

One World, Less One Hemisphere

Chesly Manly

The "Liberals" of Smith College

Aloise Heath

A Dilemma of Conservatives

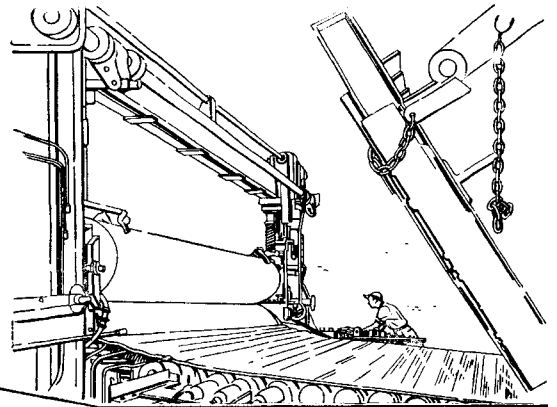
William F. Buckley, Jr.

A Reviewer's Notebook

John Chamberlain

A 10-year record of diversification and growth

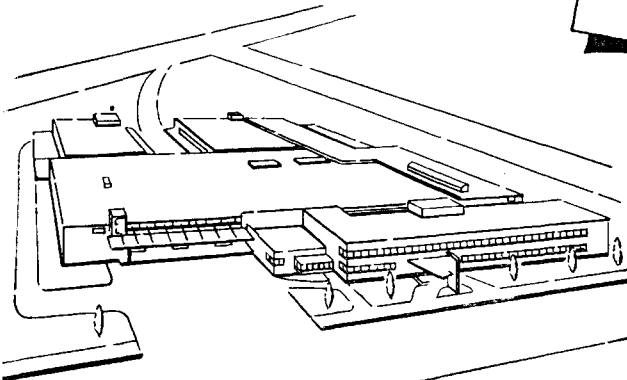
The past ten years—the seventh decade of the operations of Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company—have set new records of importance not only to this company's employees and shareholders, but to American industry, commerce and the economy in general. In this decade, Pittsburgh Plate has spent approximately \$200,000,000 to expand its plants and units. Along with adding thirteen new plants, these funds have provided a total of 13,285 new jobs—jobs through which more money is channeled into the local communities. These funds have also helped Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company develop new products, broaden its markets, and maintain its position in our competitive economy.



These are some of the highlights of the ten-year expansion in the various divisions of Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company:

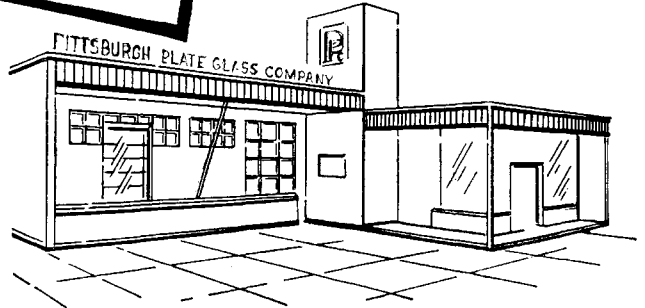
GLASS DIVISION

Expansion in this division, including three new plants—two for double-glazed window production—provided 5,724 new jobs. Twindow and TwindowWeld units, glass for atomic energy use, and bent Solex glass for autos are among the many products developed or improved in the past decade.



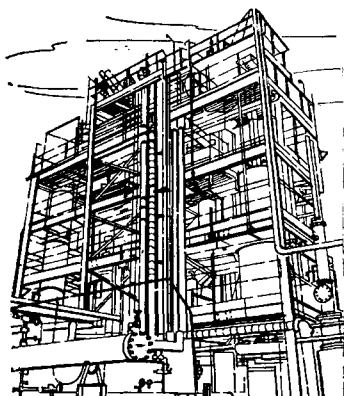
PAINT AND BRUSH DIVISION

In 1944, this division had 10 plants and 2,236 employees; in 1953 it had 16 plants and 3,845 employees. From its research laboratories have come such products as Sun-Proof fume resistant paint, Wallhide Rubberized Paint, and Selectron Plastic.



MERCHANDISING DIVISION

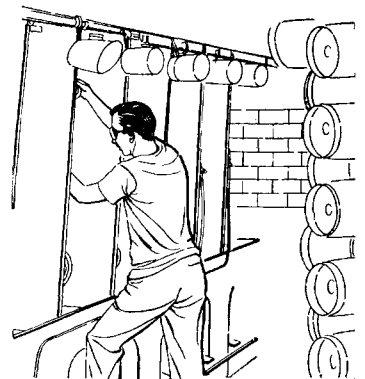
Ten years ago, this division had 131 branches in 128 cities and towns. Today there are 205 branches in 193 locations with a total of 6,879 employees. These units, together with more than 12,000 dealers, distributors, and jobbers sell and service the products made in the plants of Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company.



Within the past ten years, Columbia-Southern has grown from two plants with 2,085 employees to five plants with 4,539 employees. Through extensive research, it has greatly diversified its basic chlorine and alkali production and enlarged its market.

COLUMBIA-SOUTHERN CHEMICAL CORP.

This division was created in 1952. It operates plants at Shelbyville, Indiana and Hicksville, N. Y., which provide jobs for nearly 400 men and women. Two types of fiber glass—superfine and yarn—are made. They are sold through seven sales offices.



FIBER GLASS DIVISION



PAINTS · GLASS · CHEMICALS · BRUSHES · PLASTICS · FIBER GLASS

PITTSBURGH PLATE GLASS COMPANY

IN CANADA: CANADIAN PITTSBURGH INDUSTRIES LIMITED

THE Freeman

A Monthly
For
Libertarians

Editor FRANK CHODOROV
Business Manager ALVIN WINGFIELD, JR.

All Different and Alike

Individualists are a nuisance. They are so heterogeneous that it is impossible to blanket them with a label, so lacking in uniformity that a description of one is hardly applicable to another. That's why you rarely find one wearing an identifying pin, why organizing them is an impossible task. In all respects they are a tangential group held together only by the love of freedom, even though they might disagree on the exact definition of freedom. Let's take a look at some of them in this issue.

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR., the kind of fellow sometimes described as "to the manner born," couldn't be anything but a gentleman if he tried to. I'm not referring to his dress—which, to the distress of his charming wife, is often in disarray—but to his courtliness and kindness. Nevertheless, he would as soon deliver an atom bomb to the Kremlin, personally, as not—simply because he cannot conceive of freedom in this country being secure while the Commies carry on. Read the book he authored with Brent Bozell, *McCarthy and His Enemies*.

F. A. HARPER (better known as "Baldy"), on the other hand, is a pudgy professor—out of Cornell University—who is far more concerned about the collectivistic values fed to college students than he is about the threat of Moscow. He's of the opinion that ideas are more consequential than bombs, and might even fight for his opinion. He's on the staff of the Foundation for Economic Education. Unlike his co-worker, DEAN RUSSELL, he's dead earnest at all times, while Dean (the "Southern Baptist") affects a sense of humor, to the dismay of his associates. His "The TVA Idea" is one of his better pamphlets.

EDMUND A. OPITZ and V. ORVAL WATTS are typical of the personality opposites that can be found in the individualist camp. Ed is a Unitarian minister presently working to counteract the collectivistic concepts that have infiltrated Protestantism; though he is quite insistent on his point of view, which is backed with much learning, he is so soft-spoken that one wonders how he ever took up with any "cause." Orval, to the contrary, is sharp of tongue, ruthless in his sarcasm, and quick to show his impatience with anybody who does not understand the theory of value. His latest book is *The Union Monopoly*.

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN is now in Europe gathering material for articles. He'll bring back a mass of facts to prove his case, and if you can get him to stop writing for a while, he'll tell you all in rounded sentences. But JOHN CHAMBERLAIN, the most polished writer of them all, is the most tongue-tied man you ever heard in your life. I think if you asked him for a definition of freedom he would say, "Let me alone."

Just to show how varied these individualists are, I point to ALOISE HEATH. None of the others can match her achievement of bearing six children. That is a freedom all grandparents cherish.

F. C.

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FROM OUR READERS

Re-educating Soldiers

William F. Buckley, Jr.'s article "Making a Man Out of a Soldier" in the July FREEMAN deserves wide and loud acclaim. The moral and righteous influences of our society and the "indoctrination centers" of our armed forces are working at cross purposes, and all our youth are coming under the influence of the latter. This is followed by varying duration of service, during which they remain under the same demoralizing stress.

For the separation centers to be allowed to turn these service men back into civilian life, with less provision for their future than is accorded the criminal turned out of prison at the end of his sentence, is little less than an outrage on our society. We can be only mildly surprised at the rise in crime of all descriptions.

For many youths who were none too well "grounded in the faith" prior to having legalized murder superimposed on their code of ethics, it may mean a lifetime of confusion in the re-establishing of their moral moorings.

New Castle, Ind.

H. E. CONN

The July Editorials

I liked the FREEMAN as it was, but I suspect that I shall like it even more henceforth, judging from the editorial material in the July issue . . .

I hope that you do not succumb to the temptation that seems to make most journals of opinion—right, left, or center—less effective than they could be: the temptation to confuse seriousness of purpose with dullness of presentation. One does not have to tell jokes to avoid dullness, as is amply proved by "Televised Education" and "Subversives Needed" in the July number. These are good editorials because they are based upon sound and well-considered principles and they are *interesting*.

I should like to make two suggestions. First, throw the word "libertarian" out the window. It is

no more artificial than other terms of its kind, but it is a weak and highfalutin' word . . . Until some one comes up with a better term—and I haven't—let's use Individualism.

Second, don't follow the crowd of monkey-brained ADA'ers in using "conservative" as a dirty word when you mean totalitarian or statist. You did just this in "Subversives Needed." A conservative is one who wishes to conserve, and one conserves what is good, as one conserves good fruit rather than bad at canning time. A part of our trouble has been our attitude of "Oh, please don't call me that," when some bright clown throws at us a word like conservative. He'll throw it anyway, no matter how much you protest; hence, you may as well use it in its proper meaning.

At any rate, good luck to you from a man who read the FREEMAN under Nock, Neilson and Company.
Auburn, Ala.

T. C. HOEFFNER

Government Subsidies

. . . I agree with Garet Garrett ("Alas, the Food Bringers," July) that government supports of any kind for agriculture are unsound. Why, however, does Mr. Garrett limit his attack on government supports . . .? All of industry is now directly supported by government. Billions are being spent by the government in bolstering a faulty economy and thereby debasing our dollar by inflation. There can be no balanced economy when one segment of the country (business and labor) is subsidized and another segment (agriculture) is expected to exist without help. Let us withdraw government from the market and allow prices to find their natural level . . .

Frank Chodorov ("A Really Free School System") is entirely correct in his advocacy of private schools. His solution, however, is not very practical. He states that "Perhaps the best idea is that of remitting the school tax to parents who can show a tuition bill from a private school." I would understand from this statement that he believes each parent pays taxes for his own

children. Unfortunately, the most prolific breeders of children usually pay few if any taxes. It would be a case of giving, not remitting taxes in most instances. As bad as that would be, it would probably still be preferable to the present intolerable situation.

Leesburg, Va.

EDWIN E. SCHWIEN

Why Sweden Prospered

Patrick E. Nieburg's pungent "Sweden: the Wrong Way" (May 31) contains the dubious point that Sweden achieved its high living standards through "social benefits and state control." The author's non sequitur holds that the Middle Way, increasingly the Leftward Way, accomplished the feat, though he admits that the same Middle Way is now precipitating the Long Decline.

Mr. Nieburg should have said that socialism is but a recent fancy of the Swedes, that Sweden reached its high living standards through a healthy though mortal capitalistic order, through saving and investing and hard work, through a century and a half's studied avoidance of heady and expensive militant internationalism.

Short Hills, N.J. MARY JEAN PETERSON

From Well-Wishers

I have just finished reading pages five and six of the July FREEMAN, written by Mr. Read and Mr. Chodorov. It is my belief that you will attain the high goal which you have therein set. As evidence of this personal conviction, I enclose one additional year's subscription . . .

Moline, Ill.

DON R. ROUSER

It is good to know that a man of such firm convictions as Mr. Chodorov's has taken over as editor of the FREEMAN . . . May I suggest that future articles be devoted to revision of the U.N. Charter. With Senator Wiley's globalist subcommittee jazzing around the country holding so-called hearings on Charter revision, working closely with the One Worlders in the doing, this would seem to be a very great service the magazine could render . . .

Marshfield, Wis.

SARA R. JONES

Helping hands on four wheels . . .

Phones ring often in the headquarters of Emergency Squad 4 on New York City's lower East side:

"A boy is buried under a coal pile. Hurry!"

"My poor cat is wedged in the doors of a telephone booth!"

"Mrs. Murray's having a heart attack. Help!"

Such urgent pleas send policemen and the green-and-white truck of E. S. 4 into immediate action. The bold, specially-equipped truck leaps toward its call of duty. On the scene, help is offered, a life is saved, pain eased, comfort given, prayers answered.

Other trucks are our friends, too. On a nation-wide network of hard, safe, well-maintained highways, dependable trucks carry items of necessity to us fresh from factories. On countless farms, trucks overflow with recently ripened crops. Delivery trucks stop right at your door with your latest purchase. A truck rides the roads to bring gasoline for your car, soft drinks for your thirst, household appliances for your comfort, theater equipment for your entertainment.

Trucks contribute immeasurably to the health and well-being of all of us . . . every day.



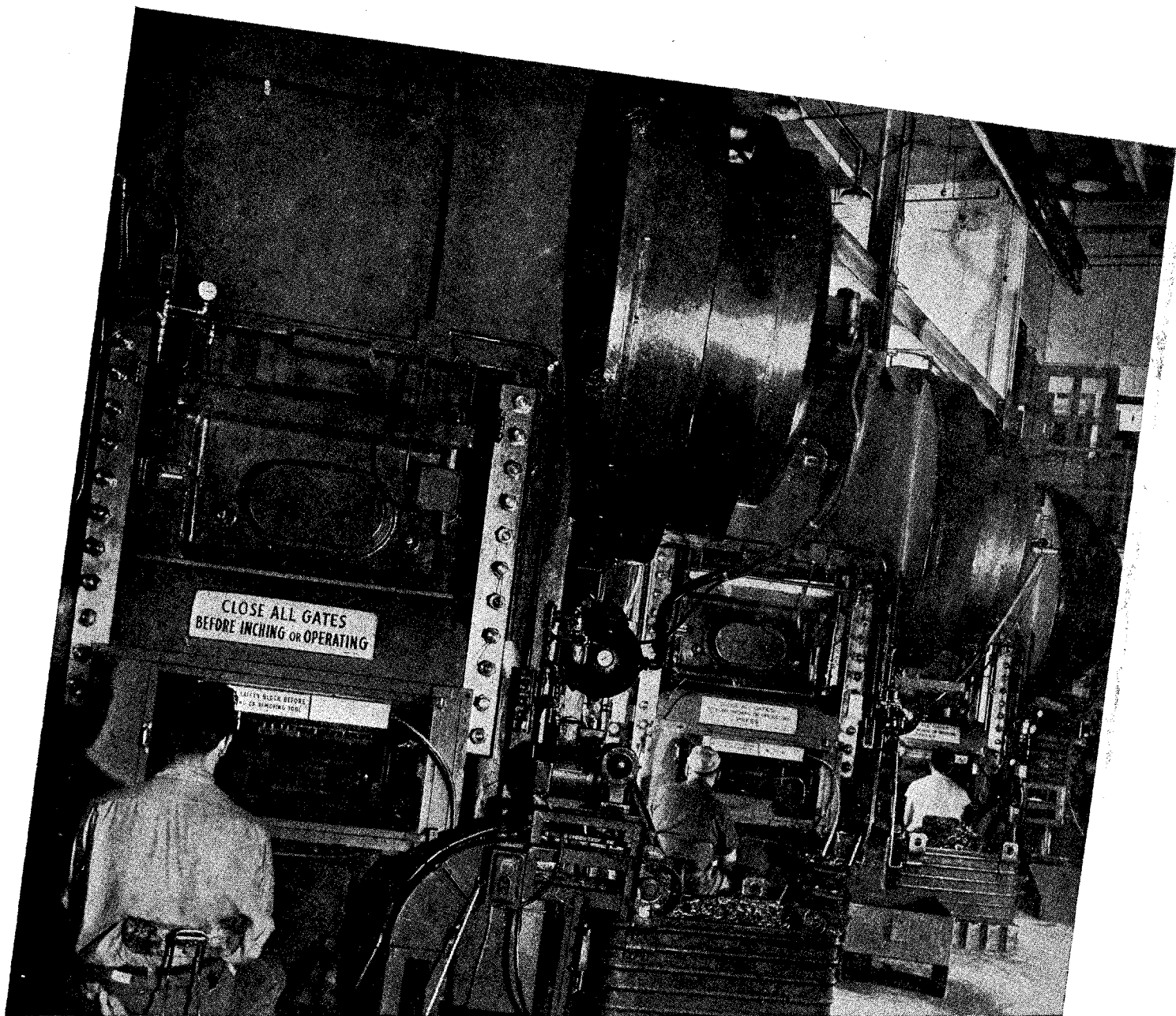
IF YOU'VE GOT IT - A TRUCK BROUGHT IT!



