

HORIZON

**The magazine
of useful and
intelligent living**

APRIL

1943

Articles by MANLY PALMER HALL Philosopher

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- *We are infants in global thinking, very young in the gentle quality of loving and understanding each other*

Our Hour and Time

IF we view the whole pageantry of world history in the terms of our present problem nothing is occurring now that in principle has not occurred before. Weapons differ, and we possess a more global concept, but the basic emotions which are working out in this present war have existed since the beginning of time and have precipitated one civilization after another into the chaos of destruction and death.

Certain great values lie at the root of human development, and to depart from these values is to come to grief. These values are kinds of moral patterns, and once they have been set in motion as patterned energy they inevitably unfold according to their nature. If, therefore, we can recognize that we are in the midst of a certain kind of pattern, we can have reference to the whole of recorded history to determine the motion of this pattern. We can know how it will unfold, and what its consequences will be; and most important of all, we can know how to adjust ourselves to the most reasonable fulfillment of the constructive aspects of that pattern.

The pattern we are following very closely today is preceded in the Roman Empire. Unfortunately average knowledge of Rome is limited to the story of the Caesars, giving us a sort

of abstract conception of Roman politics and Roman debauchery, but very little knowledge of the economic and social life of Rome. H. G. Wells recognized some years ago that our histories have been written, for the most part, around outstanding personalities, and we habitually think of times and places in terms of individuals. This is not the way to a proper perspective on history. For example, if a thousand years hence an American history should be written largely around Washington and Lincoln, with possible inclusion of a few of our great military and political and industrial personalities, such a history would give a very inadequate understanding of the life of our people. The story of the Caesars is thus seen as merely the recording of a certain strata of Roman delinquency possible under the state, but which did not represent the political psychology of the Roman people themselves. The political life of Rome was the political life of an industrial people; the social life of Rome was the social life of a people financially minded, industrially poised. Rome thought just as we do today, in terms of world trade.

The ships of Rome sailed the known seas of her time. The armies of Rome policed the known world. Why had the Romans invaded Gaul and Britain

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An identifying footnote to each article indicates whether it is an original article, a condensation from a Manly Palmer Hall lecture, or an excerpt from his writings. *Suggested Reading* is a guide to his published writings on the same or a related subject. A list of Manly Palmer Hall's published works will be mailed on request.

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and subjugated Carthage and Athens? Why had they gathered these states and nations together into a great economic, social, and political commonwealth? Because Rome believed, and believed sincerely, that it was necessary to administer the world by means of a strong central authority. In other words, Rome accepted the challenge of the first century as we face the challenge of the twentieth century, in the job of keeping the world in order.

The Romans were very conscientious about it; in many respects more so than the empire builders of the last five centuries. It was not their intention to destroy conquered people, they were far more interested in the cultivation of their arts and crafts; and so they caused to flow into the great center of Roman industrial life the products and manufactured goods of probably twenty-five or thirty nations, and Rome was satisfied to act as a clearing house for the distribution of goods. The result was, Romans grew rich as middlemen; they acquired wealth by the same psychology under which we are living today. As time went on the Romans did not want to produce, did not want to go back to farms and agriculture and herding of sheep; they wanted to buy and sell and make a profit off other men's labors. Where since have we heard that one?

I have seen old records of the Roman educational system, and the farm boys of two thousand years ago too wanted a college education. The work all Romans wanted was taking a percentage of the profits. They were willing enough to conduct their business in a very legitimate manner, according to the theory of economics. As the American indus-



trial tycoon goes to his office in his limousine—or did until the slight matter of gasoline rationing came up—so did the Roman descend at his office from his chariot, in the course of the day to buy and sell other men's products for profit. They had their bourse and the fundamentals of a stock exchange, and they had lobbies. They had as fine a system of lobbying as you would want to find. They had politicians who misrepresented their constituency, tools of the industrial magnates. Most of all, Rome had empire consciousness, in the rooted belief that it was good for other countries for Rome to rule them, because Rome could rule them far better than they could rule themselves.

Rome had justification for this belief, for a considerable part of the world of the Roman Empire was primitive. Northern and Central Europe was savage, and Rome brought order to its people, torn within themselves by their tribal strife without any concept of national existence nor any policy of national progress. We must not feel that Rome did nothing for these people; Rome did many things, has every right to be regarded as constructive. In Egypt, Rome rebuilt the great aqueducts, improved the sewerage, even went so far as to rebuild the monuments; the inscription is on many of the stone figures, including the great Sphinx, 'Roman engineers repaired these things so future generations might enjoy them.' Rome's was a thoughtful empire, and for one corrupt politician there were a hundred sincere, industrious, and able men.

This empire spirit came finally by the unfolding of its pattern to a condition which we have sought to paraphrase. Our conclusions could parallel those of certain thoughtful Romans of the second and third centuries. They were then bewailing certain weaknesses that had shown up in the Roman consciousness: "The youth of Rome are becoming helpless, they have lost their initiative. Young men are no longer able to make lives for themselves, but are dependent upon the wealth of their fathers for their

careers." Another Roman writer has recorded. "The distribution of wealth is becoming even more difficult because of monopolies." In today's pattern we know these same problems.

So in the history of this people, beneath a familiar story of the Caesars, togas, chariots and the Coliseum, there was another of a greater set of values. Here was struggling humankind, trying to preserve and build, but falling into the dilemma common to every people since the beginning of time, as expressed by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus: "Rome is dying because Rome has nothing more to live for."

He tells us that the Romans had no initiative left, no incentive; they had everything they could possibly want and need, and there were no more worlds to conquer. It is always the case, when this point arrives in national destiny, that a nation will either collapse or else its civilization will lead it to the most vital of conquests, self-conquest. Romans did not move to self-conquest. They were the rulers of the world, with no need to build, to struggle, to go on. They believed in the supreme significance of themselves, and so they relaxed their vigilance toward life. They employed their leisure to exploit each other, and having no common goal, they preyed upon each other, and so was destroyed the empire within itself.

This experience of Rome we now see again emerging as the experience of other times and other people. When Rome had lost the flame of action, was living upon its glory and not upon vitality, from the north came the hordes of the Barbarians. The savage nations had learned a little of the significance of empire, and they rode down on their shaggy little ponies to sack and pillage and gradually to chew off some Roman boundaries. One by one the people of the colonial empires of Rome lost their respect for the mother country and declared their own independence, and gradually the empire boundaries shrank nearer and nearer to the center, and the Barbarians stood at the gates of Rome.

The Romans had forgotten how to fight, had forgotten how to think, had forgotten how to maintain the integrity of their own wisdom by the strength of their own character; so what happened? Appeasement. Rome sent out its representatives bearing gifts to buy off the hordes of the Goths, and as we know this policy of decadence led finally to the utter demoralization of the Romans and the collapse of the Roman Empire.

History repeats itself. Italy lost at Tripoli the last fragments of the modern Roman Empire. In 1914-18, Germany lost its colonial empire. In the last five years the British colonial empire has been shaken as never before in its existence. In the last three years the French colonial empire has become positive to the mother country instead of negative. In more recent times we have lost a fragment of what we might call our empire, the Philippine Islands. We see these straws in the wind. Cycles are repeating themselves. In all times there has been a clear division between principle and comfort. The inevitable indication of decadency is the willingness to sacrifice values and integrity for temporary peace and comfort. All thoughtful persons today must feel that we are approaching very near to the time for another decision in this great history of decisions through which the world has passed in the thousands of years of recorded tradition.

In all probability within the next six months the Axis Powers will make some peace overture. We are then going to be confronted with a series of possibilities, and there will be inevitable division within ourselves concerning these. Once more the decision will lie between present comfort and permanent good. And the question arises as to how clearly



we can think on the line of demarcation between integrity and profit.

It would appear that we should be able to make these decisions fairly, honestly, and squarely; but I question whether these decisions will be made with desired ease and definiteness. No one of course wants war; all who think constructively are in soul and at heart pacifists; all who have any dream whatever for the common good, desire peace for mankind. Yet when it comes to these basic decisions concerning values, we will confront the dilemma of every heroic person since the beginning of time. There can be no doubt that those who have given their lives for humanity would have preferred to have lived, continuing in peaceful and comfortable existences. We honor Socrates because he drank the hemlock, we honor Jesus because he died for what he believed, and throughout the world we honor wartime heroes who have given their lives for us. To regard the heroic dead as honorable is to recognize that they have given all for what they believed, that they clung to their convictions in the presence of the sorest temptations to follow courses of easy action. Tradition assures us that this is the common finding of our own time, and that in matters of decision between principle and compromise, the philosophical as ever are willing to die for that principle. Also that there will never be a world that is not willing to die for what it believes. It is this absolute integrity which will ultimately remove the necessity for the sacrifice. When all men are willing to die for what they believe, they will not have to. The order of life which produces this united integrity of purpose will produce with it an integrity of existence which will not demand such sacrifice. If some must die for others it is because those others will not live truly themselves.

So then, in the time and terms of the to be expected appeasement overtures, we must be alert to the obvious, that there will be no intention on the part of the Central Powers to offer a permanent or constructive peace. Their only purpose will be to gain a breathing

space—ten years, five years, maybe twenty years—to study the mistakes they have made, to rebuild an army that has been depleted by a disastrous Russian campaign, to reorganize their ambitions. Not for one moment do they intend to change the pattern of that ambition. If because we want peace we foolishly accept their lies, we will have to fight the whole thing over again. We are up against a pattern of ideology that will never cease until it is absolutely defeated. And we know from history, if we begin the process of appeasement, we are from that moment going to begin to hate ourselves, in guilty recognition of gradual demoralization of the basic principles of our national and racial integrity.

If Japan meets with continued setbacks it too will cry for peace, in order to get the world back into a psychology of complacency in which it can again strike in the dark. With neighboring nation, or neighbor next door, ruthless ambition neither slumbers nor sleeps; it is constantly dedicated to the fulfillment of itself; it goes on planning and plotting and scheming until it fulfills itself, or is destroyed. This is very clearly shown in history.

Napoleon's ambition was paid for by the life of France; and yet, within a hundred days Frenchmen were willing to rally around him again, die again for him—give their very lives for the ambitions of another man. As long as there are ambitious men there will be armies to sustain and support them, a policy that will go on until the world disproves it, and nothing is more certain than that it will not be disproved by appeasement. We are approaching the hour of a serious decision, upon which will hang the entire future of our democratic theory of life, and one in which there can be no successful compromise.

