

Alas, the Food Bringers

Garet Garrett

A Really Free School System

Frank Chodorov

Individualism vs. Social Security

Helmut Schoeck

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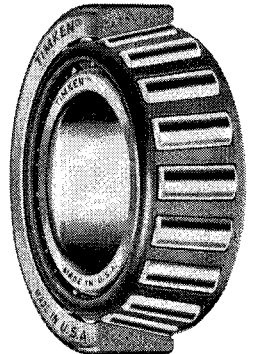
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# THE Freeman

A Monthly  
For  
Libertarians

Editor FRANK CHODOROV  
Business Manager ALVIN WINGFIELD, JR.

## Among Ourselves

In our lead article (p. 9) GARET GARRETT has tackled the complex problem of what to do about a farm program with the clear-thinking vigor his many followers never fail to find in his writing. Mr. Garrett was editor of *American Affairs* from 1944 to 1950, is author of more than a score of books on political and economic subjects.

A well-known correspondent and former editor of *Nineteenth Century and After*, F. A. VOIGT is author of *Unto Caesar* and *Pax Britannica* and a frequent contributor to the FREEMAN.

With his discussion of some fallacies in the argument for extended social security (p. 15), HELMUT SCHOECK, already known to FREEMAN readers for his book reviews, contributes his first article. Of Austrian background, Dr. Schoeck is currently a research fellow at Yale University, will join the teaching staff of Emory University in Georgia this fall.

To some extent ROBERT E. KINGSLEY has had a share in the amazing success of Puerto Rico's industrialization program he describes in his article (p. 18). He was one of the first journalists to point out to American businessmen through his writings the possibilities on that seemingly "poor" island. Mr. Kingsley has edited Spanish-language industrial magazines, is a contributor to *Business Week* and other national publications.

In turning to a brief discussion of some aspects of military training (p. 20) WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR., speaks from personal knowledge, being himself an Army veteran of World War II. As hardly needs mentioning, Mr. Buckley is, with Brent Bozell, author of the currently best-selling *McCarthy and His Enemies*.

JOHN L. KENT (p. 27) is a leading Washington news reporter, known particularly for his articles on business and science and the functioning of government.

### Correction

In the June 28 issue of the FREEMAN an inadvertent typographical omission occurred in the closing paragraph of Max Eastman's review of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer's recent book, *Science and the Common Man*, which garbled its meaning. We quote the corrected first sentence of that paragraph, with the omitted words in italics. Our profound apologies to Mr. Eastman and our readers:

His book, in other words, employs physics itself, the most successfully objective of the sciences, in order to introduce an element of subjective caprice into all knowledge.

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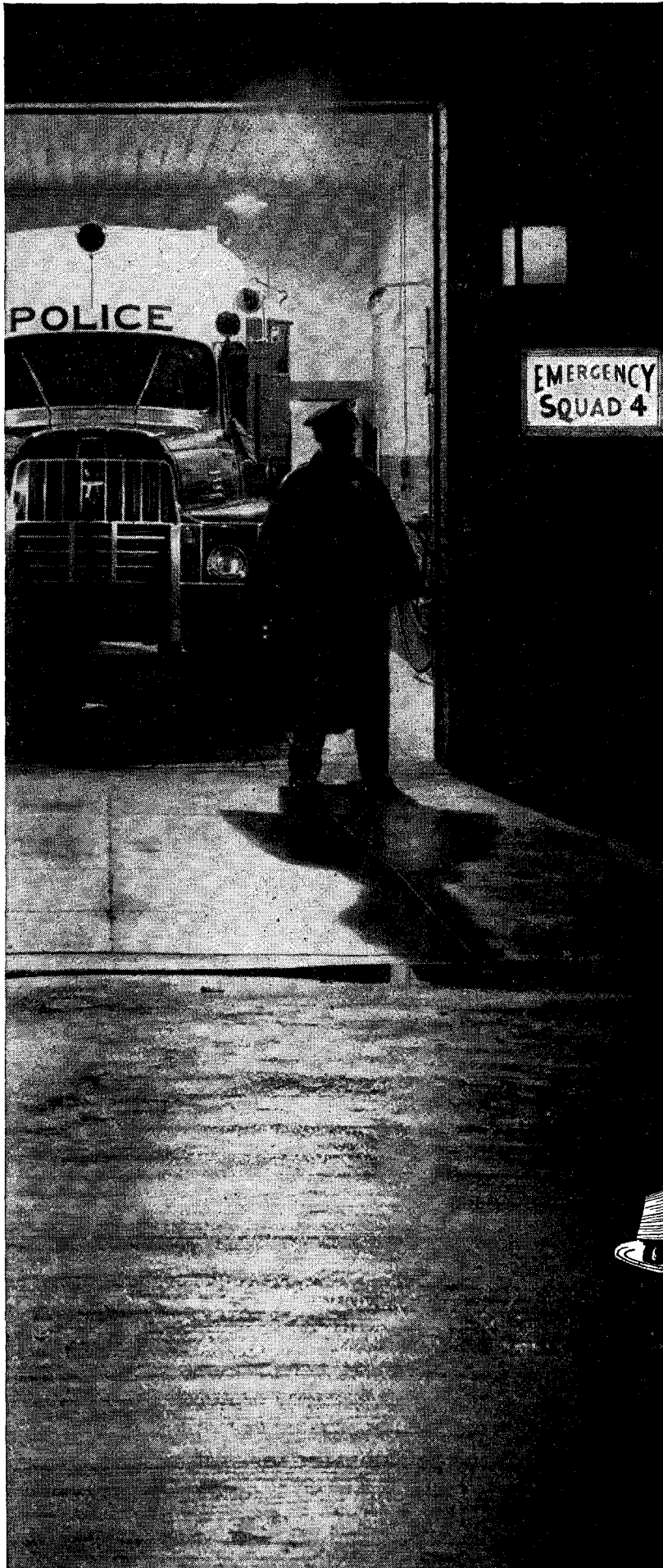
THE FREEMAN is published monthly. Publication Office, Orange, Conn. Editorial and General Offices, Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y. Copyrighted in the United States, 1954, by The Irvington Press, Inc. Leonard E. Read, President; Fred Rogers Fairchild, Vice President; Claude Robinson, Secretary; Lawrence Fertig, Treasurer; Henry Hazlitt and Leo Wolman.

Entered as second class matter at the Post Office at Orange, Conn. Rates: Fifty cents the copy; five dollars a year in the United States; nine dollars for two years; six dollars a year elsewhere.

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or better, a stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Manuscripts must be typed double-spaced.

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# From the New Publisher

**W**hile it is the content rather than the ownership of a journal of opinion that primarily interests thoughtful readers, nonetheless any reader likes to know "who is behind" journalistic opinions.

The FREEMAN has been purchased by The Irvington Press, and this is the first issue under the new ownership. The Irvington Press is a corporation of the profit-and-loss type. The capital stock is owned by the non-profit Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y.

The FREEMAN will not in any sense become a house organ of the Foundation for Economic Education. It will, however, be a "house organ" for the libertarian faith, dealing journalistically and topically with principles, ideas, and issues. Further, the FREEMAN will have a literary scope far beyond that of the Foundation. Perhaps we can express its scope in this manner: Every article, book review, editorial—even a poem—shall be consistent with the libertarian faith.

The FREEMAN will neither glorify nor vilify persons, nor will it champion or oppose individuals holding or seeking political office. While legislation will be analyzed from the libertarian point of view, the FREEMAN will, as in all other matters, refrain from telling readers what to do or how to think.

Above all things, the FREEMAN will not present "both sides." Let the Socialists state their case as they see it. Their press is adequate, indeed! We shall state our side as we see it. A search for truth—and the accurate expression of truth as each sees it—is the only path to sound understanding; thus, a quest for better understanding is our aim. We would have the FREEMAN present and interpret the libertarian philosophy so fairly, honestly, and skillfully that every student, every teacher, every clergyman, every high school, college, and public library—indeed, every person and institution interested in the subject of human freedom—would want every issue.

The next issue of the FREEMAN will be dated August 1954, and it will be issued monthly thereafter until further notice. There is a compelling reason for this change from a fortnightly to a monthly: to allow sufficient time for the editorial care required to meet the standards we have in mind.

While the yearly rates will remain the same for the monthly as they were for the fortnightly, it is our ambition to offer the FREEMAN subscribers a better product and a better bargain for their money. However, we ask for two or three months to demonstrate what we mean.

All subscriptions in effect as of this date will be honored. All subscribers will, until the expiration of their present subscriptions, receive the same number of issues as they would were the journal to be continued as a fortnightly.

That's the story. The FREEMAN is in business to argue for libertarianism and to make a profit, and its owners and staff are proud of both objectives! It is our belief that a type of journalism which consistently and undeviatingly bespeaks the case for the rights of the individual, the free market, private property, and limited government—if thoughtfully and honestly presented—can still do all right in the American market. In any event, we shall act in accordance with this belief.

LEONARD E. READ

*President, The Irvington Press*

# About Me: An Editorial

An editor is a hired man. His boss is the reader, who does not hesitate to exercise the right to fire him, by the simple act of withdrawing his patronage if he finds the editor inadequate. The publisher, the fellow who gives the editor a desk and some pencils and paper, is only the go-between; his function in most publications, aside from paying the bills, is to ascertain the will of the readers and to act accordingly.<sup>1</sup> The reader is top man.

So, as I sit behind the imposing editorial desk in the office of the FREEMAN, I know that I am on trial. It is you, dear reader, who will decide whether I shall stay here. To help you form a preliminary judgment, I think I should begin by telling you about the turn of my mind, for it is obvious that the character of the publication will be so determined. This is particularly true in the case of the FREEMAN, which is, by design, a journal of opinion. It is unavoidable that the articles I select for publication, to say nothing of the editorials I write, will reflect the values I hold most high, the body of thought which shapes a man's thinking and which he calls his philosophy.

Therefore, my application to you, the reader, for this editorship consists of an outline of my philosophy. It goes by the name of Individualism, or Libertarianism, whichever you prefer. I like Individualism, but those who are opposed to that frame of thought have managed by innuendo and distortion to attach to it a derogatory connotation that, in some instances, disturbs understanding. Libertarianism is substantially the same thing, and because the word has as yet escaped defilement, it ought to be used. You may, if you wish, but because I have a strong leaning toward the loves of my youth, I shall use Individualism.

Individualism is a body of thought—which, in turn, affects behavior—that can for convenience be subdivided into three categories: economic, political, and philosophical. We shall begin with the last, because the philosophical postulates are basic in a man's thinking along other lines.

Individualism holds that the social world in which man lives is the product of the individuals who live in it. That is, man's environment is of his own making. To be sure, God has provided man with the tools with which to shape his environment, tools which consist of certain immutable laws of nature, and it is the business of man to discover these laws so that he may the better shape his destiny. If he learns how nature applies means toward ends and makes use of this learning to solve his own problems, he will get along; if he defies the lessons of nature he will come to grief.

1. The FREEMAN'S publisher is unique in that he puts principle above both profit and circulation. And that is to my advantage.

Nevertheless, it is man who makes his environment, and not the other way around.

That being so, in the business of getting along in life, so as to better enjoy his temporary tenure, man's constant preoccupation must be to look to nature for guidance. He will not find it in his own artifacts, such as political institutions and the compulsions that ensue from them; these, like medicines, may help him overcome some temporary disabilities, or they may make him sicker; at any rate, they are not a substitute for nature's laws.

In the nature of things, man finds that he is in better case when he associates with his fellow-man. His need for companionship compels him to it, in the first place, and then there is the economic profit that comes from cooperation; a hundred men, working together, can produce more than a hundred times the output of each one, simply because they can subdivide their labors. But specialization makes necessary a means of distributing the abundance that each specialist produces, and so there comes into being the complicated exchange machine known as the market place. The market place is the index of Society, which is but a word signifying a group of men working together for their mutual benefit. Without men there cannot be a Society, and without a market place Society disintegrates into a number of isolated and ineffective individuals.

The essential device of the market place is the price system. This records the desires of the individuals who compose the Society and thus directs their productive efforts. People will produce what other people put a high value on, simply because they themselves have desires which need satisfaction. It is by the free expression of their respective values, as recorded in price, that the wheels of production turn. Obviously, the faster these wheels turn the more is produced and there is more for everybody. Thus, Society flourishes in proportion to the volume and fluidity of exchanges in the market place.

The market place is a peculiarly human institution—no other animal has hit upon the idea—stemming from man's urge to satisfy his desires with the least possible effort. Without the market place he would have to do everything for himself, would have to be a jack of all trades, and he would have a rather meager fare to get along on. And, without the market place he would never think of the wonderful labor-saving devices that make specialization and abundance possible. All in all, this "law of parsimony"—getting along with the least possible effort—has served the human quite well in his quest of a better living and a wider horizon.

However, this trait sometimes leads to behavior



that is not so admirable. In his anxiety to get as much as possible for as little as possible, the human sometimes hits on the idea of getting things at no output of labor at all. That is, he thinks of stealing what the other fellow has produced.

At this point in the philosophy of Individualism we come to the doctrine of rights. It holds that a man has a right to life, and therefore a right to the things he produces; for, without the latter right the former has no meaning. One cannot live without property—one's own or somebody else's; and if one lives by another man's property, forcibly taken, one denies the other man's right to life. The Individualist holds, therefore, that the basic rights of life and property inhere in the individual, merely by virtue of existence—and therefore authored by God—and that respect for these rights is necessary to the proper functioning of Society. Which is another way of saying that violation of these rights by any member of Society, or by the whole group, retards the operation of the market place and everybody is the worse off.

In an attempt to prevent such violations—which spring from the aforesaid quirk in the human structure—Society invents a device known as Government. It is a body of men entrusted with the monopoly of coercion, to be used to prevent the indiscriminate exercise of coercion on one another. Government has no other function, and is by origin and construction incompetent to do anything beyond maintaining order; which means the protection of each member of Society in the enjoyment of his rights.

But since Government consists of men, it has a tendency to use its monopoly of coercion not for the intended purpose, but for its own aggrandizement. Government can and does become a predatory instrument, a creator of disorder, a dispenser of injustice. To accomplish this end, it frequently enters into partnership with members of Society—pressure groups—granting them special privileges (to the disadvantage of the rest of Society) in exchange for their support of its own purposes. It is this practice of trespassing on the rights of the citizenry by Government (and its chosen beneficiaries) that Individualism holds to be the greatest menace to Society, and therefore insists on calling Government to account whenever it goes beyond its appointed bounds.

These are the broad outlines of the philosophy that shall characterize my editorship. We shall, of course, concentrate on current events and trends, because that is what you are interested in. But, whether we write about domestic or foreign affairs, cultural matters or economics, education or politics, we cannot help but stress the Individualistic point of view. That is inevitable; because your editor is inherently or by training incapable of seeing things otherwise.

I'm hoping—after you read a few issues—that you will decide to keep me on.

## *Televised Education*

Putting aside the point at issue, the Army-McCarthy hassle offered the video audience a lesson in government they could not have gotten from books. Here was a visual and auditory demonstration of government in action, bare-knuckled, and not as the theoreticians would have it. If the country should retain the lesson of the screen, the show will have been worth the price.

Nobody should have been surprised that one side or the other was somewhat reckless with the truth. It is taken for granted in politics that the only facts that are facts are those that help you promote your cause. Everything else is a lie. But here we had brought home to the American public a commonplace among those familiar with the Washington scene; namely, that dirty in-fighting, surreptitious low blows, and eye-thumbing are all permissible in this game.

We like to think of government as a body of men deeply concerned with basic principles, while the truth is that their one concern is to stay in office by election or appointment. Nothing else counts. And so, if the Senators and other officials snarled and threw epithets at one another, they did so not because they are inclined to bar-room methods but because such methods are essential to their business. The professionals in politics are well aware of this, but the general rule, for obvious reasons, is to keep this sort of in-fighting confined to cloak rooms and cocktail parties, out of public view. Television merely exposed it.

