

14 - 1953

November 29. Refinement on a recent thought:

It is folly to seek followers. It is, however, wise to seek learners. It is only the learners who give followership any justification.

For some future issue of Notes:

"How do you get your material into the hands of the right people?" is often asked of us. The question implies an ignorant class to which the inquirer does not belong. The "right" person is the inquirer himself unless he excels us on our subject in understanding and exposition. In this event we are the "right people" for the material he ought to be presenting.

Golfed with Dr. Salter, Paul Barryman, and Charley Schuh. Cold and windy. Hit some good shots but putting poor. An 87.

November 30. Month ends with about \$12,300 more revenue than expenditures.

If we had an Aladdin's lamp, the rubbing of which would confer on this Foundation the reputation for being the fountainhead of the freedom philosophy, we wouldn't rub it. Why? Because fame for FEE is not our aim. Our object is for many thousands of persons to have the reputation for being the fountainheads of this philosophy. Our role, as we conceive it, is to serve as their assistant.

Drove to New York and dined with Hutch in Waldorf Towers. Other guests were Claude Robinson, Charles Abbott of Harvard Business School, and Chairman of Advisory Committee, American Enterprise Association, Fred Clark, Dick Rimanoczy, and Morgan Reichner, all of American Economic Foundation. Abbott, in discussing Dr. Pusey, the new unheard-of and much-resented president of Harvard, reported one of his professional colleagues as saying, "If they really wanted a second rater, why didn't they choose someone from the faculty?" Abbott also quoted what he called an old Spanish proverb, "He who strikes the second blow starts the fight." It was an evening of spirited discussion with good wit and humor. Home at 11:15.

December 1. Let us erect a new and novel organization, "The Stumblebum Society," each person to be his own admission's committee; no dues, no meetings; no headquarters save one's own mind. Qualification for membership: self-acknowledgment of an inability adequately to explain the philosophy of the free market and limited government, and an open confession that this inadequacy accounts for the growth of socialism. May I be the first to announce the password, "I am a stumblebum," and to take the oath, "I will, so help me, attend to my own learning that the scourge of man acting as Divinity may be effaced from our society."

15 - 1953

A check for \$1,000 from Union Carbide, a renewal I thought wouldn't be made.

Self-abnegation, if not carried to the point of injury, is a cleansing agent. It is necessary to rid one's self of know-it-allness before knowledge can be taken on.

December 2. Positions are often created beyond the capacity of any man to fill. Such positions are the result of faulty organization. Acceptance of such positions is the result of faulty self-appraisal. The presidency of the U.S., with present powers, is a case in point. So are many corporate headships. Any person who makes the error of accepting a responsibility beyond his ability to discharge will look like a fool either to himself or to others. If he possesses any wisdom, he will look like a fool to himself for his task will be to keep out of the way of others in his organization whose capacities are equal to their responsibilities. If, unfortunately, he is without wisdom, which is quite likely or he would not have made the original error, he will encumber others and thus look like a fool to them.

Blair wires that he wants me in Mexico City for a visit next month.

Mises called and wants to help with my Mexico visit. He has numerous important friends there.

Ben phoned from New York about the piece Dean had prepared for him. Wants it expanded.

Mario Pei here for luncheon and the afternoon. Wants FEE to start a college -- "this country needs a thoroughly libertarian one and you are the folks who can do it." I am moved to agree. Will do a lot of spade work and have it ready for Board consideration in May.

Prepared tentative itinerary for January 4-18 trip, copy appended.

Received reprints of excellent article on FEE done by Ruth Sheldon Knowles (copy appended), sending a copy with a memo to all Trustees.

Ag, Frances, JB, and I had dinner and an evening with the Rogers, the dinner featuring Adobo, a sweet-sour pork and Su Tong Hone, a rice noodle with mushrooms etc. Philippine creation, v.g.

December 3. Jim McConnell phoned from Washington asking to borrow Poirot for the rest of this month, wants him to assist in writing the arguments that will persuade Congress to approve Bill Meyer's plans. I said OK with me if all right with Poirot. Poirot, however, believes that Meyers is arguing for "flexible supports," in principle if not in degree as bad as we now have. In this event Poirot could not, in good conscience, be of any help. Will see.

TENTATIVE ITINERARY
Leonard E. Read
January 4 - 18, 1954

Monday	January	4	Leave New York AA #117	1:45 PM
			Arrive Nashville	5:00 PM
Tuesday	"	5	Leave Nashville AA #401	4:50 PM
			Arrive Little Rock	6:59 PM
Wednesday	"	6	Leave Little Rock AA #405	3:01 PM
			Arrive Fort Worth	4:44 PM
			Leave Fort Worth AA #153	6:00 PM
			Arrive San Antonio	7:15 PM
Thursday	"	7	Leave San Antonio AA #153	8:00 PM
			Arrive Mexico City	11:40 PM
Friday	"	8	2:00 PM - Meeting, Executive Committee, Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales y Economicas, A.C.	
Sunday	"	10	Leave Mexico City PAA #502	11:00 AM
			Arrive Houston	2:00 PM
Tuesday	"	12	Leave Houston BAL #50	5:25 PM
			Arrive Dallas	6:35 PM
Thursday	"	14	Leave Dallas AA #209	6:00 PM
			Arrive Los Angeles	9:20 PM
Friday	"	15	Noon - Address, Los Angeles Rotary Club	
Saturday	"	16	Luncheon - Hemphill et al	
Sunday	"	17	Leave Los Angeles TWA #90	9:00 PM
Monday	"	18	Arrive New York (Idelwild)	8:00 AM

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Chet Anderson, Rock Island, and Walter Durham here. Also, Doug Hewitt and Chas. Matthews, Associated Industries, State of N.Y., and Vic Melione.