We have in this country a bloc of conscientious people with whom we have already had considerable difficulty, the isolationists. We should not think for a moment this group is defunct. That we were nearly destroyed has not changed their viewpoint in the slightest. Certain people are more willing to die

for their opinions than for truth; in fact, if we were all as loyal to hard realities as we are to our own notions, we would truly be an immortal people. But the isolationist minded are of a type that will continue in their convictions even after proven wrong, and deny they are proven wrong even while seeing proof. This isolationist group at the slightest sign of a peace offer will come forth to tell us we have no business fighting for the democratizing of Europe, reminding us once more, or trying to, that we must keep clear of international politics. In the face of a rubber shortage they will tell us we do not need to trade with the Dutch East Indies, we do not need the friendship of other nations; the thing to do is to sit behind our national boundaries, become self-sustaining, mend the home fences; that job is big enough in itself. For the continuance of their opinions these are men perfectly willing to sacrifice the next twenty generations to proving the unproved possibility that one continent or nation can exist apart from the unity of the global world.

And this they will do in face of the clear evidence that we have departed forever from hemispheric thinking. From now on, the moral, emotional, mental, and physical life of the Patagonian will be of vital importance, the habits of the Eskimo and the political existence of the Hottentot are part of a new world plan. Any individual who is thinking in terms of national boundaries today is showing a perspective so narrow that he is unsafe. For we must realize that unless we proceed with greatest skill and caution, this whole war is nothing but a prologue to disaster. It is going to require a measure of thinking greater than any in recorded history to decide the pattern we must establish now, for the world problem will be the fulfillment of this pattern; according to the approach we make we can bestow mortality upon it, or give it some semblance of immortality.

The causes of this war have not been solved, and they will not be solved by the removal of such men as Adolph Schickelgruber. His removal will not



change anything, any more than the removal of Al Capone marked the end of gangsterism. Moods in human consciousness remain in the mechanism of man until utterly disproven. No man is long going to be basically dishonest in his political dealings as he finds that dishonesty does not pay, and no man will remain dishonest long as he finds dishonesty can not pay—but it has to be proved. We will continue to breed dictators until man realizes within his subconsciousness that dictatorship not only does not, but cannot win; then that will be the end of that. As long as there is a possibility that it will win, as long as leaders can depend upon the majority of the people being selfish and stupid, there will be dictators who will think they can win. As long as there is one chance in a billion, the dictatorial man will take it, with no end in sight until it becomes internationally and internally impossible for dictatorship to win. This means many changes in basic thinking, for most of us, without realizing it, are a bit dictatorially minded ourselves. Usually we do not have the courage of our convictions, and when we start out to be a dictator someone takes us down so quickly we do not get a good start; but if we have lacked the opportunity we do have the inclination. As long as that inclination remains with individuals it is the seed from which the structure of dictatorship will grow.

It was less than two hundred years, to cast our eye back over history again, from the time the Senators went out with appeasements until the day Rome was in ruins. Rome ceased to be when it began hating itself for its own littleness and stupidity, its own selfishness. Rome was a spirit, and when that spirit died the Roman Empire died. Demo-

cracy too is a spirit. Those who possess it and will stay true to it, can carry it on; but those who live under it, compromise it and sell it out, will gradually come to hate themselves. The spirit in them will die. It is important in our study of history that we recognize the necessity for remembering these parallels; they show us the only way we can go with any hope of permanent survival.

We know that all these patterns are cyclic in their implication. We know the world is a great spiral motion. We know also that one race is coming of age throughout the evolution of races. It is one great cycle, one great pattern of purpose, that is being released century after century throughout the extravagant diversity of human pattern. Humanity is one being, growing up through innumerable beings, one motion moving through innumerable forms, one terrific impulse, manifesting through a diversity of impulse structures. Humanity is one tremendous flowing power, in motion like the whirling of a mighty whirlpool. It is power that breeds from within itself nations and races, and they become the temporary dwelling places for this immortal principle. Then, as the bodies of man serve for a time to release the spirit of man into objective manifestation, so the bodies of races and nations serve temporarily to release the spirit of humanity into objective manifestation. And so humanity is not its races; humanity moves through its races—in the same way that man is not his body, but his body is the vehicle for his expression.

It is not the purpose of man to deify or glorify races. He is learning this. He knew it long ago within himself, but refused to admit it. In absolute reverse of popular belief, it is the glorification of humanity that assures the dignity of nations. The glorification of the great time motion, the recognition of one humanity, is the basis of that philosophic thinking which is beginning to come through into our objective mind in terms of our global planning. We are on the threshold of recognizing the

basic humanity of man.

That this moment should come is in fulfillment of the ages; and that we shall meet this challenge with intelligence is the reasonable expectancy of the ages. If we fail now, our failure is in all the struggle that has gone before. It is for this day that great men and great motions of civilization have sacrificed themselves since the beginning; it is for this day when we should perceive the basic humanity of man.

This realization opens a new cycle of evolution. It moves man to the next great step in his own motion through Space. The evolution of man has been a gradual motion through Space from isolation to identification. The primitive creature, emerging from the animal state, was entirely without social consciousness; he lived alone until the day came when he crawled into his cave to die. Then man loved nothing, and did not know enough to hate anything; but down in his soul feared everything. Gradually out of this complete state of separateness came the family, man, woman and child, the basic social structure of the world. And man began to defend those others because they were his own—not because they were good, not because they were bad, not because they were a spiritual source of joy, but because they were his. He fought for them as he would fight for his grain or the animal he had killed, fought for the right of possession.

With the tribe came greater inclusiveness, and man fought for a group of families, and as the tribe increased he began to experience introversion social life. He found everything he needed in his tribe, and so for him the rest of the world gradually ceased to exist. And then when other tribes impinged themselves upon him or his tribe, he destroyed them or destroyed himself. Gradually emerged then the tribal patriarch, the father of all his people, with gradual consciousness of race as tribes came together in geographical patterns. Commonwealths and communities developed and enlarged, with eventual involvement in feudalism. In time came

the Crusades, and nationalism came into existence. And the procession from isolation to identification then gradually through the ages moved away from nationalism, and is still moving, moving man into deeper values. No longer do we prate of our nation, right or wrong. We have seen in Europe the destructive consequences of over-emphasis of the nationalistic policy. We see what happens when a nation becomes egotistic, and we know the only cure for national egotism is internationalism. Going toward it day by day we are now coming to the verge of recognition that the primitive creature which crawled into its cave alone to die has grown, over a period of millions of years, into the man who is willing to die for someone whom he has never seen—if he knows that other man is right.

Now that is a great evolution, and we should not deny the growth of man. For if sometimes it looks as though the human being is not doing so very well, his evolution is a tremendous thing; he still has to fight a tremendous battle with every instinct of prehistoric origins. The civilization of man has been the struggle of consciousness over instinct, and it is a great struggle, fiercer today as we come nearer than ever before to the fulfillment of victory for consciousness.

It is the day of unfolding patterns, and if we have outgrown a concept and become old in it, we are now to be born again as little children into a larger concept. We are grown old in shrewdness and cunning, in craftiness and selfishness, old in plotting and scheming, old in our appetites and desires. By these we are bound to the primal earth from which we came. It is our bondage to the struggle of centuries, to a prehistoric

world fighting to live. That part of us which is appetites and instincts is very old and very strong, and it will come out through us again and again, even if we would not have it come. Each of us is bound to the appetites of the past, to wealth, to luxuries—and it is easy for us to be little, because we have always been little, as takers of the line of least resistance. It will be harder for us to be great, because greatness is a virtue we have never over-developed. We have never given the same thought to fineness as we have to gratification. When we were gnawing bones in caves we wanted the best bones, and we hated the larger animal who had a better one; it was instinctive for us as prehistoric creatures to be jealous, and so for us to be jealous now takes no extra effort. Prehistoric man hated, and when angry he threw something; and so it does not take a great deal of energy or effort to throw things; it comes easy to us. As we are old then in being small, we are new in being great. Today an old world is dying and a new world is being born, and we are infants in it. The great structure of selfishness we have perfected and polished so assiduously will be of little value to us. It can serve best solely as a constant reminder of what not to do.

We are infants in global thinking, infants in peace, infants in fraternity; we are very young in that simple and gentle quality of loving and understanding each other. These things are not a habit. The habit we brought from the jungles is to spit back, but in development through millions of years we are learning to smile back. Greatness is in essence a challenge, smallness is an instinct. Very, very young in trying to build this better world, we know we have to build it or die; the prehistoric creature knew it had to change or else become extinct, for all forms perish in the void. Nature will not sustain a stasis. To be born into a new world plan for peace the approach must be simple, and honest, and gentle, with the commandments of this new plan firmly set in consciousness with our souls know-



ing that basic feeling of integrity which must dominate us in the days to come.

All around us a world is floundering. From among those we expect good things we have evidence that they do not understand; we say something out of our deepest conviction to someone we care for and believe in, and back to us comes only a blank. They want to understand, these few people whom we believe in; they want to, but they do not. Our young men are being sent out to die for a cause, without clear knowledge that it is a dream which they are dying for, an envisioned freedom for all peoples. And the way toward this understanding is but the recognition that it has all been done before, that as nations we have worked out the things we must now work out as a world. As the family fought and split and died, and the tribe, and the race—always division followed by disintegration—history unfolds as great and recurring psychological motions; what has happened to others will happen to us; and if the problem now encompasses what we know as all of the world, it is the same in basic principle that problemed Rome and the Mediterranean.

There was a world once around the shores of the Mediterranean, and there still is. To Genghis Khan, Asia was a great world, and it still is. Napoleon's conquest was of all the world he could reach. Alexander carried his arms as far as India and dreamed of hemispheric conquest. A world then is not a planet, it is a sphere of ambition; it is the area of a known appetite. The aim of world conquest is not new, nor the experience of world organization. What is new in experience is a world civilization that is to be strong enough



to endure. That is unique. It has never been achieved. And yet from history we can figure how it can and must be accomplished, for in civilization's emergence we have the basic pattern. Whether it be a human family in a little cottage, or a world family of nations, the same laws hold, and the same principles apply. Anything that will fail in families will fail in nations and worlds. And if the world family is one we have never experimented with, the human family is one we have experimented with since the beginning of time, and we know that it is basic to all compound bodies that in order to survive, the parts must cooperate mutually, one with the other. Our plan is one of compounding over two hundred peoples of our time into one great internal structure. The Atlantic Charter is to be thus considerably stretched; for should we exclude anywhere we would give to those left out the most terrific of all impulses for power expression—oppression. Edwin Markham, the poet, long ago, expressed the intention thus:

“God and I had the wit to win,
We made a circle and took him in.”

