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I. Introduction

“The battle for us does not lie against crusted prejudice, but against the chaos of a new freedom. This chaos is our real problem.” In Drift and Mastery, Walter Lippmann clarified the target of attack that the progressive reformers had to concentrate their energy on. In 1914, he believed that “the real problem” for his contemporary Americans was not a stifling authority restraining individuals’ liberty, but a chaos rampant in the modern United States. For Lippmann, it was the new freedom which gave birth to the chaos of the time. Such awareness of “the chaos of a new freedom” lead Lippmann to try to find an alternative to liberalism, which was, and still is, the most ingrained ideology in America.1)

Then, what was Lippmann’s alternative to liberalism? It was collectivism, or to put it in his more favorite words, “the promise of the trusts.” In the 1910s, he sought to formulate a political system which was similar to pluralism and corporatism, and labeled respectively as such by its defenders and critics. By using the terms of collectivism, what Lippmann imagined was a harmoniously ordered society in which all individuals united into groups in accordance with their interests, and participated in the political decision making process by exercising pressure through their listed-groups. When he said in *Drift and Mastery* that the trust movement was “doing what no conspirator or revolutionist could ever do,” Lippmann believed that collectivism would be the method to overcome “the chaos of a new freedom.” For that reason, Lippmann, after assuring that collectivism was already under way, advised the readers that they should firstly just keep waiting to see how the trust movement brought order out of chaos, then guide it to keep on the right track, rather than wasting energy to resist it.2)

Because of his concern over “the chaos of a new freedom” and hope for “the promise of trusts,” early Lippmann has been frequently described as a champion of collectivism. Even some previous studies depicted him as a corporate liberal, a collectivist-oriented progressive or a group thinker who has blind faith in technocratic planning. New Left historian R. Jeffery Lustig, for example, describes Lippmann as a pivotal thinker of “corporate liberalism.” Considering that “questions

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