Good Government Society on February 22, 1954, he spoke of a "hidden third party that has grown up and that is gnawing away vigorously at the vitals of our political existence. The pressure groups and splinter factions functioning in America today combine to form this hidden third party."

The Vigilantes of Beverly Hills

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Cowboy Joey and Professor Jamison are alike in their zeal for tracking down offenders—but with a difference, as Morrie Ryskind tells in this classic on his encounters with neighbors.

Joey lives next door and is usually there to greet me when I come home in the late afternoon—unless, of course, he has the mumps or the measles. We're old friends—I've known Joey ever since he was five—and I look forward to passing the time of day with him. Indeed, I customarily spend the last two blocks from the bus line trying to figure out what costume Joey will be wearing.

Yesterday—Tuesday—proved to be Hopalong Cassidy Day. As the fearless son of the Old West spotted me, he covered me with his trusty Winchester and barked, "Halt! Who goes—friend or foe?"

I reached for the sky and answered, "Friend!"

His steel-blue eyes watching me warily, Joey kept me covered and said, "Advance, friend, and give the countersign."

I thought fast: the Cassidy get-up might be only a disguise, in which case I was confronting the famous sleuth, Nick Carter. On the other hand, it might be Hopalong himself—or Buffalo Bill or Daniel Boone or. . . . I took a chance. "Heigh-ho, Silver!" I gambled, knowing my life was at stake.

It was a lucky stab in the dark. The Lone Ranger—for it was indeed he—grinned, said, "Him okay, Tonto, him friend," to the unseen Indian who accompanies him on his never-ending search for outlaws, dropped his gun and asked, "Hi! What's new?"

I confessed to a dearth of news in my unexciting life, and then asked the Ranger about *his* day. Well, sir, you wouldn't believe what that young fellow had accomplished in so short a time. Of course, there was school from nine to three; but between three and four Joey had rounded up a whole gang of rustlers who had been terrorizing Beverly Hills for years. After turning them over to the Sheriff, the Ranger had gone to the drugstore for his usual chocolate malted. Some uncanny instinct had then led him to the railroad tracks, and he and Tonto had arrived just in time to foil a band of train robbers. In the ensuing gun duel, the outlaws had fled and Joey had escaped with a scratch on his arm. He rolled his sleeve up to show me the wound. "Recognize the bullet brand, partner?" he asked.

To the uninitiated eye, the nick looked like an ordinary vaccination mark. But, as one of long experience in these matters, I was readily able to identify the cut as the result of a bullet used

exclusively by the Jesse James boys. (I have a similar mark myself—but that is another story.) Joey came up with more details: though the other desperadoes had fled, the one Joey had plugged in the leg was still somewhere in the underbrush—Frank James, no less. The Lone Ranger immediately swore me in as deputy, and I was about to walk to the corner with him to look for the blood-drippings that would reveal the outlaw's trail when Joey's mother appeared and called out, "Joey! No bath, no supper!"

"Shucks!" said Joey. "Carry on, partner. See you tomorrow." And with a cry of "Coming, mother," the Lone Ranger was gone.

I looked around for Tonto, but he had obviously gone with his comrade. I trust I am not a coward, but I didn't feel up to tackling Frank James single-handed. So I decided that I'd just turn into my own doorway and have a pre-dinner Scotch and soda. But as I turned I was hailed by another neighbor. This one waved a brief case at me instead of a gun, but I knew I was covered just the same.

Traveler in the Fog

Professor Jamison—he's not really a professor yet, but he shows all the makings—teaches History and English at the local high school, and is a very learned man but, somehow, he is not as much fun as Joey. It's probably my own fault, but I'd rather have a Scotch and soda any day. But I'm the sort of guy who responds when somebody says, "Hello." You know, *noblesse oblige*.

"Hi," I responded. "Nice day."

The professor snorted. "Superficially, yes," he said. "But with the fog of fascism sweeping all over America, the climate of freedom is nothing to boast about."

That startled me. "Fascism?" I asked. "I thought we'd got rid of Mussolini and Hitler—"

"That's what makes it worse," snapped the professor. "To have won the war and lost the peace!"

For one idiotic moment, I thought he had gone Republican. "You mean Yalta and Teheran?"

"I emphatically do not. I mean investigating committees and loyalty oaths and the *Chicago Tribune* and all the reckless crew of super-patriots who are destroying our civil liberties, raping the Constitution, interfering with the prerogatives of

the executive, and turning us all into second-class citizens who are afraid to open our mouths! But they'll never shut *me* up."

I didn't think they would, but I was beginning to wish *somebody* would. But the professor, after just one breath, was off again. "We're going to fight them every hour and every minute. Do you realize what sort of day I had?"

Now if there was one thing I didn't want to know about at that particular moment, it was the sort of day Professor Jamison had had. That Scotch and soda looked more appealing than ever. But I knew it would have to be delayed.

It turned out to be a harrowing tale. If you think Joey's day was one long series of hairbreadth adventures, I assure you it was nothing compared to the professor's. And remember, Joey's day didn't really begin till three.

Jamison's day began at 9 a.m. Even so, he had managed to sign four petitions before his first class: one in support of the United Nations; one for the unrestricted right of free speech and the elimination of Red-baiters from the air waves; one against witch-hunting and book-burning. All three demanded, as a necessary corollary, the expulsion of McCarthy from the Senate.

"And the fourth?" I asked.

The Prof. hesitated. "I'm not sure, because I didn't get a chance to read it. But Henry Steele Commager's name was on the committee, so I knew I didn't have to read it."

I knew what he meant. When I see Henry Steele Commager's name on something, I don't read it either.

In the morning sessions, the Prof. teaches history. "And none of this super-patriotic, nationalistic, warmongering hogwash," he assured me. "It's all straight Frederick L. Schuman. It's a hard row, but I flatter myself that my pupils will be citizens of the world when I'm through with them."

I was impressed. "You do all this yourself?" I asked. "No Tonto?" He looked puzzled. "Tonto?"

For the first time, I realized there were lacunae in the professor's knowledge. "Tonto," I explained, "is an Indian philosopher."

"Oh," said the Prof., and I thought I detected a new note of respect in his voice. "No, I'm afraid that would be a little over their heads. Though I do teach them about Nehru and his Middle Way between the warmongers of the East and the West. How does this—er—Tonto stand on Nehru?"



There he had me. "Well," I stalled, "as a layman I doubt that I'm qualified to judge. But I could lend you a book on the subject—as soon as I'm through with it." I knew Joey would be glad—indeed, he has often offered—to lend me any part of his large collection of comic books.

"Fine!" beamed the Prof., and went on with his recital. His lunch hour had been fairly normal: he signed a petition against the so-called Bricker Amendment, subscribed for two new liberal publications, and presided over a meeting of Faculty Members for the Reinstatement of Dr. Gregory Zilch. (Dr. Zilch, who taught math, has been suspended for exercising his constitutional right to invoke the Fifth Amendment when asked some personal questions by a House committee.)

No Dangling Participles

What makes Dr. Zilch's suspension even worse is that it interferes with Jamison's Tuesday afternoon off, which the Prof. usually devotes to writing indignant letters to the editor of the *Los Angeles Times*. In the necessitated rearrangement of schedules, the reactionary Miss Hotchkiss—there is unimpeachable evidence that she was for Bob Taft in '52—had agreed to take over Zilch's Tuesday afternoon classes, and Professor Jamison had been forced to take over Miss Hotchkiss' English courses for that day. Now the *Times* (the *L. A. Times*, that is, and please don't confuse it with the *New York Times*) was anti-Zilch editorially, and the Prof. was certain they had pulled strings backstage to get rid of the Jamison letters.

"But if that's their game," he smiled, "it's a losing one. I still write letters to the *Times*—on Sunday afternoons. And wait till you hear what I do to Miss Hotchkiss' English class!"

I waited—and heard. As part of its English Poetry work, the class had been asked to memorize "Gunga Din" and "Recessional." And had enjoyed them—until the Prof. pointed out the racist theories of the former, and the imperialism of the latter. "Give me enough Tuesdays," said the Prof., "and those kids will know the score."

As for prose, he had avoided the conventional Gettysburg Address and had read them extracts from Adlai Stevenson's speeches—models of excellent English. "I have found no better way," he assured me, "of teaching them 'apt alliteration's artful aid'; the man's use of simile, metonymy and synechdoche is unparalleled; his logic is unassailable, and in his gentle satire I believe he ranks above Addison and Steele. And, best of all, never a dangling participle! What a wonderful thing it would have been for the English language if that man had been elected President!"

"Perhaps in '56," I suggested.

The Prof.'s eyes gleamed. "By that time many of my pupils—and there are hundreds of teachers like myself over the country—will be eighteen. What

a superb bit of poetic justice it would be if Eisenhower's proposed legislation for giving the vote to eighteen-year-olds elected Stevenson! Jove, I think I'll mention that in my speech before the ADA tonight. Say, if you're not doing anything this evening—" he suggested wistfully.

Maligned Minority

I thought fast again. "Dragnet," Danny Thomas and David Niven were coming up on TV, and then there was that now long-postponed drink. "Sorry," I said, shaking my head ruefully, "I'd love to, but I have a date with a minority group."

"Minority group?" He was impressed. "Mexicans, Jews, Negroes?"

I cannot tell a lie. "Scotch," I said.

He weighed that a moment. "Scotch? You know, I've never thought of them as a minority group. But then I suppose they *are*, aren't they?"

"Minority?" I echoed bitterly. "I'll say they are. The Jews make up 4 per cent of Americans; the Negroes have risen to 10 per cent; but the Scotch comprise only (I made a rapid calculation) 2.3 per cent." (I felt pretty safe because the Prof. is always quoting me figures about how 2 per cent of Americans own 98 per cent of the wealth, and I never ask him where he gets *those* figures from.)

"Yes," I continued, "only 2.3 per cent. And what has the ADA ever done about *that*?"

"Well," he stumbled, "I'm not sure—"

"No," I thundered. "You're not sure because you've never taken the time to study these matters. A small 2.3 per cent of the population has 97.7 per cent of all the jokes told about its stinginess—pure racism, modeled on the Nazi plan. They're good enough to fight in your wars, but you only sneer at them in peace time. Schuman doesn't bother

about the Scotch; Adlai never mentions them, except for a passing jest; you never see a *Nation* editorial demanding that the Scotch be integrated into the rest of the American community. No! But the Scotch will one day rise and ask that they be accepted as first-class citizens. When that day comes, where will you be? Lined up with the forces of fascism or in the vanguard of the hosts of freedom?"

For one blessed moment the Prof. was speechless. Then he said tremblingly, "One of my grandfathers was Scotch. If there's anything I can do—"

I whipped a blank piece of paper and a fountain pen from my pocket. "Will you join the Committee of Ten Thousand?"

"You can count on me," said the Prof. with the fervor of the convert. Without any hesitation, he rested the paper on his brief case and signed.

"Good," I said, as I took the paper and pen back. "I'll let you know what happens." And as we shook hands, I whispered to him, "The password is 'Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled.' Kilts are optional."

I left him and headed for the Scotch in the kitchen. In the interests of accuracy, I glanced at the label and noted that it is 86.8 per cent and not 2.3. But the principle remains.

And, as the drink mellowed me, I thought how lucky I was to have two such neighbors, so different and so startlingly alike. The outlaws still held up trains and rustled cattle in Beverly Hills, but Joey, the Lone Ranger, was at my right hand to protect me from them; and, at my left hand, stood the quixotic Professor Jamison, holding at bay the even more dangerous windmills of reaction. With neighbors like these, a man could sleep o' nights.

There was only one real difference, I realized as I poured a second drink, between them. Joey would grow up some day.

Will Rogers on Marxism

Communism will never get anywhere till they get that basic idea of Propaganda out of their head and replace it with some work. If they plowed as much as they Propagandered they would be richer than the Principality of Monaco. The trouble is they all got their theory's out of a book instead of any of them ever going to work and practicing them. I read the same books these Birds learned from, and that's the books of that guy Marx. . . .

I read his life history. He never did a tap of work only write Propaganda, according to his own history. He couldnt even make his own writings pay, much less his theories. . . . He always wants to figure out where he and his friends can get something for nothing. They even suggest somebody dividing with them. You could take those 600,000 Communists over in Russia and take 600,000 rich Americans and you could put them all together and make the Americans divide up with them equally, and in six months the 600,000 Communists wouldnt have a thing left but some long hair and a scheme to try to get back the half that the Americans was smart enough to take from them.

WILL ROGERS, *There's Not a Bathing Suit in Russia*, 1927

For Whom the N. C. C. Speaks

By REV. EDMUND A. OPITZ

An interlocking directorate, consisting of a few churchmen out to achieve social uplift through political action, purports to speak for 35,000,000 Protestant church members.

A century ago an English wit said that his was the religion of every sensible man. "And what," a friend asked him, "is that?" "That," replied the wit, "is what every sensible man keeps to himself." This self-imposed restraint once applied also to a man's politics. But, now that some prominent churchmen feel impelled to make pronouncements on political subjects for religious reasons, and the pulpit in some quarters tends to approximate the soapbox in purpose, there seems to be no reason why polite conversation should bar either subject.

The current religious scene is full of controversy. The controversy, however, is no longer confined to theological differences, but centers more around social and political questions. In fact, the theological differences have been so submerged as to permit leaders of a number of denominations to join forces for effecting what they consider their common religious obligation, the solution of the world's social and economic problems. That is a major purpose of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. (N.C.C.), purporting to speak for 35,000,000 church members. In the name of religion, the field in which these church leaders have been trained and in which they are presumed to have some competence, they issue resolutions and pronouncements on matters that are theological only because the imagination and arrogance of these leaders make them so. And they claim to speak for 35,000,000. Do they?

Presumably, the intent of these socio-economic religious leaders is to bring Christianity up to date. There are still some unsolved questions in the field of theology, and millions of persons are still troubled because they lack a framework for human values, because the human spirit goes unfed, because a life which they feel ought to be an adventure in destiny seems to be devoid of meaning. It is to find the answers to such questions that they go to church. The historic faith of Christendom has not failed to provide answers to the millions who have asked for them, and if the contemporary church does not do likewise it simply fails in its appointed duty.

But what, in their effort to make the faith contemporary, does the church leadership, as represented by the N.C.C., offer its constituents in their quest for spiritual solace? In effect, their

pronouncements declare that "as soon as all people are well-housed, clothed and fed—by political means—then we can talk to them about the needs of the soul." This, of course, is questionable religion, but it is also poor economics and bad politics. Good economics and good politics rest on a spiritual base, and unless a man is squared away in this area—which is the province of religion—he will not better himself by direct action aimed at material ends.

