

**THE**  
*Freeman*

JANUARY 1955

50¢

**The Issue Behind Dixon-Yates**

Robert S. Byfield

**The People Against  
The Politicians**

Thomas R. Waring

**Socialism's Intellectual Decay**

William Henry Chamberlin

# "LOOK WHAT'S HAPPENED TO THE GEARSHIFT!"

says William Lundigan (*Your host on "Shower of Stars" and "Climax!"*)\*



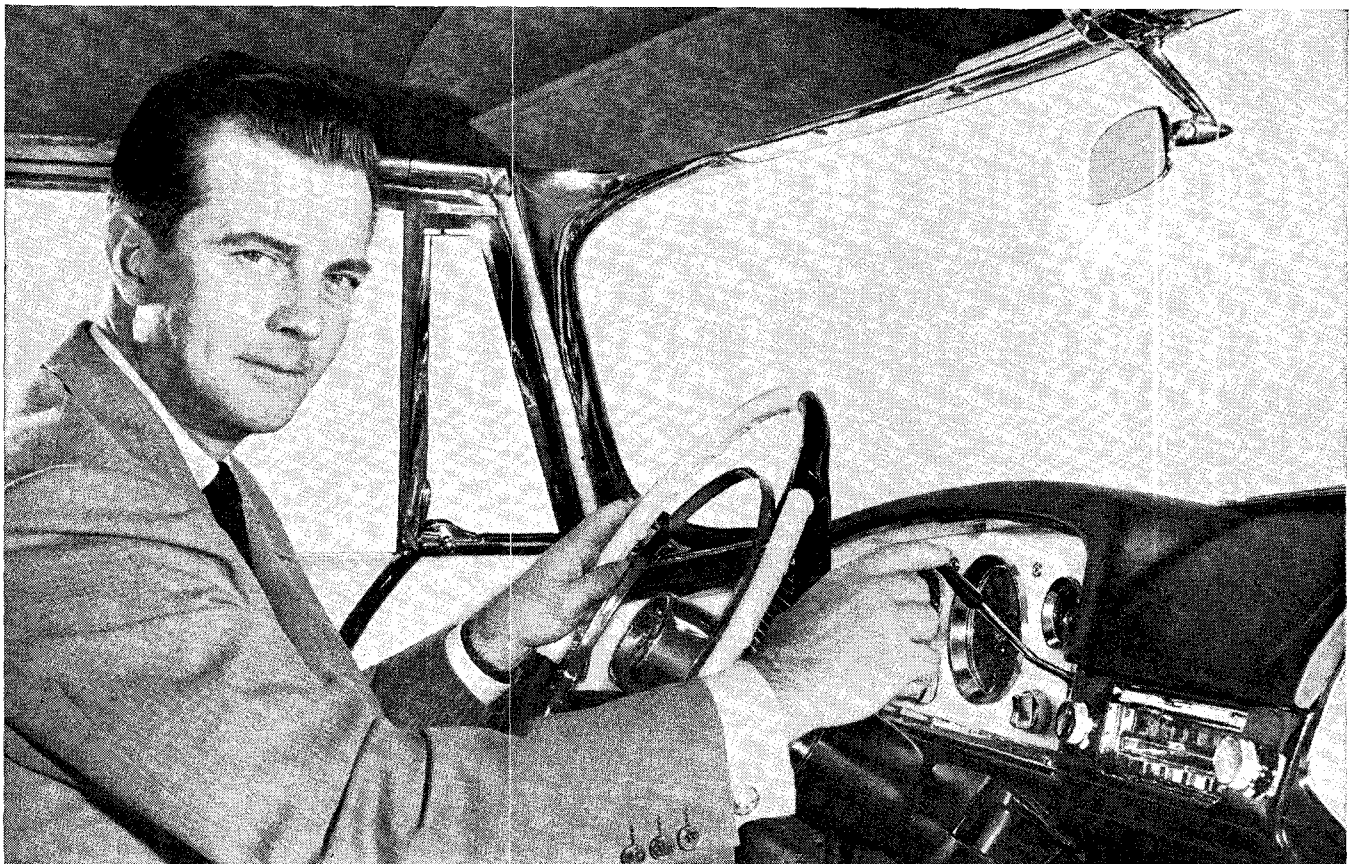
**1. "BACK IN GRANDDADDY'S** day you needed a long reach, a strong arm and a third eye to shift gears. The gearshift was outside the body of the car, where it was a tempting toy for the neighborhood kids.



**2. "I REMEMBER IN DAD'S** first car, the gearshift had moved in out of the rain, but in everybody's way. Rising like a flagpole from the floor, it tangled with legs, hands and hand-brake. If you sat three in front—oh, brother!



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# THE Freeman

A Monthly  
For  
Libertarians

Editor  
Managing Editor  
Business Manager

FRANK CHODOROV  
MABEL WOOD  
JAMES M. ROGERS

## In This Issue

ROBERT S. BYFIELD, an investment counselor and member of the New York Stock Exchange, is the Representative of that organization to the United Nations. FREEMAN readers will remember his article, "Why Socialize Niagara?" in the issue of November 16, 1953.

In his "A Short History of Liberty," DEAN RUSSELL, on the staff of the Foundation for Economic Education, has given a new interpretation to an old idea.

The chances are that you will meet WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN again in the next two issues of the FREEMAN. How in the world does he find the time to write for the *Wall Street Journal* and several other publications?

In 1927, THOMAS R. WARING started as a reporter on the *News and Courier*, Charleston, South Carolina. He is now the editor. Thus there is no doubt that he can speak authoritatively on South Carolina politics and the real story behind the write-in for Senator from that state.

RUSSELL J. CLINCHY is Minister of the Church in the Gardens (Congregational), Forest Hills, New York. Author of several books and articles, two of his pamphlets published by the Foundation for Economic Education—"Two Paths to Collectivism" and "Charity: Biblical and Political"—sold into the hundreds of thousands.

PAUL HARVEY is the well-known commentator and author of *Remember These Things*.

DR. N. I. STONE is an economist who specialized in tariffs and foreign trade during his many years' service in Washington.

HUGHSTON M. MCBAIN is Chairman of the Board of Marshall Field and Company. He also contributed to the November 1954 issue of the FREEMAN.

COLM BROGAN was the author of that exceptionally well written article, "As Britain Sees Us," in the FREEMAN for September 1954. He was formerly editor of *Individualism*, organ of the British Society of Individualists.

VINCENT R. TORTORA and GLEN COLLIER, students of Slavic literature, have collaborated on articles that have appeared in the *American Mercury*, *Catholic World*, *National Republic* and other publications.

PETER CRUMPET is the pseudonym of a young writer who was formerly a lieutenant in the Air Force. Why he chooses not to use his own proud name is his own business. Libertarians can offer advice only if they are asked. At any rate, FREEMAN readers can expect to meet him again.

GEORGE N. KRAMER is a free lance writer living in Los Angeles.

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

# Readers also write

## The Christmas Editorial

If every American read your editorial "From Christmas to Christmas" (December) and put even a small portion of it into practice, we could surely hope for a change for the better. Like Joyce Kilmer's ending to a poem, "Thank God for God," I'd like to commend your magazine for that beautiful piece of prose.

Forest Hills, N.Y. MARY O'DOHERTY

## The "War or Peace?" Debate

The Schlamm and Chodorov articles ("War or Peace?" November) are very good. I stand with Chodorov, and it seems to me the epitome of his argument is contained in the following: "The manpower which is now going to waste in uniform could be put to the task of building up our war potential. Our economy would be strengthened for the expected shock. We would become a veritable military giant, and because of our strength we would attract real allies, not lukewarm ones."

Topeka, Kans. R. F. STEINER

The Schlamm-Chodorov controversy was healthy. Though in a recent number of the FREEMAN [August 1954] I referred to it gloomily as "the issue that will ultimately separate us [conservatives]," I am glad it is finally being ventilated. Both Mr. Chodorov's and Mr. Schlamm's analyses are based on probabilities, and both make contingent predictions. Accordingly, neither is demonstrably right.

I believe that we may indeed be facing both war and slavery. That is to say, I am as pessimistic as Chodorov about the possibility of domesticating the State after the war is over. But we will have a fighting chance in a future war against the State, and I do not see that we will have a fighting chance to save ourselves from Soviet tyranny if we pursue Eisenhower's foreign policy—or Chodorov's. For that reason, I side with Willi Schlamm and number myself, dejectedly, among those who favor a carefully planned showdown, and who are prepared to go to war to frustrate communist designs.

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.  
Stamford, Conn.

Mr Schlamm's whole argument is based on the hypothesis that free

society is so pitifully weak that in times of danger it must turn to dictatorship (militarism) in order to save itself. This assumption is 100 per cent false.

The greater the danger, the more important it becomes for us to demilitarize (unsocialize) ourselves. What about the unregimented minutemen of the American Revolution? Atomic age? All the more reason to be unmilitarized and consequently strong.

Mill Valley, Cal. DAVID BILLS

It is indeed strange that in a magazine which devotes so much thought to economic questions, this question should be practically left out of your "War or Peace?" discussion.

Surely you must realize that the only way that Russia can wage an aggressive war on the U.S.A. is, first of all, to obtain American goods and American scientific and technological know-how with which to wage a war. If America wants to avoid World War Three, all she has to do is to prevent any American goods or know-how from getting into communist-ruled lands anywhere in the world. To do this America should revise and strengthen the Battle Act, instead of actually trading with and encouraging trade with the communist world. And she should immediately cut off all aid to Great Britain and all other countries trading with the Chinese Soviet world. . . .

RUTH C. DOUGLAS  
South Shaftsbury, Vt.

## Senator McCarthy: Two Views

I am devoted to the FREEMAN and its principles and gospel. However, there is one point in which I find cause for worry. This is the matter of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. The FREEMAN seems to show a sympathy for him and his operations that to me is unjustified.

I have fought communism from the beginning of the Russian Revolution. In 1918 I joined with John Spargo and Stanley Washburn in an unofficial and unpublicized, but what proved to be an effective committee to oppose the recognition of Soviet Russia. Our method was to interview and make clear the issue to successive Presidents and the editors and publishers of newspapers. We were successful in our efforts until 1938.

Now McCarthy may perhaps by publicity have aroused public opinion to the dangers of communism. . . . But he has recognized the political value of the fight against communism and is taking advantage of it, striking recklessly at political ad-

versaries regardless of the facts. In fact, he has aided the cause of communism both by the public revulsion against his methods and by his votes in the Senate against every measure proposed to meet the menace of communism abroad.

JEROME LANDFIELD  
San Francisco, Cal.

Now that we, the majority of Taft Republicans and Jeffersonian Democrats, have witnessed the hypocrisy of censuring and distracting Senator McCarthy when he was pursuing Communists, and the ignoring by both parties of the mandate of the people to clean house of traitors and assorted Marxist and egghead quacks, we have no alternative but to build a new party.

Perhaps the best answer is to enlarge the already existing Constitution Party which exists in parts of the South, so that it will gradually encompass the whole country and introduce some sanity into the conduct of our government.

Deerfield, Ill. E. S. POWELL

## A Catholic Protests

Your article "The Liberals of Elizabeth I—and Now" (November) is amazing. It was allegedly written in defense of rough treatment of Communists, but three fourths of it surely gives the Catholics of those days not only a rough treatment, which the author dogmatically states was justified, but bases its conclusions on fairy tales and factual double talk.

It speaks of the "ideological conflict that scholars have likened to our own." Scholars cannot fail to agree that the only religious conflict was in the matter of Peter's successors' supremacy in matters of faith and morals, which was challenged by Henry VIII solely on the occasion and illegitimacy of his second and fifth so-called marriages. Oh, yes, the bones of the truly disreputable Spanish Inquisition must be rattled once more. England wanted statutory freedom of conscience, so those Catholics who went to Mass were "fined 100 pounds and given a year's imprisonment" by the State, according to law. Those who were converted to Catholicism were punished by "hanging, drawing and quartering" by the State. Here the author leaves his readers in a quandary as to why Elizabeth's methods were so ennobling and more moral than those of Philip II of Spain. . . .

"Today the old unhappy times of religious-political strife are over," the author states. . . . But are they? There are still some smouldering embers left which his article stirs up.

Louisville, Ky. PAUL TAFEL

Put this  
Question  
before  
Congress  
NOW!



# Why Don't You Restore Faith in Promises

by returning to the  
**GOLD COIN STANDARD?**

**AMERICA'S** envied standard of living has been built by faith in promises—faith in performance by the buyer . . . faith in payment by the seller.

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But — industry's contribution is not enough. The President, important Cabinet members, Senators, and Congressmen have recognized the need for the Gold Coin Standard. Why then, should legislative action on it be delayed?

We must lead, not follow, the world back to morality in money matters. Restoration of the Gold Coin Standard will anchor the value of currency to the metal of historically stable worth. Bickering over prices and wages will lessen . . . and American industry, of which Kennametal Inc. is a key enterprise, will be able to plan and produce with effectiveness and assurance which is fostered by faith.

Excerpt from Republican  
"Monetary Policy" Plank

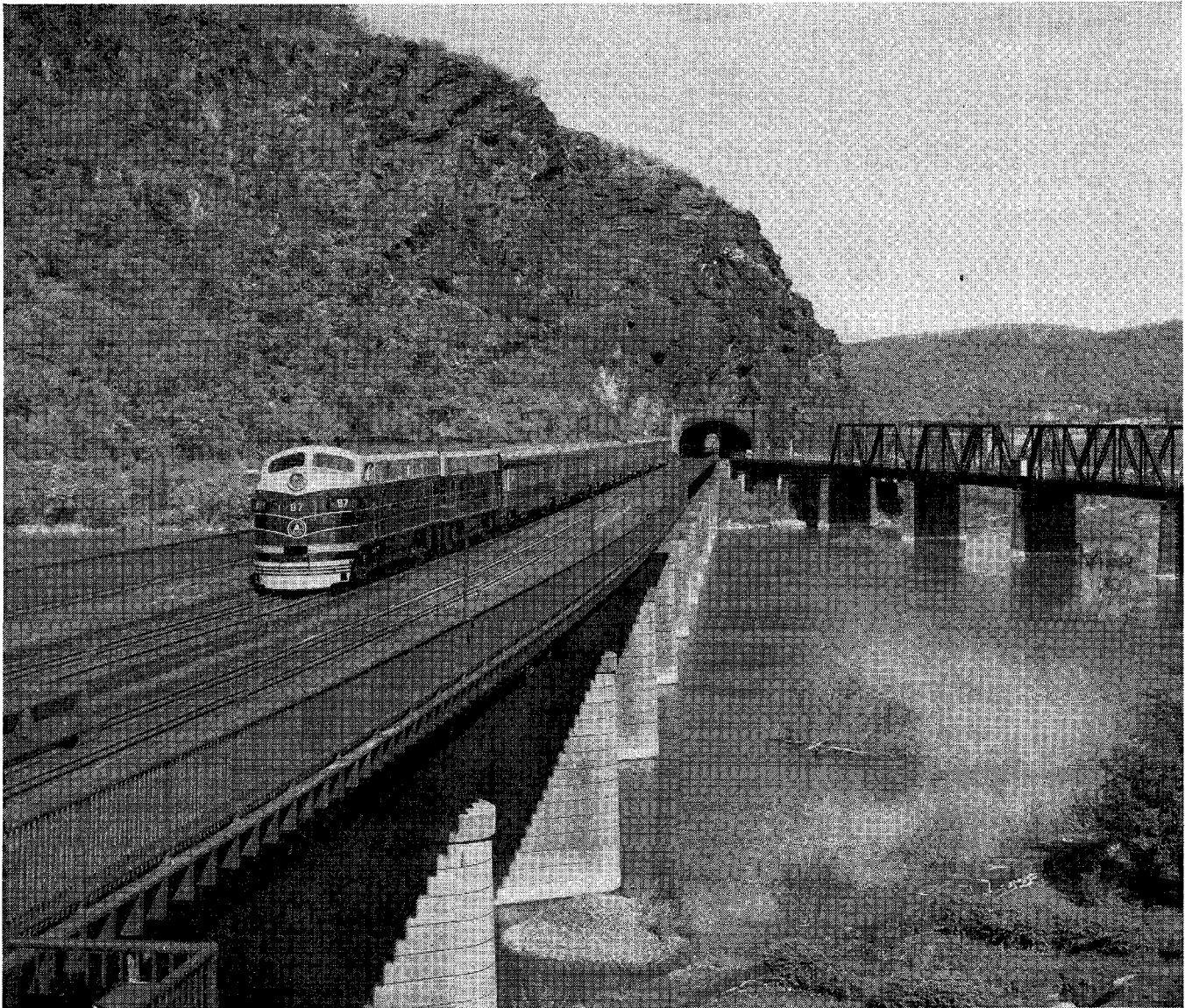


\* The right to redeem currency for gold will help keep America free . . . ask your Senators and Congressman to work and vote to restore the Gold Coin Standard. Write to The Gold Standard League, Latrobe, Pa., for further information. The League is an association of patriotic citizens joined in the common cause of restoring a sound monetary system.

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What can a lowly freight learn from this luxury train?

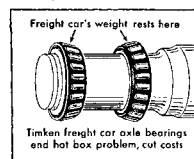
Just this: by 8:00 a.m. tomorrow sharp, just 15½ hours but 767 miles from Washington, it will already be in Chicago.

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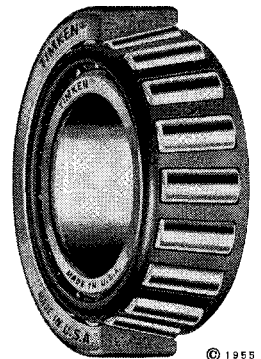
Timken bearings *roll* the load. There's no sliding friction to cause hot boxes. Bearing inspection time along the way is reduced 90%. And the new heavy-duty Timken bearing design cuts the cost of a freight car roller bearing assembly 18% to 25%.

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Timken freight car axle bearings end hot box problem, cut costs



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# THE *Freeman*

J A N U A R Y 1 9 5 5

## A New Year's Resolution for 1955

*(devoutly to be wished)*

WHEREAS,

it has heretofore been the custom for each Congress to enact a multitude of statutes, the very number of which precluded the possibility of their being understood, either by the members or the public, and

WHEREAS,

the results of this legislative orgy have been (1) to put upon the people an ever heavier yoke of taxation, and (2) to strengthen political power at the expense of social power,

THEREFORE, BE IT

RESOLVED,

that this Eighty-fourth Congress shall pass no new laws during its term of office, and be it further

RESOLVED,

that on each meeting day it shall repeal as many of the existing laws as is physically possible, giving preference to those laws which authorized the establishment of governmental agencies, corporations and other administrative bodies not contemplated by the Founding Fathers, and be it further

RESOLVED,

that to prevent the re-establishment of these nonelective bodies, and to keep the federal government restricted to the powers granted it in the Constitution, and to lessen the tax-burden of the people, this Congress shall submit to the states of the Union a proposal to repeal the Sixteenth Amendment.

*Signed,* The Eighty-Fourth Congress  
(Republicans, Democrats and/or Socialists)

On the first day of January,  
in the Year of Our Lord, 1955

## Death of the Third Party

A CASUALTY of the last election was the American Labor Party of New York; it lost its place on the ballot by failing to get the legal minimum of votes, and thus can be counted among the dead. But that does not mean that the ALP has failed. It died precisely because it was eminently successful. Most of the political ideas which it promulgated have been adopted by the two major parties, and its underlying ideology is well on the way to being activated. The ALP died because it had served its purpose.

That has been the fate of every "third" party movement in the history of the country. As soon as the reforms which brought the movement into existence achieved wide acceptance, the sagacious leaders of the dominant political parties adopted the reforms as their very own, and then the movement evaporated. The voters had no reason for continuing their support of a "lost cause."

