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the year 1904 to 1905. The challenge is so universal that all these groups are off center.

The Wars ran away with the means of production. A race between *WOT*

war and ~~hate~~ is on; and it can end either in the collapse of man
or in the taming of industry for world-wide peace work .

On August 28, 1913, Walter Page, Minister to the Court of St. James, pointed this out in a memorandum for Woodrow Wilson. He said that all the nations together had to sponsor colossal common works, or the powder keg in Europe would blow up. And it did blow up because his outcry for a creative solution went unheeded. His warning still holds good. In 1941, the United States got rid of unemployment by the war boom, right after twelve years of constant depression and with millions of people on relief. Neither the National Association of Manufacturers nor the New Dealers had been able to change this; the war did it. Within a national economy, with lobbying groups, and with the government expected to protect all vested interests, unemployment cannot be conquered. This by now has been demonstrated by an object lesson. Although the vested interests may try to forget it, the young who are engaged in army camps now by the millions, are steeped in this very experience and conviction.

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The people know by now that unemployment cannot be conquered under the rule of lobbying groups within a national economy. War would result once more.

Since it took the war to overcome unemployment, the next ~~and~~ peace must be equal to the facts of the land-lease and war economy. It will only be equal if it functions on the same world-wide industrial scale. Reconstruction will have to be at least as comprehensive as land-lease. For nothing but ^a world wide economic order will be able to repeat the Detroit miracle of 1942 permanently. Two exceptional events occurred in the form of two wars. We must make them recurrent by gearing our peace time economy to a world - war size. When industry outgrows its competitive phase, it must become universal or it withers. For this, there is a simple reason. The machine is a child of science. And science is universal. Like science, the machine can only breathe in the universe of man. It respects no limitations, on land, air or sea,. The unlimited possibilities of the machine can be mastered if we also think economically in universal terms.

One feature of the last thirty years became more pre-

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preposterous every year so to speak. This was the idea that the national government was responsible for prosperity or depression. "Roosevelt is bad for business", one group would say. And "Roosevelt is good for the forgotten man", they others would smile. Roosevelt is as little responsible for prosperity or depression as Pierpont Morgan. Both are small fry compared to the world wide processes of production.

The venomous hatred of the President and all his works strikes me as similar as the reaction against the rainsorcerer among primitive tribes. They actually kill the sorcerer when rain does not fall. And the poor man himself sometimes is said to believe that he is at fault when rain does not come.

However, that is not so, The sky being wider than the tribal area, ~~it~~ will not rain because we pass an appropriation bill. The real facts for the machine are that it is at the service of everybody everywhere. The man who wishes to make peace between the machine and the world, must put it to work wherever it is genuinely needed regardless of national boundaries. People are hungry somewhere; land must be irrigated somewhere. Any man-

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or machine which is too much within the national economy, still is not a liability but must be turned into an asset for the reconstruction of the world. For ~~whatever~~ whatever part of the world we would omit from our reconstruction, this part would breed revolt and war against us, once more. And the machine with its unlimited range, would reach over to us and ruin our peace.

I do not think of the future as a military problem. Our mobilisation of manpower for the war, it is true, is the condition which we had to fulfill before we could re-enter the world as it was recreated by two world wars. We are catching up with reality. This time, we will not protest against ~~the~~ the violation of scraps of paper. But against the ^Pscraping of our merchant marine. Obviously, territorial gains interest us very little this time. We are not imperialistic. When the last farmer in Iowa, and the small business man in Texas will be vaccinated with one drop of enthusiasm for a high geared peace economy of a permanent character, the war will be over in the souls of men. A functioning world is the only protection for our way of life.

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The rest of the world only waits for this conversion of the Americans to their own double experience. This experience showed the capacity of man to emerge from group egotism and anarchy in production, under the whip of a regenerative faith in service. Since it is impossible and hateful to think that wars only can regenerate production, ^a ~~the~~ reproduction in permanence of the same effect is our problem from now on, even without war.

The period between 1904 and 1943 will be known as the world revolution against anarchy in production. Nobody likes the word anarchy; it sounds far too strong. Group egotism or individualism are preferred. But egotism and individualism are sound and eternal. I do not believe in altruism; its as silly as egotism, in economy. I believe in functioning.