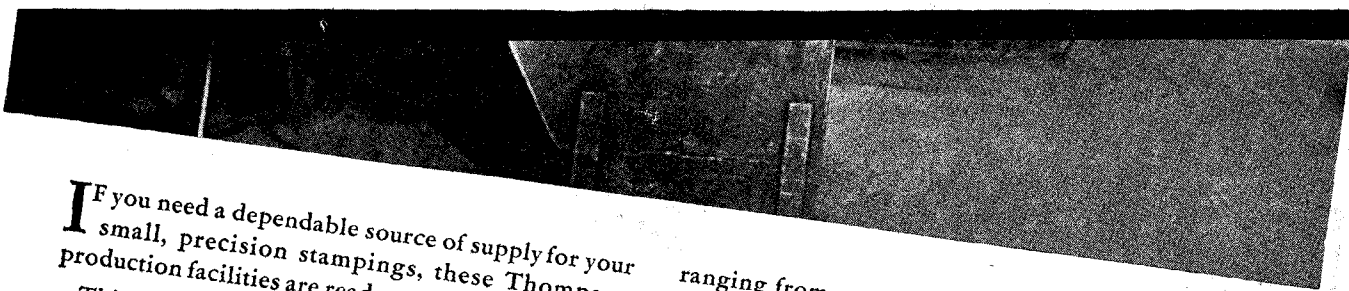
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The Time Is Always Ripe

It is never too late to put up a fight for freedom. Right now, even in America, the prospect for such a venture appears black, what with the general urgency for "security." Where would the recruits come from? The rank and file, those whose preoccupation must be with the problem of existence, are certainly in no mood to argue with the beneficent State; they are all for it, and will continue to be so as long as something keeps trickling out of its cornucopia.

Moving over to those Americans who lay claim to above-average capacities, we find them also quite willing to put their self-esteem on the barrel-head. The industrialist whose venture lives by government loans or contracts readily makes peace with government regulation. So long as government bonds pay interest, the banker will find justification enough for political intervention in his affairs. The farmer does not object to a government agent who represents a gratuity, and the professor who lives by subsidies will write books in praise of the subsidizing State.

Subvention has become the national passion. Freedom, which puts a premium on self-reliance, is in short demand. Why fight for it?

In the circumstances, those who still put a value on freedom are in deep despair. Many, too many, have resigned themselves to what they call the inevitable. Let the country have its fill of socialism, they say, and be done with the struggle to stop it. The human animal can adjust itself to any condition that permits him a meal and a mate; Americans can become coolies. After a century or two of that kind of existence, their innate urge will incline them to the leadership of some Moses, and there will be a renaissance of the spirit of freedom. By that time, they maintain, and not without good reason, the State will be in poor condition from a shortage of funds, and a handful of resolute men can easily topple it over.

There is historic support for this resignation. Every civilization on record has followed the same pattern. In the beginning, the civilization rose and flourished in the sunshine of freedom. Political establishments arose, but they remained quiescent, and even served usefully in the maintenance of order, as long as the economy was meager. As soon as a general abundance appeared (as a result of man's urge to improve his circumstances), the passion for power was enflamed; taxes were levied, and as every levy on the economy increased political power at the expense of social power, excuses for increasing the levies multiplied.

As political predation grows, production is discouraged. Why work when there is no profit in it?

But this decline in production is a threat to the existence of the State, which it meets by use of force—slave labor camps, for instance. This in turn induces a slave psychology. Men lose their capacity for improvement when they lose their sense of individual dignity. Thus civilization disintegrates and becomes an archaeological curio.

Must our civilization follow in the same groove? There are a number who so maintain. For about three centuries, they point out, that bit of modern civilization called America thrived under the life-giving rays of freedom. Now it is entering the inevitable regime of absolutism, which will eat into the vitals of our Society and ultimately destroy it. When Society collapses so does the State that feeds on it. America is doomed, they say.

Maybe so. Maybe our civilization must obey the ineluctable forces of history; maybe it is in the decline right now. Nevertheless, men do what they are impelled by their natures to do, not by what history dictates. The stars in the heavens tend to their eternal business, while we mortals must travel within our own specific orbits.

It was no historic imperative that directed the pens of those who signed the Declaration of Independence; it was a personal force. There were many at the time, the Tories, who deemed the venture foolhardy and undesirable; they could have argued the historic uselessness of all revolutions. Nevertheless, the rebels, none of whom were driven to it by economic necessity, put their signatures to what at that time seemed to be their own death warrant. Why? For lack of better answer, let us say that they were made of a peculiar kind of stuff and could not do otherwise.

Whether there are any mystic forces pushing men along a path from which there is no escape is a moot question. But there is no question that throughout history masses of men have regularly made excursions in quest of freedom, and every one of these excursions is identified by its leadership. It is a logical inference, therefore, that when men of that stripe appear on the scene the cause of freedom is not neglected. From that premise we might conclude that the present plight of freedom in America is due to lack of qualified leadership.

Whether or not leadership could have averted, or can stop, the trend toward socialism, may be open to question; that a glorious fight for freedom might yet enliven the American scene is not. Whether or not a fight for freedom will succeed is less important than the fight itself, for if nothing else comes of it, the fighters will profit by it

and they cannot but keep alive values that will make America a better climate for their immediate offspring to live in.

There is no accounting for the emergence of those superior men, "sports of nature," who sporadically shape the course of mankind. They come, as it were, from nowhere, and nobody has as yet conclusively explained their advent. But they come. When, in her own time and at her own pleasure, nature deems America worthy and ready for them, she will give us the men to lead the good fight. In the meantime, we ordinary mortals must do the best we can with the equipment at our disposal.

Conservatism

In the foyer of the shop that prints the FREEMAN is a scroll presented to the management on the 86th anniversary of the founding of this establishment. That makes it a comparatively old print shop, and the question that suggested itself was, should I not take my precious bundle of "copy" to one of more recent vintage, one that could qualify as modern, up-to-date and, presumably, progressive? Why bet on antiquity?

But then, I thought, this outfit must pay its bills; otherwise it would have been closed up long ago. A concern that is meticulous about meeting its obligations to its creditors must be equally meticulous in satisfying its customers, from whom it derives the revenue with which to pay its bills. It follows that these folks will try to put out for me a decent looking paper, that they will deliver proofs on time, that they will meet the established deadlines and do all the other things that the editor of a publication expects of the printer. There must be, said I to myself, a set of principles by which the management of this establishment work, principles that have proved themselves through the years of successful operation. Anybody who works by principles is dependable.

But have they the equipment that is necessary for satisfactory operation of a plant? Maybe they are as conservative in their machinery as they are in their principles. I should have realized that if they were using the presses they used 86 years ago they could not have quoted us prices comparable to those submitted by newer shops. Nevertheless, I had my doubts and decided to take a look around the plant. And there I observed a characteristic of the conservative that the ebullient "radical" often overlooks: that he will take on any innovation which furthers his primary purpose. The primary purpose—the guiding principle—of this ancient establishment is, as it must always have been, service to its customers, and whatever enabled it to render that was grist to

its mill. It did not have a piece of equipment that indicated age. All I saw was a mass of machinery that would do well by our publication.

Among the publications going through the plant at the time—there seemed to be hundreds of them—I detected one or two devoted to the propagation of non-conservative ideas. Even a radical likes to do business with a conservative.

Copycat Brazil

A while ago, when the price of coffee became a national issue, the economists of the Potomac analyzed the situation and came up with a basic cause of the rise: the profit motive. The cure that seemed imminent was a televised investigation of the wicked coffee speculators. But Brazilian producers came forward with evidence of a cause that made more sense, namely, that the price of coffee was high because nature had caused a short supply, as compared with demand, and the ardor for publicity in Washington subsided.

Last month, a news dispatch threw new light on the matter. The government of Brazil announced that it would not permit the exportation of coffee, of the kind we Americans like, at less than 87 cents a pound. If the world price should fall below that figure, the government would pay it.

Congress took no note of this market manipulation by Brazilian economists. It was too busy with a crop price support bill of its own. After all, it could hardly object to the flattery of imitation.

Bureaucracy Never Dies

We read last month that the fabulous Reconstruction Finance Corporation is dead. This is the "temporary" lending institution started by Herbert Hoover twenty-two years ago to stave off the depression, and continued by his two successors in their efforts to win votes and "perpetuate prosperity."

The obituary notices were a bit premature. In the first place, the corporation must continue until all its affairs are wound up, and it would be a simple act of Congress to revivify it (with a suitable appropriation) in the event of an "emergency." In the second place, its function will be taken over by a new agency, the Small Business Administration, and, therefore, when and if it is finally laid to rest it will have died in name only. True, the SBA is only a pigmy compared to the RFC, in that it cannot lend more than \$150,000 to any borrower, while the RFC made a grant of \$111,000,000 to the Kaiser Steel Company alone. Since the law does not define a "small business," a mere increase in its loaning limit and an ap-

propriation to suit would make the SBA into another RFC. Any drafter of bills could effect the metamorphosis in ten minutes.

Of course, there is no sense in the SBA, any more than there was in the RFC—unless you can make sense out of the practice of buying votes with taxpayers' money, or of the related practice of maintaining a monstrous bureaucracy. Why should you and I be compelled to keep an inefficient or unwanted business alive? An enterprise that renders service, as recorded by the market place, does not need tax money.

But economics has nothing to do with government lending. Politics has. And it is basic in politics that a government agency must never be abolished, although it may be reorganized and renamed. That is why, to paraphrase a famous phrase, "Bureaucracies never die, they only smell that way."

The 83rd Congress

By the time this reaches the reading public, as well as the other kind, the 531 honorables who have been cogitating on the fate of the nation since January 3 may have gone home. The 83rd Congress is, at this writing, on its way to oblivion. Until the 84th convenes next January, the nation must remain in status quo.

What have been the accomplishments of this memorable body? That will be the momentous question during the next few months, when the matter of selecting a new Congress will come before the sovereign American people. Praise will be matched by denunciation, and deep will be our bewilderment. In the circumstances, the best we ordinary mortals can do is to take a bird's-eye view of the Eighty-third; this will serve us better than a detailed account. And the over-all picture shows us that this Congress did what all its predecessors did: it taxed and appropriated.

What else could it do? This is not said in disparagement. The only function of any political body, the only one that it has any competence for, is to take wealth from the producing public and spend it. We all know that, but in our blind faith in political institutions, we persist in hoping that somehow the wealth taken from us will be invested in the utopia we dream about. It never is or can be. It is just spent.

That's exactly what the 84th Congress will do, regardless of the complexion of its personnel, unless by some miracle it turns out to be the ideal Congress. And the ideal, from the point of view of the libertarian, would be one that rescinded most of the statutes in existence, enacted no new ones, and went home after a week's session. In that eventful week, the Congressmen would have well earned their annual salaries.

In Billions

As a statistical footnote to the above comment on the 83rd Congress, we offer the following: In six months the people's representatives authorized the Executive to spend during fiscal 1955 a total of nearly forty-four billion cut-rate dollars. In addition, the Eisenhower Administration has on hand a carryover of unexpended appropriations from previous years amounting to approximately another hundred billion; the most profligate of bureaucracies has difficulty in finding ways to spend such huge sums.

After appropriations come taxes, and for reasons best known to Congressmen this detail was not taken care of. In this atomic age, of course, the idea of a balanced budget is held to be quaint and untenable; it is "progress" to spend what you do not have. When the manifold agencies and corporations which we call government are faced with the bills they have been authorized to incur, and there is no money in the till, because Congress did not tax us enough, the only recourse of government is to print dollars. Which presents no difficulty, because Congress can authorize an increase in the national debt as easily as it can authorize spending.

In the circumstances, we Americans can confidently look forward to an increase of our cut-rate dollars; which means, in practical terms, that the ham sandwich which in olden times cost us a dime will cost us in due time one whole dollar, mustard extra.

Reds Are Natives

If we had sent an army into Indo-China (Vice President Nixon once suggested that we should), its immediate objective would have been to kill Indo-Chinese, so as to intimidate those we did not kill. Of course, the dead would have died because they were Communists, and the intimidated would have been intimidated for the same reason. But, regardless of their ideology, our chosen targets would have been natives. There is no way of getting away from that fact. The same would have been true if we had intervened militarily in the Guatemalan affair, and it is a certainty that we mowed down many thousands of natives in Korea.

The point is self-proving. When two nations make war, whatever their reasons, the purpose of each is to subdue the nationals of the other. The only point at issue is the validity of the reason advanced by each side trying to subjugate the other.

The historic reason for slaughtering natives is conquest: to grab land so as to be able to collect taxes from those who inhabit and use it. Currently, however, the reason advanced by many Americans

is that the natives carry an ideological germ that threatens our way of life. We must destroy them and their culture before it destroys ours.

Granted the premise, the question is, will the desired end be achieved by the slaughter of Communist natives all over the world? There is no historic support for that belief. The Norman conquerors of England did not impose their culture on the natives they did not kill, but rather made their adjustment to what they found, and the traditional culture of the Jews managed to outlive the paganism of the Roman legions. The evidence of history is that ideas are impervious to weapons.

That our culture—the body of ideas, habits and traditions indigenous to America—is under severe attack there is no doubt. But can we save it by killing off or subjugating the Communist natives of other lands? And, by the way, if that is the effective cure of communism, why not try it on our own natives infected with the disease? We harbor quite a few of them in our midst, and, far from slaughtering them, we grant them the

protection of the American culture they aim to destroy, and even put them in positions of public trust.

Communism is not a person, it is an idea. True, communism without Communists is an imaginative notion, just as sin without sinners simply cannot be. But you cannot get rid of the idea that has possessed the Communist by killing him, because the idea may have spread and you cannot destroy every carrier of it. It is better, therefore, to attack the idea than to attack the natives.

Without going into a discussion of the idea of communism as a whole, let us get to its essence, and that we find is simply the notion that the individual would be better off if he were deprived of the right to own property; since property must be owned, the method of communism is to vest all property right in those who wield political power, the State. That, then, is the idea that we who believe in the American tradition should try to kill, and let all natives live.

The Troublesome Free Market

Sometimes I get the nonsensical notion that I should have been born later—say about a quarter of a century. I get it after a long battle with “copy” when I am eye-weary from correcting split infinitives, substituting the right word for its “second cousin,” smoothing out a rough expression and doing all the meanish things an editor feels he has to do, just to attract readers. Maybe, I think, editors will be rid of that chore by 1979—or just before the advent of Orwell’s utopia.

The trouble these days is that there is still a free market in the reading business. Readers have a choice and insist on exercising it; there is no law (as there should be) that compels them to read what I write or publish. I know from experience that if the title does not intrigue them they will not read the first sentence; and if the first sentence does not magnetize their attention, they will not try the second. And so on. It’s just as easy to throw the magazine into the wastebasket as it is to turn off the radio—and that’s exactly what they do if the subject matter or execution does not hold their interest.

So, the editor is under constant pressure to dig into his make-up box: to use the proper shade of literary lipstick here, to apply a dab of stylistic rouge there. Then there is the problem of wardrobe; the printed page has to be properly dressed, the articles so selected and distributed as to make an attractive ensemble. And all this primping and preening comes after a long and laborious bout with subject matter, which is only an attempt to guess what kind of a show the readers might want next month.

If you think this attention to detail is unnecessary in a journal of opinion you are mistaken. The customers of that kind of publication are in fact most critical, simply because their IQs are sky-high. They expect much more than do the readers of comics or picture books, and are well equipped for picking up deficiencies. Many of them know more than the editor, as witness the astute letters they write him.