Every important plank in the platforms of the socialist parties of the early part of the century has found its way into the platforms of the Republicans and the Democrats, and both parties, when in power, have put into law the measures that the Socialists only hoped for in 1900. The Populists' dream of "cheap" money was more than realized when F.D.R. abolished the gold standard. The Prohibitionists never elected a president, but they got their amendment into the Constitution. The parties that plugged for these changes in the law have passed out of the picture, but they did not fail. A "third" party fails only when the public does not show enthusiasm for the thing it proposes, like the bigotry plank of the Know Nothing Party.

The only function, then, that a "third" party can serve in our political scene is to bring up an issue. If the issue appeals to the public sufficiently, the Republicans and the Democrats will appropriate it. Sometimes they will also take to their bosoms the personalities who achieve prominence as leaders of the "third" party. At any rate, the movement dies with success.

The Republican Party never was a "third" party—it was a replacement of the Whig Party, which had foundered and broken up on the slavery issue. It was, in fact, a coalition of the remnants of this major party and a number of "third" parties that were kicking up numerous issues in the middle of the last century. The one issue around which all these elements could gather was the nonextension of slavery, and out of this issue came a replacement of the shattered Whig Party.

There is some talk these days of the need of a "third" party, arising from the similarity of the programs of the two major parties. Nothing will come of this talk unless and until the country

comes to grips with a specific issue. Something like "Save the Constitution—Get Out of the U.N.;" or, perhaps, "Abolish the Income Tax." When the politicians of the major parties are convinced that there is sizable public support for the issue, they will take the lead; and the original proponents of the idea can then disband.

What the country needs, then, is not a new party, but an issue. Incidentally, the Republican Party could use one.

## A Legalized Hold-up

THE NEWSPAPERS hailed it a "most unusual labor-management agreement." It was nothing but a hold-up, since the victim was compelled to turn over his property or suffer the consequences. The only difference between this "agreement" and any money-or-your-life choice was that in this case the hold-up man made use of the law to enforce his will.

A manufacturer, with his major plant located in New York City, set up a supplementary factory in a Southern city. His choice of location was determined by the basic law of capital: it flows to where the promise of return is greatest, all things else being equal. To this manufacturer the Southern city seemed to be the spot—partly because of an abundance of laborers who were anxious to make use of the capital in order that they might produce wages, partly because the community, to attract investment, offered long-term exemption from taxes.

The manufacturer operates in New York under an agreement with the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, David Dubinsky, president. Under the implied threat of closing up his New York plant if he refused, the manufacturer granted the union permission to send organizers into his Southern shop. But the three hundred workers in this shop were disinclined to join the union, and the townspeople resented the invasion of their community by the organizers. The union retreated to New York.

Then followed the hold-up "agreement." The condition that made it possible is the monopoly position of the union. Because of the special privileges which it enjoys under the administration of the law in New York, to say nothing of the special privileges granted it by the Wagner labor law and the Taft-Hartley law, the union is in position to close up the manufacturer's plant in New York whenever it so decides; but the closing of that plant would automatically close the Southern plant, since the raw materials on which it works are prepared in New York. And the manufacturer had invested \$250,000 in this Southern venture.

So, quoting from the story in the *New York Times*, "Mr. Dubinsky calculated that the manu-



facturer's total payroll saving (in the Southern plant) for 1954 and 1955 would come to"—exactly \$250,000. He would allow the manufacturer to operate this plant if he turned over that sum to the union. What for? For permission to operate. To cover up the obvious crudeness of this hold-up, Mr. Dubinsky announced that the money, which would become part of the union's income, to be used as the officials saw fit, would be paid to the workers in the Southern plant if they decided to join and pay dues to the union. If they persisted in refusing the benefits of unionism, the money would come in handy as a war chest. Thus, we have organized labor's version of the carrot-and-stick technique of persuasion. The manufacturer "agreed" to the arrangement.

We should not, however, blame Mr. Dubinsky for this act of crass highwaymanry. Any one of us might be inclined to make use of the monopoly position he enjoys, if we were similarly placed. The fault lies with the law—or the administration of it—that puts a pistol in his hands. By the way, can there be a monopoly position unsupported by law?

## *U. S. Barely Escapes U. N.*

**I**F ONE MEMBER of the United States Supreme Court had voted the other way last month, the Charter of the United Nations would have achieved pre-eminence over the Constitution of the United States.

The issue before the court involved a contract between citizens of the United States. A widow was suing a cemetery company for damages because it had refused to bury her husband. The company based its refusal on a clause in the contract (for the purchase of the burial plot) which restricted the use of the cemetery to people of the Caucasian race; the dead man was an Indian. The widow's contention was that this clause was voided by Article 55-C of the United Nations Charter. This article provides that member nations shall "promote universal respect for, and observance of, fundamental human freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

A lower court held with the company; it refused to recognize the validity of the charter in a matter of contract between American citizens. In the Supreme Court, however, four justices held for the widow, four against. The tie vote amounted to a rejection of her claim. But, though no opinion was handed down by the court, the four justices who voted for the widow inferentially admitted the argument of the plaintiff, namely, that American law on contracts is superseded by the Charter of the United Nations; that was the basis of her case. If one of the justices had voted the other way, a precedent would have been established for the void-

ing of the Constitution as "the supreme law of the land."

Putting aside the niceties of legal reasoning, the bald fact is that the rights of the American people, as guaranteed in the Constitution, are jeopardized by our membership in the United Nations.

## *Garet Garrett*

**I**N EVERY AGE and in every clime, even as now, men have sought refuge from the hard disciplines of principle in the promises of self-anointed medicine men. And always there arose among them prophets who warned that reliance on these promises leads but to bondage. But a prophet is without honor save when his prophecy is fulfilled.

Garet Garrett spent a lifetime warning us of the fate that awaits a people who, abandoning principle, hearken to the siren song of the planners. Now his voice is silent. Though, as with all the prophets who preceded him, he died without hope, there were many who heard and understood him; and from among these there will come new prophets to rephrase the old song of freedom. He did not live in vain.

Here are pertinent extracts from two of Mr. Garrett's many articles published in the *FREEMAN*:

". . . What has become of that deep American intuition that unlimited government is the enemy of freedom and will in the end devour it? The importance of getting the question reduced to that form is that all the ideological words are put aside. You look straight at the thing itself; and the thing itself is government. The staggering political fact of our time is the sudden rise in the power and authority of government—with the consent of the people. Continuously year after year, morning and afternoon, occasion by occasion, the sphere of government expands, the usages of compulsion become more and more familiar, and the world of private enterprise contracts."

"The Cry of Free Enterprise," March 12, 1951

"There is no comfort in history for those who put their faith in forms; who think there is safeguard in words inscribed on a parchment, preserved in a glass case, reproduced in facsimile and hauled to and fro on a Freedom Train. . . . Implicit in American thought from the beginning until a few years ago, was this: Government is the responsibility of a self-governing people. That doctrine has been swept away; only the elders remember it. Now, in the name of democracy, it is accepted as a political fact that people are the responsibility of government. The forms of republican government survive; the character of the State has changed."

"Decline of the American Republic," February 25, 1952



By a law of "political physics," the vacuum left by the tragic death of Senator Taft now appears to be filled. Senator William F. Knowland of California, Republican Leader in the upper chamber, has gained rapidly in prominence during recent months. Since he does not shrink from his duty to speak out on vital issues, his voice now pervades the void which has existed since the passing of the great figure from Ohio.

With echoes of the censure debate still in their ears, Capital observers cannot fail to compare the new man with Taft. For Knowland, like the Ohioan before him, expresses the sentiments which are those of conservatives and constitutionalists of various shades of opinion and for which there has been no commanding spokesman in the political arena for the past year and a half.

The development and climax of the McCarthy affair called for leadership such as that long possessed by Taft, for the affair underlined the great struggle between the Executive and Legislative branches of the government. Despite some rather absurd attempts to picture the Wisconsin Senator's delving into the Department of the Army as an attempt by the Legislative body to dominate the Executive, few constitutionalists were fooled. The issue emerged clearly as the right of the Legislature under its power over the purse to examine how the taxpayers' money was being spent; specifically in this case to determine whether the Executive was spending it on subversive employees. Mr. Knowland did not hesitate to line up prominently with those who defended McCarthy. Few doubt that Taft would have done the same, had he lived.

But the Californian Senator has gone farther than even Taft ever dared to venture. He has not only asserted the independence of the Legislative branch, but also the independence of the Majority Leader of that branch as against the power of a President of his own party. This Knowland move has literally stunned many in the Capital, for they have been long accustomed to regard the Majority Leader as virtually the agent of the White House within the Legislative branch to carry out slavishly the will of the Presidency. Knowland obviously believes that the President is wrong in his estimate

of the dangers of communism (*vide* Eisenhower's coexistence policy); and wrong in his failure to perceive that, in the censure resolution, the Senate at the behest of the White House was undermining the Legislative prerogative and the Legislature's independence from the Executive, as laid down in the Constitution.

This assertion of the independence of the role of Majority Leader has startled this extremely politically conscious town as few other developments in recent years. For, under Roosevelt and Truman, the complete subservience of the Leader to the White House had become almost an unchallenged custom. Even the few here who can recall the parliamentary history of administrations before the New Deal believe that Knowland had gone farther than any majority leaders in the virtually antediluvian days of free government under Harding, Coolidge and Hoover.

Only once in recent decades was there a case when a Majority Leader challenged the White House when the President and the Leader were of the same party. This happened in the early spring of 1944, when Senate Majority Leader Barkley suddenly offered his resignation in protest against what he considered a high-handed veto of a tax bill by President Roosevelt. As a matter of fact, the Barkley revolt was short-lived and rather transparently insincere—as veterans remember it. The well-known wiles of F.D.R. forthwith melted the Barkley rebellion, and the amiable Senator from Kentucky soon resumed his role as a docile instrument of White House policy. As one wag in the Senate press gallery put it: "Barkley committed hara-kiri with a rubber sword."

But the Knowland attitude is quite different; it is immensely determined. Such a posture on the part of a man in Knowland's position requires courage and a high degree of integrity. As Arthur Krock of the *New York Times* remarked (December 3): "The Senator's makeup and public record challenge the theory that he would allow personal political considerations, even an ambition to be President, to shape his conduct in matters as grave as those in which he has differed with the Administration." Observers who have studied Knowland's rise to power and his career as

Majority Leader in the past year definitely agree with this Krock appraisal.

Those who know the history of the Taft bid for nomination in 1952 recall that the Ohioan's choice for second place on his ticket (in case he won the nomination) was Knowland. And when Taft knew he was dying, he chose Knowland to serve as his temporary successor. It is believed that Taft, who held the talents and reliability of Senator Saltonstall in low esteem, wished to put Knowland in a prior position for permanent succession to the leadership; for Saltonstall at that time loomed as a possible candidate, enjoying White House favor.

It is true that "Taft men" in the Senate were somewhat less than enthusiastic about naming Knowland, following Taft's funeral; but Bridges, a powerful figure, did not want the job, and there was no one else to whom these Taft followers could turn. However, within the past year, Knowland has shown a quick ability to learn the ropes, and to steer his party on the floor with great competence. Moreover, the Californian in the past twelve months increasingly has turned to the "Taft men" for advice and support. His intimates today are in that category.

It is not in the parliamentary arena, but on the broader national stage, that Knowland now seems likely to assume the leading role for the conservatives. On three very live issues, Knowland has taken definite stands which endear him to most of the Taft wing of the party: 1) he has gone far toward pleasing Bricker Amendment supporters; 2) his attitude on the McCarthy issue by his vote against the censure resolution is suggestive; 3) his foreign policy is that of anti-appeasement and anti-communism, opposing the acceptance of "coexistence" with the Soviet Union. He made no bones of his belief that the Eisenhower Administration underestimates the danger of the rising tide of bolshevism, whether it be on the periphery of our defense system, or internally. It will be interesting to see whether he chooses to push his ideas more strongly or whether, for party harmony, he will make some concessions to the White House. Anyway, at present he is the *facile princeps* of the inheritors of the Taft tradition.

**A potential revolution** is brewing in the State Department. It may never come to fruition, for contrary forces are strongly entrenched. But it could fulfill one of the campaign promises of 1952 which has so sadly remained unheeded these past eighteen months—the pledge to clean out the Acheson-Truman holdovers in the body which so long misdirected our foreign policy.

The first sign of this revolution-in-being appeared on October first, when Herbert Hoover, Jr. assumed the post of Under Secretary of State. It is known that Mr. Hoover was prevailed upon by conservative figures in the GOP to accept this

key position which otherwise, it was asserted, would go to Harold Stassen, whose desire for global spending on a large scale is well known. Mr. Hoover, "a chip off the old block," is known for his essentially conservative views on foreign policy and foreign trade. Many observers, although encouraged by the appointment, nevertheless kept their fingers crossed. They know full well the importance of what are called the "middle bureaucrats" in the State Department system—how these functionaries can sway, or delay or even nullify diplomatic moves by the kind of reports and papers they send up to the higher level of the Assistant Secretaries and Under Secretary. These observers are well aware how deeply the Roosevelt-Truman followers are embedded in the State Department bureaucracy and how difficult a task it would be to reorganize constructively.

But on December 1, the appointment of Mr. Loy Henderson to the post of Assistant Secretary of State for Administration was announced. It was natural and inevitable. Mr. Henderson and Mr. Hoover had worked closely together on the Iranian problem during the past year, when Henderson was U. S. Ambassador to Teheran and Mr. Hoover the State Department's special emissary to solve the oil tangle.

**Mr. Henderson has been known** throughout his career as a regular Foreign Service and State Department official as a firm and knowledgeable anti-Communist. Serving in eastern European posts (following World War One) for many years, he early learned the danger of Red revolution. Later, as chargé d'affaires in Moscow and as head of the Eastern European desk in the State Department, he is known to have tried for years to stem the pro-Soviet orientation of the Roosevelt Administration. As World War Two loomed, veterans who were then acquainted with him say, he tried to warn against the dangers of foreign intervention in the struggle, stressing the possibility that Red hegemony on the Continent might follow. If anyone knows the roster of officials who were wedded to the pro-Soviet orientation, Henderson should be that man. In 1947-48, he sought to steer our policy away from the quicksands of the Palestine problem. "Throw out Henderson" became a fighting slogan in the Bronx in 1948, when Henry Wallace was competing for left-wing votes with President Truman. At that time, Henderson was taken out of Washington and sent to India as Ambassador, and in 1951 was transferred to Iran.

Above all, Henderson knows the problem of choosing the proper personnel, of eliminating the misfits and dangerous officials. That will be his job. The State Department bureaucracy, too long staffed by those trained under Dean Acheson, is due for a purge. And so a potentially positive factor appears in a bureaucratic area hitherto considered almost hopeless.

# The Issues Behind Dixon-Yates

By ROBERT S. BYFIELD

The political dust kicked up over the AEC-Mississippi Valley Generating Company contract (Dixon-Yates) was only the initial skirmish of a battle that will reverberate far into the future.

Politicians, by burying the good points of the contract and with bland misrepresentation, find it good grist, although similar contracts have been signed without a murmur. With the contract signed, there is no assurance that the project will be carried out as stipulated, due to last-minute amendments providing that the government may "capture" the facilities at any time within three years.

The Dixon-Yates debate had significance for many reasons, and among them were:

It shows what skillful and cynical propaganda can do to a fair and firm contract between private industry and a government agency. Public opinion is molded by smear and distortion while the facts of the contract, such as return on investment and interest rates, lie buried.

It illustrates the tremendous force of the public power clique and their ability to marshal many groups under one banner.

Of significance, although lost in the tumult, was the fact that TVA, which started out to be a valley development, is now a major steam-generating power development; and the proponents of TVA want the idea spread farther than the Tennessee watershed.

The controversy itself, of course, was never justified by the facts. It was strictly a matter of political timing—aired by the public power bloc as a phony election issue—and as a method of embarrassing the Eisenhower Administration with flimsy charges. It is hard to find in American history a controversy that was more trumped up on a pediment of misunderstanding and the holding back of facts from the public. But even when the facts became known, the pettifogging of Dixon-Yates' private and political foes had done a thorough job on public opinion, aided in many cases by a hostile or misinformed press. Actually, what had happened was that the government had negotiated a sound business deal according to sound business practices—and the Washington fraternity of idealists and utility baiters and seekers of public office couldn't take it.

Let's review the facts realistically. What was Dixon-Yates? Why—admitting there existed precedent for the contract—was it singled out for

*The facts about a sound business negotiation have been misrepresented to the public by the advocates of government-owned power facilities.*

attack? And what conclusions can we draw from the result?

There's no question that needs for electric power are expanding at a high rate. Experts say these needs will easily have doubled between 1950 and 1960, and the only way to meet them is by industry's planning years ahead. It is also no secret that the Atomic Energy Commission is the world's biggest consumer of power, and to keep ahead of the Soviet Union in the atomic race, the AEC must be furnished a dependable power supply. The question is: who supplies the power and who foots the bill?

One answer was given by President Eisenhower last January. He said, in effect, that the expansion of public power facilities is too costly a proposition and also not very wise in principle, and that private utility concerns could handle the job just as well. This came as a rebuff to the partisans of public power who were trying to get \$100 million added to the national debt for a new Tennessee Valley Authority generating plant and also didn't approve of Mr. Eisenhower's "partnership" policy, which encourages a collaboration of private and public interests in settling power issues.

Since the AEC anticipated that it would need an added 600,000 kilowatts to run its Paducah, Kentucky, plant by 1957, somebody had to build a plant. Twice Congress had denied the TVA funds to build new steam plants.

## A Standard Business Proposal

Edgar H. Dixon and Eugene A. Yates were, respectively, heads of Middle South Utilities, Inc. and The Southern Company. Their proposal, executed in standard business fashion, was to form the Mississippi Valley Generating Corporation, which would build a 600,000 kilowatt steam plant at West Memphis, Arkansas, to supply the AEC with power for its Paducah plant. The installation, costing over \$107 million, would be tapped into the TVA system to replace an equivalent amount of power being furnished Paducah by TVA. In return the government, undertaking no liability and able through an escape clause to cancel commitments at any time, would pay Dixon-Yates roughly \$20 million a year for a period of twenty-five years.

The deal was as simple as that, and not at all exceptional. In 1951 the AEC signed a contract

with Electric Energy, Inc., a group of private utilities, to provide power to an atomic installation at Paducah, and the following year made a contract with the Ohio Valley Electric Company to meet the AEC power needs at Portsmouth, Ohio.

The real reason Dixon-Yates was so zealously attacked, however, had little to do with the contract's terms—though even here misrepresentation was used to influence public sentiment. It is now well known that the dispute swung votes in the Pacific Northwest, where public power is a vital issue, as well as in other sections of the country during last year's election. As an attempt to hamstring the President's conservative power policy, however, it has had less success, chiefly because of his insistence on recognition of his "partnership" doctrine as best for the public interest.

The fact that the contract had the approval of Budget Director Rowland Hughes, AEC Chairman Rear Admiral Lewis Strauss, the FPC, the Attorney General—and even, in form, of the TVA—before it went before the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy did little to affect the libels and false charges of its opponents, some of whom performed remarkable acrobatics to distort the issue.

They charged, for example, that the contract was a windfall for its sponsors, who would be able, through a loophole, to build the proposed plant at government expense. They said the proposed rates were extortionate. They accused the Administration of a typical Republican sell-out and a calculated plot to scuttle the TVA, whose "yardstick" of low-cost electric power was vital to internal economy and the U. S. standard of living. None of these charges, of course, stood up under examination.

The Mississippi Valley Generating Company proposed raising an estimated \$107 million of private funds, consisting of \$5.5 million in equity capital and more than \$100 million in first mortgage bonds and bank notes. The AEC itself, in defense of the contract, took pains to point out that this \$5.5 million equity was truly risk capital. On this capital Dixon-Yates was aiming at a 9 per cent net profit return, amounting to \$495,000 annually. The hue and cry over this 9 per cent clause was damaging, though far from realistic. In the first place, it was less than the 9.9 per cent netted by U. S. private utilities in 1953. (A frequent earning on equity is in fact more than 10 per cent.) Secondly, this percentage was estimated and not guaranteed. The contract gave Dixon-Yates no guaranteed profit at all.