Now, the Russians are drunk with Revolution, the Germans drug themselves with military glory. We are addicts of anarchy. From the silver block to the colleges, from the farmers to the doctors, we are fettered by our group egotisms, very much against many an individual's will. These groups have wandered too far after their own idols, in economic gain. They must now willy nilly become their brother's keeper in economy. The un-

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employed spoil every group egotism of the vested interest groups, in the long run. As long as one unemployed remains outside the scope of our future ^{this economy} economy, ~~it~~ remains unsafe. Safety and solidarity are interchangeable terms. ^{nobody who is included} in our economy will be dangerous.

Hence, the end of this period of catastrophes depends on the intellectual sacrifice of several idols: German militarism is the first, Russian revolutionarism is the second. American isolationism is the third, British imperialism and czech nations are others, minorities.

The great upheavals of mankind call us back into the common life then we have given up our membership unwarrantedly.

VENX All the idols mentioned before, ignore the machine. The Germans think that they can sit on bayonets for ever, the Russians think that they can talk people into ^a revolutions. The isolationist ^{isolationist} keeps to survive by ignoring his neighbor's hunger. He calls ~~isolationist~~ ^{scientific} this liberty, but in plain English it is disintegration ~~caused by anarchy~~ ^{caused by anarchy} caused by anarchy. The ^{scientific} invention which he uses in his machinery

puts him under the obligation to use these cosmic energies to ~~their~~ ^{because science is common property.} full capacity for all and everybody. The burning of coffee or

wheat is the horrifying result of ~~this~~ ^{an} anarchy which denies the common property of mankind. Nobody has the right to preempt, to destroy, or to abuse this common property.

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Now, it is worth mentioning that the Russians who in theory had foreseen the worldwide ~~maximal~~ character of economics, withdrew into their national shell, in economic practice. They isolated themselves during the last twenty years nearly as completely as Japan before Perry. Instead of starting a World Economy, they headed a local experiment in economy. For this complete isolation, they now pay the penalty. It took a war to carry them back into the greater society.

The world-wide aspect of economy not as a problem of trade but as the problem of production, now is represented by America. It never quite forgot its task
basic/as the center of a New World. Its youth will have to serve in the armies of reconstruction all over the globe. And when each town has a boy in such economic service, the economic planning will no longer remain without moral authority. The planners need economic ^{rebuild ~~land~~} soldiers, real people who do the things, (build the
etc., etc.,
Pan-American Highway, before they will be respected as more than abstract blueprints and statistics.

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Many people talk of economic planning, for the time after the war. However, planning must be implemented by the sweat of the brow before it stands a chance to mean more than the old disintegrating rivalry of world powers, ornamented by some statistical bureaus as we had in Rome for Agriculture thanks to the Californian David Lubin, or in Geneva, for Labor. These Bureaus called themselves with proud names, but they were the figleaves on a completely unregenerated state of Affairs.

The revolutionary cycle of the last thirty eight years will not be stabilized before the war time discipline has been recognized and put to permanent use, by our economic system. This implementation will make wars less necessary, and it will give us mastery for the unsolved problems of production.

Liberalism and Capitalism trusted the individual talent. They gave the vote to every living soul as though the heaven of his Christian freedom on Sunday had ~~right~~ come down to earth, and the nation gave the vote to every citizen because the nineteenth century lived in the messianic hope that the church could be succeeded by the nation, the people in their congregation could now be replaced by the people of the nation, ^{as of} in one heart and soul.

But the unemployed were not included in the new national unity. The private business men rationalized industry, and reinvested the money which they made in industry, perhaps. But the unemployed was the one surplus made by business which remained outside. And the taxpayer's budget treated the unemployed as a mere liability.

We have to start with the credo that every man made over by the machine, is an asset, a surplus and net gain. As armies of constant reproduction, armies of reconstruction, the unemployed are indispensable for the world at large. They alone make the solidarity of mankind real. If we don't use them for a common purpose, they will destroy us by becoming soldiers of an antagonistic purpose.