This point—that moral and spiritual understanding must precede a sound approach to political and economic matters—needs investigation. A noted British theologian, Christopher Dawson, put it this way: "The true social function of religion is not to busy itself with economic or political reforms, but to save civilization from itself by revealing to men the true end of life and the true nature of reality." An equally noted economist, Ludwig von Mises, writing on the conditions of material progress, says, "The material changes are the outcome of spiritual changes."

An Aura of Authenticity

But the ecclesiastical vocal cords in the National Council proclaim a contrary opinion. Out of the depths of this conspiracy to make of Christianity an instrument for improving man's material condition by political means, comes the cry, "The Church must speak." And when it speaks, it speaks of "social action"—which is an euphemism for political action. Not that these pronouncements from a presumably religious body make much sense, politically or religiously, but because the Council purports to speak for 35,000,000 church members, an aura of authenticity settles on them. Many of the members are, of course, utterly indifferent to the doings of the National Council; some may agree with the sentiments expressed, while many, perhaps a majority, are as resolutely opposed to the sentiments as they are to the highly dubious procedure of issuing statements in the name of people who have not even been consulted.

Why has this irregular and questionable procedure been adopted in ecclesiastical circles? The tactic is inexplicable unless it be assumed that, in the thinking of the men who use it, three premises have been accepted. First, prophetic

religion is reduced to one of its ingredients, social uplift. Second, it is decided that social uplift depends on political action. Third, political action needs the guidance which can come only if the Church is whipped into a political power bloc. The single-minded pursuit of these aims is hampered by any dissension over theological issues. It is difficult in these days to conceive a theological position so far out of line that anyone embracing it would be ousted from his church, but on political and economic questions the lines are much more sharply drawn. A libertarian in certain ecclesiastical circles is as unthinkable as an intelligent man at a faro table. This is not to say it does not happen, but if it does it doesn't happen long. A rough map of these circles would include the expensive seminaries, the editorial offices and the bureaucracies of denominational and interdenominational agencies. Most of the men who staff the positions in these circles are "committed to the position that Christianity demands drastic changes in the structure of social life." Such is the boast of one of their number, and common observation bears him out. The political pronouncements issuing from these quarters go right down the line for the Welfare State.

A handful of men in these strategic positions constitute what is, in effect, an interlocking directorate of American Protestantism. There are about 180 persons on the General Board of the National Council of Churches. It might be risky to designate the pivot men who call the signals, but it is safe to say that they number fewer than one hundred and eighty. The names on this board turn up elsewhere as denominational officials, editors, professors, and officers in related organizations and foundations of the social uplift variety. Thus there is a tightly organized little group of people dedicated to a drastic reform of the social order, strategically placed so that they can mold religious opinion, help or hinder the advancement of a minister, and use the church members as a sounding board for their political views.

Pronouncements on World Affairs

Here is a typical example of how they work. About a year ago the National Council sponsored a Study Conference on the Churches and World Order. Materials prepared in advance by a department of the National Council came to the conference as ordinary lucubrations on foreign affairs. As far as content goes, they were changed little by passing through the conference, which attracted about four hundred people; but the ratifying action transformed the resolutions and messages into an expression of the mind of 35,000,000 church members—if one were to believe the press releases. There is an ulterior motive in the passage of political resolutions—it is to use 35,000,000 church members as a lever to move politicians.

This conference passed a resolution condemning the Bricker Amendment in the name of the 35,000,000, although Protestantism is as divided on this issue as it is on others. The action was engineered by a few men playing close to the vest, but the headlines which resulted may have played a part in the political calculations which helped defeat the Bricker Amendment by so narrow a margin. This was undoubtedly the result hoped for by the hierarchy. Thus, when it is urged that "The Church must speak," it is understood that the accents will be those of the interlocking directorate aimed at an audience of politicians. This kind of an audience cannot be expected to attach much weight to the intellectual substance of a pronouncement; but 35,000,000 potential votes—that it can understand. In this way the Church, as a corporate entity, seeks to become a moving force in power politics, and falls into the temptation which has beset the Church in every age and against which its wisest minds have issued warning. This is the temptation to render unto Caesar the things that are God's.

Two such warnings come from the two best minds the Church of England has produced in the last generation. The late Dean of St. Paul's, the Very Reverend W. R. Inge, declared:

No Church ever goes into politics without coming out badly smirched. . . . We have seen the English Church in the eighteenth and part of nineteenth centuries identifying itself too much with the landed interest, and showing small sympathy with the efforts of landworkers to secure conditions of civilized life. And now, when power has definitely passed into the hands of the masses, we see large numbers of churchmen repeating the same mistake under color of rectifying it. . . . It is notorious that political Christianity excites bitter hatred against the Church. . . . The choice for the Church is between political power and moral influence. We cannot doubt on which side a true follower of Christ should range himself.

The late Archbishop of Canterbury, William Temple, was an outstanding leader of the social gospel forces and friendly to Britain's Labor Party. Nevertheless, he stated categorically:

It is of crucial importance that the Church, acting corporately, should not commit itself to any particular policy. . . . The Church is committed to the everlasting Gospel and to the Creeds which formulate it; it must never commit itself to an ephemeral program of detailed action.

The interlocking directorate which seeks, through the medium of the N.C.C., to convey the impression that it can deliver a large bloc of votes, may believe ever so sincerely that it is working only for righteous purposes. But there are heady sensations that accompany power. The ordinary practice of gilding self-interested motives with altruistic labels is stepped up with every increment of power, and raised to the nth degree in those who are able to convince themselves that they exercise power as vice regents of the Almighty.

Most men believe that religion cannot turn its back on the common concerns of life. God is a God of righteousness, and churchmen cannot ignore the issues of freedom, justice and mercy, nor allow evil to go unrebuked. There is little significant difference of opinion on the point that wherever human values are involved, religion is likewise implicated. The real criticism of the directorate's political activity does not come from those who deny the relevance of religion to social and political questions. The real criticism is two-pronged; the National Council makes pronouncements on questions which are primarily technical and without significant ethical or religious content, and then it compounds this evil by attributing to 35,000,000 church members views they do not hold.

Partisan Collectivism

Whoever attempts to raise questions about these pronouncements is accused of holding to the pietist position that religion has nothing to do with the relations among men. This may be the case in some instances; but a far larger number of religionists believe that religion does have a social application, but not the partisan collectivist application represented in the thinking of the interlocking directorate. The directorate believes that a social application of religion is some degree of socialism; they are collectivists. Others believe that each man's freedom under God is inconsistent with a society stratified into those with political control and those controlled; they are libertarians.

Collectivists and libertarians alike believe that there is a social application of the Gospels, but they differ as to what it is. Collectivists have not yet come around to the admission that there can be any honest answer but their own—the old claim of infallibility.

An example of this occurred in a recent *Christian Century* editorial on the National Council statement, entitled "Christian Principles and Assumptions for Economic Life." This statement has been in the works for a number of years and is based on earlier statements in a similar vein from the old Federal Council days. Its more moderate tone is due in part to the exchange of ideas that has been going on for the last several years between the

National Council and the National Lay Committee. The Lay Committee numbers 171 men and women from all walks of life. It has prepared an "Affirmation . . . on the Subject of Corporate Pronouncements of Denominational or Interdenominational Agencies." This was presented to the same session of the General Board of the National Council which considered the "Christian Principles" statement. The latter statement was accepted by an overwhelming vote, 77 to 4. The proposal that the Lay Committee's "Affirmation" be printed in pamphlet together with the "Christian Principles" statement was defeated by the same overwhelming vote.

The *Christian Century* editorial calls the National Council's statement "a landmark for Christian thinking." The editorial goes on to say, "The first hurdle, and almost the last, which had to be surmounted was the conviction on the part of some that economic life should lie outside the scope of church and National Council concerns." But the editorial writer apparently had not even read that portion of the Lay Committee's "Affirmation" which he reprinted, for it says: "We believe the pervading purpose of God's will extends to every aspect of life and suggest no limitation on its application to the affairs of men. . . . However, our Committee believes the National Council of Churches impairs its ability to meet its prime responsibility when, sitting in judgment on current secular affairs, it becomes involved in economic or political controversy, having no moral or ethical content."

To say that technical questions in economics and politics lie outside the domain of religion, as does the "Affirmation" of the Lay Committee, is one thing; to say that the whole of economic and political life is beyond reach of religious and moral considerations is something else again. The distinction seems to escape the *Christian Century*.

The effort of a few churchmen to play theocratic politics and use the Church as a means of effecting their own outmoded social reforms could, if it met with any success, inflict permanent damage on the religious life of America. Fortunately, their actions have roused opposition among men who have been brought to a renewed interest in the things of religion. The Church will continue to speak, but instead of speaking to politicians it will speak to the deepest human needs. Which is as it should be.

Republicanism permits the individual to persuade himself that the State is his creation, that State action is his action, that when it expresses itself it expresses him, and when it is glorified he is glorified. The republican State encourages this persuasion with all its power, aware that it is the most efficient instrument for enhancing its own prestige. Lincoln's phrase, "of the people, by the people, for the people," was probably the most effective single stroke of propaganda ever made in behalf of republican State prestige.

ALBERT JAY NOCK, *Our Enemy the State*

Progressive Education Undermined China

By DR. KAO CHIEN

How China's new educational policy, adopted in 1922 through the influence of Western-trained intellectuals, helped the Communists take over.

The fall of China to the Communists startled many who know that country. "How is it possible," it is asked, "that the Chinese people, with their culture and tradition based on the Golden Code moral philosophy of Confucius, can accept the immoral, unnatural system called communism?"

To answer this question, two factors must be considered. The first was the physical weakness of the nation brought on by the long Japanese aggression. The second was the mental confusion created by Chinese intellectuals during the years preceding the fall of the country. This second factor contributed more to the disaster than the first, although it was not as apparent. To appreciate this, one must review the elements of education in China in respect to the traditional Chinese culture, which has maintained a high standard for more than twenty centuries. [In the box on the opposite page, Dr. Kao outlines the fundamentals of the teachings of Confucius and Mencius which shaped this culture.]

Following the Opium War with the British in 1842, China lost one war after another to the Western powers, suffering heavy damages and costly indemnities each time. Chinese inferiority in scientific development and heavy industry was blamed. Consequently, the country's patriotic leaders decided that if China is to take a rightful place among the nations of the world, she must first modernize the nation in science and industry. For that purpose many students were sent to Europe and America to study.

In 1917, students graduated from Columbia and Harvard universities returned to China. A large number of these graduates, instead of learning the scientific know-how expected of them, had been thoroughly indoctrinated in pragmatism, experimentalism, economic socialism and, above all, atheism. They organized a movement called "the new culture movement of May Fourth," to which universities and schools all over China responded. This movement emphasized first, liberation of individual and social life from Chinese culture and tradition; second, promotion of liberal thinking as against the traditions of Chinese absolutism.

Its leaders maintained that the traditional control of the mind on a moral basis held China

from scientific progress and industrialization. They attacked traditional Chinese culture in books, pamphlets and periodicals. They made speeches, held conferences, sponsored mass rallies and agitated.

This new culture comprised the experimentalism of John Dewey, the socialism of Harold Laski, the materialistic immoralism of Bertrand Russell and other theories prevalent in the Western world at that time. Its leaders glorified these new "thinkers" and propagandized their theories and blueprints for the reformation of China. To strengthen this movement, John Dewey was invited in 1919 to lecture in China. He lectured for many months at the University of Peking and other institutions of learning all over China, spreading his theory of pragmatism. Everywhere he went, the new intellectuals enthusiastically welcomed him as a saviour of China. Later, Bertrand Russell was also invited to China. His radical views on moral and religious issues had great influence and did serious harm to the thinking of Chinese intellectuals.

New System Made Obligatory

Under the strong influence of this movement, the National Ministry of Education in 1922 adopted a new educational policy for all schools, public and private, throughout the country. The policy, called "the new school system," abolished the traditional aim of education in China and replaced it with a program of "progressive education." The program was obligatory.

As a result of progressive education, young people were trained in the spirit of revolution and reform. They learned to ridicule the traditional Chinese moral principles as impediments of progress. At home they had no respect for their parents or elders, whom they considered the victims of old Chinese traditions. In the schools they learned to call student strikes against the authorities. When this generation graduated from the schools, a serious social problem was created; besides being unprepared for making a living, these youngsters lacked the proper social graces needed for mingling with their fellow-men. The older educators and leaders of China protested

strongly against the system; the Nationalist government, in view of the results, abolished it in 1928 and substituted the "new school system," with an educational program patterned after the "three principles of the people" advocated by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, founder of the Republic of China. Unfortunately, the spirit of progressive education could not be banished and it continued to dominate the intellectual, educational and cultural circles.

The new culture movement very successfully undermined Chinese culture and traditions, but it had no philosophy to guide the individual and social life of the people. The advocates and followers of the movement brought to China the Western ideologies of pragmatism, experimentalism, positivism, naturalism, evolutionism, materialism, socialism and atheism. But they never stopped to consider whether or not these theories could satisfy the needs or solve the problems of China, or

could be adapted to the character of the Chinese people. The "great introducers of new theories" revelled in their glory.

Because these new ideologies are doctrines of change, in which there is no absolute truth and no reality, they offer no philosophy of life, without which one's life is incomplete. The new movement destroyed the old Chinese design for living and did not provide another; the people were led to the crossroads and abandoned there. They were lost. Even the leaders of the new culture movement began to lose confidence in the ideologies they had introduced.

This tremendous vacuum in the minds of the Chinese made them easy prey for communism. The people were told by the underground Communists that communism is the only cure-all for the ills of China. The underground Communists introduced the doctrine of class struggle and underlined the

China's Educational Heritage

“大學之道在明明德，在新民，在止於至善。物格而後知致，知致而後意誠，意誠而後心正，心正而後身修，身修而後家齊，家齊而後國治，國治而後天下平。”

Traditional education in China is based on the philosophy of Confucius. In *Great Learning* (one of the Four Confucian Books, written by Tseng-Tse, a well-known disciple of Confucius), one reads:

"The way of great learning is to understand bright virtues, to improve the people and to rest in the Supreme Good." To attain this goal one should "gain knowledge through the investigation of things, train a sincere will, rectify one's heart, cultivate one's personality, manage one's family, administrate the affairs of the State and promote universal brotherhood." [Dr. Kao has transcribed this quotation in Chinese characters, shown above.]

This is called the Triple Purpose and Eight Programs of Education. The method of education starts with the perfection of the individual through intellectual and moral teachings. It is then extended to the family, society, the State and the world. Family management is best promoted by harmonious cooperation between husband and wife, parental love and filial piety between parents and children, and

mutual assistance between brothers and sisters. In society, fidelity among friends is greatly encouraged. In the State administration, justice between the ruler and his officials must always be maintained.

In *Annals*, book of King Yao (2375 B.C.), one reads that Chi was appointed Minister of the Department of Education to teach the people Five Relationships, as follows:

"Love and piety between father and son; justice between the king and his officials; harmony between husband and wife; mutual assistance among brothers; fidelity among friends."