Actually, the over-all return would more likely have run to under 4 per cent—but only if estimated costs were kept in line. This is lower than most state commissions permit. If capital costs exceeded \$107,250,000, the return would proportionately have fallen, possibly to a point where profits could be wiped out altogether. This would have been in store should costs have jumped to the \$120 million mark.

The experience of other big utility construction projects shows that this could well happen (as it did, for example, with Electric Energy, Inc. at Joppa, Illinois). As an additional protection, the AEC reserved the right to buy its own fuel. The largest single item in the Dixon-Yates contract was a coal bill estimated at \$243 million. The proposed rates, far from being extortionate, were shown to be cheaper than what AEC has been paying other utilities, including TVA.

Did this silence the left-wing critics and spendthrift economists who cried "giveaway" and all the rest of the familiar epithets used to cover up their horror of sane business? It did not. The answer of the public power bloc and its friends was to pooh-pooh Dixon-Yates with the extravagant claim that if TVA handled the job it would save the government \$5.5 million a year, or nearly \$140 million over the twenty-five-year term of the contract. This is faulty arithmetic. Actually, the difference in annual cost would amount to a mere \$282,000, which would be more than offset by state and local taxes of nearly \$1.5 million Dixon-Yates would have to pay.

### **The Far-flung Power of TVA**

As to the major charge that Dixon-Yates was a threat to the continued existence of TVA, there are several ways of answering that. It should be pointed out, to begin with, that the billions expended to create the far-flung federal power system that is now TVA, have exceeded the original purpose of this agency, which was to aid navigation, flood control, soil conservation and other agricultural developments in an underdeveloped section of the country. Today TVA is the world's largest distributor of power. This was all done, it is superfluous to say, at the expense of the taxpayer. The habit of reaching into the federal till for TVA has become so strong that to suggest an alternative is regarded in some circles as virtually an insult to the flag.

Naturally, when President Eisenhower spurned a TVA bid to build a new plant at Fulton, Tennessee, and directed the AEC to negotiate with Dixon-Yates, a major controversy was inevitable. The Dixon-Yates issue transcended the contract itself to become an issue over whether the public power bloc was going to allow private power interests to enter the picture. Of course, they had done it twice before under Truman, but this was different. This was a Republican Administration whose power policy they did not like. And it seemed a good time for a showdown.

It is perhaps needless to point out that the Dixon-Yates contract was anything but a plot against TVA. Other private utilities have intermeshed power facilities with those of TVA without menace or danger to either party. When this absurd charge was levelled at Dixon-Yates, one

answer came from AEC Chairman Strauss, who, along with AEC's general manager, Major General K. D. Nichols, defended the contract at congressional committee hearings. Rather than being undermined, the TVA system would be "strengthened under the contract" because, Strauss said, the Valley project would be assured of a firm power supply near a major load center in the western part of its system. This, the AEC Chairman added, would enable TVA to meet a greatly increased load growth anticipated by 1957.

Budget Director Hughes stated that the Administration does not want to become committed to a "policy of establishing a nation-wide federal power monopoly." This appears to be the alternative extremist groups and public power all-outers are trying to swing, using the Dixon-Yates controversy as a fulcrum. To many observers this new skirmish has lent heat to an old feud.

While Dixon-Yates has not signified a curtailment of facilities operated by TVA, it has definitely interfered with TVA's unconcealed expansionist ambitions. If Dixon-Yates did nothing else, it brought these ambitions into the open and sharpened the cleavage of U. S. power interests more than ever along ideological lines. When the fog of political maneuvering has been dispelled, there remains only one fundamental point of disagreement among opponents and proponents of Dixon-Yates: Those who favor increasing government ownership of the means of producing electricity are against the Dixon-Yates contract; those who oppose government ownership are for it.

## A Short History of Liberty

By DEAN RUSSELL

From biblical times onward, the history of liberty and progress among various peoples seems to have followed a remarkably similar pattern. There are exceptions, of course—and the time element varies widely—but the pattern may be generally described by ten key ideas in sequence:

1. *Bondage.* At some point in their histories, all peoples seem to have existed in some form of bondage or slavery—frequently even to their own domestic rulers by their own votes or acquiescence. But when thoughtful persons finally become aware that they are no longer free men, they want to know why. When they ask themselves that question, they automatically turn to contemplation and soul searching. Out of this grows. . .

2. *Faith.* If people in bondage have no faith—either in a personal Creator or impersonal ideal—they will remain slaves and eventually die out or be absorbed by another culture. But an intelligent faith will almost always develop into. . .

3. *Understanding.* A person's faith needs to be buttressed by an understanding of why it is evil to force any peaceful person to conform to the will and ideas of another person. Otherwise he is apt to remain a faithful slave or attempt to become a slave owner. But the combination of faith and understanding results in the necessary. . .

4. *Courage.* You may depend upon it, courageous men with faith and understanding will neither remain in bondage nor keep others in bondage. Even against great odds, this combination leads to. . .

5. *Liberty.* Liberty is a relationship among persons wherein no person molests any other peaceful person in his ideas, possessions or actions. Liberty may also be viewed as the responsibility one assumes for himself and recognizes in all others; for there can be no liberty where there is no responsibility. Liberty has never existed completely among any people at any time, but where it has existed to a high degree, the resulting freedom to work, trade, choose, win, lose and bargain has always meant. . .

6. *Abundance.* But if an abundance of material things is the primary aim of a person, his life is devoid of any real meaning. For if the goal is abundance, its achievement logically results in. . .

7. *Complacency.* Complacency and self-satisfaction (the "full barns" of the biblical lesson) inevitably lead to. . .

8. *Apathy.* With apathy comes a dullness and a loss of interest—a "let George do it" philosophy. And there will always be many political "Georges" around to accept this invitation to seize both the reins and the whip. This always degenerates into. . .

9. *Dependency.* For a time, it is possible for dependents to be unaware that they are dependents. As they continue to shed the personal responsibilities which are freedom, they also continue to delude themselves that they are still free people—"We never had it so good." Or they may be deluded into believing that they are still free so long as they themselves are able to participate in the mechanical processes of selecting their rulers—"We can still vote, can't we?" But dependents are at the mercy of the persons or groups or parties upon whom they depend for their housing, or security in old age, or subsidies, or education, or medical care, or any of the other "aids" from political authority which cause persons to depend on others instead of themselves. Sooner or later, this dependency becomes known by its true nature. . .

10. *Bondage.* Fortunately, the record shows that people can regain their faith, understanding and courage. They can again become persons and citizens who are responsible for their own welfare, rather than units and subjects identified by numbers for purposes of regimentation and subsidization. The record shows that people can, by their own intelligent actions, regain their liberty any time they want it.

# Socialism's Intellectual Decay

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

*Though socialism is still a strong force in Europe politically, as a creed it has hit an intellectual low point. Today it is the new liberalism that has vigor and promise.*

One brings back from Europe, the native continent of socialism, two contrasted impressions of the present state of this movement.

Politically, socialism is still a powerful force. Parties with the socialist or labor label are in political control of Norway, Sweden and Denmark and are strong partners in coalition governments in Belgium and the Netherlands. The Labor Party is Her Majesty's Opposition in Great Britain, and its chances of coming into power after the next election are about fifty-fifty.

The Social Democrats are the strongest single party in opposition to Chancellor Adenauer's coalition in the German Federal Republic. The socialist position in France and Italy is less favorable, because the majority of the industrial workers in these countries have got the habit of voting communist instead of socialist. However, the French Socialists are being wooed by Premier Mendès-France and are one of the larger groupings in the much divided French Parliament. Socialism remains one of the big vote-getting forces in European politics. Considerable numbers of Europeans vote for Socialist or labor candidates, just as many Americans vote for Democratic (or Republican) New Dealers, in the hope of getting some handout from what is regarded as the inexhaustible bounty of the State.

But when one looks at the status of socialism as a secular faith, possessed of a set of infallible principles capable of curing all the ills of the economic order, the picture is very different. Socialism has hit an intellectual low point; and thoughtful Socialists are showing more and more confusion of mind as to what they believe, why they believe it and where their creed is taking them.

This point was made to me quite forcibly by Mr. Willy Bretscher, the indefatigably active editor of the best newspaper in continental Europe, the *Neue Zuercher Zeitung*, of Zurich, Switzerland. Mr. Bretscher had just returned from a conference of the European Liberal Union.

The word liberal has a much more specific meaning in Europe than it can claim in the United States. Here a "liberal" may be anyone from a battler for clean municipal politics to an addict of joining communist fronts. Indeed, all too often communism is regarded as just an assorted brand of liberalism. Not so long ago the expression,

"Communists and other liberals," was often used without any sense of incongruity.

In Europe, on the other hand, a liberal is one who believes firmly in private property and in freedom of individual economic enterprise. (An exception should perhaps be made for England, where the pitiful remnant of the once great Liberal Party gives the impression of scarcely possessing any clear-cut idea of what it wants to accomplish. But the continental liberal is definitely anti-socialist).

## The Rise of Neo-Liberalism

"Twenty or thirty years ago," said Editor Bretscher, "we liberals were on the defensive. Our views were considered outmoded. Socialism was supposed to be the wave of the future, the form of society toward which history was tending. The younger generation of intellectuals was going over more and more to Marxist ideas in England. The Labor Party displaced the Liberal Party as the political alternative to the Conservatives. And this was symbolic of the general trend.

"But in these last years since the Second World War, the Socialists have simply dried up in ideas. It is the neo-liberals, men like Wilhelm Roepke, Friedrich Hayek, Ludwig von Mises, who are on the intellectual offensive. It is neo-liberalism, belief in the creative value of economic liberty, aversion to direct controls, that is in the ascendant today. Since the death of Harold Laski there is not one socialist theoretician who commands international prestige."

My own observations in several European countries confirmed this estimate of Mr. Bretscher. Germany, the country of Marx and Engels, has produced a substantial number of expounders of the socialist faith, men who brought a solid background of training in history, economics and social sciences to the defense of their doctrine. One thinks of August Bebel, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Kautsky, Franz Mehring, Edouard Bernstein, Rudolf Hilferding. Today, for the first time since the Communist Manifesto was issued, it may be said without exaggeration that one cannot find in Germany one first-rate mind at the service of Marx's dogmas.

The free economy policy of the Minister of Economics, Ludwig Erhard, has been so conspicuously successful in terms of raising the standard of liv-

ing and transforming Germany from a war-wrecked bankrupt into one of the strongest factors in the European economy that the Social Democrats are at their wits' end to think of effective criticisms. At their last party congress in Berlin last summer, they gave a curious exhibition of facing two ways. Some of the speakers admitted, for the first time in such a gathering, that there was something to be said for free competition. Others clung desperately to the tattered ideological garments of Marxism.

In England, despite the strength of the Labor Party, the more thoughtful Socialists are devoting a striking amount of time to re-examining their theories and tactics in a "What went wrong?" spirit. What might be called the pot-of-gold theory that lured many simple people to the socialist standard has been simply confounded by experience. This was the belief that capitalism was a wicked conspiracy of the rich against the poor, and that a socialist government could somehow lay hold of the ill-gotten gains of the capitalists and redistribute them for the benefit of the many. Of course anyone with a knowledge of simple arithmetic could prove that a total confiscation of all wealth above a low minimum figure would put very little in anyone's pocket if it were shared equally.

But it was only after six years of the Labor Party's sole responsibility for the administration of the country that this simple truth began to register some impression. Nationalization of coal mines and railways did not create the new heaven and new earth that had been expected; there has been quite as much discontent, finding expression in labor stoppages, in the State-owned coal mines and railways as in privately owned industries.

### Socialism Destroys Incentive

Another socialist soap-bubble that has been pricked by experience is the belief that workers would work harder and more efficiently when they were freed from the "yoke" of private capitalism. Nothing of the kind has happened. The destruction of positive incentive by a ferocious tax system that takes a considerable bite of the earnings of the better-paid workers, and of negative incentive by the virtual absence of the fear of being fired under a condition of full employment have made the workers more slack.

This was frankly admitted by a British engineer of Labor Party affiliation whom I met on a Swiss mountain walk. In this man one found a striking conflict between the socialist theories to which he still clung and the lessons of everyday working experience.

Perhaps the most remarkable exposure of the intellectual plight in which British Socialists find themselves is to be found in two articles which Mr. R. H. S. Crossman contributed to the left-wing Laborite weekly, the *New Statesman*, last August.



Crossman is one of the leading intellectuals in the Bevanite wing of the Labor Party and, just for this reason, his outspoken recognition of the falling prestige of socialism among educated Britons is worthy of attention.

Declaring that more and more educated and liberal-minded people are having second thoughts about what once seemed to them the obvious advantages of central planning and extension of State ownership, Mr. Crossman sees the following four factors as having antagonized them:

1. The experience of negative and frustrating wartime controls prolonged for years after the fighting was over; and in particular the impression that the Labor Party regarded the ration card not as a temporary expedient, but as a permanent feature of a fair-shares economy.

2. The discovery that the Labor government's "socialism" meant merely the establishment of a number of vast, bureaucratic public corporations, which failed to fulfill the two essential requirements of socialism, namely that a State-owned industry should be responsible to Parliament and give a share of management to its workers.

3. The uneasy suspicion that the social revolution of which Socialists have talked was actually leading, not to a freer, but to a managerial society, dominated by technocrats.

4. The conviction, heightened by years of cold-war propaganda, that complete socialization, as practiced in the Soviet Union, has degenerated into a totalitarian state, in which the loss of civil liberties is not counterbalanced by the eradication of inequalities.



Such factors, according to Mr. Crossman, "are driving liberal-minded people today to adopt views which, even eight years ago, they would have dismissed as black reaction."

Coming from such a source, this is very plain talk indeed. Mr. Crossman is more convincing when he describes the falling stock of socialism than when he offers remedies for the situation. He believes that the modern democratic State, and still more the socialist State, requires a strong central government, and that a modern mass electorate "can only be mobilized by strong centralized parties." As an offset to the dangers of excessive centralization, he proposes that the parties themselves be placed under democratic control.

But this is like trying to harness leviathan to an old-fashioned buggy. By the time one has a strong centralized State and strong centralized party machines, the individual voter is reduced to a state of innocuous helplessness. It is somewhat better, of course, if he can make his choice between two or more such parties than if he is told to mark X after the names of a single slate of candidates and herded to the polls to help roll up the 99.3 per cent majorities that are standard in communist-controlled elections.

But the two effective antidotes to the eternal danger that government will concentrate too much power in its hands lie along lines quite inconsistent with Mr. Crossman's socialist philosophy. One is the separation of powers in government and the development of vigorous autonomous institutions of local self-government. The other is maintenance of respect for private property and the wide distribution of economic power which is assured when decisions are taken, not by a few bureaucratic planners in high posts of State authority but by a multitude of producers, big and small, operating under a competitive free-market system.

### England Weary of Austerity

Another sign of the difficult dilemmas which are besetting British socialism is a comment on Labor Party policy published in a recent issue of the *New Statesman* by Mr. John Freeman. The author starts out with what is probably the correct proposition that a miscellaneous list of "social benefits" promised in the Labor Party pre-election manifesto, "Challenge to Britain," will impose a heavy commitment on any future Labor government. This commitment can only be met, in Mr. Freeman's opinion, by "stringent and purposeful planning." But he is realistic enough to admit that a detailed blueprint for the reimposition of rationing and other controls, from which the Conservatives have been slowly and cautiously shaking the country loose, would meet a very chilly reception from the voters. As he puts it:

"An election manifesto founded only on the predictions of woe and the warning of austerity would

not today be received with rapture. For superficially, at least, Britain of 1954 seems in good shape."

As Mr. Freeman sees it, the Labor Party faces the alternatives of deceiving the electorate as to its true intentions (much as Franklin D. Roosevelt "lied America into war" in 1940 and 1941) or of waiting for the crisis which he hopefully foresees as a result of Conservative policies. It is rather significant that a full-blooded sympathizer with socialism, as Mr. Freeman obviously is, relies for success not on the positive appeal of socialism, but on some kind of crisis that will put the voters in a mood of panic. Six years of socialism, with its rationing, controls and regimentation, with the drab life, full of petty frustrations and inconveniences which it produced, was enough even for most Britons—a remarkably patient people in putting up with physical inconveniences and poor, unappetizing food.

So, wherever one looks in Europe, one sees behind what is sometimes an imposing facade of socialist voting strength symptoms of doubt, confusion and intellectual decay. So far as Karl Marx is remembered at all, there is growing realization that, far from being an infallible prophet of the shape of things to come, history has proved him a pretentious humbug, dismally wrong in some of his most fundamental dogmas. (For example, in his insistence that misery and poverty would increase with the development of capitalism, and that socialism would come first in nations with the highest measure of capitalist development.)

There has been such a gap between the promise and performance of socialism that the final success of this creed seems to depend on the stifling of critical opposition through open or veiled dictatorship. This could come about through the direct brutal communist method, inaugurated in Russia thirty-seven years ago and extended by force and propaganda to China and to the satellite states of eastern Europe. It is more likely to come about in countries with a long tradition of free institutions in a more subtle and insidious way. It is easy to imagine an octopus State, without any bloodshed or spectacular violence, getting such a grip on individual livelihood that elections, even though nominally free, would become a mere formality.

However, the disillusionment which socialism has caused even among some of its more thoughtful sympathizers, the evaporation of the crusading enthusiasm of the pioneer Socialists, the mood of self-questioning which is reflected in some socialist speeches and writings, the growing prestige of neo-liberalism suggest the possibility of a brighter future.

It may be that the peoples who are still free to make the choice will decide that the good society of the future should rest on the twin foundation-stones of limited State power and freedom of individual economic initiative.

# The People Against the Politicians

By THOMAS R. WARING

*By electing a U.S. Senator through a write-in ballot, the people of South Carolina proved that entrenched politicians can be defeated.*

*Charleston, S. C.*

What happened in the recent South Carolina election for U.S. Senator? By a margin of nearly two to one, voters in this traditionally Democratic state disregarded the party label in a general election. Led largely by political amateurs, they administered the worst licking to the entrenched politicians that anyone hereabouts can remember. And they created a new political record in the United States by electing a member of Congress by a write-in-ballot, for the first time in history.

Nobody—well, hardly anybody—believed it could be done. In sixty days, the heretofore invulnerable principle of “party loyalty” was shoved aside. A new and untried method of voting was taught to enough people to roll up a majority of 143,000 to 82,000 votes in a usually perfunctory general election. And a lesson in politics was taught to the old pros by plain, ordinary people in 37 of the 46 counties of South Carolina.

When Burnet R. Maybank died early the morning of September first, a curious political puzzle developed. Never defeated in an election, Senator Maybank had no opposition for renomination in the Democratic Primary last June. His unexpected death occurred two days before the sixty-day deadline for certifying nominees on the state’s printed ballots for the November 2 general election. There was no Republican nominee. When Maybank died, the Democratic nominee died with him. As news of his death circulated, politicians huddled over the succession. Telephones were busy.

The election law left with the state Democratic executive committee the decision of whether to call another primary or itself to nominate a successor. Kingpin of the party in South Carolina was Edgar A. Brown, state senator from Barnwell County, Democratic national executive committeeman and boss politician of the state. For forty years he had been in the State Legislature. He had run it for years as though it were his private corporation. And many think that on the whole he has run it well. Anything of importance in South Carolina government, where the Legislature holds the reins and the governor has few powers, had to be cleared with Edgar. And now the time had come to pick a new U. S. Senator.

Twice before, Edgar Brown had sought to satisfy what he himself called his “burning ambition” to change his title of State Senator to U.S. Senator. Once he was defeated by the late Cotton Ed Smith in a Democratic Primary. Another time he withdrew on the eve of a second round with Smith, acknowledging in advance that he had no chance of election. Powerful among politicians, he seemed unable to make the grade with the people.