To illustrate the point, these Senators were presumed to sit as a court, to weigh evidence and to come to an impartial conclusion based on this evidence. At the very outset, however, it became clear that their judgment would be warped by political considerations—how to turn the affair to the profit of their respective political parties. That such considerations actually instigated the whole affair was underlined by the evidence: one Senator took a hand in bringing the flimsy case to the court in which he sat as a judge. One could have laid a thousand to one, before the hearings started, that it would eventuate in contradictory majority and minority reports. The November elections, not the evidence, would determine the respective conclusions.

More important, from an educative point of view, was the highlighting of a phase of government with which the American public is only vaguely familiar: the government within the government, the bureaucracy. We learned, for instance, that the word "army" does not designate only a body of men concerned with the business of defending the country from foreign attack, but includes a considerable group who, though influential in the management of the military forces, are only tenuously connected with defense. They are not "army"

in the commonly accepted sense, but are lawyers and secretaries, statisticians and statute drafters, propagandists and investigators—civilians whose functions can only be described as political. Though they have not as yet achieved similar importance in this country, they suggest the political branch of the Soviet army by which the Kremlin holds the fighting forces to the party line.

It became evident in the Army-McCarthy hearings that this bureaucracy was fighting for its position. The Senator had attempted to invade their sacred precincts, threatening to expose to public view the workings of their publicly supported private machine. If he were successful in so doing, the sanctity of the Executive branch—the two and a half million time-servers—would have been violated. That would be *lese majesté*, and to prevent that crime every means at their disposal was justified.

And so, even though the imbroglia frequently violated every tenet of common decency, it was not without good purpose—if the people learned more about the government.

## *Subversives Needed*

If you look up the definition of “subversive” you will find that current usage gives it limits much narrower than the dictionary. Even before the Department of Justice used it as a label for one who advocates the overthrow of our form of government by foul means, it had acquired that meaning. It is now pinpointed to espionage, treason, and other illegal practices.

One cannot quarrel with usage. Yet, etymologically the word covers much more ground, and assuredly includes anyone who strives to overcome the going conformity, the accepted order of things, and does so openly and by methods scrupulously legal. The Latin of it does not give the word its current connotation. It rather suggests one who would subvert the values which underlie the accepted procedures. He is against what the mob—including the “best” people—are for. In that sense, one cannot label a man as “subversive” unless one defines the conservatism the man would like to subvert.

What is the conservatism of the day? Why, socialism. Or, maybe collectivism is the better word, for the term covers all the ideologies that seek to throw more power into government and thus reduce the areas in which the individual can work out his destiny unmolested by law. That is certainly what the modern conservative, the one who would not change the status quo, is for. There are exceptions, of course, but these must be counted as subversive in their inclination because they are opposed to what the obvious majority favor.

The modern banker, for instance, has made his adjustment to government intervention in his

business, through the Federal Reserve Board, and would oppose any change in the law that would make him an independent agent. Power interests are to be found on the side of government participation in the electric business, by way of hydroelectric plants, which are expensive to build and operate, so long as the government allows private companies to handle the more profitable delivery service. Industrialists who have tasted the seductive cup of government contracts will advance good arguments for the continuance and extension of collectivized buying; it creates jobs and regularizes the market, doesn't it? Insurance companies have not raised their voices against so-called social security—although they must know that calling this “insurance” is fraudulent—but have rather used the scheme to help them sell policies. Union leaders are indeed in favor of government intervention in labor matters, since in that way they attained their high estate.

You can multiply instances of pressure groups who are all for the socialistic trend, would fight any attempt to stop it, simply because they have profited by it. But those who deal in ideas, the so-called intellectuals, are even more outspoken in their support of the current frame of thought, and, except those who hope to get into the bureaucracy or are looking for government subventions, they do so entirely out of conviction; they are for conserving the socialistic milieu. If proof of that were called for, one need only look to the economics textbooks they write and teach; putting aside other ideas, the idea that taxation is not merely a means of maintaining government but is an instrument of “social purposes” is held to be axiomatic. Campus conservatism is collectivism.

But why argue the point? Norman Thomas, the perennial Socialist candidate, has underscored the entrenchment of socialism by advocating the dissolution of the Socialist Party as a useless organization. We *have* socialism.

That being so, anyone who advocates a change in the going order is a subversive. He would upset, undermine, overturn, destroy the prevailing values and the institutions that rest on them. If he bases his objections on fundamental theory we could call him a radical, for a radical is one who goes to the root of things for his reasoning; sometimes a subversive is rather careless of root causes, has no reasoned-out philosophy, but proceeds on emotion. A subversive, these days, is one who hates socialism, can smell it coming down the street, and crosses over to avoid meeting it.

The country could use a lot of these subversives—people whom nature has supplied with an extra dose of self-respect, and who instinctively recognize in the going socialism a threat to their freedom. With a little study of economics and political science they might become the salt of the earth—radicals. But, whether they do or not, they are needed for their soundness of instinct in the struggle against the encircling conservatism.



# Alas, the Food Bringers

By GARET GARRETT

*In its tinkering with a farm "relief" program the Administration ignores the history of the problem and the lesson it teaches that fixing cannot make right what was from the outset economically unsound.*

This was intended to be an agricultural nation. That was the conviction of two such unlike founders as George Washington, a conservative, and his opposite, Thomas Jefferson, a radical. Both regarded the excitable urbanite as a political weed; both believed the simple virtues of the rural population would save and perfect the Republic. It came to be deeply established as folk doctrine that agriculture was man's most honorable covenant with life. The land was his mother and refuge. If he could not make a living on the land there was something wrong.

For a hundred years the country's prosperity was largely related to its enormous exports of the soil's produce—breadstuffs, meat, and cotton.

Toward the end of the century industrial exports began to exceed the value of agricultural exports. The rural population was declining. Young people were leaving the farm. The significance of these facts was debated with a kind of national heart-ache. Was this after all to become an industrial nation, unable to feed itself, like Great Britain? No. Something had to be done about it. The drift from the farm to the devouring cities must be arrested. Farm life had to be made more attractive. The farm could not come to the city; but the city could take itself to the farm, with endless replicas of its comforts, gadgets, and distractions. Then, in order to be able to buy these things, farming had to be made more profitable. The farmer had to be taught not only how to increase his income but how to do it with less drudgery.

With the first of these ends in view, the government put forth a glamorous evangel for farm life. There was almost nothing the city dwellers had that farm dwellers could not have too, with the beauties of nature thrown in. Vast irrigation projects were undertaken and acclaimed. They would make the deserts bloom; they would create a kind of sponsored agriculture, secure and beyond the hazard of drought.

With the second end in view, the government set out to make American agriculture the most scientific in the world. The Department of Agriculture was richly endowed for research. The earth was explored for better seeds and better animals. A great deal of money was spent on agricultural colleges in the states, teaching plant biology, selective breeding, soil chemistry, pest control, marketing,

farm management, home cooking and, for recreation, dramatic art. Then in every county throughout the country appeared a resident federal agent, trained in agronomy. His job was to bring scientific knowledge down to the soil—to teach the farmer new methods by exhortation and demonstration, how to use fertilizer and machinery, how to specialize, how to organize for cooperative effort, and, above all, how to conduct farming as a business for money profit.

The results were scientific, certainly. Farming was transformed; the farmer could produce much more of anything. All the same, and not withstanding electricity, telephones, automobiles, running water, rural free delivery, and the mail order catalogue, the rural population continued to decline, for the simple reason that fewer and fewer people were needed on the land to produce a surplus. The small, self-contained farm disappeared. Farms had to be larger to bear the cost of mechanization. Little farmers on poor lands were lost in the margins. Where once the farmer had produced his own power, with natural animals at almost no cost, now his mechanical animals, besides involving him in large capital outlay, had to be fed gas and oil. Tractors and combines moved over millions of acres that had formerly been used to feed horses. Money cropping, not sustenance, became his primary business. He even forgot how to feed himself: he sold wheat and bought baker's bread. In short, agriculture became an industry, subject like any other industry to all the vicissitudes of a money economy.

## Supply and Demand Before 1900

During thirty years the country's total population increased more than two-fifths. In those same years the rural population, the number of people tilling the soil, declined nearly one-third. Nevertheless, food production in those same years increased three-fifths, or much faster than the total population. An amazing performance.

But did it solve the agricultural problem? No. It solved only the food problem, which is a very different thing. The food problem is how to make sure that with population increasing in an explosive manner, on a given area of land, you will have plenty to eat twenty or thirty years hence. But

the more successfully you solve the food problem the more trouble you will have with the agricultural problem, for quite obvious reasons. The farmer lives in the present; and if as you make sure of the future food supply you create a present surplus, as you are almost bound to do—a surplus tending to depress prices—you cannot comfort the farmer by telling him that if only he will wait until the population has overtaken the food supply he will be more prosperous than ever before.

Supply and demand are seldom in perfect balance. During the first twenty-five years there was a fair balance. That was when nearly nine tenths of the people worked on the soil and was about all they could do to feed the other one tenth living in the towns and cities. Now only about 12 per cent of the people are on the soil and one man there, besides himself, can feed ten in the cities.

Until 1900 the chronic bane of surplus that made food so cheap was owing to the geographical extension of agriculture over new land. During the 1880s and 1890s grain would hardly bear the cost of transportation to market. Corn was burned for fuel in farmhouse stoves. "There is no profit in the fruits of the soil." That was the farmer's song of despair, and it was true. For a quarter of a century he would not believe this was naturally true; he believed instead that the railroads devoured his profits in high freight rates. He demanded that freight rates be regulated downward by law, and they were, and that made no difference at all.

### Government Meddling Begins

After 1900, from no increase of acreage, a farm surplus arose from the increasing application of science and technology, and it was then that the agricultural problem began to assume its modern aspect. The doctrine developed that the farmer's welfare was a responsibility of the federal government. And at the same time the farmers were seized with another obsessionary idea. All that they needed to be able to solve their own problems was more and cheaper credit. The country banker was their new Satan. He was too tight-fisted; he would too often let his farm debtors go through the wringer. Only the government could deliver them from his clutches. The government thereupon created a series of regional banks for farmers only—to lend them long and short term credit at easy rates, on their mortgaged land, for more machinery and fertilizer, and, furthermore, to enable them to withhold their crops from the greedy Chicago speculators who bought grain in the glut of the harvest and sold it at a profit afterward.

With no notable reduction of the agricultural problem, these magic measures continued until World War I. Then suddenly there was an insatiable world-wide demand for food. Wheat went to \$2.75 a bushel. It was the farmer's bonanza. Partly owing to the high prices and partly in response to the

slogan that food would win the war, he enormously expanded his wheat acreage. As he did this the government promised him that if at the end of the war his European market should collapse, as it almost certainly would, it would somehow take care of him. Meanwhile, with his new access to cheap credit, he capitalized his wartime profits in fantastic land values, as if the profits would last forever. After the war his European market did go out from under him, prices fell in a headlong manner, and as he tried to shrink his overvalued wheat acreage back to something like prewar normal he got badly hurt. His bitter complaint was that the government had let him down.

By this time the theme of government responsibility for the prosperity of agriculture had come to be widely accepted, and public sympathy was with the farmer, although nobody yet would go so far as to advocate direct subsidies out of the public purse. Several ingenious schemes for indirect subsidy were evolved. One of them was twice adopted by Congress, but President Coolidge vetoed it. That was a dual price scheme. Its features were: A fair price for all staple food domestically consumed, the surplus to be dumped abroad for what it would bring, the difference to be equalized by a complicated tax payable by the farmers.

After Coolidge, no candidate for the office of President could hope to be elected unless he had a farm relief program the farmers would buy, which led of course to competitive promises. And it was now that the conjurers in the Department of Agriculture conceived a new word, guaranteed to bring a miracle to pass by natural means. The word was *parity*. It meant that a fair price for staple agricultural products was a price at which the farmer's buying power would be constant year after year—*e.g.*, a price for wheat at which he could buy as many things with a bushel as he had been able to buy at some favorable statistical period of the past. Thereafter every plan for the relief of agriculture embodied the principle of parity and more or less bound the government to see to it that under any circumstances the farmer's buying power should remain constant.

During the Hoover Administration for the first time the public purse was pledged to support agricultural prices. Congress appropriated a large sum of money to enable the government to stand in the Chicago wheat pit and buy up the surplus; cotton likewise. For a while prices were held so high above the world level that the surplus could not be sold in foreign markets. Then it all collapsed and the government was left holding a sack that contained 25 million bushels of wheat and more than a million bales of cotton. After that came the Great Depression, when the miseries of city life were greater than those of farm life. And then came the New Deal and the Roosevelt regime.

The New Deal's first idea was to attack production. Farmers bound themselves to the Secretary of

Agriculture to plow under their growing crops, to slaughter their suckling pigs, and to retire millions of acres from cultivation. In return for this they received checks direct from the U. S. Treasury as a reward for not producing. The government intended to reimburse itself from a tax on the processors of food—the millers, the packers, etc. The weaknesses of this plan were two. First, control of production was on an acreage basis. Secondly, farmers all with one accord set out to gyp their own salvation. They retired from cultivation their worst acres; on the remainder they used more fertilizer, more intensive cultivation, and produced more surplus than before, because they were expecting prices to rise. How it might have turned out will never be known, because before there was any sequel the United States Supreme Court struck down the first New Deal law, on the ground that the government had no right to levy a special tax on the processors of food, at the expense of consumers, for the exclusive benefit of one economic class, namely, the farmers.

### New Deal Marketing Quotas

The New Deal's second attack was modified to mollify the Supreme Court. Farmers continued to receive their checks from the U. S. Treasury, not specifically for keeping acres out of production but for certain soil conservation practices, which amounted to the same thing; and they bound themselves to the Secretary of Agriculture to accept marketing quotas. To each farmer was allotted his share of the total crop. He could sell no more than that, under pain of fine and possible imprisonment.

In return for having so bound himself the farmer was protected in a special way. If in any case there was still a surplus, or if prices declined below parity, the government would take the surplus off the farmer's hands under parity loans, *without recourse*. A loan without recourse meant that if the price went up the farmer could pay off his loan, recover his stuff, and sell it at a profit; whereas if the price went down he could simply keep what he had borrowed, which was almost the full parity price, and the government was left holding the bag.

Once established by the New Deal as an emergency solution, that became the fixed pattern. It was dimmed out during World War Two, when again the world-wide demand for food was insatiable and prices were naturally high. Immediately after the war it was restored and has continued ever since.

Under the postwar Truman Administration, the Secretary of Agriculture would have gone much further. His plan was that the government should guarantee to every farmer an optimum cash income. Congress balked at that. Nevertheless, it now is accepted political doctrine that the government, as a matter of public policy, shall support agricultural prices at or near parity. During the

last Presidential campaign, Mr. Eisenhower, to save the farm vote, was obliged to embrace the principle of "price support." Later his Secretary of Agriculture nearly lost his political life for suggesting that price supports should be used in emergency only; they should not be used to encourage the farmer to go on producing a surplus, with the certainty that if he could not sell it on the open market the government would buy it. From this same position he was obliged to retreat; for, either the "farm bloc" would have got his head or for want of the farm vote the next election would be lost.

The theory of it all is that as the government removes from the market the weight of the surplus, thereby creating an illusion of scarcity, prices will rise. How actually does the government make away with the surplus?