Chet and I were reflecting on why two people or a few can practice and understand moral principles but it all goes to pot when the number gets large. The query brought to mind the Law of High Numbers and the Freedom of Low Numbers as described by Gerald Heard. I will try to think this through.

December 4. Drove to New York and lunched at the Cloud Club with Galen Van Meter, introduced to me by Grady Clark. Van Meter is an investment consultant, ostensibly of the prosperous type and he certainly keeps company with the "brass." He is sharp in his thinking and, likely, shares our ideological views but, I suspect, plays the expediency game. Not too committal. I wondered what possibly could come of the visit and perhaps should still wonder. He did, though, reveal this: Smith Richardson, retired head of Vic Chemical, has a foundation which must now begin to give out about \$700,000 annually; that Mr. R. is looking for a director and that he, Van Meter, didn't know who to suggest. I said I could make some good suggestions which seemed to please Van M. Said he would tell Mr. R. this and that he would get us together. We shall see.

December 5. Poirot goes to Washington for two weeks to help out Benson's department. Small chance to do any good. As he came into FEE this AM, I greeted him, "Good morning, Mr. Secretary." He's a quick wit, for he came back with the reply, "What shall be our policy today?"

At long last, a \$500 donation from Thompson Products, an achievement of the "red line" letter.

Guenther Stieghorst with Facts Forum and in New York with H. L. Hunt, spent the whole forenoon here. A very sincere person but confused about the work of Facts Forum. He seemed to like our ideas and asked of me what should he consider his particular mission. I told him it was Mr. Hunt, to get him to use his vast funds constructively but that he, Guenther, would need to do a lot of work before he could speak persuasively to H.L.H.

To St. Andrews for the first curling of the season. We had a luncheon for the new curlers and I had as guests Brad Smith, Dean Russell, and Jim Rogers. We old ones spent the PM instructing them.

Took Ag and Frances to see "Macombo." Rather good, particularly the animals and the photography.

December 6. An easy-going Sunday. Took JB to St. Andrews for his 9:45 curling date and Ag and Frances along to watch for an hour. Home and back myself for a 2:45 PM date, our rink's first match in the Dykes. Loch, skip, Kelly #3, LER #2, and JB as lead substituting for Uncle Cliff. We played Ardsley, Hal Southern skipping. We won 6 out of 10 ends but got clobbered 11-7. My curling only fair, 50% excellent deliveries. Ag had a wonderful pot roast for us at seven. JB, after two matches, too pooped to pip.

December 7. A letter from Fred Gurley, President of Santa Fe, sending a check for \$2,500. The Mellon Bank check came in for \$1,000. Allen Rucker sends \$100, expressing the wish that it could be \$5,000 to replace the loss on account the tariff hassel.

Tony Reinach phoned, saying we would get \$1,500 from him right after the turn of the year. Also, told me about Edward M. Gilbert -- a rich young man from whom we will get an initial and small donation in February -- and how I should deal with him.

Claude Robinson phoned about Freeman problems, clearing up in nice shape, and we set up a luncheon for Thursday, Henry and Larry to be in on it.

Bierly and I drove to New York and lunched with Helen Schwartz, the assistant to C. A. Johnson, Pres. of Central-Illinois Securities Corp. The gal works in our vineyard all the time and one object is to get Mr. Johnson, who has many corporate interests, to lend us a financial hand. After lunch we met Mr. Johnson for a brief chat. He admitted he was going to try aiding us. He could really do a lot.

December 8. Dr. Homer W. Humiston from Tacoma was a visitor 10:30 to 1:30. A good libertarian.

Fred Clark, Dick Rimanoczy, and Morgan Reichner, all of the American Economic Foundation, were here for lunch, the first visit of any of them. A nice gesture on their part and we were pleased to have them.

Visited Doc Raymond and got a small pox vaccination on account my three years have run out and further on account I have to have the thing to go to Mexico next month. Doc also thumped my chest, looked at my diaphragm, gizzard, and heart through the fluoroscope and took blood pressure (135 over 84 -- normal but higher). Says I am healthy.

