

faith in ourselves to be able to say "No!" If the states would come to understand how expensive a Federal handout proves to be, they could say "No!" If Congress, as the branch of the national government most representative of the diversity of American interests, really comes to understand the dangers inherent in centralization of all power within the executive branch, it can say "No!" most effectively to the presidency and the bureaucracy. Federal programs without congressionally appropriated funds to operate them are nothing more than castles in the sand. Above all, the individual American in the exercise of his political franchise, as well as in his economic and social decisions, still has the power to come up with the biggest "No!" of all.

It is the totalitarian thinker who prides himself upon being "monolithic." But Stephen Spender has remarked: "They are congratulating themselves on being dead: and it is for us to see that they do not turn the whole world into their cemetery."

A Vital and Honorable Heritage to Be Preserved

Our tradition of American federalism has a long and honorable heritage and is perhaps the greatest success story in the world's history. It retains great vitality in our own times and the means are readily available to Americans to further invigorate the concept. As Lincoln suggested in his Cooper Union address: "Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored — contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong." That insistence upon choosing between right and wrong is a matter ultimately of individual moral responsibility. And as this nation and its heritage constitute freedom's last, best hope, the necessity for individual moral responsibility was never greater. It is as true today as when Dante said it centuries ago: "The hottest places in hell are reserved for those who, in a period of moral crisis, maintained their neutrality." ♦

Maxwell Anderson

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

THE GREATEST ENEMIES of democracy, the most violent reactionaries, are those who have lost faith in the capacity of a free people to manage their own affairs and wish to set up the government as a political and social guardian, running their business and making their decisions for them.

F R E E D O M : O U R D I L E M M A

W. WATTS BIGGERS

IF WE ARE FREE MEN and if freedom is the cornerstone of our ideology, have we not already achieved ideological perfection and thus become a nation of people without an aim? In short, is the ideological road to freedom nothing more than a dead-end street?

No! If some of us are people without an aim, this is because we have failed to recognize a simple yet most important fact: *We are not free.*

So long as a single man is bound by the chains of prejudice, ignorance, or fear, we are not a free people. The fact that we are not surrounded by concrete walls or steel bars blinds us to the fact that barriers just as real and just as important prevent us from being free. One man may be struggling to free himself from ignorance, another

from prejudice, another from fear — but they are all prisoners. And each of us has a responsibility to these men and to ourselves to join in the battle for freedom.

Could we really be free and still hate each other? Am I free if some prejudice instilled in me as a child prevents me from judging all men on the basis of their individual merits rather than race or creed? Are any of us really free when, in moments of stress or panic, we are guided by twisted fears or primitive instincts rather than sane common sense?

We are not free. The brave men of this country who give their lives in wartime do so in order that we, the living, may be outwardly free to work toward a far greater freedom. It is our failure to live up to this responsibility — our failure to understand the true dimensions of freedom — which has made many of us lose our way.

Mr. Biggers heads the Biggers and Stover firm of advertising consultants in Massachusetts and also is President of Total Television Productions.