It keeps a fabulous snake named the Commodity Credit Corporation—a creature of the boa constrictor species, of mythical size, with a mouth that can swallow a whole crop if necessary and a belly so big that it can contain six billion dollars' worth of agricultural commodities. That has been demonstrated. How much more it could hold in a crisis nobody knows. The Secretary of Agriculture feeds it, and from the snake's point of view this sometimes is pretty rough, because the Secretary of Agriculture is obliged by law to feed it not what it likes but what the farmers have been pleased to produce a surplus of; wherefor, its diet may consist of such incompatible things as eggs, tobacco, and cotton. Some of it the Secretary of Agriculture buys in the open market for cash; some of it he acquires by making high parity loans on crops, which are then stored for a while. If it turns out, as it often does, that the loan is more than the crops are worth in the open market, the farmer says to the government: "You keep the stuff, and we'll call it quits."

Once the snake got a terrible colic from a diet of potatoes, of which it was obliged to ingest 254 million dollars' worth in a single year—the best potatoes, while housewives were paying high prices for culls at the grocery store. The next year it would have been worse because farmers were growing potatoes not for the market but for the boa constrictor.

The Secretary of Agriculture at last got sorry for the snake and told the farmers that if they didn't stop choking it he would forbid them to grow potatoes at all except under license. They stopped. At another time the snake got sick on dried eggs, of which it was compelled to eat 12,000 tons in three years. Now it is getting sick of butter, of which it has devoured 240 million dollars' worth in one year. While it was doing that, and because it was doing it, the price of butter at the grocery store was so high that millions of people could no longer afford to eat it and bought oleo instead. The dairy farmers, like the potato farmers, all happily feed-

ing the snake, were pricing themselves out of the market.

The undigested mass inside the boa constrictor at the last formal reckoning was roughly: One billion 800 million dollars' worth of wheat; 821 million dollars' worth of corn; 358 million dollars' worth of cotton; 221 million dollars' worth of tobacco; 165 million dollars' worth of butter; 157 million dollars' worth of cottonseed oil; 97 million dollars' worth of cheese; 66 million dollars' worth of dried milk, and 55 million dollars' worth of linseed oil. Total—nearly four billion dollars' worth of surplus agricultural commodities. Since those figures were made the total has risen to approximately six billion.

The government is unhappy because the public purse cannot stand it forever. The farmers are unhappy because in spite of everything prices have declined. And for all the billions that have been spent toward its solution, or possibly because of them, the agricultural problem is still a political nightmare.

## Those Poor Starving Americans

By LEO DUDIN

Every well-informed Soviet citizen knows that the American population is divided into two parts: the warmongering imperialists and the ordinary Americans. Those in the warmongering category are obviously quite atrocious. Those in the ordinary man-in-the-street class deserve a word of Marxist-Leninist praise, but their lot is miserable. Here are some heart-rending proofs, translated from Soviet publications:

Millions and millions of Americans are suffering from malnutrition, and millions are starving. Almost four-fifths of all American families have an income definitely below the minimum necessary for life. More than half of all American families are unable to satisfy their minimum needs. Food and goods absolutely necessary to life are too expensive; the ordinary American cannot afford them. Life is becoming harder and harder for the ordinary American every year; nutrition is becoming worse and worse. Bread consumption per person declined in 1953 from the prewar level in the U.S.A. by 18 per cent, potatoes and fruit by 20 per cent, butter by 49 per cent. Almost a third of the population is ill-fed—45 to 50 million people.

*Komsomolskaya Pravda*, April 3, 1954

The lines of unemployed in the capital of the U.S.A. are now longer than they have ever been

since the crisis in the thirties. . . Hundreds of thousands of American unemployed lack even a crust of bread for themselves and their children. There are frequent reports that the unemployed are starving. Scores of formerly prosperous American cities have become "ghost towns" that have lost all their inhabitants because there was no work to be found there. . .

In the vicinity of Carterville, Missouri, alone, six to eight thousand men have lost all hope of finding work and for two and three days at a time lack even a crust of bread. Many unemployed, often having no other opportunity to earn enough for a piece of bread to save their children from starvation, enter a life of crime or commit suicide.

*Pravda*, April 15, 1954

Poor Americans! How much better life is in the Soviet Union where every laborer enjoys the fruits of the policy of Communist abundance under the beloved leadership of Comrade Malenkov! Yet from a further perusal of the Soviet press it appears that there are certain shortages even in the Workers' Paradise:

In a large industrial center like Dniepropetrovsk it is difficult to obtain such items as galvanized and cast-iron pots, clothespins, kerosene stoves, and cleaning-needles for them. Stores in the city of Baku are suffering from shortages of enamelware, teakettles, glasses, needles, notebooks, pens, safety-razor blades, and other items of daily necessity.

*Izvestia*, April 15, 1954

In Moscow not long ago, 120 pharmacies were checked. The pharmacies lacked medicine for heart disease, preparations for asthma, glycerine, sulphur for internal use, etc. There are instances of refusals to issue medicinal preparations in Tula, Saratov, Kuibyshev, Sverdlovsk, Krasnodar, and even in Moscow. It frequently happens that the pharmacies are unable to supply such simple medicaments as aspirin, iodine, or boric acid. Even if a physician prescribes some medicine for immediate use, it is simply impossible to get it in less than six to eight hours, and usually an entire day, in drug stores in Orel, Chelyabinsk, Astrakhan, and even Moscow.

*Izvestia*, April 11, 1954

In the city of Ulianovsk, on the Volga, it is impossible to buy fresh fish on the market or in the restaurants. Such products as cleaning-needles for kerosene stoves, pens, string, tooth powder, buckets, basins, and spades are unobtainable in the stores.

*Komsomolskaya Pravda*, April 10, 1954

Why not let the local Comrades improve the sad lot of the ordinary American and supply him with Soviet-made prosperity? He might not get enough cleaning-needles for his kerosene stove, but then kerosene stoves aren't much used in American cities. How about it, Comrade William Z. Foster?

# What the British Think

By F. A. VOIGT

*As American and British heads of state meet once more, we offer this judicious appraisal by one of England's foremost journalists of his country's moods and views.*

*Bramley, England*

We all have our own ways of observing. My own way is, chiefly, talk in pubs and clubs—especially in pubs—and, for the most part, with “ordinary people,” as they are called, though upon acquaintance they are often far from “ordinary.”

In a recent FREEMAN article (“Lion into Ostrich,” March 8, 1954), Freda Utley wrote: “In a showdown the British lion will fight.” War, to us, is something to be avoided; we reject it “as an instrument of policy” and we do so sincerely and inconsistently—and, in my opinion, wrongly. We pretend, as long as we can, that war is not war by giving it another name—“sanctions,” for example, or “cold war”—and refuse to make up our minds about it. But, once we *have* made up our minds, we treat it as a *job*. Our pessimists will think it a long job, our optimists a short one, but that we shall finish it, meaning *win* it, is doubted by none, or none who matter. This may be irrational, for, after all, anyone can lose a war. But that is how it is with us.

We felt, I think rightly, that the “real thing” was near in 1948, during the “Berlin crisis.” In my village, at least, the apathy that lingered on after the end of the last war, seemed to vanish. Men talked of the next war, not without some apprehension, but quite cheerfully, and some dusted their old gas-masks or cleaned their “tin hats” because “they might come in handy.”

The hydrogen bomb may have modified our attitude a little, but I doubt it. In any case, there is no public perturbation commensurate with the visions of horror and destruction that greet us when we open our newspapers. On the whole, we think that America might go too far in a crisis, though some of us fear we might not go far enough. But if “the real thing” comes, America can rely on us as we can on America. Only of two other nations would I say with complete confidence that they are reliable in this sense—the Greeks and the Turks.

Few “ordinary people,” as far as I can discover, expect much from the United Nations, if indeed they take any interest in it at all. Were the United Nations to fade away quietly, the British public would not care in the slightest. Chimerical projects for a “federal Europe” or for “world government” arouse no public interest whatever. I find this indifference not merely among those

who are by nature indifferent, but also among the shrewdest and the most alert.

The study of foreign affairs has become a pleasant and rewarding employment, almost an industry, for the sophisticated. It means traveling abroad, writing, broadcasting, lecturing (lecturing in America, above all). With a little luck, it means a permanent job as “expert” or “adviser” or a share in those “activities” that go under the name of “research,” “information,” “propaganda,” “public relations,” and what not. And there is always UNESCO, which provides an exceedingly large income (free of income tax) and, perhaps, further traveling and an expense account so liberal that the income may remain untouched. The result is that, to the “ordinary people,” foreign affairs mean nothing because they are, or seem to be, about nothing.

## The Cult of Internationalism

Foreign policy, however, has, or ought to have, one clear purpose above all others—the defense of national honor and security. The study of foreign affairs has no justification unless it serves this purpose.

The study of foreign affairs has been obscured, dissipated, and falsified by the cult of internationalism and by the deference paid to chimerical projects, to “rights,” “freedoms,” “Charters,” and so on. We hear too much about international or collective security and too little about our own. And when nowadays do we hear the word “honor”? It does not occur in the Charters, we rarely find it in the press, and we seek it vainly in public speeches, especially speeches delivered at international conferences, where, most of all, national honor should be upheld.

I doubt if there is a “religious revival” in England, but the Christian religion commands increasing interest and respect. Among those of us who profess the Christian faith there is some perturbation over the Communist “challenge to Christianity.” We find for the first time that “ordinary people” will meet in the evenings to discuss “what’s to be done about it.” But, of course, we must always be “fair.” We would never deny that “everyone is entitled to his own opinion.” How often have I heard it said of the Communists at such meetings that, after all, “they *are* sincere!”

It would seem, nowadays, that any villainy can be excused or condoned if the villains adopt or devise some bogus philosophy by way of justification.

The spirit of "fair play" leads us to ready self-accusation. We tell ourselves that it is "all our fault" that "the churches have failed." Penitence, which is, or ought to be, so serious and personal a matter, threatens to become a fashion. The pharisee is coming to his own once more, as I have observed at such meetings. With his face suffused with the glow of generous self-reproach, he will exhort us to penitence and we shall all look demure, though some of us will struggle to repress our anger or mockery. It is as though many such meetings had no purpose other than finding excuses for Communism.

But it is not always so. There are meetings permeated with the spirit of true piety by an awareness of evil—of the "conspiracy" in all its subtle and sinister forms and ramifications. Now and again an even deeper intimation emerges, a belief that, because our generation has not sufficiently heeded the warnings of our time, a new period of war and persecution will be upon us before this generation has passed away.

### **Influence of Statist Writers**

A kind of sentimental materialism, which embraces nearly all socialist, liberal, and pacifist trends, permeates the churches (though the Catholic Church has remained comparatively immune). Our sense of honor and justice, of balance, form, and structure has been falsified by popular Socialist writers like the late Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, and Harold Laski, and by many living writers who are not specifically socialist—obscurantists like Arnold Toynbee, Julian Huxley, and Gilbert Murray, and sophists like Bertrand Russell. Such writers have promoted the widespread belief that there is a simple and easy solution for the most intractable problems and have done much to kindle the rebellion against God and nature which has drenched our world in blood.

Anti-Americanism is the form commonly taken by the forces of disaffection and disintegration. To be openly pro-Soviet is no longer possible without appearing too obviously anti-British. But it is still possible to be anti-American and yet appear pro-British, or at least not anti-British, and, by striking at America, to strike at the Anglo-American alliance, and therefore at Great Britain herself. To be anti-American is the safest and the most effective way of being anti-British.

Although there is in England no censor of the press, there is a silent self-censorship which has imposed an unprecedented uniformity upon our press and wireless. For the first time in our history, principles of foreign policy are not discussed at all. We do not talk about the Charters or the United Nations. We simply take them for granted.

Under our self-censorship every insular conception has suffered atrophy. "Insularity" could be for us what "isolationism" is to Americans. Absolute insularity would, of course, be no more practicable than absolute isolationism. Necessity compels us, even more than it does America, to maintain certain commitments overseas and we must be prepared to fight far afield in defense of our island security—of our insularity itself. But that the vital interests of the British as of the American people demand the maximum of insularity or isolation that is compatible with their honor and security seems to me beyond serious question.

### **Philanthropy for "Underdeveloped" Nations**

Our self-censorship has been consolidated by self-satisfaction. Most of our people have come to regard our Welfare State as containing the secret of all human happiness, as the "solution" even for the "underdeveloped" nations, as we call them, of Asia and Africa. And yet even our own Welfare State costs us more than we can afford. There is not a competent economist who does not tell us we are already overtaxed. But we assume that the "underdeveloped" nations cannot grow prosperous by their own efforts as we grew prosperous, that the "hard" way, which was ours, is not for them. For them, as for us in future, the "soft" way is the only right way. We are willing, in fact it is our duty, to supply them with advisers, experts, technicians, and all other help. But what they need above all is, of course, capital. We, however, have none to spare. Who, then, is to provide it? I leave the American reader to guess the answer!

The spirit of universal philanthropy has become pharisaical to a nauseating degree. The House of Lords has, during the past few weeks, outdone even the House of Commons and the press in exhorting us to indiscriminate benevolence in the interest of everyone except ourselves and America. But there is hardly a protest over our soldiers tortured by the Chinese or murdered by Egyptian terrorists. I vividly remember the indignation that seized the nation over the execution of Nurse Edith Cavell during the First World War—and she was executed after a fair trial. Had she been tortured by the Germans, no British government could have resisted the popular demand for retribution.

Today, no one cares. And that is why the atrocities go on and why the cold war goes on, and why, in ten years, say, or twenty, the Third World War will be upon us—unless there is a revival of the national spirit; unless we restore the primacy of national honor in our dealings with foreign nations; unless, in association with as few allies as are needed and not as many as are possible, we limit our commitments to those, and those only, which are essential to our defense.



# Individualism vs. Social Security

By HELMUT SCHOECK

*Through tax deductions for insurance savings, Americans could build up their individual programs for true social security without surrendering to Welfare State paternalism.*

Just five years ago, on June 1, 1949, Dwight D. Eisenhower addressed to the graduating class of Columbia University, of which he was then president, some words that certainly rank among the clearest expressions of the individualist philosophy:

Millions of us, today, seem to fear that individual freedom is leading us toward social chaos . . . that we have reached the point where the individual is far too small to cope with his circumstances; that his lifelong physical security against every risk is all that matters. More than this, we hear that such security must be attained by surrendering to centralized control. . . On every count the fearful men are wrong. More than ever before, in our country, this is the age of the individual. . . The modern preachers of the paternalistic state permit themselves to be intimidated by circumstances. Blinding themselves to the inevitable growth of despotism, they—cravenlike—seek, through government, assurance that they can forever count upon a full stomach and warm cloak or—perhaps—the sinister-minded among them think, by playing upon our fears, to become the masters of our lives.

There can be little doubt that a number of those who voted for Eisenhower in 1952 did so in recollection of the above stated faith. Far less publicity was given to another, and quite contrary, development at Columbia University around the same time. It, too, is worth recollecting, for it represents on the highest level that march toward the Welfare State that would trample and obliterate the statement of faith we have quoted.

The American Assembly on Economic Security for Americans was founded at Columbia University in 1950, made up of professors of economics and sociology, and others. It seems to have been early infiltrated by proponents of the all-inclusive Welfare State. Its Report issued in November 1953 contradicts, or, by implication, ridicules that very faith to which President Eisenhower exhorted the graduating class in June 1949. "At the start of our discussions," it states, "we agreed that a striving for security is part of the temper of our time."

We pause to remark that to our knowledge animals as well as men have had a built-in striving for "security," or homeostasis, as the biologists call it, since the beginning of time. Also we wonder exactly who makes the "temper of our time"? Evidently, the writers and teachers of each generation. And if about 80 per cent of that group

continuously tell each other that we ought to have a welfare state, etc., it amounts to just that much and nothing more. In any event, the real temper of a nation is shown by its voting. And neither the majority of American voters in 1952 nor the majority of voters in Great Britain, western Germany, and Australia, to mention a few recent national elections, fell for those who overpromised themselves in welfare benefits and cried "don't let them take it away."