A big bond issue up in Irvington for extension of public school facilities. Sam, his wife, and hundreds of others facing a desperately over-crowded situation, are doing everything possible to pass it. To me the whole thing is pathetic. If this issue is approved the problem will continue to get worse. It is not unlike trying to solve New York's traffic problem by widening Fifth Avenue. All that is accomplished is to give an insatiable situation another inch. I couldn't offend my many sincere friends by opposing the issue. That, at this juncture, would be worse than fruitless. I would only hurt them. But I did tell Ag that if I voted I would vote against the issue, therefore, I decided not to vote. The answer to this problem, for me, does not lie in feeble protests such as my single negative vote affords. If I am worth my salt in the libertarian enterprise, my contribution will be in the form of exemplary primary and secondary schools as well as a libertarian college. The task, as I contemplate it, seems so hopelessly impossible yet anything that is right can be done if one has the ingenuity and wit.

Did the squab dish for dinner. Fun to do and good to eat.

18 - 1953

My last issue of "Notes from FEE" has resulted in a strange silence. Did it provoke apathy, "so what?", reflection, animosity, or an approval few are willing to express. So far, only a few straws in the wind: Pettengill - "I admire your guts"; Rucker - a \$100 donation and complete approval; Opitz - "It's wonderful." What about the tariff boys?

December 9. Drove Ag to New York and did some gadgetry shopping for myself at Lewis & Conger. Went to Mexican tourist office to procure tourist card. Back at FEE by 11:30.

Ed Opitz brought his father-in-law, Mr. Ralston, and a Mr. Ferris for luncheon, the latter still on the Board of Addressograph and its former Chairman.

Leo phoned. Claude phoned. Jasper Crane just had a colostomy -- cancer. Don Williams here for an hour. Phoned John Sparks in Canton asking him to dine with us Friday evening. General Wood writes that \$2,500 from Sears has had his approval and will be along after the turn of the year. Kohler and Kohler sent in their check for \$500. Some nice letters with \$10 donations admiring our courage on the tariff. Duncan, Chairman of Commercial Credit, wails at our tariff action. We could lose him.

Fertig phoned at dinner time.

December 10. Don McLennan doubled his donation, sending a check for \$1,000.

Phoned Henry Maier about dinner in S.F. next Tuesday, Bill Keady having written that he wishes to see me. Found Hank in bed with the flu.

Replied to Mr. Duncan, copy appended.

Drove to New York and lunched at University Club with Claude, Larry and Henry. Some Freeman talk but we were all over the political lot. Claude introduced me to "Joseph" and we reserved two large rooms at the Club for May 18, the Annual Meeting of FEE.

Hutch, in N.Y., reached me at Club. Said my "Notes" on tariff was "a darb" and wanted extra copies. Also, wants Ag and me to spend "two weeks" with him and Helen in Florida and to set the date. Told him we would spend 4 or 5 days around the first of March.

December 11. Ivan and I drove to Hofstra College in Hempstead, N.Y., and spent 3 hours with Jack Adams, President, Bill Leonard, new head of the Economics Department, and Jack Johnson, the new Provost. The five of us lunched at the Garden City Golf and Country Club and had a fascinating discussion about libertarian principles. Talking with people of this sort, I am impressed more and more with the semantic problem our philosophy presents to us. As I have said before, language is for every-day use and when one gets into new areas of thought, one is confronted with the extreme



THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.
IRVINGTON-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK

December 10, 1953

Mr. Alexander E. Duncan, Chairman of the Board
Commercial Credit Company
Baltimore 2, Maryland

Dear Mr. Duncan:

It is my wish to give both a careful and a thoughtful answer to your letter of the 8th about the tariff matter. I would, however, like first to know whether you personally have acquainted yourself with the content of The Tariff Idea and my last Notes from FEE, the only two significant pronouncements we have made on this subject. Otherwise, I may find myself omitting or duplicating ground already covered. A copy of each of these is enclosed.

I can comment on the first sentence of your letter, "I am a bit surprised to see your Organization taking a definite stand either for or against such an important controversial matter as the tariff issue." I am a bit surprised that our dealing with controversial matters surprises you. Everything we study and write about is controversial, extremely so. Nothing, for instance, is more controversial than socialism. We are head-over-heels in combatting it. Were we to avoid controversy, we would avoid usefulness. We should not in this kind of work generate antagonisms.

Perhaps your surprise has to do with our getting thus involved in matters about which our financial supporters are in profound disagreement. I admit that most organizations wouldn't do such a thing, but, in my view, research and reporting thereon should not be inhibited by worrying about whether the audience is going to respond favorably, even though the members thereof be cash customers. I confess that some of the results in this issue have been painful, but isn't that the price this kind of work exacts? You would be the last to have us report other than what our studies reveal.

Please write me further or, if you prefer, I shall gladly make a personal call. I have long wanted to make your acquaintance.

Best wishes!

Cordially,

Leonard E. Read

LER:bf
Encl.

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difficulty of conveying an idea to another. I thought the session quite worth while. Back at FEE at 4:30.