This time, with the state executive committee virtually in the palm of his hand, Edgar Brown saw an opportunity to go to the Senate without the formality of a vote of the people. It was a heaven-sent opportunity. He did not intend to let it slip.

## **Straight to the Committee Room**

A meeting of the state executive committee was scheduled for 3:30 p.m. Friday, September 3, in Columbia. Maybank’s funeral took place that morning in Charleston. Assembled with the mourners was Edgar Brown.

When the procession formed to escort the hearse from St. Michael’s Church to Magnolia Cemetery, Brown’s Cadillac was in line. The highway to Columbia lay on the same route. As the procession turned into the cemetery, Brown’s car continued straight—straight to the committee room where political history was to be made in a few hours.

As national committeeman, Brown was ex officio a member of the state executive committee. A subcommittee of three lawyers was appointed to study the election law and advise whether a primary could be held. Brown was one of the three. Two lawyers said there was time to hold a legal primary. Brown said no.

When the matter came to a vote, 31 committeemen (including Brown) voted to hold no primary, and 18 voted for it. The committee then nominated a Democratic candidate for senator. His name was Edgar Brown.

News of this action was reported in the press and on the air along with accounts of Maybank’s funeral. One newspaper spoke of it as an attempt to “ride to the Senate on a shroud.” Citizens accustomed to voting for senators, except for short

interim appointments, were shocked at the snatching of a six-year term without a public ballot. Most of the daily and weekly press protested. Most of the politicians, however, either held their peace or defended the committee's course.

"What else could they do?" the professional officeholders said. "It's the law. There wasn't time to hold an election within the deadline."

One strong voice came from a holder of public office. Governor James F. Byrnes, former associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, said there was a legal way to hold a primary. A few brave spokesmen joined him. For the most part, the politicians stuck with Brown. Few cared to risk antagonizing the boss of South Carolina.

If there was to be no primary, one method was left for the people to have a choice at the polls. It was the write-in ballot. Never before had it been attempted on a serious scale. The public scarcely knew of this provision in the law—or if they did, how it operated. Usually they just scratched the name of the man they didn't want. But write in somebody who wasn't on the ballot? Well, whom?

### **Thurmond Agrees to Run**

At this juncture—on the Monday after the Friday meeting—a man volunteered to run against Brown. He was Strom Thurmond, former state senator, former circuit judge, former governor. Thurmond had run in 1950 for the U.S. Senate against Olin D. Johnston. He was defeated by a close margin. He still was eager to go to the Senate. But this was truly the hard way. Nobody beats a Democrat in South Carolina. If he lost this time, his political goose was cooked for keeps.

Thurmond counts himself a Democrat too, though not of the Brown persuasion. He ran for President in 1948 against both Truman and Dewey, and carried four states, including South Carolina. Though popularly known as the candidate of the States Rights Party (or Dixiecrats), as a matter of record Thurmond in South Carolina was the nominee of the state Democratic Party convention. In that 1948 election, it was he and not Truman who carried the banner of the South Carolina Democratic Party. Loyal Democrats flocked to the polls to carry the state three to one for Thurmond. But that was six years ago. Much had happened meanwhile.

There was the Presidential election in 1952. The state Democratic convention that year offered no candidate of its own. Under leadership of Edgar Brown, the Democratic Presidential electors were pledged to Adlai Stevenson. But the state convention specifically released all Democrats to vote for their own choice without sacrifice of party loyalty. That phrase was to come back into the 1954 campaign for senator as Brown's chief claim for support.

Though the spirit of revolt against the Truman Fair Deal had carried the state for Thurmond in 1948, independence of party labels has not yet been achieved in South Carolina. In 1952, there was no chance of carrying the state for Eisenhower under a Republican label. Instead, a slate of electors was offered, called "South Carolinians for Eisenhower." They missed by a narrow margin being chosen. The state was counted for Stevenson.

In the 1954 campaign, this background was in the minds of all. But this time the obstacle to independence seemed impossible to overcome. Incensed though people were at the snatching of a nomination, how could sufficient thousands be taught to write "Strom Thurmond" on a ballot?

Stephen Mitchell, national chairman of the Democratic Party, said that unless the level of intelligence in South Carolina were higher than it is in his home state of Illinois, it couldn't be done. That helped to do it. So did "help" from Harry Truman and General Harry Vaughan.

By that time, many newspapers—both daily and weekly—were in full cry. Directions on how to write in votes for Thurmond were being published on front pages in several cities. In the two counties where voting machines are used, demonstration booths were set up.

### **Difficulties Surmounted**

The write-in technique is not easy. On the written ballot, there is a convenient spot where a voter can make an X and vote the straight party ticket. That's what most South Carolinians have been doing for years in general elections—most, that is, who bother to go to the polls. The "real election," as a federal court once ruled, was in the primary. To split a ticket, one had to disregard the convenient spot, make a separate X by all Democrats' names except Brown's and then write in Strom Thurmond—a fairly difficult name for some voters to spell. And the law was interpreted to require the full name.

Because of Brown's great power in state government, courthouse crowds in almost every county were working for him. Even those who secretly opposed him were afraid to buck him. If he should lose for the U.S. Senate, he still would be boss in Columbia. And his wrath would be a terrible thing.

So the politicians, nine out of ten of them, worked and talked for Brown. With them were not a few substantial business people—lawyers who needed political allies, bankers who kept or wanted to keep state funds on deposit, and a number of those who think they know a sure thing and want to be in on it.

Brown's election did indeed seem to be a sure thing. But not at the crossroads stores and filling stations, nor among many citizens in the towns and cities. There the spirit of revolt was growing. It continued to grow.

"How can people stay mad from now till election day?" was a question heard early in the campaign. "The people forget easily. By November 2 they'll be over being mad. Besides, who knows how to write in a vote?"

Politicians didn't try to make it easier. The voting machines (used only in Charleston and Richland counties) had no master party lever. The politicians tried to require one. That attempt failed. The opening where a voter had to write, however, was narrowed in Charleston County to a half-inch depth. You had to squinch the letters to get them all in.

All these difficulties seemed only to whet the determination of Thurmond supporters. They had few leaders. Because professionals were on the other side, amateurs took to campaigning. They learned fast.

In the sixty-day blitz the amateurs licked the pros to a standstill. The Brown machine collapsed

on election day. From the start, the heavy turnout spelled doom for the pros. In Charleston County, they could stand outside the polling curtain and listen to the voters click open the write-in panel. If they watched carefully—and they did—they could see the feet under the curtain rise on tiptoe as the voters reached for the write-in slot at the top of the machine. Tiptoe and click. It sounded a victory for people determined to protect their ballot. They didn't care who knew it.

This was truly a "revolt of the people" against strong-arm political practices. While not as dramatic as 1776, it was just as sound as that revolt of their ancestors against the intolerable political situation of that time. Lessons like these help to put politicians in their proper places as servants of the people—an arrangement which the people sometimes forget and the politicians try to ignore. Let them understand that there is a limit to what the people will tolerate.

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## The Nature of Law

**When the law is converted into an instrument of legalized plunder, it erases from everyone's conscience the distinction between justice and injustice.**

**No society can exist unless the laws are respected to a certain degree. The safest way to make laws respected is to make them respectable. When law and morality contradict each other, the citizen has the cruel alternative of either losing his moral sense or losing his respect for the law. These two evils are of equal consequence, and it would be difficult for a person to choose between them.**

**The nature of law is to maintain justice. This is so much the case that, in the minds of the people, law and justice are one and the same thing. There is in all of us a strong disposition to believe that anything lawful is also legitimate. This belief is so widespread that many persons have erroneously held that things are "just" because law makes them so. Thus, in order to make plunder appear just and sacred to many consciences, it is only necessary for the law to decree and sanction it. Slavery, restrictions and monopoly find defenders not only among those who profit from them but also among those who suffer from them.**

**FREDERIC BASTIAT, *The Law*, 1850**

# The Protestant Basis for Individualism

By REV. RUSSELL J. CLINCHY

Religion is the source of the understanding of man as an individual person. It is the root, as Emil Brunner has said, out of which the human character of life has grown. When this is cut off from its root, the sense of personality, responsibility, obligation, respect and sacrifice ultimately perishes. It is then that the human species, separated from the nurture of the soul, reverts to the acceptance that it is merely a form of nature with life expressed entirely in terms of natural existence.

Without the recognition of the presence of God who transcends all life, even the secular Declaration of the Rights of Man, bestowed by man upon himself by the French Revolution, ends in a declaration of the right of the collective mass of natural beings to destroy any manifestation of individuality among its members. The ages of naturalistic secularism, some of which have been as noble as others have been base in their aims, have always proved the truth that faith, the center of which is the belief that man comes from God who is his home, and the directive of which is that each person is a child of God as well as of nature, is the foundation of all that is truly civilized.

This faith means that the attributes of personality, and the possession of human rights, are not bestowals from one's fellow-creatures nor from any form of civil authority, but are endowments received by man from the Creator. As they are not given by man, they cannot be taken away by man, and so the only function of civil authority in regard to them is to state that no authority may violate them.

It is upon such a concept of personality and of rights that religion bases its definitions of the individuality of man.



Rev. Russell J. Clinchy

*This is the second in a series of articles on religion and the individual. The first, by a Catholic priest, was published in November. The third will be contributed by a rabbi.*

Protestantism placed the individual in his relation to God at the center of the Christian Gospel—"I am come to seek and to save him who is lost," said Christ. Thereby individualism became the central point of Protestantism.

## The Early Reformers

The beginnings of this concept were earlier than most people think; for it was John Wycliffe who was called "The Morning Star of the Reformation," and he lived from 1320 to 1384. He was followed by Jan Huss, the Bohemian, who was burned at the stake in 1415. It was not until 1517 that Martin Luther nailed his ninety-five theses to the door of the church at Wittenburg.

Not alone because of the early date, but more importantly because of the emphasis he placed upon the freedom to be able to read the word of God in the language of the people, and the right to make a personal interpretation of it, is Wycliffe important. In the translation of the Bible into English, he first portrayed the true meaning of the succeeding Reformation and the cause of the eventual separation. Because of the fight against some of the corrupt practices of the Church, such as the sale of indulgences, there has come to be an impression that Protestantism was merely a revolt against these practices. Actually, the real issue was far above the one concerning whether the leaders of the two factions were good or bad men. Protestantism is not valid because it can be proved that its leaders were good while the hierarchy of the Church was evil. The Church possessed, and kept, holy and devout leaders. Erasmus, for example, the creator of the Renaissance, remained a member of the Church. Many in the Church agreed with the reformers that it needed to be cleansed. If this had been the sole issue, it would have been met, and the case would have been closed.

The latter two reformers, Huss and Luther, who followed Wycliffe, each a century apart, pressed forward with a development of the ideas he first brought forth; and it was these new concepts which constituted the meaning of the Protestant declara-

tion. The old saying that Wycliffe struck the spark, Huss kindled the coals, and Luther carried the torch of the Reformation is true. The central fire which illumined all three was that of the glorious liberty of the children of God to be free persons of individual identity. The Protestant basis for its interpretation of man and his freedom is not founded upon the charges brought by a district attorney against some temporary faithless caretakers of a religious heritage, but upon a reinterpretation of the essential declarations of that heritage itself.

The major declarations of the Reformation, and so of Protestantism, all center around the individual, and they are these:

1. The individual possesses the right to the personal interpretation of the word of God, the Bible, which is the sole rule of faith and practice.
2. The individual may find salvation by personal faith in Christ without the aid of any intermediary.
3. The individual is one of the priesthood of all believers and therefore has personal and direct access to, and contact with, God. In personal relationship with Christ as Saviour, and with the Holy Spirit as Guide and Comforter, the individual Christian is a priest in his own right.

### Liberty of Conscience

These three theses are of profound importance, not only for the religious area of life but also for the secular, for they reach into the deepest meanings of the freedom of the will and liberty of conscience.

The first declares that the individual has freedom of access to all the knowledge which he may find through man's search for truth, and that he may interpret the meaning of that knowledge according to the clearest insight of his mind, and the highest dictates of his discrimination between the good and the bad, the beautiful and the ugly, the true and the false. His right to knowledge and to critical appraisal of that knowledge is an open door which no other person and no corporate body can shut in his face, for the search for truth is inherent in the make-up of his human personality.

The second declares that he is absolutely without limitation in the possibilities of his spiritual experience in his relation to God and his fellow-men, because the encounter of man with the Holy and Transcendent Being is a personal one, which cannot be transferred to the authority of another power, any more than it can be avoided by man.

The third declares that in ultimate worth, spiritual possibility, and human dignity all men and women are of equal and infinite concern to God, and therefore each person is an individual known to God.

No, this is not unbridled license, nor is it spiritual anarchy. Protestantism has from its beginnings predicated all of its declarations concern-

ing the nature of the individual upon the recognition of the inevitability of the moral order of the universe, and also upon the inviolate justice of the judgment bar of the living God. This surely means that He must acknowledge the worth of every other individual, and that the fullness of individuality is experienced in the measure of voluntary fellowship and sharing. The words of Christ concerning those necessities are explicit: "It were better that a millstone be hung about a man's neck and he be dropped into the sea than he harm one of these little ones"; and, "This is my commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you."

### Man and Morality

This is the womb of thought which brings forth the sense of man who is a person rather than a thing. A man and his dog could walk along the road on some clear sparkling night and above them would shine the stars. Perhaps the dog as well as the man could see the light of the stars, but only the man would ask questions about them.

So it is with life and the judgments concerning it. Both man and the animal know that they are alive, but only man contemplates the meaning of his physical existence and seeks to bring into these contemplations the question of morals and values concerning the actions of this existence. Both animals and men fight over things they want to take or to keep, but only men ask whether it is right or wrong to do either. Both animals and men seek to exist physically, but only men consider the purpose and meaning of physical existence. And only man, of all the manifestations of life, can give values of ways of living which eventuate in appreciation of the good, the true and the beautiful, for only man is the thinker and the worshipper.

Religion, therefore, under its various forms, has been right in declaring that the nature of the moral order, and of the personality of man, is a gift of the Creator rather than arising through any form of the efforts of ethical culture solely upon the part of man. If this be not true, it is then admissible that cattle, being physical beings, would have the possibility of declaring that they had rights which would prevent men, other physical beings, from sending them to the stockyards. We deny that prerogative to cattle, and on the strictly humanist basis, men could not protest that other men had no right to send them to the slave camps of Siberia any more than animals could.

Actually, it is true that men can send other men to Siberia by the use of sheer physical force; but they can do so only by a violation of the moral order. But if the moral order be only a temporary law, formulated and agreed to by the mortal minds of men of temporary power, how can the judgments of the moral order possess any validity beyond that of a zoning ordinance? Therefore, the power which

finally prevents the deportation of human beings to any "Siberia" of the human body or the human spirit is that of a moral order which is so inherent in the nature of the universe that it will finally destroy those who violate it.

The name, as well as the approximation of the nature of this Supreme Being, who is the originator and sustainer of the universe and who designed man to possess the attributes of personality, differs with those who give their devotion to the various religions of mankind; but every religion acknowledges that the life of man is an act of special design by the Creator, and that the Creator is the source of those rights which grant personality to man.

This understanding of man as an individual and as a person was given philosophical basis (the requirement for any action) by the seventeenth-century English philosopher John Locke. Medieval thought had followed the Aristotelian concept of a hierarchy of all natural things, from low forms of life to high, with man given the pre-eminence in Nature. But under the impact of the thought of the Reformation and of Locke, this concept was shattered, and the idea of man as an individual entity was based on scientific research as well as upon the religious concepts of the freedom of the person.

### John Locke's Theory

Locke had studied the physics of Galileo and Newton, and from them he gathered the understanding that the whole reality is that of material substances in space and time acting upon mental substances, causing the latter to receive a sense of their appearances. There is, then, this three-termed relation—the material substances in space and time, the sensed observations, and then the observer. An adequate analogy to this could be made by a picture of a garden, a rose bush, and an observer. When Locke studied the Newtonian physics—which was demonstrably true—he realized that the most important one of these three factors was the observer, and therefore the most important question was that of the nature of the observer. From this consideration, Locke presented the theory of conscious man. The observer must be an entity; and, as it was one that became aware of objects, it was a mental substance—a substance capable of consciousness, which meant an individual. Therefore the person and soul of this observer—which is man—is an individual mental being apart from the nature of his body, which is composed of the substance of natural life. And, what is of most importance, this individuality of his person contains the moral, religious and political nature of an entity.

Man, then, does exist as an individual, and because his nature is of mental and spiritual substance, he is a person. This was the concept which

stirred the imagination of Thomas Jefferson, and brought forth the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence: that man has inalienable rights because of his personality. Jefferson then took the next logical step, which was to say that the endower of this personality in man was the Creator.

### The Sacredness of Personality

The life-continuing ingredient of Protestant society is the voluntary appreciation of a spiritual interpretation of life which accords personal recognition of individuals. History records the rise and fall of civilizations, and many reasons are given for the decline and fall of even those which seemed imperial in greatness. But one destroying element has run through every one that has disintegrated, and that is the loss of the respect for human personality. No nation has ever thrown away the belief in the worth of the human in man and used him as a chattel, and ever survived or handed down a heritage of creative power and enlightenment to the generations which have followed. But the possession of this belief has proved to be a life-generating and life-continuing power.

For these reasons, and for others like unto them, the Protestant mind has been fused with the consciousness of the meaning of the free society. Just as a university is a community of scholars, dependent upon the relatedness of autonomous and free scholars, so the free society is a community of persons, dependent upon the same relatedness of autonomous persons. Individuality is predicated upon the freedom to think and act according to basic personal sanctions. The corrective, which prevents freedom from degenerating into license, is the sense of personal responsibility, and it is this capacity which makes possible all human association and allows the development of the community. A university is possible, not alone because there are scholars present, and not because scholars can, or should, agree upon interpretations of truth, but because scholars are willing to act responsibly as human personalities in an atmosphere of relatedness for the purpose of the search for knowledge. A free society, therefore, is an association of autonomous individuals, acting responsibly with a sense of relatedness, for the purpose of achieving the best mode of living that the mind and soul of man can contemplate.

The basis of a free society is found in the freedom of the spirit, and therefore the nature of it is essentially religious. There is one common strain found in Judaism and Christianity—that which is called the doctrine of the Spirit. The first verse of Genesis says that "the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." Isaiah believed that "the Spirit of the Lord is upon me." Jesus promised that He would send the Holy Spirit in His place.

And St. Paul declared that "the Lord is the Spirit." All these sayings enunciate the faith that the Holy Spirit of God can move directly upon the mind and motives of men, to lead them into wider areas of knowledge and deeper appreciation of values.

To obtain such a gift of God, the mind of man must be free and uncoerced by any power or fear. Again St. Paul illumines this for us by his words: "Where the spirit of the Lord is there is liberty." There is liberty because there must be liberty of the mind and spirit of man if he is to receive the enlightenment of the Spirit. It is therefore an essentially religious imperative which underlies the necessity of freedom; for if a man is to receive new measures of light and of truth, there can be no part of him which is bound in any form of captivity. Man must begin by freeing himself from those forms of living which make him a captive

of demoralizing powers, be they ecclesiastical or secular.

Therefore, in Protestantism, no corporate body or agency of the churches can claim any measure of authority to define the nature of faith and conscience, or to speak in the name of any member of the church regarding such nature, without the consent of that individual. Such action in his name would be as false as using his name upon a money order. In this area, the principle of representation has no sphere. Representation is limited to the functional and secular areas of life, because no one can vote the conscience of another. Martin Luther wrote it indelibly into the fabric of Protestantism: "No man can command my conscience."

Such is the Protestant theological and philosophical basis for the consideration of man as an individual and as a person.

