

social reformers which characterized the nineteenth century is broken. In times like the present, social reforms seem more urgent than they seemed in quieter periods. Come they must; but the question is whether by the method of law—constitutionalism is nothing else but the method of law—or precipitately with disregard of law, even if this disregard springs from benevolent intentions. We should not forget that even if the “law has perpetuated some abuses, it has also preserved our liberties.” This creed of liberalism is set forth in the book with an urbanity and an erudite humanism which every reader will deeply appreciate.

HANS KOHN.

*Smith College.*

*Democracy versus Socialism.* BY MAX HIRSCH. (New York: Henry George School of Social Science. 1939. Pp. xxx, 468. \$2.00.)

*Two Systems: Socialist Economy and Capitalist Economy.* BY EUGENE VARGA. (New York: International Publishers. 1939. Pp. 268. \$2.50.)

To Max Hirsch, Henry George was the “prophet and martyr of a new and higher faith”; while for Professor Varga it is obvious that no panegyric of Stalin could be too fulsome, nor any doubt entertained regarding the imminence of paradise in the Soviet Union.

Hirsch’s book, first published in 1901, is an able exposition of the single tax doctrine, embracing criticisms of the economic and ethical bases of socialism and an endeavor to show that all schemes for social reform except the Georgian must result in tyranny, inefficiency, and retrogression. A curious faith in the beneficence of what Hirsch exalts as “unconscious coöperation” pervades the whole argument: social planning is frowned upon, partly because it “utilizes only an insignificant part of the intelligence of the coöperators,” while “unconscious coöperation utilizes the whole sum of their individual intelligences” (pp. 282–283). The crucial point in any single tax argument must be the effort to show that the evils of private ownership of instrumentalities of production can be traced without exception to private reception of land’s economic rent. That this is a large factor, no socialist would deny; but it is doubtful whether Hirsch, despite a very elaborate treatment, has been completely convincing in making it the sole cause.

Professor Varga undertakes to examine comparatively capitalist and Soviet Union economic systems. Thus, he investigates, with the aid of numerous statistical tables, “Capitalist Accumulation and Socialist Accumulation,” “Industrial Production under Capitalism and in the Soviet Union,” “Agrarian Crisis under Capitalism: Growth of Agriculture in the Soviet Union,” and so on. In each instance, he discovers that “capitalism” is utterly bankrupt; while the Soviet Union is solving its difficulties

so rapidly that the advent of a pure Communist régime will not be long postponed. The author looks forward, "in the not very distant future," for example, to the complete disappearance of money; and even the "lies and calumnies of the fascist mercenaries" can no longer obscure the fact that "workers in the Soviet Union are freed from all exploitation, from all oppression" (p. 171).

This is a good Communist campaign textbook; but as a treatment of comparative economic systems it would have been much more effective had obvious over-statements been avoided and an endeavor made to raise the plane of argument above the level of party polemic. Despite the elaborate statistics, it is difficult not to reach the conclusion that the author began his study with a vision of what he thought should exist, and then, conveniently enough, found his vision confirmed in every detail.

MULFORD Q. SIBLEY.

*University of Illinois.*

*Law and Politics; Occasional Papers of Felix Frankfurter, 1913-1938.*

EDITED BY ARCHIBALD MACLEISH AND E. F. PRICHARD, JR. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1939. Pp. xxiv, 352. \$3.00.)

Except possibly Supreme Court Justices Holmes and Cardozo, no one had so completely revealed the map of his mind prior to donning judicial robes as had Felix Frankfurter. For twenty-five years, he has been speaking out on the principal controversies of the day, especially as these related to social justice, to the Constitution, and to the Supreme Court. His occasional papers, according to Editors MacLeish and Prichard, "chart the social and economic and political thinking of a man who may well sit on the Court for the next quarter-century" (p. xi). Perhaps more than that. Certain of these essays stand as a measure of Mr. Frankfurter's forthright courage, as in his masterly and moving defense of Sacco and Vanzetti.

For Mr. Frankfurter, the raw material of modern government is business—taxation, labor relations, housing, agricultural control, banking and finance. Political functions in relation thereto are, in fact, but phases of a single problem—the interplay of economic enterprise and government. The interworking of economics and politics has never occurred without some degree of guidance, of control. Private interest, directly or indirectly, has from time to time devised its own controls, usually at the expense of the general welfare. Mr. Frankfurter had long been urging that state and federal government function as regulatory constructive instruments of social policy. There are, of course, several constitutional powers on which such government may draw in protecting and promoting our social well-being, but taxation must, he thinks, play the dominant rôle in years to come: "More and more it [the taxing power] is bound to serve as a