It is our task to think in terms of a consciousness that takes into itself all that is necessary to win the peace. And yet, peace is something not won. It is the reward for something that man becomes. It would be meaningless to get up and solemnly pronounce a state of peace; all that can be pronounced is a suspension of hostilities. Peace is a quietude within the self. It is not bestowed by legislation, but achieved by understanding. It is a benediction upon those peoples who have the peace consciousness common among themselves. It is in this form that the international entity is being born. Its future and its fate depend upon the environment in which it is brought up, and the integrity with which man in the world family will serve this noblest of his own ideas.

Having now achieved the conception of an internationalistic policy, we are in a position to apply the law of cycles to this prodigious infant. We know that

nations and races move in cyclic patterns. What is—in the terms of the great precessional motion described by Oswald Spengler as cyclic and recognized by antiquity—what is the basic pattern of this new entity? Spengler sees the coming motion as one which will resemble more than anything else the great Buddhistic Renaissance in India, in gradual emergence of the great philosophic empire. Probably the ablest philosophic historian of all times, Spengler's definition of Buddhism would be in its contrast to its environment. I think we can broadly define Buddhism as philosophic socialism. Buddhism arose in the midst of a Brahmanic tyranny of attitudes and convictions, one of which was the doctrine of social privilege, economically, socially, and politically. The Brahmins functioned from the basis that the man who has is the born ruler of the man who has not; that wealth and power are to be rated the most admirable and desirable of all things. I do not say that is good Brahmanism, but it is the type of Brahmanism that existed politically at the time of the birth of Buddha. The Brahman, because he was in a position of power, believed firmly he had a right to use that power if he wanted to, regardless of the consequences to others. He believed firmly that strength was the privilege to enslave those dominated. He held the same attitude that certain of the Junkers long held in Europe, that small nations should expect to be ruled by greater nations, that little people are born servants. Brahmanic conviction was endorsed by a system of religious idealism that bound the individual mentally to the acceptance of this state as being a divine edict. Brahmanism is the philosophy of power as a right. When an American corporation today says, “We have huge quantity buying power, therefore, we have the right to buy cheaper”, that is Brahmanism. The belief that respect, honor, and integrity are on sale, that is Brahmanism. The belief that permanent good can be accomplished by force is a form of Brahmanism. The belief that some professions are dignified and others



humble is Brahmanism. And the belief that God wants inequalities in the opportunities of man, that is Brahmanism. Brahmanism is complete in its pattern of our own decadency, for in a majority we look up with adoration at success and successful people; we are still susceptible to the power of possession, and just a bit worshipful of it.

Against this attitude Buddha sounded the doctrine that changed the face of Asia. His was a simple statement: What the individual has is comparatively unimportant, but what he is, is of paramount importance to him, to his state, and to his world. Aristocracy is integrity, and not wealth, family, or tradition. Buddhism furthermore carried with it certain other implications, the value and importance of living for the sake of beauty, living for the sake of knowledge, and living for the sake of service rather than living for the sake of accumulation.

Spengler anticipated a cycle in which this reaction would come to Western civilization, that internationalism would change the religious structure of the world and would ultimately end all sectarian religion—hasten the day!

Today's religious pattern is nationalistic and racialistic; it is not sufficient for an internationalistic viewpoint, and in fact has opposed it for centuries. And furthermore, our educational system, our whole cultural theory waits to be internationalized. A philosophic empire is being forced upon us.

Tyrants can move small, competitive units, but only the truly learned human being can hold a world together. It takes a destructive genius to conquer, but a genius of a constructive order to rule in peace. Every military dictator can rule in an emergency, but only a philosopher

can maintain a balance when there is no point of special stress. The international nation, the world plan, demands philosophic integrity for its administration; it cannot function without it.

We may not call this change philosophy, and probably will call it something else. But whatever we call it, there must be good, sound, solid thinking, there must be altruistic, constructive thinking in order to hold things together.

If we take the pattern of past civilizations and apply it to our present problem, we may safely say we are building today a system that can last for a thousand years, possibly. It will last in one of two ways: either it will last as a pattern for world government and will go on and build and build; or else, because we botch up the administration of it, the pattern will disintegrate. Then only the idea will go on.

We have seen what has happened in the Christian faith. Within two centuries of its inception it was throttled, the entire stream was distorted, and we have had nearly eighteen centuries of Churchianity as opposed to Christianity. The Christian empire failed; but that does not mean that individual Christians did not succeed. Some of the noblest men of our entire civilization progress have been inspired by Christian thinking; some of the greatest deeds of heroism and valor, some of the greatest contributions to art, literature, and science, have come as the direct products of Christianity as a conviction. But the Church failed. The same thing can happen with a philosophic empire. It may be throttled by politics and selfishness at its very inception, so the world state will remain, as it always has, a dream.

The Common Bond

"It is deeply significant that 50 million individuals have become shareholders in their government, building up savings to buy the products of American industry in the years after the war is won. Equally significant is the spiritual mobilization which these figures reflect. War Bonds have become in a real sense the common bond of the American people."

Henry Morgenthau, Jr.

But that does not mean that for the next thousand years great men will not perform good deeds.

If the empire that emerges is retarded in growth to great physical stature, it can still retain a great psychological power to move the world toward the fulfillment of itself.

We can gain wisdom from the past to see how patterns unfold, see how in the fulfillment of themselves they bear witness to great geometrical and astronomical laws that are eternal in Space. This whole system of world evolution is controlled by a great cyclic clock—and no matter what man does he cannot escape from it. All he can do is to limit or increase it in its manifestation according to his own limitation or increase of power. As man's integrity increases he releases more of the perfection of the pattern. If his integrity is overshadowed by his appetites and instincts, he will release less of the dignity of this perfect pattern.

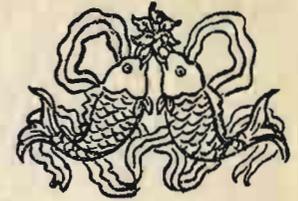
Philosophy has been a great racial overtone since the beginning of time. It is now possible this overtone will come into manifestation, the intangible become tangible in our time. To give it birth we have but to rise above instinct and appetite, to function on the plane and level of our highest integrity. It is a challenge. It is an opportunity. The individual who fails today to do that which he knows he should do, is failing not only his own convictions but his time and his world. And he is failing the greatest dream that mankind has ever had.

(CONDENSATION FROM A PUBLIC LECTURE.
Suggested reading: FIRST PRINCIPLES OF
PHILOSOPHY; PURPOSEFUL LIVING LECTURES
ON ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY).



"We Learn From the Past"

A MESSAGE FROM
MADAME CHIANG KAI-SHEK



WE live in the present, we dream of the future—but we learn eternal truths from the past.

It would be just as irrational for a man to claim that he was self-made as for a nation to believe that it could be self-sufficient. Nations and individuals are but links between the past and the future.

It would be interesting and valuable, therefore, for us to consider the deep meaning which lies behind the Chinese proverb, "Watch the cart ahead," in our endeavor to avoid the pitfalls in which former civilizations, dynasties and systems have fallen.

Those pitfalls are many, but one of the deepest and most omnivorous is pride. That pitfall has swallowed many whose arrogance led them to think that they could safely and permanently defy mankind's deep-rooted sense of justice and right-dealing.

Figuratively speaking, it was only yesterday that Herr Hitler said: "No human power can ever oust the Germans from Stalingrad." Where are those Germans today?

Again, in July, 1937, Prince Konoye said: "We shall bring China cringing to her knees within three months." How many three months have elapsed since he said that? And China still fights on.

Those utterances by two of the most deeply dyed aggressors were inspired by unrighteous pride run absolutely mad.

But there is another kind of pride, a rightful pride, which my countrymen possess. I am reminded of two little Chungking incidents which bear testimony to the pride to which I have

alluded. After the first of the terrible bombings to which Chungking was thereafter increasingly subjected, free congee (rice gruel) centers were established for those of our people whose homes had been demolished and reduced to charred ruins, and who consequently were unable to prepare their food. Many declined to accept this help on the ground that they had suffered no more than others and preferred to fend for themselves.

It was only when they were told that they were entitled to the food since they were contributing their share in the national effort to combat aggression that they were prevailed upon to accept any at all.

Again, when the Generalissimo and I placed our cars at the disposal of the organization charged with the evacuation of civilians in view of the bombings, as soon as the evacuees learned to whom these cars belonged they refused to ride in them on the ground that our duties to the nation were too important to be impeded.

It is this kind of pride that governs our people's attitude toward America today.

We are genuinely and warmly appreciative of the assistance that the American people have given to our effort in the common cause. It is not only since my visit to your beautiful country that we have become aware of the affection and friendship which your people have for ours. Throughout these heart-breaking years, when we have been daily faced with the hardships which the people of an invaded land have to suf-

fer, we have been heartened to carry on by the knowledge of your sympathy.

I have received innumerable letters and messages from your people in large cities and in small country towns—from business men, farmers, factory workers, professors, ministers, college and high-school students, hardworking mothers and even little children. Contributions large and small have poured in; some people sent money orders of one or two dollars and even less, and oftentimes accompanied by the wish that they could do more.

These gifts spelled real sacrifice on the part of the givers and in the eyes of our people they were multiplied a thousand-fold and illuminated by the beauty of the spirit of the donors.

We thank you whole-heartedly for what you have done and are doing for our suffering people, all the more because in this present world struggle we are giving unstintingly the flower of our manhood and everything else we have in contributing our part in this titanic fight for a free and just world. I say all this because I feel that you are entitled to know how the Chinese people of today think and the national characteristic upon which that thinking is based.

Without necessarily possessing a very profound knowledge of the history of the world, we can take warning from the fate of the Roman and Persian Empires and the ephemeral system established by Napoleon.

Rome, in the earlier days, had liberal enough political ideas. Perhaps you will recall that in the second century a Roman recorder wrote that the laws of Rome only became effective because the people delegated to the Senate the power to make them. The imperium or power admittedly rested in the people.

The august title of emperor under the republic signified no more than the present-day title of "general," and was bestowed by the soldiers upon their victorious leaders.

The honors conferred upon Augustus as Prince of the Senate by the Romans in reality far transcended any honor

claimed for monarchs some 2,000 years later in accordance with the theory of the divine right of kings. Thus we see that the power of the leader stemmed from the people, and to claim divine rights and privileges was usurpation of the natural rights of men.

