

which the United States has no ground for hostility whatever. Were there no U.N., it is scarcely conceivable that the United States Government would have participated in sanctions against Rhodesia, which, unlike some recipients of American bounty, has never insulted the American flag, burned down United States installations, and made life unsafe for United States diplomatic personnel. Or that it would have struck a crusading pose on such an issue as the South African mandate over Southwest Africa, or *apartheid* in general.

But, this one blind spot aside, the author gives a spirited and highly readable account of the way in which the passengers in the East River Noah's Ark fight and play and generally behave themselves. ◆

▶ **THE FIRST NEW DEAL** by Raymond Moley, with the assistance of Elliot A. Rosen (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966), 577 pp., \$12.50.

Reviewed by Mary Jean Bennett

FOR AN INSIGHT into the New Deal — and if the past is prologue, an outlook for the Great Society — one could scarcely do better than read Raymond Moley's masterful *The First New Deal*. Moley, now a columnist for *Newsweek*, was

the Columbia law professor who gathered together in 1932 and for a number of years directed the famous "Brain Trust." This was an early think tank that included such figures as Rexford Guy Tugwell and Adolf A. Berle, Jr., and that funneled policies and speeches to Franklin Delano Roosevelt and helped frame the social revolution known as the New Deal.

To Moley, schooled on the Progressive Movement, on "progressives" like Henry George and Charles Beard, the Great Depression called for pragmatism — bold approaches to solve the cruel problems of industrial stagnation: bank failures by the thousands, unemployment in the millions, factories operating at a fraction of their capacity, home and farm mortgages being foreclosed at a rate never before witnessed in the country.

Moley was attracted to the New York governor by FDR's "pragmatic optimism," which was "marvelously effective because it was so contagious." Again, FDR's "activism was a correlative of his optimism and his love of experimentation." In one of his first assignments as a speech-writer, Moley inserted the phrase, "the forgotten man," into an early FDR 1932 campaign address. The phrase was lifted from William Graham Sumner's famous essay of that title. But Moley and FDR used it in an

entirely different sense. The phrase caught on; Moley was in.

He witnessed history — and helped make it. He gives inside accounts of the sweeping 100 Days beginning in March, 1933, and of the London Economic Conference beginning in July, 1933. But slowly disillusion set in; the vision of economic recovery in a free society receded; desperation and radicalism gained ascendancy. FDR's acceptance speech to the 1936 Democratic Convention triggered Moley's break with FDR.

Moley had a hand in the speech draft and in fact supplied the phrase, "rendezvous with destiny," but he was dismayed by the excesses that crept into the draft via other "ghosts": denunciations of "economic royalists," "new mercenaries," "concentration of control," "privileged princes," and "economic dynasties thirsting for power." This was not the FDR of 1932 and earlier; this was not the man who had accepted the Democratic nomination for President in 1932 with the words:

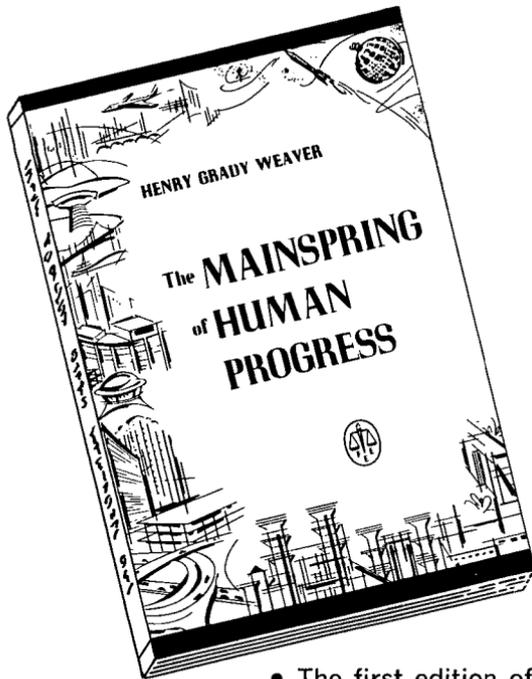
We must eliminate unnecessary functions of Government—functions, in fact, that are not definitely essential to the continuance of Government. We must merge, we must consolidate subdivisions of Government, and, like the private citizen, give up luxuries which we can no longer afford.

Nor was this the man who had run on the 1932 Democratic Party plank:

An immediate and drastic reduction of governmental expenditures by abolishing useless commissions and offices, consolidating departments and bureaus and eliminating extravagance, to accomplish a saving of not less than 25 per cent in the cost of Federal Government, and we call upon the Democratic Party in the States to make a zealous effort to achieve a proportionate result.

In short, by 1936 Moley was fed up and soon submitted his resignation. In 1939 he published his critical memoirs, *After Seven Years*. The metamorphosis was pretty complete. His teacher, Charles Beard, apparently went through the same cycle and Moley writes that "Beard and I had many conversations in his later days, in the 1940's, and perhaps he and I both went through a change in which we re-examined all of our earlier preconceptions."

So it came to be that Moley, a champion of reform, found that centralization can lead to excess, that there was truth in Acton's thesis on the corruptibility of power, that he felt more at home in the Republican Party for whose Presidential candidates he worked long and hard, from Wendell Willkie to Barry Goldwater. ♦



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■ On such occasions as we might be inclined to make judgments on the basis of the economic disparity between ourselves and someone we see living in the lap of luxury, it is helpful to remember that the economic rewards we see someone else enjoying are but a partial measure of the value that individual has contributed to others.

MENILO F. SMITH, President, Sunline, Inc. of St. Louis

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