Confucius and his followers adopted this teaching and developed it.

In the field of universal brotherhood, the principle of Wang Tao, meaning to conquer by winning the hearts of the people, is emphasized; Pa Tao, which means to conquer by force, is frowned upon. This principle was expounded by Mencius, great philosopher and follower of Confucius, as indicated in his book *Mencius*, the last of the Four Confucian Books.

necessity of creating a classless society. They gave new interpretations to the whole history of the development of Chinese society to prove that communism is the only course to follow. Gradually the bewildered people gave communism a favored place in their thinking, not because they liked communism, but because they had nothing better to follow.

A Harsh Awakening

Thus, the path for the swift taking over of China by the Communists in 1948-49 was prepared by the materialistic philosophy introduced by the "progressives." But the Communists seem lacking in gratitude, for they have treated these intellectuals as shameful opportunists and have subjected them to extremely harsh brain-washing. They are forced to condemn themselves as reactionaries, remnants of feudalism, exploiters of the people and running-dogs of Western imperialism. These intellectuals awoke in horror from their rosy dream, but too late. Countless were liquidated. A few fortunate ones escaped to the free world. Those who could come to the United States are fighting Communists, not because the Communists enslave the people, but because they treated these intellectuals badly. Often they declare themselves liberals and protectors of freedom, but few have repented or even admitted that they were largely responsible for the loss of freedom for 450,000,000 Chinese. They have not abandoned dialectical materialism, nor have they ceased trying to propagandize this deadly doctrine. Strangely and sadly, many of them are still considered by some Americans to be prototypes of the "modern Confucius" or "foremost Chinese scholars."

Almost all Chinese living abroad are dedicated to the struggle against the Communists. Unfortunately, the line of attack is not clear. Many of the intellectuals are opposed only to the cruelty and inhumanity of the Communists, not to the philosophy of communism, simply because this philosophy is in keeping with their thinking. They do not realize that the inhumanity of the Communists is the logical conclusion of communist premises. Fighting Communists without fighting communism is meaningless and ridiculous.

As to the Chinese on the mainland, they have been rudely and brutally awakened. They now see the worthlessness and evil of the alien ideology of communism, and not only seek to free themselves from this viselike control over mind and body, but also feel the need for a sound philosophy of life. Undoubtedly many will return to the familiar ways of Confucianism, but many others will seek a higher and more inspiring plan for life.

Christianity embodies all the virtues of Confucian teachings plus a well-developed and thorough program for living. More important, its complete

theology in the supernatural order, lacking in Confucianism, will fill the gap in the Chinese people's way of life. After their experiences with the Communists, only Christianity can satisfy the needs of their minds and souls.

A Lesson in Socialism

As a teacher in the public schools, I find that the socialist-communist idea of taking "from each according to his ability," and giving "to each according to his need" is now generally accepted without question by most of our pupils. In an effort to explain the fallacy in this theory, I sometimes try this approach with my pupils:

When one of the brighter or harder-working pupils makes a grade of 95 on a test, I suggest that I take away 20 points and give them to a student who has made only 55 points on his test. Thus each would contribute according to his ability and—since both would have a passing mark—each would receive according to his need. After I have juggled the grades of all the other pupils in this fashion, the result is usually a "common ownership" grade of between 75 and 80—the minimum needed for passing, or for survival. Then I speculate with the pupils as to the probable results if I actually used the socialistic theory for grading papers.

First, the highly productive pupils—and they are always a minority in school as well as in life—would soon lose all incentive for producing. Why strive to make a high grade if part of it is taken from you by "authority" and given to someone else?

Second, the less productive pupils—a majority in school as elsewhere—would, for a time, be relieved of the necessity to study or to produce. This socialist-communist system would continue until the high producers had sunk—or had been driven down—to the level of the low producers. At that point, in order for anyone to survive, the "authority" would have no alternative but to begin a system of compulsory labor and punishments against even the low producers. They, of course, would then complain bitterly, but without understanding.

Finally, I return the discussion to the ideas of freedom and enterprise—the market economy—where each person has freedom of choice, and is responsible for his own decisions and welfare. Gratifyingly enough, most of my pupils then understand what I mean when I explain that socialism—even in a democracy—will eventually result in a living death for all except the "authorities" and a few of their favorite lackeys.

THOMAS J. SHELLY

(Printed copies of this letter may be obtained from The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y. Five copies free, then one cent each. Ask for Clipping of Note, Number 36.)

The Soviet Psychosis

By JEROME LANDFIELD

At the time of the Bolshevik Revolution I came into contact with a number of its most outspoken supporters. What struck me about them was an attitude similar to that of the Greenwich Village variety of artists—people who, unable to face their lack of talent squarely, soothed their ego by inveighing against the classics and praising “the primitive.” Similarly, the Bolsheviks seemed possessed of a fear of economic progress and inveighed against “capitalism.” At bottom it was envy of the successful; the envy led to hatred.

At the time my interest was in individuals, and it did not occur to me to generalize. Since then, however, the successive developments of the Soviet regime have convinced me that this is but a large-scale example of the inferiority complex I had observed in its original leadership.

Lenin believed that communism could succeed in Russia only if there were world revolution. He reasoned that Russia was chiefly an agricultural country, and that communism would fail if it were not supported by an industrial class. Hence, all-out efforts were made to bring about revolution in other countries.

Forcible Industrialization

But these efforts failed, and with the death of Lenin and the rise to power of Stalin, there came a change of policy better suited to satisfy the inferiority complex. This was the forcible industrialization of Russia. Stalin drove toward this goal with an iron will. The remaking of a society by force is an impossible task, has never succeeded when tried, and results in dangerous dislocations. It would take too long to recount the blunders that wrecked the Russian economy, but a few indicative examples may be cited.

One is the Dnieperstroï, the dam intended to utilize the rapids of the Dnieper River for hydroelectric power. Several years before the Revolution, plans for this project were worked out. But competent engineers turned it down on two grounds. The first was that the hydroelectric plant would have to be supplemented by a steam plant at low level time, and coal for this plant would have to be hauled 200 miles by rail; the other was that there was no industry within reach to use the power. The plans were buried in the Interior Department until dug up by the Bolsheviks, who undertook the construction at a staggering cost. Of course, it was a gigantic flop.

Then there was the absurd subway for Moscow. A



tramway or a bus line would have answered every purpose, but New York, London and Paris had subways, so the Soviet Union had to have one.

Magnitogorsk is another example. In southwestern Siberia there is an extensive deposit of iron ore. The ore is high grade, as I can testify, for I examined it myself. This suggested to the Communists the idea of building a rival of Gary, Indiana. The coking coal to smelt the ore was brought in over a ramshackle railroad from a deposit 600 miles distant, and then the product was thousands of miles from where it could be used. Besides this, it was estimated that there was ore for only ten years in sight.

The latest absurdity is the thirty-four-story University of Moscow. Although the plain around Moscow lent itself beautifully to building a useful institution of learning with every convenience, the Soviet leaders had to build this structure because they had heard of a similar one in Pittsburgh. Symptomatic also are the preposterous claims of Russian priority in all manner of discoveries and inventions.

Envy of the successful frequently breeds hate, and this by constant stimulation may become an *idée fixe*. The Soviet government, in order to justify its tremendous armament program, has stimulated this manufactured hate of America by such absurd charges as “germ warfare,” “war-mongering,” “Wall Street imperialism,” and “racial discrimination.”

The answer to this mass inferiority complex

is not a policy of containment, which simply aggravates the disease. The really feasible and effective method is the infiltration of truth, convincing truth, among the peoples behind the Iron Curtain. The convincing exposure of just one propaganda falsehood throws doubt on all the rest, and if this exposure makes the authorities ridiculous, it is doubly effective. A dozen of Lichty's devastating cartoons would be worth more than millions of military expenditure.

In such a campaign we have two favorable factors. One is that, except for Soviet officials and the group of indoctrinated fanatics, the Russian people and those of the satellite states hate communism. The other is that even the officials suspect each other and most of them long for a different life.

With these conditions in view, let us make a brief realistic appraisal of Soviet power. It would be foolish to underestimate the development of air power and the advance in atomic research—two fields in which the U.S.S.R. owes much to foreign experts—or the threat those hold for us, for there is always the danger of a Soviet dictator running amok. This danger has probably been lessened with the death of Stalin and the struggle for power that followed it. Likewise, the disturbances in East Germany and unrest in the satellite states would appear to have lessened the danger.

Soviet Resources Limited

Now let us look at the other side. The resources of Russia have been greatly exaggerated. European Russia is a vast alluvial plain; the highest elevation is nine hundred feet. Hydroelectric power in any significant amount is out of the question. Climatic conditions hamper all transportation six months in the year. Coal and iron resources in southern Russia are now negligible, and the oil wells of Baku and Grozny have been depleted. Reliance for fuel and metals is entirely on Siberia, and here their usefulness is limited by distance and climate.

The agricultural situation is appalling. Evidence of this is to be found in recent decrees and bureaucratic shifts. Before the Revolution the southeastern part of Russia produced a surplus which made up for the deficiency in the northwestern part, where soil and climate were unfavorable. The liquidation of the more prosperous farmers and the dragooning of the peasants into cooperatives proved disastrous. Everywhere there is a food shortage; famine is always imminent.

Except for the threat of the atomic bomb, the danger of an attack on western Europe would appear to be entirely unfounded. Supplies and transportation for a land attack are lacking. At the first sign of such an attack there would be such outbreaks and sabotage in the satellite states as to hamstring it. Likewise, it is estimated that fuel

supplies would limit the Soviet air force to forty-eight hours in the air.

Finally, there is an important aspect of the whole problem that has been shamefully misrepresented in current literature concerning the Russian people. Most of these writers never knew Russia before the Revolution and have swallowed, hook, line and sinker, the picture of pre-Revolutionary Russia given in violently partisan and entirely superficial and inaccurate descriptions. These have described the Russian people as ignorant, as natural slaves of autocratic government, and as a mingling of racial stocks with a large admixture of the Asiatic.

For a score of years prior to the Revolution I spent much time in Russia. I learned the language and read and spoke it fluently. At one time I lived for months in a peasant cottage as a member of the family. I spent four seasons in various parts of Siberia and employed scores of peasants in mining explorations. I visited many of the industrial plants and knew their managers. I was entertained in the homes of all classes of Russian society. It is on the basis of this experience that I wish to correct certain grave misinformation concerning the Russian people.

First, let me expose the myth of Mongolian and Tatar racial mixture. The mass of the Russian people, at least a hundred million of them, are of pure Indo-European origin. These were the Slavs who migrated northward from the Carpathians into the vast plains of Russia, drove back the Finns and other nomads, cleared the forests and settled down as farmers. The Tatar invasion held them under tribute for two centuries, but the Tatars never occupied the country, and there was no intermixture. I well remember a summer spent in the town of Elatma, on the Oka River some two hundred miles south of Moscow. It was located between Kassimov and Riazan, two Tatar settlements that dated from the thirteenth century, but as far as I could learn there had never been a case of intermarriage.

As to the political instincts and capabilities of the Russian people, many writers apparently share the belief that the Russians were so influenced by the Tatar invasion and Byzantium Christianity as to be naturally adapted to autocratic rule. I know from personal experience that this is not the case.

Here is an example. I spent the summer of 1899 in the Ural on a mining exploration on the Serebrianaia River. The object was to determine whether the gravels along the river were suitable for profitable dredging operations. For this it was necessary to obtain an option from the village that owned this land. I drew up a contract by which we agreed to pay a certain amount for the option and a large amount per acre if we decided to use the land for dredging. A town meeting was called, and I addressed it. A vigorous dis-

cussion, pro and con, ensued and the proposed contract was turned down. A second meeting gave the same result. At a third meeting, I convinced the townspeople that it was to their advantage, and approval of the contract was voted. It was just like a New England town meeting and was typical of other experiences I had in Russia.

Another incident on an entirely different plane will serve to illustrate the point. One day I received a call from Prince Boris Golitsin. He was a man of great culture and scientific achievements, an explorer of note, and a member of the Academy of Science, who later became director of the bureau of engraving and printing, and director

of the Palkova astronomical observatory. He explained that he happened to be near my apartment because he was serving on a jury in a neighboring court, and that he considered this to be his civic duty.

There are two points that I would like to drive home. The first is that the Russian people are fundamentally democratic in our sense of the word, thanks to their ancient traditions of democratic self-government. Second, it is my firm belief that the present Communist regime carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction, and that eventually we shall find harmonious cooperation with the Russian people.

A Note on the Oppenheimer Case

By **ROBERT R. LENT**

Why have some eminent scientists proved naively susceptible to communism's promises of security for all? Here is an analysis of several reasons.

In a letter to the Atomic Energy Commission, in reply to charges placed against him by the Personnel Security Board, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer said:

"My friends, both in Pasadena and in Berkeley, were mostly faculty people, scientists, classicists and artists. I studied and read Sanskrit. I read something of other parts of science. I was not interested in and did not read about economics and politics. I never read a newspaper or current magazine; I had no radio; no telephone; I learned of the stock market crash in 1929 only long after the event; the first time I ever voted was in the Presidential election of 1936. To many of my friends, my indifference to contemporary affairs seemed bizarre, and they often chided me for being too much of a highbrow. . . . I was deeply interested in my science, but I had no understanding of the relations of man to his society."

The Religion of Science

If you analyze this self-portrayal (and I have reason to believe it to be honest), you get an inkling of the reason why the occasional top-flight scientist, or even one of lesser degree, falls prey to the seductive promise of communism. And you begin to understand why the scientists of Germany were entranced by Hitler and became his dupes. For the letter reveals the deplorable deterioration of the man who becomes completely immersed in the religion of science and thus loses touch with the realities of life. It shows, too, what happens to the

mentality of the person whose existence is sheltered by the State.

When I read this letter, in the record of the Oppenheimer hearings, my mind reverted to my experiences in the research and development work of the United States Air Force. From 1950 to 1954, as a commissioned officer, I served as personnel adviser to the Deputy Chief of Staff, Development. Translated, this means that I was a personnel officer assigned to the procurement, training and utilization of scientists for the Air Force. My work brought me in daily contact with many of the eminent scientists in industry, government and educational circles. I met many to whom the self-portrayal of Dr. Oppenheimer is applicable.

Let me tell the story of one brilliant young man who came to my attention. He was the son of a wealthy man who had given his offspring everything but parental attention. His early years were guarded and guided by servants and tutors. At the age of twenty-three he had acquired his Ph.D. at one of our major technical institutes, but despite this equipment he was reluctant to go out into the world. He decided to prolong the charm of institutional life by studying law. Two years later, with an LL.B added to his other degrees, he was still reluctant to meet the discipline of the market place, and planned to work for a degree in business administration. A friend dissuaded him from so doing, and he entered the field of patent law. He was a dismal failure. An intellectual robot, he was without the imagination needed to apply his theoretical knowledge to practical situations, and quite

incapable of coping with the attitudes of prospective clients.