All the peoples in the Roman Empire could become citizens. Some of the emperors even were Syrians or sprang from other foreign origins. There was no racial discrimination as we have it today. The Armenians and other tribes of the so-called barbarian world of that day were accepted, and welcomed as allies of Rome, and not as subject peoples.

This broad and practiced concept of the Romans was, I think, the chief cause of the Roman Empire lasting for over a thousand years.

On the other hand, tyranny and dictatorships have been proven to be short-lived. We ask ourselves why is it that the ancient Persian Empire only remained at its comparative zenith for a few centuries, while the Napoleonic era only lasted for a few decades.

We read that Sapor, the Persian Emperor, after defeating the Romans, used the neck of Valerian, the Roman Emperor, as a footstool for mounting his horse. Was it this cruelty and arrogance of the conqueror toward the conquered which contributed to the fall of the dictatorships whose leaders strutted about in a frenzy of exhibitionism during their short day as invincible conquerors and masters?

Let us contrast this with the Chinese way of life as shown in the following historical incident.

During the period of the Three Kingdoms in China, Kuan Kung, a valiant warrior, met Huang Tsung, also a brave warrior, in single combat. With a sweep of his long sword, Kuang Kung cut off the forelegs of his opponent's steed. Horse and rider both toppled to the ground.

The vanquished warrior awaited his doom with resignation. The victor, Kuan Kung, however, extended his weaponless hand and cried: "Arise! My sword falls edgeless against a dis-

mounted and unarmed foe!"

To return to the Roman Empire, its final fall was due, among other things, to the sybaritic and effete practices indulged in by the Roman people. In the declining days of the empire they hired others to do their fighting, while they themselves wallowed in sensualism which culminated in the total eclipse of the Roman Empire in the West.

On the heels of the fall of this empire followed the Dark Ages in Europe, with all the attendant evil results.

To safeguard ourselves against retrogression into another dark age is, I feel, the greatest task now confronting the United Nations.

Whether the principles of freedom, justice and equality for which we are fighting will be able to stand the strain and stress of the times is a question depending largely on ourselves as individuals and as nations.

Convicts are subject to coercion, but it must be remembered that they have proved themselves to be anti-social and had first committed crimes against society. Their exclusion from their fellow men is but a logical consequence of the necessity for expiation, whereas slaves or subject peoples arrive in that estate often through no fault of their own.

The Axis powers have shown that they have no respect for anything but brute force and, such being the case, they logically hold that conquered peoples should become shackled slaves. They lack the imagination to visualize the fact that a man may be enslaved physically but cannot be controlled in his thoughts and in his innate desire to be free.

Nor do they recognize that, if people are deprived of responsibility, there can be no real discipline, for indubitably the highest kind of government is maintained through self-discipline.

Nor are they imaginative enough to realize that unrest, however ruthlessly suppressed, will continue to create situations which successive riotings and reforms cannot ameliorate, leaving in their wake only bitterness and determined hatred of the oppressor.



The implacable underground hostility of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Low Countries and France, and the indomitable resolve to keep on fighting as shown by your people, and by my people, and by the peoples of Britain and Russia, attest incontrovertibly to this fact.

The world today is full of catch phrases. Men often pay lip service to ideals without actually desiring and working for their fruition.

Fascist Italy has sometimes claimed to be an organized, centralized and authoritative democracy.

Nazi Germany on occasions has also called itself a democracy.

Do we of the United Nations wish to follow in their footsteps?

The universal tendency of the world, as represented by the United Nations, is as patent and inexorable as the enormous sheets of ice which float down the Hudson in the winter. The swift and mighty tide is toward universal justice and freedom.

In furtherance of this tendency we in China have bled for the last six long years to demonstrate our repudiation of the inert and humiliating philosophy that a slow, strangling death is the more merciful, though some people in other parts of the world maintain that the absence of hope would prevent the acrimony of a losing fight and leave man's nature untrammelled to compose itself to the mercy of God.

We shall hold firm to the faith that nothing short of race annihilation will ever prevent any people from struggling against wanton domination, whether economic or political. Are we right?

Again, there are peoples who are obsessed by the fear that the stage of economic stagnation has been reached; there are others who preach totalitarian-tinged doctrines of economic autarchy.

If we accept these theories then we must all be self-sufficing, for when any of us lack raw materials and labor, instead of obtaining them through legitimate means of trade and commerce we would have to resort to the brutalities of invading our neighbors' territories and enslaving the inhabitants.

In reality neither theory is possible, for the vast and rich unindustrialized hinterlands of China alone would bear witness to the obvious falsity of the former theory.

The processes of history, composed of sequence—co-existence and interdependence—just as people in society are inevitably entwined through common interests, common efforts and common survival, prove to us the folly of the latter theory.

What are we going to make of the future?

What will the revalencing world, recovering from this hideous blood-letting, be like?

The wisest minds in every corner of the world are pondering over these questions, and the wisest of all reserve their opinion.

But, without letting temerity outrun discretion, I venture to say that certain things must be recognized.

Never again must the dignity of man be outraged as it has been since the dawn of history.

All nations, great and small, must have equal opportunity of development.

Those who are stronger and more advanced should consider their strength as a trust to be used to help the weaker nations to fit themselves for full self-government and not to exploit them. Exploitation is spiritually as degrading to the exploiter as to the exploited.

Then, too, there must be no bitterness in the reconstructed world.

No matter what we have undergone and suffered, we must try to forgive

連橫 合縱

LIEN-HENG HO-TSUNG

those who injured us and remember only the lesson gained thereby.

The teachings of Christ radiate ideas for the elevation of souls and intellectual capacities far above the common passions of hate and degradation. He taught us to help our less fortunate fellow beings, to work and strive for their betterment without ever deceiving ourselves and others by pretending that tragedy and ugliness do not exist.

He taught us to hate the evil in men but not men themselves.

Finally, in order that this war may indeed be the war to end all wars in all ages, and that nations, great and small alike may be allowed to live and let live in peace, security and freedom in the generations to come, cooperation in the true and highest sense of the word must be practiced.

I have no doubt that the truly great leaders of the United Nations, those men with vision and forethought, are working toward the crystallization of this ideal.

Yet they, too, would be impotent if you and I do not give our all toward making it a reality.

Over two thousand years ago, during the feudal period when many little kingdoms co-existed in China, there were two conflicting theories: The principle of imperialism, or lien-heng, and the principle of concerted effort, or hoh-tsung.

The originator of the principle of imperialism, or lien-heng, connived to swallow up the six weaker states by the state of Tsing.

The originator of the concerted effort, or hoh-tsung, on the other hand, advocated the union of the six weak states for mutual protection against their dominant neighbor Tsing.

The central idea was, in the event of aggression by the state of Tsing against any of the six states, the others were under moral obligation to come to the assistance of the invaded state.

Unfortunately the six states were lukewarm toward this idea of united effort and did not take any pains for its support, with the result that gradually, one by one, the weaker states were destroyed by the strong state of Tsing.

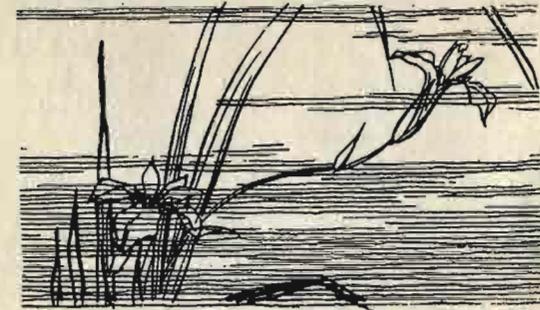
Do we want history to repeat itself?

At the present day I should like to point out that we often use the term "community of nations." If we would only pause to think for a moment, we would realize that the word "community" implies association not of voluntary choice, but of force of circumstance.

We should, instead, think of ourselves as a society of nations, for society means association by choice.

Let us, the United Nations, which

(FROM A PUBLIC ADDRESS)



The Need For Majority Rule

THE failure of the League of Nations was largely due to the required unanimity of votes in passing any proposal, the difference in geographical conception, and the lack of power to enforce its decision. The required unanimity of votes made it almost impossible to arrive at any decision.

The indifferent attitudes shown by some members on problems not directly affecting their own interests also greatly hampered the effectiveness of the League.

In the postwar organization such mistakes must be rectified if the peace machinery is to be successful at all.

— V. K. Wellington Koo, Chinese Ambassador to Great Britain.

Implementing A Post-War Peace

THE great interest everywhere in the possibility that the United Nations will in a sense evolve as a world nation, suggests an inevitable consequence, a world language. We certainly can not get together while we cannot understand each other.

We need a basic world language. And we know, of course, it ought to be English! But not long ago everybody thought it ought to be French. Maybe next week's thought will swing to Chinese. Probably it will be some language we do not know today, a basic language, simplified so that we can come to instantaneous agreement as to the general meaning of our thoughts.

Another need is world currency. The old idea, "a pound is a pound the world around," is in for permanent modification. Coinage that may be worth a dollar here, may be worth seventeen cents in one country, fifteen cents in another, and jewelry somewhere else. We need world-coinage. Exploitation of the monetary system by rates of foreign exchange is one of the curses of economics; the aim should be to end forever the manipulations under the gold-standard, the paper standard, the no-standard-at-all.

A general policy of educational theory is a recognized need. There is no use trying to get together if all of our educational institutions are doctinated in hate for each other, are steeped in the disdain or contempt inherent to the notion that we are the anointed and the rest 'also rans'. Books of history will have to be written for the integrity of a world-nation, and not at the expense of peoples we do not care for. We will have to gradually coordinate the theory we are a world family of people. The quickest way to put an end to wars is to create such an understanding; and it is possible that after we have spent a

few more hundreds of billions of dollars on the technic of misunderstanding, we may discover that to understand each other is cheaper and easier besides being safer, and more comfortable, and more reasonable. If we can come to that conclusion as the result of the present circumstances then we shall realize something we did not realize after the other World War and the depression of 1929—that understanding is good business, and a lot of intangibles have tangible significance. World-understanding smacks less of theory, than it savors of common sense. It is not something to be regarded as interfering with private profit; it is that which more importantly insures personal existence.

When the time comes for a sick world's reorientation there will be many in high position ready to prescribe a good dose of the wrong technic. At Versailles it was in the minds not only of the politicians of Europe and America of 1918 and 1919, but also in the minds of the people of those countries, to completely dominate; and so we got short-sighted action. If Clemenceau is to be held largely responsible for the present disaster, is it not because he exemplified a streak in human nature which was inadequate for the position of being arbitrator of world policy?—he thought only in terms of revenge. Revenge took the world into an orgy of sadistic satisfactions, with a long and disastrous hang-over.