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The next peace will not be signed ~~xxxx~~ in the manner of the German - American treaty of 1920. It will not say, the war is over. It will perhaps, stammeringly, try to say, that peace has tentatively begun. For we will all be aware that it will take a whole generation to translate the economic lessons of two world wars into a ~~peace~~ ^{which includes all men} economy ~~for the whole world,~~ in permanence.

use up their homebrew enthusiasm. Hence, the spiritual void which befell this country after the return of the army from Europe. The romantic love of America for France and for the seven miracles of Europe evaporated in the war.

Today, America innocent in ideology and relatively free from any dogmatism, nationalistic as well as socialistic, is faced by two contradictory ^{pictures} ~~visions~~: one is the scrapping of its ships in 1919/20; the other the Detroit miracle of 1942. America has to choose between these two pictures. Does it wish to forget the war and its own war time capacity for achievement once more, scrap the planes and wait for the next crisis and unemployment? Or does it decide to keep the power for making constructive changes of the same size as in 1941/42? If the war is denied a second time as a creative factor, all the dead of two wars will have died in vain.

The cycle from 1904 to 1943, is not a revolution made by men and then underlined by wars. It is a revolution made by wars, and then underlined by men. It deserved the name "World Revolution" because no nominal group, Isolationsists, Bolsheviks, Nazis, controlled it. These are only parties, but the challenge

~~END and BEGINNING~~

The epoch which began with the First Russian Revolution and the First World War, is drawing to a close. We probably have from fifteen to eighteen months to go before the cycle becomes fully visible. But it is possible to take stock of its main topic.

[The human mind being what it is: imitative and lazy and merely logical, the expectations for this epoch were nearly all based on comparisons with the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars which ravaged France and Europe from 1789 to 1815. Since this imitation is an element of delay, of disappointment and of blundering, in this present cycle, it is practical to list some of these "logical" expectations. In this manner, we may eliminate them speedily.

The French Revolution began with three years of internal revolution and only then turned outward into war. During ^{more 1792-1795} three years, the civil war at home and the external wars overlapped, ~~the beginning~~, and a similar overlapping happened at the end, but of a very short duration, in 1814 and 1815. Also, the French Revolution had an Epilogue, in the form of the Revolution of July, in 1830, when

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Lafayette was unearthed once more, and the ideas of 1789 became virulent again. The end of the main action, in 1815, came with the Peace of Vienna.

period of the
The French Revolution was a revolution of nationalism and of national, and that meant linguistic and literary units. The greatest literary center of the West, Paris, *the period* became the national inspiration of France, and ~~it~~ ended with nations like Lithuania and Albania, whose capitals had to be created by artificial respiration, at the end of the period, id est, in 1919.]

The economic feature of the *preceding* ~~nationalistic~~ period, *1789 to 1929* *(which the war cycle wishes to eliminate)* ~~matters most to us~~ is this: Government was expected to protect the existing vested interests. That which is called "lobbying" today, is only the cheapened edition of the once sacred idea of this epoch that government could not create and could not destroy economic groups. Tariffs came into being for this reason.

• This meant that economic existence did not take its origin from actions of the community. The individual chose his profession, even though it might be crowded, as he liked.

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this feature *ideas of 1789*
~~Every one of the themes of the "French century", were~~ *was*

denied and attacked by the cycle which started with the First World War. But most contemporaries even today are reluctant to see this.

One example may show this. We will have no 1830, no epilogue. No Bourbons can be restored as in 1815, *because the* World War was preceded by a prologue, and the Russian Revolution was likewise heralded by a fore-runner: in 1904/5, Russia and Japan made war, and Theodore Roosevelt made peace between them, as he said, against the interests of the United States. And the Russians made their first revolution. This prologue of 1904/5 to the First World War set the pattern for the main action by showing that this time, war would precede the domestic revolution and not follow it as in 1792.

Why? War uproots vested interests and assigns people to jobs for which they are needed. And the content of this new crisis is just this: that vested interests are no longer the main spring for governmental action, at least not exclusive-

ly. Hence, wars themselves set the new pattern for society.

This may be illustrated by the attitude of the Bolsheviks

toward the Kulaks. The Kulaks were substantial farmers settled after 1905 under Stolypin in the West European fashion, as individual land owners, without cooperative and community loyalty. Then the Bolsheviks swooped down on these flourishing farmers, an outcry of fury went up among us: how can a government destroy a prospering activity? But the Bolsheviks had one great model: the war economy of the First World War, as Lenin said. And it took us two world wars to understand that the pride of American business, the automobile industry, might have to be buried so as to make room for a new life.

