

cessors and distributors of farm products, particularly foodstuffs, agencies of the Government; first, to get more efficiency in distribution; second, to reduce prices to consumers.

Britain is doing substantially this, but here, the opposition of entrenched food trusts, and of some labor unions—which might be affected thereby—will be bitter; farmers who have been subsidized will not hesitate to bite the hand that feeds them, unless it feeds them enough out of the Federal Treasury.

Both in the White House and on the Hill American labor is in the doghouse. The basic reason is that American labor has no program to end unemployment, except war. When "labor" here and abroad gets a constructive program, wars will be over.

Congress is likely to pass legislation requiring the incorporation of labor unions, publicity of their accounts, and regular elections. Although legislation will be introduced to prohibit strikes, and make the work week 44 to 48 hours before overtime, such bills will not pass without difficulty.

FIRST REFORM YOURSELF

(Continued from page 21)

We must recognize in retrospect that every effort at extensive proselytizing has failed, that every appearance of a flourishing movement has been as delusional as Coolidge prosperity. If this is not obvious to some Georgeists it is because, in their steadfast and futile devotion, they refuse to recognize their incompetence to cope with the obstinate anomalies of human nature.

I have contributed nothing in this essay to an understanding of those anomalies, unless, of course, the reader is already quite familiar with the discoveries of psychoanalysis. I prefer to point out some insufficiencies of the Georgeist outlook, rather than describe some of the achievements of the psychoanalysts.

It is important to note here that not every psychoanalyst has made any direct and vital contribution to the democratization of education, welfare and freedom. Most practitioners enter the field of psychoanalysis by way of medicine, and their interest seldom transcends its special therapeutic utility.

It has remained for Dr. Theodore Schroeder, whom I previously quoted, and from whose researches I have based much of my criticism of Georgeist methods, to apply the discoveries of genetic psychology to social problems. From the nature of these discoveries Schroeder found it necessary to apply what might be termed the psycho-evolutionary perspective, whereby all human problems are seen as problems of our defective and tortuously evolving human nature. Both individual and social maturing are seen in this perspective. Schroeder would apply present knowledge to accelerate this maturing process. The importance of Schroeder to Georgeists becomes apparent when we remember that society is not yet mature enough for Georgeism, and that, briefly, is why it has met with so little acceptance.

It has been said that he who has reformed himself has done his share toward reforming the world. Each must do his share before he can do more than his share.

A BUILDER, A

By Pvt. Walter McC. Maitland

[Concluded from the November-December issue]

THE economic and social pathologies of today are too often viewed in relation to the existing political or class structure. Internal and foreign conflicts reflect the absence of a basis for understanding the principles of free spiritual and economic thinking. In a society where such understanding is lacking, the dominance of one class or one nation over another will make little difference in the course of human events.

Until an economic balance between classes and nations can be realized, war is inevitable, and only serves to aggravate the very problems it is meant to relieve. The outcome is a planned economy under governmental control,* with its inevitable restrictions on both free enterprise and the spiritual development of the individual. No man or group of men, no matter how intelligent, can prepare a blueprint or over-all plan to govern the economy of a free people. Such economic planners are no different in their outlook from the developers of private monopolies, and their world-wide cartels. One is planning for private gain and security, while the other furthers a scheme to abolish want and fear through government control.

Such a concept presupposes a rigidly regimented economy to which all nations must conform under the coercion of economic pacts, and the armed might of allied forces. It is hardly conceivable that the democratic cartel outlined in the Atlantic Charter will insure any better guarantee of world peace and security than did Wilson's Fourteen Points after the last war. To what extent can we expect nationally crazed people, acting under the impulse of patriotic motives, to recognize the two cardinal principles of economic freedom?

That all men have equal rights to the use and enjoyment of the elements provided by nature.

That all men have the exclusive right to what they produce by their own labor or its equivalent exchange value.

To what extent can we hope for spiritual freedom when the average person's constant thought is that of freedom from economic insecurity? In practically all discussions on post-war planning the means of preserv-

*A distinction should be made here between city planners and social planners. The former are technicians usually hired by municipalities, or other divisions of government to develop an engineer's layout for the proper development of streets, parks, and other land or water surfaces. There are also many privately endowed agencies servicing communities with land-plans.

A social, or economic planner, in the sense I use it here, endears himself into a government position whereby the daily lives of people are blueprinted in all their activities. Such a scheme is envisioned in "The World Republic," reviewed elsewhere in this issue.—W. McC. M.