It is natural, some say, for us to be put out with those who have tried to destroy us; that is only human nature. Well, if that's human nature it is just big enough to get us into another jam, and the call is for something bigger than human nature if we are to get out of trouble permanently. An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth was the old order of life, but according to the Chris-

tian Dispensation (which we as a nation affirm we believe) we are supposed to forgive our enemies. If that sounds like very bad militarism, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth is very bad diplomacy.

Actually we are showing indications of the broader vision, and this war may yet prove to be the most powerful force toward progress the world has ever known. We are thinking differently; we are in fact thinking; and that in itself is different. Already our leaders are reminding us that when this war is over it is not going to be practical to put Germany in a corner with a dunce cap on. We must remove the group of leaders responsible for a psychosis to extinction by annihilation perhaps; but as it comes time to create our new world, other representatives of the peoples of Germany, Italy, and Japan must with the rest of us all sit down together. There is no other way. We cannot achieve world peace or world security merely by continuing to punish a people as the offender, for with the arrival of a new generation we start punishing the wrong man. One who is born into a race is not going to accept punishment

for the sins of his father. No nation is going to continue to pay debts caused by those who are dead. Human nature will not play that way. History will show that in most cases the guilty man got away; he was killed, or remained happily in exile somewhere, if only comparatively happy. To continue punishment of the wrong man is retribution that gives grounds for another war. Such leaders as Vice President Wallace and Secretary Hull call upon us for crushing and final defeat of the Nazi party in Germany, but with the full awareness that we can never achieve anything by attempting the dismemberment of the German people.

As we remove the menace of class ideology, which is what we are really fighting, the lesson to learn is prevention of the possibility of the condition arising again that will re-state such an ideology. The ideologies of today are direct indicators of something being basically wrong with society. People who are happily employed, who are comfortable with a reasonable amount of personal freedom and security, do not follow will-o'-the-wisps, revolt is not possible on a full stomach; revolution is



the culmination of desperation. The cure for upheavals that make possible despotism and tyranny is to accomplish a widely controlled distribution of world power, world wealth, and world necessities. Then we inflict no new wounds nor reopen old ones of great want in which the germs of desperation can develop and increase.

World empire too must be dedicated to the preservation of national integrity of all peoples, against the tyranny of others, for this assurance is far more likely to pull the fangs of despotism than any amount of national militarism could possibly accomplish. But one sure way to prevent despotism is to destroy the environment which produces it, striking at the root from which it springs. The root of our present trouble, both in Europe and Asia, is moral, emotional and mental dishonesty in the relationships of states. The root, trunk and branches of our difficulty are economic despotisms beyond geographical boundaries, the enslavement of peoples, taxation all over the world without representation—the thing which caused young America to rebel—the doctrine of inferior races and superior races, religious fanaticisms and intolerances, ideologies based upon ignorance, and policies based upon exploitation and abuse. Nations in bondage to other nations through econ-

omic exploitation that dominates the relationships of peoples—this alone makes possible dictators, tyrants, revolution, and world war, and we may just as well face the truth about it.

And so draws nearer a great social experiment in the creation of international viewpoint. Those who have long said they do not care much what happens on the other side of the world, maybe will be taught by this war that what happens anywhere on this planet is of vital significance to each one of us everywhere; and none can be so isolated as to survive the disintegration of the most distant parts. By suffering we shall learn before this war is over just enough to realize—at least for a few years—that peace, security, integrity of action, are far more important to our survival and happiness than profit. The next step will be to shift our psychology from wanting to *have* something to wanting to *become* something. When we make that shift we will then know the dawn of lasting world peace. It is coming. It will not be achieved out of parlor efforts toward reformation, but out of the sad experience of people, all of whom will discover finally after great suffering that the only way to be happy is to do that which is right. This simple fact the entire world has overlooked.

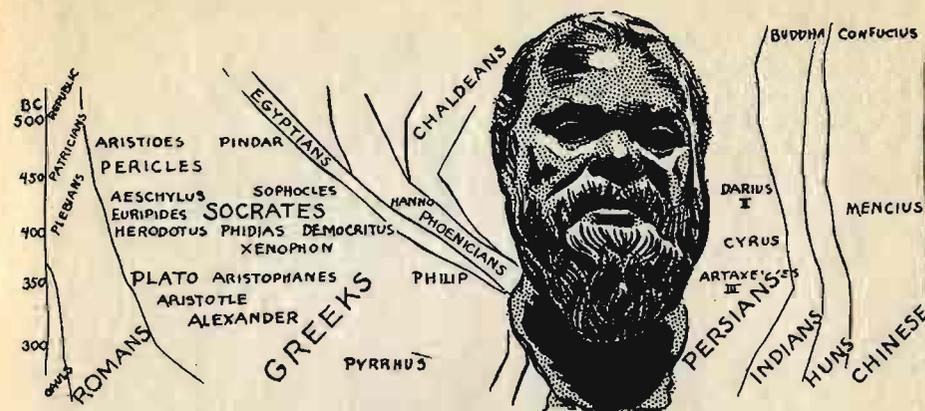
(CONDENSATION FROM A PUBLIC LECTURE)

Action and Reaction

THE natural law, declared Ralph Waldo Emerson more than 100 years ago, "writes the law of cities and nations. It is in vain to build or plot or combine against it. Things refuse to be mismanaged long. Though no checks to a new evil appear, the checks exist and will appear. If the government is cruel, the governor's life is not safe. If you tax too high the revenue will yield nothing. If you make the criminal code sanguinary, juries will not convict. If the law is too mild, private vengeance comes in. If the government is a terrific democracy the pressure is resisted by an overcharge of energy in the citizen and life glows with a fiercer flame."

In explaining the nature of this law Emerson pointed out that we meet "action and reaction in every part of nature. Nature hates monopolies and exceptions. The waves of the sea do not more speedily seek a level from their loftiest tossing than the varieties of condition tend to equalize themselves. There is always some levelling circumstance that puts down the overbearing .. substantially on the same ground with all others."

Socrates: On Discipline Of Self



IN the period from B. C. 600 to B. C. 200, the Greek thinkers dominated the world of intellect, and to this day we have continued to build knowledge upon the fundamental foundation they gave us through their schools and discourses. Of many schools that flourished together, three have given three words to our language: They were the Stoics, the Cynics, and the Sceptics. An individual not easily moved is a stoic, one who ridicules the stupidity of his time is a cynic, and one who does not believe easily is a skeptic.

Among the Sceptic philosophers was Socrates. He was not an easy believer, he demanded proof; and he refused to devote his years to the abstractions of theology, remaining closely tied to the problems of the earth.

Not only a great philosopher, Socrates was a hero to his own people. When the Athenians were compelled to go to war to protect their country from invasion, Socrates volunteered, and when the enemy warriors saw him standing on the battlefield they divided their ranks and went on either side of him, so no one would face him. When the clash of arms was over Socrates stood alone on the battlefield.

His personal courage extended through his great mental vision, in conviction that was stronger than life itself, giving him the strength and ability to remain

true to his philosophy to his last breath.

But there was also something about Socrates that was definitely mystical. A great force in his philosophic thought was his Spirit, or Guide, which protected him all the years of his life. He called this mysterious being his Daemon, and he claimed it constantly communicated with him. On one occasion, walking down the road with a number of friends, Socrates suddenly stopped and said, "My Spirit tells me we should leave this road." The others knew the road as a shortcut; so they laughed and said he could leave it if he wanted to, but they would continue on their way. Socrates took another road. A few minutes later his friends were trampled under by a stampede of sheep, all were bruised, and several were nearly killed.

The brilliant mind of Socrates included a caustic wit, his habitual irony largely resulting from his associations with life. Returned from the wars, he had hardly removed his shield and helmet when a thug knocked him down and robbed him of his money. Socrates remarked to one of his disciples upon the greater danger at home than at war; he could go safely through all struggles with the enemy, in full expectation of then being knocked unconscious by one of the men he had sought to defend. Of his marriage Socrates said on several occasions he had deliberately married

Xanthippe, knowing her to be the shrew of Athens; he could not criticize her overmuch, because to conform to his way of living was by no means easy, and besides, he had always wanted something to test his philosophy, and never had he found better testing ground than in his own home.

Socrates was a sculptor of ability; he had cut the figure of the Three Graces for the Athens Forum, had a number of wealthy clients; as the wielder of a mighty mallet he could have provided a good home. He consorted instead with bums, brought to his home the most disreputable, dissatisfied, and unworthy of all among the Athenians. When there was not food in the house Socrates would not work, and Xanthippe was constantly berating him. To a friend who sympathized with him over the constant scoldings of his wife, he confessed he no longer heard her, just as a miller, living constantly in the rattle of his windlass, no longer will hear it. And, furthermore, he married Xanthippe to test his philosophy; if she could be converted he could convert anyone who lived. According to available records, Xanthippe was never converted.

Many stories are told about the lives together of these two people. One you may know relates that Socrates brought home a group of Athenian agitators, and Xanthippe coming home suddenly shooed them out of the house with a broom. They merely gathered then upon the doorstep and continued the discourse. From an upper floor Xanthippe thereupon dropped a bucket of water on them, and drenched Socrates, who holding out his hand observed, "Did I not remark that Xanthippe was thundering and it was going to rain?"

A man of rugged mentality, Socrates despised the softness that was coming



into the Athenian spirit. He was constantly reprimanding and chiding the Greeks of his day, from this gaining the reputation of being a scold. But he was more than a man who did not easily believe, who questioned all things, he was one who dared to declare corruption where he found it. Two priests from a disreputable temple were one day carrying away to justice a thief who had robbed the altar. Socrates commented to one of his disciples: "Behold a miracle: The lesser thief is being borne away by the greater."

He discoursed to his disciples mostly upon streets, roads, and the market places, for he declared that the proper study for mankind was man; within the mystery of man himself lay the secrets of all knowledge; he taught that humanity should constantly strive to discover the substance of which it is made, to seek a possible cure for all moral ailments such as destructiveness, hatred, envy, and dishonesty.