John Sparks and his wife Hope were visitors at the Foundation during the afternoon and we, along with the Curtisses, Bierlys, Russells, Opitzs, Harpers, and Rogerses took them to Parises where we had a room to ourselves, a steak dinner, and babble until after 9:30. I had Jim Rogers tell the story of his debate with the Socialist Norman Thomas the night before at the Bronx High School of Science. It was pretty clear that Jim whupped the devil out of Thomas. However, I still question the value of things of this sort. I doubt that it can accomplish anything more if you win than to make the socialistic opponent look like a fool. I doubt that that is worth the energy it takes. The members of the audience gain little in the way of new ideas. They will simply make the wholly unimportant conclusion that Mr. Rogers is a more facile debater and more of a gentleman than Mr. Thomas.

December 12. Brad Smith phoned last night. I returned the call this morning and talked to Marilyn. They wanted Ag and me to dine with them tonight -- this being their wedding anniversary.

Lock skip, Kelly #3, LER #2, and Uncle Cliff #1 got clobbered 13-3 by Pit Carl et al. The ice was tops but all four of us were awful. I have never nor could one be worse.

JB drove me to La Guardia for AA #219, 5 PM for Chicago. Weather here very gicky and everything under ATC. We were 85 minutes late in leaving. Routine, landing 8:45 CST. To MF suite. Phoned Ag. A snort, oyster stew, and to hay with Heard's "The Gospel According to Gomaliel."

The best evidence I have that man, in an evolutionary sense, is in the bare emergent or ugh-ugh stage of thought and consciousness, is his inability to think of intelligence other than in anthropomorphic terms.

December 13. Donald MacArthur, V.P. and Treas. All-State Insurance Co. (wholly owned by Sears) called for me at 7:45 AM, driving to Kenilworth and the Church of the Holy Comforter (Episcopalean). Here some 70 men of the Church Breakfast Club assembled, a monthly affair. Addressed same group a year ago. Talked for half an hour followed by 35 minutes of questions and answers. The hands were going up all over the place when it was called off for the room had to be used for a Sunday School class. Really a wonderful group and all generally disposed to our philosophy. Most of the members are Chicago executives. Here is one place fruitful for the spread of ideas but one where money could hardly be expected except as a long-range consequence. However, Roy Osgood came to me afterward,

saying he was a V.P. of a foundation; that I should see the President in New York; that he would attend to the introductions; that he wanted some money to go to FEE instead of to American Economic Foundation about which I had written him earlier, and very favorably. As I have said many times, "One never knows." Be where there are people and do your best. Good results will flow from wholly unexpected sources. Ed Vennard, President of the Club, introduced me. George Rogers wanted some time, but when I told him of proposed trip to Quebec next month, he thought a meeting there would be fine. Don drove me to Hilton; we had cocktails and lunch in the suite; he drove me to airport, during all of which the morning's discussion was carried on. Bumped into Mr. & Mrs. Paul Querl in lobby of Hilton.

Boarded AA #205, 2:55 PM for Los Angeles, airborne at 3:04. In the air 6 hours and 39 minutes, landing at 7:43. Len, Marty and the children to meet me. To their very nice little home in the foothills of the Sierre Madre mountains, a beautiful view. Ruthie arrived at 9:00 as we did. Len had four ducks ready which we broiled and served with wild rice. Marty had an ingenious salad and a lovely dessert. We dined until nearly midnight.

December 14. To Len's office. Phoned Bette and talked to Ag. Went to California Club and took a room for the two days. Inx called at room. Went to Mullendore's office and found him more full of fire than I have ever seen him.

There were about 300 in the Renaissance Room of the Biltmore for the Bill of Rights Luncheon which is really sponsored by Joe Crail. While it was for the press, radio, and TV folks, there were many politicians present -- city, county, and state officials. And in the bunch were numerous Socialists. It was not the easiest group to talk to but the speech went off in fair shape.

Linn called for me at 4:00. We drove to Ruthie's, picked up Et, and to the Mullendore's for half an hour. Twelve of us dined at Don's:

Marty and Len
Dorth and Inx
Ye Journalist and ET

Marian and Len
Ruth and Linn
Steve and Bill

'Twas a gay evening, at least from the standpoint of a gathering of my good friends. It was ET's 35th Wedding Anniversary. I proposed a toast expressing the hope that this would be the start of a new happiness. I think she thinks it won't. Adjourned at 9:30. Back at Yur Sun's, Ruthie phoned reporting that her mother had heard a radio commentator giving LER the devil for his speech.

December 15. Yur Sun is a coward. He is afraid to drive to work in daylight, and, therefore, is up at five every morning. While

eating breakfast, he raves about the beauty of his view and one stares into darkness. He had me to the Club so early that I was tempted to go back to bed but instead I went to the breakfast room for another cup of coffee. Happily, there was Jim Mussatti and we had a good gabfest. I told him about our rewriting of his "Constitutionism" and he was very pleased with the procedure and said he could not conceive of our making changes he would not approve.

Half an hour with Ace Call, then an hour with George Gose and two other V.Ps., one being Ed Burnett. I thought I did one of the best of my presentations to these three, but what a long way there is to go!

To SM for a last visit on this trip with Inx. Ruthie reports another leftist radio commentator screaming at my speech.

