his fortune by legitimate means . . . is not an offender deserving punishment; and those who support or advocate any form of confiscatory taxation are guilty of the sin of theft." Strange words from one accused of being a Socialist!

But even so, the "rich" (income over £ 750 a year) now pay only about two-fifths of all British taxes. On the average, the poor manual workers, who think they are escaping the tax collector, have 25 per cent of their income confiscated. The "free services" of their Welfare State are hardly free, it seems.

With a sympathetic eye toward those of low income, Clark reminds us that ". . . we have been trained by the politicians of all parties to regard the State as a benevolent Father Christmas. Whatever you want, they say, be it education or medicine or orange juice or false teeth, ask the State for it and, like a delighted child on Christmas morning, you will find it in your stocking at no expense to yourself. Are we such children as all that?"

Clark then admonishes the wise man to ". . . give the State, not the maximum, but the minimum of powers and duties."

Where does this leave the British social services? Out in the cold. But it doesn't leave the wage earner's real welfare out in the cold, because Clark has made careful estimates to show how *through voluntary, competitive sources,* a family of low-income persons could, on the average, ". . . obtain all the services it wanted in respect of health, education, insurance against unemployment, old age, accident and widowhood, by setting aside some 13 per cent of its income. . . ."

Clark estimates that this relief from taxation would raise production 10 per cent within two or three years. Taking this into account along with the saving in the cost of these services by voluntary and competitive agencies, even the low-income persons would be from one-eighth to one-sixth better off. They could increase their welfare by junking their Welfare State.

One would feel small to quibble over some points about which I would raise real question — even some pretty important matters—in a book where the author concludes, as Clark did: "Concentration of political power is always dangerous. . . . We should realize that, if we go on building up the power of the State . . . giving it more and more control over every detail of our lives . . . we create a State which will not merely tax us to excess but eventually enslave us completely."

Change the details, and isn't Clark talking about the United States, as well as Britain, in all this?

F. A. HARPER

Fromm and Capitalism

The Sane Society, by Erich Fromm. 370 pp. New York: Rinehart & Company. $5.00

As a diagnostician of the individual in modern society, Erich Fromm has no peer. To the clinical and detached view of the psychoanalyst, he brings the perceptions of the philosopher, historian and humanist.

In *The Sane Society,* Fromm draws a picture of modern man which shows him alienated from himself and the world. It is an accurate and frightening picture. Man in modern society tends to become a "thing," a mere automaton, whose chief function is to serve as a unit in the Consuming Society, *i.e.,* the mass market. Removed from involvement in the *complete* process of modeling and recreating nature, confined to the most elementary and routine of tasks, his skill never realizes fulfillment and is reduced to that of a mere push-button mechanism, with no comprehension of the purpose and end of his production, nor of himself and his destiny.

This results in what Fromm calls man's alienation from himself. And such alienation, says Fromm, is madness. "Instead of the machine being the substitute for human energy, man has become a substitute for the machine. His work can be defined as the performance of acts which cannot yet be performed by machines." Thus he becomes "part of the equipment hired by the capitalist"; a "part" whose intelligence is inferior to the machine's, yet whose reason has produced the machine; and this reason lies dormant and idle, threatened with decay from disuse. Inevitably, this reduces him in dignity and produces a sense of loss and helplessness which he tries to overcome by submerging himself in the mass. The mass, in turn, looks to "authoritarian" (outer) guidance instead of to "humanitarian" (inner) guidance.

So far, so good. Fromm has depicted the plight of the individual in modern society with unerring clarity. But when he ventures into the realm of economics, the picture becomes blurred. He is plainly out of his depth here. For he lays squarely at the door of capitalism the responsibility for this state of affairs. Which is not to say that Fromm is against capitalism; he seems to understand the difference between capitalism (by which, I take it, he means the open, competitive market) and communism—giving capitalism by far the best of it. But he sees in it inherent evils which tend to reduce the individual to the automaton described above, and claims this to be a consequence of the system. Capitalism, he argues, tends to develop bigness and monopoly in industry, which not only depend upon a mass market but must continually develop techniques that will shape a mass frame of mind. But since capitalism is otherwise desirable, the thing to do is to change it so that it is productive of better results. Fromm then proposes a management-labor-consumer relationship which seems not only impossible of achievement, but if attempted would either thrust us back into primitivism or "advance" us to collectivism.

What Fromm fails to see is that the Consuming Society is unnaturally accelerated, not by the inherent nature of business to monopolize the mass market, but by government intervention. Its pressure, exerted on business—via taxes, controls and restrictions—forces industry into bigness in order to survive, at the same time narrowing the field for the small enterpriser. In like manner, intervention in the life of the individual destroys his self-reliance, fostering a dependent attitude toward government, and tightens the vise on the mechanical world in which he is trapped—a world already distorted by that government's power misapplied in the field of industry.