Pride did not escape his attention. A certain young Greek had just inherited a considerable estate and he was very puffed up with self-importance when he met Socrates. "Show me your estates on this map," said the philosopher. The young man noted it was a map of Greece. "My estates" he said, "are not large enough to show on that map." Socrates thought it worthy of the young man's consideration then that they were not large enough for him to be so swelled up over. The reprimand won him a wealthy disciple. But he continued in constant berating of the archons of Athens, and their accumulation of wealth and power; he criticized the government, attacked the laws, produced one disquietude after another by his eternal watchfulness. He was determined that while he lived the Greeks should live well. It was a large job for one strange man, but he finally accomplished it, and would probably have become the ruler of the state had it not been for a certain animosity.

Socrates had in his care a number of the sons of rich Athenian families. While the parents did not agree entirely

with the teachings of Socrates, still they recognized his extraordinary mind, and so he was the tutor of their children. One day there came up a discussion of relationships, and one of the children inquired whether he owed allegiance to his own father or to Socrates. Socrates is alleged to have said: It is obvious that allegiance is owed to that man who knows the most. He inferred that the pupil's father was a very stupid man. That if then he, Socrates, was not as stupid as the father, it was natural that more allegiance was owed to the one who was properly educated. Socrates continued: The relationships of the body, such as parenthood, are of the accidents of nature. The relationships of the mind are of the intentions of nature. It is intended that man should think, but it is also inevitable that man should be born; and being born it is not inevitable he should think. Therefore, in order to think there must be intention, and there must be effort; there must be a struggle after enlightenment. And those who struggle together after greater thinking are bound together by far closer relationships than those who are merely united by the accidents of living.

So Socrates had affirmed that he was more significant in the lives of these young people than the parents, and the parents were annoyed. He was indicted on the charge of corrupting young men, a charge tried before a large popular tribunal; he was also charged with irreligion. The real nature of his teachings was cruelly perverted. The attempt was made to twist his words into an assertion that ignorant parents might properly be placed under restraint by their better educated children. It was obvious that the charges were trumped up, but influential families were involved, and in order to keep the records in order, a small fine was imposed. Socrates said, "To pay a fine is to admit my own guilt, and I am not guilty; they are guilty." Plato offered Socrates his entire fortune, but Socrates said, not one single coin would he pay. "I intend to be entirely exonerated or pay the full

penalty, because I will not compromise my philosophy." The case dragged on. Finally Socrates was condemned solely on account of his defiant attitude, and by a very small majority supporting the death penalty demanded by one of his accusers.

Such, in substance, is the story of the hemlock. Socrates died because he refused to admit there was any guilt in him. He said it was necessary to take that stand because when his accusers attacked him they attacked more than himself as a personality, they attacked Truth. His own life and being was not important, but Truth was; and he was the custodian of Truth. With a few disciples gathered about him, he drank the hemlock. On the day before he died Plato begged him to let him pay the few coins, but Socrates said, "No, it must be this way. I cannot and will not admit my philosophy is wrong." Surrounded by his disciples and dying, one of them said, "Master, after you are gone, what would you have us do with you?" Socrates said, "You can do anything you wish with me, if you can catch me."

Thus passed one of the most extraordinary men of his time, a man who left so profound an effect upon Plato and Xenophon that both devoted many words to the teachings of their Master.

It is interesting to remember after this length of time that no matter how unprepossessing a man may have been born into the world, greatness of mind will make him beautiful. Socrates was called the ugliest man who ever lived, hooked nose, goggle eyes, fat cheeks, bandy legs; but his mind was so transcendently beautiful that after a short association with him his disciples forgot what he looked like. One of his commentators said it seemed as though Truth surrounded him with such a light of Beauty that he was positively handsome. His greatness of mind enriched the consciousness that in turn decorates the soul, which as the Greeks themselves said, is like ivy twining about a ruin to cover all with beauty.

On one occasion Aristophanes, a poet and a man given somewhat to ridicule and cynicism, said to an actor, "I want you to play the part of Socrates in a play I have written. I have had a mask made to represent the ugliest man that ever lived." Socrates heard he was to be depicted in the play, so he decided to go to the opening performance. Aristophanes had called his play *The Clouds*, and in one scene the actor was hoisted up in the air in a bucket; with a long tube to one eye he was supposed to be looking at the stars. The bucket was attached to one end of a crane. This was regarded as excruciatingly funny.

Socrates arose from his seat and called for the attention of the whole audience. Plainly and simply he asked everyone to realize the actor in the mask was beautiful in comparison to himself. He then showed himself to them all and sat down.

Socrates with every reason to be was not self-conscious; and because he could laugh at himself he could laugh at the world.

Socrates had lofty beliefs on the subject of art. While at work with his mallet and chisel one day he said to a caller that sculpturing was a simple process, that the beautiful forms of the gods and nymphs he was carving were already and always in the stone; all he had to do was cut away the part not necessary and the statue remained. He said: "I do not carve the statue. I carve away that which is not the statue. The statue is there." And he added, and so likewise is it with man. We do not mould the Divinity in men, but with experience, wisdom and thought we cut away those parts which are not Divine; then that which is Real remains. All human beings are like rough stones in which is hidden a great beauty. He who thinks can fashion that beauty, and the wise know they can remove that which is not essential so that the beauty remains.

Socrates was the author of another analogy which is of assistance to us in our confusion of life. Socrates said, "Spirit and matter are like water and



earth. If you mix them in a mold you have mud, an obscure and complicated mystery which hides everything." The mind of man too, which is the union of spirit and matter, if riled, is not clear. The more you rile the mind with agitation the more you confuse it, and the muddier it gets. If you leave it alone and let it stand quietly, the earth will settle to the bottom and the water will be clear again. In silent places and in solitude, far from world jangling and rasping, man meditating upon the Real becomes filled with peace. When the upper and lower are separated, the water remains clear and the earth sinks to the ground, but the moment you touch and jar it, it is obscured again. Men tossed by the waves of life have this constant obscuration, but in philosophy they find contentment and peace. The higher and lower are separated and the elements become clear again. Herein is the secret of wisdom.

Socrates ridiculed Thales, who lived sometime before him, upon his peculiar analogy that everything in the Universe was water; that the earth floated on the water like a ship, that earthquakes were someone rocking the boat. Socrates said the meaning of this mystery had been lost. He said, the water was Spirit or Life, on which the material universe floated as a ship, and the forces that rocked the boat were all the agitation, all the uncertainty, all the wars, the depressions, the plagues and the pestilences. By agitating Nature they destroyed the tranquility of the supine ship.

One of the greatest free thinkers who ever lived upon the earth, Socrates was called in his own time the great Athenian commoner; his heart was with the people, his school was the street corner. On one occasion someone said to him, "Master, where shall I go to study? Shall I travel into Egypt, into the desert, where shall I go to learn?" Socrates replied, "My son, the place for you to learn is in the place where thou art. If you cannot learn there, you cannot learn anyplace. You become wise not by making a long journey into distant lands, but by learning to understand the simple things that surround you every day."

He said plainly to those who asked him, "I know little about the gods. I do not care much about the gods, because the gods being gods can take care of themselves; but men being men are always getting into trouble while they live. If the gods are the gods, then they are enough; so they may safely live and exist in their own way, but men are not enough, so they fight over little things, they struggle over foolish problems, they are constantly torn by small desires, they are constantly grieving over small sorrows, they are the ones who suffer. Therefore the proper study for mankind is man. And from the study of man you may discover the Laws of the Universe, the Purpose of Creation, the Principles in Space and Time, by which all matter and creatures are sustained."

This to him was the great Mystery. He loved men, he served them and died rather than compromise the belief which he considered to be Divine. In the character of this man we have an extraordinary example of heroic consecration to the Truths as he saw them, and as he believed the world needed them. Seventeen years ago, in 1926, the Supreme Court of Greece re-tried Socrates upon the old evidence, translating from the Greek all the documents. The modern day Supreme Court of Greece found him to be innocent, declared him to be without fault. That was about 2300 years too late to do Socrates any good, but it is as Socrates would have had it—he was justified not by his own time, but by

the ages which found him a man without fault.

And thus are we brought naturally to considering the actual philosophy of Socrates, and especially that part of it that is possible for us to live by today. As a philosopher he has every right to be close to us, for he is what we would term a practical man; he believed that a man was not practical because he was powerful, rich or skillful; he was truly practical when he was wise. Wisdom bestows upon man the very essence of the practical, in making him capable of living an intelligent life.

Socrates saw the divine values of life summing themselves up into a triad of qualities. Socrates, like Confucius, had no abstract theology; he left that to other men. He did not discredit it; he merely said it was not his work. To him, if there were a God, if there were a Triune Divinity, A Deity, One in Three and Three in One, then that Deity, Unity, Whole Being or Existence, or Essential Nature, was interpreted by three aspects, Unity or One-ness, Beauty and Utility, the One, the Beautiful and the Good.

He believed furthermore that any two of these attributes made the other necessary, and that each complimented the other. The One and the Good together made the Beautiful. The Beautiful and Good together necessitated the One. And the greatest virtue lay in the composite of Unity, Beauty, and Utility; that is, the greatest Good is the most useful thing.

And, said Socrates, what is the most useful thing in the world? Virtue.

Virtue, in the large term by which we include all the common virtues we practice, is the basic relationship of all living things. We are most useful when we are virtuous. And to be virtuous what must we be? According to Socrates, we must be useful, beautiful, and united.

There can be no practice of the virtues without the love of the beautiful. Many Americans of today still adhere to the square-toed severity that characterized the beginning of our national

existence, patterned after the depressive commonwealth under Cromwell. Have you ever noticed, especially in small towns, the tendency in Protestant religions for the churches to be excruciatingly ugly? Plain walls, very uncomfortable pews, and a pulpit rising above them that would cause convulsions to any aesthete. Art is dead in Protestant Christianity. And what can take the place of Beauty? Nothing. Among all people who have held great religious beliefs, Beauty has been an essential to existence. We have felt the call of it mainly in streamlining our washing machines; our turning to Beauty has been in the effort to sell. The talent of thousands of artists who would have starved in the Middle Ages we exploit in advertising art to sell crispy crackers. But, there is new adornment in the home; and if you compare the architecture of the home built today with the home built thirty years ago, you will see how much more we have become beauty conscious, in slow emergence out of the Protestant Reformation. As a result, from the standpoint of emotional reaction, most homes today at least are infinitely better suited to the true home quality of liveability.

Way back 2300 years ago Socrates was talking about this problem in principle, not in detail. He saw in Virtue the moderation of living, the dignity and wisdom of relationship, and the integrity of man's participation in life. While we are here we must all mingle with others; and out of this mingling will



come our happiness and our sorrow; and, according to Socrates, the only way we can live here successfully is to live here so wisely, so graciously, so virtuously, that no man is given adequate right to criticize or condemn. And if you are criticized or condemned, then so live that no one will believe your accusers. For, wherever you are, and in whatever generation you are living, Socrates would insist that you live your philosophy even if it hurts.