Now, the revolution which happened in Detroit during 1942, corresponds to the one which happened to the Kulaks in 1920 and 1930. For the revolution in Detroit extended to all the small business to whom parts are farmed out. Letting aside all more superficial details, let us concentrate on the core of the event. Lobbying is out when the existence of a body politic is at stake. Lobbying has to be counteracted. And this is what is happening today in the center of the Western world, at the heart of our industrial civilisation, one generation after it started at its outskirts, in Russia, that is to say in a backward and agricultural region. Russia was, twenty five

years ago, trying to catch up with the rest of the West; hence, the Russian attack on the Kulaks necessarily ~~was~~ dogmatic, wasteful, and part and parcel of a gigantic jump. Happening in an unindustrial country, the jump was titanic ~~and cruel~~, with the brain far ahead of conditions, and so overlogical and cruel. Logic always is cruel to life. The American readjustment was pedestrian, practical, and though some fine machines rust now and pain the onlooker like wounded animals, on the whole, the change was handsome and smooth, because it simply forced upon us the next stage in an industrial evolution of six generations.

Whereas in the last war, the A. S. U. was equipped with guns and ammunition from European factories, this time the U. S. ~~is~~ ^{is} the arsenal of democracy in the first place. Hence, it is ~~not~~ to be expected that the lasting consequence of the war, this ^{only} time, will not/have to do with the legions of men who returned and became veterans first and unemployed later, in 1919 and 1929, but with legions of machines, too. This time, the peace cannot possibly overlook the revolution wrought by the war itself. And this is the real difference between the two peaces. The peace of ^Versailles is often quoted as the source of all evil. It is al-

most forgotten that the United States made ^{a much worse} ~~quite another~~ peace ~~which was much worse~~ than the Treaty of Versailles which they never ratified. The real monstrosity and the real event, in the history of this revolutionary period was the treaty between the U. S. and Germany which was actually signed. This treaty consisted of one sentence . It read that peace was restored between the two countries.

The military events ~~mx~~ were left without a new peace. The fiction was legalized that the war had wrought no changes of a permanent character in the structure of both countries. The depression of 1929 was the logical outcome of ^{abstract} ~~a~~ peace which tried to live backward as though the war had not happened at all. Wars create new conditions for peace, and so, every war begets a new peace, its peace. Ever since the monstrous one-sentence - peace with Germany was signed, the bottom had fallen out of the post war world because the consequences of the war itself were ignored. Whereas the war had created huge economic units in central Europe on the one hand , and among the allied nations on the other, which both far outran national boundaries(once more it must be said that the American armies were equipped by

European factories), the peace ignored all the necessary changes implied by this fact. Economic nationalism became the law for the U. S. and for the Turks and Poles and the Albanese. But it had already been refuted as impossible for war times. The U. S. imposed on countries which wished to trade with the U. S., by its neutrality legislation. In 1937, a French man travelled in the U. S. trying to tell us that France could not sign a treaty of commerce for peace times if she could not count on American deliveries in war. "If you stop deliveries when we are at war, we are compelled to build up our own industries in peace time. Because a country at war must be provided with all the necessary centers of production. ~~And~~ And we cannot afford to buy from you in peace time, and neglect this. We shall have to subsidize now these industries at home because you say that you will fail us at the very moment when things are serious. "

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

The Peace between the U. S. and Germany ~~is~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ and the later neutrality legislation were all of one fabric: they attempted to cut the intimate relations between war economy and peace economy. But wars are constitution-makers. The war of 1776 to 1783 wrote the Constitution of 1787.

The bitter lessons of the Revolution War were before the Federalists and before the people and necessitated the recognition of the fact that the war had only been won by a real Union, and not by the Continental Congress. It took four years, from 1783 to 1787, before the object lesson of the change made by the war itself as a lasting constitutional event, was driven home. This time it took twenty five years to prove that wars themselves are the begetters of the next peace because they are not military only events but lawmakers besides. The simple fact that Russia and England live on our deliveries¹ in 1942, is in itself a part of the post-war reality which will have to be articulated.