Bill Coberly took me to the California Club for lunch and had Len Jr., W.C.M., Robert Nivens, Secretary of Union Oil Co., and Robert Hastings, an attorney. An interesting discussion and most pleasant. Bill's Tony drove me to airport for WAL's #322, 3:15 PM for San Francisco. Routine, landing at 4:55. Jeanne to meet me. Told me about Hank and his troubles, the fear of cancer of the kidney, the examination yesterday which revealed that it was an enlarged prostate gland requiring operation to be done in about two weeks, of the unusual finding that he has two left kidneys. Hank came in shortly after we had arrived looking fit. We three alone had cocktails, a fine dinner, and talk to 10:30.

December 16. Hank loaned me his car. Put him off at station and drove to Volker offices to keep appointment with Luhnnow but his sister-in-law died day before yesterday and he was off attending to family affairs. Dick Cornuelle was away too, so I spent an hour and a half with Ken Templeton presenting my ideas about Volker Fund support as if he were Luhnnow but asking him to convey my ideas to Luhnnow. On leaving, Ken said that he personally was in agreement with my position. (Later Hank told me that Herb had selected Ken as his successor so maybe I was talking to the right man anyway.)

Drove to San Francisco and lunched at Pinelli's with Hank and Bill Keady. Bill wants two Fellows for the 1954 C-B-E Program.

Went to Pac Tel and Tel and spent an hour and a half with Walt Straley, Walter Neal, Doug Tellwright, and a couple of others (first names Bill and Heather). We are making good headway here. Our "Bargaining" is awaiting top brass decision. It should be approved but may not. I argued strongly that 40,000 copies be offered to their employees and also made a sales talk on behalf of "My Freedom Depends on Yours" and gave numerous reasons why it should be used. These are all enthusiastic friends of FEE and developing splendidly.

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Was chauffeured to Bill Keady's office who in turn drove me to the airport for WAL's #321, 4:00 PM for Los Angeles.

A wonderful line by Mark Twain: "Hamlet was written by William Shakespeare or by someone else of the same name.

Flight routine, landing at 5:50 PM. Marty, Len, Doog, and Ruthie to meet me. We stashed the car in the parking lot, had some snorts Len had brought along, packed ducks, cakes, pancake flour, octopus, gifts of other kinds in my suitcase, and went to TWA to check it all. I was 26 pounds overweight but by saying "one of your Ambassadors," no questions were asked, indeed, the opposite took place, putting my coat and brief case on the plane, selecting a seat for me, etc. We five had dinner at Mike Lyman's airport restaurant, Len Jr. having only toast and tea, being ill from drinking ether earlier in the day. He gets up so early he yawns all day and the jaw locks. A medico had to put it in place. He should be more like his Pop and take things easier. It is, though, disconcerting to see Len and Hank -- both of good energy -- indisposed. Kissed them all and boarded TWA's #90, 9:00 PM scheduled nonstop to New York.

December 17. Flying at 21,000. All passengers offered whiskey. I took. At 2:00 AM EST snacks and champagne served, exceptionally well done. And the Captain did a tour of all the passengers, really working hard at selling this flight. A nice job. We took off with 5400 gallons of petrol, 1200 more than a routine flight requires. The distance, great circle route, is less than 2500 miles. By 3:00 I started a sitting-up snooze. Lights were on at 6:30 for breakfast and we landed at Idlewild at 8:10 AM, a perfect flight. Jim Hance and Max to meet me. Ducks were still frozen.

Business at FEE a bit dull.

Bernie Peyton advises he is sending us 25 shares duPont common, about \$2600.

Pittsburgh Plate Glass sends \$1,000, a trim from \$2,500 on account of the tariff question.

Al Roosma writes that the Republic Steel renewal looks OK.

Vic Lee phoned at noon saying he likes Nov. 30th issue of NOTES.

Peg and Baldy Harper joined us for the duck dinner. My electric ovens are perfect for this, more perfect than I thought -- very hot and as a consequence 22 minutes was a mite too much. But they were really wonderful. With a Chilean rose wine, we drank a toast to the hunter.

December 18. Had a most uncomfortable attack of indigestion that persisted throughout the night. Too much tiredness mixed with too much rich food.

Mises called and discussed new Congressional Committee investigating Foundations.

Hutch phoned and decided that Ag and I would join them at Clearwater Beach February 26th. I'll speak in Jacksonville on March 1st, doing another stint or two from there while Ag plays on the beach.

Approved for publication Harper's "The Farm Problem."

Cooked Filet Amidine for Ag and me and the two remaining ducks for JB and Frances. Great!

December 19. Letter from Marianne Schubert saying she is ready to come to America as soon as her papers can be obtained.

International Nickel sent check for \$2,500.