Can we in our minds create a realization of what Beauty is? If we think long enough, it will come to our understanding that true Beauty—beauty dissociated from personal reaction or emotions—is Order. It is Law. It is that Divine Order by which all things are sustained in their proper place. The artist will tell you that should he paint forever, he will never be able to copy a sunset. Turner, great painter of mists upon the river, the haze that comes at dawn, declared to his nearest friend that the pigment had never been made that could adequately reveal a dawn over the ocean, something beyond man's ability to picturize, to gather into form.

Nature is always beautiful, nothing clashes. Socrates sought the reason. He came to a simple conclusion: Things are in their place. They are where they belong, and that is Beauty. Man puts things where they do not belong, and is a destroyer of Beauty. Ugly factory smokestacks smudge the sky, great prisons are raised up, and almshouses, and asylums, and they all cry out against the despoilers of the earth; in Nature there is no need for these. And so Socrates realized it was man's capacity to be an individual that permitted him to be un-beautiful. It was his ability to think and to individually act without perfect Wisdom that created chaos.

When we talk about this world being a bad place to live in, we don't mean the world; we mean other men, we mean nations, states, and boundaries, superstitions, fanaticism; we are condemning this creature we call man, who, in the midst of Beauty, has not the sense to grasp it—who in the midst of



Law, has not the wit to understand it. And in the midst of Divine Order, must ever set up a chaos of his own.

So Socrates tried to find out what was the matter with men. Why had the gods in their infinite wisdom plagued the earth with these small creatures who prey not only upon all other things, but upon one another; who not only lay waste the land but who try to destroy themselves! Socrates stood in the marketplace to reason what was it inside men that thought so badly that it wrecked the world? Socrates came to the conclusion that there were several reasons why men had failed in their human purposes. He decided that one of the simplest and most perfect reasons was, man, unlike the gods, was not an unlimited creature. Men, with their extremes, had limitations of perspective and mind. And so Socrates decided it was not men's lies that destroyed the world, and it was not sin; it was men's half-truths that wrecked all things.

Man was capable of a little truth, and this little was man's participation in God. Man has a little of God, but not enough; man's mind was made to think little thoughts, but not to think them through to their end. Man has a little of Virtue, but not enough to be virtuous. A little of Intellect gives him not enough to think. Man is a half-grown God; as such, he exists as the nearest thing to the devil. Socrates concluded that the miseries that man must suffer are the growing pains of a god in adolescence. There was nothing you could do about it. Some day men would know enough to take care of themselves—Socrates was not sure when—but he was satisfied that the world was the testing ground of the gods, and in the testing most men fell short, and in this falling short was the misery that we know.

How right he was is indicated in our knowledge that after all the average

person has not the desire to do wrong—it is just a gift. He does not make mistakes because he wants to, but because the mistake seems to be about the one thing he is capable of. Men dream to the skies, but cling very closely to the earth, and the reforms men make must be reformed again, and inevitably these reforms in turn must be reformed.

Socrates comprehended inevitable Law moving all things into their proper pattern. Wherever is observed an absence of pattern, there is the breaking of the Law—or rather, that which is broken by the Law, because nothing breaks the Law. Socrates saw around him a relative beauty that was not absolute Beauty, and that relative beauty is the beauty we know.

Socrates then contemplated Unity, One-ness. He felt definitely that there was one Pattern behind the world, one Framework from which all the world hung; one Reality, toward which the whole world was striving; one Substance, the end of all the questing and struggling of half-finished creatures.

And he saw more. He maintained that the Unit, the One-ness, was always present. It was not as something far distant that had to be climbed up toward; it was infinitely close, but had to be discovered. Socrates realized Unity in observing that as men grow wise they come together; and conversely, as men grow more stupid they grow apart. The person who stands alone is in a sense always stupid; but he grows wise as he comes to other Truth, and when he knows a certain amount he is identical with all others who know that amount.

So Socrates became aware that what today we call homogenous is unified, and in substance that which is heterogeneous unquestionably is diversified. Then, as Spencer later said: Involution is motion from the heavens to the earth; evolution is motion from the earth to

the heavens. Man entering into life as matter, becomes diversified. Ascending out of life or matter he becomes One again. Socrates saw Unity as the final proof of life. Unity is a growing together, a coming together, for all things that are perfect are identical.

Socrates taught of the Wise Men's Grove. He did not say where the trees were located, but inferred they were somewhere in Space, a heavenly place; and here all the Wise of the world dwelt together in peace. It is to the degree we gain wisdom that we get along with each other, Socrates believed. What divides us is not misunderstanding, but lack of understanding. As soon as we begin to think we come together. To prevent unity you must prevent thought, which has been the aim of tyranny throughout the ages. To preserve strife requires that you prevent the recognition of Truth. Once Truth is realized strife ceases.

So—Unity, Beauty, Utility were the foundation of Socrates' world, in a Universe of interrelated facts that to Socrates gave full assurance of the Reality of life.

Socrates was not an Initiate of the Greek Mysteries. Both Plato and Aristotle were initiated. Socrates was called self-taught, because all he possessed came out of himself. On one occasion Socrates was confronted by the Priests, charged with revealing without warrant certain parts of the Mysteries, the penalty for which was death. Socrates replied that he could not have revealed that into which he had never been initiated; but the incident caused considerable consternation, for it made it obvious that there was a way to gain the Mysteries without being initiated: If you live Truth, it makes no difference whether you are initiated or not, you possess It, or It possesses you. By virtue of personal integrity this man possessed the finest knowledge, to the utter amazement of his time, and to the wonderment of future ages. He knew there is only one Truth; and if some come to it in the temple, so do others in the strife of living, through concentration in silent



places, or by the roadside, or in the wilderness, or even in great cities, or in the desert—but no matter how men come to it, after they once reach it they are bound together. They are one. The common denominator of this wisdom binds them into an inseparable body.

Socrates had viewpoints on many subjects. Of general interest to us is one on geography. Socrates said in one of his discourses, "I saw as in a vision the earth, and it was floating like a ball in Space, and the surface of it was like a child's patched ball, made of every color put together." He said, "It had nothing under it to support it, but it was moving through Space." Here is the first vision, the clear anticipation of that which was to be the opinion of astronomers—the earth a globe, with its surface of several colors due to the great continents and oceans, floating in Space.

Socrates and his contemporaries, and even some before him, knew the earth was round. One ancient sitting on his doorstep had found out the diameter of the earth within 50 miles of its present calculation. You may say, "How did a man more than 2000 years ago know this—without instruments, sitting on the door step with one hand to his head?" The Socratic school will tell you how he knew: Knowledge lies not in tools, but in self; man's own mind is the greatest scientific instrument ever created. In comparison to mind, all mechanical devices are as nothing. Sitting quietly in meditation you can discover most anything you want to find out—if you know how. Today, telescopes and microscopes are blind men's crutches. Men have in themselves the very substance of which the stars are formed. Men who have in themselves the very

substance of which the stars are formed. Men who in their very souls are gods, who are part of Space, sit around in classrooms and hear Space analyzed, because they do not know themselves. "Know thyself" was the great axiom of the Greeks. The Socratic axiom was, "The beginning and end of knowledge is the self."

Socrates declared there were two selves—the rational self, and the irrational self. The rational self, he said, was the mind naturally inclining itself toward Truth, verging upward constantly toward the spiritual nature. The irrational mind by its own inclination was drawn eternally toward the earth and toward the body. These two minds, dwelling together in man, are today's psychologists the conscious and subconscious mind, or at least they are very similar in principle.

The irrational mind is body conscious. (Immanuel Kant calls it the phenomenal mind). It is mind turned outward, the gloomy mind of the breakfast table that reads all the murder cases, the mind that wonders what will happen next, worries about the war, about who will be President in 1990, if there will be another depression and if we would notice it if there were, brooding over grief, and brooding over brooding—this is the phenomenal mind. It is the mind which ties us to the objective, the one by which objective things become of great significance. That is the mind that lives but once, and therefore wishes to live wholly while it lives. Also the mind that thinks but once, therefore wants to question or notionalize throughout life. It conducts the struggle against the factors of objective existence, and tries to orient man in a vacuum. This objective mind is the mind we live by. It is a very bad mind to die by.

The other mind, (to Kant, the noumenal mind) is the mind that verges toward the Real; it has neither interest in physical life nor death, nor in disgrace nor in honors, riches or poverty, in ego-

tisms nor in unbeliefs. The noumenal mind is concerned with only one thing, the approach to Truth; how much do we gain from living that contributes to Eternal Life; how much do we grow; how rapidly are we approaching the Divine State? The noumenal mind facing the Real, verging toward the Real, yearning after the Real, is unconcerned with our physical condition.

To the philosopher who has departed from physical attachments the noumenal mind becomes the Real. He lives no longer for this life, but for all time; he lives no longer for the small glories here, but for the integrity of forever. This is the mind of the ageless thinker, the Platonic mind that abides in Space above the illusions, the mind that walks on the water, that stills the storm, the mind which is akin to God and leads man toward God. This is the real mind. As the rational mind of Socrates it is that by which we are finally lifted up to Truth.

In accord with the same doctrine that Plato and Aristotle taught, Socrates taught and prayed; and the prayer of Socrates was this: "Oh, Gods and the Spirits which inhabit this place, I ask of Thee nothing but this: That I shall desire not after the earth; that I shall abide in the longing after Spirit; that I shall be just in my weights and measures; and that I shall never want more than I can use for the common good." A simple prayer, but a prayer especially appropriate to these times; for today, by a Wisdom that transcends self men are being caused without their will and knowledge to be led away from the attachments of wealth and power, and are being led toward an appreciation of spiritual things.

It would be a great thing if today's people would make Socrates again their teacher, not alone to make his words their text, but to live as he lived, believing, and affirming, that Unity, Law, and Virtue are the three invaluable foundations of an intelligent, cultured, and rationalized existence.

Cradle To Grave Security

Congress has been given by President Roosevelt a specific plan with basic recommendations for achieving "freedom from want" within our own nation; it expands the social security system under unprecedented governmental influence over our postwar economy.

No document issued within recent years is worthy of more careful study by thoughtful Americans.

THE program drawn up by the National Resources Planning Board asks that it be the declared policy of this Government "not only to promote and maintain a high level of national production and consumption," but also to:

Underwrite full employment for all employables.