It does not occur to Fromm that industry, left alone, might not sprout such malevolent features; that monopoly is as much a result of privilege tendered by government as of pressure exerted by government; and that a market, free of both privilege and pressure, might cope with monopolistic tendencies with the aid of a very basic economic law: the law of diminishing returns. Bigness, unaided by privilege, tends to become topheavy. It cannot, in the long run, compete successfully with more flexible enterprises. Excellence would then be the standard for success.

This is the only serious flaw in an otherwise remarkable book. If Fromm were as well versed in economics as in psychology and philosophy, he might have achieved in this book the same wonderful synthesis as in his earlier work, *Psychoanalysis and Religion.*

HELEN CARTIER

Pragmatism's Best

The Pragmatic Humanism of F. C. S. Schiller, by Reuben Abel. 207 pp. King's Crown Press, Columbia University. $3.50

Pragmatism — the philosophy of haste and use—reminds one of other modern exploitations. Pragmatists are like farmers who, for a huge immediate crop, abandon contour plowing and rotation, and thus waste the good earth of philosophy by overuse and eventual erosion.

The famous trinity of pragmatism were William James, John Dewey, F. C. S. Schiller. James was a minor great man, a genius by driblets; Dewey was a schoolman who thought and wrote with the bumping angularity of a concrete-mixer; Schiller, never even a minor genius, was the most talented of the three and the most persuasive. Unlike James, he could think consecutively; unlike Dewey, he could write English.

This book is an excellent, largely sympathetic yet softly critical résumé of Schiller's "pragmatic humanism." Guide, diluted philosopher and critical friend, it prepares us for a final acceptance or refusal of pragmatism at its most persuasive.

Schiller was always appealing and sometimes valid. His distrust of abstract "intellectuals," his insistence that truth is concrete, his realization that "facts" are only the raw material of truth, his emphasis on will as a factor in reality are excellent. If pragmatism had been content to jolt the Bradleys and Hegels into a realization of the man of flesh and bone, of the concrete substance of the world's tigers that burn bright and trees that flow like individual slow green bubbles out of the Absolute, it could have been the beginning of something great.

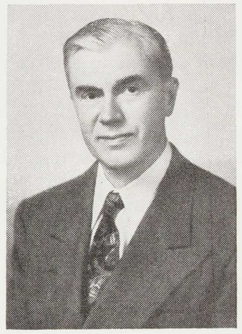
Its falsity lay in its inability to stop with criticism of abstraction. It had to extend itself into a denial of absolutes, which is the destruction of the bases of all criticism. Because Bradley or Hegel idealized the Absolute is no basis for denying that the Absolute exists, or for reducing "reality" to a *flux quo* of relativity. Consequence was judged in terms of fulfilment of man's needs, not by its consonance with reality's meaning. Consequence, *flux quo,* human use, were to usurp the place of the inexplorable *I am* of God. To the good pragmatist there is no stubborn destiny in things: earth is a fluid grab-

THE UNITED NATIONS: PLANNED TYRANNY

Comments on the Dream and the Reality

By V. ORVAL WATTS

Foreword by Clarence Manion



"This book," says the author, "is for all those who revere the American way of freedom rather than the UN way of benevolent despotism, and who place the inalienable rights of individuals ahead of World Government." With simplicity and sincerity, Dr. Watts argues that the UN is not liberal but reactionary; that it is a blueprint for perpetual war instead of an instrument for peace. With half a hundred books available praising the UN to the skies, the present volume is badly needed to balance the scales. His book may be said to place the UN in true perspective for the first time. Son of a North Dakota minister, a Harvard Ph.D. in economics and history, former college professor, Dr. Watts is now an economic consultant on the West Coast.

In his foreword, Clarence Manion writes:

". . . a world that is starving for peace has built passionate defenses around the imposing, highly publicized organization formed ten years ago 'to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.' . . . Consequently, any writer takes his literary life in his hands when he seeks to thread his way through the fraudulent pretenses, around the false analogies and finally on past the emotional barricades to the startling truth that the United Nations is a road to Universal Despotism. Dr. Watts has taken the risk and reached the goal. The result is this desperately needed book of revelations. . . . This book describes how perilously close we are now edged up to the permanent loss of our liberty in the despotism of World Government. If a clinching argument is needed for the speedy adoption of the Bricker Amendment, Dr. Watts has supplied it. . . ."

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