WRECKER AND A BUILDER AGAIN

ing the fundamental rights of man—those rights outlined in the Declaration of Independence—have either been overlooked or misunderstood. The main emphasis has been to increase production and eliminate unemployment. This is impossible as long as the basis of a free economy is disregarded. Where wages are kept at a minimum during normal periods of development, production can never be stimulated sufficiently to relieve the pressure of unemployment. Our one-sided economy shows a distressing picture in the following facts:

Two-thirds of the families in the United States during 1936 earned less than \$1,500, which amounted to hardly 33 per cent. of the aggregate family income throughout the country. These families have not sufficient earning capacity to meet their yearly obligations. This is three to four times the amount earned by 350,000 migrant farm families, who received little more than 20 cents a day.

During 1938, just previous to the Second World War, approximately 11,000,000 persons were unemployed and 2,700,000 persons were on relief. Unemployment such as this paved the way to revolution in Europe. It is this condition which brought Hitler into power and made war the remedy for unemployment.

Before the start of the war over one-third of the families were ill-housed, ill-clothed, and ill-fed. Public housing shelters one-half of one per cent. of the total need in this country. We slaughtered pigs and cattle, and plowed under crops, while one-third of the families throughout the United States were undernourished, and only one-fourth were sufficiently fed.

Due to unwarranted exploitation of land, the fertility of the soil has been dangerously depleted. Every year 3,000,000,000 tons of solid material have been washed out of the fields and pastures of America by water erosion.

Erosion in another sense, has also worked havoc in our cities. Approximately one-sixth to one-fifth of the urban area is blighted. From these obsolete areas, the government obtains only one-fourth the cost of serving them. Many cities, with unhealthy and uneconomic conditions have lost population. Decentralization and a declining birth-rate have decimated them.

Largely responsible for the shortcomings of America's capitalist economy was the erection, after the Civil War, of protective tariffs; these became so high that by 1929 little more than 20 per cent. of our imports consisted of finished manufactures. While benefiting special interest through higher prices, this protective policy has caused incredible discrepancy between prices and wages, curtailed competition, and forced down the margin of subsistence. The result was a world-wide paralysis of trade following the crash of 1929.

ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

These conditions resulted from economic nationalism, the reason for World War I and now World War II. Are these the seeds of democracy we hope to sow upon the earth, that they may grow and bloom into yet a more terrible period of destruction?

To date, the war has completely cut off the continental European market. The export demand has been the reverse of that of World War I, which provided a tremendously increased foreign market. This time the belligerent nations prepared in advance to get along with a minimum of imported industrial and agricultural goods. To eliminate the need for outside buying, the warring nations have rationed products normally imported. Undoubtedly, after the present conflict, attempts to establish a favorable balance of trade between certain democratic countries on the one hand, and certain Axis powers on the other, will act as a check to freedom of the seas. Already, the preferential British tariff has given Empire countries an added advantage in British markets to the detriment of their competitors.

There is great danger of a new domestic isolationism developing, and a further curtailment of trade under the plea that the United States must produce everything at home in order to be prepared in time of war. The adoption of such a policy will only lead to the continuance of high tariff walls with an accompanying rise in prices to restrict foreign competition. Since tariffs are a form of indirect taxation on articles of general use, they bear heavily on the poor, whose consumption is largest in proportion to its means. By making the poor poorer and the rich richer, we face a condition of human slavery even worse than that which existed before the Civil War.

In 1929, at the peak of prosperity, the nation's productivity was operating at 70 per cent.; and in 1933 at 57 per cent. Such figures are not surprising in view of the recurring depressions, with their strikes and lock-outs, the increasing numbers of unemployed and relief cases, the mounting national debt, and the growth of monopolies. In 1928, eight-tenths of the gainfully employed owned about 80 per cent. of the corporate shares of stock in the country, representing 94 per cent. of the value of our corporations. At the beginning of the present conflict, during 1939 and 1940, when the war industries were expanding, this situation was reflected in the unequal distribution of wealth, resulting from the fact that the principal aircraft, steel machinery, transportation, and textile corporations were realizing net profits ranging from 25 per cent. to over 200 per cent., while wage increases were restricted to less than 10 per cent.

Here lies the backbone of economic nationalism. Here, as in the case of protective tariffs and land monopolies, special interests benefit, while the low and middle income classes are exposed to suffering and impoverishment. This becomes the logical climax to World War I and II, the opening prelude to World War III.