## A Self-Defeating Report

As this introduction anticipates, the Report brings in the usual argument of the "increasing complexity of our economic system" that makes it impossible for the individual to take care of himself. Now it is difficult to imagine quite how a government agency in Washington, being responsible for the lifelong security and welfare of some 165 million citizens, should be better able to cope with "complexities" than each family, community, and private enterprise insurance company. This would assume the existence therein of a divine mind, above and unlike the rest of us. And indeed the Report seems to envision just such a divine fatherly agency to cope with the dragon of complexity. For it goes on to declare that "A security program, wisely conceived and fairly administered, can, indeed, provide the necessary economic foundation for high national morale."

Finally, the underconsumption theory comes in to clinch the argument: "It is not possible for many families to save enough, by their own devices, to provide adequate economic security *in addition to maintaining a high standard of living.*" [Italics added.]

But who is hammering into the population the virtue of spending all money as fast as it is earned? The very same welfare economists who, when people have dutifully consumed themselves into debt, announce that individual families no longer can save enough.

Early in 1954 a typical New England metropolitan family was interviewed. Average net income? Fifty dollars a week. Car? De Soto 1954. The interviewer also noted pretty new furniture, the latest in electric appliances, and then got around in his questionnaire to matters of saving and in-

surance. Savings? None. Insurance—health, life, liability, old age? None.

Needless to say, the Report on Economic Security paid lip service to private pension plans and related efforts. Yet whatever wisdom there may have been in the Report was finally destroyed in pronouncing a self-defeating maxim:

Government should protect the purchasing power of the dollar to prevent erosion of savings, and should also pursue policies to stimulate economic activity at a stable level [full employment] and to maintain economic growth.

The present extension of "social security" is certainly the least suitable policy to "protect the purchasing power of the dollar." Early in May the London *Economist*, reporting on the findings of the actuarial Phillips Committee, expressed grave apprehensions that "This Age of Pensions" (Professor Titmus at the University of London) creates claims to future pensions at a rate that may involve future economic and social strains. Why is it impossible for American "experts" to learn from the bitter experiences such notorious "pension states" as Germany and Austria have made and Great Britain is about to make?

For those who still might have wondered just why all Americans *must* be brought under social security, the Report ultimately went to Rousseau's elusive "general good." Whatever problem might arise from that super-social-security scheme was declared beforehand "insignificant in terms of the *general good*." What is it? Who defines it? Karl Mannheim, the late "planner," at least had sense enough to raise the question in one of his books: "Who plans the planner?" Indeed, how can any group of experts or panels ever arrive at a scientific knowledge of exactly what is the "general good" by simply juggling around half a dozen undefinable notions such as "economic security," "adequate standard of living," "reasonable limits," "social problems," "contributive effort," etc.? Little troubled by such considerations, the authors of the Report enthusiastically concluded:

It is clear majority opinion that *early universal* [and compulsory] coverage of all employed and *self-employed* persons, *including the professional groups*, is in the *public interest*." [Italics added.]

### Do Doctors Want Social Security?

These techniques and semantics of the "social-security politicians" are especially illustrated in the recent proposal that all the doctors of the country should be brought under social security while the nation's 250,000 ministers are to be covered on an optional basis only. It is somewhat hard to see why the individual doctor's "peace of mind and security," to quote from last year's Social Security Message, is not assured unless he is forced—not invited like the ministers—to pay that

special tax on his income. After all, the median age of retirement for doctors in private practice now is 78 years, which means that most doctors would benefit little from the plan. Evidently it was Representative Robert W. Kean, Republican of New Jersey, member of the Ways and Means Committee, who tried to get the doctors covered. He relied on a poll conducted by the Essex County Medical Society. It had queried 1,486 doctors in New Jersey. Only 326 troubled to reply. Out of those 326 a "majority" of 276 were in favor of extending social security coverage to doctors. With this "result" in his hands, Mr. Kean concluded that

Most of the country's doctors would like to come under social security. . . I will present this survey as evidence that, although the American Medical Association has gone on record as opposing the inclusion of doctors in the Social Security system, the rank and file of American doctors are overwhelmingly in favor of receiving benefits under the program.

Actually, the result of that survey was utterly meaningless. And a spokesman for the Medical Society said so. In the first place, nothing can be deduced from any poll of a solid and distinct group if only about one fourth of its members bother to respond. The silence of the almost 80 per cent in itself can be taken as a vote against the insinuation that doctors would like to be covered by compulsory social security.

### Republicans "Out-Welfarize" Democrats

How did it come that the first Republican Administration in twenty years was set on "out-welfarizing" not only any social security coverage proposal Mr. Truman ever dared send to Congress, but jumped ahead of many countries with a record of almost a century of social security laws?

Probably the long-range strategy of welfare-experts coincided with a tactical expediency of Republican politics. Two taunts seem to have frightened the lawmakers. One is the label "Do-Nothing Congress"; the other is the "Don't let them take it away" slogan. But should legislation be in response to such jeers or to the will of the people to whom it will apply?

Democracy could quite possibly undo itself by the compulsion to legislate at any price. In most democratic countries the trend is toward ever more and lengthier laws, wholly read and understood by ever fewer legislators who vote on them. This is "progress" in our century.

One can only shudder at the thought of the amount and kind of welfare and social security legislation the Democrats, when again in power, will feel called upon to shower on the country, just to prove they can yet "out-welfarize" the Republicans, and so on ad infinitum. This vicious circle is bound to operate until broken by complete inflation. After that monetary deluge, perhaps, there is a

faint hope for a critical examination of the arithmetic of the Welfare State on more rational terms than such current slogans as "the temper of our time demands security," "the world will not tolerate unemployment" (Keynes), etc.

The recent election campaign in Australia showed to what degree of utter irresponsibility in promising welfare benefits a national leader can go—and still fail at the polls. There is little reason for assuming that the Republican record of social security legislation will stop the Democrats from misusing that topic. On the contrary. The more radical liberals among the Democrats have served notice that President Eisenhower's social security program falls "far short of meeting the minimum social welfare responsibilities of the Federal Government," as Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr., stated in Philadelphia on May 12, 1954. Thus, the two parties have entered a race to welfarism.

It is strange that our liberals, who make so much of the danger of anti-Communism as a vote-catching device, are unaware of the snowballing danger inherent in any attempt to overtake the other party in social legislation.

Once enough voters understand why the politicians are so eager to cover them with "social security," there may be a reaction. In Belgium, for instance, the law introducing compulsory pension schemes for independent workers was so badly received (because limiting the freedom of choice) that, to pacify them, the government has now created—for the first time in all parliamentary history—a "Minister of the Middle Classes." Presumably it will be his task to protect the middle classes from the zeal of vote-hungry welfare-legislators.

There is a way by which any government and legislator can truly help people in building up their own individual security program. It is full and unlimited deduction from taxable income of all premiums paid for health, income, life, and annuity policies. Several of those 276 doctors in the New Jersey poll—out of 1,486 approached—who favored extension of social security coverage to their profession gave a highly revealing reason for voting as they did. They called the inclusion in compulsory social security a "second-best," since "we do not expect to get tax-free premiums on annuity or pension plans." This surrender to the paternalistic state and its income-tax philosophy is indicative and depressing.

Do those American doctors and other professional men know that, for instance, in West Germany any premium paid for any life insurance or annuity is deductible for income-tax purposes? That the same is true, practically without floor or ceiling, for medical expenses? This, evidently, is compatible with the views of a country where the idea and practice of compulsory social insurance originated.

Incidentally, this provision of the German income-

tax law is not mentioned when our proponents of the Welfare State extol the social security schemes in Europe. Yet it was this provision of the income-tax law in Germany that proved to be a major factor in her unique economic recovery. It provided a tremendous incentive to save (for one's own economic security), thus making available, through a flourishing private insurance business, the capital for economic growth. The currently discussed (1954) new tax law in Germany will keep those provisions.

By contrast, only rather modest bills for similar tax relief have been introduced in this country. Last year Republican as well Democratic representatives introduced bills which would provide that self-employed persons and employees of partnerships and corporations could deduct each year 10 per cent of their income or a maximum of \$7,500 if paid into retirement funds or to insurance companies. However, intimidated by pressure from big labor, lawmakers in this country are not likely to move very far toward providing chances for economic security by tax deductions for *saved* income. And early this year, the Ways and Means Committee moved to tax part of the installment benefits paid on large life insurance policies.

As far as the more distant future is concerned, I should like to add a question for those who applaud the maximization of "social security" by compulsory coverage of even the well-to-do groups who don't need it. Did it ever occur to them that our left-wingers and radical equalitarians will have a much better argument for demanding strict equalization of income and wealth as soon as everybody has his equal "social security" provided by the central government?

#### Letter from the Editor

Dear Reader-Writers: If I failed to acknowledge your letters wishing me luck on this job of editing the FREEMAN, please bear with me. The social amenities had to give way to the pressing business of the moment, which was to get out this issue. The deadline is a hard taskmaster.

Thanks. Taking all your letters together, however, they put a rather heavy responsibility on me—to turn out each month an issue that will come up to what you think I can do. I will try my best. In the final analysis, the FREEMAN will be as good as the literary cooperation I can get. The most heartening experience I have had in the past two weeks is the enthusiasm with which competent writers have come to my rescue. Such men as John Chamberlain, William F. Buckley, Jr., Garet Garrett, John T. Flynn, William Henry Chamberlin, E. Merrill Root, Victor Lasky, William S. Schlamm—just to mention only those from whom I have already heard—will help to make a good editor of a scared one.

FRANK CHODOROV

# Operation Bootstrap

By **ROBERT E. KINGSLEY**

*Puerto Rico, rejecting socialism, builds the future on a policy in which private enterprise becomes the nation's prime goal, and the government its servant.*

In an age when the business community has often been held suspect, it is reassuring to find a place where industry and government are working together to attain the legitimate objective of both, the common weal. This experiment (if it may still be termed an "experiment" after such initial success) is taking place in Puerto Rico. The setting is far from auspicious, for the ironically named "Rich Port" has traditionally been an area of low income and depressed living standards.

Except for an equable climate, nature has not been particularly kind to Puerto Rico. The island is almost totally lacking in natural resources. In its earth are found sand, clay, and limestone, which are suitable for the manufacture of cement, pottery, and a few other products. Barely half the 35-by-100 mile area is arable, and much of the land along the southern coast requires irrigation and fertilization.

Even if all the arable land were worked, it would not be sufficient to feed the population. And precious little of it is devoted to diversified food crops, because in Puerto Rico sugar is king. Without its sugar crop the island cannot buy the foods and manufactured goods it must import from the mainland. However, while sugar retains an overwhelmingly dominant place, the island cannot prosper. This is the dilemma Puerto Rico began to face up to less than ten years ago. Clearly what the island needed was a better balanced economy, and such balance could be attained only by diversifying agriculture and encouraging industrial development.

But how to attract industry to a small Caribbean island with few raw materials, distant from mainland markets, lacking most of the facilities and services which industry requires, and with few skilled workers? The first and most facile answer was provided by the Puerto Rico Industrial Development Company (usually called "Fomento"), founded in 1942 with a capital of \$500,000. Fomento was given the authority to make loans to private industry interested in establishing plants on the island. At first it chose to build and operate its own plants. Besides taking over the operation of a cement plant which had been built by the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, Fomento erected four more of its own for the manufacture of ceramics, glass containers, paper products, and shoes. Glass and paper containers were aimed at

supplying the needs of the rum industry, which had an unprecedented boom during the war years. But only the cement plant proved to be really profitable, and Fomento found that its limited funds were being tied up in a few static enterprises.

It remained for Governor Luis Muñoz Marin to take the new gospel to the people with the largest stake in the island's future, the *jibaros* or country folk who make up the greatest part of the population. He fired them with the idea of bringing more industry to the island in order to create jobs and reduce imports; of modernizing agricultural methods and land use. Muñoz constantly emphasized that the "battle of production" would not be easy.

In communities where votes were traditionally bought for a few dollars and citizens were generally apathetic, the plain talk of Muñoz found a surprisingly quick response. A candidate who could say, "Don't trust politicians, even me," was a new phenomenon. By 1944 Muñoz and his new Popular Democratic Party had gained a working majority in the insular legislature, and it has since remained the dominant political force.

## Giving Business a Chance

With popular support assured, Muñoz was ready in 1947 to announce "Operation Bootstrap." The idea behind the self-actuating plan has been disconcertingly simple—to create a favorable business climate in which industry can set down its roots and grow. The thinking, like that of the program of the Popular Democratic Party, has been down-to-earth, for as Muñoz has pointed out: "We don't want to saddle the people with theory. The policy is to give private enterprise a chance."

That "chance" was in large measure embodied in the Industrial Tax Exemption Act of 1948, which, with supplemental legislation, has been responsible for bringing new industry and capital to the island at a steadily increasing rate. Under the original act new industries and certain then established but vital ones were granted exemption from insular income, real, and personal property taxes until 1959. Puerto Ricans and many non-residents working in or owning these industries have also been exempt from personal income taxes. Since Puerto Rico has no voting representation in Con-

gress, it pays no federal taxes. The legislature recently extended this exemption for a straight ten-year period in order to give industrial newcomers the same tax holiday as those who came to Puerto Rico several years earlier. But these tax privileges are not intended to serve as unfair competition with mainland industry, and no tax inducements are offered to firms which close a plant in the United States to open in Puerto Rico.

However, tax relief has not been the only inducement offered private industry. Fomento will study and report on labor availability and training, raw materials, operating costs, potential local and mainland markets, power and water facilities, shipping costs, and other facts to be considered in establishing a new plant. As a result of this careful planning and study, 90 per cent of the mainland manufacturers setting up shop in Puerto Rico have stayed and are operating profitably.

But Operation Bootstrap did not get off dead center without a healthy shove. Few industrialists knew much about Puerto Rico, and fewer still had remotely envisioned the possibility of establishing a plant there. The men who guided the industrialization program therefore decided to take a leaf out of the pages of business—they “advertised.” A New York public relations firm was hired to extol the virtues of Puerto Rico as a field for business investment. Before long, writers and editors were being invited to visit the island, and literally hundreds of articles, photographs, and newsreels began to impress Puerto Rico on the consciousness of U.S. businessmen.

Another farsighted step was to obtain the services of top industrial consultants, who made a comprehensive economic and industrial survey of the island. The survey determined which industries would have the greatest chance of success in the Puerto Rican economy and revealed possible pitfalls for mainland manufacturers in this relatively strange environment.

Having also established a formidable group of industrial experts to back its efforts, Fomento opened a New York office, and later set up headquarters in Chicago and Los Angeles as well. Their job has been to talk to mainland manufacturers, creating enough interest to induce them to make a fact-finding visit to the island. At that point the San Juan “team” takes over, discusses the myriad problems involved in setting up new plants, makes any special studies required, and carries on until another new plant is in profitable operation.

Fomento’s financial assistance takes many forms, being kept flexible to meet the needs of many types of industry and special situations. Sometimes assistance in plant location, or in making a power contract, is all that is needed; or the manufacturer may stipulate that Fomento build the plant for operation under long-term lease, possibly with an option to buy; or, again, some special inducement

may be offered to a particularly desirable industry.

One of the greatest incentives to U. S. manufacturers has been the wage differential between Puerto Rican and mainland workers. Consequently, the first industries to be attracted were those in which labor constitutes a large percentage of manufacturing cost. But highly mechanized industries are now coming to Puerto Rico in greater numbers as the reservoir of skilled workers has swelled, and other advantages to operation there have become apparent. Moreover, there has been a gradual but not unexpected rise in insular wage rates, reflecting the increased skill and productivity of Puerto Rican workers. Many of those now employed in skilled trades were *jibaros* who only a few years ago had never seen the inside of a factory. To teach them to run turret lathes and spinning machines, to operate intricate control panels, and to assemble electronic parts has required a far-reaching industrial training program. This has been accomplished through secondary vocational and trade schools set up in every part of the island, supplemented by the work of the giant industrial arts school of the University of Puerto Rico. These schools are now training six thousand men and women in twenty-one different fields of industry and technology.