So he fled from society and re-entered the sanctuary of institutional life; he became an assistant professor at the college which had made him what he was. Eventually he transferred to another sanctuary, the government. Here he is content. Here he is a "doctor," not a "mister," and, above all, he is relieved of all concern about the source of his sustenance. He has found the warmth, comfort and security of his prenatal state; that is what all his study had prepared him for.

Social Progress by Formula

With some variation in details, this is the story of the lives of a number of eminent scientists. Their common characteristic is an addiction to science that amounts to a mania; in all other matters, their naiveté is almost childlike. Being utterly without guile, they can fall easy prey to the shrewd and unscrupulous communist agent.

The promise of communism—security for all people—makes sense to the scientist who has always enjoyed institutional security. If the State can provide for him, why cannot it provide for the butcher, the baker and the candlestick maker? Since he has never had need for exercising freedom of choice, he puts no importance on it. His formula-ridden mind easily accepts the concept of a society run by a formula. Science, which has shown him how to fathom every materialistic problem presented to him, can surely come up with a mathematical equation that will solve all social problems. All one needs to do is to submit man to environmental conditioning, such as he employs in his laboratory, and the right answer will be found. That is what communism holds, and therefore its

promise appeals to him. He has no criteria by which to examine that promise; his training has not furnished him with any.

The product of the larger technical institution, I found, is far more characterized by this naiveté, which easily turns to emotional instability under the impact of social contacts, than is the graduate of the smaller college. This is probably due to the difference in curricula. Most small colleges insist that the student take some cultural courses, while the larger technical schools concentrate on science to the exclusion of everything else. Furthermore, the student in a large institution loses his sense of individuality the moment he is enrolled, merely because he is lost in the immense student body; one technical school actually prides itself on its indifference to the individual student. After having lost his identity for four impressionable years, it is easy for the graduate to accept the basic premise of communism that the individual does not count.

Among the scientists with whom I came in contact, the majority were cognizant of the limitations of science, and realized that the finite mind of man could not penetrate the mystery of the laws of nature. Whether they came to that realization because of their early religious training or because their scientific thinking had taken a philosophical turn, I do not know. But I do know that those who believed in a God of the Universe were more stable and showed greater strength of character than those who had swallowed the materialistic philosophy whole. The former were certainly considered less of a security risk than the latter.

I do not know whether Dr. Oppenheimer was or is a Communist. But I do know that those who worship at the shrine of science are apt to lose all sense of moral values and thus become susceptible to the lure of communism.

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Prosperity by Procreation

By F. A. HARPER

An economist points out fallacies in the popular theory that a boom in the birth rate is a weapon against depression and brings an upswing in national prosperity.

Economics and obstetrics must have engaged in adultery to beget the new theory of baby prosperity.

A quarter of a century ago, when we were being plagued with imagined surpluses, many economists were concerned with what they called the nation's propensity to consume. Now this is being replaced with concern over the nation's propensity to procreate, and belief in baby prosperity is sweeping the land through publications ranging all the way from light reading for the layman's Sunday afternoon to technical business forecasts.

Here are a few samples: A popular magazine, having a thousand readers to the FREEMAN's one, recently published an article entitled "Our New Weapon Against Depression: The Baby Boom." A bankers' bulletin heaped more dirt on Malthus' bones by asserting: "It's hard to see much depression coming up if the present population is to increase two and two-thirds millions yearly through 1960." A renowned Harvard economist, speaking of an "extraordinarily bright" prospect for the economy, says: "In part, these bright prospects are the result of the rapid rate at which population has been increasing."

The baby prosperity argument goes like this: A click every twelve seconds on a machine in the Washington Census Bureau announces the birth of another consumer for the market in America. As every storekeeper knows, new consumers mean new business, and new business means prosperity. Stock which the merchant has sold must be replaced. This sets in motion a new wave of business all the way back to the manufacturer and the producer of raw materials—not overlooking all the related services.

Or, to express the idea another way: The national income this year is said to be about \$1,750 per person. Since there would have been no demand and no national income without any population, this amount is what the average person added to the market demand. Every newborn baby, then, adds \$1,750 (plus or minus) to the national income; he is precious not only to his parents but also to the general economy.

This concept that babies give birth to prosperity calls to mind the traditional Chamber of Commerce program of enticing new businesses and more people to come to the town. In promoting these programs, it is often implied that if the population of the town can be doubled, everyone will be twice

as prosperous—well, much more prosperous at least. But since one town's gain is another's loss, the claim can be made that babies bring prosperity without provinciality and selfishness. The stork doesn't use any moving van and disadvantage some other town; everybody gains.

That is the idea in brief. The article already mentioned concludes with this beautiful economic rainbow: "The blueprint for tomorrow is clear—the Children's Decade is unquestionably America's wealthiest asset for a depression-proof future."

The Appeal to Patriotism

The idea of baby prosperity adds another appeal to the natural emotional urge toward parenthood. Every procreator a patriot! The prospective sire of even a moron can believe that in adding another child he is adding umpteen dollars to the national income. All countrymen should tender to him their thanks. The sleep of long-suffering parents may be disturbed in the process, but that sacrifice is for the national welfare.

It is perhaps not an accident that a popular theory of baby prosperity came just at this time. It came in the wake of a gloomy business forecast which threw quite a scare into business circles a few months ago. Dr. Colin Clark, the noted Australian and British economist, flatly predicted that the United States faced a major economic setback. Coming from such a source, it frightened the fearsome and most of their complacent cousins. Its influence as a gloomy forecast was so great that it received the distinction of inducing a counterprediction from Washington. But even that was not enough to allay economic fears in a nation that has come to treat the Statue of Liberty as though it were a symbol of Mammon.

More persuasive than the official pronouncements of business health, I believe, has been the growing faith in baby prosperity. Its power lies in its plausibility, since it is so much easier to understand than the complex curves and depression curatives usually found in the economist's kit.

In self-defense against misguided business advice, it behooves us to take a critical look at the theory. I do not believe that the baby boom and increasing population assures prosperity. We may have prosperity during a period of increasing pop-

ulation, but without the one being the cause of the other.

In challenging the theory I do not mean to predict, either, that an increasing population will bring a depression. I am merely saying that to predict the business future one must consult sources other than the stork and the mortician.

In challenging the theory of baby prosperity I am not presuming to advise parents about having offspring. That is for them to decide on their own responsibility. I only suggest they omit this national welfare buncombe from their precalculations, leaving it entirely to the Socialists for use as one of their political nostrums.

If the theory of baby prosperity were correct, why do we not find China among the most prosperous nations of the world? And India? They have a plenitude of offspring. They have great concentrations of population per square mile. If these make welfare in a nation, it should be rampant in such places. Yet they are among the least prosperous in the world. By looking at the matter in this way—simple observation and deductive reasoning—the theory is exposed as not only false, but false with a vengeance.

A Matter of Production

Its falseness, if we look beneath this surface evidence, lies in the simple fact that low production per person is what really causes the low level of living in any nation. Another baby does not raise the production per person automatically. After the baby has grown to a productive age, special conditions might result in increased production per person; but these conditions do not prevail in any nation already rather fully populated, where more babies will almost certainly have the effect of reducing the level of living.

Every baby is born full of wants, and this adds to the pile of wants within the nation, to be sure. But it is production and not these wants which makes economic welfare. I have never known a person whose wants as a whole seemed to have any limit. One's want for a thing like salt is limited, but not his total wants for everything, including vacation trips and services and the like. If wants alone assured prosperity, there could never have been anything but unlimited prosperity anywhere in the world.

So the error in the theory of baby prosperity really lies in confusing wants with the things which satisfy these wants; in confusion between wants and effective market demand, or the means of buying. You and I want things but cannot have them unless we produce them, or produce the

means of buying them, or have them given to us by someone who has produced them.

The level of living we now enjoy in the United States is in large degree due to the increased production made possible by the use of tools operated by electrical and other nonhuman sources of power. These tools have been accumulated for our use by persons who have saved and invested in them. I would say that perhaps 95 per cent of our level of living in the United States is due to the aid they have given to human hands. If we lacked most of these tools, as does the person in China or India, we would be producing little if any more—per person—than he does.

Baby Brings No Tool Kit

The newborn baby has neither goods nor real buying power attached to him when he comes. We are all born nude, economically as well as physically. And neither does he bring with him a kit of tools like those making possible some 95 per cent of what we are able to produce. So when he attains a productive age, others must share with him the use of tools already there. Everyone then has fewer tools to use and less can be produced—per person. The result is that the level of living must go down, not up.

Let us presume that the population were to double, due to a friendly invasion from Mars. If the Martians brought with them no tools and we were to share our tools with them, the production and level of living of those already here would have to decline by half, plus or minus. Our economic welfare would go down.

When the population increases faster than the tools with which to work, the use of tools will have to be spread thinner and thinner. And since tools give productive leverage to hand and brawn, there would then be less production and a lower level of living, as surely as four divided by two is two.

He who projects his business plans on a false premise, such as the assumption that more babies assure prosperity, will some day come out of his economic stupor on the sheriff's doorstep, broke.

But a false basis for predicting business prospects is not the only danger in the idea of baby prosperity. The concept is dangerously close to denying the right of man to be free, and that is perhaps its most serious aspect.

The idea that babies are valuable is not new. In the Homeric period of ancient Greece parents sometimes sold their children into slavery. Like goats, children had a price in the market place. Anyone trying to promote



Planned Parenthood in that day would have been laughed out of home and goat-yard alike.

Then a new idea came to dominate people's thinking. It was the belief in the dignity of each individual under God, under rights and responsibilities of self-ownership. The child was not for sale, nor was he thought of as an economic asset of any other person or any collective of persons, like a nation. He was not a digit of national wealth or income, for the calculations of some bureaucrat. So it came to pass that a child, in growing up to be a free man, was considered free from the day he was born and this new theological concept came to dominate the economic practices of mankind. And child slavery faded.

Over the intervening centuries the dominant culture of the Western world left the matter of the birth rate to the family, where it belongs—no longer weighing its children as economic assets. To do so has become a sacrilege. We love them, and that is that.

An Old Concept Reappears

And now the reactionary concept that babies are economic assets is again rearing its ugly head. To say that a baby is worth something to the market of America is dangerously close to saying that a baby has worth in the market as a direct object of sale. For a thing of worth is an asset, and an asset is saleable in the market.

The concept which made child slavery tolerable to ancient Greece is thus reappearing in respected intellectual circles, in the form of this idea of baby prosperity. It is a symptom of the collectivized thinking embodied in modern socialist-communist doctrine. We first accept the idea that our economic welfare is the responsibility of government rather than ourselves. Then we discover that babies are national economic assets, assuring prosperity. It is a perfectly logical derivative of this to say that the government may claim control of the means of welfare for which it has been acclaimed responsible.

And the government then becomes the logical manager of procreativity—perhaps, one day, under a new Department of Genopropagation empowered to select for you your mate and to control all your family affairs. The government in its new role, of course, must make the children work and produce when they are old enough.

Such steps into collectivism do not entail any disharmony of logic, and in that sense may not be as fantastic as they may at first appear. Children need not be auctioned off in a market place, as in ancient Greece. Enslavement to government is as truly servitude as if children are sold to private owners on the auction block.

It is never too early to destroy seed-thoughts which can grow into colossal destroyers of human dignity and freedom, like belief in baby prosperity.

Malthus' Mistake

Dr. Harper discusses in the preceding article the new economic theory that babies make for prosperity. But, even as this theory is bandied about, we hear repeated murmurings of the Malthusian theory: namely, that population tends to increase faster than the means of subsistence, and that nature's cure for this inevitable overpopulation is pestilence, famine and war. The theory of "prosperity by procreation" (or Malthusianism in reverse) is rather new and has not, as far as we know, achieved textbook standing. But Malthusianism is still taught in some college courses, while every so often we read in the newspapers that the troubles of Japan and India are due only to overpopulation.

The food situation in the United States is a conundrum for neo-Malthusians. Here a teen-age baby-sitter earns the equivalent of a pound of chicken in only an hour. And here we have a corn "surplus" large enough to fill a freight train extending from Los Angeles to Atlantic City.

The reason for the food abundance here, advanced by neo-Malthusians, is that we are the lucky descendants of ancestors who happened to come to this land of abundant resources.

This easy explanation needs scrutiny. When Columbus arrived on this hemisphere the sparse native population lived on the verge of starvation. They hunted the buffalo that roamed over what has become the corn belt. They evaded diamond-backed rattlers as they hunted over lands now lush with citrus groves.

Since Columbus' day the population has increased some four hundred times, and the diet has improved from one of poverty to one of luxury. And this fine fare takes only one fifth of the income of the average family.

What brought about the abundance? What factor did Malthus leave out of his calculations? (He died just before that great era in Britain when this factor was allowed a trial for a half century.)

That factor is *freedom*. More exactly, it is the partial removal of political interference with the right of the individual to own, save and invest what he produces. When a baby is born it has two hands with which to feed one mouth; and when it is able to do so, the baby will see to it that an abundance reaches its mouth, provided no policeman filches from the handful. But, if the policeman takes too much, the grown-up baby will stop trying. In short, production increases, other things being equal, as the right of private property is respected.

The fascinating story of the history of food and its relation to freedom will be found in a scholarly book by a lifetime student of the subject: E. Parmelee Prentice's *Hunger and History* (published by The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, \$5.00).

Jefferson Revisits America

By THADDEUS ASHBY

The framer of the Declaration of Independence comes back via Time Machine and takes a look at liberty and individualism in America today.

An inventor in our town built a funny-looking contraption which he called a Time Machine. I watched him demonstrate it. He pressed a row of buttons and turned a dial until the number 1776 popped up.

A cloud of smoke swirled around the machine. The inventor spun a wheel, a heavy door swung open and there inside a cell, surrounded by wires and tubes, stood a fellow wearing a white wig and dressed in a Colonial suit; a handsome, aristocratic sort of a man. He blinked, extracted a lace handkerchief from his brocaded sleeve, and dabbed the smoke out of his eyes.

He said: "My name is Thomas Jefferson of Monticello. I don't believe I have had the honor."

We introduced ourselves. "You're in the twentieth century," the inventor told him. "Wait, I want the reporters and photographers to record this!"

"What do you know!" he whispered to me. "It works! Watch him for me!" And he rushed off.

I stared at Mr. Jefferson. He smiled back. "Could we take some air? I am bound to confess I find it somewhat stifling here."

"But you can't go out in the streets like that. Come home with me and I'll lend you a suit of clothes."

"I should like some tea," said Thomas Jefferson.