In 1979, I believe, an editor will be rid of that toil and trouble. In the first place, all of his possible readers will be “progressive” school graduates, and therefore will not know the difference between a split infinitive and a banana split. They will not demand any more than they know. Pragmatism will have prepared them only for the kind of English that “works”—like that used on road signs and lunchroom menus. So, the editor’s job will be to plaster pictures on white paper and help the reader’s understanding with one-word headings. He need not bother with spelling.

More than that, the editor’s job will be made heavenly by the simple abolition of choice. That necessary reform seems to be in the making at this time. The reader will then take whatever the wise men in the Kreml—beg pardon, Washington—shall have prepared for his edification, or else. Maybe he won’t have even the choice of abstention—of reading nothing—because it is quite possible the Potomacers will order every free citizen to read, say, an income-tax form; a course in that kind of English will be “required”.

All in all, the editor should have a glorious time of it—in 1979.

One World, Less One Hemisphere

By CHESLY MANLY

If the United States wishes to uphold the Monroe Doctrine, it cannot insist on the doctrine of One World, as the Guatemalan case in the United Nations demonstrated.

The Soviet veto in the Guatemalan case revealed implications of the United Nations that had been but dimly perceived, if at all, by One Worlders. It emphasized that irrepressible conflict between national self-interest and collective sovereignty which has stultified all leagues of nations, since the Delian confederacy was transformed into the Athenian empire about the middle of the fifth century B. C. The lesson, in short, was that you cannot have One World and the Monroe Doctrine, too.

U. N. partisans were astonished and bewildered. Such an incorrigible internationalist as Walter Millis, of the *New York Herald Tribune*, declared in a signed commentary: ". . . the whole example indicates the inadequacy of the underlying U. N. concepts, and of most American concepts founded on the principles of universal peace and collective security, to deal with actual power problems as they may actually arise within the framework of a dynamic and dangerous society."

The Eisenhower Administration had shown little concern about the existence of a Soviet satellite in Central America. It was preoccupied with more distant and therefore more enchanting enterprises in Asia and Europe. Anthony Eden, the British foreign secretary, was advising the United States to go slowly about organizing an anti-Communist front in Asia, just as Britain had admonished the French against "hasty action" when Hitler tore up the Versailles and Locarno treaties and marched his troops into the Rhineland in March 1936. The British were still cherishing dreams of separating Communist China from the Soviet Union, despite clear indications that Communist China was separating India from the Western world. In Europe, where the United States was anxiously entreating France to accept Germany as a partner in the defense of Europe from Soviet aggression, the French seemed to be more interested in an entente with the Kremlin against Germany.

With complete bankruptcy threatening its global foreign policy, the Administration was comforted by the assumption that any trouble in Guatemala would be met effectively by the Organization of American States (O.A.S.). Only Guatemala had dissented when the Inter-American Conference at Caracas, in March, adopted a resolution declaring that "the domination or control of the political

institutions of any American state by the international Communist movement" would call for "consultation and appropriate action in accordance with existing treaties."

In these circumstances, Henry Cabot Lodge, United States representative at the U. N. and president of the Security Council for June, was hardly thinking of Guatemala on June 18, when he castigated Semyon Tsarapkin, the Soviet delegate, for vetoing a decision to send a peace observation commission to Thailand. "I hope," said Mr. Lodge, "that I will never live to see the day when a small country comes to the United Nations and asks for protection against war and is simply greeted with the question: 'What is the hurry?'"

An Unexpected Revolution

How could he know that the revolution would break out in Guatemala the very next day and that Eduardo Castillo-Arriola, the Guatemalan delegate, would demand an immediate meeting of the Security Council to do something about it? Lodge endeavored to put the meeting off until Monday, June 21, but when he was reminded by other members of the Council of his statement in the Thailand case he reluctantly called the meeting for Sunday, June 20.

At this meeting the French delegate, Henri Hoppenot, sardonically reminded Lodge of his recent statement about the right of a small country to appeal to the U. N. for help. With exaggerated courtesy, Hoppenot expressed "great appreciation" for "the trouble" Lodge had taken to convene the council "despite considerable physical difficulties."

Lodge was unruffled, however, until Tsarapkin announced that he would veto a Brazilian-Colombian resolution referring Guatemala's complaint to the O.A.S. Then he exclaimed:

"Why does the representative of the Soviet Union, a country thousands of miles away from here, undertake to veto a move like that? What is his interest in it? How can this action of his possibly fail to make unbiased observers throughout the world come to the conclusion that the Soviet Union has designs on the American hemisphere? I say to the representative of the Soviet Union, stay out of this hemisphere, and do not try to start your plans and your conspiracies over here!"

Now this was a fine speech, and Mr. Lodge, a former newspaperman, must have known that it would make the headlines. He had disclosed his interest in that aspect of diplomacy by accusing the Guatemalan delegate of making unfounded charges just to get headlines in the newspapers.

But coming from Lodge, a fervid supporter of the U.N., the speech was preposterous. How could he tell Tsarapkin, who was sitting next to him, to "stay out of this hemisphere" without demanding the expulsion of the Communists from the U. N.? The geographical limits of the Western Hemisphere are not clearly defined, but it is undisputed that New York and the U. N. headquarters are well within those limits. Moreover, the interest of the Soviet Union in Guatemala, from the U. N. viewpoint, is just as valid as that of the United States in Thailand. The United States ships arms to Turkey, on the frontier of the Soviet Union, and there was no difference in principle when the Communists shipped arms to Guatemala.

Tsarapkin said the Soviet Union was taking part in the discussion "because wherever aggression occurs—in the western, the eastern, the northern, or the southern hemisphere—it is still aggression." He accused not only Honduras and Nicaragua but also the United States of aggression. Although disclaiming any accusation against the United States government, Castillo-Arriola charged that a campaign aimed at intervention in Guatemala was "encouraged by the United States State Department."

Mr. Lodge's Inconsistency

Lodge maintained that "the situation does not involve aggression but is a revolt of Guatemalans against Guatemalans." If this was so, the Security Council had no jurisdiction in the case, for its Charter (Art. 2, Par. 7) forbids the U. N. to "intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state." But having implicitly denied the U. N.'s authority to intervene, Lodge promptly voted for a French resolution calling for "the immediate termination of any action likely to cause bloodshed" and requesting all members of the U.N. "to abstain . . . from rendering assistance to such action."

France undoubtedly submitted this resolution, which delighted the Communists and confounded the United States, because of pique over Secretary Dulles' statement about "an agonizing reappraisal" of American policy in Europe if France failed to adhere to the European Defense Community. Lodge could have vetoed the French resolution, just as France, in August 1947, vetoed a proposal for a Security Council commission to carry out a cease-fire in the Dutch colonial war against the Indonesians. In that case France, anxious to avoid any action which could be a precedent for U. N. intervention in Indo-China, Morocco, or Tunisia,

maintained that the Dutch-Indonesian war was a domestic matter.

But the United States delegation has become a prisoner of its own propaganda against abuse of the veto by the Soviet Union. The Kremlin's use of this prerogative to promote its own interests has been condemned so long and so vehemently that public opinion is believed to consider it morally reprehensible. The State Department acknowledges that the United States favored the veto provision to protect its own interests, and that the Senate never would have consented to the ratification of the U. N. Charter if it had not been included. Yet the American delegation has never used it.

Resolution to Stop Anti-Communist Revolt

Fortunately for the United States, the Security Council's "no bloodshed" resolution was ignored by Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, leader of the anti-Communist rebels. If it had been respected, the Communist-dominated government of ex-President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman would still be in power. Arbenz and the military junta which succeeded him, under Col. Carlos Enrique Diaz, were blasted out of office by bombing and strafing attacks on Guatemala City, the capital.

By assuming jurisdiction in the Guatemalan case, the Security Council implicitly held that it was an international affair and that the Communist charge of aggression was not entirely false. Moreover, the resolution interdicted any assistance by the United States, Honduras, Nicaragua and other U. N. members to the anti-Communist forces. This could be a dangerous precedent. The "no bloodshed" criterion for U. N. intervention would prohibit any patriotic uprising against Communist enslavement anywhere in the world.

The United States might have defeated the French resolution without using the veto if Lodge had insisted, as he did at a later meeting, that the U. N. had no authority to supersede the O.A.S. on the Guatemalan question. Such opposition to a cease-fire proposal undoubtedly would have been represented in some quarters as a tacit admission that the United States was backing the insurgents. But Latin-American opinion overwhelmingly blamed the United States in spite of its support and its scrupulous observance of the French resolution. Baiting the *Colosso del Norte* is more popular than bull-fighting in most Latin American countries. The left-wing parliaments of Uruguay and Chile passed resolutions expressing sympathy with the Arbenz regime. There were anti-American student riots from Mexico to Argentina, and most of the press was hostile to the United States.

Not until members of Congress began warning the U. N. not to interfere in the Guatemalan affair and demanding vigorous American leadership to uphold the Monroe Doctrine did the Eisenhower Administration take a firm position in the Security

Council. At a meeting on June 25, Lodge opposed and defeated consideration of a new demand by Guatemala for the appointment of a U. N. commission of inquiry and a condemnation of Honduras and Nicaragua as aggressors. Only Denmark, Lebanon, New Zealand and the Soviet Union voted to put the question on the agenda, although France and Britain abstained, thereby refusing to support the United States. Brazil, China, Colombia and Turkey voted with the United States.

At the second meeting, Lodge said what he should have said at the first. He reminded the Council that Article 52 of the Charter, relating to regional arrangements, had been adopted specifically to protect the inter-American defense system, and said the Senate never would have approved the Charter by the necessary two-thirds vote if that formula had not been included. Article 52, he noted, required U. N. members entering into regional arrangements "to make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements" before referring them to the Security Council. Moreover, Article 20 of the O.A.S. Charter provided that all inter-American disputes should be "submitted to the peaceful procedures" set forth in that Charter before being referred to the Security Council.

Even at the second meeting Lodge did not mention the Monroe Doctrine, which provokes cries of "Yankee imperialism" in Latin America. However, he said the 21 American republics were "bound together by a sense of distinctive destiny and by a determination to prevent the extension to this hemisphere of either the colonial domain of European powers or the political system of European despotism."

Some day the United States, in its own interest, may have to invoke the Monroe Doctrine as President Cleveland did in the boundary dispute between Britain and Venezuela in 1895. At that time Secretary of State Richard Olney said to Britain: "Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition."

The O.A.S. has the inherent weaknesses of all collective security arrangements. The U. N., as the Guatemalan case demonstrated, is not only futile; it is a forum for Communist propaganda and mischief. As Stalin wrote in *Problems of Leninism*, Bolsheviks accept "reforms in general, and compromises and agreements in particular," only as a screen for "illegal work, for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie."

The American Baby Bonus

By DEAN RUSSELL

Collectivist nations do it by subsidizing motherhood; baby bonuses here are achieved more subtly through income-tax deductions.

In a recent news release, the Kremlin claimed another first; the invention of the jet airplane. That makes the score for Russian genius exactly one thousand and one.

It could be one thousand and two, but a demurrer must be entered against one of their claims. That is, that they first thought of the baby bonus idea. Mussolini and Hitler, were they alive, would dispute this Communist claim to priority, and the British Socialists must also enter the lists. Nor can we Americans sit idly by while the argument rages; after all, we are particularly gifted in the art of creating records.

The fact is that while we may not have been the very first to think of subsidizing mothers for doing what mothers are peculiarly gifted for, we certainly have perfected the idea, and have incorporated it into our "way of life." Our competitors—the fascists, Communists and run-of-the-mill Socialists—are in this regard, as in almost every other field, mere imitators of democracy.

While Hitler, Mussolini, Attlee, Stalin *et al* rewarded successful pregnancy with a few depreciated marks, lira, pounds and rubles, our municipal government has put its gratitude for the delivery of a new soldier of either sex at well over one hundred dollars, equally depreciated. What's more, we democrats have had the good taste to make the bonus payment indirect, so as not to offend the dignity and delicacy of motherhood.

Immediate Cash Value

It is all done by the subtle intricacies of the income tax. Suppose the mother (or her agent, the father) had in 1953 a *taxable* income, after taking all permitted deductions, of \$600. The federal law allows said taxpayer to deduct \$600 for each dependent, or child. At the federal tax rate of 22.2 per cent, the mother saves \$133 by having a dependent. Suppose that on December 30, 1953 she had no dependent; in that case, she would be out

\$133. On the other hand, if at any time before 11:59 P.M. on December 31 she were delivered of a child, that would entitle her immediately to the \$133. That is her baby bonus. If her *taxable* income is more than \$600, the bonus is bigger. And in those states that have income taxes, the cash value of babies is still greater.

Why our politicians chose this indirect way of subsidizing motherhood is a mystery. If they permitted no deductions for dependency, they would collect more taxes, thus improving the grandeur and the glory which is Washington. If they then made cash payments for babies, as the collectivists do, they could then collect the usual political brokerage fee. (Imagine a television show in which a senator argued for bigger baby bonuses. Imagine the vote-getting appeal of his peroration, "to preserve the g-r-r-r-eat American institution of motherhood.") But for some strange reason they chose the indirect "tax exemption" method of encouraging a bigger baby crop, rather than the direct method they use in rewarding farmers for reducing their crops.

Maybe they chose this indirect method because it simplifies the bookkeeping problem. That would make sense. But probably the real reason is the political fact that most American mothers would keenly resent having their dependency deductions called baby bonuses. As a gentleman shouldn't mention rope in a household where there has been a recent hanging, so also should he refrain from calling that \$600 tax exemption a baby bonus—especially when every mother knows that the amount isn't nearly large enough to pay the full costs of rearing the baby up to the age where the government drafts him and begins to collect on its investment.

Sixteenth Amendment Began It

We Americans endorsed this idea of a dependency deduction or baby bonus back in 1913 with the passage of the Sixteenth (income tax) Amendment to our Constitution. Before that, American parents received no reward from the federal government for having children. In those days it was generally agreed that having and rearing babies was a parental matter entirely; government intervention in this private enterprise was unthinkable.

But with the passage of the Republican-sponsored income-tax amendment in 1913, the idea of parents being responsible for the welfare of their children was, in effect, decreed somewhat un-American, or at least suspect. The American ideal soon came to this: Persons without dependent children should be forced by government to help support the dependent children of other people in a manner which the government decides is adequate. In defense of this new philosophy, it has been said: "After all, can anyone deny that couples with children are more valuable citizens than childless couples or unmar-

ried adults? Can anyone deny that the people in general profit when the government assumes responsibility for educating and training the children of America? In logic, if the children are to become soldiers to defend the people in general, shouldn't the people in general be forced to help pay for raising them up to draft age?"

Maybe the representatives in Congress who are advocating bigger tax exemptions or bigger baby bonuses are merely facing reality. Since the Russians have more soldiers than we have, maybe we've got to outproduce them in babies as well as in bombs. If so, we've got to outbid them with bigger baby bonuses. In a society where persons are looked upon as units or numbers—as property upon which the state has a prior lien—babies become like any other commodity on the market: If there is a shortage of babies, government's price in the form of an increased tax deduction or bonus must be raised.

More Bonuses

If our government needs more babies to be reared and trained as replacements for the young men used up in its far-flung foreign operations, it necessarily must offer bonuses in the form of more government housing for young couples with children, more government medical care for large families, more government education for children, more direct aid and supervision for dependent children, and, especially, bigger baby bonuses to the mothers who produce the needed numbers. Maybe a "production medal" should also be thrown in for extra high producers! That would insure considerable publicity to both the project and the participants. At any rate, if the government doesn't bid high enough for what it wants—if the responsibility for the welfare of their children is returned to the parents—the Russians will probably continue to outproduce us in the baby race.

If our government were to reduce or stop its bounties for babies, we soon might not have enough young men to defend the United States and, at the same time, to fight in Korea and Indo-China and the other sixty-odd nations around the world where our drafted troops are stationed. If we are determined to police the world, we've got to have more policemen. That means we've got to have more babies to be reared, trained, and conscripted into our world police force. And one way to guarantee an adequate supply of future conscripts would appear to be to increase the government's current bonus for babies. Just as it worked for Hitler and Mussolini, so also would it work for us.

