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Articles by MANLY PALMER HALL Philosopher
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An identifying footnote to each article indicates whether it is an original article, a condensation from a Manly Palmer Hall lecture, or an excerpt from his writings. Suggested Reading is a guide to his published writings on the same or a related subject. A list of Manly Palmer Hall's published works will be mailed on request.

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IF we view the whole pageantry of world history in the terms of our present problem nothing is occurring now that in principle has not occurred before. Weapons differ, and we possess a more global concept, but the basic emotions which are working out in this present war have existed since the beginning of time and have precipitated one civilization after another into the chaos of destruction and death.

Certain great values lie at the root of human development, and to depart from these values is to come to grief. These values are kinds of moral patterns, and once they have been set in motion as patterned energy they inevitably unfold according to their nature. If, therefore, we can recognize that we are in the midst of a certain kind of pattern, we can have reference to the whole of recorded history to determine the motion of this pattern. We can know how it will unfold, and what its consequences will be; and most important of all, we can know how to adjust ourselves to the most reasonable fulfillment of the constructive aspects of that pattern.

The pattern we are following very closely today is preceded in the Roman Empire. Unfortunately average knowledge of Rome is limited to the story of the Caesars, giving us a sort of abstract conception of Roman politics and Roman debauchery, but very little knowledge of the economic and social life of Rome. H. G. Wells recognized some years ago that our histories have been written, for the most part, around outstanding personalities, and we habitually think of times and places in terms of individuals. This is not the way to a proper perspective on history. For example, if a thousand years hence an American history should be written largely around Washington and Lincoln, with possible inclusion of a few of our great military and political and industrial personalities, such a history would give a very inadequate understanding of the life of our people. The story of the Caesars is thus seen as merely the recording of a certain strata of Roman delinquency possible under the state, but which did not represent the political psychology of the Roman people themselves. The political life of Rome was the political life of an industrial people; the social life of Rome was the social life of a people financially minded, industrially poised. Rome thought just as we do today, in terms of world trade.

The ships of Rome sailed the known seas of her time. The armies of Rome policed the known world. Why had the Romans invaded Gaul and Britain...
and subjugated Carthage and Athens? Why had they gathered these states and nations together into a great economic, social, and political commonwealth? Because Rome believed, and believed sincerely, that it was necessary to administer the world by means of a strong central authority. In other words, Rome accepted the challenge of the first century as we face the challenge of the twentieth century, in the job of keeping the world in order.

The Romans were very conscientious about it; in many respects more so than the empire builders of the last five centuries. It was not their intention to destroy conquered people, they were far more interested in the cultivation of their arts and crafts; and so they caused to flow into the great center of Roman industrial life the products and manufactured goods of probably twenty-five or thirty nations, and was satisfied to act as a clearing house for the distribution of goods. The result was, Romans grew rich as middlemen; they acquired wealth by the same psychology under which we are living today. As time went on the Romans did not want to produce, did not want to go back to farms and agriculture and herding of sheep; they wanted to buy and sell and make a profit off other men's labors. Where since have we heard that one?

I have seen old records of the Roman educational system, and the farm boys of two thousand years ago too wanted a college education. The work all Romans wanted was taking a percentage of the profits. They were willing enough to conduct their business in a very legitimate manner, according to the theory of economics. As the American industrial tycoon goes to his office in his limousine—or did until the slight matter of gasoline rationing came up—so did the Roman descend at his office from his chariot, in the course of the day to buy and sell other men's products for profit. They had their bourse and the fundamentals of a stock exchange, and they had lobbying and a system of lobbying as you would want to find. They had politicians who represented and those who misrepresented their constituency, tools of the industrial magnates. Most of all, Rome had empire consciousness, in the rooted belief that it was good for other countries for Rome to rule them, because Rome could rule them far better than they could rule themselves.

Rome had justification for this belief, for a considerable part of the world of the Roman Empire was primitive. Northern and Central Europe was savage, and Rome brought order to its people, torn within themselves by their tribal strife without any concept of national existence nor any policy of national progress. We must not feel that Rome did nothing for these people; Rome did many things, has every right to be regarded as constructive. In Egypt, Rome rebuilt the great aqueducts, improved the sewerage, even went so far as to rebuild the monuments; the inscription is on many of the stone figures, including the great Sphinx, 'Roman engineers repaired these things so future generations might enjoy them.' Rome's was a thoughtful empire, and for one corrupt politician there were a hundred sincere, industrious, and able men.

This empire spirit came finally by the unfolding of its pattern to a condition which we have sought to paraphrase. Our conclusions could parallel those of certain thoughtful Romans of the second and third centuries. They were then bewailing certain weaknesses that had shown up in the Roman conscious: "The youth of Rome are becoming helpless, they have lost their initiative. Young men are no longer able to make lives for themselves, but are dependent upon the wealth of their fathers for their careers." Another Roman writer has recorded, "The distribution of wealth is becoming even more difficult because of monopolies." In today's pattern we know these same problems.

So in the history of this people, beneath a familiar story of the Caesars, togas, chariots and the Coliseum, there was another of a greater set of values. Here was struggling humankind, trying to preserve and build, but falling into the dilemma common to every people since the beginning of time, as expressed by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus: "Rome is dying because Rome has nothing more to live for."

He tells us that the Romans had no initiative left, no incentive; they had everything they could possibly want and need, and there were no more worlds to conquer. It is always the case, when this point arrives in national destiny, that a nation will either collapse or else its civilization will lead it to the most vital of conquests, self-conquest. Romans did not move to self-conquest. They were the rulers of the world, with no more room to Tug or go on. They believed in the supreme significance of themselves, and so they relaxed their vigilance toward life. They employed their leisure to exploit each other, and having no common goal, they preyed upon each other, and so was destroyed the empire within itself.

This experience of Rome we now see again emerging as the experience of other times and other people. When Rome had lost the flame of action, was living upon its glory and not upon vitality, from the north came the hordes of the Barbarians. The savage nations had learned a little of the significance of empire, and they rode down on their shaggy little ponies to sack and pillage and gradually to chew off some Roman boundaries. One by one the people of the colonial empires of Rome lost their respect for the mother country and declared their own independence, and gradually the empire boundaries shrank nearer and nearer to the center, and the Barbarians stood at the gates of Rome.
we can think on the line of demarka-
tion between integrity and profit.
It would appear that we should be
able to make these decisions fairly, hon-
estly, and squarely; but I question
whether these decisions will be made
with desired ease and definitiveness.
No one of course wants war; all who think
constructively are in soul and at heart
pacifists; all who have any dream what-
ever for the common good, desire peace
for mankind. Yet when it comes to
these basic decisions concerning values,
we will confront the dilemma of every
heroic person since the beginning of
time. There can be no doubt that those
who have given their lives for humanity
would have preferred to have lived, con-
tinuing in peaceful and comfortable ex-
istences. We honor Socrates because he
drank the hemlock, we honor Jesus be-
cause he died for what he believed, and
throughout the world we love wartime
heroes who have given their lives for us.
To regard the heroic dead as honorable
is to recognize that they have given all
for what they believed, that they clung to
their convictions in the presence of the
sorest temptations to follow courses of
easy action. Tradition assures us that
this is the common finding of our own
time, and that in matters of decision
between principle and compromise, the
philosophical as ever are willing to die
for that principle. Also that there will
never be a world that is not willing to
die for what it believes. It is this ab-
solute integrity which will ultimately re-
move the necessity for the sacrifice.
When all men are willing to die for
what they believe, they will not have to.
The order of life which produces this
united integrity of purpose will produce
with it an integrity of existence which
will not be destroyed. If some must die for others it is because
those others will not live truly themselves.
So then, in the time and terms of the
to be expected appeasement overtures,
we must be alert to the obvious, that
there will be no intention on the part of
the Central Powers to offer a permanent
or constructive peace. Their only
purpose will be to gain a breathing
space—ten years, five years, maybe
ten years—to study the mistakes they
have made, to rebuild an army that has
been depleted by a disastrous Russian
campaign, to reorganize their ambitions.
Not for one moment do they intend to
change the pattern of that ambition. If
because we want peace we foolishly ac-
cept their lies, we will have to fight the
whole thing over again. We are up
against a pattern of ideology that will
never cease until it is absolutely defeated.
And we know from history, if we begin
the process of appeasement, we are from
that moment going to begin to hate our-
selves, in guilty recognition of gradual
demoralization of the basic principles
of our national and racial integrity.
If Japan meets with continued set-
backs it too will cry for peace, in order
to get the world back into a psychology
of complacency in which it can again
strike in the dark. With neighboring
nations, or the nation, or other na-
tions, none of them will admit to their
ambition neither slumbers nor sleeps; it is
constantly dedicated to the fulfillment
of itself; it goes on planning and plot-
ting and scheming until it fulfills itself,
or is destroyed. This is very clearly
shown in history.
Napoleon's ambition was paid for by
the life of France; and yet, within a
hundred days Frenchmen were willing
to rally around him again, die again for
him—give their lives for the am-
bitions of another man. As long as there
are ambitious men there will be armies
to sustain and support them, a policy
that will go on until the world disproves
it, and nothing is more certain than that
it will not be disproved by appeasement.
We are approaching the hour of a ser-
ious decision, upon which will hang the
total fate of our democratic theory
of life, and one in which there can be no
successful compromise.
We have in this country a bloc of con-
scientious people with whom we have
already had considerable difficulty, the
isolationists. We should not think for
a moment this group is defunct. That
we were nearly destroyed has not
changed their viewpoint in the slightest.
Certain people are more willing to die
for their opinions than for truth; in fact,
if we were all as loyal to hard realities
as we are to our own notions, we would
truly be an immortal people. But the
isolationist minded are of a type that will
continue in their convictions even after
proven wrong, and deny they are proven
wrong; and they will continue in their
being wrong. This isolationist group at the slightest sign of a
peace offer will come forth to tell us
we have no business fighting for the
democratizing of Europe, reminding us
once more, or trying to, that we must
keep clear of international politics. In
the face of a rubber shortage they will
tell us we do not need to trade with
the Dutch East Indies, we do not need the
friendship of other nations; the thing to
do is to sit behind our national bounda-
ries, become self-sustaining, mend the
home fences; that job is big enough in
itself. For the continuance of their op-
inions these men are perfectly willing to
sacrifice the next twenty generations to
proving the unproved possibility that
one continent or nation can exist apart
from the unity of the global world.
And this they will do in face of the
clear evidence that we have departed for-
ever from hemispheric thinking. From
now on, the moral, emotional, mental,
and physical life of the Pole and
Argentine will be of vital importance, the habits of the
 Eskimo and the political existence of
the Hottentot are part of a new
 world plan. Any individual who is thinking
in terms of national boundaries today is
showing a perspective so narrow that he
is unsafe. For we must realize that take-
less we proceed with greatest skill and
caution, this whole war is nothing but
a prelude to disaster. It is going to re-
quire a measure of thinking greater
than any in recorded history to decide
the pattern we must establish now, for
the world problem will be the fulfil-
ment of this pattern; according to the
approach we make we can bestow mor-
tality upon it, or give it some semblance of
immortality.
The causes of this war have not been
solved, and they will not be solved by the
removal of such men as Adolph
Schickelgruber. His removal will not
change anything, any more than the re-
moval of Al Capone marked the end of
gangsterism. Moods in human conscious-
ness remain in the mechanism of man
until utterly disproven. No man is long
going to be basically dishonest in his
political dealings as he finds that dis-
 honestly does not pay, and no man will
remain a dictator long as he finds dis-
honesty can not pay—but it has to be
proved. We will continue to breed dic-
tators until man realizes within his sub-
consciousness that dictatorship not only
does not, but cannot win; then that will
be the end of that. As long as there is a
thing to prove the world win, as long as
leaders can depend upon the majority of
the people being selfish and stupid, there
will be dictators who will think they
can win. As long as there is one chance
in a billion, the dictatorial man will take
it, with no end in sight until it
becomes internationally and internally
impossible for dictatorship to win. This
means many changes in basic thinking,
for most of us, without realizing it, are
a bit dictatorially minded ourselves.
Usually we do not have the courage of
our convictions, and when we start out
and decide to be a dictator occasionally we get
so quickly we do not get a good start;
but if we have lacked the opportunity
we do have the inclination. As long as
that inclination remains with individuals
it is the seed from which the structure
of dictatorship will grow.
It was less than two hundred years,
to cast our eye back over history again,
from the time the Senators went out
with appeasements until the day Rome
was in ruins. Rome ceased to be when
it began hating itself for its own little-
ness and stupidity, its own selfishness.
Rome was a spirit, and when that spirit
died the Roman Empire died. Demo-
crazy too is a spirit. Those who possess it and will stay true to it, can carry it on; but those who live under it, compromise it and sell it out, will gradually come to hate themselves. The spirit in them will die. It is important in our study of history that we recognize the necessity for remembering these parallels; they show us the only way we can go with any hope of permanent survival.

We know that all these patterns are cyclic in their implication. We know the world is a great spiral motion. We know also that one race is coming of age throughout the evolution of races. It is one great cycle, one great pattern of purpose, that is being released century after century throughout the extravagant diversity of human pattern. Humanity is one being, growing up through innumerable beings, of motion moving through innumerable forms, one terrific impulse, manifesting through a diversity of impulse structures. Humanity is one tremendous flowing power, in motion like the whirling of a mighty whirlpool. It is power that breeds from within itself nations and races, and they become the temporary dwelling places for this immortal principle. Then, as the bodies of man were for a time to release the spirit of man into objective manifestation, so the bodies of races and nations serve temporarily to release the spirit of humanity into objective manifestation. And so humanity is not its races; humanity moves through its races—in the same way that man is not his body, but his body is the vehicle for his expression.

It is not the purpose of man to deify or glorify himself. He is learning this. He knew it long ago within himself, but refused to admit it. In absolute reverse of popular belief, it is the glorification of humanity that assures the dignity of nations. The glorification of the great time motion, the recognition of one humanity, is the basis of that philosophic thinking which is beginning to come through our objective mind in terms of our global planning. We are on the threshold of recognizing the basic humanity of man.

That this moment should come is in fulfillment of the ages; and that we shall meet this challenge with intelligence is the reasonable expectancy of the ages. If we fail now, our failure is in all the struggle that has gone before. It is for this day that great men and great motions of civilization have sacrificed themselves since the beginning; it is for this day when we should perceive the basic humanity of man.

This realization opens a new cycle of evolution. It moves man to the next great step in his own motion through Space. The evolution of man has been a gradual motion through Space from isolation to identification. The primitive creature, emerging from the animal state, was entirely without social consciousness; he lived alone until the day came when he crawled into his cave to die. Then man loved nothing, and did not know enough to hate anything; but down in his soul feared everything. Gradually out of this complete state of separateness came the family, man, woman and child, the basic social structure of the world. And man began to defend those others because they were his own—not because they were good, not because they were bad, not because they were a spiritual source of joy, but because they were his. He fought for them as he would fight for his grain or the animal he had killed, fought for the right of possession.

With the tribe came greater inclusiveness, and man fought for a group of families, and as the tribe increased he began to experience introversal social consciousness. He found everything he needed in his tribe, and for him the rest of the world gradually ceased to exist. And then when other tribes impinged themselves upon him or his tribe, he destroyed them or destroyed himself. Gradually emerged then the tribal patriarch, the father of all his people, with gradual consciousness of race as tribes came together in geographical patterns. Commonwealths and communities developed and enlarged, with eventual involvement in feudalism. In time came the Crusades, and nationalism came into existence. And the procession from isolation to identification then gradually through the ages moved away from nationalism, and is still moving, moving man into deeper values. No longer do we prize of our nation, right or wrong. We have seen in Europe the destructive consequences of over-emphasis of the nationalistic policy. We see what happens when a nation becomes egotistic, and we know the only cure for national egotism is internationalism. Going toward it day by day we are now coming to the verge of recognition that the primitive creature which crawled into its cave alone to die has grown, over a period of millions of years, into the man who is willing to die for someone whom he has never seen—if he knows that other man is right.

Now that is a great evolution, and we should not deny the growth of man. For if sometimes it looks as though the human being is not doing so very well, his evolution is a tremendous thing; he still has to fight a tremendous battle with every instinct of prehistoric origins. The civilization of man has been the struggle of consciousness over instinct, and it is a great struggle, fiercer today as we come nearer than ever before to the fulfillment of victory for consciousness. It is the day of unfolding patterns, and if we have outgrown a concept and become old in it, we are now to be born again as little children into a larger concept. We are grown old in shrewdness and cunning, in craftiness and selfishness, old in plotting and scheming, old in our appetites and desires. By these we are bound to the primal earth from which we came. It is our bondage to the struggle of centuries, to a prehistoric world fighting to live. That part of us which is appetites and instincts is very old and very strong, and it will come out through us again and again, even if we would not have it come. Each of us is bound to the appetites of the past, to wealth, to luxuries—and it is easy for us to be little, because we have always been little, as takers of the line of least resistance. It will be harder for us to be great, because greatness is a virtue we have never over-developed. We have never given the same thought to fineness as we have to gratification. When we were gnawing bones in caves we wanted the best bones, and we hated the larger animal who had a better one; it was instinctive for us as prehistoric creatures to be jealous, and so for us to be jealous now was not extra effort. Prehistoric man hated and when angry he threw something; and so it does not take a great deal of energy or effort to throw things; it comes easy to us. As we are old then in being small, we are new in being great. Today an old world is dying and a new world is being born, and we are infants in it. The great structure of selfishness we have perfected and polished so assiduously will be of little value to us. It can serve best solely as a constant reminder of what not to do.

We are infants in global thinking, infants in peace, infants in fraternity; we are very young in that simple and gentle quality of loving and understanding each other. These things are not a habit. The habit we brought from the jungles is to spit back, but in development through millions of years we are learning to take things. In essence a challenge, smallness is an instinct. Very, very young in trying to build this better world, we know we have to build it or die; the prehistoric creature knew it had to change or else become extinct, for all forms perish in the void. Nature will not sustain a stasis. To be born into a new world plan for peace the approach must be simple, and honest, and gentle, with the commandments of this new plan firmly set in consciousness with our souls know-
ing that basic feeling of integrity which must dominate us in the days to come.

All around us a world is floundering. From among those we expect good things we have evidence that they do not understand; we say something out of our deepest conviction to someone we care for and believe in, and back to us comes only a blank. They want to understand, these few people whom we believe in; they want to, but they do not. Our young men are being sent out to die for a cause, without clear knowledge that it is a dream which they are dying for, an envisioned freedom for all peoples. And the way toward this understanding is but the recognition that it has all been done before, that as nations we have worked out the things we must now work out as a world. As the family fought and split and died, and the tribe, and the race—always division followed by a world, a pattern as great and recurring psychological motions; what has happened to others will happen to us; and if the problem now encompasses what we know as all of the world, it is the same in basic principle that troubled Rome and the Mediterranean.

There was a world once around the shores of the Mediterranean, and there still is. To Genghis Khan, Asia was a great world, and it still is. Napoleon's conquest was of all the world he could reach. Alexander carried his arms as far as India and dreamed of hemispheric conquest. A world then is not a planet, it is a sphere of ambition; it is the area of a known appetite. The aim of world conquest is not new, nor the experience of world organization. What is new in experience is a world civilization that is to be strong enough to endure. That is unique. It has never been achieved. And yet from history we can figure how it can and must be accomplished, for in civilization's emergence we have the basic pattern. Whether it be a human family in a little cottage, or a world family of nations, the same laws hold, and the same principles apply. Anything that will fail in families will fail in nations and worlds. And if the world family is one we have never experimented with, the human family is one we have experimented with since the beginning of time, and we know that it is basic to all compound bodies that in order to survive, the parts must cooperate mutually, one with the other. Our plan is one of compounding over two hundred peoples of our time into one great internal structure. The Atlantic Charter is to be thus considerably stretched; for should we exclude anywhere we would give to those left out the most terrific of all impulses for power expression—oppression. Edwin Markham, the poet, long ago, expressed the intention thus:

"God and I had the wit to win,
We made a circle and took him in."

It is our task to think in terms of a consciousness that takes into itself all that is necessary to win the peace. And yet, peace is something not won. It is the reward for something that man becomes. It would be meaningless to get up and solemnly pronounce a state of peace; all that can be pronounced is a suspension of hostilities. Peace is a quietude within the self. It is not bestowed by legislation, but achieved by understanding. It is a benediction upon those peoples who have the peace consciousness common among themselves. It is in this form that the international entity is being born. Its future and its fate depend upon the environment in which it is brought up, and the integrity with which man in the world family will serve this noblest of his own ideas.

Having now achieved the conception of an internationalistic policy, we are in a position to apply the law of cycles to this prodigious infant. We know that nations and races move in cyclic patterns. What is—in the terms of the great precessional motion described by Oswald Spengler as cyclic and recognized by antiquity—what is the basic pattern of this new entity? Spengler sees the coming motion as one which will resemble more than anything else the great Buddhist Renaissance in India, in gradual emergence of the great philosophic empire. Probably the ablest philosophic historian of all times, Spengler's definition of Buddhism would be in gradual emergence of the great precessional motion described by us. I think we can broadly define Buddhism as philosophic socialism. Buddhism arose in the midst of a Brahmanic tyranny of attitudes and convictions, one of which was the doctrine of social privilege, economically, socially, and politically. The Brahmins functioned from the basis that the man who has is the born ruler of the man who has not; that wealth and power are to be rated the most admirable and the most important of all things. I do not say that is good Brahmanism, but it is the type of Brahmanism that existed politically at the time of he birth of Buddha. The Brahman, because he was in a position of power, believed firmly he had a right to use that power if he wanted to, regardless of the consequences to others. He believed firmly that strength was the privilege to enslave those dominated. He held the same attitude that certain of the Junkers long held in Europe, that small nations should expect to be ruled by greater nations, that little people are born servants. Brahmanic conviction was endorsed by a system of religious idealism that bound the individual mentally to the acceptance of this state as being a divine edict. Brahmanism is the philosophy of power as a right. When an American corporation today says, "We have huge quantity buying power, therefore, we have the right to buy cheaper", that is Brahmanism. The belief that respect, honor, and integrity are on sale, that is Brahmanism. The belief that permanent good can be accomplished by force is a form of Brahmanism. The belief that some professions are dignified and others humble is Brahmanism. And the belief that God wants inequalities in the opportunities of man, that is Brahmanism. Brahmanism is complete in its pattern of our own decadency, for in a majority we look up with adoration at success and successful people; we are still susceptible to the power of possession, and just a bit worshipful of it. Against this attitude Buddha sounded the doctrine that changed the face of Asia. His was a simple statement: What the individual has is comparatively unimportant, but what he is, is of paramount importance to him, to his state, and to his world. Aristocracy is integrity, and not wealth, family, or tradition. Buddhism furthermore carried with it certain other implications, the value and importance of living for the sake of beauty, living for the sake of knowledge, and living for the sake of service rather than living for the sake of accumulation.

Spengler anticipated a cycle in which this reaction would come to Western civilization, that internationalism would change the religious structure of the world and would ultimately end all sectarian religion—hasten the day!

Today's religious pattern is nationalistic and racialistic; it is not sufficient for an internationalistic viewpoint, and in fact has opposed it for centuries. And furthermore, our educational system, our whole cultural theory waits to be internationalized. A philosophic empire is being forced upon us.

Tyrants can move small, competitive units, but only the truly learned human being can hold a world together. It takes a destructive genius to conquer, but a genius of a constructive order to rule in peace. Every military dictator can rule in an emergency, but only a philosopher
can maintain a balance when there is no point of special stress. The international nation, the world plan, demands philosophic integrity for its administration; it cannot function without it.

We may not call this change philosophy, and probably will call it something else. But whatever we call it, there must be good, sound, solid thinking, there must be altruistic, constructive thinking in order to hold things together.

If we take the pattern of past civilizations and apply it to our present problem, we may safely say we are building today a system that can last for a thousand years, possibly. It will last in one of two ways: either it will last as a pattern for world government and will go on and build and build; or else, because we botch up the administration of it, the pattern will disintegrate. Then only the idea will go on.

We have seen what has happened in the Christian faith. Within two centuries of its inception it was throttled, the entire stream was distorted, and we have had nearly eighteen centuries of Churchianity as opposed to Christianity. The Christian empire failed; but that does not mean that individual Christians did not succeed. Some of the noblest men of our entire civilization progress have been inspired by Christian thinking; some of the greatest deeds of heroism and valor, some of the greatest contributions to art, literature, and science, have come as the direct products of Christianity as a conviction. But the Church failed. The same thing can happen with a philosophic empire. It may be throttled by politics and selfishness at its very inception, so the world state will remain, as it always has, a dream.

But that does not mean that for the next thousand years great men will not perform good deeds.

If the empire that emerges is retarded in growth to great physical stature, it can still retain a great psychological power to move the world toward the fulfillment of itself.

We can gain wisdom from the past to see how patterns unfold, see how in the fulfillment of themselves they bear witness to great geometrical and astronomical laws that are eternal in Space. This whole system of world evolution is controlled by a great cyclic clock—and no matter what man does he cannot escape from it. All he can do is to limit or increase it in its manifestation according to his own limitation or increase of power. As man's integrity increases, he releases more of the perfection of the pattern. If his integrity is overshadowed by his appetites and instincts, he will release less of the dignity of this perfect pattern.

Philosophy has been a great racial overtone since the beginning of time. It is now possible this overtone will come into manifestation, the intangible become tangible in our time. To give it birth we have but to rise above instinct and appetite, to function on the plane and level of our highest integrity. It is a challenge. It is an opportunity. The individual who fails today to do that which he knows he should do, is failing not only his own convictions but his time and his world. And he is failing the greatest dream that mankind has ever had.

(Conception from a Public Lecture. Suggested reading: First Principles of Philosophy; Purposive Living Lectures on Ancient Philosophy.)

**The Common Bond**

"It is deeply significant that 50 million individuals have become shareholders in their government, building up savings to buy the products of American industry in the years after the war is won. Equally significant is the spiritual mobilization which these figures reflect. War Bonds have become in a real sense the common bond of the American people."

Henry Morgenthau, Jr.
fer, we have been heartened to carry on by the knowledge of your sympathy.

I have received innumerable letters and messages from your people in large cities and in small country towns—from business men, farmers, factory workers, professors, ministers, college and high-school students, hardworking mothers and even little children. Contributions large and small have poured in; some people sent money orders of one or two dollars and even less, and oftentimes accompanied by the wish that they could do more.

These gifts spelled real sacrifice on the part of the givers and in the eyes of our people they were multiplied a thousand-fold and illuminated by the beauty of the spirit of the donors.

We thank you whole-heartedly for what you have done and are doing for our suffering people, all the more because in this present world struggle we are giving unstintingly the flower of our manhood and everything else we have in contributing our part in this titanic fight for a free and just world. I say all this because, as you are entitled to know how the Chinese people of today think and the national characteristic upon which that thinking is based.

Without necessarily possessing a very profound knowledge of the history of the world, we can take warning from the fate of the Roman and Persian Empires and the ephemeral system established by Napoleon. Rome, in the earlier days, had liberal enough political ideas. Perhaps you will recall that in the second century a Roman recorder wrote that the laws of Rome only became effective because the people delegated to the Senate the power to make them. The imperium or power admitted rested in the people. a sweep of his long sword, Kuang Kung mounted and unarmed foe."

To return to the Roman Empire, its final fall was due, among other things, to the sybaritic and effete practices indulged in by the Roman people. In the declining days of the empire they hired others to do their fighting, while they themselves wallowed in sensualism which culminated in the total eclipse of the Roman Empire in the West. On the heels of the fall of this empire followed the Dark Ages in Europe, with all the attendant evil results.

To safeguard ourselves against retrogression into another dark age is, I feel, the greatest task now confronting the United Nations. Whether the principles of freedom, justice and equality for which we are fighting will be able to stand the strain and stress of the times is a question depending largely on ourselves as individuals and as nations.

Convicts are subject to coercion, but it must be remembered that they have proved themselves to be anti-social and had first committed crimes against society. Their exclusion from their fellow men is but a logical consequence of the necessity for expiation, whereas slaves or subject peoples arrive in that estate often through no fault of their own.

The Axis powers have shown that they have no respect for anything but brute force, and being the case, they logically hold that conquered peoples should become shackled slaves. They lack the imagination to visualize the fact that a man may be enslaved physically but cannot be controlled in his thoughts and in his innate desire to be free.

Nor do they recognize that, if people are deprived of responsibility, there can be no real discipline, for indubitably the highest kind of government is maintained through self-discipline.

Nor are they imaginative enough to realize that unrest, however ruthlessly suppressed, will continue to create situations which successive riotings and reforms cannot ameliorate, leaving in their wake only bitterness and determined hatred of the oppressor.

The implacable underground hostility of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Low Countries and France, and the indomitable resolve to keep on fighting as shown by your people, and by my people, and by the peoples of Britain and Russia, attest incontrovertibly to this fact.

The world today is full of catch phrases. Men often pay lip service to ideals without actually desiring and working for their fruition.

Fascist Italy has sometimes claimed to be an organized, centralized and authoritative democracy.

Do we of the United Nations wish to follow in their footsteps?

The universal tendency of the world, as represented by the United Nations, is as patent and inexorable as the enormous sheets of ice which float down the Hudson in the winter. The swift and mighty tide is toward universal justice and freedom.

In furtherance of this tendency we in China have bled for the last six long years to demonstrate our repudiation of the inert and humiliating philosophy that a slow, strangling death is the more merciful, though some people in other parts of the world maintain that the absence of hope would prevent the acrimony of a losing fight and leave man's nature untrammeled to compose itself to the mercy of God.

We shall hold firm to the faith that nothing short of race annihilation will ever prevent any people from struggling against wanton domination, whether economic or political. Are we right?
Again, there are peoples who are obsessed by the fear that the stage of economic stagnation has been reached; there are others who preach totalitarian-tinged doctrines of economic autarchy.

If we accept these theories then we must all be self-sufficing, for when any of us lack raw materials and labor, instead of obtaining them through legitimate means of trade and commerce we would have to resort to the brutalities of invading our neighbors' territories and enslaving the inhabitants.

In reality neither theory is possible, for the vast and rich unindustrialized hinterlands of China alone would bear witness to the obvious falsity of the former theory.

The processes of history, composed of sequence-co-existence and interdependence-just as in society are inevitably entwined through common interests, common efforts and common survival, prove to us the folly of the latter theory.

What are we going to make of the future?

What will the revalescing world, recovering from this hideous blood-letting, be like?

The wisest minds in every corner of the world are pondering over these questions, and the wisest of all reserve their opinion.

But, without letting temerity outrun discretion, I venture to say that certain things must be recognized.

Never again must the dignity of man be outraged as it has been since the dawn of history.

All nations, great and small, must have equal opportunity of development. Those who are stronger and more advanced should consider their strength as a trust to be used to help the weaker nations to fit themselves for full self-government and not to exploit them.

Exploitation is spiritually as degrading to the exploiter as to the exploited.

Let us, the United Nations, which have come together by choice, resolve to create a world resting on the pillars of justice, co-existence, co-operation and mutual respect.

Selfishness and complacency in the past have made us pay dearly in terms of human misery and suffering. While it may be difficult for us not to feel bitterness for the injuries we have suffered at the hands of the aggressors, let us remember that recrimination and hatred will lead us nowhere. We should use our energy to better purpose, so that every nation will be enabled to use its native genius and energy for the reconstruction of a permanently progressive world with all nations participating on an equitable and just basis.

The goal of our common struggle at the conclusion of this war should be to shape the future so that “this whole world must be thought of as one great state common to gods and men.”

(From a Public Address)
Implementing A Post-War Peace

THE great interest everywhere in the possibility that the United Nations will in a sense evolve as a world nation, suggests an inevitable consequence, a world language. We certainly cannot get together while we cannot understand each other.

We need a basic world language. And we know, of course, it ought to be English! But not long ago everybody thought it ought to be French. Maybe next week's thought will swing to Chinese. Probably it will be some language we do not know today, a basic language, simplified so that we can come to instantaneous agreement as to the general meaning of our thoughts.

Another need is world currency. The old idea, "a pound is a pound the world around," is in for permanent modification. Coinage that may be worth a dollar here, may be worth seventeen cents in one country, fifteen cents in another, and jewelry somewhere else.

We need world-coinage. Exploitation of the monetary system by rates of foreign exchange is one of the curses of economic life. The aim should be to end forever the manipulations under the gold-standard, the paper standard, the no-standard. Coinage that may be worth a dollar here, may be worth seventeen cents in one country, fifteen cents in another, and jewelry somewhere else.

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A general policy of educational theory is a recognized need. There is no use trying to get together if all of our educational institutions are doctrinized in hate for each other, are steeped in the disdain or contempt inherent to the notion that we are the anointed and the rest "also ran." Books of history will have to be written for the integrity of a world-nation, and not at the expense of peoples we do not care for. We will have to gradually coordinate the theory we are a world family of people. The quickest way to put an end to wars is to create such an understanding; and it is possible that after we have spent a few more hundreds of billions of dollars on the technic of misunderstanding, we may discover that to understand each other is cheaper and easier besides being safer, and more comfortable, and more reasonable. If we can come to that conclusion as the result of the present circumstances then we shall realize something we did not realize after the other World War and the depression of 1929—that understanding is good business, and a lot of intangibles have tangible significance. World-understanding smacks less of theory, than it savors of common sense. It is not something to be regarded as interfering with private profit; it is that which more importantly insures personal existence.

When the time comes for a sick world's reorientation there will be many in high position ready to prescribe a good dose of the wrong technic. At Versailles it was in the minds not only of the politicians of Europe and America of 1918 and 1919, but also in the minds of the people of those countries, to completely dominate; and so we got shortsighted action. If Clemenceau is to be held largely responsible for the present disaster, is it not because he exemplified a streak in human nature which was inadequate for the position of being arbiter of world policy—that he thought only in terms of revenge. Revenge took the world into an orgy of sadistic satisfactions, with a long and disastrous hang-over.

It is natural, some say, for us to put out with those who have tried to destroy us; that is only human nature. Well, if that is human nature it is just big enough to get us into another jam, and the call is for something bigger than human nature if we are to get out of trouble permanently. An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth was the old order of life, but according to the Chris-
the culmination of desperation. The cure for upheavals that make possible despotism and tyranny is to accomplish a widely controlled distribution of world power, world wealth, and world necessities. Then we inflict no new wounds nor reopen old ones of great want in which the germs of desperation can develop and increase.

World empire too must be dedicated to the preservation of national integrity of all peoples, against the tyranny of others, for this assurance is far more likely to pull the fangs of despotism than any amount of national militarism could possibly accomplish. But one sure way to prevent despotism is to destroy the environment which produces it, striking at the root from which it springs. The root of our present trouble, far more important to our survival and likely to pull the fangs of despotism where; and none can be so isolated as to ly controlled distribution of world power, world war, and the germs of desperation can develop viewpoint. Those who have long said tional and mental dishonesty in the rela­ tion all over the world without represen­ ferior races and superior races, religious finally after great sufering that the only way to prevent despotism is to destroy before this war is over just enough to world peace.

In the period from B. C. 600 to B. C. 200, the Greek thinkers dominated the world of intellect, and to this day we have continued to build knowledge upon the fundamental foundation they gave us through their schools and discourses. Of many schools that flourished together, three have given three words to our language: They were the Stoics, the Cynics, and the Skeptics. An individual not easily moved is a stoic, one who ridicules the stupidity of his time is a cynic, and one who does not believe easily is a skeptic.

Among the Skeptic philosophers was Socrates. He was not an easy believer, he demanded proof; and he refused to devote his years to the abstractions of theology, remaining closely tied to the problems of the earth.

Not only a great philosopher, Socrates was a hero to his own people. When the Athenians were compelled to go to war to protect their country from invasion, Socrates volunteered, and when the enemy warriors saw him standing on the battlefield they divided their ranks and went on either side of him, so no one would face him. When the clash of arms was over Socrates stood alone on the battlefield.

His personal courage extended through his great mental vision, in conviction that was stronger than life itself, giving him the strength and ability to remain true to his philosophy to his last breath.

But there was also something about Socrates that was definitely mystical. A great force in his philosophic thought was his Spirit, or Guide, which protected him all the years of his life. He called this mysterious being his Daemon, and he claimed it constantly communicated with him. On one occasion, walking down the road with a number of friends, Socrates suddenly stopped and said, "My Spirit tells me we should leave this road." The others knew the road as a shortcut; so they laughed and said he could leave it if he wanted to, but they would continue on their way. Socrates took another road. A few minutes later his friends were trampled under by a stampede of sheep, all were bruised, and several were nearly killed.

The brilliant mind of Socrates included a caustic wit, his habitual irony largely resulting from his associations with life. Returned from the wars, he had hardly removed his shield and helmet when a thug knocked him down and robbed him of his money. Socrates remarked to one of his disciples upon the greater danger at home than at war; he could go safely through all struggles with the enemy, in full expectation of then being knocked unconscious by one of the men he had sought to defend. Of his marriage Socrates said on several occasions he had deliberately married...
Xanthippe, knowing her to be the shrew of Athens, he could not criticize her overmuch, because to conform to his way of living was by no means easy, and besides, he had always wanted something to test his philosophy, and never had he found better testing ground than in his own home.

Socrates was a sculptor of ability; he had cut the figure of the Three Graces for the Athens Forum, had a number of wealthy clients; as the wielder of a mighty mallet he could have provided a good home. He consorted instead with bums, brought to his home the most disreputable, dissatisfied, and unworthy of all among the Athenians. When there was not food in the house Socrates would not work, and Xanthippe was constantly berating him. To a friend who sympathized with him over the constant scoldings of his wife, he confessed he no longer heard her, just as a miller, living constantly in the rattle of his windlass, no longer will hear it. And, furthermore, he married Xanthippe to test his philosophy; if she could be converted he could convert anyone who lived. According to available records, Xanthippe was never converted.

Many stories are told about the lives together of these two people. One you may know relates that Socrates brought home a group of Athenian agitators, and Xanthippe coming home suddenly shook them out of the house with a broom. They merely gathered then not large enough for him to be so swelled up over. The reprimand won him a wealthy disciple. But he continued in constant berating of the archons of Athens, and their accumulation of wealth and power; he criticized the government, attacked the laws, produced one by another by his own eternal watchfulness. He was determined that while he lived the Greeks should live well. It was a large job for one strange man, but he finally accomplished it, and would probably have become the ruler of the state had it not been for a certain animosity.

Socrates had in his care a number of the sons of rich Athenian families. While the parents did not agree entirely with the teachings of Socrates, still they recognized his extraordinary mind, and so he was the tutor of their children. One day there came up a discussion of relationships and the children inquired whether he owed allegiance to his own father or to Socrates. Socrates is alleged to have said: It is obvious that allegiance is owed to that man who knows the most. He inferred that the pupil's father was a very stupid man. That if then he, Socrates, was not as stupid as the father, it was natural that more allegiance was owed to the one who was properly educated. Socrates continued: The relationships of the body, such as parenthood, are of the accidents of nature. The relationships of the mind are of the intentions of nature. It is intended that man should think, but it is also inevitable that man should be born; and being born it is not invariable he should think. Therefore, in order to think there must be intention, and there must be effort; there must be a struggle after enlightenment. And a good struggle together after greater thinking the bond bound together by far closer relationships than those who are merely united by the accidents of living.

So Socrates had affirmed that he was more significant in the lives of these young people than the parents, and the parents were annoyed. He was indicted on the charge of corrupting young men, a charge tried before a large popular tribunal; he was also charged with irreverence. The real nature of his teachings was cruelly perverted. The attempt was made to twist his words into an assertion that ignorant parents might properly be placed under restraint by their better educated children. It was obvious that the charges were trumped up, but influential families were involved, and in order to keep the records in order, a small fine was imposed. Socrates said, “To pay a fine is to admit my own guilt, and I am not guilty; they are guilty.” Plato offered Socrates his entire fortune, but Socrates said, not one single coin would he pay. “I intend to be entirely exonerated or pay the full penalty, because I will not compromise my philosophy.” The case dragged on. Finally Socrates was condemned solely on account of his defiant attitude, and by a very small majority supporting the death penalty demanded by one of his accusers.

Such, in substance, is the story of the hemlock. Socrates died because he refused to admit there was any guilt in him. He said it was necessary to take that stand because when his accusers attacked him they attacked more than himself as a personality, they attacked Truth. His own life and being was not important, but Truth was; and he was the custodian of Truth. With a few disciples gathered about him, he drank the hemlock. On the day before he died Plato begged him to let him pay the few coins, but Socrates said, “No, it must be this way. I cannot and will not admit my philosophy is wrong.” Surrounded by his disciples and dying, one of them said, “Master, after you are gone, what would you have us do with you?” Socrates said, “You can do anything you wish with me, if you can catch me.”

Thus passed one of the most extraordinary men of his time, a man who left so profound an effect upon Plato and Xenophon that both devoted many words to the teachings of their Master.

It is interesting to remember after this length of time that perhaps no other man has been born into the world, greatness of mind will make him beautiful. Socrates was called the ugliest man who ever lived, hooked nose, goggle eyes, fat cheeks, bony legs; but his mind was so transcendentally beautiful that after a short association with him his disciples forgot what he looked like. One of his commentators said it seemed as though Truth surrounded him with such a light of Beauty that he was positively hardened some. His greatness of mind enriched the consciousness that in turn decorates the soul, which as the Greeks themselves said, is like ivy twining about a ruin to cover all with beauty.
One of the greatest free thinkers who ever lived upon the earth, Socrates was called in his own time the great Athenian commoner; his heart was with the people, his school was the street corner. On one occasion someone said to him, "Master, where shall I go to study? Shall I travel into Egypt, into the desert, where shall I go to learn?" Socrates replied, "My son, the place for you to learn is in the place where thou art. If you cannot learn there, you cannot learn anywhere. You become wise not by making a long journey into distant lands, but by learning to understand the simple things that surround you every day."

He said plainly to those who asked him, "I know little about the gods. I do not care much about the gods, because the gods being gods can take care of themselves; but men being men are always getting into trouble while they live. If the gods are the gods, then they are enough; so they may safely live and exist in their own way, but men are not enough, so they fight over little things, they struggle over foolish problems, they are constantly torn by small desires, they are constantly grieving over small sorrows, they are the ones who suffer. Therefore the proper study for mankind is man. And from the study of man you may discover the Laws of the Universe, the Purpose of Creation, the Principles in Space and Time, by which all matter and creatures are sustained."

This to him was the great Mystery. He loved men, he served them and died rather than compromise the belief which he considered to be Divine. In the character of this man we have an extraordinary example of heroic consecration to Virtue, in the large term by which we understand all the virtues without the love of the beautiful. And, said Socrates, what is the most useful thing in the world? Virtue. Virtue, in the large term by which we include all the common virtues we practice, is the basic relationship of all living things. We are most useful when we are virtuous, and to be virtuous, what must we be? According to Socrates, we must be useful, beautiful, and united.

There can be no practice of the virtues without the love of the beautiful. Many Americans of today still adhere to the square-toed severity that characterized the beginning of our national
come our happiness and our sorrow; and, according to Socrates, the only way we can live here successfully is to live here so wisely, so graciously, so virtuously, that no man is given adequate right to criticize or condemn. And if you are criticized or condemned, then so live that no one will believe your accusers. For, wherever you are, and in whatever generation you are living, Socrates would insist that you live your philosophy even if it hurts.

Can we in our minds create a realization of what Beauty is? If we think long enough about it, we are understanding that true Beauty—beauty disassociated from personal reaction or emotions—is Order. It is Law. It is that Divine Order by which all things are sustained in their proper place. The artist will tell you that should he paint upon one another; who not only lay waste the land but who try to destroy themselves Socrates stood in the marketplace to reason what was it inside men that thought so badly that it wrecked the world? Socrates came to the conclusion that there were several reasons why men had failed in their human purposes. He decided that one of the simplest and most perfect reasons was, man, unlike the gods, was not an unlimited creature. Men, with their extremes, had limitations of perspective and mind. And so Socrates decided it was the men’s lies that destroyed the world, and it was nor sin; it was men’s half-truths that wrecked all things.

Man was capable of a little truth, and this little was man’s participation in God. Man has a little of God, but not enough; man’s mind was made to think little thoughts, but not to think them through to their end. Man has a little of Virtue, but not enough to be virtuous. Little of Intellect gives him not enough to think. Man is a half-grown God; as such, he exists as the nearest thing to the devil. Socrates concluded that the miseries that man must suffer are the growing pains of a god in adolescence. There was nothing you could do about it. Some day men would know enough to take care of themselves—Socrates was not sure when—but he was satisfied that the world was the shining ground of the gods, and in the testing of men fell short, and in this falling short was the misery that we know.

How right he was is indicated in our knowledge that after all the average person has not the desire to do wrong—it is just a gift. He does not make mistakes because he wants to, but because the mistake seems to be about the one thing he is capable of. Men dream to the skies, but cling very closely to the earth, and the reforms men make must be reformed again, and inevitably these reforms in turn must be reformed.

Socrates comprehended inevitable Law moving all things into the proper pattern. Wherever is observed an absence of pattern, there is the breaking of the Law—or rather, that which is broken by the Law, because nothing breaks the Law. Socrates saw around him a relative beauty that was not absolute Beauty, and that relative beauty is the beauty we know.

Socrates then contemplated Unity, One-ness. He felt definitely that there was only one Pattern behind the world, one Framework from which all the world hung; one Reality, toward which the whole world was striving; one Substance, the end of all the questing and struggling of half-finished creatures. And he saw more. He maintained that the Unit, the One-ness, was always present. It was not as something far distant that had to be climbed up toward; it was infinitely close, but had to be discovered. Socrates realized Unity in observing that as men grow wise they come together; and conversely, as men grow more stupid they grow apart. The person who stands alone is in a sense always stupid; but he grows wise as he comes to other Truth, and when he knows a certain amount he is identical with all others who know that amount.

So Socrates became aware that what today we call homogenous is unified, and in substance that which is heterogenous unquestionably is diversified. Then, as Spencer later said: Involution is motion from the heavens to the earth; evolution is motion from the earth to
the heavens. Man entering into life as matter, becomes diversified. Ascending out of life or matter he becomes One again. Socrates saw Unity as the final proof of life. Unity is a growing together, a coming together, for all things that are perfect are identical.

Socrates taught of the Wise Men's Grove. He did not say where the trees were located, but inferred they were somewhere in Space, a heavenly place; and here all the Wise of the world dwelt together in peace. It is to the degree we gain wisdom that we get along with each other, Socrates believed. What divides us is not misunderstanding, but lack of understanding. As soon as we begin to think we come together. To prevent unity you must prevent thought, which has been the aim of tyranny throughout the ages. To preserve strife requires that you prevent the recognition of Truth. Once Truth is realized strife ceases.

So—Unity, Beauty, Utility were the foundation of Socrates' world, in a Universe of interrelated facts that to Socrates gave full assurance of the Reality of life.

Socrates was not an Initiate of the Greek Mysteries. Both Plato and Aristotle were initiated. Socrates was called self-taught, because all he possessed came out of himself. On one occasion Socrates was confronted by the Priests, charged with revealing without warrant certain parts of the Mysteries, the penalty for which was death. Socrates replied that he could not have revealed that into which he had never been initiated; but the incident caused considerable consternation, for it made it obvious that there was a way to gain the Mysteries without being initiated: If you live Truth, it makes no difference whether you are initiated or not, you possess it, or it possesses you. By virtue of personal integrity this man possessed the finest knowledge, to the utter amazement of his time, and to the wonderment of future ages. He knew there is only one Truth; and if some come to it in the temple, so do others in the strife of living, through concentration in silent places, or by the roadside, or in the wilderness, or even in great cities, or in the desert—but no matter how men come to it, after they once reach it they are bound together. They are one. The common denominator of this wisdom binds them into an inseparable body. Socrates had viewpoints on many subjects. Of general interest to us is one on geography. Socrates said in one of his discourses, "I saw as in a vision the earth, and it was floating like a ball in Space, and the surface of it was like a child's patched ball, made of every color put together." He said, "It had nothing under it to support it, but it was moving through Space." Here is the first vision, the clear anticipation of that which was to be the opinion of astronomers—the earth a globe, with its surface of several colors due to the great continents and oceans, floating in Space.

Socrates and his contemporaries, and even some before him, knew the earth was round. One ancient sitting on his doorstep had found out the diameter of the earth within 50 miles of its present calculation. You may say, "How did a man more than 2000 years ago know this—without instruments, sitting on the door step with one hand to his head?" The Socratic school will tell you how he knew: Knowledge lies not in tools, but in self; man's own mind is the greatest scientific instrument ever created. In comparison to mind, all mechanical devices are as nothing. Sitting quietly in meditation you can discover most anything you want to find out—if you know how. Today, telescopes and microscopes are blind men's crutches. Men have in themselves the very substance of which the stars are formed. Men who in their very souls are gods, who are part of Space, sit around in classrooms and hear Space analyzed, because they do not know themselves. "Know thyself!" was the great axiom of the Greeks. The Socratic axiom was, "The beginning and end of knowledge is the self."

Socrates declared there were two selves—the rational self, and the irrational self. The rational self, he said, was the mind naturally inclining itself toward Truth, verging upward constantly toward the spiritual nature. The irrational mind by its own inclination was drawn eternally toward the earth and toward the body. These two minds, dwelling together in man, are today's psychologists the conscious and subconscious minds, or at least they are very similar in principle.

The irrational mind is body conscious. (Immanuel Kant calls it the phenomenal mind). It is mind turned outward, the gloomy mind of the breakfast table that reads all the murder cases, the mind that wonders what will happen next, worries about the war, about who will be President in 1990, if there will be another depression and if we would notice if there were, brooding over grief, and brooding over brooding—this is the phenomenal mind. It is the mind which ties us to the objective, the one by which objective things become of great significance. That is the mind that lives but once, and therefore wishes to live wholly while it lives. Also the mind that thinks but once, therefore wants to know everything or nationalize throughout life. It conducts the struggle against the facts of objective existence, and tries to orient itself in a vacuum. This objective mind is the mind we live by. It is a very bad mind to die by.

The other mind, (to Kant, the noumenal mind) is the mind that verges toward the Real; it has neither interest in physical life nor death, nor in disgrace nor in honors, riches or poverty, in egotism nor in unbeliefs. The noumenal mind is concerned with only one thing, the approach to Truth; how much do we gain from living that contributes to Eternal Life; how much do we grow; how rapidly are we approaching the Divine State? The noumenal mind facing the Real, verging toward the Real, yearning after the Real, is unconcerned with our physical condition.

To the philosopher who has departed from physical attachments the noumenal mind becomes the Real. He lives no longer for this life, but for all time; he lives no longer for the small glories here, but for the integrity of forever. This is the mind of the ageless thinker, the Platonic mind that abides in Space above the illusions, the mind that walks on the water, that stills the storm, the mind which is akin to God and leads man toward God. This is the real mind. As the rational mind of Socrates it is that by which we are finally lifted up to Truth.

In accord with the same doctrine that Plato and Aristotle taught, Socrates taught and prayed; and the prayer of Socrates was this: "Oh, Gods and the Spirits which inhabit this place, I ask of Thee nothing but this: That I shall desire not after the earth; that I shall abide in the longing after Spirit; that I shall be just in my weights and measures; and that I shall never want more than I can use for the common good." A simple prayer, but a prayer especially appropriate to these times; for today, by a Wisdom that transcends self men are being caused without their will and knowledge to be led away from the attachments of wealth and power, and are being led toward an appreciation of spiritual things.

It would be a great thing if today's people would make Socrates again their teacher, not alone to make his words their text, but to live as he lived, believing, and affirming, that Unity, Law, and Virtue are the three invaluable foundations of an intelligent, cultured, and rationalized existence.

(Condensation from a Public Lecture. Suggested Reading: First Principles of Philosophy; Purposeful Living Lectures on Ancient Philosophy; Self-Development)
Cradle To Grave Security

Congress has been given by President Roosevelt a specific plan with basic recommendations for achieving "freedom from want" within our own nation; it expands the social security system under unprecedented governmental influence over our postwar economy.

No document issued within recent years is worthy of more careful study by thoughtful Americans.

The program drawn up by the National Resources Planning Board asks that it be the declared policy of this Government "not only to promote and maintain a high level of national production and consumption," but also to—

Underwrite full employment for all employables.

Guarantee a job for every man released from the armed forces and war industries at the close of the war, with fair pay and working conditions.

Guarantee and, when necessary, underwrite:

(a) Equal access to security.
(b) Equal access to education for all.
(c) Equal access to health and nutrition for all.
(d) Wholesome housing conditions for all.

Among other things, the board thinks it desirable that there should be joint private governmental partnership in various postwar industries, particularly aluminum, magnesium, shipbuilding and aircraft. It recommends consolidation of railroads into a limited number of regional systems to provide for "efficient and low cost postwar traffic"; express highways, and expanded and integrated air transport.

There is the suggestion also for Government partnership in other crucial industries such as basic metals, synthetic rubber and some chemicals after the war, with the Government participating in the selection of the areas and the business units which will continue to operate in those industries.