"We've got plenty of tea," I said. "Let's go."

"What is the price of tea in this country?" Jefferson asked.

"This country is America," I said. "And tea is \$1.50 per pound."

"Outrageous!" said Jefferson. "If Samuel Adams were here, he would throw it overboard!"

"Here's my car," I said.

"Strange . . . Perhaps we could have our tea while they are hitching up."

"Hitching up? Look, Mr. Jefferson, this isn't a coach. It's ready to go as is. It has an engine under the hood. It's a—horseless carriage."

"Amazing! And on what principle does this engine run, Sir?"

"Well, it . . . just runs. You put in gasoline here, see. And then it burns and, well, it's really very simple."

"Indeed." Jefferson scowled at me.

"You'll get to talk to an engineer," I assured him. All the way out to the house Jefferson kept asking me embarrassing questions. "What's that?" He pointed to the instrument panel.

"That's a radio. Like to hear it?"

He listened a moment. "That is quite enough," he said. "Can you explain the principle on which it functions?"

"Well, a man talks into a microphone, and the sound is transmitted through the air, and uh, it comes out here. It's really very. . ."

"Simple," said Jefferson.

"Mr. Jefferson," I said, "I know you were an architect, scientist, inventor, farmer, lawyer, jack-of-all-trades. Well, I'm not. Everything is specialized today. A mechanic can tell you how our engines run. All I can tell you about is politics."

"Politics. Good," said Jefferson. "My interest, too. I have written some short opinions on the subject. I daresay the imperfections and errors which we encountered in my day must all have been resolved by now."

"Sir," I told him, "I'm afraid those imperfections and errors have only been aggravated."

"Incredible!" said Jefferson. "You speed through space, throw your voice through the air. I marvel at your mechanical progress. Have you not shown similar progress in government?"

"In my opinion, we've gone backwards," I said.

"I cannot believe it."

"Here we are, Sir," I said.

Jefferson looked around, at the electric light switches, the gas furnace, the plumbing fixtures, the radio-phonograph. He said "Hmmm!" several times. We had some tea. After a moment Jefferson said:

"But to the quick o' the ulcer! The specialists shall explain these miracles to me. I request now instruction concerning the political degeneration which you allege has occurred."

I pointed to my library. "You can read all these things for yourself, Mr. Jefferson," I said. I showed him my books. "I have here just a few of the books, magazines and pamphlets which prove in detail, naming names, facts and figures, that Americans have been bargaining away the rights which you described in the Declaration of Independence. Look at these pamphlets." I handed him a lapful of literature.

"Here's a book that tells how one Supreme Court decision after another transferred more power to the federal government," I said.

"Why didn't the Legislative branch impeach the jurists responsible?" demanded Jefferson.

"This pamphlet tells how Congress abdicated its powers to the Executive," I said. He scanned the pages, open-mouthed, wide-eyed.

"Here's one that shows how the Reconstruction period violated the rights of the States," I said, heaping another pamphlet on the pile. "Here's one that shows how the government got into the business of subsidizing private citizens, beginning with the Post Office, which you Founders provided for, then the railroads, ending with the airlines and government ownership of more than eighty corporations operating in competition with private corporations."

"Why were the people not educated to stand their ground against these usurpations?" asked Jefferson.

"This book tells how the income tax destroyed the power of the states, how the draft law destroyed the power of the militias to resist the central government, how the United Nations has been given the power to commit this country to 'police action' anywhere in the world and use drafted men to further entangle us in foreign expeditions. Here's one. . ."

"Stop!" cried Jefferson. "Stab my eyes! I've had enough! Take me to the revolutionaries!"

"Who?" I asked, not sure I had heard correctly.



"The men who intend to revolt and overthrow the tyrannical government you have described to me."

"Oh, you mean the Communists. I don't know any, personally."

"Communists? Did you not tell me," asked Jefferson, "that Communists advocate extension of the power of the federal government? If so, I shall not address myself to them. I refer to the revolutionaries who seek to restore the principles of the Declaration of Independence."

"Oh," I said. "They're called Conservatives and Reactionaries."

"Names signify little," said Jefferson. "I myself was called a Democrat. Take me to these Reactionaries. I intend to help them foment their revolution."

"Well Mr. Jefferson," I said, "I'll take you to them. But if you start talking about revolt, they'll think you're some kind of a dangerous radical."

"I was," said Jefferson. "Shall we start?"

Since most of the signers of the Declaration were lawyers or farmers, I thought I'd take Jefferson to a lawyer and a farmer, both conservatives.

"I'll take you to the best lawyer in town," I said. "But first, do you mind changing out of those knee breeches and taking off that wig?"

I phoned for an appointment with the lawyer. "We have time," I said, "to visit Farmer Gimmeey."

"Is he a rebel?" asked Jefferson.

"Oh, no," I said. "He's a good Republican."

The good farmer quieted his barking dogs and sauntered over to the car. "Farmer Gimmeey," I said, "here's a friend of mine, name of Jefferson."

"Stay a while," said Gimmeey. "I thought you were the man from Soil Conservation. They're going to pay me for putting in a big dam."

"Mr. Jefferson wants you to sign a Declaration of Independence," I explained. "He wants you to revolt against controls, restrictions and high taxes."

"Sounds like a Red plot to me," said Gimmeey. "Revolts and all."

"This is just the opposite," I said. "Mr. Jefferson wants to restore constitutional government."

"Would I lose my wheat support checks?"

"Yes," I said.

"Milk support checks?"

"Yes."

"Butter?"

"'fraid so."

"Conservation dam checks?"

"All your dam checks," I said. "But you'll keep every cent you earn."

"Are you crazy?" asked Farmer Gimmeey. "Coming out here butting into my business!"

"John Hart was, as you say, 'crazy,'" broke in Jefferson.

"Who was John Hart?" asked Gimmeey.

"Just a simple farmer," said Jefferson. "He signed the Declaration of Independence. The British

burned his farmhouse and sawmill and blackened his acres. He died in 1779 without ever knowing whether the Americans would win the war for Independence which he helped start with his signature."

"Why bring him up?" asked Gimmeey.

"You were asking just now, whether you would lose your government checks," explained Jefferson. "John Hart would sign the Declaration again, though he knew it meant he would lose everything."

"How do you know he would?" demanded Gimmeey.

"I know," said Jefferson, "that Farmer John Hart loved America and the liberty it stood for more than all the things he lost."

"Do you think I don't love America?" Farmer Gimmeey bristled.

"Not more than your stipends from government, obviously," said Jefferson.

"Wait a minute," said Gimmeey. "Those subsidies promote the general welfare—otherwise the farmers would go out of business and the nation would starve to death. . ."

Jefferson turned to me. "Our host would find my reasoning too tedious to follow," he said, "and I fear that my continued presence here will only weary him and keep him from his task of feeding the nation." He turned back to Farmer Gimmeey. "You will forgive me, Sir," said Jefferson, "if I tear myself away. I have the honor to be your most obedient servant."

Never having been insulted before in such an elegant manner, Farmer Gimmeey's feet took roots in his sod; his tongue seemed to have stuck in his mouth, and his cheeks reddened under the tan leather of his skin.

As we pulled away, he cried: "Wait! I'll sign."

I stopped the car. "On one condition," he said.

"Condition?" asked Jefferson, perplexed.

"That all the others getting subsidies, the labor union man, the businessman with his tariffs, the rest of them, sign it first, and agree to give up their subsidies, too!"

"We should still be in Philadelphia," said Jefferson, "if the delegates there had each made the same stipulation."

"What do I get out of it?" demanded Gimmeey, visualizing the loss of his checks.

"Perhaps no more than Lewis Morris," said Jefferson. "A rich farmer, Morris stood to gain nothing by signing. By refusing, he would have lost nothing but his self-respect. The British, learning that he had signed, desecrated his manor house and fired his thousand-acre stand of excellent trees. His family endured seven years of hand-to-mouth living."

Farmer Gimmeey contemplated this fate for his family and found little to recommend it. "Times have changed," he said.

"The issues have not changed," said Jefferson.

We drove back to town without speaking. To take the gloom out of the silence, I turned on the radio.

And, ladies and gentlemen, while we seek federal aid to education, we do not seek federal control. Education is the most precious part of our national heritage, and those who would deny us our share of the national wealth stand guilty of depriving the leaders of the future of their right to knowledge and the free access thereto. If education is to be free, then those who stand in the way of federal aid, when local resources have dried up, are attacking freedom of education, freedom of the mind, academic freedom. We can go forward to new heights only by establishing a United States Department of Education with cabinet rank, and the privilege of sharing in the golden bounty of the federal income tax. To what nobler purpose could our national treasure be put? (applause)

Ladies and Gentlemen, You have just heard an address entitled, "How to Preserve Free Enterprise."

I turned it off. "See what you started with tax-supported education?" I said.

Jefferson stroked his chin. "There numbered but one university president among the signers," he said. "I wonder if that gentleman would sign now. . ." There was gentle irony in his eyes.

We arrived in town, and I slowed down so that Jefferson could see the tall buildings. He did not seem interested. After waiting an impressive amount of time we were admitted to the law offices of Wiley, Craft and Schuyster.

"Mr. Schuyster, Mr. Jefferson," I said.

"Mr. Jefferson?" said Schuyster, laughing. "Name's familiar. Any relation to the Thomas Jefferson?"

"I am the son of Peter Jefferson of Shadwell, Albemarle County."

Schuyster was not impressed.

"I should like to know," said Jefferson, "what action you aim to take about the income tax?"

"Certainly, Mr. Jefferson." Schuyster lowered his voice. "Now, we could offer to settle for twenty-five cents on the dollar if the amount comes to much, and if your voting record will hold up. Or we could get a hearing before a tax court."

"No," said Jefferson. "I want to go to the heart of the matter. Tell me what you would be interested in doing about this infernal income tax."

"I'd have to know the facts first, Mr. Jefferson. But I can tell you right now that no firm carries more weight with the right people than ours. Just last year we arranged for one of our clients to avoid payment of \$100,000. A great many solutions may be found if the amount is imposing."

"You misunderstand me, Sir," said Jefferson. "I want to know if you would participate in a movement aiming at the abolition of the income tax. As a lawyer, interested in justice, would you join an aggregation of patriots assembled for the purpose of declaring their independence from taxation without limitation?"

"Are you serious?" said Schuyster. "How could the government meet its huge expenditures without the income tax?"

"It couldn't," said Jefferson. "So you believe in the income tax, Mr. Schuyster?"

"Of course," said Schuyster.

"You believe in it," said Jefferson, "but you will do anything to circumvent the law?"

"Well, not exactly anything," said Schuyster. "We have never done anything really illegal. If you're thinking of those allegations made last year, they were never proved!"

"Mr. Schuyster, many of those who signed the Declaration of Independence were lawyers like yourself," said Jefferson. "One of them, John Adams, vigorously aroused himself over something called the stamp tax. He said the American colonies should revolt against it because it was an encroachment by the state on the rights of the individual. You are, of course, familiar with the stamp tax, Mr. Schuyster?"

"Why, ah, you tell me about it, Mr. Jefferson."

"It was a small tax on all legal documents, not at all burdensome, by some standards, on anyone," said Jefferson, smiling frostily.

"But they refused to pay it?" asked Schuyster.

"They refused with enthusiasm," said Jefferson. "And the law was repealed. Lawyer John Adams was instrumental in removing this plague."

"What does that have to do with the income tax?" asked Schuyster.

"Just this. The stamp tax fails to compare even distantly with the income tax. Yet lawyer John Adams preferred to revolt rather than pay it. He was the strongest speaker in favor of signing the Declaration. Would you have signed it, Mr. Schuyster, believing as you confess that you do, in a much worse form of tax-yoke than that which prompted the Declaration?"

"I'm a patriotic American, Mr. Jefferson. Certainly, I—"

"Think before you speak," said Jefferson. "Do you know what happened to the signers?"

"Why, I assume they made out all right. We won the war, didn't we?"

"The majority of them suffered deeply," said

Jefferson. "After the Declaration was signed and transported to King George, more than a year passed before the Americans could raise and equip a substantial army. In the meantime King George gave the order which doomed the signers to be hunted down and hung. Many fled their estates, saw their croplands and trees fired by British torches. They lost everything and never regained their fortunes. They pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. Would you?"

Schuyster smiled and said, "Would you, yourself?"

"You wouldn't believe me if I told you, Mr. Schuyster," said Jefferson.

We stopped off at my house so Jefferson could change back into the brocaded suit. When we arrived back at the Time Machine, the laboratory was deserted.

"Won't you wait until my friend the inventor can get the photographers to come back? They won't believe this without pictures."

"No," said Jefferson. "I will leave you to work out your own destiny. This is not my country."

"Wait," I said. "There are some people, not here, perhaps, but scattered in distant places all over America, just a few, called Individualists. I met some of them at the Congress of Freedom in Omaha. They signed a policy statement which quoted from the Declaration. There are others, some of them just waking up to the necessity of making a strong stand for liberty. If you would stay we could find them."

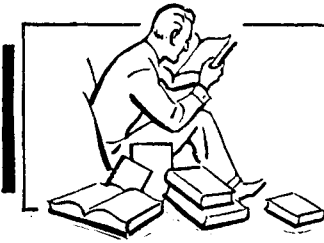
"No," said Jefferson. "I have battles to win in my own time. I envy you your automobiles, your electric lights. I shall tell Ben Franklin about these things. But I prefer to live among free men, and watch young spirits flower in the air of freedom. For that I would give up anything else. If you assemble sufficient patriots, and succeed in restoring freedom in America, you will then know that to which I refer, and which now calls me back."

"I hope some day to know it," I said.

And I counted up the number of those I knew would sign the Declaration today. Would you sign?

When we consider that this government is charged with the external and mutual relations only of these states; that the states themselves have principal care of our persons, our property and our reputation, constituting the great field of human concerns, we may well doubt whether our organization is not too complicated, too expensive; whether offices and officers have not been multiplied unnecessarily, and sometimes injuriously to the service they were meant to promote.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, First Annual
Message to Congress, December 8, 1801



A Reviewer's Notebook

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

"How many of us really would want to be John Stuart Mill? Who would not rather be Scott, or Hawthorne, or Disraeli or even Byron?" So Russell Kirk asks in a rhetorical flourish in his recently published *A Program for Conservatives* [reviewed on page 233 of this issue]. Mr. Kirk's question, which breathes a deep personal contempt for the whole subject of economics, is unfairly posed for the simple reason that it attempts to compare the incomparable. Given a choice of being a genius like Hawthorne or a man of purely logical intellect like Mill, most people would naturally choose to be the genius. So, too, in the world of muscular activity would most people rather be Joe DiMaggio than a plain blacksmith. But just as there is plenty of room in the world for ballplayers and iron workers, so is there need for both imaginative artists and men of logic. It makes little practical sense to start a pogrom against economists merely because they aren't poets or novelists or dramatists, or even social prophets on the order of Carlyle.