The Communists may have invented the jet plane, the ash tray, the bathtub, and chewing gum. But one thing is certain: They didn't invent the baby bonus. That's our very own. So let's use the Voice of America and the platform of the U.N. to tell the Communists to stop trying to steal our thunder.

A Dilemma of Conservatives

By WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

The issue of what to do about the Soviet Union has divided American conservatives into two camps—those who believe in a modus vivendi, and the “liberationists.”

America's beleaguered conservatives have kept so busy surviving that they have paid scant attention to an enormous fissure in their ranks. To date, rather than fight their way out of the dilemma, they have simply ignored it; thus when the time comes (as it so frequently does these days), to make common cause via manifestoes and resolutions, they lean on murky and generalized language: anything to avoid a direct—and therefore divisive—answer to the question: What are we going to do about the Soviet Union?

All conservatives are anti-Marxists—by definition. In consequence, American conservatives spontaneously unite against communism, here and abroad. They support movements calculated to uproot, expose and incapacitate American Communists and fellow-travelers; further, they recognize that the home base of imperialistic communism is the Soviet Union, and that we must “arm” against the eventuality of a direct attack upon our sovereignty by Russia and her satellites.

At this point, however, Conservative A will say vastly different things from Conservative B. The “containment” conservatives believe that while it is certainly true that the Soviet Union aspires to rule the world, it cannot possibly do so, given elementary vigilance on our part. They frequently recall what happened when the Greeks, the Romans, the Turks and the Nazis spread their power too thin. It is axiomatic, they sometimes seem to be saying, that one nation cannot rule the world by force. So long as we will to survive, we shall survive. By maintaining an adequate military machine, conceived as retaliatory in nature, the United States can withstand and repel any direct onslaught.

And even apart from the pull of history, which teaches us that there are political laws that delimit the area that any single power can subjugate and patrol, the inexorable laws of economics are on our side, they continue. In the long term, the State that is not organized around the free market place cannot successfully compete with the society that is. Our gravest danger, these men say, is that by engaging in wars, by overdoing national defense, by appropriating billions for our summer allies, by debasing our currency through deficit finance and internal socialism, by surrendering our sovereignty, piecemeal, to world organizations, we are

debilitating ourselves internally, and may do so to the point where we shall have dissipated our natural advantages over the police state. When this happens, we shall have lost both the will and the strength to survive. We shall then either succumb to the Soviet Union by default, or else we shall totalitarianize ourselves to a point where life in the United States would be undistinguishable from life in the Soviet Union, save possibly for an enduring folkway or two.

“It may make a difference to me whether we are ruled by Russian dictators or American dictators,” a prominent editor recently told me, “but what difference would it make to my grandchildren?” These are the solemn thoughts that run through the minds of the modus-vivendi conservatives.

The Interventionist's View

To which the liberation or interventionist conservatives answer substantially as follows:

Forget the plight of the enslaved peoples who are spending out their tortured lives under the Soviet yoke. And forget what a policy of containment implies in terms of the conscience of the West. Let us discuss our position *only* in terms of what will conduce to the well-being of the United States. It is the survival of the United States that is at stake.

The liberationist then goes on to insist that his brethren have dangerously underestimated a) the physical strength of the Soviet Union, b) the dedication, the cunning and the resourcefulness of her leaders, c) the allure of communism for millions of people, and d) the durability of the socialist police state.

There is no need, here, to spell out the morbid arguments advanced by these men. They are familiar to everyone. We are reminded of the dazzling military and diplomatic successes of the Communists, and of the long strides the Soviet Union is making toward technological equality, if not—at least in the field of arms—pre-eminence. They conclude, therefore, that militarily, the Soviet Union poses a direct physical threat to the United States.

If so, can we come to terms? Is a modus vivendi possible? An answer to this question must be based primarily on a study of the assumptions of the

Soviet Union and those of the United States. Such a study, the liberationists insist, indicates not, as we sometimes hear, that we are headed toward a climax, but that we are *in* a period of climax which will end in decisive victory for us or for the Communists. The events of the past generation have polarized the entire world to the point where there is no third power that can preside over a *modus vivendi*. All political happenings, everywhere in the world, bear on our power struggle with the Soviet Union. One side cannot get weaker except that the other will get, relatively, stronger. And neither side, barring capitulation in substantive matters, can adopt any measures that will appreciably abate the tensions inherent in such diametrically opposed views about the nature of man and society.

A representative of this group recently remarked that the historical forces that are wagging the human mind have attained such dominance that even the plenipotentiaries of the day are relatively helpless. If Malenkov were to summon his ministers of state, and announce that he had decided to disband the Cominform, release all political prisoners, and conclude a genuine peace with the free world, he would be either executed or committed to an insane asylum. It is ironic that some of the conclusions to which our toughest anti-Communists are driven lean so heavily on a methodology that animates the communist movement itself: historical determinism.

Militancy and Freedom

As to the effect that a program of militant action, aimed at the destruction of the Soviets, would have on freedom in this country, the liberation conservative has no smooth words to disguise the fact that only the State can direct a war, or execute a foreign policy. To some extent, then, any totalitarian and imperialistic power which grows to the point where it must be reckoned with by free countries, wins at least a partial victory. For to beat the Soviet Union we must, to an extent, imitate the Soviet Union. We must, for example, conscript an army of sorts, and conscription entails the supreme denial of individual freedom. We must tax the people to support that army, and to support the bureaucracy without which, alas, a nation cannot mobilize.

But, they maintain, there is in the long run less danger involved in mobilizing with the view to achieving a certain objective as fast as feasible than in adapting ourselves to a perpetual state of mobilization of the kind we would need to have if we were to aim at an uneasy *modus vivendi*. For if we are to think in terms of a more or less permanent three-million-man armed force, and of 25 or 30 per cent of our income paid over to the government to sustain it, we must think in terms of institutionalizing native despotism. The mere fact

that two generations have grown up and got used to the Sixteenth Amendment itself points to the difficulties in repealing it. Two generations of conscription would almost surely lead to universal and perpetual military training. And two generations of steeply progressive and exhaustive taxation, and of a mammoth bureaucracy, would mean that readjustment to private property and limited government would be nothing short of revolutionary.

It is a pity that yet one more difference will divide the waning conservative movement in the United States. But the issue is there, and ultimately it will separate us.

It Is Up to You

We libertarians are often accused of "talking to ourselves only." There is some justice in the charge. The fact is that we who have an abiding faith in freedom as a means toward the good society are a minority, that we find it most difficult to convey our ideas to those who have not given thought to the subject because of a mental block created by the literature they read. We "talk to ourselves" because we find it difficult to penetrate the collectivistic smog set up by the "leftist" publications.

I have on my desk a dozen journals which are avowedly of that character. I am not speaking of presumably "conservative" publications which in one way or another are promoting the Big Government idea, or are insinuating the notion that the road to happiness is paved with political interventions. There are hundreds of these. What I am talking about are the journals plugging openly and unashamedly for various phases of socialism, from Fabianism to communism.

As nearly as I can ascertain these publications have combined a readership of about 300,000. How did they achieve that result? By the simple and effective method of reader-cooperation. Every subscriber adopts his journal as his very own and makes the distribution of it a personal project. Either he subscribes for the "prospect," or solicits his subscription, or has him sampled. In that way the circle of influence of the publication is widened.

I am sure that if the readers of the FREEMAN will go and do likewise, they will find that its story of the free economy and limited government will be avidly received. There are more of "us" than we think. It is our job to find the lovers of freedom, to acquaint them with the fact that they are not alone in the world.

While in the nature of things we shall always be "talking to ourselves," the FREEMAN can help us to swell ourselves into a much bigger and more influential minority. It is up to you as well as me.

LEONARD E. READ, Publisher

From Amsterdam to Evanston

By EDMUND A. OPITZ

A program tinged with socialism may be charted for American churchgoers by the World Council of Churches this month.

During the last two weeks of August the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches will be held at Evanston, Illinois. It will be attended by six hundred delegates, representing one hundred and sixty branches of the Christian Church, and an equal number of accredited visitors; also youth delegates, consultants, observers and four hundred members of the fourth estate, assuring the Assembly a press coverage comparable to that of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth.

What is it all about? The announced theme of the meeting is "Christ—the Hope of the World." The subsidiary topics will be: 1. Faith and Order; 2. Evangelism; 3. Social Questions; 4. International Affairs; 5. Inter-Group Relations; 6. The Laity.

Topic number three, Social Questions, is generally recognized as the principal adhesive of the assemblage, the primary motivation of the World Council of Churches. Thus, the common ground for the commendable objective of uniting church organizations is not to be sought in the field of theology, but in the troubled area of sociology, with its political overtones.

The movement to find a politico-socio-economic purpose on which Christian churches could unite began in Amsterdam in 1948. (Several international conferences were held earlier, but it was at Amsterdam that the First Assembly of the World Council of Churches met.) It was decided at Amsterdam to hold assemblies every five years; the Evanston plenary session is therefore one year late.

The Amsterdam meeting attracted a lot of attention because out of it came something that the rank and file of church membership could dig their teeth into; a program for social action. It can be taken for granted that the thinking of that meeting will provide the springboard for the discussions at Evanston.

The Amsterdam report on "The Church and the Disorder of Society" went on record as follows: "The Christian churches should reject the ideologies of both communism and laissez-faire capitalism, and should seek to draw men away from the false assumption that these are the only alternatives." This was something the churchgoer could understand, something he could react to; and he did.

Professor John C. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary in New York, one of the authors of the statement, sought to explain at a press conference what was meant by a middle way between laissez-

faire capitalism and present-day communism. He compared the middle way which the Church should embrace with the regime being worked out in 1948 by the Labor Party in Great Britain. But he also warned that the demands of the gospel could not be fully equated with any economic system because "Christianity does not have in itself a system of economics or politics."

A New Label

A phrase emerged as a label for the middle way: the Responsible Society. In a Responsible Society, "those who exercise political authority or economic power are responsible for its exercise to God and the people whose welfare is affected by it." Few would quarrel with the intent expressed in these words, but people may well differ as to how personal responsibility toward God and man is practiced. And indeed one is impelled to differ from the social thought of the men in the ecumenical movement who advocate a Responsible Society. One must protest their efforts which have the effect of saddling the Christian faith with a current pattern of social and political action because on its own level, and apart from the efforts to prop it up with the Church, it is seriously defective.

The pilgrimage of the ecclesiastical mind took it through its Christian Socialist period, then through its Socialist Christian phase. It emerged confessing the error in its past efforts to identify Christianity with a particular social system, and vowing never to do it again. At any rate, not until it was expedient to do it again! Now, although certain churchmen declare with emphasis again and again that the Church must not identify itself with any social or political system, the Responsible Society seems to be the exception. At Evanston it will be given the Church's imprimatur—if certain theologians get their way.

The Responsible Society concept is studiously vague. It avoids commitment to the "extremes of a consistent collectivism" or a full-blown socialism, but nevertheless it has distinctive features which, when the mask drops, follow the familiar lines of the Welfare State.

According to the preliminary material issued on behalf of Evanston, the Responsible Society—which is supposed to be the Church's remedy for social ills—will "include the right to subsistence, to

health, security, housing and to employment." In order that our modern technical societies may function there must "inevitably be a large degree of planning," i.e., the planning of other people's lives by those who exercise political power. The Responsible Society is akin to what in America "is sometimes called 'welfare capitalism' which has closer similarities to the economic developments in Britain than is usually realized on either side of the Atlantic. . . . No major political group would now dare to advocate the repeal of the major New Deal social legislation," and a church wishing to be politically effective must mobilize majorities in the way they are going. In short, the Responsible Society, in its political and economic aspects, is what is otherwise labeled the New or Fair Deal, the mixed economy, the Welfare State, or the middle-of-the-road policy.

This is the kind of a society to which the social thinkers of the ecumenical movement are committed, and they have every right to follow their convictions in this matter—the same convictions which have led them a merry chase during the past couple of decades. But they are utterly misguided in their zealous efforts to shape the Church into a sounding board for their views, all the while protesting that because their program of political interventionism follows no carefully thought-out pattern, but instead plays it by ear, they are not hitching a social system in the Church.

This is no recent effort, the endeavor to put the weight of the Church behind some variety of collectivism. The Christian Socialist movement began more than a century ago in England, and the Social Gospel movement rose in this country during the latter half of last century. Both movements attracted able and high-minded men, however mistaken one may think they were. But they were right about one thing; that if you are going to engage in political action you must command or appear to command votes. They wanted to talk to legislators, and to do this they had to speak the language politicians understand. Out of this need on the part of social gospelers to present what seemed to be a united front, came the movements for church unity, and the founding of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and the various local councils.

In support of this contention one may quote from an authoritative source, *The Quest for Christian Unity* by Robert Bilheimer, Executive Secretary for the forthcoming Evanston Assembly. He writes that the movements directed toward a Church able to speak with one socialized voice stemmed from

. . . a concern which in fact did not stir the mass of church membership greatly, but chiefly the leadership of the churches. Local councils and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America alike had their origin mainly in the response of church leadership to the evils of industrial society. The first of the city councils of churches were organized prin-

cipally to combat in a united way the problem created by industrialism . . . [the] main impetus came from those who were principally concerned with the moral life of the nation and the impact of the churches on the social order From its establishment in 1908 until its merger in 1950 into the National Council of Churches, The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America . . . maintained a strong insistence upon the need for bringing the Christian conscience to bear upon the problem of social injustice. It was a rallying point for all concerned with the social gospel.

Further support for the view that the moving spirits in the various councils of churches were apostles of social change comes from C. H. Hopkins, historian of the social gospel. He writes, "The influence of the social gospel upon movements toward the unity of the churches was an important aspect of the rise of social Christianity. . . . The federative movements that came into being around the turn of the century were based on social-active impulses rather than creedal or doctrinal agreement."

Apostles of Social Change

So, one need not be surprised at the kind of social thought that by and large characterizes the pronouncements of church councils from local to world level. The councils were organized by men with a strong collectivist bent for the express purpose of making social Christianity effective, and that is what their successors are trying to do. Unless something unforeseen happens, Evanston will put itself on record even more explicitly than did Amsterdam on capitalism and communism and the Responsible Society.

The Church has been periodically led into the error—to the great detriment of spiritual religion—of joining its fortunes to a particular political structure, or to a definite world view, or to a specific scientific theory. But just when the Church gets itself comfortably adjusted, new facts pour in and an upgrading of man's understanding occurs. Then the Church is temporarily pushed off into one of life's backwaters. Fortunately, Christianity has a vitality beyond its instrument, the Church of any given age; it survives.

The late Dean Inge summed up the matter with his characteristic wit. In answer to the argument that the Church must be up-to-date and go along with the times he answered, "If the Church marries the spirit of this age, she will be a widow in the next."

If such a marriage takes place at Evanston it will occur without benefit of the vast majority of American clergymen, who are, if opinion polls may be trusted, overwhelmingly opposed to their articulate leadership on social questions. This large sector of the clergy will not be heard at Evanston, but they may be heard any Sunday in all parts of the country.

What College—If Any?

By F. A. HARPER

Two million students will soon pack their trunks and be off to college. The yearly cost of this gigantic enterprise of "higher education" is some four billion dollars—enough to deserve careful attention by those who will pay the bills.

As parents, we have little direct control over its spending. Each college board picks its president, the president picks the faculty, the faculty members pick the texts, and so on. Parents may send up wails of complaint about this or that, but whether these effusions from afar are heeded or not depends on the wishes of those holding the reins of official control.

Indirectly, however, the consumers of higher education have a form of vote which speaks more forcefully, even if less loudly, than these wails of complaint. Each casts a vote for the college of his choice—two million votes to be cast this year for certain colleges, and untold millions of votes to be cast against the other colleges. In the final analysis these preferences will rule the empire of learning. Lack of a favorable vote can close a college, just as lack of consumer acceptance can close an automobile factory.

This sort of voting is done quietly in the living rooms of the land. Yet the power of this vote in the peaceful market of free choice has been all but forgotten amid the tumult and shouting of this era of reliance on political processes. In politics, the vote of the person among a minority carries no direct power in the decision; and furthermore, every excess vote within the majority is superfluous. It is different in the nonpolitical free market where each vote—even a minority vote—carries a direct power equal to that of any other, actually and effectively. Just as each consumer's vote against a certain make of car moves the manufacturer one step closer to no business at all, so does an adverse vote against any college tend to close its doors. So Junior becomes a very important person when he picks his college. Although he has no direct power to say how any certain college will be operated, he has a real voice in whether it shall operate at all.