### Benefits Industry Has Brought

That results of the first magnitude have been achieved is attested by the growing list and diversity of plants in operation, the number of people employed by industry, and the steady climb in the annual industrial payroll. Puerto Rico’s per capita income has risen 70 per cent in the last decade, although it still averages only one-quarter that of the U. S. mainland. From the few plants operating when Operation Bootstrap was begun, the number has risen steadily: by early 1951 the hundredth new plant had been opened; today the number stands at 308 new plants, employing 27,000 workers, having an annual payroll of \$16 million, and representing \$100 million in private capital which has been attracted to the island in the past six years.

Even these figures do not tell the entire story, for the industrialization program is still gaining momentum. In the first half of the 1953-54 fiscal year fifty-nine new plants were granted tax exemption, 45 per cent above the comparable period the previous year. It is anticipated that this rate of growth will continue, and a goal of 800 additional plants, employing 100,000 workers, has been set for 1960.

With Puerto Rico no longer attracting only labor-heavy industries, a variety of blue chip enterprises are finding the island a congenial place to work and make money. Plants are turning out such diverse products as textiles, chemicals, china-

ware, pens, instruments, shoes, and optical equipment. One electric products manufacturer is operating three plants, and plans four or five additional ones which will employ a total of four thousand workers. Ground has just been broken for an \$11 million dollar oil refinery, and two more are in the planning stage.

Other benefits to the Puerto Rican people have gone hand in hand with the growth of industry. Whole new communities—housing 100,000 people—have been built. One private builder from the mainland has erected about eight thousand low and medium priced homes in Levittown style.

Since agriculture remains the backbone of the economy, an effort is being made to modernize the production of sugar and other crops through the introduction of improved growing methods and equipment. Especial attention is being devoted to crops which will help the island to feed itself, and particularly those which can be integrated with food canning and processing industries.

Despite additional income from advances in industry and agriculture, Puerto Rico has not been able to cut imports from its largest supplier and customer, the continental United States. In the fiscal year 1952-53 it purchased \$452 million worth of foodstuffs and manufactured goods, some 10 per cent above the preceding fiscal period. But at the same time it sold almost \$303 million in goods to the mainland, a jump of more than 25 per cent over the previous fiscal year. To make up this deficit, Puerto Rico has turned to a lucrative source of dollars, tourism.

### To Check Migration

So much has been accomplished in a few years that it would be easy to take an overly optimistic view of the Puerto Rican future. Yet the basic problem of overpopulation continues to cast a Malthusian shadow over the island. Puerto Rico now has two and a quarter million people, a population density thirteen times greater than that of the United States. It is estimated that this number will increase to two and a half millions by 1960, and will not level off even then. Heavy migration to the mainland has proved a safety valve for the island, but has complicated employment and housing problems in the United States, particularly in New York City where at least 75 per cent of the migrants have settled.

Puerto Rico's industrialization program offers one of the soundest approaches to the problem of migration by creating jobs for its people at home and by teaching them industrial skills. While industrialization by itself will not solve all its problems, the island has taken a positive step in the right direction. "Operation Bootstrap" is a remarkable demonstration of faith in the American system—in the power of private enterprise, working freely in the public good.

## Making a Man Out of a Soldier

By WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

The training a soldier receives these days is not essentially different from that he received a thousand years ago; but it is far more scientifically administered. We have the psychologist to thank for this. His research, we are told, increases the soldier's efficiency as a fighting machine. Since the impact of military training on our citizen-soldiers is, because of scientific advances, deeper than ever before, a number of problems arise.

A recent article in the *Reader's Digest*—"How A Pilot Learns Discipline" by John G. Hubbell—is illuminating. The editors of the *Digest* introduced it as "an engrossing account of the intense disciplines imposed upon Air Force cadets. But," they added, "there's a reason for everything." Military reasons, they mean.

Colonel Leroy W. Watson, commander of a preflight school, told Mr. Hubbell: "We try to make him [the air cadet] crack. If he can take it, the chances are he will make a good combat pilot."

### Individuality Stifled

Some examples of what an air cadet goes through, according to Mr. Hubbell's account:

Waiting for chow, you stand in a long line at parade rest. You keep your head and eyes to the front and your mouth shut! [exclamation point in the original]

At table, you sit at attention, on the forward six inches of your chair . . . You eat with one hand and keep the other in your lap when you are not using it.

Each man [soon] . . . learned that he would loudly call himself to attention, and hit a heel-clicking brace whenever an upperclassman entered his barracks.

To learn "military manners," writes Mr. Hubbell, cadets "practiced procedure on a water cooler in the barracks. A third-classman was instructed on how to take a drink; he approaches the cooler.

"Colonel Watercooler, sir (saluting), Aviation Cadet Adams, John W. Jr., requests permission to withdraw some of your delicious Texas-Tiger Juice.' (He drinks, steps back one pace and salutes.) 'Thank you, sir.'"

No individuality or self-respect, says Mr. Hubbell, is countenanced: "Do you know what you are lower than, Mister?" upperclassmen are apparently expected to ask the trainees periodically.

"No, sir," is the prescribed response.

"You are lower than the janitor's dog, the CO's cat and all the hellcats in the Navy!" (The upperclassmen in question are in the Air Force, whence



the humor in the observation about the Navy.) "Remember that, all of you!"

"By midafternoon," Mr. Hubbell writes, "few of the new men felt superior to the janitor's dog. *It was important that personal egotisms be subdued. Each man . . . had to develop a whole new philosophy of life . . . From the moment of this first brace, every thought and action would be aimed at the making of a well-disciplined combat pilot. . . . The keynote was uniformity . . . No one could be out of step.*" (italics added).

Mr. Hubbell cites figures that impressively establish the superiority of American pilots over those they recently fought in Korea, and this is so, we are told, because of the kind of training our airmen receive. Let us, tentatively, go ahead and concede that rigidity of discipline and repression of individuality are factors that contribute to successful soldiering. (Though surely there is something more, for we could never hope to surpass, in discipline and regimentation, the intensity of the training to which the Chinese Communist airman has, presumably, been subjected.) Be that as it may, we must remind ourselves that men so trained are not fit to be turned loose in a society based on the idea that the individual is supreme, that discipline is self-imposed, that *nobody* should be allowed to get away with acting like an upperclassman, not even a tax collector.

### A De-Orientation Course Needed

Clearly what we have done, then, is injected millions of men with a toxin that serves a particular, *ad hoc* purpose, while forgetting completely that when that purpose is achieved, an antitoxin is very much in order. In other words, we need to set up a *de*-orientation course for the retiring soldier, every bit as intensive and exhaustive as that which equipped him to kill people efficiently. That course should be calculated to nourish in men those qualities indispensable to their participation in a free society.

Such a program cannot be shrugged off on the grounds that it is unfeasible, certainly not by those who believe in the efficacy of our present training program for soldiers. For all of us are agreed that the average man responds to his training. The fact of man's responsiveness to value-indoctrination is the basis of the success our generals are having in training the air cadet to be very different from, say, the college student—to take humiliation easily, to defer without question to authority, and to disparage the individual. And we are all agreed that these characteristics, however valuable for effective war-making, are not the trademarks of the free man. The armed forces are by their nature despotic organizations, and all those they assimilate become successful fighting men only as they adjust themselves to life in a despotic community. These are ineffaceable facts,

and propoganda about Life in the Armed Services should not deceive us any more than it would have deceived John Stuart Mill, who wrote flatly that "*whatever* crushes individuality is despotism, by whatever name it may be called."

### Who Would Teach?

There are a few practical problems. Who should administer our projected separation centers, and who is qualified to teach in them? We would suggest that the same generals who drew up the program calculated to convince the soldier that he is lower than the janitor's cat would be rather inept at turning around and doing a good job of liberalizing the same men—to say nothing of the fact that the relationship between the soldiers and the generals would be rather irritated in such peculiar circumstances. Government bureaucrats would not be suitable either, because the *de*-orientation course would consist largely in identifying the natural enemies of the free man, the state and its representatives; therefore, if the bureaucrat-teachers performed their jobs as well as we would have them do, mayhem would logically result, and the turnover in teachers would be such as to cause a great deal of confusion.

In the circumstances, we must borrow from the staffs of colleges, magazines, newspapers, and business enterprises, choosing the right men very, very carefully. The separation centers should have a motto. *Fais que tu veuilles* would surely have been the choice of Albert Jay Nock, a qualified libertarian. But all things considered, perhaps Thomas Fuller's resounding challenge of 200 years ago would be more appropriate: "*As long as I live, I'll spit in my parlor.*"

The curriculum would consist in a study of the great libertarian documents of our civilization, and of the lives and attitudes of the world's great individualists. Nothing more. The social organization of the separation camps would be easy. Regimentation would be severely discouraged. The wearing of khaki would be proscribed. Any group of soldiers that should, out of the force of habit, fall into lines or formations would be rapidly dispersed by tear gas. Any permanent personnel caught using brusque or hortatory language would be tarred and feathered. Anyone using the terms "common welfare," "collective goals," or "societal interests" would be lashed to the nearest chimney and Nigger Baby played on his head.

The course would not be of set duration. The progress of each person in acclimatizing himself to life in a community of independent and self-reliant persons, resistant of every vestige of temporal authority, would be individually measured. When he is ready to go, off he goes, feeling a good deal superior to the janitor's dog, the CO's cat, and to all the hellcats in the Navy, Army, and Air Force.

# A Really Free School System

By FRANK CHODOROV

*If parents could choose schools for their children in a free market, the state monopoly on education, as well as one-sided indoctrination, would end. And remission of school taxes might be the way to do it.*

In the modern lexicon of invective, "enemy of education" has achieved a place close behind "McCarthyite." It is an accolade any mother can earn by simply complaining to the school authorities that her son, aged nine, cannot read, write, or do simple figuring. It is the label put upon the father who presumes to speak out at a P.T.A. meeting against the use of some new textbook, or protests against the classroom paeans of praise for the U.N. derogation of the American tradition.

The avowed goal of the teaching fraternity is to clothe their calling with a dignity similar to that enjoyed by the medical profession, and toward that end they have made a "science" of education by the simple device of adding training course to training course, until now the candidate for the job of teacher must have put in almost as much time in preparation as is required of the candidate for a medical degree. And profundity has been added to the "science" by the adoption of a jargon, including symbols, which is quite beyond the comprehension of the public, if not the teachers themselves.

It is these "objective scientists" who resort to blatherskite whenever the validity of their claims is questioned. But the more articulate and vicious their name-calling, the more numerous and bitter are their critics. In town after town, all over the country, parents are giving vent to dissatisfaction with the school curricula and teaching methods.

The issue, at bottom, is not so much the relative merits of various systems of education as it is control of the child's mind. The educationists, in the higher echelons, have made it quite clear in their writings that they propose to get that control in order to pursue their purpose of re-making the social order. To them, education is a means of conditioning the coming generations to a ready acceptance of collectivism, to wipe out of their consciousness all traces of the American tradition of individualism. They make no bones about that. Some parents are aware of this purpose and resent it. But most are concerned about the learning their children are not acquiring. They would readily settle for the inclusion in the curriculum of some reading, writing, and arithmetic, and perhaps some American history, and leave the major issue to more astute minds. And what drives these ordinarily peaceful parents to a rebellious

mood is the arbitrary, highhanded, and abusive attitude of the school authorities when they bring up this matter of learning.

The educationists' claim for control rests on the expertise argument. Teaching, they maintain, is no longer the refuge for disappointed spinsterhood, but is in fact a highly technical calling. The layman cannot have a valid opinion in so recondit a matter, and his interference is both presumptuous and harmful. Just as a patient would not improve his health by giving the doctor an opinion on either diagnosis or therapy, so a parent makes a nuisance of himself by passing judgment on subject matter or methods. In fact, the child's education is seriously impaired if the parents find any fault with the school and the teacher. The parents should shut up.

## Case for the Parents

Parents, on the other hand, insist that education is a responsibility of parenthood, of which they do not divest themselves by sending the child to school; it is still their child, not the state's. Nor do they accept the argument that they have no competence for judging the progress of their child's development, particularly since they are probably better acquainted than the teacher with the conditions the child will have to meet in later life. To top off the parents' side of the case there is the matter of school taxes; this, they maintain, gives them a proprietary interest in education.

This last argument is most annoying to the educational hierarchy, for it vitiates the teacher-doctor analogy which they find so comfortable. The patient is not compelled by law to patronize a particular doctor or, in fact, to make use of a doctor at all, while the parent is compelled to send his child to that particular school, to submit his child to the educational ministrations of that particular system. The analogy would hold up only if medicine were socialized and all of us would become lawbreakers if we refused the services of the doctor assigned to us or failed to visit any doctor's office.

Behind the controversy is the law. Not the compulsory school attendance law, but the compulsory school tax law. Although a reasonable argument might be advanced against a law demanding com-

pulsory attendance, the matter would be largely academic if the parent were not compelled to support public education. For most parents do not send their children to school because they must, under penalty of punishment, but because they are interested in the education of their children, and would see to it that their children got some learning even if the public school were abolished. The compulsory attendance law applies only to those few who are deficient in parental feelings, and for such the compulsory attendance law may be left as is.

### **If School Tax Laws Were Changed**

The school tax law is an entirely different thing. It virtually compels the parent to use the kind of education dished out by those who happen to be in control of the tax funds. His only recourse is to buy the kind of education he thinks best for his child after paying for the kind of education of which he does not approve, and few people are able to bear this double burden. If he were permitted to use his school money as he sees fit, the present sorry mess in education would be cleaned up without further ado—it would clean itself up. The public schools could have any kind of education the authorities are pleased to put in, and the parents who do not like it would patronize schools that give them what they want. There could be no clash between parents and teachers.

Since school taxes are levied mostly on a local basis, the change proposed would have to be taken up in the states and their subdivisions. A proposal has been made in one state legislature to abandon public education and to finance private schools out of taxes. This has the disadvantage of giving politicians authority for establishing educational standards, or rules of eligibility for the subsidy. Would they disqualify parochial schools, for example? Another state is tinkering with the idea of getting out of the educational business altogether, selling its present school equipment to private and church bodies. In the long run that is probably the best solution, but in the transition from all-public to all-private schools many children may have to go without any education at all. Perhaps the best idea is that of remitting the school tax to parents who can show a tuition bill from a private school.

Because of the various school jurisdictions and different ways of levying, no general rule can be set down. It is a matter for each township, city, county, or state to handle. However, before we bother with the fiscal problem, which can be solved if the principle is established, let us see what results we can expect from such a change in the law.

In the first place, it would encourage the increase of private and parochial schools. The religious bodies, which have contended all along

that secular education alone is inadequate, would be quick to take advantage of the new situation. It would not be long before a church without an adjoining school would be a rarity. The question of whether school and church should be separated would lose its meaning; parents would have the means to support and patronize schools which promulgate the values they believe in, and that would be the self-sufficient answer to the question.

The market for private schools would be greatly enlarged. Every pedagogue with an educational theory, and with gumption enough to try it out, would open up shop and put his merchandise on display. There would be a school "on every corner" competing for trade. It would become customary for young mothers to query experienced matrons as to the relative merits of the various schoolmasters and their systems, even as they do now with respect to doctors, hat shops, and grocers. The problem of selecting the right school for Mary or Johnny would tend to make parents even more conscious of their responsibility, and thus strengthen the family tie.

That there would be a proliferation of private schools is evident when we look at a few figures. The per capita cost of public school education runs between \$200 and \$300 in most states. Let us take an average figure of, say, \$250. If the tax making this expenditure possible were returned to the parent who avails himself of a private school for his children, it is clear that private schooling would become a rather attractive business enterprise. Three teachers could no doubt handle a hundred pupils, and an income of \$25,000 a year would cover their costs and yield them a salary comparable to what they now receive in public schools. To this must be added the intangible emolument of teaching what and how they like to teach.