Labor should be assured its "essential safeguards of democracy"—collective bargaining, fair wages and hours; healthy and effective working conditions and "responsibility in organization and sharing in management."

For the farmer it recommends "measures to maintain the fair share of the farmers in the benefits of an expanding economy with opportunity for higher standards of living and greater security."

Then, under the heading of President Roosevelt's "four freedoms"—freedom of speech and expression; freedom to worship; freedom from want, and freedom from fear—the board proposes a new "Bill of Rights" as follows:

The right to work, usefully and creatively through the productive years.

The right to fair pay, adequate to command the necessities and amenities of life in exchange for work, ideas, thrift, and other socially valuable service.

The right to adequate food, clothing, shelter and medical care.

The right to security, with freedom from fear of old age, want, dependency, sickness, unemployment and accident.

The right to live in a system of free enterprise, free from compulsory labor, irresponsible private power, arbitrary public authority and unregulated monopolies.

The right to come and go, to speak or be silent, free from the spying of secret political police.

The right to equality before the law, with equal access to justice in fact.

The right to education, for work, for citizenship, and for personal growth and happiness.

The right to rest, recreation and adventure, the opportunity to enjoy life and take part in an advancing civilization.

The proposed program for expanded "cradle to the grave" social security recommends:

Enactment of permanent and temporary disability insurance.

Extension of coverage of old age and survivors insurance and continuing efforts to provide more adequate minimum benefits.

Reorganization of unemployment compensation laws to provide broadened coverage, more nearly adequate payments, incorporating benefits to dependents, payments of benefits for at least 26 weeks (instead of the present 13 weeks), and replacement of present federal-state system by "a wholly federal administrative organization and a single national fund."

Creation of an adequate general public assistance system through federal financial aid for general relief available to states on an equalizing basis and accompanied by federal standards.

Stronger special public assistance programs to provide more adequately for those in need, and a redistribution of federal aid to correspond to differences in need and financial capacity among states.

Adequate measures to insure the security of those serving in the armed forces and their families.

The board report is divided into four major categories—plans for transition from war to peace; plans for development of an expanding economy through cooperation of Government and private enterprise; plans for services and security, and plans for action by state and local governments and regions.

Most important section from the point of view of the number of citizens who would be affected is that dealing with services and security.

Here the board recommends assurance of adequate medical and health care for all—"regardless of place of residence or income status and on a basis that is consistent with the self respect of the recipient." This would be achieved through federally aided hospitalization facilities.

There is no proposal for outright socialization of medicine. Instead, immediate action by the government is asked in cooperation with the medical profession "to formulate plans which enable the patient to budget expenses over a reasonable period and to contribute toward the costs of care according to his ability, and which would at the same..."
time assure to medical personnel a decent livelihood commensurate with the high costs of their professional training.

Expanded and improved public medical care for needy persons should be set up through larger appropriations and through increased cooperation by and with the medical and dental professions; the plan includes adequate nutrition for all; development of a health program for mothers and children; maternal and child health clinics; health services in schools; protection of farm and factory workers against unnecessary accidents, controllable occupational diseases, and undue fatigue; assurance of an adequate and well distributed supply of physicians, dentists, nurses, and other medical personnel.

It recommends that assurance be given that all youth—from kindergarten through college—have equal access to education, with the Government financing education wherever necessary to achieve goals set out in the program.

On the question of employment, the board recommends that the federal government take the responsibility for "insuring jobs at decent pay to all those able to work." It also calls for a permanent work administration so that the unemployed will be assured of "socially desirable work."

It recognizes that the transition from a war to a peace economy must be accomplished in an orderly manner to head off booms and depressions. This means, it says, that demobilization of manpower from the armed forces and war industries must be carefully planned and that there must be orderly conversion to civilian use of unneeded war production facilities to avert a convulsive effect upon the postwar economy.

This also means careful demobilization of wartime economic controls, such as rationings and various price controls, since they might require "two or three years" to overcome shortages which necessitated strict economic controls during the war, and "retention for a while of some of the wartime controls will be imperative."

To cushion the effect of the demobilization of manpower from the armed forces and war industries it is suggested that a dismissal wage or allowance be paid in installments over a period of time as "a wise national safeguard."

Legislative provision should be made to assure that returning soldiers and sailors will be able to take up their place in civilian life—"we shall not be content this time to give each man $60 in cash and a ticket home."

In a discussion of demobilization of war plants, machines and war contracts the board has recommended "extension and new forms of joint private and governmental partnership," because in some sectors of the economy public interest may be served better by the use of mixed corporations than by either wholly private enterprise or outright Government ownership and operations.

Set forth for Congressional consideration are plans for the distribution of government financed war production plants "among numerous operators to encourage healthful business competition" and also to prevent "monopoly control of plants in the interest of a single group or industry."

As part of the program for postwar conversion of war plants it is proposed that federal tax laws provide for establishment of a "postwar conversion reserve" for use by war industries for a short period following termination of their war contracts.

And there are these recommendations:

That the Government provide technical assistance in the conversion task so private operators of war plants can find the most appropriate peacetime use for their buildings, equipment and labor skills in making products that could be distributed economically from the community in which the plant is located.

Also, planning for more desirable regional distribution of manufacturing from the standpoint of national defense and local diversification. This would call for retaining in operation selected plants, financed in new industrial areas during the war by the Government. This would be aimed at eliminating the specter of postwar ghost towns.

Small producers and distributors and small enterprises which are war casualties should have Government help—technical advice, marketing aids, and favorable financing terms.

And, new industries, new processes, and improved products should be developed through Government research and by maintaining free access to the use of both old and new materials and processes "unhampered by misuse of the patent system."

The Government should retain control over patents and properties seized from enemy aliens, and operate them directly, or license their use in such a way as to encourage competitive development by private operations.

Wartime experience, it is noted, has indicated "the public importance of certain industries and the desirability of continued federal control of their operation." Among such industries are those based on scarce raw materials, those supplying power and fuels and transportation and other public services.

"For the longer range development of an expanding economy after the war, our free enterprise system and economic freedom for the individual will demand constant assistance from the Government and a renewed sense of vigilant responsibility on the part of all citizens."

A special place is given to public works in postwar planning, but says the report "the main reliance for an effective consumer demand must come from private activities taking the lead in opening of new enterprise and in using our new productive capacity."

Postwar taxation is discarded, with recommendation for retention of a progressively graduated tax structure and broadened tax base "with major emphasis on the individual income tax and less reliance on the corporate income tax."

The board envisages great improvement in basic domestic transportation facilities and proposes the creation of a national transportation agency to "coordinate all federal development activity in transportation."

It says the Government should plan to initiate a large public housing program—"one of the most important outlets for the potential products of converted war plants"—and aid in stimulating both private and public construction activities. This calls for immediate planning for postwar public construction and "adequate authority and funds for such planning should now be made available by federal, state and local governments."

In this connection a recommendation is for construction of federal projects in a six year program of selected projects.

Venturing outside domestic postwar economy, the plan comprehends "an effective jural order of the world, outlawing violence and imperialism, old or new fashioned, in international relations, and permitting and energizing the fullest development of resources and rights everywhere."

In a message transmitting the program, President Roosevelt said it was his "earnest hope that the Congress will give these matters full consideration during this session."

"We must not return to the inequalities, insecurity and fears of the past," he said, "but ought to move forward toward the promise of the future."

"When the Congress has agreed on procedures for the consideration of these problems, the executive agencies responsible for the administration of programs in these fields are prepared to provide the Congress with all assistance within their power in devising appropriate ways and means to accomplish these high purposes."

The blueprint for achieving freedom from want was drawn up by a board headed by Roosevelt's uncle, Frederic A. Delano. The House of Representatives anticipated public issuance of the report by denying further funds for the board's continuation.
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