# A Conscript Has No Rights

By PAUL HARVEY

*American soldiers stationed overseas are abandoned to the jurisdiction of foreign courts by the NATO Status of Forces Treaty, negotiated by Dean Acheson in 1951, urged by President Eisenhower July 14, 1953, and approved by the United States Senate July 15, 1953. More than four hundred American citizens were sentenced by foreign courts in 1953. The Department of Defense has classified the 1954 figures as "top secret."*

From the beginning of the Republic down through World War Two, no American serving abroad was ever subject to trial under foreign law in a foreign court. Suddenly, a callous disregard for the rights of Americans has been written into a foreign treaty which supersedes the authority of our courts and negates our Constitution. It was the price our "allies" exacted from our leaders for the privilege of sending our boys to protect their lands from invasion.

A favorite exhibit with those who supported Senator Bricker's effort to restrict the executive authority where treaty law may circumvent our own "inalienable rights" was the case of Privates Keefe and Scaletti. These bored GIs stole a cab in Orleans, France, drove to Paris, were arrested and sentenced by a French court to five years in "solitary confinement." At the same time, in another Paris courtroom, a French citizen who had murdered an American GI was sentenced to five years for his crime.

French authorities say Keefe and Scaletti got

the minimum. They could have been sentenced to life! The Pentagon and the State Department say that, after all, the boys also beat up the cab driver and, besides, solitary confinement in a French jail isn't as bad as it sounds. They are in cells seven feet by four-and-a-half feet. The cells are unheated. But each cell is lighted by a small bulb. It's not as if Keefe and Scaletti were being left completely in the dark!

But, because of the intense public interest in the fate of Privates Keefe and Scaletti, the taxpayers are apparently going to be uninformed when other GIs are tried and punished in foreign courts. H. Struve Hensel of the Pentagon says the Department of Defense "does not require a report to Washington on each individual case." He did offer to make a "semi-annual report" on such cases, but subsequently saw fit to stamp this report "top secret." Parents and others who might be anxious if they knew the whole truth will thereby be spared any unnecessary anguish over the fate of their sons.

Many instances of flagrant injustice have been brought to my attention through other than official channels.

Mrs. Antonie Pierre, wife of an American serviceman in Japan, has been indicted by Japanese authorities because her rented house accidentally caught fire. This is not a criminal offense under the law of any of our forty-eight states. When our Rear Admiral wrote to the Japanese authorities, he begged a dismissal of the suit. But then he said,



“Such action as may be taken is, of course, your government’s decision fully and completely.”

Japan gets the same deal as the NATO nations in this matter of jurisdiction over our servicemen. And Japanese jails are not fit for your worst enemies, much less your sons and husbands. In Japan, where a case is frequently adjourned from time to time, the defendant stays in that jail even though he is innocent, until the verdict comes in. Corporal Dennis Chaney would know about that. So would Airman First Class, George Thomas Jones. Two privates, Scott and Crews—involved in a beer-hall brawl in Sapporo, Japan, last April—haven’t been tried yet.

### The Case of Captain Powell

In Bermuda, Captain William Powell of the United States Air Force has been sentenced to jail for two months for “driving without third party insurance.” Bermuda gets her authority over United States servicemen by virtue of an agreement made by President Franklin Roosevelt without the consent of our Congress. So Captain Powell violated a law which he did not know existed. He got two months. Automatically, this meant court martial. He lost all rights as a United States serviceman. He is five years away from retirement, but now faces dismissal from the service with no retirement benefits at all. Such is the fate of an American who once was a member of the Connecticut legislature, was shot down over Germany in the last war and was imprisoned in the Nazis’ notorious dungeons at Buchenwald. After this magnificent record of service to his country, we have let the caprice of a foreign court send him home broke, busted and disgraced.

Another American is being tried in Iceland, where the second largest newspaper is published by Communists.

If a Communist court in Yugoslavia should sentence your son to die, our State Department would make no protest. It can’t. Because under this infamous document our Administration has taken the position that the treaty involves no surrender of American rights under international law. We’ve therewith surrendered our right of appeal—

even with those countries with whom we have no NATO agreement. All Tito would have to do is cite the argument that the host country has absolute and unqualified jurisdiction over our forces. Since that is our own Administration’s published argument, we’re stuck with it!

The mongrel patriots in that big house on New York’s East River will not want to be reminded of how the treaty might work under Islamic law. Many Americans are stationed where Moslem law applies. Let us pray that none of them gets caught stealing a chicken, because for this crime your hands are chopped off.

Under treaty law the foreigner need not prove that a crime has been committed in order to cause the arrest of a GI. Our MPs are obliged to arrest anybody the foreign official asks to have arrested, and to turn him over to the local authorities. In France, where the Communists outnumber any other political party and may one day effect a coup, what is to prevent them from arresting every American in sight, trying him in secret, and throwing him into a dungeon alongside Keefe and Scalletti?

This is triple jeopardy. Americans may be killed by the enemy, kidnapped by the Communists, or imprisoned by our allies.

In the United States we allow spies, traitors and murderers to refuse to testify against themselves. Meanwhile, Americans are being tried in foreign courts under laws they have never heard of and where they are assumed to be guilty until proved innocent—and *through an interpreter, at that!*

John Foster Dulles, on April 12, 1952, told the American Bar Association’s regional meeting in Louisville, “Treaty law can override the Constitution. They [treaties] can cut across the rights given the people by the constitutional Bill of Rights.” He was right—even though, as Secretary of State, he changed his mind.

Lucile Vogeler, on August 1, 1954, said, “My sons will go to jail rather than be drafted while this Status of Forces Treaty supersedes our law. I will not permit my sons to serve under the American flag unless they are guaranteed the protection of that flag.”

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Long before the Status of Forces Treaty—on September 21, 1876—Robert Ingersoll said: The flag that will not protect its defenders is a dirty rag that contaminates the air in which it waves. The government that will not defend its defenders is a disgrace to the nations of the world.”

# Achilles Heel of the Soviet Giant

By N. I. STONE

*The downward course of collectivized agriculture and the weakness of her transportation system make the U.S.S.R. unfit for a sustained war operation.*

What is the military might of the U.S.S.R.? Obviously, there is no categorical answer to that question. But if a nation's war potential is related to its economy, as is generally conceded, then we have evidence that the Soviet position is rather tenuous. The evidence—as reported in official publications—is supplied by the leaders in the Kremlin.

At the last Communist Congress held in Stalin's lifetime, in the fall of 1952, Malenkov and Nikita Khrushchev (who has since succeeded Stalin as Secretary of the Communist Party) delivered addresses extolling the agricultural progress of the country. A year later, the downward course of Soviet agriculture had become so obvious that the people could no longer be lulled with false statistics; the Central Committee of the Communist Party, which issues directions to the Soviet government, was hastily summoned in September 1953, half a year after Stalin's death. The center of the stage was held by Khrushchev.

As befits the head of the Communist Party, he opened his speech with a tribute to the Soviet socialist economy. "The Socialist system of agriculture created under the guidance of the Communist Party," he said, "had proved, beyond the shadow of a doubt, its decisive superiority over the small peasant market economy as well as over the large-scale capitalist agrarian system." In place of 25 million small farms operated by individual peasants, the U.S.S.R., he said, now has the most powerful large-scale socialized system in the world, consisting of 94,000 collective farms, 4,700 State-owned farms, and 8,950 machine and tractor stations, serving the farms. The Soviet agricultural economy is the most mechanized in the world. This has resulted, continued Khrushchev, in a mighty increase in the production of grain for the market, from 10.3 million tons in 1926-27 (the year preceding forcible collectivization of farms) to 40.4 million in 1952-53. He cited figures of similar increases in the production of potatoes, meat and milk, and spoke of great strides made in the cultivation of cotton, sugar beets and other industrial crops.

Having paid this glowing tribute to the achievement of the socialist system, he proceeded—with a frankness unheard of in Communist Russia—to demolish this assertion of marvelous progress by an exposure of the failure of that system.

To begin with, the progress since 1926-27 did not stay put. The rate of increase has been greatly

retarded since the last war and there has been an actual decline in stockbreeding. While on the whole the industrial output increased 130 per cent from 1940 to 1952, agricultural output increased only 10 per cent in the same period, far less than the increase in population. Khrushchev found the livestock industry in a deplorable state. He quoted official figures showing that the number of cattle (other than cows) had declined from 66.5 million in 1928 (the year before forcible collectivization) to 56.6 million in 1953, a drop of more than 10 million head or over 15 per cent, at the same time that the population of the country had increased from 150 million to 210 million. In the same period the number of cows dropped from 33.2 million to 24.3, a decline of nearly 9 million head or nearly 27 per cent; the number of hogs increased from 27.7 million to 28.5, less than a million or less than 3 per cent against a population increase of 40 per cent; the number of sheep and goats declined from 114.6 million to 109.9, a drop of nearly 5 million.

## Decline in Livestock

All these figures point to a great decline of livestock per capita of population. They explain the shortage of meat in the Soviet Union and, in the case of cows, a serious shortage of milk with its tragic effect on infant mortality.

Most alarming was the fact that in the last year alone, preceding the conference, the drop in the number of cattle reached 2.2 million, and of cows 550,000 head. To cap the climax, there has been a decline in the milk yield per cow and the wool clip per sheep because of the poor care and inadequate feeding the animals receive on the collective farms, where no one has a direct interest in their welfare. Khrushchev asked the reason for this sad state of affairs, and answered his own question with the startling assertion that the most important reason is the lack of personal interest on the part of the individual peasant in the fruits of his labor.

Under the system of obligatory delivery of all farm products (in excess of a semi-starvation allowance for the "labor days" worked by the peasant for the collective), the prices for the delivered meat, milk, butter and eggs are fixed by the government so low as to fail to "stimulate" the peasant's interest in his work, said Khrushchev.

Collective farms and individual peasants that produced on their small allotments more than others, were forced to deliver the excess to the government at discouraging prices. And so the peasants simply lay down on the job.

### A Quiet Revolt

Added to that is a cause which Khrushchev, as the author of the most ruthless plan of exploitation ever devised, was too modest to mention; it was the plan that had won him the admiration of his boss, the late dictator. It called for the physical destruction of the villages and the concentration of the peasantry in agrarian towns ("agrotowns"), to live in tenements like the city workers, deprived of their homes and of the tiny individual plots which they had been allowed to cultivate to keep from starving on the proceeds of their labor in the collectives. In short, they were to be reduced to the state of an agricultural proletariat.

As the news of this approaching doom spread, a quiet farm revolt took place. All who could, and that included primarily the skilled young craftsmen—blacksmith, locksmith, carpenter, etc.—fled to the cities. The sinister aspect of this wholesale flight, from the standpoint of the Soviet government, was that the law forbids the peasant to leave his village without a written permit from the local authorities. The peasant exodus could not, therefore, have taken place without the connivance of these officials.

Those who remained slaughtered their own animals and as many of those belonging to the collectives as they could. All of which accounts for the precipitous decline of cattle and of the feed crops, of which the brilliant author of the "agrotown" plan complains. The passive resistance of the peasantry defeated the dictatorship. The dictator yielded; the plan was called off, but too late to prevent the wholesale slaughter of farm animals and the neglect of farm work.

Two important measures were proposed by Khrushchev and, of course, unanimously adopted by

the obedient party conference in September 1953. First, to increase the peasant's interest in his work, the government was directed to increase the price of agricultural products which he is obliged to deliver to the government, and to reduce the retail prices of the products he has to buy.

The other is a scheme by which Khrushchev attempts to accomplish what he had tried to do by his defunct "agrotown" plan. The new measure takes away the last vestige of the right of the peasant collectives to manage their farms and places the collectives and their members under the control and direction of the MTS (machine tractor station). The scientifically trained agronomists, botanists, experts in animal husbandry, hitherto hired as consultants by the collectives, are now attached to the enlarged MTS and made responsible for the fulfillment by the collectives of the plans laid down by the bureaucrats in Moscow.

### Serfs of the State

Except for his tiny plot of ground on which the peasant and his wife try to eke out a supplement to the semi-starvation pay earned in the collective, he is turned into a hired hand or, rather, a serf of the government—for he lacks the freedom of the hired hand to quit his job and seek other employment. How this is going to increase the peasant's interest in his work as a member of the collective, only Khrushchev can explain.

As already stated, Khrushchev took a rosy view of the grain situation at the September 1953 conference. Within another half-year, the grain situation became so grave that another party conference had to be convened in late February 1954, at which the same Khrushchev sang quite a different tune. "In spite of an increase of the area under cultivation by 6.8 million hectares (17 million acres) from 1940 to 1953," said Khrushchev, the area sown to grain *declined* by 3.8 million hectares (nearly nine and one-half million acres). The area sown to millet, buckwheat and rice, as well as to feed grains, corn and oats, also declined.

This loss of several million acres under cultivation was not the whole story. What hurt more was the far greater decline of the peasants' productivity. Khrushchev refrained from disclosing the figures of actual crop losses, but from statements in the Soviet press it is clear that the loss was the equivalent of a crop failure, in a year when nature favored abundance.

Khrushchev complained of criminal carelessness in the sowing of the 1953 crops. The spring sowing was dragged out so that, instead of its taking the usual five to seven days, it took from twenty to twenty-five days, he



said. The half-starved peasants, taking advantage of the confusion in the ranks of the local bureaucracy, following Stalin's death, engaged in wholesale pilferage of seed-grain to relieve their hunger and therefore planted only a fraction of what should have been sown. The theft of seed-grain caused not only a considerable contraction of the area under cultivation, but also a sharp reduction of yield per acre—all of which combined to cause the crop failure of 1953.

### Failure of Pioneering Plan

The General Secretary of the Communist Party proposed two measures to remedy the situation: first, the greater mechanization of the collective and government-owned farms, making Soviet agriculture "the most mechanized in the world." Apparently not sure of the increase in productivity to be expected from this increased mechanization and from the assumption of control of farming by the MTS, Khrushchev proposed a new measure, aimed at bringing under cultivation fallow and virgin lands in outlying territories, such as Siberia, Kazakhstan, the Urals and along the Volga to the extent of over 10 million hectares (some 25 million acres). Needless to say, the proposed measures were unanimously adopted by the conference.

In the usual hastily executed way of the Bolsheviks, the call went out to tens of thousands of young men to "volunteer" for the hard task of conquering virgin soil in regions with raw climates to which they were unaccustomed, and where there were no elementary accommodations of housing, sanitation, etc. Already local Soviet papers report chaotic conditions in those regions, with thousands of idle tractors rusting in the open for lack of parts and of plows to be drawn by these tractors. The MTS, to which Khrushchev looks for efficient management of Soviet farming, has fallen down on the pioneering job. Whether it will be able to force the sullen, disgruntled peasant remaining at home to apply himself to heavy toil on land which he feels he has been robbed of, to produce crops for the raising of which he is kept half-starved, remains to be seen.

One thing is clear: because she lacks the supply of food and necessary raw materials, Soviet Russia is utterly unfit for a sustained war operation, in spite of her gigantic army and abundant armament. The transportation system is in a woeful state, causing frequent shut-downs of industrial plants for lack of materials, sidetracked on their way. Passenger transportation is just as bad. Locomotives and other rolling stock are in a bad state of disrepair, and much of this equipment remains idle for long stretches of time. Nor is the supply of motor trucks, aggravated by the scarcity of good roads, large enough to make up for the shortage of rolling stock on the rails.

Last but not least, to wage a war with soldiers

drawn from the masses of oppressed peasants and city workers who are only waiting for an opportunity to get rid of their hated masters is to invite at the very least a repetition of the wholesale surrender without a fight of millions of Soviet soldiers in the first year of World War Two.

## The Both-Sides Idea

By HUGHSTON M. MC BAIN

You hear it everywhere: "We believe in presenting both sides." That concept is endorsed by the overwhelming majority of persons who arrange the education and information programs for colleges, service clubs, discussion groups, business organizations and others. They believe in presenting the case for socialism along with the case for the free market. Challenge them and they will reply: "Objectivity and fairness demand that we present the arguments for government ownership even though we ourselves don't believe in it."

Do objectivity and fairness demand that they present the case for coin clipping? They say no. Then why do they arrange for speakers and teachers who endorse the monetization of debt? After all, the device of monetizing debt is merely a modern arrangement of the old idea of clipping coins.

Objectivity and fairness aren't the real reasons a person arranges for the presentation of both sides. The primary reason is this: the person hasn't made up his own mind! He doesn't arrange for a defense of coin clipping, because he himself has repudiated the idea of coin clipping. He arranges to have the case for monetization of debt presented because he himself hasn't yet repudiated that method of financing government.

Objective persons have repudiated the ideas of astrology, slavery, alchemy, witchcraft and the divine right of kings. They no longer believe that the earth is flat. Therefore, no objective person can, in good conscience and fairness, be responsible for having those ideas presented as valid. In like manner, if a person has rejected the ideas of government ownership and government controls, advocates of those ideas won't be on any programs over which he has authority.

When a person voluntarily arranges for the presentation of socialistic ideas along with free market ideas, you may be sure of this: he hasn't completely repudiated socialism; he hasn't completely accepted the ideas of the free market and of government restricted to the equal protection of the life, liberty and honestly acquired property of everyone.

Here is a truism: If the evidence clearly indicates that an idea or policy is untrue or evil, no fair and objective person will voluntarily arrange to have it presented as valid.

# Bureaucracy in Practice

By COLM BROGAN

*The Crichel Down affair and the case of Edward Pilgrim indicate that socialistic practices in Britain did not end with the Labor government.*

*London*

In many respects, 1954 was a good year for Britain. The "recession" predicted in the United States by-passed us.

Apart from the recent and damaging dock strike, there were no serious industrial troubles. This, however, was not quite so happy a state of affairs as appeared on the surface. It was industrial peace bought at the price of industrial surrender. The Conservative Ministers strained every nerve to win the friendship of the trade unions. The policy has been conspicuously successful, but only at the cost of overstraining the nerves of some of their own supporters. Small breakaway unions have been refused recognition to which they were morally and legally entitled, for fear of offending the big established unions. In other ways the Conservative government has shown little zeal for defending elementary human rights if these rights should happen to be vexatious to the union bosses.

Not long ago, two young miners, having finished their allotted work with an hour or two to spare, put in some extra work for some extra money. As British coal production is painfully insufficient, this example of productive energy might have been thought worthy of commendation. But the union demanded that the men be fined and be downgraded for several months to less profitable work. This was done.

The affair of Crichel Down and the Pilgrim case have provoked uneasiness among those who hoped that the end of the socialist government would mean also the end of socialist practice and principles. The elements of the Crichel Down business are simple enough. The Air Ministry had made a compulsory purchase of some land for a bombing range. When the Ministry no longer needed the land, ordinary equity required that the former owner be given the chance of buying it back. But that was not done. One Ministry after another engaged in an elaborate game of shuffle and hide-and-seek, that was worthy of the Circumlocution Office at the top of its Victorian form.

It happened that the former owner, Commander Marten, was a man of exceptional courage and resource, and also of means. It happened also that some of the most important newspapers gave him unflinching support, and exposed in turn every successive maneuver of the bureaucrats. In the end they forced the inquiry that had been denied for

nearly two years, and the report of the inquiry was such a scathing condemnation of tyranny and lack of candor, to put it at its mildest, that the unfortunate Minister for Agriculture was forced to resign.

It was a famous victory, but it had been gained against a Conservative administration. People asked themselves "How many more Crichel Downs are there all over the country?" They also asked themselves if they would ever have heard of Crichel Down if the victimized owner had not been a man of considerable influence who could call on still more influential friends.

But the most disturbing revelation was noticed only by the minority who had followed all the details of the shabby story from the inside. It is a cardinal point of socialist land policy that once the government gets its hands on land on the pretext of national emergency, it must never let go, even though the emergency has long passed. It is a policy of nationalization by bits and pieces. This was the policy which the officials had pursued with such pertinacity in the Crichel Down affair. Three years after the Tories had returned to power, the officials were still carrying out a socialist policy under the nose of a Tory Minister. If that could happen in one Department, could it not happen elsewhere?