But if Mr. Kirk asks an inadmissible question in his vigorous plea for a return to conservatism, he does manage to raise a point about John Stuart Mill. The real question is: Who would want to be Mill under *any* circumstances? Mill was a great English worthy; his essays in defense of liberty and individuality will live forever in a world that will always have desperate need for cogent anti-Statist, anti-authoritarian thinking to counter the recurrent original sin of tyranny. But the price that Mill paid for living his own peculiar life was just about as high as could be exacted from anyone.

In a splendid biography, *The Life of John Stuart Mill* (565 pp., New York: Macmillan, \$6.50, pre-

face by Professor F. A. Hayek), Michael St. John Packe takes us deep into the personal hell of Mill's private life. As a child, John Stuart Mill had the misfortune of serving as a guinea pig for the insanely one-sided educational theories of his father, James Mill. John Stuart Mill played no games and had no childhood or adolescent friends; he was the supreme and absolute opposite to Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn.

Then, having survived his upbringing, he had the misfortune to fall in love with a married woman. Apparently he lived for years in completely celibate attendance upon his "Platonica," a Mrs. Harriet Taylor who took it upon herself to remake the very content of Mill's mind. The deliberately enforced celibacy, a tribute to the Victorian conventions that seems strange in a so-called "rationalist," could not have been easy, for the supposedly "dessicated" John Stuart Mill, as Mr. Packe brings out, was a genuinely passionate human being. What the celibacy amounted to must have been self-torture in the highest degree. Eventually Mr. Taylor died, but by this time Mill had been seriously smitten with tuberculosis. His marriage to his "Platonica" passed the disease along—with the result that Mrs. Mill died one of those dreadful nineteenth-century deaths, with Mill an agonized watcher. Mill himself managed to survive his disease for many years, but his old age as the "saint of rationalism" was grey and sad. Says Mr. Packe: "Gone is the slender figure reclining in an armchair by the fire, with the cat Placidia purring at his feet, who rose and cordially greeted the reporter from the *Chicago Tribune*. . . . In its place remains the legend . . . a name erudite and respectable;

sober, censorious, and sad; prodigious and at the same time somehow awful, a kind of moral Great Agrippa. Above all, dry as dust."

Surely no one in his senses would choose to live the life of John Stuart Mill. But the *writings* of Mill are something else again. His *On Liberty*, which, as Mr. Packe says, is less of a philosophical textbook than it is "a hymn or incantation," is one of the great essays of the language. The words ring out more vibrantly than ever in our own debilitated time: "The demand that all other people shall resemble ourselves grows by what it feeds on. . . . Its ideal of character is to be without any marked character; to maim by compression, like a Chinese lady's foot, every part of human nature which stands out prominently." Or: "The only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. *His own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant.*" (Italics ours.)

These words, flung in the teeth of the collectivists of the eighteen fifties and sixties, failed to prevent the "age of darkness" that was even then setting in. As Mr. Packe says, "the era of the beehive state was dawning, and the freedom of the individual was going out of fashion." Yet Mill's doctrine, that society is *not* an organism ("when the finger is cut, the whole body bleeds, but when a man dies . . . society at large is unaware"), must sooner or later live again in the popular consciousness of men who instinctively insist on justice, for the opposing organismic concept of society must, as Packe cogently puts it, "either baldly assert that might is right, or else seek refuge in the

sophistry of the general will."

But if Mill's words on liberty will live as long as human beings refuse to be ants or bees, it cannot be said that he did not make his own contribution to the "age of darkness" that was to overtake England. The trouble with Mill was that his powers of analysis failed him at a certain point in his economics. In writing about production, Mill was content to follow the laws set forth by an older generation of economists. Since "scarce means" are a fact of nature, the necessary choice between scarce alternatives gives rise to *measurable* productive activity. But Mill went on to say that production and distribution, in economics, had no necessary hard-and-fast, or "scientific," relationship. With production, you could get only what the earth and the human beings thereon were capable of yielding. But once the product was in hand, so Mill said, it could be distributed in any manner that society was agreed upon as fitting. It could be expropriated, or redistributed by a "progressive" income tax, or left in the hands of the original producers to consume or to sell or to give away in charity to others.

This "discovery" by Mill that the "laws of economics have nothing to do with distribution" (the words are from Robert L. Heilbroner's *The Worldly Philosophers*) has been hailed as a "profound contribution" to social science. But those who hail it as such are invariably the very sort of people who distrust Mill on the subject of liberty. While the "profundity" of the contribution is extremely questionable, it has certainly had its effects on the theorizing of Keynesians, Fabians, Beveridgeans, neo-Marxians, technocrats, New Dealers, Fair Dealers, social democrats, Socialists, Communists and Fascists. One and all, these advocates of arbitrary redistribution of the economic product have seized upon Mill's words to justify their own antiliberal and organismic theories of the State as the proper arbiter of consumption.

When Mill was speculating on the supposed difference between the laws of production and the laws of

distribution, taxation, which is the great modern tool of redistribution, was not very onerous. But today it scarcely takes a technical economist to see taxation has a very definite impact on production. The laws of one are interconnected with the laws of the other. Everybody knows of examples of people who cease to put forth a certain type of effort once the income tax reaches into the upper brackets. A writer like Jan Struther, author of *Mrs. Miniver*, gives up a lecture tour because it promises to yield her only fifty cents on the dollar after taxes; a lawyer like Bernard Knollenberg practices at his profession for only three months of the year and then devotes himself for nine months to amateur scholarly pursuits in the field of the American Revolution of 1776.

These are outstanding individual examples known personally to me of how interference with the distribution of wealth can change the pattern of production, for better or worse. But the impact of interference is general and pervasive as well as individual. When, for example, the State steps in to distribute housing by the control of rents, as in France, there is a very profound impact on the supply of new houses and even upon the repair of old houses. New houses fail to come into existence, and the old houses fall apart.

Mill did not live to see the dire results of his theory—or, rather, his lack of theory—regarding distribution. If he had, he would certainly have changed his mind, for as the great champion of inductive reasoning he was never one to overlook the facts. Yet it is strange that such a devotee of strict logic should have made such a thundering mistake. Henry George, among others, caught the drift of Mill's error long before there were any Keynesians around to build their cloud-castles on the illusory foundations of Mill's words.

How did Mill happen to go off the track in his economics? Mr. Packe has much to say about the effect of Harriet Taylor, Mill's "Platonica," on Mill's economic rea-

soning. Mrs. Taylor, long before she became Mrs. Mill, was an incipient do-gooder. Her sympathetic reaction to the revolutionary uprisings of 1848 sent her off on a theory that, to quote Packe, "a lot of the objections to the communal ownership of property were nothing more than humbug." She ordered Mill to abolish, in the second edition of his *Principles of Political Economy*, all of his original objections against socialism and communism. Strange to tell, Mill, at the cost of some worry, followed her commands to the letter. He did not turn his back in so many words on the private system, or on the classical theory of competitive economics, but the changes in his text, particularly in the third edition of his book, were such that the reader could comfortably regard communism and capitalism as systems with equal possibilities for satisfying the economic wants of man. Thus "coexistence," at the behest of Harriet Taylor, was implicit in Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* a full century before Clem Attlee and Nye Bevan set off for Moscow and Peiping to observe the workings of an "alternative" economy.

What Mr. Packe has to tell about Harriet Taylor's influence on Mill is extremely enlightening. Yet Mill's vulnerability, far from being a mere matter of *cherchez la femme*, actually went back to the upbringing which his father forced upon him. Mill was compelled by paternal fiat to be a logician at an age when most boys are ranging the creek bottoms, or playing soldier. He grew up in a household dominated by the utilitarian theories of Jeremy Bentham. But boys aren't natural utilitarians; they are natural romantics. With his romanticism suppressed from the cradle to his late teens, Mill revolted against "logic" in his twenties. He came to exalt feeling and sentiment simply because his father had never given way to a single emotional impulse. The blame for John Mill's aberrations in middle life should properly be laid upon James Mill, the stern schoolmaster armed with a theory of child psychology that allowed nothing for simple fun.

Preface to a New Politics

Government: An Ideal Concept, by Leonard E. Read. 150 pp. Irvington-on-Hudson: The Foundation for Economic Education. Cloth \$2.00, paper \$1.50

This is something of a "man bites dog" book. Leonard Read is certainly among those responsible for the contemporary libertarian renaissance in America that has produced a growing body of thought in which government is strictly limited to negative functions. And now he writes a book in defense of government!

The paradox is easily resolved. It is Mr. Read's contention that the best way to insure a principled limitation of government is to have a thorough grasp of the principles which justify the existence of government. Without an understanding of why we need government, we will not know how to limit it. We cannot know when government is out-of-bounds unless we know what constitutes in-bounds. This is not a wholly novel problem, and Mr. Read is not the first to tackle it. But his answers are, in important respects, answers in a new key. For me, the book is best understood when I put it within my own framework of interpretation. What follows, then, is one way of looking at the book, and Mr. Read is responsible only as the initiator of a train of thought.

Two centuries ago man was regarded as a static creature, and upon this premise was erected a theory for the ordering of society. Last century the picture was extended backward to produce the concept of man as a creature deposited upon his present eminence, like the ark on Ararat, by the thrust of material forces of which he was the end product. This picture, in its turn, led to a theory of society. Just now the dim outlines of a more comprehensive picture of man are becoming visible. He is seen as increasingly a partner in his own evolution, a process in which the forces are mainly psychological rather than physical, a process which is continuing in man and offers him a way ahead—not just a way out. This new concept of man has not yet produced much in the way of political theory.

There are perennial human problems which each age encounters in

its own way. Among these is the problem of men in society, the drawing of a distinction between what is individual and what is social. Each age attempts to work out its own answers, and some succeed rather well. The eighteenth-century answer to social questions was quite an achievement in its day and contains much that is still redeemable; but a century later it was an answer to questions no one was asking. The mid-twentieth century is a time of such rapid transition that all efforts in the field of political theory seem to boil down to an attempt to fit eighteenth-century answers to nineteenth-century questions! We make impossible demands for controlled liberty, while within reach there are sufficient materials to effect a new synthesis in political theory.

The significant political thought of the rationalistic and pre-evolutionary eighteenth century was premised on the conception of man as a creature who had arrived on the planet with all his faculties and powers as standard equipment. Among other things, he had a built-in set of natural rights. Classic liberalism erected an impressive structure on this picture of man, but the picture gradually faded away.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the conception of man as a largely static late-comer upon the earth was giving way to the idea that he was related to other living stuff and had developed his faculties by interaction with his environment over an immense period of time. Of the several theories of evolution offered to account for the new facts of biology, the nineteenth-century chose to embrace the materialistic one associated with the name of Darwin. The idea of man as a being having inherent rights derived from his Creator did not fit into this picture. Classic liberalism responded to this challenge by evaporating and then condensing as the new toricism. The real exploiter of the evolutionary picture of man was Marxism. The dogma that all history is the history of class struggle is the direct counterpart of the idea that struggle for existence and natural selection are the forces that have hewn out living forms, including man. Social-

ism was to the nineteenth century what liberalism had been earlier—the virile main stream of social thought.

The nineteenth-century scheme had no place for the limited government concept. It did not occur to men to limit government on moral grounds until it had first occurred to them that the individual is a person of worth and dignity and thus ought to be free from arbitrary legal invasions of his privacy. The religious idea of man laid the groundwork for the political idea of limited government; but when men came to be regarded by the materialists as little more than mere fragments of the natural landscape, the idea of limited government made no sense.

We are now living in the post-materialist era. This means that we are also living in the post-socialist era. Intellectually, socialism is dead; practically, the beheaded corpse still shows vitality of a sort. The evidence for the demise is the fact that neither Marxist nor other socialistic schemes are now defended as consistent theoretical systems; instead, they are relied upon merely as practical politics or devices of sabotage. The fountainhead of even these activities is now gone, so it is only a matter of time before the news catches up with those who still man the outposts. When they realize that their faith is gone, their fight will vanish also.

The materialistic picture of man has gone, taking its typical social theory, socialism, with it. It is being replaced by a new picture of man which does not yet have an accepted label, but which might be called the concept of emergence. Man is regarded neither as a static creature nor as solely the product of material factors. His history is seen to be one of development in response to a non-material as well as to the material environment. His energy is still unspent, and he is able to cooperate with the forces of life to further his own creation by rising to higher grades of consciousness. In order for the individual to realize his own potential he needs to be free, as free as he was conceived by liberalism. But his emergence is premised on his understanding of his own interdependent relation to his fellows; that sense of community which older societies had and which some Social-

ists may have thought they could regain by coercion. The concept of emergence has room for religion because it depicts individual life as an adventure in destiny.

This newer conception of man and his place in the scheme of things will eventually produce a body of social theory based upon it. Mr. Read, while he has not made a conscious effort to write such a social theory, nevertheless has written a book which is, at the very least, a preface to a new politics.

Others will take an entirely different slant on the book, and like or dislike it for their own reasons. They will find plenty of material for heated discussion in Mr. Read's treatment of the vexing problems of taxation, education, conscription and the like. In his earlier writings, Mr. Read has shown a unique ability to start the ball rolling. This time he sends it flying.

REV. EDMUND A. OPITZ

Civilized Conversation

A Program for Conservatives, by Russell Kirk. 325 pp. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. \$4.00

This book, quite aside from its intellectual importance, is an aesthetic delight. Reading it, one experiences that sublime joy of a true literary gourmet—to see a well-built mind perform magnificently. And it is anything but preciousness that made the author (and this reviewer) pay such emphatic attention to form. This, after all, is a book on the conservative attitude; and there is perhaps no more reliable test of a conservative's authenticity than his sense of form. A liberal "ideologist," when the going gets rough, and his style even rougher, can always plead the alleged power of the nostrum he sells. But a conservative sells no nostrum. He recommends neither a prescription nor even a theory. The true conservative recommends nothing but reverence for the accumulated wisdom of the human race—which, one will notice, is precisely the meaning of what we call "form."

Mr. Kirk's preceding book, *The Conservative Mind*, became a literary event mainly because it proved that the conservative position can be stated with unmistakable learning and even with wit. This, to

a ridiculously misinformed generation of liberals, came as a stunning blow: they had been taught, for several decades and in all the best universities, that conservatism was the pellagra of our mentally undernourished—and here, plainly visible to anyone who can read, a young Midwesterner was presenting a conservative statement whose erudition and elegance made the liberal colleges of the Eastern Seaboard look like intellectual slums. Even Yale and Harvard had to take notice; but, having come out from under the shock, their final response was: "Ah yes, but the conservative Mr. Kirk offers no program for action!"