### **Better Teaching; Less Crowding**

The teaching in both private and public schools would be improved. Those private schools that must adequately meet the demands of the market place would be able, because of their larger trade, to hire the best teaching talent available and to pay the highest salaries. They would, of course, draw the public school faculties; but the public schools would need less teachers than they do now and would therefore be able to meet the scales set by the successful private schools. Competition, rather than legislation, would solve the low-wage problem that now plagues nearly every community in the country.

Overcrowding in the classroom would disappear. If only 50 per cent of the school population were siphoned off by the private schools, those remaining would have a better chance of learning something; it is impossible for the most skillful teacher to do more than keep order in a class of

fifty. With this reduction in space requirements, the perennial demand for more taxes or bonds for construction purposes would wither away. The fewer buildings needed by the public system would be better buildings, particularly as the threat of competition from well-equipped private schools would keep the authorities on their toes, Nor should we overlook the other savings that would accrue to the taxpayer by the shift to private enterprise: less equipment, less textbooks, less supplies, less bus hauling.

All kinds of schools would come on the market. Some might stress manual training, others esthetics, others languages, and so on. There would perhaps be schools in which the children of parents so disposed would get a full dose of socialist doctrine. Why not? Since they would be spending their own money for such indoctrination, who could rightfully demur? Even "progressive" education would have an opportunity to prove its merits in the open market, free from the carping criticism of untutored parents.

In short, all the turmoil and bitterness and vituperation that now attend the business of schooling would vanish, and there would be peace in education.

### **The Trend to Conformity**

But the "progressive" educators do not want peace. They want control. Already one of their foremost lights has decried the existence of the comparatively few private schools in the country on the ground that they make for "divisiveness." If that word means anything, it means a diversity of values. The opposite of "divisiveness" is conformity. Since when has conformity become the highest ideal of man? There is conformity in jail, in the army, and it is most pronounced in the ant society. Is that a hallmark of progress? Out of conflicting opinions and a variety of values have come every advance in the arts and sciences, even in education. At one time every educator of prominence considered the rod a necessary appurtenance of his occupation; it was because somebody thought otherwise, and did not conform, that whipping and learning are no longer conjoined.

If it is conformity that the "progressives" want, the question arises, conformity to what? For answer, we must go to the pronouncements of the leaders of this cult, those who write its "philosophy." A few phrases from their writings give us more than a hint of what they want the children to conform to: "ethical living in a society promoting the common welfare"; "to serve the needs of society"; "to serve the needs of democratic society"; "social awareness"; "the steadily enlarging concepts of world interdependence"; and so on. That is, the ideal they hold forth is not individual excellence, but adjustment to a social

norm. In short, socialism. But this negation of the individual in favor of a mass mold is hard for the individual to accept ("the Socialists say this is because of "capitalistic indoctrination"), and to enable him to overcome this difficulty it is necessary to subject the individual, in his formative years, to a bit of shaping. However, if the individual can escape this process by taking recourse to a school where some other purpose obtains, such as, for instance, the development of the individual mind to the limit of its own potential, then the "progressives" will be handicapped; there will be "divisiveness" in society. Hence, the need for control.

### **Private Schools No Longer Exclusive**

A related objection to private schools is that they make for snobbishness. But with a private school "on every corner" the exclusiveness that now attaches to attendance at such an institution would vanish. If more children attended private than public schools, it might be that public school children would consider themselves superior.

Finally, the point is brought up that private schooling is not democratic. The word democracy and its derivatives are strewn all over the literature of the "progressives," and with overtones that suggest the equation of democracy with egalitarianism, with submission to authority, with conformity to a mean of mediocrity. But if democracy means anything it means a social order in which freedom of choice prevails. In that sense, the proposal to permit parents to send their children to schools of their own choosing is most democratic. It agrees with the underlying tenet of democracy—that the individual is endowed with rights by God, not by government.

So we are back to the question of rights. Does the taxpayer have a proprietary right in the schools? Do parents have any rights in the education of their offspring, or do children become wards of the state when they enter school?

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## **Worth Hearing Again**

The Civil Service Commission and the Budget Bureau, it is reported, take the position that Alger Hiss has a legal right to a government pension, which would begin in 1966, despite his conviction for perjury.

This calls to mind the definition of "pension" given by Dr. Samuel Johnson in his famous dictionary. It runs: "Pension. An allowance made to anyone without an equivalent. In England it is generally understood to mean pay given to a state hireling for treason to his country."

# Word Traps

*Everybody says he's in favor of freedom. Malenkov and other Communist leaders claim that they are the only true champions of real freedom. Our own leaders are all for freedom. Yet freedom itself continues to be strait-jacketed—in the United States to a considerable extent, as well as elsewhere. Like democracy, the word "freedom" is used to describe everything from individual choice to complete government control. Senator McCarthy is opposed to Communists and Communism. So is Secretary of the Army Robert Stevens. So are President Eisenhower and Senator Symington. But it is evident that the same words don't mean the same things to these persons. The danger to the unwary in this pitfall of semantics is well explained by the following article from the Guaranty Survey, May 1954, published by the Guaranty Trust Company of New York and reprinted by permission.*

THE EDITOR

The decline in business since mid-1953 has been variously dubbed. One is dazed by the subtle distinctions implied in such terms as "rolling adjustment," "disinflation," "un-boom," "readjustment," "dip," "deflation," "boom and bust," "recession" and "depression."

The name in each case seems to depend mainly upon what the commentator is trying to prove. Government officials, naturally uneasy under the burden of the "full-employment commitment," tend to use terms suggesting mildness of setback. At the other extreme, those who would like to hurry Congress and the Administration into drastic action show a preference for "depression," a word which, since the disastrous experience of the 1930s, has assumed such fearful implications that it is usually avoided in dispassionate discussions of current economic conditions.

The fact is that none of the terms used in characterizing the recent course of business has precise meaning. No one can draw a line where a category of contraction signified by one word ends and another begins. The important differences between the terms do not lie so much in their expressed meanings as in the emotional responses which their connotations evoke in reader or listener. If these responses are subconscious, as they usually are (and are often intended to be), the reader or listener is allowing himself to be imposed upon. Those who wish to be informed rather than exploited by what they read or hear must be constantly on their guard against the hidden implications in words, especially at a time like the present, when specious ideologies are bidding for popular favor.

Students of language have always been troubled by the unbridgeable gap between words and what they stand for. Words mean different things to different persons. According to the Book of Job, the Lord inveighed against him "that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge." Bacon la-

mented the tendency of words to "shoot back upon the understanding of the wisest, and mightily entangle and pervert the judgment." Cynics have been led to define language as the art of concealing thought.

The difficulty of precise communication of ideas is made worse by the gradual transitions that occur in the meanings, and even more in the connotations, of words during the passage of time. Some words, like "democracy" or "liberalism," take on such strong favorable colorations that they are used by both libertarians and Communists to describe their respective systems. Others, like "depression" and "dole," fall into such disrepute that it is impossible to use them without creating an unfavorable emotional atmosphere. Whether favorable or unfavorable, these evocative properties of words, as semanticists call them, can so overshadow the original cognitive values as to make the words almost useless for purposes of straightforward exposition.

## Intentional Implications

Men discovered long ago that the power of words to arouse feelings could be a strong instrument of persuasion as well as a barrier to the transmission of knowledge or thought. "It is worldly wisdom," said Pope Gregory I more than thirteen centuries ago, "to conceal the mind with cunning devices, to hide one's meaning with words, to represent falsehood as truth, and to prove truth to be falsehood." In the hands of a skilled practitioner, language can become the art of preventing thought by substituting emotion for it. The established reaction patterns created by certain words tend to stultify thought while seeming to stimulate it.

Discussion of the present business situation in terms calculated to arouse fear or promote confidence is a case in point. Those who demand that

the government take steps to prevent a "full-blown depression" do not advocate inflationary deficit financing—not in those words. They recommend public works and tax relief, which mean inflationary deficit financing but sound much better. "Inflation" and "deficit" are fear words. They suggest unsound fiscal practices, rising costs of living, and currency depreciation. "Public works" and "tax relief," on the other hand, conjure up mental images of more money in everybody's pocket along with fine new roads, schools, hospitals, and playgrounds.

Similarly, those who believe the government should pursue a long-term policy of injecting new money into the economy in order to exert a continual stimulating effect on demand are not found speaking of chronic inflation. That would imply a step-by-step descent into monetary debasement. Instead, they talk about a gradual rise in prices and wages, connoting large incomes and good times.

About a decade ago Sir William Beveridge, the British economist, wrote a book on *Full Employment in a Free Society*, an alluring double objective. An actual reading of the book reveals that the author's program would probably involve price control as an inevitable consequence; that private as well as government investment would have to be regulated by political authority; that control over the location of industrial plants would be a central requirement; and that it would be necessary to maintain "organized mobility" of labor (not, of course, "compulsory allocation" of labor). Such civil liberties as the right to choose new public officials and alter public policies, freedom in the choice of occupations and in the management of personal incomes, and the right of labor to bargain collectively and to strike could not be exercised "irresponsibly." Sir William declared also that the liberties essential to a "free society" do not include the liberty of a private citizen to own means of production and to employ others in operating them at a wage.

The author's ability to apply the phrase "free society" to such a regime would seem to indicate that the magic of words can work its spell upon the user as well as upon his readers.

### **Glamour Words**

The perennial controversy over the relation between the individual and the state has produced innumerable semantic traps for the unwary. One of these is the indiscriminate and often misleading use of such faith-inspiring words as "liberalism" and "democracy." Historically, liberalism stood genuinely for the importance of the individual and his right to pursue his own aims with a minimum of interference by the state. During the past generation the label has been appropriated by the advocates of stronger governmental authority, the very school of thought that historical liberalism was formed to combat. It is strange that the his-

torical liberals have not protested more vigorously against this perversion of meaning. "Democracy," on the other hand, is claimed by both groups, with the unfortunate result that it is impossible to tell what the word means without first knowing who is using it and what his actual beliefs are.

Another word to conjure with is "welfare." Authoritarians call their system the "welfare state," as if those who oppose it were against welfare, or at any rate indifferent to it. Actually, of course, welfare is not the issue at all. Every good citizen favors welfare, as he understands it. The real question is not the desirability of welfare but the power of the state to tell its citizens what welfare is and how it shall be sought.

Politically determined "welfare" has its subdivisions. Among these are "fair" prices, a "living" wage, "adequate" housing, and "security." What right-minded person could oppose such obviously desirable objectives? Only when one looks beneath the words at the actual things they stand for does one realize that these are merely glamorous catchwords for highly debatable public policies and programs.

One finds, for example, that buyers and sellers are likely to have very different ideas regarding what constitutes a "fair" price, and that political action is likely to settle the question on the basis of which side has the most votes. Since a wage is a price, the issue of the "living" wage also tends to develop into a scramble for political favor. "Adequate" housing turns out to be some official's or board's idea of what it would be desirable for people to have in the way of living quarters, without too much regard for costs on the one hand or competing needs and desires on the other. "Security" is found to mean an attempt at escape from the vicissitudes of life in an individualistic society, usually taking the form of compulsory savings or compulsory redistribution of income, with ultimate effects that may be far from desirable.

Words like "progressive" and "reform" fall into a similar category. Such words imply a change for the better, and they are especially effective in an age like the present when there is a too-general tendency to assume that change necessarily is for the better. A little reflection is enough to show that words of this kind, when applied to a concrete proposal, merely beg the question.

A particularly subtle form of economic quackery is the use of such terms as "rationalism," "planning," and the "scientific" approach to economic and social questions. Words like these imply profound understanding on the part of the speaker and impugn the intelligence of anyone who ventures to question his views. They suggest that society can assure its salvation only by placing its fate in the hands of the experts.

In human affairs, who can arrogate to himself the title of "expert"? No small part of the eco-



conomic and political ills that afflict the world today can be traced to centralized "planning" of production and distribution in the name of "rationalization." Planning at the level of the individual enterprise is, of course, universal in the business world, but planning at higher levels has proved a tragically inadequate substitute for the automatic regulatory action of prices in free markets. The "scientific" approach is only another name for bungling interference in human relations by those who have deluded themselves or others into believing that they are equipped to play a superhuman role.

"Capitalism," once an acceptable descriptive term, has become, for many, a vituperative epithet. It suggests the capitalist of the old cartoons, the fat plutocrat with the plug hat, the big cigar, and

the full moneybags, ruthlessly trampling upon the widow and the orphan. Among those who have any knowledge of economic matters, this absurd myth has long since vanished into the limbo of exploded superstitions. Yet the mental image has become so odious that the friends of capitalism usually avoid the term, preferring such inoffensive expressions as "free enterprise." But who ever heard of a Communist talking about "free enterprise"?

As the art of semantics rises to new heights, the importance of looking beneath words to realities grows more urgent. Language may be used to express, conceal, or prevent thought, but it cannot safely be allowed to become a substitute for thought. Truly, the price of liberty is eternal vigilance—vigilance against the beguilements of words.

# To Wiretap or Not to Wiretap

By JOHN L. KENT

*The final decision must balance fairly the rights both of the individual and of society. Here are some of the arguments Congress faces in voting on pending proposals.*

A tax collector can invade what next to your conscience is your most private matter—your financial situation—and you take it for granted. But if a spy, saboteur, or traitor is brought before a federal court, he is permitted to claim that evidence obtained against him by tapping his telephone line constitutes invasion of privacy and is illegal. The court has to turn him loose.

It is agreed that wiretapping by private persons for private gain is "dirty business." This should not be permitted. Many persons believe that, even if properly controlled, wiretapping by government is an intolerable instrument of tyranny, a threat to liberty, and hence should not be sanctioned in a free country. But many people feel that wiretapping by enforcement officers in cases involving national security and defense and such heinous crimes as kidnapping is an essential adjustment between the rights of the individual and interests of society.

What most people do not know is that wiretapping is already legal. Anyone may listen in on another's telephone conversation. Wiretapping evidence is legally admissible in most state courts, but not in federal courts. This means that small-time crooks engaged in intrastate crime may be convicted on wiretap evidence, but saboteurs, spies, and traitors cannot.

Federal authorities are hampered in dealing with national security enemies because of a loophole created in the 1934 Federal Communications Act through a 1937 Supreme Court interpretation.

In 1934 Congress enacted the Federal Communications Act. Section 605 provided in part that "no person not being authorized by the sender shall intercept any communication *and* divulge or publish the existence, contents, substance . . . of such intercepted communication to any person."

The question soon arose as to whether mere interception by federal agents of messages was forbidden by Section 605. The Attorney General at that time took the view that what the law prohibited was *both* interception *and* divulgence, and that mere report of the intercepted message to public officials by FBI or other federal agents did not constitute divulgence.

## The First Test Case

In 1937, Section 605 had its first test before the Supreme Court in *Nardone v. United States*. Conviction of the defendants, liquor smugglers, was reversed upon the ground that Section 605 rendered inadmissible in criminal proceedings wiretap evidence even when obtained by federal officers. In 1939 the Supreme Court further broadened this inadmissibility to intrastate telephone conversations. In none of these decisions did the Supreme Court say that wiretapping by federal officers was illegal in itself. So the Justice Department, until 1940, took the position that mere interception is not prohibited as long as there is no subsequent public divulgence.

In 1940, Attorney General Jackson ordered that

wiretapping by federal agents was to be stopped. Later this order was modified so that wiretapping could be used in national security, kidnapping, and extortion cases.

From 1942 to 1952 the various Attorneys General (Biddle, Clark, McGrath, and McGranery) favored wiretapping under various reservations and for specific purposes. Except for a short period during 1940, every Attorney General over the last twenty-two years has favored and authorized wiretapping by federal officers.

