

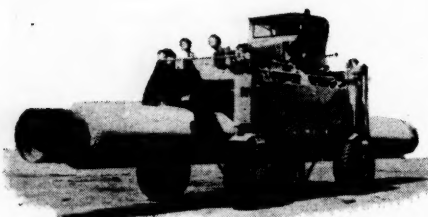


It might have been you...

Years before the American Revolution, Benjamin Franklin wrote: "They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety!" These words were quoted often, and led thousands of colonists to choose between passive acceptance and revolt.

Today, what words will move Americans to act against a ramshackle tax system, built on crisis after crisis... stifling economic freedom?

Until we balance budgets by reducing expenses instead of increasing taxes; until we revise our tax laws to create capital instead of destroying it, we are making all-out socialism inevitable. Speak up. You can help in the fight for fair and just taxation.



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Determinism's Evil End

by Raymond Moley

IN AN interview on our activity in space, an executive of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration was asked why it should be necessary to send a man out there when we have such wonderful instruments. He answered: "Only a man can find what we are not looking for; an instrument can find only what we think is there."

This sentence of his throws a great light on a conflict in ideas that has been raging for the century since Marx and Darwin. There were those who believed that the seminal writings of these men unlocked an entirely new door to an interpretation of man and his place in the world. Their interpretation of science in history, politics, and nature was that man is a mere item in the mass of natural forces in the material world and universe. His personality, they held, was a composite of inherited instincts and of environmental influences. He had no free will and was without personal responsibility.

In history, the application of this determinism was so-called economic interpretation. The American Revolution thus became a squabble over taxes. The Constitution was made by men who sought protection for their securities and land. The two parties were mere congregations of debtors on one side and creditors on the other.

In jurisprudence, the ancient concept of the "Reign of Law" was rejected. Justice should be applied in accordance with what the judge believed to be justified by sociology and psychology. In court, the man's environment was judged, not the culprit.

REFORMERS' DESTINY

In politics, where determinism did its crowning mischief, a candidate or party merely added up the specific material yearnings of each of a group of minorities and made a total majority miscalled the general welfare. Elections thus became auctions of items of interest only to men's stomachs and purses.

Notable, even great men taught determinism as a tool to move human behavior. But what they properly conceived to be a hint concerning human behavior, their lesser followers seized upon as a complete answer. A tool became a key. The sorcerer's appren-

tices knew how to turn on the water, but not how to control it. Thus the melancholy destiny of reformers. Keynes said: Turn on more government spending in depression; turn it off in recovery. But politics thought differently. The stimulant became food. Spending became a means to eternally accelerated growth.

Even Marx is distorted by Communism. Politicians cannot wait for natural determinism. They must use chicane, force, and brutality to hurry along the end of capitalism. The plans of the masters call for moves forward, backward, and sideways on the chessboard of life, with men's lives and liberty as pawns in the operation. Who is Mr. K to talk about the President's responsibility? Personal responsibility has no place in the doctrine K practices. For individual responsibility requires liberty to act and choose. And even K is responsible to the master plan—impersonal, ruthless, inexorable—in which he, too, is a pawn.

'RESPONSIBLE FREEDOM'

The world is menaced by the consequences of an acceptance of determinism, by a blind acceptance of the implications of science as a weapon to destroy liberty everywhere.

It is the scientists here who have uttered the most eloquent warnings against the acceptance of scientific determinism. For they know the limits of their quest and the need for freedom in the welding of the tools for a better civilization. Witness Vannevar Bush's warning to "preserve the resourcefulness and initiative of freedom, and further the urge to create, with no stifling regimentation or deadening mediocrity." Or Arthur H. Compton, who says this of what he calls "responsible freedom": "I have learned from this experience [the atomic quest] the effectiveness of free men who are agreed upon one common purpose. The harmony comes as each sees and chooses the part he can do best toward the attainment of the desired end."

That end, as I understand him, is the use of science not as an end in itself, but as a means to the maintenance of the individual's freedom of choice in a world in which all liberty is living under a mortal threat.