Which, of course, was like the heathen holding it against a Christian missionary that he had no good voodoo prescriptions on him. For, just as the Christian denies the very reality of voodoo, the conservative denies the very idea of "programs." And Mr. Kirk, I take it, meant the title of his new book, *A Program for Conservatives*, to be sheer irony. For, naturally, he offers here no program for conservatives or anybody else. What he does offer is a forceful, penetrating and witty discussion of the pathetic, and often terrifying, results of liberal programs. Like a true conservative, Mr. Kirk considers the organic reality of life; and his point is precisely that the Social Engineers, those restless blueprinters of progress, not only do ugly violence to life but, thank God, are not even efficient.

Not that Mr. Kirk refuses to see the obvious need for a constant reform of the many social provocations to our sense of justice and beauty. He enumerates these provocations, from inadequate housing to even more inadequate journalism; and then contemplates in this prudent book what can be done about that malaise without our ending up in Le Corbusier's "planned" ant-heaps of homes and the horrors of an ultimately conformist press. He does not postulate like a liberal. Rather, like a genuine conservative, he encircles his subject with civilized conversation.

And since the hallmark of civilized conversation is that it invites participants, I should like to cut in. Mr. Kirk, it seems to me, unnecessarily weakens his case with several almost desperate attempts to prove

that "the U. S., throughout most of our history, has been a nation substantially conservative." This is simply not so; and no amount of skillful eloquence can alter the manifest fact.

As human being, the American is just as capable as anyone else of preferring a reverent (*i.e.*, conservative) to a hustling (*i.e.*, "progressive") attitude—which is all Mr. Kirk needs to claim. The moment he tries to claim more, so that he may contend a special American affinity for the conservative position, he engages in fiction. The specifically *American* experience of life, "throughout most of our history," is indisputably a fierce yen for institutionalized "progress" by utopian legislation and industrial gadgetery. Individual Americans, like Calhoun and Adams, may have known better; the American *species* (to the extent that there really is such a thing) is, of course, populist rather than conservative—and for a very forceful reason: America happens to be the only society in creation built by *conscious* human intent; and the intent was "improvement." This continent was settled, and developed, by Europeans *tired* of Europe's ancient commitments, and determined, each of them and each in his own way, on a "new beginning." There just is no point, and certainly no possible gain of wisdom, in denying this fact of American history.

But that very same fact, interpreted correctly, may fortify the conservative position considerably better than its willful negation could ever do: the historic reality of America proves that men's will and men's preferences are socially creative. The conservative attitude has a chance to instruct future American preferences, not because it owns an historic mortgage on America's social real estate, but because it may persuade searching men of its moral and aesthetic superiority. For Hegelians, everything that exists is good by virtue of its existing. But true conservatives insist on a hierarchy of values from which man, who was granted free will, can choose according to his moral instruction and his sensitive taste. For instance, FREEMAN subscribers can choose (and are herewith urged) to read Mr. Kirk's books. If they do, I dare say there is more future than past in an American conservative position.

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

MacArthur: New American Saga

History has a way of lifting heroes out of the ruck of their contemporary mediocrities. It seems that this process of selection is already working in the case of Douglas MacArthur; public acceptance of the first two books dealing with this unusual figure of three wars would so indicate. The FREEMAN is glad to review and recommend both.

Glorious Decade

MacArthur: 1941-1951, by Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby and John Chamberlain. 441 pp. New York: McGraw-Hill. \$5.75

Into the comparatively young life of this Republic there came in her 1940s a time of trial unparalleled in her experience. It was a decade of disaster, from the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor to the Korean debacle. Paradoxically, it was America's most glorious period of military victories, as well as her most shameful era of political cowardice and diplomatic defeat.

One figure—that of General Douglas MacArthur—stands out beyond all others in any chronicle of this period; and this absorbing book is the complete account of the most momentous decade of his life and ours.

Fortunately for Americans, the true story of this crucial period in our national history is at last unfolding. Some of its villains and heroes are silenced in death, but many are alive and vigorous, able and willing to give testimony. And while the picture is still obscured by the smoke of blazing controversy, its outlines are now clear and its details are emerging in sharper and sharper focus all the time. Douglas MacArthur, like Herbert Hoover, will live to see his life's work crowned with the understanding approbation of all the American people—not just the passionately partisan and the intellectually honest informed minority, but all of them.

When that day comes, it will be because men like Charles Willoughby and John Chamberlain, with patient skill, examined a mountain of evidence, read all the record and, bit by bit, in a chronology as fascinating as a "whodunit," built the case for MacArthur so that America may read and judge for itself.

Willoughby was G-2 (Intelligence) at MacArthur's headquarters for ten years. He had an opportunity, close up, to watch the planning and development of all the MacArthur campaigns from Bataan to the battle for North Korea. He had the additional postwar advantage of study of the documents of all the other elements in the campaigns. These included contributions of military and civil staff officers, extracts from unpublished wartime manuscripts ranging from captured Jap diaries to depositions made by officers who were cloak-and-dagger men on dangerous missions deep into the heart of enemy-held territory.

This came about because all major military headquarters maintain small research groups that prepare the history of the commands; and at MacArthur's headquarters in Tokyo, G-2 was given the task in 1946. Willoughby was editor-in-chief of the myriad projects which grew to a total of 30,000 pages of text, nearly nine million words.

This book, then, on which General Willoughby and writer-editor John Chamberlain have collaborated so brilliantly, deals less with the movement of armies than with what the authors describe as "the considerations of 'high command,' the analysis of the political, strategic and economic factors that influenced General MacArthur's major decisions in the Pacific, in Japan and in Korea, during the period, 1941-1951."

It must be noted that this is the first book to make plain the nature of the MacArthur strategy which was in conflict with the Navy's concept of the Pacific war. The battle is the payoff, and we won that war. But MacArthur himself would be the first to discourage post-mortems on the human mistakes that were made by men operating under the terrible stress of battle. Of his

strategy, MacArthur says: "New conditions require for solution, and new weapons require for maximum application, new and imaginative methods. Wars are not won in the past."

The "new conditions" in Japan inspired the successful use of the "new, imaginative weapons" during the Occupation years when MacArthur was Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers. But no weapons, new or old, could prevail against the conditions set up in Korea. MacArthur had fifty years of military service and achievement behind him when he was named Commander of the U.N. Forces. He was a soldier who knew only one way to fight a war—win it. He could not understand U.N. inconsistencies, contradictions and evasions that culminated finally in a cowardly diplomatic coercion of the United States. This was pressure exerted with brutal force on America's sensitive nerve of international responsibility. It was suggested subtly, then boldly, that, somehow, the United States would bring on the calamity of a "third world war" if she did not agree to appease the Communists. It was a slick scheme, and it worked.

The "police action" undertaken with such glorious impetuosity by President Truman in June 1950, and supported only half-heartedly by the U.N., had become embarrassing to that body with its Soviet and satellite members. As for MacArthur—well, he was a bloody nuisance. He actually interpreted literally his original orders to restore peace, order and unity to the entire Korean peninsula. The evidence is here that even after the Chinese Communists had secretly joined the North Korean forces in massive numbers, MacArthur could still have won the war, crippled communism in China, even destroyed it in Asia.

Smallpox, typhus and typhoid were raging among the Chinese troops. They did not know how to control the diseases, and the Russian vaccines were no good. In order to explain their medical failures to their own troops and to a frightened, restless population, the Chinese launched their charges of "germ warfare" against the U.N. Captured Chinese documents containing their own front-line medical warnings proved the epidemics, so far, were local, but the Eighth Army's medical

experts had to be sure of the kind and extent of the diseases. Brigadier General Crawford F. Sams, MacArthur's health officer, volunteered for a "medical raid." He infiltrated communist lines and his report clearly established that the Red troops were sick and dying like flies. If then, MacArthur had been allowed to follow through on his attack, we could have won, because the Red army in Korea was out on its feet. But the Communists were calling for an armistice, and the evidence is plain that someone in the U.N. pushed it through.

MacArthur was relieved, the war was lost, America's heavy casualties were for nothing. American prestige in the Far East has gone from an all-time high in '45 to an all-time low in '54. MacArthur got a bad deal, but the United States got a worse one.

No American can afford to miss this book. It is the bloodstained text of the American conscience. And it is superb reading. John Chamberlain's art guarantees that.

IRENE CORBALLY KUHN

Living History

The Untold Story of Douglas MacArthur, by Frazier Hunt. 522 pp. New York: Devin-Adair. \$5.00

The Untold Story of Douglas MacArthur is a brilliant achievement by a master craftsman. In it more than a half-century of history is superbly put together, coordinated, evaluated, dramatized, given motion and perspective by a talented technician whose passion is truth. Frazier Hunt interviewed almost everyone who could throw light on MacArthur and the MacArthur family. The book is packed with new material, startling disclosures, revealing episodes. Hunt worked prodigiously for three years on the actual story. But his entire life had prepared him for the task.

Frazier Hunt and Douglas MacArthur are nearly the same age. Each has played a role in the turbulent events during the first half of this century. After Hunt was graduated from college, he operated a plantation in Mexico and was driven out by the revolutionists. A few years later MacArthur was sent to Mexico during the Vera Cruz incident. There his exploits of personal

valor were almost beyond one's imagination.

World War One found them both in Europe. MacArthur was a combat Brigadier General of the Rainbow Division, while war correspondent Hunt covered the Rainbow's battles.

Hunt was the first American to enter Russia after the revolution. He joined General Graves' expedition to Siberia and returned to the United States by way of the Philippines, India and Europe. On this trip he endorsed Philippine independence and established a warm friendship with Manuel Quezon. After a tour as Superintendent at West Point, MacArthur was sent in 1922 to the Philippines. And there he, too, established a warm lifelong friendship



with Quezon. It was this common friendship, together with a realization of *The Rising Temper of the East* (as disclosed in Hunt's book by that name) which cemented the MacArthur-Hunt friendship. Both have had a clear grasp of Asia for more than a third of a century.

While MacArthur was Chief of Staff, in 1930-35, his burning concern was to hold his tiny defense establishment against economy drives, misunderstanding and downright apathy. At the same time, Frazier Hunt was writing and broadcasting, urging preparedness and warning of the dangerous turmoil he had pictured in his revealing book, *This Bewildered World*. In World War Two, Hunt joined MacArthur in Australia and accompanied him on the Hollandia operation.

Legend and fiction have more or less fixed it that MacArthur was a darling of the gods to whom Presidents and senior officials were eager

to dole out choice assignments. As Hunt reveals, nothing could be farther from fact. MacArthur always earned his choice assignments, despite seemingly insuperable obstacles. His rapid promotion engendered bitter and lasting jealousy among officers who had formerly been his seniors. But these obstacles were as nothing compared to another fight which was to be directed against him.

The first great fight against MacArthur's leadership developed during the episode of the bonus march in Washington in 1932. Hunt makes it clear that the marchers were inspired, led and financed by Communists, and this event marked the beginning of the Communists' bitter and constantly increasing hate of MacArthur. From this time forward he was to get in their way, and they were to spare no means to destroy him. Usually the Communists spoke through others who oftentimes were innocent of the real forces against MacArthur. But this struggle—its true import long unrecognized even by MacArthur himself—grew into a thunderous storm of battle.

The crescendo finally broke over Korea. And in this temporary defeat MacArthur rose to great stature. His address before the Joint Session of the Congress may stand among the great speeches of all time.

MacArthur's eventual separation from the Korean war had to come. Once the Washington decision was made not to win the war, his relief was inevitable. He could not long have fought a war of attrition. He had a passion for avoiding casualties. As MacArthur told President Roosevelt at Pearl Harbor, July 27, 1944, "Your good commanders do not turn in heavy losses."

The Untold Story of Douglas MacArthur is pro-MacArthur, but it is objective. Except for the narrative on early life and parents, the General never saw the manuscript before publication. This reviewer served six years directly under General MacArthur; the account of events during this period appears absolutely accurate.

Much criticism has been directed against MacArthur to the effect that he was selfishly and unreasonably ambitious. Hunt goes a long way toward clarification of this criticism. Invariably, what was best for his

country—and on this MacArthur has been consistently right—was to become MacArthur's own guiding principle. This dedication was so ingrained that it became part of his very being—a personal, inner ambition.

Hunt firmly establishes MacArthur's genius as a commander and as a statesman. Certainly no commander ever faced greater obstacles and did more with less means. Few can read this biography without feeling resentment that our government is not now profiting by the services of this tested leader.

It is doubtful whether there is a better biography in existence. And certainly there will never be a better biography of MacArthur. But this book is more than a biography; it is living, throbbing history.

BONNER FELLERS

Our Delayed H-Bomb

The Hydrogen Bomb, by James Shepley and Clay Blair, Jr. 244 pp. New York: David McKay Company. \$3.00

This attempt by two *Time* correspondents to piece together the story of how the United States constructed the hydrogen bomb, after years of neglect and opposition, has been almost as explosive in its impact as the bomb itself. Its publication has excited a storm of criticism from scientists who are represented as dragging their heels on the hydrogen bomb and by a well-known pair of columnists, high in self-esteem and deficient in tolerance, who constituted themselves passionate defenders of Dr. Oppenheimer when his security clearance was withdrawn. The abusive language of men of science would be more impressive if and when it is backed up by documented disproof of the facts presented in the book.

The authors contend that the main credit for creating an instrument of destruction far more powerful than anything the world has known belongs to Hungarian-born nuclear scientist Edward Teller. Teller was convinced of the scientific feasibility of the project at the time when the first atomic bomb was manufactured at Los Alamos during the war. Unlike some of his scientific colleagues, he believed not only that

the bomb could be made, but also that it should be made. He acted on an elementary commonsense view which some very erudite men of science seemed unable to grasp.

America has no monopoly of scientific brains and technical resources. If the United States could make the hydrogen bomb, so could the Soviet Union. The best hope that this horrible instrument of destruction would never be used, directly or as an instrument of blackmail, was to see to it that the United States kept ahead of Russia in this formidable field.

Teller and the few men in high office, among whom the authors single out Admiral Lewis Strauss and the late Senator Brien McMahon for honorable mention, had to combat much opposition from various sources, involving precious years of avoidable delay before the hydrogen bomb project received official sanction and support. There was, after the war, apathy about new development of nuclear weapons; this was partly a result of sadly misplaced confidence that the Soviet Union would not be able, over a long period of time, to produce the atomic bomb. Actually, the Soviet government, with assistance from Klaus Fuchs and other atom spies in the West and from captured German scientists, was able to explode an atomic bomb in 1949 and claimed mastery of the hydrogen bomb in 1953.

There was military conservatism even in the relatively young arm of the service, the Air Force. There was the strongest opposition on the part of many atomic scientists, including J. Robert Oppenheimer and James B. Conant. As late as the autumn of 1949 a meeting of the General Advisory Committee of scientists attached to the Atomic Energy Commission voted almost unanimously against proceeding with the H-Bomb, on the ground that it was immoral, needlessly destructive and might not be feasible.