Monitoring of telephone communications by the FBI upon authority of the Attorney General and under specific safeguards to the individual has been established practice for many years. But since the *Nardone* decision evidence obtained through this technique is inadmissible. This situation persists, not because of any provision or right contained in the Constitution, but solely because of Section 605 in the Federal Communications Act.

It was this loophole in our federal law of evidence that led to the reversal of the conviction of Judith Coplon. In an address on March 2 at the University of Michigan, Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., pointed to the Coplon case as evidence of the need for a law to make wiretapped information admissible in federal courts. He said:

Since these enemy agents will not talk in court or speak the truth, and since federal agents are forbidden from testifying to what they heard over the phone, the Department of Justice is blocked from proving its case and sending these spies and espionage agents to jail where they belong. The result is that many of the persons responsible for these grave misdeeds are still at large.

He poses this question: Should spies and traitors get protection from our laws merely because they use the telephone to carry on their schemes? The FBI has evidence in a number of cases which would prove espionage, but cannot prosecute, since evidence was obtained by wiretapping.

Two major groups are opposed to the wiretap bills now in Congress. One group includes spies, saboteurs, and their helpers. Through their "respectable" spokesmen they loudly deplore the need for change in the law. They will probably enlist the aid of naive "liberals."

The more important second group includes honorable statesmen, lawyers, judges, and others who sincerely believe that the country stands to lose more than it will gain in admitting wiretap evidence. The principal reasons for opposition by this

group are that: 1) wiretapping is "dirty business"; 2) we should not fight Communist spies by imitating their methods; 3) wiretaps will be used to harm innocent persons; and 4) privacy will be invaded.

It is further claimed by the opposition to the pending bills that even controlled monitoring of wires may be abused. This apprehension is understandable. Wiretapping, which is legal, has been brought into disrepute because of its widespread abuse by private peepers; in marital investigations; by snoopers in labor, business, and politics. The fact that the technique has been abused by private persons does not mean it will be abused by the FBI; every policeman has a club which he can use in ways not prescribed by law. The FBI has never abused its wiretap authority.

### Present Proposals

Proposals now in Congress seek to strike a fair balance between the rights of the individual and society. The authors of these bills represent two different schools of thought. One believes that the technique should be resorted to only after court permission; the other that authorization of the Attorney General should be enough.

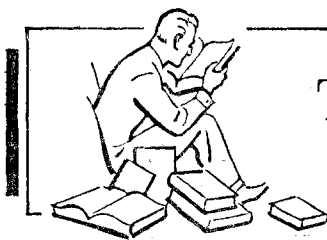
There are objections to both views. Some people feel that the Attorney General should not be allowed to police his own actions. They feel that the government prosecutors may become overzealous. Others point out that wiretapping is somewhat like a search into the privacy of an individual's affairs and, as in the case of a search, requires supervision by the courts.

There are just as many objections to the court order requirement. It is claimed that greater secrecy, uniformity, speed, and better supervision by Congress over the administration of wiretapping could be secured if no court order was necessary. It is pointed out that Congress can keep an eye on the Attorney General, but cannot be expected to exercise supervision over the 225 federal district judges who would issue "wiretapping permits."

These then will be some of the questions which will be raised again when the measures come up for discussion. Attorney General Brownell is optimistic. He feels that Congress is aware of the critical times we face and that it will take the necessary action. He feels that Congress will pass some legislation without regard to partisanship which marked earlier attempts.

### Names Wanted

Because you read the **FREEMAN**, you know people who ought to read it. Please send in the names of these kindred spirits, so that we can introduce them to the publication by way of sample copies.  
**The FREEMAN, Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y.**



# The Sparks and the Cogs

By FRANK S. MEYER

Conformity is a word that has been thrown about a good deal lately. The implication is that the "liberal" intellectual community is a small band of lovers of truth, fiercely refusing to consult anything but their free conscience, who bravely stand against an immense reactionary conspiracy to crush their freedom of inquiry and to force them into conformity to an imposed pattern of thought. The reality, however, is that those who are raising the cry have dominated the intellectual life of the country for decades. It is they who have enforced and who continue to enforce a rigid conformity upon the intellectual world; and what has upset them is the development of a challenge to the conformity *they* wish to impose.

It is these "proponents of a pragmatic, utilitarian, instrumentalist, materialistic and norm-worshipping civilization" who have moved Joseph Wood Krutch (*The Measure of Man*, 261 pp. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, \$3.50) to this quietly devastating exposition of their demoralizing effect upon the temper of the time. *The Measure of Man* is—for once in these days of oddly strained titles—not only the title of his book but a most apt statement of his theme.

This is the fundamental question from which all social, economic, and political questions derive: what is this "man" with whom we are concerned? Are men "nothing but" the sum total of the influences which bear upon them, "nothing but" the product of class forces, libido drives, evolutionary forces, social customs, as the servitors of the scientific mood of the age would have us believe, whether their inspiration is the dogma of Marx, Freud, Darwin, or the Leckian anthropologists? Or are they, each one, individual centers of freedom, unique, irreducible sparks of the spirit, whose essential being evades the scientific method as completely as the yellow of the daffodil evades the theorist in optics or the emotion it inspires evades the psychologist?

The first answer is the basis of that cursed orthodoxy of the twentieth century which sees control of other men (for their own good, of course) as the aim of enlightened existence. Such a view of man presumes that he is in the last analysis but a machine—complicated, as yet somewhat beyond full scientific understanding, but still a machine, comparable to those enormous calculators which grind and groan in the inner sancta of the great research institutes.

But is such a machine, Mr. Krutch wants to know, capable . . . of imagination? Does it have any curiosity? Can it sympathize with anything? Can it be happy or miserable? Was it ever known to laugh . . . ? Does it—and this is most important of all—prefer one thing to another, or does it have its being in a universe where nothing has value, where all things are indifferent . . .

. . . how defective . . . is that so called Science of Man which never really asks [these] questions at all and thus proves itself to be, not the Science of Man, but only the Science-of-What-Man-Would-Be-If-He-Were-Not-a-Man-But-a-Machine.

Once ask the proper questions, the questions which every human being knows from his own experience to be authentic, once thus break through the arbitrary bounds which a pseudo-science has set, and the whole structure of our sociological determinists crumbles.

"The proper study of mankind is man"—man himself. Neither "objective analysis of human behavior" nor statistical prediction of the probable acts of numbers of human beings constitutes such a study. These may be of auxiliary value, and to that degree the social sciences undoubtedly have a place. But for a deep and profound study of man as he is, other disciplines than the scientific would seem to be necessary—normative, ethical, aesthetic, philosophical.

The first characteristic of man's existence is consciousness; and to understand man effectively, any inquiry must start with this. But the "scientific world view" rejects the very reality of consciousness as a subjective illusion, or scornfully pushes it aside as an insignificant "epiphenomenon." As Mr. Krutch puts it:

There is an Idol of the Laboratory . . . And we can escape from the errors which it fosters only if we cease to believe that a thing is obviously an illusion unless it can be measured and experimented with by the same methods which have proved useful in dealing with mechanical phenomena.

All we really need to do is to recognize and attend to phenomena of a different sort and among them, especially, the most indubitable of all: namely, to that consciousness and awareness of self which exists vividly and indisputably in each of us, even though attempts to explain or evaluate them baffle the laboratory technician.

And as the contemporary social sciences, unable to deal with the essence of man as a conscious being, reduce him to a mechanistic element in "behavior patterns," so their bemusement with mass statisti-

cal prediction and their inveterate technique of reducing all higher phenomena to "nothing but" lower ones, do away with the very possibility of individual freedom. The reality of freedom must be denied, like the reality of consciousness, because it cannot be reconciled with the narrow concepts of the social-scientific outlook.

It is amusing, as Mr. Krutch points out, that in the field in which the techniques of statistical prediction have been most highly developed, the physicists have been compelled, however valid their predictions on a mass scale, to reinstate the concept of unpredictability, of autonomy, for the particle. At a time when "... physicists have given 'free will' back to the atoms, . . . many sociologists still seem to deny it to the human being." The fact of the matter is that the innate awareness of freedom, which nineteenth-century physical science and twentieth-century social science scorn as incompatible with "advanced scientific knowledge," is quite compatible with the most advanced twentieth-century scientific knowledge.

... the strongest argument in favor of the validity of the whole deterministic Science of Man disappears. The trap has been sprung, and we are not caught in it. Perhaps Humanity with a capital "H" is; perhaps you and I are not.

One could perhaps wait patiently for the unsoundness of contemporary social science to bring it to frustration, were it not that it has inspired and justified a practical and powerful politics which treats real men like machines or statistical abstractions, to the imminent peril of the very survival of freedom. For if men are but mechanical units whose consciousness is an illusion, whose action is the result of statistical patterns and previous conditioning, then to talk of objective moral values is nonsense. In that case men can be conditioned to any set of "norms" desired by the powerful, and there is no valid basis for preferring one set of values to another.

How can we protest against inhumanity, treachery, ruthlessness, deceit and indecencies unless we believe that the opposite of each has some substantial reality? How can we object to the enslavement of mankind unless we assume that men are capable of freedom?

Power being self-perpetuating, Mr. Krutch seems to say, only a deliberate "nay-saying" to the ideas which surround us can prevent a defeat of the spirit of man worse than any threatened by the hydrogen bomb: the reduction of humanity to the status of the ant. *The Measure of Man* offers no easy optimism; the last chapter is entitled: "It May Not Be Too Late." What it does affirm is that such a defeat can be averted only if "those individuals in whom the human spirit is conspicuously stronger than the conditioned reflex" assert their innate difference from the machine, their innate power to choose values, their autonomy—in a word, their freedom.

## Academic Shortsightedness

**This New World: The Civilization of Latin America**, by William Lytle Schurz. 429 pp. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. \$6.00

Dr. Schurz' book is the latest product of an American tradition of writing on Latin America which, for want of a better word, might be called academic. It was inaugurated by Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico* and *Conquest of Peru*, two books that are classics of American literature as well as landmarks on the way toward a better understanding of the lands south of the Rio Grande. Fortunately for America and her southern neighbors, Prescott has had many successors—men like Robertson, Rippey, Hanke, and Diffie—who devoted their lives to the study of Latin American peoples, their history and civilization. It is thanks to them that Americans are better informed about the twenty republics to the south of them. They laid the intellectual foundation of the Good Neighbor policy. But this "academic" tradition has now grown old, and Dr. Schurz' book suggests that it is in need of serious re-examination to adapt it to the changing needs of our time.

This is a scholarly study and, the author being a historian, the accent is on history. There are chapters on the geographical environment, the Conquest, the racial elements—the Indian, the Spaniard, the Brazilian, the Negro, and the For-eigner—and some institutions, the city and the church, and, finally, a chapter devoted to the Latin American woman. The perspective is somewhat tilted and the sixteenth century seems to get more attention than the twentieth. But Dr. Schurz can be as up-to-date as he is scholarly, as his charming vignettes of some modern cities of Latin America, Buenos Aires and Mexico City, Rio, and Sao Paulo, show.

This reviewer was unable to discover any factual error in Dr. Schurz' book. He has no quarrel with the spirit in which it was written: "If the Latin Americans have many problems to solve before they can become what they would like to be, so, for our part, do we. Therefore, it would ill become us to be patronizing towards those who share with us in amity and a growing understanding the New World and its responsibilities for the future. Rather do we sincerely desire that those peoples shall realize in full measure the great promise that is in them."

These are admirable sentiments and, bearing them in mind, even a Latin American reader of Dr. Schurz' book would take the following warning in the spirit in which it was intended: The Latin Americans "are too ready to yield to the cry for economic nationalism and state socialism to indulge in five-year plans for the industrialization of economies that are basically primitive and extractive, in a defiance of whatever economic laws are still in force and in the acrobatics of a premature

welfare state. Their economies cannot afford an elaborate program of bonuses and favors to the populace without the risk of wrecking economies that have not yet accumulated reserves of capital for even elementary expansion."

And yet Dr. Schurz' book makes disturbing reading, not so much for what it says as for what it does not say. It is surely disturbing to find in a book of this kind hardly any mention of the enormous cultural influence and attraction which the United States is exercising on its southern neighbors. In 1954 America is the Number One cultural influence from abroad in these countries, England and France having yielded it that place. You would never guess it from reading this book. The chapter on "The Foreigner" has sections devoted to Italians, French, English, Irish, Dutch, and Flemings—but none to Americans.

This is surely a serious omission, precisely because this cultural influence is the object of so much misunderstanding and attack from America's enemies both in Latin America itself and outside it. In face of the Communist cultural offensive it is surely the duty of the American scholar to explore and explain his country's cultural effort in the countries which he studies. It is, contrary to much uninformed and vociferous opinion, by no means confined to Hollywood and Coca Cola, jazz, and canned radio programs, powerful as these American influences have proved themselves to be. The rising position of women in Latin America is a mystery without recalling the influence and force of the American example. And no account of the Latin American cultural heritage is complete without a mention of the work of men like Sylvanus Morley, who restored the Mayan past in Yucatan, and Harold Bingham, who discovered the Inca fortress of Macchu Picchu.

Even more disturbing is the way in which Dr. Schurz, in the tenth year of the cold war, treats the very serious problem of Communist penetration of Latin America. He makes but one mention of Communism—he says that Communism is utterly incompatible with the Spanish character, without any reference to the Western Hemisphere. It is all too easy to imagine the nasty kind of belly laugh which this "academic" treatment of the Communist menace would raise with Communist leaders like Lombardo Toledano in Mexico and Prestes in Brazil, not to mention the rulers of Guatemala. The laugh would be even nastier if they were to hear that Dr. Schurz is a former official of the State Department.

Last but not least is a matter only indirectly concerned with Dr. Schurz' book but very directly concerned with the tradition he represents. The intellectual traffic between the United States and Latin America must be a two-way traffic. At present it is not. There are no equivalent books on the United States written in Latin America by the local equivalents of Dr. Schurz. The colleges and univer-

sities of America, aided by the foundations and organizations interested in Latin America, have few tasks as useful and urgent as the encouragement of such writers. This is one of the best ways of beating Latin American Communism at its own game.

MAX WHITE

## The Way of a Weapon

V-2, by Walter Dornberger. Translated by James Cleugh and Geoffrey Halliday. 281 pp. New York: The Viking Press. \$5.00

General (and Dr.) Walter Dornberger has produced a book full of surprises in this history of the V-2, the weapon that failed to win the war because the war didn't last long enough. He knows the whole story. In 1932 (before Hitler, note this) he was already head of the German Army Weapons Department experiment station at Kummersdorf West and they were experimenting with liquid-fuel rockets at a time when practically no one else was doing anything but discuss the theoretical possibilities.

Let it be explained, before we go any further, that a liquid-fuel rocket is the only hope for really great heights and hence, great distances. Solid fuels won't give the necessary ejection speeds. But already at that early date, while the British were considering solid-fuel rockets that might be useful anti-aircraft weapons, and the Americans were thinking of solid-fuel rockets that might help planes take off in a hurry, Dornberger had picked up a young technician named Wernher von Braun, who thought in terms of flying to the moon; and for that, only liquid fuels would do.

So it was liquid fuels from the start at the Army Weapons Department experiment station, later moved to Peenemünde Island, and this book is the story of the creation of an entire new science. *What liquid fuel? One of the most brilliant early experimenters was killed trying to find out. How do you prevent the burning out of the walls of a firing chamber where the temperature reaches thousands of degrees? How do you stabilize at speeds a couple of times that of sound? What shape should the rocket have? What kind of pumps? And after all these difficulties had been solved, what made over 50 per cent of the confounded things blow up in the air after they had run eight or ten miles?*

It is unnecessary to be a technical person to follow Dr. Dornberger's story, which he has told surpassingly well. But always underneath the story of the technical achievement is that of the wonderful folly with which the Nazi government, which had to have technical progress if any government ever did, thwarted the engineers in their efforts to give it a head start. The experiment station could buy only test facilities and apparatus; when it wanted a typewriter it had to order an "Instrument for

recording test data with rotating roller, as per sample." When they were on the edge of success, Hitler had a dream that it never would be a success and ordered things cut down. And when the thing finally was obviously going to be a success, there descended upon the project a singular horde of political and military vultures, including in the end Goering and Himmler, each anxious to make the project his personal empire, and each interposing some element of delay. Von Braun was even bothered by the Gestapo because he so much as spoke of flying to the moon.