Erling Week, after 4-5 months in Europe calling on my friends, prelates in Rome, mystics, intelligence officers of the U.S., called and spent three hours including lunch at St. Andrews. He is one of the most remarkable persons I have ever met. His Mother taught him to read from the Bible, which he had read in its entirety at the age of seven. He, having made a business and financial success of himself in his early '30s, is a mystic in the same sense as Heard and of extreme religious devotion. He never fully revealed his thinking to me in previous talks. Only a few in my acquaintance would understand him. According to his studies, we will be in a cobalt bomb warfare within the fifties, three of which would bring the U.S. to its knees. The antidote: a spiritual revival the like of which has never been known, which in his view is now forming in the minds of certain men. I am inclined to agree. There are many evidences, my own experiences being an example. Sort of fantastic to everyday thinking. I predict that I shall see a lot of Erling Week.

Locke skip, Kelley #3, LER #2, and Uncle Cliff #1 got clobbered by Lee McCullough, JB, et al. I continue to curl badly.

The staff of FEE, wives, husbands, and boy and gal friends assembled at the Foundation at 6:00 PM for cocktails. I had earlier told the wine steward, Dean Russell, to close the bar at 7:00. On going to him at 7:02, he refused to give me another drink on the grounds that it was against orders. We repaired to the Halfway House in Elmsford and had a chix dinner, with Wente's Grey Reisling, Christmas songs, and I should say it was quite a jovial affair. It's hard to know how to do things of this kind without being boring to the teetotalers or to the tiplers, to those who love parties or to those who are sourpusses. This one, I should say, was a fair compromise -- no one in ecstasy over it or, on the other hand, no one too downcast about such an evening. Home by 11:00 PM.

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December 20. Our rink, absent Uncle Cliff, LER delivering four rocks per end, playing both lead and #2, lost again, this time to a Caledonia rink skipped by Renee Clark. My curling was much improved but as a rink we simply don't "click."

The news today tells of the passing of my good friend and FEE Trustee, Robert Millikan (85), the third we have lost in this manner since 1946. And, too, our little Timmy breathed his last.

A Christmas card from the Wallaces to which DeWitt pens, "You are engaged in a mighty and worthwhile struggle." I have some reasons to think that he really feels this way.

In precisely the same way that an individual is a product of the past, so is he a progenitor of the future. In this manner everyone exists in eternity. And a person who is not aware of this lacks an important point of reference. One who cannot see his place in the eternal scheme of things is likely to live only for himself and for today, and that has small chance of being good.

December 21. Ben sent us a J & L check for \$1,000, an additional contribution for 1953.

Phoned Hazlitt getting authorization for FEE to use Harper's piece on farm problem, appearing originally in The Freeman.

Check for \$500 from Link-Belt.

Wrote a note to Trustees on passing of Dr. Millikan and attached the AP account of his life and accomplishments, the account appended.

Goodness nor badness is to be identified with male or female, Jew or Gentile, black or white, red or yellow, Occidental or Oriental, indeed, neither virtue nor vice can be applied to any category of humanity. To so apply is to oversimplify. Goodness is never a horizontal plane of behavior extending in time or cast over any multitude of whatever description but, instead, is a vertical harmony extending between a given, specific, momentary act of a person and Divine Purpose. Not even one person can ever be said to be utterly good, for no person can be more than hopeful of knowing Divine Purpose. Badness is a disharmony. And not even any one person is utterly bad. The only way to be rid of the bad that exists is to exist as good as one can.

December 22. Bemis Bag sends \$500, par for them.

Business very dull. Did some work on NOTES.

Dr. Robert A. Millikan Dead at 85; Won Nobel Prize in Physics in 1923

*Cosmic Ray Specialist, Who Isolated Electron,
Worked on Development of Jets*

By The Associated Press.

PASADENA, Calif., Dec. 19—Dr. Robert A. Millikan, Nobel Prize physicist and authority on cosmic rays, died today at his home. He was 85 years old.

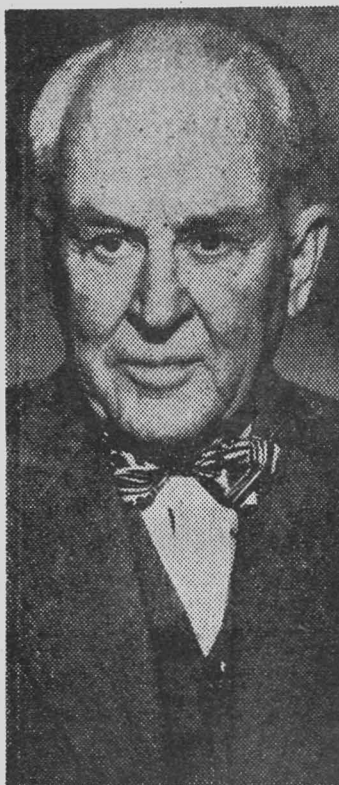
The world renowned scientist, who for years was head of the California Institute of Technology, succumbed after a long illness at his residence in neighboring San Marino.

When in 1932 the Roosevelt Memorial Association presented to Robert Andrews Millikan its gold medal, the citation hailed him as "a prophet of the new time, bearing to bewildered men, alike from atom and from star, news of the presence and the goodness of God." In these words is contained the quintessence that was Dr. Millikan.