Senator McMahon, a layman in science, presented a sounder view when he wrote to President Truman pointing to the fearful threat to the free world which exclusive Soviet possession the H-bomb would pose: "Put total power in the hands of total evil, and you can only get total destruction."

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

Student in Red China

The Umbrella Garden, by Maria Yen. 268 pp. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$4.00

Although this book modestly purports by its subtitle to be just "A Picture of Student Life in Red China," it is more than that, for it takes little imagination to guess that the process of regimentation extended through every avenue and walk of life in the "New China."

University students in general, and those of progressive Peita (Northern University) in particular, awaited the People's Liberation Army with eager excitement: communism promised a new life, with an end to the food shortages, inflation, political chaos, stringencies of local government unable to cope with the postwar problems following Japanese occupation and the subsequent civil war. Maria Yen was not a member of the communist underground, nor even of such procommunist fronts as the Youth League and the North Star Athletic Club. But she was a liberal, in rebellion against restrictions, against the scarcity of food, against old-fashioned professors and hackneyed literature and drama, against the austerity of the postwar years.

I have no doubt that Richard McCarthy was of great help in adapting the original Chinese story into a form suitable for Western readers, for the craftsmanship is good. But the ability to recall (or more likely to reconstruct) dialogue, student discussions, dialectic lectures of the party workers, must be Maria Yen's contribution. And it is this, plus her independent and logical thinking, even when she dared not voice her thoughts and was parroting the jargon of the party perfectly, that makes this book of great interest to me.

For example, there is the scene when Maria and her friend from Fu Jen (Catholic University) talk over a meeting where their "progressive" leaders have told them that only the old and ignorant in Russia still go to churches; that when this group of old people die, "religion will disappear for good from the Soviet Union." The Catholic girl had read that Stalin had been forced to relax controls on the churches during the war, and that young workers

and soldiers had knelt beside old people in long-closed churches. Why, she asked, did Stalin have to throw open the chapels and let people sip "this spiritual gin for the slaves of capital" again? Thirty years ago these "old people" hadn't been very old. Why did they still disobey their beloved leader about religion? "If religion is what they call it, escapism, it means there must be something that religious people are escaping from, even now in the Soviet Union?" The discussion sounds authentic. So do discussions of how students can assist their professors to bring their thinking and teaching up-to-date—up to Communist requirements, that is.

The daily, persistent pressure of

student criticism, of calls—supposedly social—by Youth League members to check on a doubtful student, to question what one was doing, writing, thinking is clearly portrayed. It leads the author to say, "The criticism meetings are perhaps the most important single part of the whole pattern of supervision." Sooner or later it becomes easier to give up than to hold out.

There is much of the book that Mr. Attlee and Mr. Bevan would do well to read in order to learn how the "spontaneous demonstrations" are organized, how the gratifying production is obtained by Stakhanovite methods. *The Umbrella Garden* is an enlightening and convincing book.

GERALDINE FITCH

Africa: Two Views of Its Problems

The Heart of Africa, by Alexander Campbell. 487 pp. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$5.00

Before the African Storm, by John Cookson. 265 pp. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$3.50

During the past eighteen months at least twenty-five books on Africa south of the Sahara have been published in English. The reasons for this are not far to seek. Every part of Africa presents first-class issues. In South Africa it is race relations, a billion-dollar mining industry involving gold and uranium, and strategic factors in the world military picture. In West Africa it is self-government—now a fact in the Gold Coast with its all-African Parliament, just around the corner in Nigeria, and certain to come soon in French West Africa.

In addition, there is the issue of communist penetration and disruption, which actively threaten Africa today. Through Cominform agents within Africa in trade unions and other organizations, through the powerful French and Italian communist parties, through British and Indian communist organizations and through fronts in the United States, world communism lays siege to this strategic continent.

In these two books Mr. Campbell and Mr. Cookson deal interestingly and sometimes impressively with a number of African questions. Both of these writers have lived in Africa.

They have the *feel* of the issues and therefore write about them with compelling interest and conviction and at times with constructive implications.

Mr. Campbell's style is reportorial, setting forth impressions and interviews as he travels up and down the continent. His thirty-one chapters touch upon every part of Africa south of the Sahara. He is sometimes flippant in his comment and has a flair for striking phrases, ever the journalist out to attract attention by the way he says things; and he makes a go of it. He wisely makes effective use of sixteen superb professional photographs.

In his last chapter, "Continent in Crisis," Mr. Campbell is at his constructive best. Speaking of the African, he says: "Above all, he wants to be regarded as a human being in his own right." Of Europeans he writes: "The whites have convinced themselves that most Africans are 'just like children.'" But he adds: "Not only do the most intelligent white people I have met in Africa realize the inevitability of change; they are anxious to speed it up, to bridge the dangerous gap and get through the perilous transition phase as quickly as possible." *The Heart of Africa* is not an exhaustive book; it may not be even a balanced book; but it is informative, provocative and therefore, at this period, useful.

In *Before the African Storm*, Mr.

Cookson himself reveals the unfortunate defect in his approach when he refers to "my pro-British opinions." In retrospect, he wishes that a "firmer imperial policy had been exercised by Britain in South Africa a hundred years ago"; his assumption is that such a policy "would have been means to a justifiable end."

It is to be feared that history does not bear out Mr. Cookson's assumption. The final results of imperial firmness have proved none too happy. Ancient Rome had to yield to foes that might have been won by a more conciliatory policy. These foes, in time, set the prelude to Europe's "dark ages." By blind ineptitude in her colonial policy, France has indicated in Indo-China that imperialistic communism is the alternative to outworn colonialism. Where British imperialism has left its constructive mark on history, it has been due not to firmness, but to fluidity in policy, to conciliatory tactics and ability to change.

Mr. Cookson's subjective approach leads him into a second and perhaps more serious error: he would make South Africa the origin of most of Africa's woes. His two chapters on that complex country lack the objectivity which might enable readers to understand what he says elsewhere when he speaks of the Boers as "these strange embittered people who have had a raw deal from history." To be sure, that "raw deal" has imposed upon Africans an almost unbearable burden, but instead of discussing constructive methods for dealing with the problems, Mr. Cookson merely castigates South Africa and derides the Boers.

It is to be regretted that he permits his knowledge of Africa and his writing ability to have this negative effect. His light and penetrating touch and his anecdotal facility are qualities needed in making Africa more fully known. One may read *Before the African Storm* and get a great deal out of it; but what do we do about the storm? MAX YERGAN

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Well Worth Reading

This page is devoted to brief notices of pamphlets, speeches and other reading matter of interest to libertarians—toward the end that these efforts may receive wider attention.

Country Almanac, by A. B. Genung. Freeville, New York. \$5.00 a year

This four-page sheet, savoring of rural homespun wisdom, dissects and tries to forecast affairs of local, state, national and world importance. But it is not a weather forecasting almanac, leaving that to God and government.

The editor knows governmental processes well, having retired from a long-time position as a government economist to take up an abode in the refreshing air of south central New York—appropriately, at Freeville, where he writes of freedom in an enticing style.

Our Freedom Was Founded on Faith in God, by E. Gordon Fox. 8 pp. One of a series of brochures distributed by the Freedom Club of Downtown Chicago, 35 East Wacker Drive, Chicago 1, Ill.

Here is a pertinent excerpt from this brochure: "People constitute a nation. And the betterment of humanity can result only from the integrated betterment of individuals. A collective economy inevitably debases citizenship. It denies the exercise of individual judgment. Servility replaces initiative. Independence re-

signs to blind obedience. . . . Free enterprise, on the contrary, places a premium on individual effort. It stimulates independence, ingenuity, enterprise, initiative. . . . It is not based on compulsion and coercion. It is based on self-discipline, which is the only effective discipline. It is the honor system, applied to life."

In Periodicals

"America's Master Blunder—The United Nations" by Harold Lord Varney. **American Mercury**, 11 East 36 Street, New York 16, N. Y., November 1954. \$.35

Despite the fact that we have received nothing but defeats and setbacks as a result of our membership in the U.N., Mr. Varney fears that we are destined to remain a member for some time to come. Briefly tracing the formation of the U.N. by American "liberals" and one-worlders, the author states that the eagerness of the U.S. to join the U.N. was a greater blessing than Stalin could have hoped for. These same "liberals" now have us tightly enmeshed in the U.N. With or without the U.N., but definitely because of it, Mr. Varney sees World War Three as inevitable.

"Report Cards: EGFU, or ABC?" by Howard Whitman. **Collier's**, Crowell-Collier Publishing Co., Springfield, Ohio, September 17, 1954. \$.15

This is the fifth in the series, "The Struggle for Our Children's Minds," concerned with problems in the modern educational system. Mr. Whitman reports on his first-hand observations in several communities where controversies over grading methods have arisen. He found that the report-card ratings of A, B and C have been increasingly replaced with new systems, such as SNUX and EGFU. The letters in SNUX, for example, represent respectively, "Normal growth is taking place," "More effort should be made," "Unsatisfactory work," and "Needs special help."

On the surface, perhaps, there is little difference between SNUX and ABC. Why isn't an S just as good as an A? But the underlying concept is far different. S, the highest grade in SNUX, means that "Normal growth is taking place." Just what does this tell the parents? How does Johnny

stand in his class? How much of the work set up as an academic standard for his grade does Johnny know?

SNUX and related systems have the designed purpose of decreasing competition among students. The progress of the United States is based upon a competitive society.

"Our Economic Freedoms and the Use Thereof!" by Dr. G. Rowland Collins. **Bulletin**, The Fifth Third Union Trust Co., Cincinnati, Ohio, September 1954.

Concern has recently been expressed in several quarters because business has failed to educate the public about basic economic and business concepts. Dr. Collins, Dean of the Schools of Business at New York University, says that the major reason for this is that business itself has no set concept to transmit to the people.

According to Dr. Collins, the task of developing a basic philosophy of business should not be left to the academic economists, primarily because they are generally too far removed from actual business life. At the same time, he says that most of the academic economists concentrate more on political economy, exalting the role played by the State, rather than developing a workable theory of business economics. He points out that deans of business schools should shoulder the responsibility of making sure that students understand certain basic theses: that the individual is the most valuable resource there is; that though Americans are justifiedly proud of our many freedoms to do things, our freedom from the State is of at least equal importance.

"Senate or Rubber Stamp." by Percy L. Greaves, Jr. **Christian Economics**, 26 W. 58 St., New York 19, N. Y., November 2, 1954. Single copy free

Mr. Greaves has written logically, unemotionally and dispassionately of the real issue at stake in the move for censure of Senator McCarthy—the subservience of the Legislative branch of government to the Executive. Against the background of constitutional theory and governmental philosophy, he comments on the current acceptance of the over-extension of Executive power into the realm of Legislative affairs.

**SOCONY-VACUUM
OIL COMPANY**
INCORPORATED

**Dividend
No. 175**



**October
26, 1954**

The Board of Directors today declared a quarterly dividend of 50¢ per share and an extra dividend of 25¢ per share on the outstanding capital stock of this Company, both payable December 10, 1954, to stockholders of record at the close of business November 5, 1954.

W. D. BICKHAM, Secretary



Announcing
an issue of

THE
Freeman

devoted to the
single topic of the

UNITED
NATIONS
and
ONE WORLDISM

The Philosophy
The Promise
The Performance

to be published in
MARCH 1955

Professor Edmund P. Learned

Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration—writes on

The Truth About Gasoline Prices

In these days of high prices it seems as if *everything* we buy costs at least twice as much as it used to. That's why it's encouraging to tell you about a commodity which, outside of increased taxes, actually costs little more than it did in 1925. I'm talking about today's gasoline.

It is very important to note that the consumer owes this favorable price situation to one basic factor—the healthy struggle for competitive advantage among all U. S. oil companies and gasoline dealers.

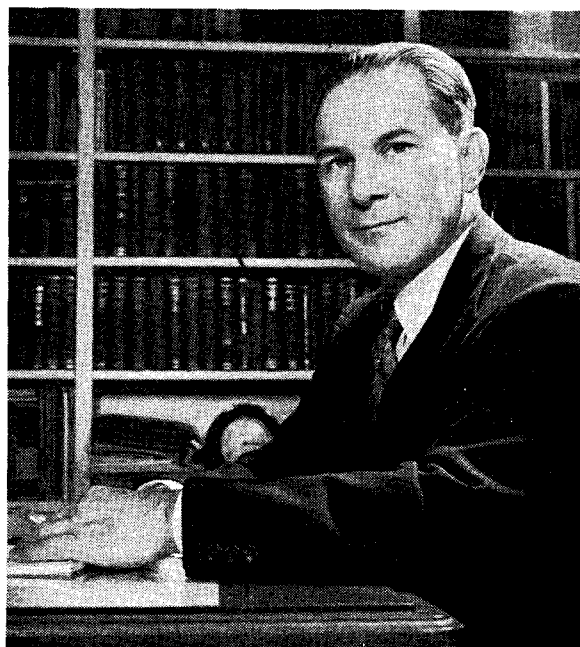
I can demonstrate how this competition works by a study made of a typical midwestern oil company. This company was considered a price leader because of its dominant market position. Yet in Ohio alone its products were in active competition with the brands of 7 large national companies, 5 smaller but well established regional companies and the private brands of jobbers and large retailers.

The company's retail prices were the result of keen local competition. Except for differences in customer services or unusual locations, prices out of line with competition caused loss of trade. From the social point of view, retail prices in Ohio were sound. Consumers had ample opportunity to choose between varying elements of price, service and quality. Their choice determined the volume of business for the dealer and the supplying company. New or old firms were free to try any combination of appeals to attract new business. Even the biggest marketer had to meet competitive prices. And price leadership—in the sense of ability to set prices at will—was impossible. If, as rarely happened, a price was established that was not justified by economic forces, some competitor always brought it down.

Consider the effect of this competition since gasoline taxes were first introduced. The first state gasoline tax was enacted in 1919. Last year, in 50 representative American cities, federal, state, and local gasoline taxes amounted to 7½ cents that had to

be included in the price paid by consumers. Nevertheless, management ingenuity contrived to keep the actual advance in price to consumers down to 3½ cents. This is an outstanding record in view of the general increases in wages and higher costs of crude oil.

This same competitive force among oil companies has resulted in the 50% gasoline improvement since 1925. The research and engineering efforts of the oil companies supported by the improved designs of automobile engines, have produced gasoline so powerful that today 2 gallons do the work that 3 used to do in 1925.



Edmund P. Learned, professor of Business Administration at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration is the author of a study on the pricing of gasoline by a midwestern oil company. This study, considered to be a classic on the gasoline price question, was published in the *Harvard Business Review* and is the basis for this article.

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

This page is presented for your information by Sun Oil Company, Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania.