

remaining chapters are concerned with "Strategic Areas and Lifelines" and with various aspects of the political geography of Asia.

In some respects "New Compass of the World" is a frightening book. The staccato nature of the warnings presented, from the "ominously" increasing rôle of the Arctic to the "ominous" significance of Asiatic overpopulation problems, is almost overwhelming. A surprising amount of informative material is to be found in the book, however, and the views of the several authors are timely and provocative.

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*The Power in the People.* By FELIX MORLEY. New York, Toronto, London, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1949.—xvii, 293 pp. \$3.50.

Mr. Morley's sermon on the state of the Republic offers still another demonstration of the extent to which the preoccupation with liberty has displaced the earlier concern with order and stability in conservative thought. In company with other sophisticated political conservatives (whose views are perhaps best represented in the pages of *Fortune Magazine*), Mr. Morley conducts his crusade to save America's soul under the banner of "true" liberalism. The appropriation of this symbol has some historical justification; for Mr. Morley, without being a principled laissez-faireist, persuasively argues a case with which a pre-Gladstonian liberal would find himself in general sympathy. If Mr. Morley was capable of displaying the ill temper and vituperative spirit endemic in political debate on the extreme Left, he would probably assail J. A. Hobson, L. T. Hobhouse, and the early twentieth-century American progressives—all, curiously enough, ignored in *The Power of the People*—as "deviationists", "heretics", "wreckers", "traitors", and "polluters" of the liberal tradition. Mr. Morley's liberalism, in short, is the variety found in the writings of Herbert Hoover and William A. Orton. And this is to say that the cast of his thought and the values he affirms should, at the mid-point of the twentieth century, be labeled conservative.

From one point of view, *The Power in the People* may be regarded as an elaborate historical argument to demonstrate that the United States was intended to be a republic and not a democracy, and that the great issue of the present day is to find the means for escaping from "unbridled" democracy, against which the Founding Fathers established wise safeguards, and for returning to the kind of governmental

order originally contemplated. Viewed more concretely, the volume is an attack upon the growth of the functions and powers of the federal government, a repudiation of the ends and means of the New Deal and Fair Deal programs, and an answer to the theories and practical proposals of the contemporary liberals whose views are conveniently set forth in *Saving American Capitalism*, edited by Seymour E. Harris. In Mr. Morley's eyes, Big Government (like everything else big) is bad in itself, the welfare state is anathema, and the New Deal had as its undisclosed objective the destruction of economic freedom in the United States. While Mr. Morley quite correctly stresses the significance of the problems which flow from the concentration of political and economic power, he fails to perceive that any attempt to bring about a diffusion in and balancing of the pools of concentrated power necessitates sizable institutional innovations and adjustments. The reasons for this failure lie in the fact that Mr. Morley's weapons for attacking the problem of power concentration derive from and are geared to eighteenth-century situations and hopes. Thus, he is certain that only through a spiritual regeneration of the individual which enables each individual to govern himself can the problem of power in twentieth-century America be solved. How this system of self-government operates remains quite obscure.

The conservative posture turns on obeisance before tradition, and Mr. Morley has isolated a strain of pure American tradition before which he worships. This he finds with the aid of an unduly selective, and therefore distorted, version of American history and at the cost of ignoring the pluralistic character of American civilization. He is not only a traditionalist, but he is also a nationalist who insists that what is truly American is both unique and superior. He has no animus toward Europeans, but he is certain that the capitulation to European ideas and ideologies is one cause of the malady from which the United States suffers. He cherishes the "eternal" principles upon which the American system of government is founded, and he asserts that the dim "flame of the Republic" which still burns is threatened with complete extinction because Americans have lost the true faith.

The changes which have occurred in the government of the United States, Mr. Morley holds, are not "in harmony with the original design," and, consequently, jeopardize the existence of the whole structure. His prescription against the ills and failures of American life is a regeneration of the spirit which can be brought about by a realization of America's distinctive heritage and a return to its native principles and values. Among other things, according to Mr. Morley, this would produce an understanding of the extent to which American

political thought rests on the Christian "conception of God as Spirit" and of the fact that the natural rights of man "are the work of God, however we may define Him." The rôle played by Mr. Morley's deeply felt religious convictions in his discussion of the nature and problems of civil government invites an examination which unfortunately cannot be undertaken in a review of this length.

Mr. Morley has an understandable predilection for individuals and minorities of quality and a suspicion of the masses. Consequently, he finds virtue in a society where there are no status groups and where opportunity is always open—this is what he means by social democracy—and sees in the growth of political and economic democracy the road to ruin. In this respect he is out of tune with one of the most exciting of American traditions—the tradition which has been forged in the efforts to realize in the everyday life of the people, where, it is assumed, power should reside, the fullest possible meaning of a dynamic democratic ideal.

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*Monetary Management.* By E. A. GOLDENWEISER. New York, London, Toronto, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1949.—xiv, 175 pp. \$2.75.

*Monetary Management* by E. A. Goldenweiser, now at the Institute for Advanced Study, but for many years Director of Research and Statistics for the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, presents a brief nontechnical review of American monetary and credit policies since the establishment of the Federal Reserve System. The volume, containing 102 pages of text and 47 pages of appendices, is the fifteenth in a series of research studies initiated by the Committee for Economic Development. The brevity of the study is doubtless due to the fact that it is to be supplemented by other C.E.D. studies in the same or correlative fields. Mr. Goldenweiser is himself preparing a study examining the position of money in an advanced industrialized economy, and others are preparing related studies on fiscal policy, the management of the public debt, money flows and cash balances, production vs. inflation, and so forth.

Money, which Mr. Goldenweiser defines as any generally acceptable means of payment, plays a strategic rôle in the economy because it alone, among the factors causing instability, is susceptible to "impersonal and pervasive" regulation (pp. 7-8). This regulation is directed toward volume, availability and cost. From the point of