For Dr. Millikan was more than a mere physicist in the narrow sense of the word. He was a prophet of a new age, educator, humanitarian, philosopher. His influence reached out far beyond the confines of the laboratory. Not only was he one of the world's outstanding scientists, he was also one of the world's spiritual forces.

He was also intensely interested in world peace, but during World War II his scientific work in the field of rocket and jet propulsion development won him the Presidential Medal of Merit, highest Governmental decoration for civilian wartime service. Although technically retired as head of the California Institute of Technology in 1946, he had continued to make contributions to cosmic ray studies.

Millikan possessed that rare combination found only in the great among scientists—the practical-mindedness of the research scientist and the imagination of the poet. In him were harmoniously blended the faith of the mystic and the skepticism of the empiricist. Religion and science were to him not contradictions but complementary faculties of human nature. A true love and understanding of nature meant to him also a love and understanding of man and of God.



The New York Times, 1950

Dr. Robert A. Millikan

To the lay mind the name of Millikan immediately suggests the cosmic ray, so much so that many are still under the impression that Millikan was the discoverer. Much to Dr. Millikan's own embarrassment, the rays were at one time referred to in press accounts as the "Millikan Rays," when as a matter of fact they had been discovered several years before Dr. Millikan started his famous experiments on the phenomenon.

However, Dr. Millikan was the first American scientist to take up the study of the mysterious super-penetrating cosmic radiations which keep ceaselessly bombarding the earth from all directions in space and penetrate the thickest walls of skyscrapers as though they were not there. Once launched on his study, it was not long before he became the leading authority in the field and for many

years he stood alone on the American Continent and considerably ahead of his rivals in Europe, a veritable king in that particular domain of science.

His work on the cosmic ray, important as it was, constituted only a part of Dr. Millikan's contributions to science. Before his work on it became known he had received, in 1923, the highest award in physics, the Nobel Prize, for his work in isolating and measuring the ultimate electric unit, the electron, and for his researches on the photo-electric effect, namely, the tiny currents of electricity generated in certain metals by light, the phenomenon responsible for photo-electric cells, otherwise known as the "electric eye."

His Contributions to Science

By 1927 he had made notable contributions in the following researches: Polarization of light from incandescent surfaces, variation of dielectric constants with frequencies, effect of temperature on photo-electric discharge, the charge on the negative ion in gases, absorption of X-rays, isolation of an ion and a direct study of its properties, discharge potentials in high vacua, velocities of electrons discharged from metals under the influence of ultra-violet light, photo-electric determination of Planck's "h" (the unit of action, or momentum) the exact velocities of "e," "n" and other constants, Brownian movement in gases, viscosity coefficients of gases, contact E. M. F., valency in gaseous ionization, extension of ultra-violet spectrum, laws of reflection of gas molecules, X-rays from light atoms, stripped atoms, and pulling electrons from metals by electric fields.

The discovery of laws through his study of stripped atoms, namely, atoms partially or wholly stripped of their outer valence electrons, led, scientists say, to the introduction of a new and fundamental conception of the "spinning electron." His discovery of the laws governing the extraction of electrons from metals by fields alone furnished the first direct experimental proof that electrons in metals do not share appreciably in the motions of thermal agitation at ordinary temperatures, but do begin to share in these motions at sufficiently high temperatures.

Other discoveries of his, relating to the law of the motion of a particle falling toward the earth after it enters the earth's atmosphere, were said to have settled definitely one of the historic problems of the kinetic theory, which had been the subject of controversy among physicists for seventy-five years.

Yet, important as Dr. Millikan's other contributions to physics are, it was his work on the super-penetrating radiation, which Millikan, with his happy faculty for phrasing, named the cosmic ray, that caught the popular imagination and aroused a universal interest among the laity equalled only by the popular interest aroused by the Einstein theory of relativity.

The cosmic rays first came to scientific notice in 1901. At that time they were not recognized as the cosmic powers they are today. They were merely regarded as pesky "electricity thieves" which stole electricity, bit by bit, from even the most tightly sealed electroscope. There was nothing to stop them, it seemed, and they were just a general scientific nuisance.

Quietly and determinedly the hunt started in various scientific laboratories to ferret out the "thief." Electroscopes covered with five tons of solid lead were placed on the frozen surface of Lake Ontario. Others carried electroscopes to the Eiffel Tower. Still others sent up unmanned balloons to heights of 16,000 feet. But everywhere the electric burglars were present. They seemed to grow more penetrating with altitude. More penetrating, in fact, than X-rays, or even gamma-rays from radium.

Joins Scientific Hunt

This game of "scientific detective" has been going on for about fourteen years when, in 1915, Dr. Millikan joined the hunt. Hardly, however, was he started when the entry of the United States into the war called Dr. Millikan to the service of his country.

It was not until 1922 that Dr. Millikan returned to the search. With I. S. Bowen he sent up sounding balloons at Kelly Field, near San Antonio, Tex. These balloons carried automatic recording apparatus that were marvels of ingenuity. The apparatus ascended nearly ten miles, through about nine-tenths of the earth's atmosphere. The burglars were still there.