You too have been, or soon will be, pressed by the problem posed by Dr. Harper—at what college will Junior be exposed to the philosophy of freedom? (You yourself might be the Junior so troubled.) Perhaps you have made inquiries, have found the college all libertarians are looking for, or at least one at which there are some professors who are familiar with and do justice to "our side." If so, tell the FREEMAN, so that we may pass on your discovery to other libertarians. . . . Most pertinent would be answers from presidents and professors to the question: "Which college educates toward freedom—and how?"

Perhaps Junior will decide to vote against them all, and not go to college. Such a decision might be wise for him, even in a nation where no respectable young person is supposed to be caught with his diploma down; where sheepskins are worshipped per se. Not everyone should go to college, any more than everyone should try to be a concert violinist or a major league ball player. And Junior may be one of those who should not.

A leading college president recently had the wisdom and courage to assert publicly that education profits by exclusion. I'm sure he would say the same thing about baseball or opera or any of the other highly selective fields of endeavor. With wide differences in the types of abilities of young people, why should \$5,000 to \$10,000 be invested in something the person is not duly fitted to do? This sizeable sum of money and years of his valuable time would be better invested in something for which he is suited.

But let's suppose that Junior gives promise of making a college education a good investment. Then, which college?

Who Shall Choose?

I would argue that the choice should be Junior's, not his parents'. After all, it's Junior's future that is at stake. He is the one who will have to endure the consequences of the decision, not his parents. It would be unfortunate for him to make a mistake, but it would be even worse for his parents or anyone else to make a mistake for him and impose it upon him against his will.

It will be argued that if the parents pay the bills they should choose the college, on the theory that he who pays the fiddler should call the tunes. But it is possible to saw one of the horns off this dilemma. It can be done by letting Junior pay for his own college education.

At the age when he would start college, Junior is old enough to earn his own living; and he is as physically fit to do so as he will ever be. Why not then conclude that what he does with his time and

money should be a matter of his own decision, on his own responsibility?

He probably lacks the necessary \$5,000 to \$10,000. And it may seem ill-advised to postpone a college education until he has saved that amount. But if his parents consider his honor and credit to be good, they can loan him the money. If not, what purpose might a college education serve, anyhow? The first rule of true learning is that it must be wanted if it is to be acquired. Children sent to a reform school, for instance, are not avid learners.

A college student who is paying his own way is likely to have figured out the cost to him of every hour spent in the classroom, and will be most anxious to help make it worth the cost. He will appraise it with as critical an eye as the bicycle he is thinking of buying with his own money. In that spirit, learning will be at its best for the teacher as well as for the student.

A parent who follows this plan of letting Junior pay his own way to college may be accused of being a Scrooge or a Shylock. The accuser can be reminded of the eventual rights of inheritance, and observe that at the later date Junior may be even better able to endure the dangers of an outright gift and use it wisely. At least we must face the fact that if freedom is to be instilled in the minds of youth, it is imperative that they shall be trained in self-reliance at as early an age as possible. And one way to instill in them the idea that the world does not owe them a living is to begin as early as possible to have them practice managing their own affairs and paying their own way from their own money. Certainly they should begin to do this before they attain the age of majority and have already graduated from college.

Parental Advice

Leaving the choice of a college to Junior does not preclude parental advice. The acceptability of advice will be in proportion to the respect already established for its source. And in the voluntary society which we as libertarians espouse, how much further should we go in this matter of selecting Junior's college than to give him facts important in the choice, and help in weighing them?

Above all, we would want our child to choose a college where learning in every field is in harmony with a philosophy of freedom that is founded on moral precepts. It would be a college where individual rights are upheld above any government-granted rights; where voluntary action is upheld and allowed to operate at a maximum; where willing cooperation with any other person or persons is considered proper, so long as it does not infringe on the individual rights of others.

It would be a college where all the compartments of learning respect the existence of an ordered universe as evidenced by natural laws

which no mortal man can alter, and where evidence as to the nature of these laws becomes the major object of study, in the light of present knowledge about them. Whether the study is directed at mathematics or geology or history, these views would serve as the foundation from which facts would be viewed and conclusions weighed. In the spirit of philosophy that is the essence of science, all authoritarianism by fellow-men, in either learning or social matters, would be renounced in favor of the wisdom and conscience of oneself, while within his own proper sphere of rights.

In this environment, as one gained in knowledge he would come to realize the vast extent of the unknown. A libertarian is always wisely humble; an authoritarian lacks humility, and always presumes wisdom and knowledge beyond the small amount he possesses.

The teachers in such a college would have this type of mind, and would for that reason be able to stimulate an unlimited curiosity in their students who would come to think and act in the libertarian tradition.

Risks in Learning

In this college there would be no indoctrination by rote of the words of the freedom philosophy. Views contrary to those of freedom would somehow be exposed, on the theory that no student intelligently believes anything until he knows precisely what it is that he does not believe—and why. The intelligent student of freedom will also know well the concepts of socialism-communism. He will know how these concepts have become embodied in biology and economics and all the other compartments of learning, and he will be able to recognize them anywhere when they appear.

Exposure to the ideas of socialism-communism is, therefore, a risk every intelligent libertarian must take. If I have not yet prepared my child to take that risk safely, it merely means that I have not yet prepared him for the process of learning about which we are concerned. If Junior is not prepared for that, he is not yet prepared for college.

It is possible, of course, to raise a child in a sterile intellectual atmosphere. His diet could be restricted to the words of the freedom philosophy so exclusively that his environment is kept completely pure, without any exposure to the ideological germs of socialism. But that will not have made him immune to the disease, any more than the raising of animals in a germ-free environment at the Lobund Institute of Notre Dame University makes them immune from diseases. It keeps them from suffering the disease so long as they are kept in that germ-free environment. But if they are to continue free from disease, they must be kept imprisoned in that environment forever. For once outside, they are in far greater danger from

the diseases than are their brothers who have been exposed all along to germs in a normal atmosphere, and have built up a "natural immunity."

Education is like that. The educated libertarian is not one who has been protected to the point of no exposure to illiberal ideas; he is one who, through reasonable exposure, has acquired intelligent immunity to them and is ready to face the real world which is full of those ideological germs.

As with most other things in life, one can search for the ideal college and never find it. In the eyes of any college president, not even his own is ideal, though he is constantly working toward that goal. The problem is one of finding the best we can.

The best to be hoped for is a college where there are a number of teachers who effectively train students in the way you want them trained. Perhaps only one such teacher is enough. Truth is so powerful against untruth that we need see it only once and it will hold against repeated attacks.

If Junior can have access to one or more such excellent teachers after having been prepared for this excursion into real life, he will come out all right. He will come out a healthy libertarian, possessed of an acquired immunity toward socialism that is strong because it has been soundly reasoned out in his own mind.

In reaching toward the ideal, helpful evidence can be assembled for Junior. Aside from having had personal experience with faculty members—usually lacking, except for a few—the next best thing is to follow the Packard Car ads of years gone by: "Ask the man who owns one." In other words, we can ask those who have attended various colleges recently. But information can never rise above its source, and there is no use asking anyone who does not know well the philosophy of freedom about which we are concerned.

One can inquire directly from the colleges. I once wrote to a number of college presidents and asked: "What person or persons on your staff, in any fields of work, do you consider to be learned and effective exponents—in the classroom or outside—of (historical) liberalism, in the tradition of the concepts of Frederic Bastiat, Adam Smith, Lord Acton, John Locke, James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill (his *On Liberty*), etc.?"

The responses were most interesting. The thing

which most impressed me was that questioning was welcomed. The presidents of what seem to be the better colleges were happy to have parents concerned about this matter, and welcomed the chance to tell what they had to offer to any parent honestly interested.

Their answers were, of course, limited by their own knowledge of the subject, as well as by their willingness to give a forthright answer. In other words, it soon became evident that it was a test of presidents as well as of their faculties. As between two colleges of high renown, for instance, one president replied that he was embarrassed to have to report how few on his faculty could meet this high standard; the other said that "most" of his faculty in the social sciences and the humanities would meet it. Further investigation revealed that the former college was by far the stronger of the two in the effective teaching of traditional liberalism. The difference between the two presidents was itself a useful bit of information for the purpose of selecting a college.

Having assembled a list of professors in the various colleges who were claimed to be effective teachers in this respect, I was then able to check them further. In one instance, a college president had listed professors who did not measure up well by this standard of test on further investigation, and at the same time he failed to mention some on his faculty who would measure up well. Such highly significant evidence about various colleges was subsequently uncovered. It suggests how the method of obtaining information may be used to go as deeply as one wants.

This is not the only way to assemble facts of help to Junior in selecting his college, but it is one way to go about it. This much seems sure: There are few colleges or universities in America which would today rank high by the standards a libertarian would apply. And further, the liberal traditions on which this nation was founded are now so little understood that each person will have to largely do his own research, laboriously and carefully. Having assembled what facts he can find, Junior is better able to arrive at his own conclusion.

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Names Wanted

Because you read the **FREEMAN**, you know people who ought to read it. Please send in the names of these kindred spirits, so that we can introduce them to the publication by way of sample copies.

The FREEMAN, Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y.

No Peace in Appeasement

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

In the face of our allies' current efforts to offer concessions to Red China, some hard-learned lessons of history should be brought to mind.

If there is one principle of international affairs that should now be established beyond any possibility of doubt it is the futility of appeasement as a means of dealing with a totalitarian power driven on by unlimited ambition. Such a power will never be satisfied with concessions, however extensive. Its appetite grows with eating.

One does not have to look very far for illustrations of this point. The sweeping concessions at the expense of Czechoslovakia which Hitler obtained at Munich did not abate the Nazi dictator's lust for conquest. These concessions only placed him in a stronger position by giving him possession of the considerable arms production resources of Czechoslovakia. And within a year of the meeting at Munich which Neville Chamberlain believed would bring "peace in our time," Great Britain was at war.

To be sure, it remains an unanswered historical question whether Great Britain and France, after having lost their power to defend eastern Europe, would not have been wiser to give up that area as lost and place their cards on diverting Hitler's urge for expansion eastward, against the Soviet Union. Certainly the building up of Stalin's empire as a successor to Hitler's has not led to happy results. But what was quite fatuous and unrealistic was to expect that Hitler, after Munich, would settle down to an existence of peace and good will. Given his record, his mentality and philosophy, he was predestined to go on with expansion until he was checkmated by the application of equal or superior force.

And when the memory of Munich was, or should have been, still fresh in their minds, Roosevelt and Churchill proceeded to repeat the Munich method at their conference with Stalin in Yalta in February 1945. It was the same dreary story of trying to buy peace by appeasement, and failing.

Appeasement may be defined as one-sided political retreat and sacrificing the interests of weaker allies under the pressure or use of force. By this definition Yalta, hailed by left-wingers on both sides of the Atlantic as the birth of a brave new world, was a second and less excusable Munich.

The insidious appeal of appeasement is that any sacrifice of territory, of honor, of good faith can be plausibly represented as preferable to war.

The fallacy of this appeal is that appeasement never averts war. It only increases the probability of war under less favorable circumstances, moral and material.

If perpetual peace could have been assured by giving Hitler the Sudeten area of Czechoslovakia or by giving Stalin the eastern provinces of Poland, the sacrifice might seem justified on the principle of preferring the lesser to the greater evil. But the sequel to Munich was World War Two. The sequel to Yalta was the cold war. And the cold war is more likely to lead to the horror of an all-out World War Three in precise proportion as the Soviet empire becomes stronger and richer in manpower, in natural resources, and in territory.

A firm stand by America and Great Britain for the rights of Poland and China and the principles of the Atlantic Charter at Yalta, together with a realistic attitude toward building up defeated Germany and Japan as auxiliary allies against the Soviet colossus, would have kept the Soviet Union within its boundaries of 1939. In that case we should have far less cause for apprehension today. Instead, Stalin was permitted to extend his empire far beyond any frontier that could plausibly be claimed for Russia on nationality grounds; Warsaw and Prague, Budapest and Bucharest, Leipzig and Stettin have become Soviet cities in all but name.

Why China Was Lost

Appeasement did not work in China, either. A much smaller military effort than the one which the United States actually made in Korea would have sufficed, in all probability, to tip the scales of the Chinese civil war in favor of Chiang Kai-shek and against the Chinese Reds. But the effort was not made. The counsels of Owen Latimore were preferred during the critical years of 1946-49.

Because China was lost to the Communist enemy, Korea became the scene of a costly and frustrating war. And in Korea a course of semi-appeasement, of avoiding victory, was followed. General MacArthur's proposals for bombing enemy bases in Manchuria and using Chiang Kai-shek's army in Formosa on the Chinese mainland were

rejected. The consequences were soon apparent. The Chinese Reds, flushed with the success of their intervention in Korea, stepped up sharply their aid to the Communist Vietminh forces in Indo-China. Again, and probably not for the last time, there was reason to reflect on the truth of MacArthur's well-known saying: "There is no substitute for victory."

It might have been imagined that, after the quick successive experiences with Hitler, Stalin and Stalin's heirs, appeasement would have been finally discredited. But nothing of the kind has happened.

Allied Disunity

The strongest Communist weapon at the present time is not any military weapon, atomic or conventional. It is the pitiful spectacle of disunity and cross-purposes in the non-Communist world. All experience shows that the surest means of preserving peace against the threat of the burgeoning Communist empire is the organization of strong coalitions for united action against aggression.

But petty and parochial issues like the Saar and Trieste have served as excuses for the French and Italians to put off indefinitely the ratification of the treaty which would establish a European Army, with a German contingent that is badly needed for political as well as military reasons. Many of the French people have their eyes fixed so obstinately on an obsolete danger from Germany that they refuse to see the real, present and growing danger from the Soviet Union, aggravated by a large internal fifth column represented by the French Communist Party.

The Italians and Yugoslavs worked themselves into such a nationalist hysteria over the Trieste issue that their ability to cooperate against the Soviet threat seems doubtful. There are unsettled quarrels between Great Britain and Egypt, between Israel and the Arab states. All this is grist for the Communist diplomatic mill.

Even the voice of Sir Winston Churchill, once the prophet of uncompromising resistance to Communist, as well as Nazi expansion, has sounded lately like a very uncertain trumpet. He has been advocating top-level talks, with no preliminary conditions, between the leading statesmen of the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain. This is the formula of Teheran, of Yalta, of Potsdam.

In 1949 Churchill defined the basic issue of the cold war with unsurpassed clarity. He called on the Soviet leaders to "release their grip upon the satellite states of Europe," to "retire to their own country," to "cease oppressing, exploiting and tormenting the immense part of Germany and Austria which is now in their hands," to "throw open their vast regions on equal terms

to the ordinary travel and traffic of mankind."

Soviet power and the Soviet threat to the non-Communist world have not diminished during the last five years. Not a single one of the conditions for agreement which Winston Churchill laid down in 1949 has been fulfilled. But today the aged British statesman only voices appeals for more negotiations.

One of the pathetic fallacies of those who, unconsciously in many cases, lend an ear to the siren voice of appeasement is the belief that there is some merit in talk for talk's sake, that a gathering around the conference table with spokesmen for the Soviet Union and Red China is always to be welcomed. Now all experience shows (and the Geneva conference has furnished conclusive proof) that it is far better not to negotiate at all than to try to negotiate from weakness.

Those who would like to see a softer policy toward Moscow sometimes attack American foreign policy as "too rigid." No one would dispute the general proposition that a settlement around the conference table is preferable to a settlement on the battlefield. But flexibility is a two-way street. If Molotov runs true to form by being adamant on every important issue, and we become "flexible," it is easy to anticipate that the Soviet grand design of world conquest through a combination of armed force, internal subversion and diplomatic cunning will move steadily forward.

Appeals for appeasement are sometimes backed up with the inaccurate banality that communism is an idea, and you can't stop an idea by force. If communism were just an idea, we could well afford to meet it in the market place of ideas. Unfortunately, it is the armed doctrine of an enormous and swelling empire which simultaneously builds up huge armaments and gives subversive assignments to a host of fifth columnists and secret agents. To suggest that such methods have anything to do with the peaceful impact of an abstract idea is to be naive, if not downright absurd.