The result was that the V-2, or A-4 as its makers preferred to call it, was still an imperfect experimental instrument when it was ordered into mass production because the frontiers had already begun to crumble. We know from other sources that the big rockets did a vast amount of damage and caused a vast amount of diversion of Allied military effort. Not from Dornberger; he remained concerned to the end of the war, and remains concerned to the end of his book, purely with technical developments, with the perfection of his beloved rockets, and he is even regretful that the development had to come about for military purposes.

FLETCHER PRATT

## The Way of a Warrior

**Kesselring—A Soldier's Record**, by Field Marshal Albert Kesselring. 381 pp. New York: William Morrow and Company. \$5.00

A rather curious and meaningful snapshot has been included among the illustrations in Generalfeldmarschall Albert Kesselring's book about his life and his experiences in World War Two. In this picture one sees the great German commander and two colleagues standing in a spring meadow. Their pose suggests that they have just cordially interrupted a delightful country stroll to oblige the photographer. Kesselring is smiling heartily.

The camera recorded this scene of rustic pleasure at a prison camp in Austria in 1947 while Kesselring was waiting to be shot to death. He had been condemned on two charges based on his role as commander-in-chief of German forces in Italy: that he unlawfully ordered the celebrated 335 reprisal executions in the Ardeatine catacombs and that he was responsible, indirectly, for the killings of 1,087 other Italians.

Kesselring could be interested in the Austrian flora and smile so vivaciously because the souls of these unfortunates, as he still maintains, did not belong on his conscience. He also felt his dying would be a further service to the ideals and principles he had so willingly served all his life. But on July 4, 1947 (there is no indication that the date was specially chosen), a gracious victor substituted imprisonment for the volley of musketry. This re-

prieve Kesselring ruefully describes as "an aggravation of punishment."

Now free for the remainder of his declining years, the Field Marshal hopes to accomplish with authorship what he would have gladly essayed with martyrdom. He has remustered and perhaps amplified the prime legal points of his defense before the British tribunal at Venice, noting some interesting discrepancies and non sequiturs in the legal philosophy of his judges. He also points out that the Ardeatine reprisals avenged the slaughter of an entire company of "elderly," "respectable," and non-combatant Tyrolean police. These men, assigned to protect Italians as well as Germans, were wiped out, Kesselring firmly believes, "by Italian Communists pursuing their disruptive ends under the cloak of patriotism."

"This was not the first case. Because of previous assassinations, Romans had been warned of the consequences of further acts of terrorism by public notices and by the Church—which should have been taken into account."

Kesselring wants to make it clear that, despite his close working relationship with Hitler and Goering on military tasks, he was not a "party general." He is also not a Prussian. As he explains in his book, he is a Bavarian, of a long line of farmers, brewers, and school teachers.

The author also devotes considerable space to his role and problems as Hitler's troubleshooter in the West. As commander in Italy he had to cope with Mussolini's overthrow and Badoglio's defection to the Allies. In March 1945, he succeeded Von Rundstedt, a tired and very unlucky old warrior, in the impossible job of keeping the British and Americans out of Germany's heartland.

Readers recalling American inter-service jealousies during and after the war may be surprised to learn that Kesselring, who could rally the crippled remnants of both land and air units for one desperate stand after another in the last, losing days, was a Luftwaffe marshal. He was, as a matter of fact, one of those who helped organize the German air arm in the Versailles Treaty days behind the innocuous façade of the civil air ministry. His description of the Luftwaffe's beginnings, plus an account of his service as an air commander during the blitzkriegs on the West and on Soviet Russia are also given in the book.

Kesselring is an old man in what promises to be the last generation of German generals in the great tradition. Long after he and the others are gone the debate will continue over whether they had any right to give Hitler the loyalty that a soldier must swear to his country and its leaders. Kesselring, it is clear, believed that it was not up to him to question the limits of his soldier's oath, and he gave it the fullest measure of his steadfastness. Had he served a better cause in another land the world today might be honoring him for this singleness of purpose.

RICHARD M. PALMER



## Candor on Korea

**From the Danube to the Yalu**, by Mark W. Clark. 369 pp. New York: Harper and Brothers. \$5.00  
**Decision in Korea**, by Rutherford M. Poats. 340 pp. New York: Robert M. McBride and Company. \$4.75

The day he took command of the United Nations forces in Korea, General Mark Clark walked smack into trouble. The Communist prisoners of war on Koje Island erupted into violence; an American general was captured by his own prisoners, and the world was confronted with the spectacle of the captors negotiating with, and appeasing, the captives.

With a candor that is characteristic of his book, General Clark assesses this, the first of his many Korean crises, in the following words: "The score was exactly no hits, no runs and more errors than any score keeper would have the heart to tally."

It would not be amiss to apply General Clark's statement to his whole tour of duty. Following his baseball analogy a bit farther, we might say that both of these two readable books provide an accurate box score for the whole Korean war (called by Clark "the war we might have won").

Rutherford Poats, veteran United Press correspondent in the Far East, writes of the whole war period, from 1950 until the armistice was signed. His coverage is more that of a paying customer at the game, or perhaps that of an umpire. General Clark writes as one of the key players, brought into the game during the last scoreless innings of a long drawn-out contest.

His tour of duty came after the main battles had been concluded, after the bystanders had lost interest, after basic policy decisions which precluded victory had been made.

General Clark's troubles only began with the POW eruption. Both the war and the armistice negotiations were in complete deadlock when he took over from General Ridgway. In an effort to force action on either the fighting front or at the truce table, Clark made various recommendations. He immediately urged that the Republic of Korea Army be built into a bigger and more effective fighting force. His recommendation was not approved until it became a Presidential election issue in the late fall of 1952.

Soon after taking command he recommended that the United Nations show the Communists that we really meant business by putting two divisions of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist troops into the line against the Reds in Korea. "My recommendation for the use of Chiang's troops was never answered by Washington," writes General Clark. "It died by pocket veto." Ten months later he again recommended use of Nationalist troops. Again there was not even the courtesy of an acknowledgment.

The reader may be surprised at the equanimity with which General Clark took these repeated er-

rors and rebuffs on the part of his superiors. On the issue of Korean troop build-up he writes, without trace of rancor, that "I do believe Washington dragged its feet on getting them into action."

Indeed, General Clark rarely shows much feeling as he tells the story of a team which did not get much support from either fans or management. The basic issues on which he failed to obtain support seem to bother him less than the hordes of "government experts" who constantly descended upon him from Washington, to help him run the war, to help him with his job in Japan, to help him plan the economic recovery of South Korea, etc. General Clark blames these short-term experts for the failure to strengthen the Korean army. The experts decided the Korean economy would not support a build-up. General Clark's on-the-spot survey indicated the South Korean economy could support an army of twenty divisions!

In his over-all comments, General Clark can be classed as a mild adherent of the MacArthur point of view on the Far East. He believes we should have struck the enemy in Manchuria. While berating Syngman Rhee for his efforts to sabotage the armistice, Clark admits that the Korean president's final judgment on the folly of the truce may be vindicated. He writes, "But I was also convinced, and still am, that the losses suffered in gaining victory in Korea would be far less than losses we would have to take eventually if we failed to win militarily in Korea. . . . In my opinion this would not have dragged the Russians into the war or started World War Three. They will go to war only at places and on a time schedule of their own choosing."

Mark Clark does not believe the free world gained a victory in Korea. He believes the enemy was strengthened by giving him increased confidence in his second team armies and "at the same time casting doubts in the minds of the smaller and weaker non-Communist nations about the ability and determination of the free world to protect them against Red Aggression." In particular, Clark believes the failure to win in Korea has weakened us in vitally important Japan. The Japanese watched us; they found us wanting.

It is in the estimate of the effects of the truce that General Clark and Rutherford Poats differ most. Mr. Poats has written a badly needly battle-by-battle account of the Korean war. It is a good account, the only complete history this reviewer has seen. But Mr. Poats begins to tread on dangerous ground when he assays the effect of the truce. He says, "We had called the Kremlin's biggest bluff. In doing so, we had saved the United Nations from extinction. . . . We had reassured the many small and vulnerable nations."

Mr. Poats feels that since the truce was signed the smaller nations have been so reassured that they are choosing between "nervous neutralism and boldly anti-Communist alignment with the democ-

racies"—and the choice is to be on our side! He feels that although the Communist germ warfare charge got off to a good start it soon flopped. And, if Syngman Rhee will just see it that way, South Korea can develop and prosper as half a nation—says Mr. Poats.

One of the interesting sidelights in *Decision in Korea* are thumbnail sketches of the principal American commanders. They fall into two categories. Clark and Ridgway were the "team generals," following orders, taking rebuffs, but not fighting back. MacArthur and Van Fleet were different.

When the management refused to take heed, they appealed to the bystanders, and they refused to accept blindly the decisions of the umpires. It is perhaps an undisciplined thought, but might not one wonder if, in the final judgment, it is not men like Van Fleet and MacArthur who command most respect among our allies and should-be allies in Asia; if it is not the rugged individualists, fighting for what they believe, who are our best bet in time of trouble.

JOHN C. CALDWELL

## The Chetniks, Close-Up

**Eight Bailed Out**, by Major James M. Inks, edited by Lawrence Klingman. 222 pp. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. \$3.00

This is the story, told in a soldier's simple language, of American airmen caught up in the northward retreat of a Chetnik guerrilla detachment in a Yugoslavia ravaged by civil war, allied bombardment, and the withdrawing German army. Major Inks and his crew were forced to bail out over Montenegro on their return from a bombing raid on the oil fields at Ploesti. The long hard struggle from the Adriatic coast to the North is unmatched for its brutality, despair, human suffering, and misery. But in it are also moments of self-sacrifice and humanity. For almost ten months the airmen followed the remnants of the Chetnik detachment, harassed by Tito's partisans, hemmed in by the retreating Germans. During most of this time they lived among the people of Yugoslavia. Although the populace was starving, what they had was willingly shared with the Americans, and in spite of unbelievable conditions and the offer of large rewards, they succeeded in preventing the airmen's capture by the Germans.

Prior to the Ploesti missions, the airmen had been warned by U.S. Air Force directives about

the Chetniks and were told that only Tito's Partisans would be able to help them. They were anxious to escape the Chetniks who had been represented to them as pro-Nazi collaborators, and at first considered themselves as their prisoners. Without actually going into any deep analysis of development, Major Inks' diary shows their gradual realization of the true colors of General Draza Mihailovitch and the Chetniks. They were without question on the Allied side, and although they had "received a raw deal from the Allies," America and the British, "still retained their great love for America." Their original suspicion grew into admiration for Mihailovitch and his once powerful guerrilla force. Major Inks tells with emotion of his meeting with General Mihailovitch—"the most moving and exciting experience of our ten months in Yugoslavia." With great sincerity he describes this unassuming man, his dignity and courage and the great love he had for his men and they for him. He lets Mihailovitch himself explain the political situation: that he never understood how the Communists managed to persuade the British and Americans, who had been helping the Chetniks in their struggle against the Nazis, to divert their aid to Tito who spent most of his energy and most of the supplies of the Allies against the Chetniks. "It will not be long before Stalin and Tito will turn upon you; I shall not be here then, for I shall not be here very long, but I know that I am right and that you will know of your terrible blindness, but it will be too late." Yet Mihailovitch spoke without rancor or recrimination.

Although it does not go into great detail, Major Inks' book gives a simple and unbiased explanation of the political climate in Yugoslavia in 1945. The country was torn by civil war, and Communism had not yet been recognized by the Allies as the menace it turned out to be. To those who had seen it at first hand its threat was only too apparent. Among the latter was General Mihailovitch. To him the broken remnants of the German army did not constitute the threat that the steadily growing forces of Tito's Partisans, reinforced and supported by the Allies, did. Nor were the Germans Tito's prime concern. His first objective was to get power over the country and establish his Communist dictatorship. To achieve this he had to destroy General Mihailovitch.

Even at the risk of being taxed with political naiveté, Major Inks expresses with courage and conviction his opinion, shared by his fellow-crewmen, about the great mistake made by the Allies in supporting Tito—a mistake which ultimately led to the establishment of Communist regimes in central and eastern Europe. Indeed, this conviction carries with it more than a little weight, for it is based on bitter firsthand experience.

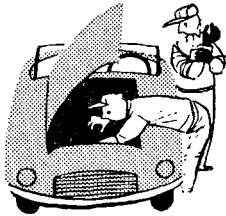
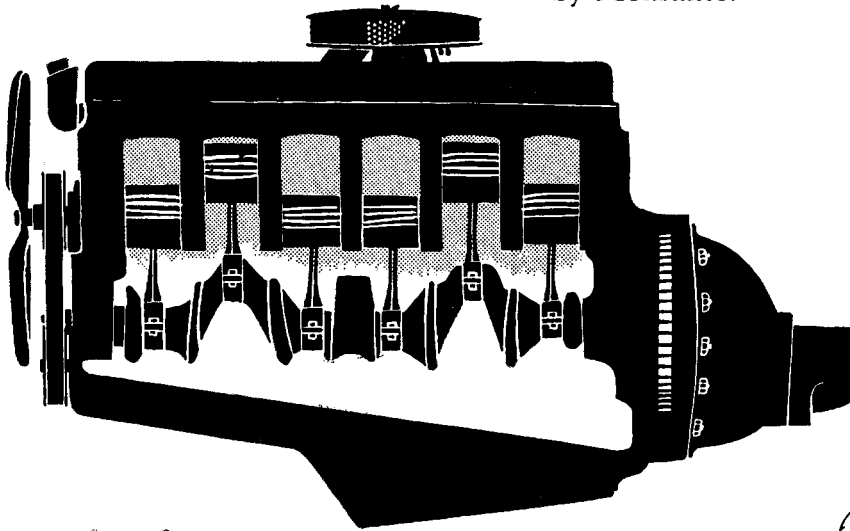
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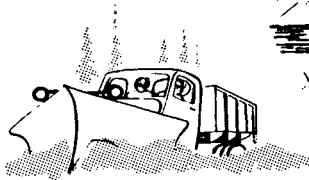
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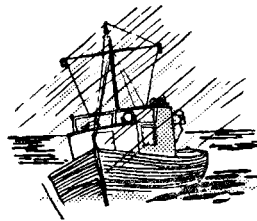
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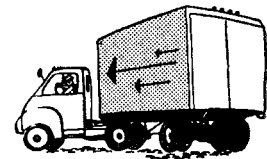


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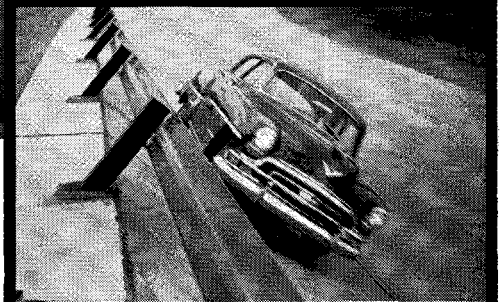
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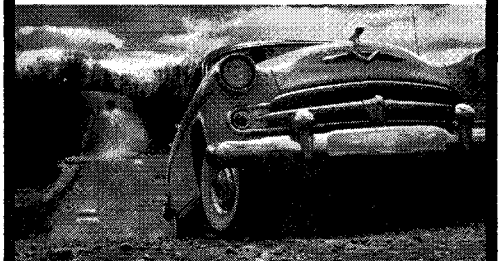
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