In an upsurge of patriotism when one's country is attacked, men shoulder arms and march forward. They are the products of a technocratic world, taught to believe, to have faith, and wear the stamp of military efficiency. Little do they understand the principles for which they fight, or the consequence of their sacrifices. They are to be admired for their courage; yet pitied, too, for their faltering attempts to make adjustments to the changing conditions of their social and economic patterns of life. Can we expect these men, returning from the battlefield, to discard the faith they fought in defense of, and were willing to die for?

A NEW SENSE OF VALUES

If we believe in equal opportunities for all men, the right to Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness, if we hold these truths to be self-evident, then our course of action must emanate from a keen awareness of their meaning and the possibilities of their attainment within the framework of government. The blind faith of the American public in the democratic process has obscured their vision; in the darkness of their ignorance, they have little to hope for and much to despair of. They fail to realize that the government of any nation is composed of a maze of political machinery concealing the economic groups which control it for their own interest, for wealth, and for power. The one, as Theodore Roosevelt described it, represents "the visible government," the other "the invisible government." Our idealism, no matter how fine, no matter how noble, is of little value unless it can be realized within this rigid framework. Whether our form of government survives the war makes little difference, if we are unable to solve our domestic problems in the interest of human welfare. Whole races may be annihilated, forms of government may change overnight, but the causes of war still remain. The issue, therefore, which every man, woman, and child must face today, is not embodied in the question of which government is worth preserving, but in the question of how can the idea of peace be made a reality. The answer to these questions rests with the people, and their recognition of the fact that government is only a means of legalizing the action of special groups which control it, and does not necessarily guarantee what in theory it represents.

As long as the "Invisible Government" operates without the full knowledge and consent of the governed, there is little else to believe in than the suicidal sacrifice of human life as a fitting climax to a shattered ideal of world peace and order. If there is to be any peace in the post-war period, it will arise from a new spiritual development and transformation of personality. It has been said that this is a people's war, a war with a purpose, a purpose to live like men with dignity and freedom. Yet, the spiritual and economic causes and effects of the present conflict only serve to bear out the tragic irony of this statement. Yes, this is a people's war, a war of sacrifice, a war in which the principles of a free economy have been violated. We can continue to talk about eliminating unemployment, stimulating produc-

tion, and abolishing tariffs in order to increase the total wealth of the country, but the present maldistribution of wealth will last just as long as the bulk of the population is deprived of their natural rights. Spiritual enlightenment, alone, cannot change this situation, although it provides the only basis for right thinking and action.

The remedy lies in the possibility of a larger number of citizens participating in the administrative and planning functions of government. This will necessitate a decentralization of governmental activities to the fullest extent possible, in addition to developing smaller economic and social units, which have human scale, and in which people can find the opportunity and time for the simpler pleasures of life. Total taxes on land must be collected, indirect taxes abolished, and laws enforced against harmful monopolies. The development of co-operatives can also serve as an effective weapon in eliminating unfair profits, and furthering a more equal distribution of wealth. Until this is accomplished, in addition to promoting an understanding of true spiritual thought, production will never be expanded, nor unemployment eliminated, except by war. It is no easy task to get our rugged individualists to realistically face the obstacles to a free economy, when they have been raised under the doctrines of *laissez-faire* and unrestricted capitalism. The amelioration of the world, however, cannot be achieved overnight or in moments of crisis, but through constant effort and sacrifice in promoting the principles of right thought and action.

During the period of post-war reconstruction, political and economic reforms cannot be expected to establish the basis for peace and security as long as our process of thinking is dominated by thoughts of violence, power politics, and isolationism; as long as our social structure, our organizations, and institutions are so large and highly centralized as to be incapable of moral and spiritual life.

The attainment of a system of free enterprise, under existing political institutions, will require a complete reversal of thinking. The peace and security which is every man's right, can come only from a growing consciousness of the meaning of free spiritual and economic thought. Our hope for a better world lies with those capable of understanding this approach, with the simpler peoples, who have centuries to live before their minds are ripe for despair. Yes, they are the people, the people without fear and want, the people who feel they are the meaning of what is to happen, the builders of a new world, a new culture worthy of life.

• • •

No man shall have proprietary rights over land who does not use that land wisely and lovingly. It seems to me that the earth may be borrowed, but not bought. It may be used, but not owned. It gives itself in response to love and tendering, offers its seasonal flowering and fruiting.

But we are tenants and not possessors, lovers and not masters.

MARJORIE KINNAN RAWLINGS
in "Cross Creek."