## **Battle Far from Won**

Immediately after the last election there was much talk of the trouble the new Conservative government might have to face from the organized working class. At the time I ventured to make a prophecy which has been unhappily fulfilled. I said that the hardest and most testing battle of the Conservatives would not be with organized labor but with the ingrained vocational socialism of the bureaucracy. So it has proved, and the battle is very far from won.

The Pilgrim case had a more immediate impact of shock. Edward Pilgrim was an humble Essex man who bought a bit of land with a view to building. He had to borrow the purchase money and then, by ukase, the local Council took the land from him and paid him not much more than one tenth of the price he had paid. He was left with the debt to pay off and with his land taken from him. He hanged himself.

It must be emphasized that the local Council were not to blame. It was Whitehall which ordered the robbery, although the Council protested. That was bad; but Harold MacMillan, the Minister of Housing, made things worse when he discussed the case at the Conservative Party's annual conference. He got a tremendous ovation, for his housing policy had been spectacularly successful, and was in fact the strongest propaganda weapon in the whole Conservative armory. But he got no ovation at all when he tried to throw the blame for tragedy everywhere except where it belonged, on the shoulders of the men in Whitehall. I listened to his defense, and it was possible to feel the temperature dropping sentence by sentence. The Conference made no secret of its indignation, and the government has since been forced to retreat from one position to another. Once again a victory was won, but it was another victory gained by the rank and file over their own leaders.

Socialism and its attendant evils are not dead, or even mortally wounded, in Britain for two reasons: the Conservative leaders have endorsed much of the socialist program; and even if they hadn't, the permanent bureaucracy would keep it going here as elsewhere.

## East and West Semantics

By GLEN COLLIER and  
VINCENT R. TORTORA

Among the multitude of seemingly irreconcilable differences between the communist and the Western worlds is that of semantics. The definitions of the following frequently used terms, translated directly from the *Russian Political Dictionary*, are as unrecognizable to the Western reader as the definitions of the same terms in any American political dictionary would be to a Communist reader.

**DEMOCRACY:** [in the Soviet State] People's power . . . through the deputies. Possible only in the Soviet Socialist State. Rights of citizens and political liberties under the Soviet Socialist democracy are [guaranteed by] the economic power of the Socialist State, by the powerful apparatus of the Socialist State, by the politico-moral unity of the Soviet people and under the guidance of the working class, which is headed by the Communist Party. The toiling masses of the city and village actively participate in governing the Soviet State. The people and the government . . . are one.

[in the bourgeois state] The capitalists and landowners conceal by hypocritical pronouncements of various freedoms and political rights their power over the great majority of workers and exploited people. These freedoms, in reality, come to nothing for the workers. The majority of the

people are cut off from participation in the political life by capitalist laws. In name only is there freedom of the press. But all, or almost all papers and journals belong to the capitalists.

**CAPITALISM:** The last [chronological] social system to be based on the exploitation of man by man. Under the conditions of capitalism, all the wealth of society—the land, factories, . . . commodities—are in the hands of a small clique of private owners (*i.e.*, capitalists, landowners). The condition for the existence of the bourgeois is the hired labor of workers who have been deprived of a means of production and, in order not to die of hunger, are compelled to sell their labor power to the capitalist and to take upon themselves the burden of exploitation.

**COMMUNISM:** The highest form of human society, in which has been abolished the exploitation of man by man. The means of production have become social property and . . . a limitless field has been opened for the development of production power. The conditions have been created for the full flowering of the human personality.

**FREEDOM:** Political freedom or rights refer to freedom of speech, press, assembly, personal property, demonstrations, meetings. In many bourgeois countries, the political rights of citizens are written into the constitutions only as a formality. But many bourgeois constitutions do not implement the realization of these rights. In actuality, only the ruling classes enjoy these freedoms.

**REACTION:** (Political) The struggle of the moribund classes for the preservation of their rule or for the overthrow of the regime created by the revolution.

**RELIGION:** In the hands of the ruling, exploitative classes, religion serves as a means for the spiritual enslavement of the workers. It helps to hold the people in darkness, teaches resignation . . . promising a reward in the life beyond the grave. . . . The priests, ministers, *et al.* are abettors of counter-revolutions. Not daring to come out openly against Soviet power, they carry on hidden anti-Soviet work attempting to influence the backward element of the population, the believers. They fill the ranks of capitalist espionage. . . . The socialist revolution has freed the people from religious oppression.

**VATICAN:** The support of international reactionary obscurantism. It has at its disposal great means of espionage and propaganda. In relation to the U.S.S.R., the Vatican carries on a hostile policy.

**INTERNATIONALISM:** The preparation of workers and peasants of all countries for the overthrow of imperialism and at some time for the victory of socialism in the entire world. The Soviet people are educated in the spirit of internationalism.

# I Saw "Defense"

By PETER CRUMPET

After several months of political plug-muss, Congress passed the Administration's bill for defense and adjourned happily, secure in the trust that its \$35 billion appropriation would insure the military preparedness of the nation.

Would it? The thought of all that money got me to wondering what "defense" really is. As a conscript lieutenant recently released from the Air Force, I can't speak for the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Global strategy is up their alley. All I can tell you is what I saw at my base during the twenty-four months I "defended" you.

I saw ten thousand civil service employees who didn't do much of anything. I saw huge offices and lots of paper work. And I came across one agency which is engaged in saving money. The savings achieved by this agency are published, so that you will be impressed by the economy with which you are being defended.

This is how it was done. One lieutenant was running the public information office. His base was not called a public information office, thanks to Senator Byrd's campaign against military propaganda agencies. It was called the Protocol Office. The Lieutenant was given a figurative budget of four thousand dollars to operate a function which wasn't there, officially. All other expenses were costed to the Department of Personnel, and a most elaborate formula distinguished between that press release which was a public information press release, and that press release which was not. It was jolly good fun, but when higher headquarters found out he was using only a mythical \$3,000 of the mythical \$4,000 allotted, he received a sharp letter of rebuke, accusing him of concealing expenses. Since the entire accounting system was one of concealment, he sent a good-natured response which stated that he thought it a right good thing to make a paper economy on a paper account.

One hot day in the latter part of August, he was summoned to the front office and asked how he could "accomplish a real savings." He suggested his elimination, since he was only duplicating the position of the civil service chief. Twenty-four hours later he was informed that one of his five civilian personnel was to be cut. He objected, showing that the man earmarked for release was necessary to the operating level, and that any reduction in personnel should be directed at the

*A recent member of the Air Force relates his observations of waste, duplication and false "economy" in the intricate system of spending your tax dollars for defense.*

top-heavy administrative echelon. He was told, "You want to save money for defense? Well, absorb the cut."

Shortly thereafter, he read in the staff journal that the personnel space released from his office of five was forthwith allocated to the directorate of supply, bloating by one more an empire which numbered several thousand workers. A paper saving had been achieved, one of many such false economies palmed off on the public as the real thing. When the brass crow over savings which result in low-cost defense, the question to ask is: was the money turned back to the Treasury?

This little scenario was run by the comptroller, the Air Force's penny-pincher. The comptroller is a feared man. He is the hydra who disgorges regulations and procedures by the gallon—and all to further his motto, "More Air Force per Dollar."

## Dollars Down the Drain

As an assistant to the air adjutant, an officer worked four weeks to justify an obvious requirement for additional personnel. A series of three separate studies was demanded by the base comptroller, who in turn attempted to validate the additional requirements to his counterpart in higher headquarters. Precautions should be had against padded staffs, the Lord knows, but by the time action was taken on this matter, the backlog had grown so huge that several months elapsed before the various components were on their feet—and then only at the cost of excessive and expensive overtime.

There are other agencies which conduct our defense, and other controls for which Congress appropriated 35 billion. One of the most amusing (if you, the taxpayer, can laugh at thousands of dollars down the drain) is the control which insures that officers are in proper physical condition. It requires monthly preparation by secretaries, and the officers must sign it. Most of us put down "hiking" during the winter months, "swimming" in the summer. Most of us gained a lot of weight—and it wasn't muscle.

One lieutenant was not amused by defense. He was faced with an irrepressible radiator which was steaming him out of his office. He obediently

wrote out a work order and mailed it to Air Installations. He could have replaced the corroded washer himself, but this little empire makes sure that not a nail is hammered down without Air Installations surveillance. Why, the tack an amateur might use could be a Tack-Brass, Yellow, instead of the prescribed Tack-Brass, Orange!

He parboiled for several days. Finally, two representatives from Air Installations visited his office. They had a pleasant chat, and then the boys bent over the radiator and examined it. Hah, a corroded washer. The Lieutenant confirmed this diagnosis and asked them to get to work. But they hadn't brought their tools! Three hours later, they returned with a third man. He fixed the radiator while his companions told some jokes which, when related to me, were very funny.

I saw 29 million square feet of unused warehouse space—and millions of dollars worth of equipment rotting in the open for *lack* of warehouse space; a brilliant officer being called from an important job to fill a position which did not exist; several thousand dollars spent in converting an open parking lot into a beer garden, and then, not twelve months later, reconverting the beer garden into a parking area. In short, I saw the sideshow called "defense."

The system is so contrived that if a man is an incompetent, he is as likely to get promoted as his able colleague. Unless there is incontrovertible evidence of dishonesty or the most blatant mismanagement, the mediocre individual stands to lose nothing by remaining humdrum. Activities are so complex (our base spent a cool 100 million per month for one activity alone), procedures so involved, the maze of responsibility so interlocked, and at times so nebulous, that the operator who intends to make the military a career soon discovers *not* how to work hard, but how to protect himself against all accusations.

This military fact of life was thoroughly impressed upon one officer when he was placed in quasi-charge of the base exchange. His store was a satellite to a larger exchange, which in turn was controlled by the Baltimore Regional Office, and so on. He heeled to a number of bosses in this chain of command, but there was still another line of authority which he had to satisfy; for the efficient operation of his exchange, by regulation, was a responsibility of the Base Commander at his installation.

A former officer of the exchange had been in the habit of quitting the premises and playing golf

all afternoon. His manager, if he did not directly steal, somehow allowed a \$9,000 inventory shortage to develop. A board of investigation was appointed, but paper work was in such an inextricable snarl that proceedings were shortly dropped.

### Suggestions Unwanted

At a dinner party, three second lieutenants casually discussed some of the nonsense that had come to their attention during the course of the day's work. One of these lieutenants is a regular (he is now trying to get out), a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Williams. Another is an MIT alumnus with an established reputation for hard work. They chuckled over seven examples of rhapsodical defense spending, and it suddenly occurred to them that they might do the command a good turn by bringing these examples to notice.

The items of waste ranged from relatively unimportant instances to the grotesque. One example concerned a form introduced by a section of the comptroller's office. This control is a time study which charts what every employee does during the day. From the use of such forms, the management agent is supposed to tell whether or not man-hours are lost in a certain unit. The idea is sound. But in execution, the forms were filled out not by an impartial observer, but by the individual concerned, who then completed them as he saw fit. If he played poker, he jotted down "surveillance of field activities." If he spent two hours in the men's room, trading yarns, he put down "follow-up of correspondence."

The staff was unimpressed. Nor was the staff excited by the fact that freight cars, which the Air Force buys with a perfectly adequate coat of paint on them, are then repainted shiny Air Force blue; presumably so that an enemy fighter can spot them that much more easily.

Indifference of this kind from a roomful of colonels may seem in-defense-able. It is not. It *is* defense. One young officer, a member of the survey board which investigates unaccountable disappearances of matériel, forwarded an official report through channels which described the great waste he had witnessed in the past two years, and which suggested one possible method of averting such losses in the future. He was told that his report was unacceptable, for to admit to the disappearance of thousands of dollars worth of equipment would be "embarrassing to the Command."

What is defense? Ask Congress.

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**The Bible (Second Timothy, Chapter 11, verse 6) says:  
"The husbandman that laboreth must be first partaker  
of the fruits." 'Taint so, says the Internal Revenue  
Bureau; the withholding tax is first.**



# A "Social Scientist" in Our Town

By **GEORGE N. KRAMER**

*Since Neighbor Buttinski started to pry into everyone's business and organize the community according to his own ideas, peace has departed.*

I used to live in a typical city neighborhood. Some of the families were large, others were small. Our political and religious affiliations were by no means identical. We were not even all of the same national or racial origins. Some families were wealthy; others made a living.

We were all home owners. Some of us had fenced in our property; others had not. But everyone respected his neighbors' boundary lines. Once in a while, slight differences would arise between members of our community, but somehow they were ironed out and friendly relationships were usually re-established in short order.

There was no continuous or daily association, outside of passing the time of day, or perhaps only a hurried nod. More intimate friends made social calls on one another from time to time; but we observed that when they began "running each other's doorstep in," as my grandmother used to say, there soon followed a "falling out."

Each family attended strictly to its own affairs. Once in a great while, a problem that affected the community as a whole arose; but it was never a difficult matter to reach common agreement on a solution. On very serious subjects that required deliberation, perhaps even a general meeting might be called. If an unusual misfortune befell any individual, or adversity affected the area, ready and willing assistance could always be expected, without formalities or red tape.

In our little world there was relative peace and harmony. Each family was a unit of itself, fulfilling the natural purpose of a family. It was a separate and distinct organization, governing itself and making rules best suited to its needs, within the confines of the home. The community was made up of such independent units.

Conceivably, each family could have existed in isolation; but that would have been an unnatural situation, because man is a social animal and because no family is entirely sufficient of itself. It is only natural for families to associate, to intermingle and to cooperate. On the other hand, it is not natural for one family to meddle in the internal affairs of other households. Thus, our family unit enjoyed its natural and normal existence within the framework of the community. On the whole, nothing developed to disturb the peaceful relations that had been existing for years.

One day, there moved into the neighborhood what

might have been called a busybody, although he soon acquired a more descriptive and less complimentary label. None of us could understand how he was able to do justice to his own business and still have so much time to pry into the lives of others. In the beginning, he made the rounds to become acquainted, which everybody took in stride; but after that, he began peering over fences, giving unsolicited advice, sounding out other people's views and sounding off his own.

At first he was tolerated because he seemed to be such a nice, well-meaning fellow. Nobody questioned his motives or his sincerity. It was some of the things he said, but more especially the manner in which he said them, that were irritating, even when one was inclined to agree with some of his ideas. He was always proposing or promoting something.

It would not have been so bad, had he restricted his activities to expressing his personal opinions; but as he became better acquainted, he began to insist that his views were best, even to the point of trying to impose them on others. As it might be expected, this approach was not appreciated by the neighbors who firmly, but as inoffensively and politely as possible, rejected his proposals. Ordinarily, any of us would have regarded this rebuff as sufficient indication that further propositions would not be sympathetically considered.

Mr. Buttinski, however, assumed an air of injured dignity. He displayed an extraordinary persistence. Not only did he continue making recommendations, but he waxed emphatic and arrogant. Were it not for the fact that his neighbors recognized that Mr. Buttinski, as a human being, possessed natural and civil rights, there is little question but that he would have been ostracized and perhaps driven out of the locality. These people had been living together according to the principle that each family was within its rights to do as it pleased, providing its acts did not transgress on the rights of its neighbors. They naturally resented



any attempt to meddle in their domestic affairs.

Had the matter rested even there, Mr. Buttinski might still have been tolerated. His antics were doing no great harm; they were merely irritating. He was only a nuisance and a bore. However, resentment at the community's refusal to accept his overlordship soon took the form of muttered complaints against this family and that individual, principally because they were not accepting his suggestions, which he said were for their own good. Finally, resentment turned into vindictiveness.

### Political "Uplift" Begins

Somehow, Mr. Buttinski had edged himself into political favor. He held no public office, but was rubbing elbows with local politicians and had acquired some influence. This became very obvious when, time and again, he tried to organize the community into this or that association, always for its betterment, he said. Few of us could see the need or even the value of most of his suggestions, for we had never felt any urgency in these matters.

Before long, officers of the law, investigators and inspectors were dropping in, first here and then there. We didn't like it. The reputation of the neighborhood was suffering. Everybody was becoming uneasy. Questions were asked. Suspicions were aroused. What was at the bottom of it all?

None of the official calls was concerned with serious matters but they were, nevertheless, disturbing. The law-enforcing agents were friendly and very considerate. We didn't blame them, for they were merely doing their duty, yet the implications of their visits were by no means complimentary.

Once the issue was a reportedly stolen car, which turned out to be a neighbor lad's disabled jalopy parked in front of his home; the next time, it concerned an arrow that had accidentally been shot into Mr. Buttinski's yard and lodged in a flower bed; again, it was an incinerator which happened to be smoking after the legal time limit for burning; then, it was a complaint about a newly acquired puppy which had spent a miserably lonely first night in his new home. In this case, everybody suspected everybody else of having turned informer; few suspected that Mr. Buttinski, who lived a full block down the street, had called in the law.

Such things had never happened before. Somehow, petty annoyances were either overlooked, accepted in the spirit of Christian resignation, or they were settled amicably between the parties concerned. Now neighborhood projects sprang up; as when Mr. Buttinski raised a question of property boundaries, which called for an all-around survey over the matter of several inches to one foot of ground. At the same time, under cover of undisclosed political protection which none of us were ever able to fathom, he succeeded in violating

the building code restrictions by constructing a two-story apartment in an area legally limited to single one-story dwellings.

The entire community was upset, and tempers showed sharp edges. Discontent and bickering became more than noticeable. All the while, Mr. Buttinski refused to be ignored; he capitalized on the situation which he had created by insisting on the adoption of his plans as the only guarantee of peace and order. He accused everyone who differed with him as a disturber of community harmony and an isolationist. Up to this time, he had only pleaded with us to accept his will; but he was always discovering minor ordinances and laws which we had never before heard of, and he began advocating others.

Conditions by this time became so disagreeable that some of the neighbors began to wonder what had happened to our formerly peaceful little world, and why it had happened. Some thought that perhaps Mr. Buttinski might have the right idea, after all. Perhaps something drastic should be done, even though every family would have to relinquish its previous rights and privileges. Buttinski had pointed out that the good of society comes first; the individual and the family should bow to the will of the community. The idea took root.

Thus began a period of organizing, of meetings, of untold committees, of resolutions, of arguing. The consequence of it all was a division of opinion that sent the community into factions, setting neighborhood against neighbor.

Little by little, interest on the part of the majority of families waned, leaving Mr. Buttinski at the head of a small group which carried on in the name of the community. As expected, what was promised as a community project became the dictate of a small, self-appointed group who presumed to speak in the name of us all. They made law.

Our neighborhood, as I said, is no longer the peaceful little world it once was. Most of the residents are now unhappy and discontented. The houses and the lawns look the same, but the congenial atmosphere and spirit have vanished. Now we have organizations and formalities; probings and prying and legislation. It is not so much the official as the nonofficial activities that are irksome; nevertheless, it is becoming more obvious that the trend is toward official acceptance of proposals made by Buttinski and his minority pressure group. They meddle in school affairs, they are constantly demanding restrictive legislation, they are making surveys and inspections and they are undertaking so many community projects that normal family life has become all but impossible.

As I reflect on the troubles of our little world—and of the big world of which it is part—it seems to me that the only thing wrong with it is: Mr. Buttinski.

# A Reviewer's Notebook

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Alexis de Tocqueville's name is tending to replace that of Karl Marx in the critical magazines of the so-called intelligentsia. This is all to the good, for the young French nobleman who came over to America in Jacksonian times to make a profound study of a fledgling democratic culture is still to be reckoned with as an authority on basic American characteristics. His *Democracy in America*, which so astounded John Stuart Mill, has recently been reissued in a two-volume paperback edition by Vintage Books, Inc. (New York, 452 and 518 pp., 95 cents per volume). The translation is the one made by Henry Reeve in 1835 and 1840, as revised by Francis Bowen and now further corrected and edited, with bibliographies and a perceptive historical essay, by Phillips Bradley. Altogether, this edition should be celebrated as a literary event of the 1954 publishing season, for it makes de Tocqueville available to everybody at a price wholly in keeping with its democratic subject.

What is astounding about de Tocqueville is that the questions he raised about the state of American politics and society are still by and large the main grist of our modern magazine editors. What particularly struck de Tocqueville during his travels from New York to New Orleans and from Newport, Rhode Island, to Green Bay, Wisconsin, was the pragmatic character of the people. They loved physical well-being, they distrusted basic philosophical ideas, they were restless, they tended to be more equalitarian than libertarian. The institutions of a democratic republic appealed to the young Frenchman, but one thing bothered him and he recurred to it again and again: to wit, the possibility that the majority might ultimately become more tyrannical than any Old World dictator or absolute monarch.

After a hundred and twenty years, the problem of tyrannical conformism is still with us, and the fears expressed by de Tocqueville are being echoed in a score of books that sometimes read like repetitions of the master. Just to tick off a few recent volumes that have circled around the subject, there is Alan Valentine's *The Age of Conformity*, Russell Kirk's *A Program for Conservatives* (which makes some twenty references to de Tocqueville), and Gordon Harrison's *Road to the Right: The Tradition and Hope of American Conservatism*. All of these books worry at the possibility that liberty may end by becoming the freedom to imitate mediocrity.

Mr. Valentine, in particular, is convinced that the worst fears of de Tocqueville are in the course of being realized. He argues that republican individualism is disappearing, that people tend to run to Washington for a solution to all their economic difficulties, that pressure groups rule the legislatures, that art has declined to a dead level of juke boxes and comic books, that slogans have replaced the ability to make clear-cut philosophical distinctions. Well, you can test Mr. Valentine's fears against the front pages almost any day and find plenty of reason to think the man is an analytic genius. But before signing off with a lament that "de Tocqueville was right," it might do to break down the various uses of the word "conformism."

For myself, I notice that intellectuals, even as other people, like company. They tend to run in little herds. The academics of almost any Ivy League university, for example, tend to be Stevensonian Democrats who deplore McCarthy, think the Ku Klux Klan is coming back again under the name of anti-communism, and fear they are about to be bereft

of the right to teach sociology or mention the name of John Maynard Keynes. If a Bill Buckley, author of *God and Man at Yale*, happens along to ruffle the surface of the academic world inhabited by this particular group of social conformists, the reaction is almost one of panic. "Throw the bum out!" is the sum and substance of their response.

On the other hand, the libertarians, myself included, tend to huddle together for warmth even as the academic "liberals." We stress our bravery in bucking the "liberal" trend; we argue that the "big press" makes it impossible for us to get our point of view across; we lament that it is always an Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., or a J. K. Galbraith, not one of us, who seems to get that coveted academic post.

But it has always been that way in the world of the intellect: like protects like, and each group tends to give its accolade or to distribute its perquisites to members who run "with the gang." Such phenomena cannot be eradicated as long as human nature is what it is. Nor can it even be said that this state of affairs is particularly menacing. The real danger does not reside in the natural conformism of separate social groups, but in the possibility of a politically imposed conformism applied by force of law to all groups.

When de Tocqueville was writing, America was a land of decentralized farms, villages, small towns and clearly defined regions, and politically imposed conformism was unlikely in the nature of things. Today, with Washington only a day's trip by jet plane from almost any point in the United States, the same geographical obstructions to political conformism may no longer exist. But have we succumbed to a politically imposed conformism? The answer must be no. Groups are as free to express themselves today as they have ever been.

What, then, is our trouble? Why are we not as easy in our minds today as we were, say, in the Grover Cleveland period or the middle nineteen twenties? It is entirely possible, I should say, that intellectuals are troubled today not because they are compelled to conform but pre-

cisely because there is more vigor in the combat between various intellectual groups than there has been for a generation. In other words, it is because there is less and less conformity in the land today that everyone is reaching for a headache powder and yelling "conformism." A paradoxical state of affairs, but its truth is proved by a thousand instances that will occur to anyone who goes looking for them.

**Take the case** of Henry Steele Commager of Columbia University, for example. I cite him not because of any mean or invidious desire to single out an individual, but merely because Professor Commager has set himself up as the spokesman for the academics who fear "McCarthyism" is about to crush them. I knew Professor Commager back in the early nineteen thirties. He was then a relatively placid individual, interested in Jeffersonian history. He liked to write about individualistic divines such as Theodore Parker, and he planned a big book on William Jennings Bryan. At that time nobody bothered Professor Commager by expressing fears that Franklin Roosevelt might sow the whirlwind. Nobody raised the specter of Hamiltonian means being used by Jeffersonians to undermine the ends to which Jeffersonians themselves were supposedly dedicated.

My own first rift with Henry Steele Commager came when I began to take Isabel Paterson's *The God of the Machine* seriously. The professor became alarmed; he taxed me with worrying about "medieval" and "scholastic" distinctions. What had happened to Professor Commager was simple: an opposition had been born. Or, to put it another way, another "conformity" had risen up to disturb a conformity that had become a virtual social monopoly in the early thirties by default.

The exacerbation of contemporary intellectual life has increased for the simple reason that the "libertarians" have begun to acquire a press. They have such magazines as the *Freeman* and *Human Events* in which to write. The Spadea Syndicate and Edward Case's Classic

Features Syndicate will take libertarian as well as "liberal" columns and reviews; and publishers have begun to scent gold in libertarian books. David Lawrence's *U. S. News and World Report* has had a tremendous success. And on university campuses "conservative" and "individualist" clubs have begun to spring up to challenge the sway of predominantly "liberal" faculties.

Thus waters from two widely differentiated streams have begun to jostle together in the great river of public expression. There are fights all over the place; the recent battle in the U.S. Senate, which did the Senate no good because the issue—the reprimand of an individual for bad language—was so indescribably petty, was a mere reflex of a national effervescence that will continue to push far more legitimate and interesting topics to the fore.

The probability that there will be many meaningful clashes between opposed ways of looking at life does not alarm me in the least. What would alarm me would be the entry of the *State* into the arena of argument to suppress one side or the other. I cannot see this happening in America.

**But if I am not alarmed** by future probabilities, I am bothered by one aspect of the current intellectual scene. And that is the number of exceedingly thin skins there are around. Nobody can "take it" any more. People who enter into intellectual combat ought to enjoy it, or at the very least they should make up their minds to accept without flinching any brickbats that may be coming their way. What bothered me about the official Yale University reaction to the criticism expressed by Mr. Buckley in his *God and Man at Yale* was not Yale's refusal to admit Mr. Buckley's case. What was really demeaning was the University's attempt to pretend that nothing had been said. What we should have had was a rousing good fight, with Mr. Buckley being invited to debate a professor—or even President Griswold—in Woolsey Hall. Then the issue would not have festered as it did for months.

The thin epidermis was not always the distinguishing characteristic of the intellectual. Fifty years ago intellectuals *expected* to run into opposition. A Professor Charles A. Beard, made uncomfortable by the academic climate at Columbia, would resign with a flourish to trumpet his opinions elsewhere. Beard was only one among a doughty band that fought without whining. Take Professor J. Allen Smith, author of *The Spirit of American Government*, for another example. A lawyer who quit to become a student of economics in his thirties, Smith was "purged" from a small Ohio University faculty during the superheated campaign year of 1896 for voting for Bryan. Instead of reaching for the crying towel, Professor Smith went on to the University of Washington which, as historian Eric Goldman says, "loved him for the enemies he had made." He continued to live an embattled life, giving as good as he got in the way of intellectual contumely. While I think Professor Smith was wrong in many of his opinions, I have always admired him for the way he confronted his career problems. He had the courage to take risks for his convictions. He never complained he was being "forced" to "conform."

To go back to England of a hundred or more years ago. In 1829 a young historian named Thomas Babington Macaulay took it upon himself to tear James Mill's theories of utilitarianism to shreds in the *Edinburgh Review*. James Mill, to Macaulay, was a "smatterer," one of a group of theorists "whose attainments just suffice to elevate them from the insignificance of dunces to the dignity of bores." If that had been said in any modern periodical, the dread epithet of "McCarthyism" would have been invoked. But what happened as between James Mill and Thomas Babington Macaulay? Nothing, except that they remained good personal friends. And when Macaulay applied at India House for a job in India, James Mill saw to it that he got the post. Such magnanimity has disappeared from our intellectual world, and that, not "conformity," is what is really the matter with us today.

# The Human Problem of Collectivism

**Individualism Reconsidered**, by David Riesman. 529 pp. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press. \$6.00

David Riesman's writing, or at least his name, is now known to an audience far beyond scholarly sociological circles. *The Lonely Crowd*, reprinted in soft covers, has achieved, we are told, a circulation of 40,000 or so—which is phenomenal for a book of this kind. There is good reason for this success. Riesman makes only the most perfunctory of bows to the pseudo-scientific apparatus of pretentious category and meaningless statistic, the stock-in-trade of contemporary sociology. He looks at human beings and their inter-relationships directly, with sensitivity, wit and a real interest in them as individuals.

The breadth and liveliness of that interest is displayed in this latest book—a collection of occasional writings over a number of years—a great deal more engagingly than in *The Lonely Crowd*, where the weight of his thesis tended to cramp the free movement of his mind. Everything in the American scene, from football or the movies to education or politics, is grist to his mill.

Riesman is at his best when, as in this book, he approaches the style of the essay, the form in which the best sociological observation was written for hundreds of years. That, however, was before the word "sociology" was invented, and before those who were concerned with man and his inter-relationships found it necessary to play at being physical scientists and to develop an imitation of the methodology of the physical sciences. Riesman, like the handful of other intellectually stimulating sociologists among his contemporaries and predecessors, succeeds to the degree that he returns to this tradition and overcomes the methodology in which he is trained.

That methodology is so ill-conceived for its purpose that, did one not know the seriousness with which its disciples regard it, it might be thought to be a colossal ironic joke of some giant electronic calculator which had examined all the possible

ways of setting up a method for studying human beings and picked the most inappropriate. The characteristic which distinguishes human beings from all the other objects of human study—their consciousness, their subjectivity, their innate individuality—is rigorously excluded from the "model" of man with which conventional sociology operates.

It is this totally anti-individualistic character of sociological thinking which makes the emergence of a writer like David Riesman, with his genuine concern for the individual, so interesting a phenomenon. That, despite his imaginative recognition of the constricting and cloying conformism of the contemporary modes of intellectual life, he fails to break radically with the underlying errors of that position, is comparatively unimportant. What is important is that so sharp a challenge should be delivered to the implicit assumptions of the social scientists by one of their own number.

. . . no ideology, however noble, can justify the sacrifice of an individual to the needs of the group. Whenever this occurs, it is the starkest tragedy, hardly less so if the individual consents (because he accepts the ideology) to the instrumental use of himself . . .

Social science . . . has sometimes led us to the fallacy that, since all men have their being in culture and as a result of the culture, they owe a debt to that culture which even a lifetime of altruism could not repay (one might as well argue . . . that since we are born of parents, we must feel guilt whenever we transcend their limitations!) Sometimes this point is pushed to the virtual denial of individuality: since we arise in society, it is assumed with a ferocious determinism that we can never transcend it . . . . But if [such concepts] are extended to hold that conformity with society is not only a necessity but also a duty, they destroy that margin of freedom which gives life its savor and its endless possibility for advance.

Heretical words from a professor of Social Sciences at the University of Chicago, words which are given depth and pathos by dozens of vignettes drawn from all corners of American life of individuals—high-brow and low-brow alike—oppressed

by the demand for conformity with standards which negate all individuality. From the little girl whose love for the piano must be stifled because it may interfere with her "adjustment" and "personality development," to the anxious suburbanite who desperately tries to find the precisely "right" attitudes to hold so that he shall not be considered eccentric, Riesman gives a fearful, if sympathetic, picture of the plight of the human being beneath the torrent of "socializing" pressures let loose in our time by high priests of the cult of mediocrity.

Disturbed as he is, and sensitive as he is to the human problem in a socializing and collectivizing society, he seems to have little inkling of the causes of our situation. To politics and economics he applies his own version of the semi-Marxist, semi-Freudian outlook of Erich Fromm. As much as he recoils from the human results of developing collectivism, the great principles of division of power and a free economy, the foundations of individual liberty, play no part in his thought. But just because his economic and political attitudes are conventional, his vivid awareness of the breach of fundamental human values which they have produced is significant.

FRANK S. MEYER

## Minus the Jargon

**Introduction to Economics**, by John V. Van Sickle and Benjamin A. Rogge. 746 pp. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company. \$5.50

It's refreshing to find two professors of economics whose views are enough alike to allow joint authorship of a textbook. And even more refreshing is the discovery that their chief concern is with the economics of freedom rather than the planned economy. Both authors teach at Wabash, a small private liberal arts college at Crawfordsville, Indiana, where Dr. Van Sickle is chairman of the Economics Department.

As economists, the authors say they are reluctant to pass value judgments on economic issues, but they do start with an admitted bias:

"Freedom is one of the few absolutes which the scientists must recognize. For this reason, we call that economic system, economic policy, or economic action *wrong* which seems to present a clear threat to the maintenance of freedom."

Aside from its impact on freedom, the functions of an economic system are to determine: (1) What things are to be produced and in what amounts? (2) To what task is each person and each unit of natural resources to be assigned? (3) How much is each person to receive as his share?

Under one type of economic organization, a central agency, usually the central government, decides the answers to these three questions. Under the other type, the decisions are left to individuals who react to the free price system. That there is no tenable "middle way" between these two types is clear to the authors: "If the State arrogates to itself the exclusive right to decide what shall be produced, if it undertakes to assign men to jobs, and to distribute rewards on the basis of political decisions, private enterprise necessarily disappears."

In objecting to various programs of the Welfare State, the authors explain that they are not indifferent to great personal, regional and international inequalities of well-being:

Quite the contrary. We favor the institutions of private property and private enterprise precisely because we believe that a vigorous, responsible, and genuinely competitive private enterprise system works constantly, though slowly, to reduce precisely these types of inequality; and that it does this in a fashion which maximizes personal freedom of choice and which also maximizes, over time, the amount that can be divided. We believe that the solution of the problem of poverty is to be found through increasing production, over time, rather than through a drastic equalization of the distribution of what is being produced at any particular period of time.

Finally we wish to go on record as believing that private property and competitive private enterprise are not just fair weather gadgets to be put in mothballs in rough weather. Quite the contrary. It is precisely at such times that a free society needs the drives and the flexible guidance which competitive markets automatically provide.

The authors look toward the diffusion of power—whether political

or economic—as a solution to many of our problems. "We favor private capitalism because it diffuses power. Similarly we favor the states and their subdivisions rather than the central government as the principal agencies for carrying out the economic functions of the State because they remain subject to the disciplines of interstate and inter-regional competition."

While this solution may be an appealing expedient at the moment, one might conclude that a strict adherence to their basic tenets of freedom would have led the authors to the conclusion that much of the power they speak of is undesirable, however diffused.

Many readers may feel that the discussions of social security, monetary policy and inheritance taxes are inconsistent with the admirable ideals propounded by the authors. But the book invites discriminating teachers and students to think through these problems. And it is highly readable, in contrast to many texts on the "dismal science." Economics is plagued with a jargon all its own; the authors know this jargon, but do not offer it as a substitute for lucid explanations.

Good texts with a bias toward freedom are not easy to find, and this one merits careful consideration.

W. M. CURTISS

## German Industrialists

**Tycoons and Tyrant**, by Louis P. Lochner. 304 pp. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. \$5.00

Twice in a generation Allied vindictiveness has boomeranged in Germany. After World War One America with her short-lived fourteen points joined the *diktat* at Versailles—German "war guilt," years of occupation, impossible billions in reparations. In World War Two, America was in the vanguard in directing the spoils—unconditional surrender, the quartering of Germany, and the Morgenthau Plan.

The Morgenthau Plan, officially blessed by the United States and British governments at Quebec on September 15, 1944, aimed at "converting Germany into a country principally agricultural and pastoral." Now we know that this plan was the subversive design of Harry

Dexter White in the service of another power. But why the naive receptivity of Washington and the American intelligentsia to a new Carthaginian peace? Why do we now rebuild factories we once blew up, and marshal and equip troops we once destroyed and then forbade? Why did we forget Edmund Burke's admonition: "I know of no method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people"?

Reasoned answers are found in Louis P. Lochner's brilliant new book on German industry from Hitler to Adenauer. Lochner is equipped to do the job. He was for fourteen years chief of the Berlin Bureau of the Associated Press, a member of the Hoover Commission to Germany and Austria in 1947 (which exposed the madness of the Morgenthau Plan), and editor of the best-seller *The Goebbels Diaries*. He did his job well.

Lochner arrays all the characters in the modern Wagnerian tragedy—political fanatics like der Fuehrer, Goebbels and Hess; political middle-of-the-roaders like von Papen and Schacht; industrial tycoons like Thyssen of steel, Duisberg and Bosch of chemicals, Bucher and von Siemens of electrical manufacturing.

The point of Lochner's story in the relation of German industry to German politics is to break down the myth of criminal intent in the German industrialists. Theirs were the sins of omission rather than commission. They believed they were buying "full employment" and prosperity. The German four-year economic plan was not much different from other cure-all plans in the thirties—coal nationalization in Britain, the popular front in France, the New Deal in America. Once granted "emergency" dictatorial powers, however, Hitler dissolved the Reichstag, unleashed his Gestapo, persecuted Jews and menaced Europe. Lochner writes:

Evil was mingled inextricably with the good, but the evil wrought by German tycoons was the result of human shortcomings. . . . We may in a holier-than-thou attitude pronounce a verdict of moral guilt against those Germans in industry who helped Hitler, or who lacked the stamina to stand up to him when opposition was still possible, in the smug assumption that, given the same conditions in our country, we would have had the zeal of martyrs and resisted unto death.

Lochner might have illustrated this passage with the fascism that was visited upon America in the form of the National Recovery Administration with the approval of American labor and industrial tycoons. The NRA, coincidental with the rise of Hitler, cartelized American industry and, at one point, jailed a New Jersey pants-presser for charging thirty-five cents instead of the "code" price of forty cents. Perhaps but for the Supreme Court's upholding the right of a Brooklyn poultryman to discount a sick chicken, some future Lochner might have charted an American version of *Tycoons and Tyrants*. He may yet.

WILLIAM H. PETERSON

## Politics by Envy

**The Treason of the People**, by Ferdinand Lundberg. 370 pp. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$4.50

In the present situation it is tempting to welcome any book debunking left-wing myths, even if the author is unable to rid himself of thought habits acquired in a collectivistic past. Unfortunately, most of the converts' literature is disappointing. The liberals who have discovered the values of "Big Business" now praise it as clumsily as they once damned it.

Mr. Lundberg dissects the "common man," that favorite of liberal sentimentality, who comes in for a deserved beating:

The public as a whole—and this means the electorate—is infantile, always excepting a minority . . . the American destiny is to a very considerable extent in the hands of this infantile electorate, which fritters away a large part of its substance.

I think we would not be at the mercy of this electorate to such an extent were it not for those liberals who set up the doctrine that no policy or law is "just" unless it responds to the presumed wish and wisdom of an electorate made envious and covetous beforehand. For instance, Mr. Lundberg "proves" that the public knows absolutely nothing about economics and the actual size and effect of taxation. If that is true, I wonder how any liberal commentator, writer, labor leader or Democrat, unblushingly,

can dare to arouse "public indignation" at the new tax law. Probably very few of the lawmakers were competent to grasp it.

Thus, Mr. Lundberg's book shows why what might be called politics-by-envy is bound to pay off in any given democracy. And it also shows that this sort of politics is wholly divorced from ethics and morals. It is expediency in its lowest form. But from my own humble knowledge of the "common man" in many countries, I would guess that he is being lured into the role of traitor by a vocal minority.

It seems that little can be done about it on the level of the "common man." If the mass of people is stupid beyond repair and, as Lundberg stresses, refuses to use educational opportunities offered, why is it "socially just" and essential to go on proffering "equality of opportunity" at the cost of depriving a gifted and alert minority of a decent education?

Mr. Lundberg investigates a legitimate problem. Yet he employs the very method which served him so well in previous books of a rather different slant. He likes to rattle off statistical odds and ends. I doubt that his readers will labor to put them into a meaningful perspective. Nor is it possible. He tosses out figures and data as if everything had equal weight. He is shockingly uncritical of his sources. For example, relying largely on public opinion polls, he thinks that "It is extremely doubtful that as much as one-half of 1 per cent of all adults could show even approximately correct knowledge about anything describable as a public problem."

As might be expected, Mr. Lundberg irked even reviewers mildly inclined to the left (*e.g.*, the *New Republic*) because, to quote one of them, "he fails to mention the virulent anti-intellectualism that has come to a focus in McCarthyism." I think that one of the few positive signs in Mr. Lundberg's book is his refusal to dabble in the field of "anti-intellectualism." His former fellow-liberals also bewail the fact that "everything pushes the author toward a philosophical conservatism." This reviewer doubts, however, that pushed ex-liberals will ever produce the badly needed philosophy of conservatism.

HELMUT SCHOECK

## Cold War Strategy

**Strategy for the West**, by Sir John Slessor. 180 pp. New York: William Morrow. \$3.00

Sir John is a distinguished airman whose book this reviewer has read with interest but without agreement. Although he writes, "that the U. S. could be knocked out [by] air bombardment . . . is nonsense," nevertheless, he repeats the familiar claim that the long-range bomber is "the primary arm" in war, that atomic bombs have been the great "deterrent," that Army and Navy appropriations should be drastically cut. All of which may or may not be true.

In his main argument Sir John is not always clear as to the relation between strategy and policy. On page 8 he writes: "We shall never adopt it [war] as an instrument of policy," but on page 10 he points out accurately that a worthwhile victory is one which is "successful in creating world conditions more favorable to yourself than if there had never been a war"—in other words, true victory is more political than military. Moreover, on page 30 he says we are "passing into a phase of this war [the so-called cold war] in which the chief burden is shifting from the military to the political side."

Sir John advocates withdrawing U. S. and British forces from Germany in connection with a general nonaggression treaty including the Germans, to which the Soviets and their European satellites should be invited to join. We and the British would at the same time pledge atomic retaliation against any aggressor in Europe after a warning to desist. Until the communist powers join, they would be subject to the sanctions of this arrangement. And yet on pages 16 and 23 he has already found the idea of atomic bombing by both sides of each other's rear areas so terrifying and so senseless that that sort of war "has abolished itself" and will never happen. Thus this proposed treaty assumes that the U.S.S.R. could be pounded into submission before Britain was similarly pounded. But would any British government in its moment of decision see the matter in that light? This reviewer doubts it.

HOFFMAN NICKERSON

## Elihu Root: American Conservative

**Elihu Root and the Conservative Tradition**, by Richard W. Leopold. 203 pp. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. \$3.00

Sated with bunking and debunking books about F.D.R. and his unworthy worthies, it is refreshing to turn to a happier period still within the memory of man, when the Constitution was sacred and honor was a virtue; namely, to that of *Elihu Root and the Conservative Tradition*.

Oscar Handlin writes in his commendably brief Editor's Preface: "This study examines the development of Root's career and locates it in the evolution of a conservative tradition in America." It is also "located" in the atmosphere of the author's prejudices. As Handlin says: "The lot of the conservative in America has not been an easy one. In a society given to radical rapid change, he has been the advocate of caution. Against those who argued the advantages of the continually new, he has preached the utility of the old."

This, of course, is the lot of the conservative everywhere.

Recorded in this book are Root's achievements and services: as Secretary of War from 1899 to 1904 in establishing a sound colonial system and in creating the General Staff Corps; as Secretary of State from 1905 to 1909, in promoting peace and a good-neighbor policy; as Senator from New York from 1909 to 1915, waging "a sincere, sane, rear-guard defense of conservatism"; "as an elder statesman after 1921 . . . as the most prominent proponent of America's entry into the World Court."

Summed up by Dr. Leopold, Root's conservatism "insisted that change be orderly and slow, that it respect existing institutions and interests, and that it recognize the American creed of a government of laws, not men." The validity of such conservatism becomes evident by just stating its opposite! Leopold continues: "He consistently opposed government encroachment upon the life of the individual, whether it affected property rights or personal liberties. He was confident that the enlightened self-interest of the business com-

munity would bring the greatest happiness to the greatest numbers. He had a deep respect for law and legal procedures. He fought almost every alteration of the Constitution . . ." and believed in "the virtue of representative government and the need for an independent judiciary." In other words, he was a libertarian, for the Constitution and free enterprise. Herein lies Root's significance—for us, for our day, and, let us hope, for the future.

Dr. Leopold implies that Root was honest and able, but wrong in his basic philosophy. A thread of hostility runs through the book: while he fought for good government, "Root . . . made no attempt to alter the existing economic and social structure that underlay municipal corruption"; he was "the conservative product of an acquisitive age"; "he revealed a realistic but conservative attitude. . . ." In other words, not a fuzzy liberal and do-gooder.

More interesting than the bare factual skeleton of Root's life are his views—and the asides of Dr. Leopold such as, "A large number of Republicans were convinced that the Democrats were incapable of governing the country; a smaller, but still sizable group professed to believe that their rivals were bent upon destroying American ideals and institutions." Were they so wrong? Root's last public office was that of senator from 1909 to 1915. In that period, "Root was out of tune with the times . . . This age subjected to a searching re-examination accepted beliefs and standards in society, business and politics and sought to *restore to the people the control of their government*. . . ." [Emphasis added]. Well, that is one way of looking at it.

We also read: "If Root was not a profound political thinker, he did have strong convictions and the ability to express them clearly, forcefully, and in good temper. He started with an unshakable faith in the American constitutional system. . . ." So? Because he did not particularly favor the income tax, "Root came to be regarded as an exponent of Old Guard standpattism. . . ."

Came World War One. Root, with his usual felicitous phrasing, criticized Wilson: "No man should draw

a pistol who dares not shoot. The government that shakes its fist first and its finger afterwards falls into contempt." Even according to Leopold, there was "an element of superficiality" in Root's anti-German thinking. One cannot, however, go along with Leopold when he adds "but today, after a second global conflict, one is less likely to criticize his conclusions than the manner in which he reached them."

Here—at least for this reviewer—endeth the lesson. The account of Root's frustrating mission to Russia, the details of his ineffective views on the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations, and the minutiae of the shifting positions of various dignitaries, including Root, can be of interest only to the specialist. Suffice it to say (not in summary of Leopold's views but as a brief independent appraisal of the facts he sets forth) that, in these later years, Root—mellowed, tired, irritated or disgruntled—no longer stands out as a stern defender of conservatism. Out of office, his influence was exerted through the Republican Party and private channels and represented numerous compromises.

H. C. FURSTENWALDE

## Why Japan Is Free

**Japan, from Surrender to Peace**, by Baron E. J. Lewe Van Aduard. 351 pp. New York: Frederick A. Praeger. \$7.50

Bad as the Far Eastern situation is today, it would be a great deal worse if Japan were in the Soviet orbit. If that were the case, our position in South Korea would be untenable; we would be outflanked on Formosa; the Philippines would be in mortal danger. Thanks to a few tenacious and far-sighted Americans, Japan is still outside the Soviet empire.

How this was brought about in the crucial post-surrender period is the subject of Baron Van Aduard's impressive book. The author, a veteran Dutch diplomat who spent four years in Japan as Deputy Chief of the Netherlands Mission, had a front-row seat at one of the great dramas of our time, the Japanese occupation. There were four principal heroes; the villains were the Russians and those who aided



and abetted their efforts to grab the Japanese chain of mountainous islands.

Long before the end of World War Two the Kremlin was laying its plans and implementing its policies toward getting control of Japan. The Soviets' friends, including those in the United States, were making propaganda and influencing events that would help Stalin stuff Nippon into his bag of loot. As part of that program, Russia entered the war against Japan on August 8, 1945, just six days before Japan surrendered. This gave the Kremlin an opportunity to invade Manchuria and Korea, seize valuable industrial properties and, perhaps most important of all, get a place on the councils of the nations which had fought the long, costly war to victory.

And who are the men who successfully thwarted the Kremlin's grand design in Japan? "Four great names," the author tells us, "dominate the history of post-surrender Japan: Joseph C. Grew, former U.S. Ambassador to Tokyo, who drafted the Occupation directives; General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, who shaped the new Japan; John Foster Dulles, Special Envoy of the President of the United States, who built the Japanese peace treaty; and Shigeru Yoshida, Prime Minister of Japan, who led his country throughout one of the most difficult and decisive periods of its long existence."

Curiously enough, Britain's role in Japan's postwar history further complicated an already complex problem. There was, for example, the British "insistence on the participation of Red China in the peace-making." This, despite Red China's armed intervention in Korea. "They [the British] pretended to believe that eventually the Mao regime would turn away from Moscow, and that by following a policy of conciliation the West could lure Peking to the side of the democratic world."

In view of all the handicaps—to say nothing of the Korean war—under which Dulles, MacArthur and their colleagues labored, it is little short of a miracle that the West did not lose Japan to the Soviet empire. In this honestly writ-

ten, well-documented volume, Baron Van Aduard shows how these courageous men, in winning the arduous battle to make Japan part of the free world, inflicted on communism its worst defeat of the postwar era. HENRY C. WOLFE

## Trapped in Our Armor

**Triumph of the Mollusc—The Age of Conformity**, by Alan Valentine. 179 pp. Chicago: Henry Regnery. \$3.00

We fail today in the politics of time because today we ignore the politics of Eternity. We seek expediences, relativities, public utilities; we ignore the absolutes of meaning and value that stand like the North Star above troubled seas, by which alone we can steer. We forget the words of Van Gogh: "We take a train to reach Paris or Rouen, but we must take death to reach a star."

That we must take life to reach a star is the theme of this wise book. It is a critique of our absorption with the politics of time, of our ignorance of the politics of Eternity. It criticizes our modern American delusions (or, more accurately, our modern delusions, for geography today is more of time than space). The author traces the outer failures of political democracy to its inner failure to develop a living culture. We have followed the first Columbus who discovered the soil of the continent; we have not become the second Columbus who creates the soul of the continent. We have made political safaris with Andrew Jackson; we have not bivouacked with Whitman who, having "nothing in common with institutions," sought the inner kingdom. Invoking the fashionable virtue-word "democracy," we have set the "people's" outer good before man's intrinsic best.

Thus seeking the outer good, we have lost the inward best: the soul that "to itself is an imperial friend." We have erected external armor: government bureaus, commercial machinery, statistics, scientism, flashy arts—which begin as a bulwark and end as a steel trap. The Age of Conformity comes because we revert to the mollusc—building an external skeleton which seems a protection for the flesh and ends as a tomb

for the spirit. We forget that, to be men, we must relegate the skeleton to the secret center and keep the spirit, like the plastic flesh, a terrible swift sword unhampered by the scabbard.

Our culture, says Mr. Valentine, has become urban and slick, not earth-based and profound. We trust the State, science (that cannot calculate incalculable life), "time" as a standard (the "progressive"), negativism that confuses the destruction of the false with the attainment of the real. Literary children, we smash idols and suppose them God: of such, he well says, "The cynicisms they fostered, the frustrations they featured, the wastelands they proclaimed, left their marks on current arts and letters."

Mr. Valentine knows that the worst pressures toward conformity are not political (peace to the "liberals"! ) but cultural. He imagines a "prosperous newcomer" refusing to contribute to the Community Chest—and the pressures that would make him a good-citizen-or-else. (In a public school just last week, I have seen the principal's order to every teacher that she *must* subscribe to four organizations, one the Community Chest, another the N.E.A., or she won't be in that school next year.) When or where do our "liberals" object to such conformities?

Sometimes Mr. Valentine falls into conformity. He uses the silly term "witch-hunt" about investigations of schools, he uses the cant term "vigilantes," etc., thus binding himself in the verbal groove of popular nonsense. But this is seldom.

His over-all sense is magnificent. He is another powerful voice in the increasing revolution of the New Conservatives (who are our only living radicals): he seeks first and last things, he bids us take life to reach a star. And he knows and shows that, if we don't, we shall soon not even reach Gopher Prairie—or New York.

E. MERRILL ROOT

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# Well Worth Reading

**Writing with a Dead Man's Hand: Ability versus Socialism**, by Russell Kirk. 12 pp. National Associated Businessmen, Inc., 910 Seventeenth St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Free

Ability is defined by Dr. Kirk as "the factor which enables people to lift themselves from savagery to civilization, and which helps to distinguish the endeavors of men from the routine existence of insects." When individual ability is no longer rewarded, he points out, the State is faced with decreasing efficiency and integrity; the life-blood of society is gone. Thus, any assumption by the State of the rights and responsibilities of the individual leads to a vicious circle of decreased efficiency - increased government - decreased efficiency, ending in the rapid decline of society materially, intellectually and morally.

**Free Trade, America's Opportunity**, by Leland B. Yeager. 88 pp. Robert Scholkenbach Foundation, 50 East 69 St., New York City. \$.25

"The core of the Free Trade case—that unrestricted international specialization makes more goods and services available to the people of all trading countries than does restriction—has been argued for at least two centuries. Yet the same false old arguments for trade barriers keep cropping up, as influential as ever among uninformed people. One must keep on refuting these fallacies lest the Free Trade case lose by default."

Thus does Leland Yeager justify his writing of this delightful essay. This young Professor of Economics from the University of Maryland states the case for free trade in a classical manner but makes it very much alive with his applications to the modern world. He rightly points out that tariffs—the traditional restraint to free trade—are of minor consequence when compared with import quotas, exchange control, and other more modern schemes for interfering with trade.

Tying trade restriction to the current political scene, Yeager ob-

serves: "Political struggle for special economic advantage makes for corruption . . . Curiously, most people do not consider it morally wrong to do through law what they would consider it wrong to do personally. Yet why is it morally wrong to commit robbery with naked force, while all right to harm other people for one's own benefit through tariff agitation?"

Admitting that free trade is not the key to peace, he states: ". . . international friendship will prosper when economic contacts are peaceful, mutually-beneficial private transactions rather than intergovernmental issues."

National defense is perhaps the most effective argument used by protectionists today. Of this, Yeager says: "The greater the degree of national self-sufficiency that tariff policy aims at, the greater is [the] weakening in the country's economic and therefore military strength. . . . it would probably be wiser to adopt Free Trade and other policies contributing to general economic strength and to rely, if war cut off foreign supplies, on the conversion of peacetime industry to wartime purposes."

Professor Yeager concludes his penetrating analysis on an optimistic note. The greatest need today, he thinks, is for economic education. And he goes far in this little booklet in providing just that.

## In Periodicals

"Professors: Learn from Industry," the **Iron Age**, November 4, 1954. Reprints available from The Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y. Free

Last summer 123 college professors spent six weeks in the offices and plants of 72 U. S. companies, gaining new insight on the practical problems of industry. So far, nearly five hundred professors from 246 colleges and universities have participated in this Fellowships-in-Business program sponsored since 1948 by The Foundation for Economic Education. Some of the enthusiastic comments of both edu-

cators and businessmen are given in this single-sheet report. Students are also benefiting from the comprehensive picture of how industry operates which has been given to their professors.

"Racketeering in Health and Welfare Funds," by A. A. Imberman. **Harvard Business Review**, November-December, 1954. Reprints available from Imberman and De Forest, 25 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill. Single copy free

The advice this student of public opinion offers employers is to exercise their responsibility as guardians of the employee welfare funds they are creating. Otherwise, this two-billion-dollar-a-year kitty is bound to prove too much of a temptation to racketeers. Some of the devices used by unscrupulous union officials to gain access to this easy money are enumerated and documented with specific examples.

"The Discovery and Encouragement of Exceptional Talent," by Lewis M. Terman. **The American Psychologist**, American Psychological Association, 1333 16th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C., June 1954. \$.50

"Mental Testing" has been scorned by many libertarians. And yet we all test each other's mentality all the time, each in his own way, of course. We test another person when he applies for a job, or when we consider him as a matrimonial partner, or when he is merely the giver of advice.

At the University of California last March, Professor Lewis Terman of Stanford University gave the first Walter Bingham lecture. He reviewed efforts to detect and assist exceptional talent, including his Stanford-Binet test. One interesting point he makes is this: children with high IQs have generally been found to be markedly superior in their moral attitudes. Why not? If it is wise to be moral, why shouldn't we expect to find the wise person to be intelligently moral?

Beyond the scope of the lecture itself, it might be added that one cannot be moral except as he is free; and that he cannot develop his exceptional intellectual talents except as he is free to do so, too.



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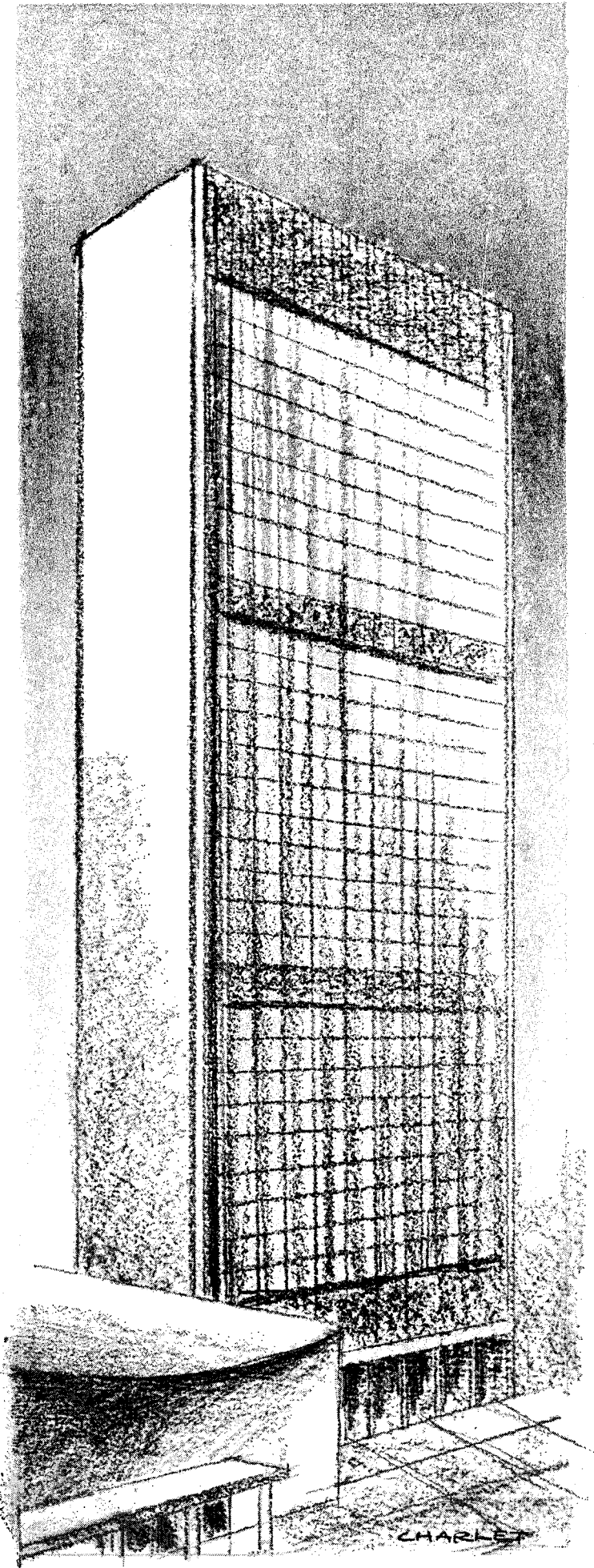
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Many cancers can be cured, but only if properly treated *before* they have begun to spread or “colonize” in other parts of the body.

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