Guarantee a job for every man released from the armed forces and war industries at the close of the war, with fair pay and working conditions.

Guarantee and, when necessary, underwrite:

- (a) Equal access to security.
- (b) Equal access to education for all.
- (c) Equal access to health and nutrition for all.
- (d) Wholesome housing conditions for all.

Among other things, the board thinks it desirable that there should be joint private governmental partnership in various postwar industries, particularly aluminum, magnesium, shipbuilding and aircraft. It recommends consolidation of railroads into a limited number of regional systems to provide for "efficient and low cost postwar traffic"; express highways, and expanded and integrated air transport.

There is the suggestion also for Government partnership in other crucial industries such as basic metals, synthetic rubber and some chemicals after the war, with the Government participating in the selection of the areas and the

business units which will continue to operate in those industries.

Labor should be assured its "essential safeguards of democracy"—collective bargaining, fair wages and hours; healthy and effective working conditions and "responsibility in organization and sharing in management."

For the farmer it recommends "measures to maintain the fair share of the farmers in the benefits of an expanding economy with opportunity for higher standards of living and greater security."

Then, under the heading of President Roosevelt's "four freedoms"—freedom of speech and expression; freedom to worship; freedom from want, and freedom from fear—the board proposes a new "Bill of Rights" as follows:

The right to work, usefully and creatively through the productive years.

The right to fair pay, adequate to command the necessities and amenities of life in exchange for work, ideas, thrift, and other socially valuable service.

The right to adequate food, clothing, shelter and medical care.

The right to security, with freedom from fear of old age, want, dependency, sickness, unemployment and accident.

The right to live in a system of free enterprise, free from compulsory labor, irresponsible private power, arbitrary public authority and unregulated monopolies.

The right to come and go, to speak or be silent, free from the spying of secret political police.

The right to equality before the law, with equal access to justice in fact.

The right to education, for work, for citizenship, and for personal growth and happiness.

The right to rest, recreation and adventure, the opportunity to enjoy life and take part in an advancing civilization."

The proposed program for expanded

"cradle to the grave" social security recommends:

Enactment of permanent and temporary disability insurance.

Extension of coverage of old age and survivors insurance and continuing efforts to provide more adequate minimum benefits.

Reorganization of unemployment compensation laws to provide broadened coverage, more nearly adequate payments, incorporating benefits to dependents, payments of benefits for at least 26 weeks (instead of the present 13 weeks), and replacement of present federal-state system by "a wholly federal administrative organization and a single national fund."

Creation of an adequate general public assistance system through federal financial aid for general relief available to states on an equalizing basis and accompanied by federal standards.

Stronger special public assistance programs to provide more adequately for those in need, and a redistribution of federal aid to correspond to differences in need and financial capacity among states.

Adequate measures to insure the secur-

ity of those serving in the armed forces and their families.

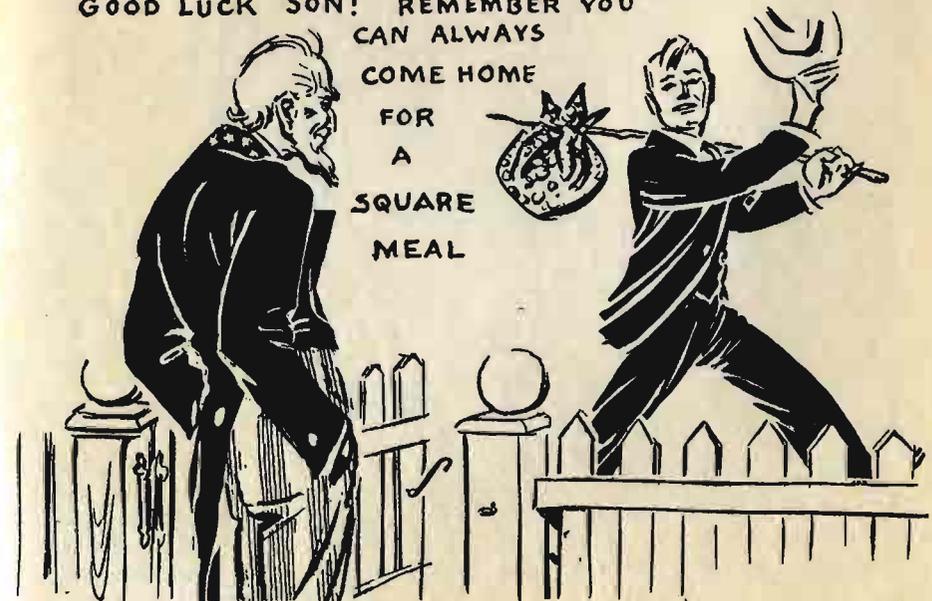
The board report is divided into four major categories—plans for transition from war to peace; plans for development of an expanding economy through cooperation of Government and private enterprise; plans for services and security, and plans for action by state and local governments and regions.

Most important section from the point of view of the number of citizens who would be affected is that dealing with services and security.

Here the board recommends assurance of adequate medical and health care for all—"regardless of place of residence or income status and on a basis that is consistent with the self respect of the recipient." This would be achieved through federally aided hospitalization facilities.

There is no proposal for outright socialization of medicine. Instead, immediate action by the government is asked in cooperation with the medical profession "to formulate plans which enable the patient to budget expenses over a reasonable period and to contribute toward the costs of care according to his ability, and which would at the same

GOOD LUCK SON!
REMEMBER YOU
CAN ALWAYS
COME HOME
FOR
A
SQUARE
MEAL



time assure to medical personnel a decent livelihood commensurate with the high costs of their professional training."

Expanded and improved public medical care for needy persons should be set up through larger appropriations and through increased cooperation by and with the medical and dental professions; the plan includes: adequate nutrition for all; development of a health program for mothers and children; maternal and child health clinics; health services in schools; protection of farm and factory workers against unnecessary accidents, controllable occupational diseases, and undue fatigue; assurance of an adequate and well distributed supply of physicians, dentists, nurses, and other medical personnel.

It recommends that assurance be given that all youth—from kindergarten through college—have equal access to education, with the Government financing education wherever necessary to achieve goals set out in the program.

On the question of employment, the board recommends that the federal government take the responsibility for "insuring jobs at decent pay to all those able to work." It also calls for a permanent work administration so that the unemployed will be assured of "socially desirable work."

It recognizes that the transition from a war to a peace economy must be accomplished in an orderly manner to head off booms and depressions. This means, it says, that demobilization of manpower from the armed forces and war industries must be carefully planned and that there must be orderly conversion to civilian use of unneeded war production facilities to avert a convulsive effect upon the postwar economy.

This also means careful demobilization of wartime economic controls, such as rationings and various price controls, since it might require "two or three years" to overcome shortages which necessitated strict economic controls during the war, and "retention for a while of some of the wartime controls will be imperative."

To cushion the effect of the demobilization of manpower from the armed forces and war industries it is suggested that a dismissal wage or allowance be paid in installments over a period of time as "a wise national safeguard."

Legislative provision should be made to assure that returning soldiers and sailors will be able to take up their place in civilian life—"we shall not be content this time to give each man \$60 in cash and a ticket home."

In a discussion of demobilization of war plants, machines and war contracts the board has recommended "extension and new forms of joint private and governmental partnership," because in some sectors of the economy public interest may be served better by the use of mixed corporations than by either wholly private enterprise or outright Government ownership and operations."

Set forth for Congressional consideration are plans for the distribution of government financed war production plants "among numerous operators to encourage healthful business competition" and also to prevent "monopoly control of plants in the interest of a single group or industry."

As part of the program for postwar conversion of war plants it is proposed that federal tax laws provide for establishment of a "postwar conversion reserve" for use by war industries for a short period following termination of their war contracts.

And there are these recommendations: That the Government provide technical assistance in the conversion task so private operators of war plants can find the most appropriate peacetime use for their buildings, equipment and labor skills in making products that could be distributed economically from the community in which the plant is located.

Also, planning for more desirable regional distribution of manufacturing from the standpoint of national defense and local diversification. This would call for retaining in operation selected plants, financed in new industrial areas during the war by the Government. This would be aimed at eliminating the

specter of postwar ghost towns.

Small producers and distributors and small enterprises which are war casualties should have Government help—technical advice, marketing aids, and favorable financing terms.

And, new industries, new processes, and improved products should be developed through Government research and by maintaining free access to the use of both old and new materials and processes "unhampered by misuse of the patent system."

The Government should retain control over patents and properties seized from enemy aliens, and operate them directly, or license their use in such a way to encourage competitive development by private operations.

Wartime experience, it is noted, has indicated "the public importance of certain industries and the desirability of continued federal control of their operation." Among such industries are those based on scarce raw materials, those supplying power and fuels and transportation and other public services.

"For the longer range development of an expanding economy after the war, our free enterprise system and economic freedom for the individual will demand constant assistance from the Government and a renewed sense of vigilant responsibility on the part of all citizens."

A special place is given to public works in postwar planning, but, says the report "the main reliance for an effective consumer demand must come from private activities taking the lead in opening of new enterprise and in using our new productive capacity."

Postwar taxation is discarded, with recommendation for retention of a progressively graduated tax structure and broadened tax base "with major emphasis on the individual income tax and less reliance on the corporate income tax."

The board envisages great improvement in basic domestic transportation facilities and proposes the creation of a

national transportation agency to "coordinate all federal development activity in transportation."

It says the Government should plan to initiate a large public housing program—"one of the most important outlets for the potential products of converted war plants"—and aid in stimulating both private and public construction activities. This calls for immediate planning for postwar public construction "and adequate authority and funds for such planning should now be made available by federal, state and local governments."

In this connection a recommendation is for construction of federal projects in a six year program of selected projects.

Venturing outside domestic postwar economy, the plan comprehends "an effective jural order of the world, outlawing violence and imperialism, old or new fashioned, in international relations, and permitting and energizing the fullest development of resources and rights everywhere."

In a message transmitting the program, President Roosevelt said it was his "earnest hope that the Congress will give these matters full consideration during this session."

"We must not return to the inequities, insecurity and fears of the past," he said, "but ought to move forward toward the promise of the future."

"When the Congress has agreed on procedures for the consideration of these problems, the executive agencies responsible for the administration of programs in these fields are prepared to provide the Congress with all assistance within their power in devising appropriate ways and means to accomplish these high purposes."

The blueprint for achieving freedom from want was drawn up by a board headed by Roosevelt's uncle, Frederic A. Delano. The House of Representatives anticipated public issuance of the report by denying further funds for the board's continuance.

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