In George Orwell's fictional totalitarian state of 1984 the slogans were "War Is Peace. Freedom Is Slavery. Ignorance Is Strength." The illusion of peace that comes from appeasement is just as phony as these slogans. There is no peace in appeasement, as there is no security in retreat and no safety in cowardice.

Waspish Comment

No doubt you will heave a sigh of relief to know that at long last the U.S. Government has seen fit to allocate the necessary funds to print a 54-page booklet on growing peanuts; a 56-page opus on diseases of the pecan and their control; and a completely authoritative report on wasps, how to control them. Oh, economy, where is thy blessed sting?

The "Liberals" of Smith

By ALOISE HEATH

A barrage of insults from their fellow-alumnae greeted a committee who dared to suggest that Smith College graduates might inquire into why their Alma Mater is employing pink professors.

"Dear fellow-alumna," we began our letter. "All of us, of course, realize that a contribution to a cause or an institution implies, on the part of the contributor, not merely a gesture of loyalty, but an active assumption of moral responsibility for that cause or institution."

A self-proving proposition, we of the drafting committee thought. No one with the openness of mind that a diploma from Smith College presumes could find fault with that. Events proved that we were mistaken.

But, before I go on with the letter and the consequences, I should acquaint the reader with the origin of it. Some of us, graduates of Smith, had observed with distaste the reputation our college had gained for a syrupy attitude toward the pinker shades of academic orthodoxy. For years, individual alumnae who had ventured to register protests with the college authorities had been either soothed or snubbed. We decided to be unsoothable and unsnubbable; we formed a committee of action. We would write to the alumnae, telling them what we knew; the rest we would leave to their intelligence and political maturity.

Certain members of the Smith faculty, we explained in our letter, naming five, "have been or are presently associated with many organizations cited as Communist or Communist-front by the Attorney General of the United States and the Committee on Un-American Activities. Even with full knowledge of the political associations of the above-mentioned professors," we continued, "some of us will choose to contribute to Smith College the money which helps make their employment possible. We suggest, however, that any alumna who cannot conscientiously, and with complete awareness of its implications, follow this course, withhold her donation until the Smith administration explains its educational policy to her personal satisfaction."

We called ourselves the Committee for Discrimination in Giving. I was appointed secretary because, since I was mother of the most children and member of the fewest clubs, I was, in a sense, both house-bound and duty-free. For weeks after our meeting, I typed addresses by day and checked membership lists of dubious organizations by night. On February 23 of this year, 3,200 letters—the number our committee's joint \$116 would pay for—

were piled into the laundry basket, and my Cub Scout Den and I lugged them downtown to mail.

On February 25, I spent almost thirteen hours at the telephone. The bell began to ring at 6:45 in the morning; it went off duty at 1:15 the following morning. "How *dare* you send me such a terrible letter?" voices shrilled in my ear. "Keep your lying accusations to yourself!" "To think that a Smith girl would tear down her own college," other ladies quavered, "you sound like Vassar!" "If Smith College doesn't sue you, I will," a large number of my fellow-graduates announced cholericly.

The Furious and the "Reasonable"

These conversations represented, I found as the day wore on, only one stereotype of liberal arts alumna (and probably alumnus). The other was calmer, colder, and sweetly reasonable. The sweetly reasonable spoke of "exposure to all points of view," of the "stimulation of young minds," of "intellectual honesty" and of "academic freedom." It took me an average of forty minutes to get the sweetly reasonable off the telephone.

Those who accused us of "lying accusations" I urged to write either Smith College or their Congressmen for verification of our information. This suggestion was unanimously, and in most cases furiously, rejected on the grounds that it would constitute disloyalty to the Alma Mater. To the "divergent points of view" school, I answered that we felt some alumnae would prefer these points of view taught by those who believed in only one—that of traditional American constitutional democracy. But this, thought the voices at the other end of the wire, would be "insincere."

The next few days were a whirl of telegrams, telephone calls and letters. The suggestion of our committee that, in contributing to Smith College, each alumna follow the dictates of her own conscience was considered not only highly inflammatory, but deeply subversive. "I had hopefully supposed," wrote one woman, "that to warrant the title of a Smith alumna one must cherish the principles of intellectual freedom, due process and individual integrity, and not stupidly join McCarthy, Jenner and Velde's witch-hunt craze." "To be addressed by you as a fellow-alumna makes me truly ashamed," another graduate informed me.

Still another expressed her surprise "that the College could have given a degree to anyone so lacking in judgment, in discrimination, in the critical faculty." A 1951 graduate earnestly hoped that "even when I have been out of Smith as long as you have, my mind will not have ossified to the point of accepting such fascist propaganda. You carelessly smear the names of several people; are you presenting proof?" she asked. "No," she answered.

There was another recurrent theme. "I am increasing my contribution," "I am doubling my contribution," "I am contributing for the first time," wrote hundreds of alumnae. One young—very young—graduate threw caution to the winds. "If I now had a *million dollars*," she cried, "I would give it *all* to Smith!"

In the meantime, Smith College was waxing richer and more wroth. In the intervals between raking in the windfall, the President of Smith College and the Chairman of the Board of Trustees managed to issue several furlongs of statements—spoken, written and, for all I know, wigwagged. "For your guidance and information," they confided to the Smith Club Presidents, the Trustees, the Counselors, the officers and directors of the Alumnae Association, members of the fourth estate and all others who could be induced to stand still:

. . . this letter was not presented for investigation to the administration or the Trustees of Smith College, who learned of it only after letters were received by some alumnae. The charges were not made known to the persons named nor were they given any opportunity to comment on them. We are informed by the persons named, all of whom have taken the Massachusetts State Teachers Oath pledging support of the Constitution of the United States and of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, that they are not Communists, that they are engaged in no disloyal or subversive activity and that they do not attempt to influence their students in the direction of any political doctrine.

However, the President and the Chairman had judged their audience shrewdly. To Smith Clubs all over the country who had, without investigation and without inquiry, voted unanimous "resolutions of confidence in our college's administration and faculty," the Communist affiliations of individuals whose salaries they helped pay was not a point at issue. The point at issue, to these women, was the sugary sediment of their bright college years.

The President's mention of the Massachusetts State Teachers Oath, if it was meant to take us aback, accomplished its purpose. This oath, which has been mandatory for Massachusetts teachers since 1935, had in no way inhibited members of the Smith faculty from maintaining ties with Communist organizations during the past twenty years. We were even more startled to note that these ties did not seem to preclude, in their eyes, the further statement that they were "engaged in no disloyal or subversive activity." We

had thought that mention of the oath would embarrass the administration of Smith College, but we were wrong.

The statement that "the charges were not made known to the persons named, nor were they given any opportunity to comment on them," cut to the quick our Smith-hockey-team sense of fair play. It was within the outer realms of possibility, we decided, that the previous questions of alumnae, addressed to the college administration, had not been passed on to the faculty members involved. We promptly, therefore, wrote each of the five professors, asking for information about their current and past political affiliations, and offering to circulate this information among the alumnae. Our answer came through the press. The President of Smith had requested that "members of the faculty answer no communications from Mrs. Heath."

Some Puzzling Statements

Another recurring statement was frankly puzzling to our committee. There had been established in February 1953, the administration told simply everybody, a "joint committee representing the trustees and the faculty," who would handle any case which might arise from "charges being made against members of the faculty." This committee, however, according to the college, "had not to date been called upon to assume its responsibilities." What puzzled us was the fact that in our files is a letter from the President of Smith to an alumna who had raised the same questions as did our committee. The letter, which terminates a correspondence of eleven months duration, is dated April 29, 1953—two months after the formation of the college's joint committee—and informs the importunate alumna that "it is the policy of the Board of Trustees . . . to cooperate with the Congressional committees so far as they may, and otherwise await their action."

A mass meeting of the faculty and students of Smith College was addressed by its President on March 3, 1954. "Freedom of speech and academic freedom," the college was told, "are the true sources of our strength . . . We recognize the freedom to search for and speak the truth." The college applauded. "In a free society," they were further instructed, "we not only expect, we depend upon diversity of opinion." His audience knew to whose freedom their President referred and to whose he did not.

The letters kept rolling in—and by now they were able to quote from the daily reports of the liberal newspapers, which made for better spelling but less variety. "Charge of Red Front At Smith Backfires," Philadelphia announced, and "Smith College Alumnae Refuse to Fall for Red Scare" proclaimed the *New York Post*. "Boomerang," cried editorial writers by the score. Smith students, during this period, scattered letters broadside bearing

statements to the effect that the Attorney-General's and the Un-American Activities Committee's lists of subversive organizations were intellectually discredited and notoriously unreliable. We asked ourselves whether these children had arrived at their unusual conclusion before or after their assumption of a course of studies at Smith College. We answered ourselves.

On April 24, 1954, our Alma Mater investigated itself and cleared itself. "The Committee told the Trustees," according to the news release, "that in its opinion 'the fundamental charge is that certain members of the Smith Faculty may be teaching subversive doctrines. The Committee finds that there is absolutely no evidence of any instance of teaching or attempting to indoctrinate subversive, Communist or Communist-front doctrines either inside or outside the classroom.' "

This statement, besides answering a question we had not posed and alleviating fears we had not felt, inspired in us interest, admiration and awe. Had the joint Trustee-Faculty Committee questioned all students enrolled in Art 313a, Art 313b, Art 331a, Art 42, English 321a, English 321b, English 415a, Government 37, Government 43b, History 13, History 320a, History 323a, and History 57a? Or had the committee reached its conclusion by asking the named faculty members whether they were engaged in subversive indoctrination of their students? (We also wondered what Smith's policy is toward faculty members who are or have been affiliated with Communist or Communist-front organizations.)

How Information Was Received

And still the letters poured in. "It has been proved over and over again that membership in a communist organization is meaningless," one woman informed us. "This is still a free country and no Communist and no Fascist can tell us what and where to give," irrefutably stated another. And finally: "In the words of Him who is often called the first Communist, 'let him who is without guilt among you cast the first stone!' " After a hasty examination of our various consciences, we decided to cast the second stone.

Many weeks, many dollars and my sixth child later, we sent a postcard to each of the 28,000 alumnae. "Your nearest Smith College Club president," we informed them, "has received ten copies of a packet of information about certain members of the Smith College faculty. Alumnae who are interested in the educational policy of their college may wish to appraise this information." Our packet consisted of a report to the Alumnae Association of the activities of our committee, plus a dossier of the five professors' political records.

If our "unfounded accusations" had irritated the Smith College alumnae, our offer of documented information roused them to a frenzy. Many of the

college clubs wrote parliamentary-type letters, stating that they refused (invariably by unanimous resolution) to act as agents for the Committee for Discrimination in Giving. Individuals informed us that "alumnae who are interested in the educational policy of their college *do not wish* to appraise the information of your committee." "Because of a serious question of principle involved," two others wrote, "we both consider ourselves capable of appraising your information sight unseen." "I am not interested," stated one of our correspondents with beautiful simplicity, "in anything you have to say about anything."

Suffering from the optimistic delusion that the body of their alumnae would be intellectually curious enough to read our material, the President of Smith College and the Chairman of the Board of Trustees succumbed once more to their statement-compulsion. This time they actually dealt with the point at issue.

Their investigation, they informed presidents of Smith alumnae clubs, "disclosed that the affiliations of all but one faculty member had lapsed or had been terminated some years ago." (Did this mean, we wondered, that these faculty members were no longer pro-Communist; that they repudiated their former affiliations? Had the professors left the committees—or had the committees left the professors? We had no way of knowing. The President had ordered his faculty to "answer no communications from Mrs. Heath.")

The announcement continued, "The statement published in the *Daily Worker* on March 31, 1954, and to which [one faculty member's] name was appended, gave no indication that it was sponsored by a communist or communist-front organization." This last seemed a little more naive than we believe the President and the Chairman to be. The fact that the statement mentioned called for "the abolition of the Attorney General's list of 'subversive organizations,' reinstatement of teachers dismissed in recent inquiries, and amnesty for those in jail on charges of 'conspiracy to teach and advocate their political views'"; the fact that this statement was published only by the *Daily Worker* and that it was co-signed by Howard Fast, Corliss Lamont and Paul Robeson, apparently stirred no doubts among our college administration.

The policy of Smith College toward this problem is, we reluctantly conclude, completely opportunistic. If questions are brought to bear upon them in a reticent way, our authorities will ignore or evade them. If questions are put straightforwardly and publicly, in the manner of the Committee for Discrimination in Giving, they will feel their way from smoke screen to whitewash.

The experience of our committee—and mine, as its most active member—has been, to say the least, educational. The letters continue to pack our mail box. This morning's postcard sets the general tone: "Mrs. Heath: Why don't you go to hell?"

My Friend's Education

By FRANK CHODOROV

A college at which one could get nothing but an education would be a novelty. It would offer no degrees, would not even take attendance records. Who would enroll? Those who want an education.

A friend of mine did what all good friends do; he died. The loss caused the proper amount of grief, of course; but in this case the grief was polluted by an odd petulance. For some unknown reason I felt that he had abused his rights by dying at that time. For his going left me at loose ends. He had "done me wrong."

The friendship had been a highly profitable one for me. He was an intellectual warehouse from which I was always free to lift as much merchandise as I was capable of carrying; and much that I lifted and incorporated into my stock-in-trade was borrowed while we sipped a beer or munched a midnight rarebit. For he was a superb raconteur, always with the parable that exactly fitted the subject at hand, and for his illustrations he could draw on an intimate knowledge of a half dozen literatures, ancient and modern, augmented with much intelligent travel. He had digested a lot of thoroughly non-utilitarian information, covering such fields as mediaeval architecture, manners of the Second Empire, music, the culinary art, the Bible (in the original), lovemaking in the tenth century and the economy of the Minoans, and if you knew how to draw him out (he preferred to listen) an evening with him would prove a bonanza. A companion of that sort is not easy to come by.

Well, the inevitable is the inevitable, and one turns to pleasant memories. And to cogitating. The thought that hung on with tenacity was that all the knowledge and understanding he had stored away in three quarters of a century went down into the grave with his body, and that seemed to be a terrible loss. That "you can't take it with you" is a self-evident fact; but the "it" referred to in the aphorism is the fund of tangible things the average man usually piles up in a lifetime. My friend, however, was outside the average, in that he never gave a hoot for anything that could be listed in a will; he acquired only learning and that he surely took with him. And except for examples of it in the half dozen books he published, the literary style he never tired of perfecting was gone forever. Being something of a utilitarian, I could not help asking, why put in all that time and effort at pursuits that produced so little that could be seen and catalogued? It seemed so un-American.

To which he would have answered, I am sure, "Didn't I have fun doing it? And what can a fellow get out of life more valuable than fun?"

And thereby hangs a theory of education which he exemplified. It runs something like this: education is the pursuit of knowledge that pays off in the enjoyment of it; if it does not yield that kind of profit you quit the pursuit, and you keep at it only in proportion to returns. For instance, he once told me that he had got so much fun out of reading the Greek and Latin classics, in his college days, that he later took on Hebrew, and found its literature just as gratifying. On the other hand, if he found a book uninteresting, even one he had been hired to review, he would drop it; one book which had received accolades from eminent literateurs he discarded after the first fifty pages with the remark, "I ain't got education enough for that kind of tripe."

The Test of Educability

According to this theory, some people are educable and some are not, and there is nothing one can do to change this natural arrangement. This does not mean that some people are "better" than others, for in respect to functional ability the non-educable are usually better endowed than the educable, and their contribution to material progress is certainly greater. Then again, the educable are so engrossed in self-betterment that they are of no use in the democratic business of improving others, and as reformers or politicians they are quite inept; in fact, they are a bit on the anti-social side, even though they can be wonderful companions. However, it is idle to pass value judgment on either of these personality groups; each is what it is and cannot be the other. As for determining who is educable and who is not, there is no other test than the purely subjective one of pleasure; the educable get satisfaction from the pursuit of learning, the others find the occupation distasteful.

It is an individualistic theory of education, resting its case on the premise of innate characteristics. My friend, obviously, was an individualist of the first water; he would have no truck with the notion that the individual is what his environment makes him. Environment, including college, can make it difficult for the educable to get an educa-

tion, but it cannot prevent them from getting it. Just as a tree will work its way around impediments to reach the sun, so those bothered by a questing spirit will persist in reaching for "the best that has been said and thought in this world," and will absorb their share of it. On the other hand, those born without the eternal "why" in their souls can live among books all their lives without being touched by learning.

The theory, most assuredly, rejects the democratic notion that all are equally and indefinitely educable. In point of fact, nobody really takes that notion seriously, least of all the hierarchy of professional teachers who pay it lip service.

In what is called "progressive education" the general objective is to produce what is called a social consciousness, with emphasis on both uniformity and conformity; but to reach that objective individual differences must be minimized; thus, it is inferred that all are equally educable only if those of greater intellectual capacity are written off, as if they did not exist.

Courses Grow Easier

Likewise, the democratic notion of education gets a lift in the colleges by the adjustment of courses to fit the lowest common denominator, which gets lower as more and more candidates for the commercially necessary degree are enrolled. It is certainly true that all are equally educable if you equate education with the ability to pull teeth, to use a slide rule, to memorize a legal code or to order a meal in a foreign language; and you prove your case incontestably by fitting examinations to the examinee.

This is not to condemn our educational system; far from it. Given the premise of democracy, no other educational system would do. Certainly if the system were shaped to serve the needs of the educable, education would be making a concession to aristocratic notions, which democracy simply cannot do. The axiom of uniform perfectibility must be adhered to at all costs, even if this involves the redefinition of education. It would hardly be democratic to deny the badge of educability—the degree—to those whose intellectual capacity finds expression in tending cows; therefore, we must have agricultural colleges. And so that there will be no discrimination against the geniuses of the household, a school of domestic science must have the power to grant appropriately engraved parchments.

It is only if you are a stickler for the purity of words that you find fault with our system of education. For instance, my late friend maintained that what goes by the name of education in a democracy is in fact only training. The high schools, with their courses in carpentry and book-keeping, have replaced the discarded apprentice-

ship system, while the law school is simply a glorified clerkship in a legal office. Even in the schools of philosophy, the guiding spirit is utilitarianism rather than speculation; in the popular pragmatic philosophy—if it is a philosophy—the only absolute recognized is "that whatever works is good," which is putting a premium on skill as against learning. However, since everybody above the grade of idiocy can be trained to do something, the democratic dictum that all people are equally educable is proved true by a simple device of semantics.

Not only does the democratic idiom give support to this equation of education with training, but so does another important facet of our mores—economism. From the time of birth, the American learns of the importance of getting on in the world, of acquiring wealth and social position, and it would be inconsistent with this ideal if his schooling did not take it into account. No American father should, in the circumstances, channel his offspring's development along any but utilitarian lines; were he to stress learning for the sake of learning he would be unfaithful to his parental duty. Should his own son or daughter prove educable, he must use his influence to try to overcome the handicap, so that his progeny may not suffer from social disabilities. And, as a citizen and taxpayer, he must bring the conventional point of view to bear upon the established educational facilities.

A Sanctuary for Inquiring Minds

If the intellectually curious find such facilities unsatisfying, they have only themselves, or their misfortune, to blame. They must shift for themselves. Curiously enough, they always do, as a matter of necessity, even if the colleges make the going rough for them; not infrequently, they pass up both the college and the degree in favor of an education. As a consequence, they will probably find it difficult to get a job as an insurance salesman, and about all they can claim for their educational spree is a lot of fun. That is all they ever get from it.

One wonders how many of these rare and unfortunate birds there are around. About the only way one could estimate their number would be by the establishment of a college designed for them, something like a sanctuary set up for almost extinct animal species. The special feature of such a college would be that one could get nothing from it except an education, and no one would think of going there for any other purpose. Not a single utilitarian course would pollute the curriculum. For instance, one might learn how to appreciate Molière and Racine, even though one might have difficulty in reading a French newspaper; economics would be taught as the science of how we make a living, not as a preparation for a job in the

government; as for psychology, the textbooks would be Shakespeare and Tolstoy.

To make sure that none but the educable would enroll, this college would give no degrees or even certificates of attendance; it would not deign to peddle such papers. In fact, no record of attendance would be kept, nor would there be any examinations or other means of judging the educability

of the students. Each student would have to figure that out for himself, if the matter bothered him, by the test of fun.

That, I believe, would be a practical application of the theory of education my late friend propounded and lived. By the way, he was the editor of the original FREEMAN, published between 1920 and 1924, and his name was Albert Jay Nock.

Taxing the Goose that Lays Eggs

By V. ORVAL WATTS

A reduction in taxes can actually increase the total revenue of government, because it acts as a powerful stimulant to production and trade.

Every Congressman who voted for the 900-page tax bill will be extolling its virtues during the coming campaign. Those who voted against it will be denouncing it just as vehemently, and will imply that if their party is elected they will put through a bill replete with good taxes. The fact is, there "ain't no sech animule" as a good tax, despite the arguments of the taxocrats to the contrary.

Every tax that was ever levied was supported by the argument that it was imposed "for our good." So it is now. We are told that when our money is taken from us the purpose is to prevent us from inflicting harm on ourselves by wrong spending. We must be taxed lest we drink too much, smoke too much, save too much. To which harmful examples of bad spending has been added a new one: the evil of spending ourselves into inflation. So they get us coming and going. Besides harming ourselves by consuming too much, we also bid up the prices of what we do consume. How can you beat that argument for handing over our money for others to spend?

Bolstering that logic is the obvious fact that the "business picture" often looks good because we are prevented from spending what others spend for us. To explain this phenomenon, many economists in the business world hold that taxes "merely" transfer purchasing power. It makes no difference, they say, whether Tom, Dick and Harry go into the market to get what they want, or the government buys what it wants with the money that Tom, Dick and Harry did not have a chance to spend. Said one highly esteemed economist recently: "Tax reduction is merely a transfer of purchasing power. The purchasing power restored to the taxpayers is exactly offset by the purchasing power taken from the government spending agencies." This was in support of his view that government tax policies may not be able to ward off depression.

It is certainly true that government cannot

guarantee prosperity. The best it can do is to protect producers from robbery while they create their own prosperity. But if a tax reduction, as the economist says, "merely" transfers purchasing power from the government to the citizens, then a tax increase "merely" transfers it in the other direction, and total business or prosperity remains the same whether taxes are high or low.

How to Stimulate Production

But let us consider this a bit further. A tax is a forced levy on a citizen's earnings. To say that it does not matter whether tax rates are high or low is to say that it does not matter whether producers get little or much of what they earn. If this were true, then a slave would produce as much as a free man, and a communist society would be as productive and prosperous as one that permits the producer to keep his output. Is that true? Or, is it not rather true that the more of his output the producer is permitted to enjoy—to own—the more he is inclined to produce? Is not prosperity in direct proportion to the degree of private property allowed?

The fact is, as any economist should know, that a tax reduction is a most powerful stimulant to production, to trade, and to all of the processes that generate "purchasing power," regardless of how one uses that much abused phrase. One of the chief reasons for the comparative prosperity of the American people, from the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony down to the 1930s, was the low tax rates imposed on them, and the record will show that every important tax reduction in the history of this country had a stimulating effect on business. The reason is obvious: the more a man consumes and saves of his earnings, the more he will produce.

If the 900-page tax bill under which we must suffer for at least the next fiscal year were replaced with one that concerned itself only with reductions, we could be sure that the market place—including the five and ten cent stores—would be enlivened no end. Is that bad? Or suppose the highly discriminatory taxes on profits and on upper-bracket incomes were dropped or even shaved considerably, would not the result be more buildings, factories, machines, goods and jobs? What else would the relieved entrepreneurs do with the windfall of tax reductions? Even if they spent it on ostentatious parties, the economy would be improved.

Tax reductions do not “merely” transfer spending power from the government to those who earned the money in the first place. In the case of the investor, the tax reductions have the effect of stimulating his interest in expected profits. The risk-taker would go after the new opportunities that an enriched people would offer. Not only would the reductions give him more money to invest in enterprise, but his improved credit position plus the incentive of expected profits would stimulate borrowing. In other words, more income after taxes—the only income that counts—would mean more equity capital, which is necessary to underwrite and attract loan capital.

In particular, an increase in equity capital provides a sound (non-inflationary) basis for the expansion of bank credit. This means a corresponding addition to total bank deposits and banknotes, the chief currency of commerce. But an expansion of credit of this sort, based on the increase of productive capital, is very different from credit expansion based on government borrowings. Credit expansion to cover government deficits is inflationary, while expansion based on productive increase is not.

The point is that a tax reduction increases the production of the country, and thus can increase the total revenue of the government. Of course, a corresponding reduction of government spending would be twice as beneficial as the tax reduction alone, and currency inflation to meet government deficits is itself a destructive form of taxation. But some tax rates in this country are now so high that they actually reduce total government revenues and increase government deficits.

Perhaps we can see what the present tax policies of our government are doing to us if we reflect on what, had they been in effect fifty years ago, they would have done to the growth of a business. Let us take the Ford Motor Company as an example.

In order to increase his total capital, as Henry Ford did, from \$28,000 to about one billion in twenty years, he had to reinvest in his business an amount equal to about 68 per cent on his capital, compounded annually during that time. Now, if taxes had cut that rate of growth in half, that is, to 34 per cent, the growth of the

Ford Company would have been cut, not by one half, but by 98 per cent! Instead of a billion-dollar company to tax, the government would then be able to tax one with only \$20,000,000 of productive assets. Then no rate of taxation, not even 100 per cent of either earnings or capital, could have yielded what a 10 per cent rate produces when applied to the company's earnings in the 1920s.

On the other hand, if the government levied no taxes in the first five years on the earnings of such a company, it could get as much by a 50 per cent tax for *one year* as it could have obtained by a 50 per cent tax on its earnings *every year* up to that point. If Ford's profits had gone untaxed for nineteen years, a 10 per cent tax on his earnings in the twentieth year would have yielded as much as a levy of 100 per cent of the total *capital* he could have accumulated under a tax rate of 50 per cent on his earnings during the entire period.

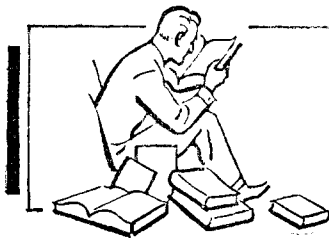
Perhaps the Ford Company was particularly fortunate both in earnings and its reinvestment policy. But the records show that thousands of producers did earn and invest at rates that were several times as high as are possible under present tax rates. And without that freedom to earn, to save and invest, the people of this country would not now enjoy the world's highest level of living, while carrying the present fantastic tax load.

Reinvestment of Profits

Collectivists argue that taxes take chiefly what taxpayers don't need. They imply that funds taken from the people would be spent or invested more or less foolishly if government did not put them to better use. At least in the case of taxes on profits we have records to show that this collectivist argument is silly. Since 1940, for example, corporations have reinvested more than half of the profits left them, and some of the dividends they paid out were likewise reinvested productively.

Recognizing the fact that reduction of government spending must accompany any reduction of taxes, the fact is that reducing taxes on business would help reduce political pressure for government spending in two ways. First, it would make less plausible the foolish notion that the costs of government fall mainly on the rich. Second, it would give private industry the means and the incentive to develop self-supporting enterprises without the need of government's inflationary pep pills. At the same time, such tax reduction would tend to increase production to a level where tax levies of other kinds would help the government to balance its budget.

Finally, a tax reduction now would not “merely” transfer spending power from bureaucrats to private persons, but would go a long way toward preventing the threatening collapse of our economy.



A Reviewer's Notebook

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

In the nineteenth century men made careful distinctions between "natural" monopolies—the railroads, the telephone grids, the electric power systems—and such artificial monopolies as the so-called steel, oil and beef trusts. The commonly accepted way of handling the latter was to break them up; hence the popularity of "trust-busting" as a political issue. But the "natural" monopolies, so the theory ran, could never be made truly competitive. Resting as they did on political franchises and the *force majeure* of eminent domain, they were indeed the "children" of the State. Hence, according to the theory, they should properly be owned or controlled by the State. This "liberal" way of thinking became so widespread that Republicans no less than Democrats, libertarians no less than Socialists, all tended to coalesce in a mood of mutual acceptance when Woodrow Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt, "Fighting Bob" La Follette and all the other presumably forward-looking politicians made "public power" a part of their platforms.

The consummation of this attitude toward "natural" monopolies came in the depression decade of the 1930s, when the federal government began throwing big dams for the generation of power across the Colorado, the Tennessee, the Columbia and the Brazos rivers. But even as the great structures went up at Bonneville, Possum Kingdom, Grand Coulee and elsewhere, the intellectual underpinning began to wash out from under the "natural" monopoly theory. Railroads found themselves competing with the truck, the airplane and the automobile—and the helicopter was just over the horizon. The small steam plant kept pace with water power for cheapness; natural gas was piped everywhere; big apartment houses began

putting in their own power units—and the physicists began preparing the way for atomic power from water boiled by disintegrating uranium. The pressure on rates was there from natural causes, and the intervention of the State was palpably not needed.

Because of the "dated" quality of the natural monopoly theory, George Sundborg's *Hail Columbia: The 30-year Struggle for Grand Coulee Dam* (467 pp., New York: The Macmillan Company, \$5.75) has a slightly archaic flavor to it. It is written in terms of the angel-devil mythology of the thirties, with the private "power trust" figuring as the chief of all the devils. The particular angels of Mr. Sundborg's book are the dry farmers of the Big Bend country of the State of Washington: these hard-bitten settlers rallied their forces behind a fighting Irishman from Michigan, James O'Sullivan, to put over the Grand Coulee Dam idea with Franklin D. Roosevelt in the thirties.

The "power trust" devil that did its darndest to thwart Jim O'Sullivan and his Grant County cohorts was the Washington Water Power Company, of Spokane. As Mr. Sundborg tells the story, it was nip and tuck between hero and villain for thirty years before the forces of righteousness finally managed to eke out their victory. The big dam at Grand Coulee on the Columbia came into existence just in time to provide electrical power for the Hanford plutonium works; it is also today providing irrigation water to make the Big Bend desert country of central Washington blossom like the rose.

Working from a vast mass of notes left by Jim O'Sullivan, Mr. Sundborg tells a dramatic, if frequently overcluttered tale. This Jim O'Sul-

livan was a redoubtable character, make no mistake about that. A successful contractor in Port Huron, Michigan, O'Sullivan had lived in Ephrata, in the Washington State Big Bend region, as a young man. He acquired land in the Big Bend, and he frequently visited the Northwest between contracting jobs in Michigan. On one of his trips west he caught a glimpse of the linked power and irrigation possibilities in harnessing the Columbia River, and the idea thereafter would never leave him alone. As outlined by Mr. Sundborg, the conversion of O'Sullivan into a Grand Coulee prophet came about because of a chance visit made by a certain Billy Clapp to the Grand Coulee country in company with Paul Donaldson, an owner of mining properties who happened to know something about geology.

"What do you suppose ever made that coulee?" asked Billy Clapp of Donaldson. "Sure is a whopper."

"Made by the river," said Paul. "Once the Columbia ran through that way and carved out the coulee. . . . The whole river ran that way because there was an ice dam across the regular channel right below the head of the Grand Coulee."

"Ice dam," mused Billy, "ice dam. If the glaciers could do it, so could we. We could build a big dam that would make the river run right down the Grand Coulee again and give us all the water we needed for irrigation."

Billy's idea was picked up by Rufus Woods, a Wenatchee, Washington, newspaper publisher, who passed it on to Jim O'Sullivan. The notion fired the Michigan Irishman's imagination. A careful man, however, O'Sullivan went to a bookstore in Seattle and bought a textbook on irrigation engineering before he went overboard in print for the

Coulee dam idea. With the textbook in one hand, he visited the Coulee region, poked about among the rock abutments, got an accurate notion of the depth of bedrock below the river surface, and came away a convinced messiah. At the end of the twenties O'Sullivan even went so far as to quit his Michigan contracting business to take a job (frequently unpaid) as executive secretary of the Columbia River Development League. It was this League that fought for Grand Coulee tooth and nail until it eventually became a reality.

The idea of a big dam at Grand Coulee was always a valid one, and Jim O'Sullivan was quite sound in preferring it to the Washington Water Power Company's alternative notion, which was to bring irrigation water to the Big Bend desert by a system of gravity-flow canals from upper Idaho. In supporting the gravity flow idea, the Washington Water Power Company was undoubtedly motivated by the desire to keep control of the power situation in eastern and central Washington. It did not foresee the day when power would be needed for the atom bomb. What Mr. Sundborg does, however, is to make shortsightedness on the part of the company's stockholders into a major crime. And it is right here that he begins to play tricks with his material to make it seem right and inevitable that *government* should have built the big dam.

