

qualified to utilize effectively the tremendous power that unwittingly has been concentrated in political office. The concept of personal freedom has degenerated to such a low ebb that liberty is now considered to be synonymous with superficial processes that attempt to place better men in an insatiably authoritarian government.

It would be a disheartening commentary on the social and moral progress of any nation to find a governmental structure that confiscated one-third of the national income; that diverted for political purposes one-fifth of the gross national product; and that directly, indirectly, or through conscription, provided employment for one-fourth of the citizenry. But it is doubly disheartening to find that a nation with its traditions firmly rooted in the responsibility of personal freedom, has deliberately installed such a government. Placing better men in that government might appear to be a worthy objective but free societies are completely dependent upon better government in men.

An Air of Respectability

Political freedom can exist only where men conscientiously accept the responsibility for governing themselves. When consensus no longer expresses a desire to retain the responsibility of solving hu-

man problems within the framework of free social intercourse, constitutional process simply lends an air of respectability to governmental tyranny. Political campaigns, by the very nature of the totalitarian offices the aspirants seek to fill, are resolved by transitory majorities skillfully gathered by demagogic promises to use the vested powers of political office to favor certain segments of a society at the expense of others.

If a man rules himself wisely, it is all that can be expected of him, for no man is morally capable of doing more. But if men are not morally qualified to govern others, neither are they morally released from the responsibility of governing themselves. The degeneration of moral government and subsequent increase of formal political government precisely measures the degree to which the self-reliance, self-respect, and human dignity of a society has eroded.

Rather than zealously searching for more capable politicians, those who seek liberty must instead undertake the prerogatives of self-sufficiency and the moral responsibilities of self-government. The functions of formal political government will then automatically be restricted and systematically reduced until at last government is confined within the moral capabilities of human limitation. ♦

Men, Not Money, Will Overcome Poverty

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

IT IS A COMMON DELUSION that any problem, however deeply rooted in human psychological weaknesses and frailties, can be satisfactorily solved by a sufficiently large appropriation of public funds. This is especially true as regards the so-called war on poverty. Not content with the huge sums already appropriated or indicated by the lavish spending programs of the 89th Congress, some ardent crusaders in this field want to go much farther, regardless of the effects on the shrinking value of the dollar or the fortunes of the majority of Americans who work for a living.

A group of men identified with "civil rights" and "labor" causes, including a few clergymen and economists, headed by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, recently came out with a proposal

for the government to spend the modest sum of \$185 billion for a drive to "end poverty in the next ten years," mostly by vastly increased contributions to existing items in the antipoverty program plus assuring a guaranteed annual wage, earned or not. This guaranteed annual income, on top of lavish welfare outlays, would remove the last serious incentive to work for the less skilled, while its cost would help to depress the standard of living of those who do work closer to the poverty level. Yet, the proposal also is favorably mentioned in a recent book by Walter W. Heller, chief of the Council of Economic Advisers in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

Another ex-chief of the Council of Economic Advisers, Mr. Leon Keyserling, went along heartily with the \$185 billion spending budget. Somewhat in the spirit of the dentist who assures his patient that the next turn of the drill in his molars will not hurt,

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