If it took the Americans twenty five years to see that the war necessitated an industrial change, it took the Bolsheviks equally long to see that their revolutionary change was the child and ^{the} father of war. The Bolsheviks tried to forget that Lenin and Trotski were shipped into Russia in 1917 as tools of the German General Staff. Instead of quoting Ludendorff as their sponsor, they quoted Karl Marx. Whereupon all over the globe, simpletons fell for the Marxian Revolution in Russia as a brain child of peace times economics. In fact, it was ^{as much} the fruit of Russia's defeat at war.

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^{propaganda}
As ~~funny~~ as the one-sentence- peace between Germany and U. S. was
the sententious Front ^{Populaire} all over the world who tried to
build a fool's paradise without the discipline of ^{a war} ~~an~~ economy which
could weather the next war. From France to Chile, the lack of
realism of the Fronts ^{Populaires} has been their doom. They treated
economy as the problem of dividing a big pie. ^{They strike and as the bridge of "peace" in 1936 against Italy.} But economy is
the task of keeping us alive in war and peace and ~~of~~ ^{keeping us}
disciplined and flexible enough, for the alternation between
these two states of affairs.

Production is not a question of wishful thinking.

Production is the organisation of the world's resources for any
emergency. I

Slowly, Russia ^{and} ~~as well as~~ ^{both} America freed themselves
from their ideological fetters. The Russians had the courage to
follow the precedent of the War economy as Lenin openly avowed.
Theirs became a war economy in permanency instead of a revolution
in permanency. They discovered that the next ~~phase~~ ^{phase} of industria-
lism meant that peace industry had to acquire and to retain the
heroic flexibility of war time economy if industrialism was to
survive.

This recognition was relatively easy in Russia . Because the industrial development was so recent. In Russia, the revolutionary leadership existed ever since 1870. But the economic conditions for the take-off of these leaders were lagging; they had to be created by two wars . The first material situation for a Bolshevik economy arose with the war situation itself.

In the West, especially in America, the truth was more hidden. The French and the American Revolution developed long after the economic conditions for the rise of the bourgeoisie existed. Between 1750 and 1789, no important economic change happened ; but Voltaire, Franklin, Rousseau, and the Encyclopédie had to train leaders who could articulate the actual economic power of the Tiers-Etat. From 1750 to 1789, the existing economic order was instilled with a fresh enthusiasm; from 1870 to 1905 and 1917, the existing enthusiasts were waiting for an instill with their spirit. economic order which they could ~~fill~~. When the last Cossack and ~~the~~ Kirgise was in the army, they could reach him. And that started the Revolution. The soldiers of the A. E. F. , on the other hand, were sent into the old Europe, without finding ^{there} ~~their~~ any vision or hope or faith; and so , they were mobilized but not reached by any new spirit. These American lads had to

"The God created man and breathed his spirit into him that he
should fit the world to God's Wisdom and thus prove himself ~~in~~
at home in God's house." D. Damasus Wunzen.

From Eve's first smile to Hitler's last grim yell
One Spirit moves to counteract their rage.
Those who use words as matters of one age,
Like Eve and Hitler, lock us in sin's cell.

For to survive our age, to conquer death
came on our lips the pow'r of giving name
to our love's future and to our faith's fruit.
And by our speech we set ourselves aflame.
insert.

For coming generations do we burn,
our names as bridges span the night of days
so that one arch from A to O relays
do we set men on fire. This means their urn.

Thus do we prove at home in our Lord's home,
the Lord of death and life. From him flow all
the words which wait till we perceive his "Come"
and from our lips return to him our soul.

insert.

Sin is not crime of statute or of book
It is the future which we cannot reach
it is the future by ourselves deadlocked
Is growth prevented, transformation blocked.
They sin who of the flow of language teach:
"It is a tool of thought, our own will's hook."

For to survive our age, to conquer death
came on our lips the pow'r of giving name
to our love's future and to our faith's source;
and by our speech we set ourselves aflame
for coming generations so to burn
that our names span, a bridge, the night of days;
so that one arch from A to A relays,
Does God remember us. This means our urn.

Thus do we prove at home in our Lord's home
The Lord's of death and life. From him flow all
the words which wait till we perceive his "come"
and from our lips return to him our soul.