True enough, the electric power industry of the twenties lacked the imagination to seize the opportunity at Grand Coulee for itself. The private electric power industry of Samuel Insull's day was too wrapped up in the idea of pyramiding its vast holding company schemes to pay attention to the real possibilities of harnessing rivers and creating profitable industries in frontier regions. And, with this failure in imagination afflicting the private power people, it was perhaps in the cards for the federal government to step in to create the big hydro-electric projects on the Tennessee and Columbia rivers. But the fact that private power made some bad mis-

takes in the time of Insull does not justify Mr. Sundborg in his assumption that *government* ownership of electric power generating facilities is the proper alternative to the Insull-type holding company. Indeed, the whole history of public power since the thirties has tended to show that government puts its own restrictions on power development once it assumes the driver's seat in the power field.

Take the history of the famous "preference clause," for example. This clause in the laws governing TVA and the Columbia basin has compelled public power administrators to favor non-profit cooperatives or public bodies over private enterprise when it comes to disposing of the current generated at government dam sites. The idea behind the preference clause was to give the power to the "people." But the "people" have had their own private industries to run—and the tendency of the preference clause has been to starve perfectly legitimate private businesses for power. During the Korean war, for example, aluminum smelters couldn't get current from Bonneville Dam to make metal for airplane frames as long as housewives were demanding the current for the public utility districts that were supplying their kitchens. At one point during the Korean war the United States had actually to borrow some 80,000 tons of aluminum from Canada simply to keep the airplane industry going.

Under the Eisenhower Administration the political rage for public power has tended to subside. Just a year ago Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay announced that his Department would not oppose the Idaho Power Company in its efforts to build a dam for the private generation of electric power on the Snake River. This was the first admission in twenty years that private industry could be trusted with harnessing a river to serve a region.

The more spectacular proof that private capital is capable of carrying through big hydro-electric projects, however, has been left to the Canadians. At Kitimat, in British Columbia, the Aluminum Com-

pany of Canada has dammed an eastward-flowing river, reversing its current to make it flow toward the Pacific. To force the water over a 2,500-foot drop at Kitimat, the Aluminum Company had to build a gigantic tunnel. The end result of this adventure in the application of private capital to hydro-electric possibilities in the Canadian Rockies is aluminum at a power cost of one cent per pound—the cheapest rate in the whole Western Hemisphere, and certainly the cheapest in the world.

To judge by George Sundborg's reasoning in *Hail Columbia*, Kitimat would have been an impossibility without Canadian government participation in the planning and financing of the project. Yet the Canadian government played no part in the development of Kitimat. The job was carried through by a "soulless" corporation, to the ultimate advantage of aluminum users in every airplane factory and every kitchen in North America. Moreover, nobody in Canada is going to be taxed to pay for any part of Kitimat. The Aluminum Company of Canada cannot get a hidden subsidy from the taxpayers to make it appear that it is a cheap source of power; it must produce its cheapness in the market place, where every pocketbook can feel and know it to be true.

Mr. Sundborg writes with a vivid sense of drama, and his story of the pertinacity of James O'Sullivan and the desert rats of the Big Bend country of the State of Washington is a useful addition to American history. But the bias of his book is that of the thirties. What is needed now is a book to show the hidden costs of public power, costs that are concealed in taxes, in the drowning of valley lands in the TVA region, in the silting up of the lakes behind the big dams. Dams are undoubtedly necessary at some places, both for irrigation and power purposes. But dam building is no universal panacea. And the chances are that it will be controlled more sanely in the future if it is left to private enterprise to determine where and when a big dam is needed.

How They Voted

Is There A Republican Majority?, by Louis Harris. 231 pp. New York: Harper and Brothers. \$3.50

The title of this book suggests another question: Is there a Republican? Or, for that matter, a Democrat?

Like back in the old days when a Republican was a fellow whose chief interests were his money, high protective tariffs, the gold standard, his wife and his Maker—much in that order—while a Democrat stood for free trade and states' rights—and William Jennings Bryan? When Republicans by and large were thought to have money and brains—and supple scruples when in office—while Democrats were poor but honest—and dumb? When all Democrats and most Republicans held with T. Jefferson that limited government was best, and with G. Cleveland that the people should support the government, and not the government the people? When you wouldn't find a collectivist in a carload of each, whereas now—but you know about now.

But author Harris isn't interested in whether there are any more Republicans and Democrats constructed according to Grandpa's formula. He just wants to know how come Ike piled up that whopping majority in '52, and can he do it again in '56.

Mr. Harris is well qualified for the study. He served his bird-dog apprenticeship by doing pieces for the *Saturday Review*, *Labor and Nation* and *Public Opinion Quarterly*—which he helps edit—and being a Board member of Citizens Union, Chairman for Publications of the American Association of Public Opinion Research, and a Faculty Associate at Columbia University. And, of course, he has been Research Executive in the Elmo Roper Organization since 1947.

In finding whodunit and why, Mr. Harris does a nice bit of sleuthing. With a fine-tooth comb he goes over scores of groups from hundreds of angles: city folks and why they voted heavily Democratic; women and why they went for Eisenhower more than did their husbands; the

new white-collar group and new suburbanites—largely overlapping—who, having achieved country-club-station-wagon status, chucked the poor man's party to which they formerly belonged and went snooty. And the farmers and the veterans, organized labor, Southern voters and Northern—how they voted and why.

But the author doesn't answer the question: "Is There A Republican Majority?". On that he leaves us where we came in. Even so, he has written a book that will be highly interesting to people who are highly interested in what he writes about. And that, in these uncertain times, means most of us—or should.

C. O. STEELE

Modern Paul Revere

Story of the "Bricker" Amendment (The First Phase), by Frank E. Holman. 111 pp. New York 17: Committee for Constitutional Government. \$1.00

"Treaty law can override the Constitution. . . They [treaties] can cut across the rights given the people by the constitutional Bill of Rights." So spoke John Foster Dulles, calling for a constitutional amendment to control the abuse of a President's treaty-making power before a regional meeting of the American Bar Association at Louisville, Kentucky, on April 12, 1952. One year later the same Mr. Dulles faced the Senate Judiciary Committee and opposed *any* constitutional amendment controlling the President's treaty-making power. Such politics as were illustrated by the transformation from Citizen Dulles to Secretary of State Dulles are the very thing the Bricker Amendment was designed to prevent: a government of men instead of a government of law.

Former American Bar Association president Frank E. Holman, who fathered the proposed Bricker Amendment and now would like to see it realized, has written an incisive and important history of the fight to prevent the Executive from usurping the Constitution. The fight

arises from the doctrine of the supremacy of treaties, which the Supreme Court enunciated in the *Missouri v. Holland* case of 1920. The supremacy of treaties over internal law means that not only can the Executive legislate in effect, but can circumvent existing domestic law and constitutional guarantees. It means further that Americans could be pulled into a world Welfare State through the back door if the Genocide Convention Pact, the Covenant on Human Rights, the Convention on Political Rights for Women Pact, and scores of similar treaties being spawned in UNESCO are ratified by the U.S.

Mr. Dulles, however, argues that the Administration is pledged not to make bad treaties and hence should be trusted. If that is so, counters Mr. Holman, what about the Status of Forces Treaty negotiated with NATO countries last year? That treaty requires the United States to waive jurisdiction over its military personnel who break laws in NATO countries. The treaty is hardly reciprocal, for no NATO countries are sending their troops to American soil.

Mr. Holman takes his reader backstage in Washington politics and gives him a lesson in political science not found in textbooks. We follow the maneuvering of the President and his Secretary of State, the popping-up of the impotent Knowland substitute proposal, the shifting role of the Democrats, the appearance of the George Amendment, and the curious entrance of the misnamed Committee for *Defense* of the Constitution (Jefferson pointed out, "If treaties are supreme, we have no Constitution!").

In the issue of Man vs. the State, the State is ahead. Congress can declare war but the President can order troops into action (remember Korea). The Senate must ratify treaties but the President can make Executive agreements (remember Yalta). Congress can investigate the Executive but the President can stop the production of papers and witnesses (remember the secrecy directive to the Pentagon).

Let us hope Mr. Holman, a mod-

ern-day Paul Revere, is right about the subtitle of his telling book—The First Phase. Without the Bricker Amendment and limited government, the last phase may be the disappearance of Western civilization.

WILLIAM H. PETERSON

Wilderness of Fraud

How to Lie With Statistics, by Darrell Huff. Pictures by Irving Geis. 142 pp., New York: W. W. Norton and Company. \$2.95

Many readers will find this little volume as fascinating as their favorite whodunit. And the villain is revealed—not in the final chapter but all through the book—under such headings as “The Sample with the Built-in Bias,” “The Gee-Whiz Graph,” and “How To Talk Back to A Statistic.”

Not that the author doesn't highly approve of statistics and graphs! He does. He merely wants the reader—and viewer and listener—to be able to recognize sound and usable data in a wilderness of fraud. One need not be a statistician to enjoy this book. It is written for the layman but many an expert will find it useful too. The illustrations by Irving Geis are superb.

Here you will find reference to some of the classic statistical boners—from the *Literary Digest* Presidential poll of 1936 to misinterpretations of the Kinsey reports. In his simplified discussion of standard and probable error the author comes up with the conclusion that “a difference is a difference only if it makes a difference.” When he shows that many graphs have their bottoms chopped off instead of going down to zero, he admits that nothing is falsified except the impression left with the unwary reader. Phony statistics can be used to show that it is safer to drive in the fog than

in clear weather. At least, more accidents occur in clear weather.

The fact that a high degree of correlation may exist between two series of data does not necessarily indicate one is cause and the other effect, or even that both are caused by a third factor. June may bring more suicides and brides than any other month, but don't hasten to the conclusion that one causes the other. One conclusion hastily arrived at was that milk drinking causes cancer. It seems that cancer became increasingly frequent in New England, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Switzerland where people drink a lot of milk, while cancer remained rare in Ceylon where milk is scarce.

This little book is worth the price of admission if only to show up a phony that was given wide circulation in recent months. Remember the outline maps of the United States showing how federal expenditures are absorbing more and more of the income payments to individuals? The first map had the lower two-thirds of California blacked in to show that, in 1939, federal expenditures were less than two-thirds of total income payments to individuals in California. By 1953, the “ever-lengthening shadow” had spread until it included all the states west of the Mississippi River plus all of the state of Mississippi and half of Alabama. The clear impression left with the viewer is that federal expenditures now take about two-thirds of all income payments to individuals in the United States. No mention is made, of course, that the area covered includes much of the sparsely populated as well as some of the relatively low-income area of the country.

The “ever-lengthening shadow” of government expenditures is real enough. Any competent statistician could draw a picture that would be alarming without making the situation appear worse than it is.

Author Huff points out the danger in projecting trends into the unknown future. Not that the experts aren't aware of these dangers, but even the best are often caught flat-footed. He reports that Abraham Lincoln, in his second message

to Congress, predicted that the U. S. population would reach 251,689,914 in 1930. (What, no decimal?)

In conclusion, the author lists five simple questions which we amateurs can apply to statistical data to test their veracity. They are not absolutely sure-fire, but they can be helpful.

W. M. CURTISS

Surface and Depths

God's Country and Mine, by Jacques Barzun. 344 pp. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. \$5.00

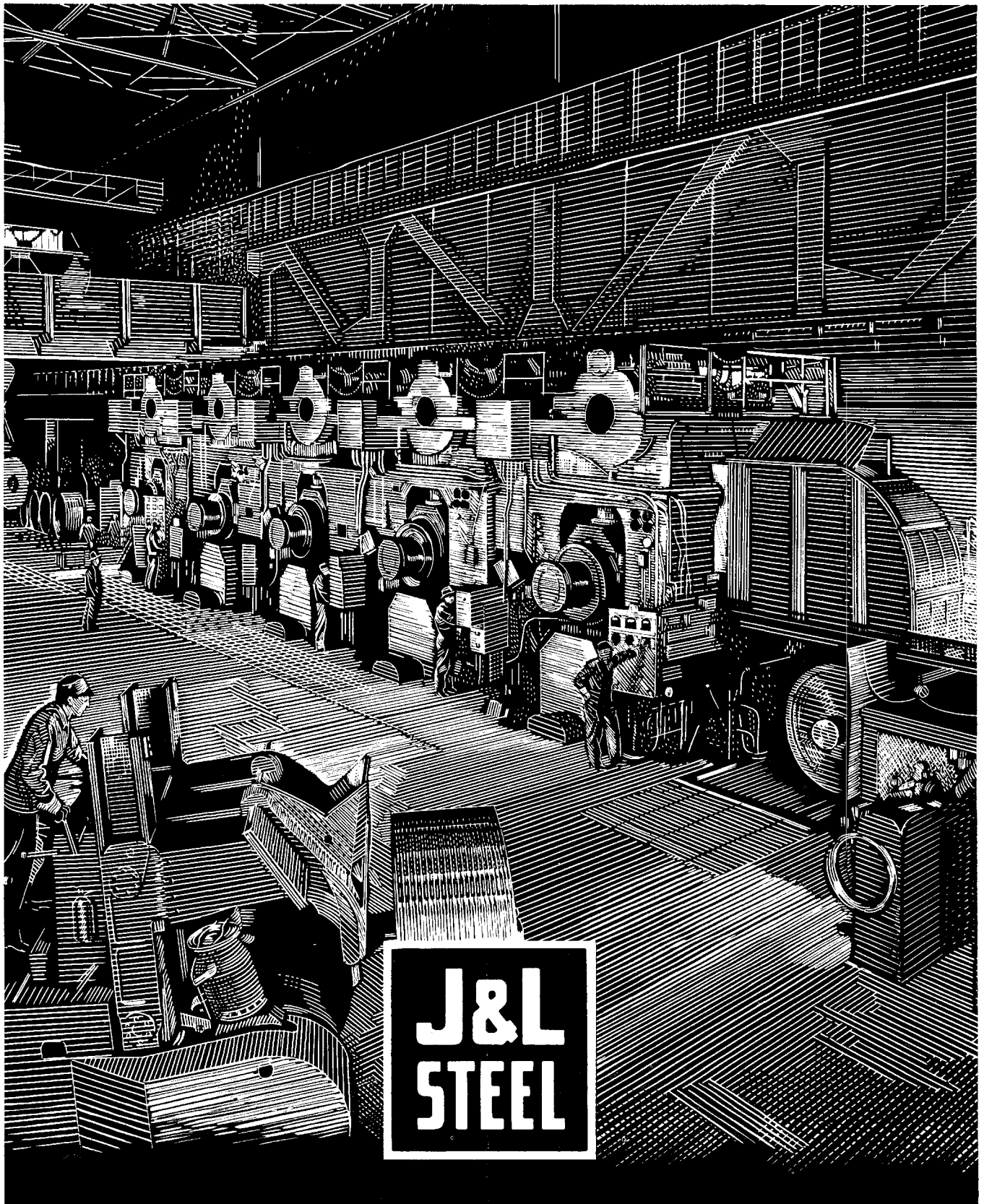
This book is characterized by its subtitle: “A Declaration of Love Spiced With a Few Harsh Words.” Barzun, born in France, here offers most interesting and provocative observations on his adopted country, the United States. He is at his best when dissecting the phenomena peculiar to America, with delightful wit and humor and a perceptiveness that stems, perhaps, from the detachment afforded by his origin.

His occasional excursions into the field of politics are tinged with patent good will and humanitarianism which lead him, like so many of our academic intellectuals, uncritically to favor New Deal “social progress” and the United Nations. While he also presents a sprightly, spirited defense of free enterprise, and a brilliant spoof of bureaucratic planning and direction, apparently they are, to him, merely isolated manifestations of American life and do not induce an exploration of basic principles.

If Mr. Barzun were to turn his efforts in this direction, I do not doubt that they would lead him to the philosophy of the libertarians. Few follies and vagaries escape his sharp eye and pen. His keen mind synthesizes a multitude of individual observations into a well-organized system—when he is dealing with non-political matters. With the swift, beautiful motion of a sea-gull he skims over the surface of the American scene, and will suddenly plunge and come up with a strange fish; but like the gull, he does not plumb the depths.

H. C. FURSTENWALDE

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