Next Dr. Millikan determined to

find out how penetrating these rays were. With Dr. Russel Otis he carried 300 pounds of lead and a tank of water to the top of Pike's Peak. He went with G. Harvey Cameron to Mount Whitney, highest peak in the country, and climbed to Muir Lake, at 11,800 feet elevation. There, in August, 1925, Dr. Millikan sank his instruments to various levels in the icy waters.

At this spot, for the first time since the hunt began in 1901, a place was found at last where the "electricity thief" could not penetrate. That was at a depth of sixty feet below the surface of the lake. Later experiments at Gem Lake, Calif., and at Lake Constance, in Switzerland, showed that these rays varied in length and in penetrating power.

The phenomenon of the existence of these rays now established, Millikan set about to explain their origin. Where do they come from and why? And what is their nature?

It was about the time when Sir James Jeans and Sir Arthur Eddington, brilliant British astrophysicists, were expounding their famous theories prophesying the ultimate doom of the universe, basing their prophecies on the inexorable workings of the second law of thermodynamics, according to which all the energy in the cosmos is being dissipated with no means available for replenishing it.

Dr. Millikan, son of a Congregational minister and scion of an old New England ancestry, found in the cosmic ray a weapon with which to combat the juggernaut of the second law of thermodynamics.

At that time—it was 1930—all the evidence available seemed to show that the cosmic ray came with equal intensity from all directions and did not vary in intensity as one traveled from the Equator toward the Poles. That offered strong evidence that the rays were not electrons, which would be stronger near the Poles, since particles of matter would be deflected by the magnetic influence of the polar regions; rather were they photons, "bullets of light" upon which no magnetic influence would be shown.

If the cosmic rays are photons, they could come from great distances, like light.

His Theory of Cosmic Rays

By a process of brilliant reasoning Dr. Millikan here presented his famous theory of the origin of the rays. They come, he concluded, from the interstellar spaces; they are "birth-cries" of new-born atoms of the heavier elements, such as iron, oxygen and silicon, constantly being created from the lighter ones, such as hydrogen and helium. They furnish some experimental evidence, he added, that "the Creator is still on the job."

Further studies on the cosmic ray by other scientists, particularly Dr. Arthur H. Compton, another Nobel Prize winner in physics and a former pupil of Dr. Millikan, challenged Dr. Millikan's contention. These scientists made the claim that their investigations in many parts of the world gave very strong proof that the cosmic rays were largely electrons and hence could not be explained as "birth cries" of new atoms.

Dr. Millikan, however, in the face of an opposition which at times seemed to have completely isolated him, stanchly stood to the last by his hypothesis of a "Creator constantly on the job."

Robert Andrews Millikan was born in Morrison, Ill., on March 22, 1868, son of the Rev. Silas Franklin Millikan and the former Mary Jane Andrews. He came of New England stock. His ancestors came to America before the middle of the eighteenth century. His parents were college graduates and his mother had been dean of women at Olivet College in Michigan. His father was a Congregational minister who preached for forty years in Illinois, Iowa and Kansas.

Robert, the second of six children, was graduated from the high school at Maquoketa, Iowa, where he had lived from the age of 7 until he was 18. At the latter age, in 1886, he entered Oberlin College, where he received his A. B. degree in 1891 and his A. M. in 1893.

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

SUNDAY,

DECEMBER 20, 1953.

December 23. Suburban Safe Way Lines, Inc., a three time two-bit donor, sent \$500.

WCM sent in his \$250 personal donation, earlier than usual, accompanied by a copy of his Christmas message to Edison employees (appended), a work of both beauty and vigor.

Howard Pew phoned. Said he was just getting to my correspondence; that he would today send the Knowles article to 25 oil leaders; that he wanted a meeting next week with Leo, Claude, Larry, Henry, and me; that he presumed I wanted some sponsored meetings in Dallas and Houston. To the latter I said, "Yes." He replied, "I'll phone Jack Pew in Dallas." A few minutes later he reported that JP would arrange affairs in not only Dallas and Houston but in San Antonio. Good!

Phoned Leo et al about next week's meeting with Howard. Appears all set.

Phoned Harry Krusz in San Antonio, telling him about the Pew lunch. Caught him just in time for he had 100 letters signed and already to go for a C of C lunch. Also, wired Dan Smoot in Dallas declining to meet with Junior Chamber on January 6.

In countries like India where there is the most inept organization of society, the doubling of the food supply means no more than a doubling of the population that will live in poverty. In the U.S. where near-good organization of society existed but has broken down, technological advances are more and more absorbed by political parasitism.

Republic Steel sent check for \$7,500, a renewal that I was really worried about. Now assured of a break-even December.

Phoned Ben about some 40 oil executives who are acquaintances of his to whom I am to send the Knowles article.

Practiced curling from 8:00-10:00 PM.

December 24. "But, is there time enough?" This is often the response to educational processes as the recommended means of reversing the trend into socialism. The question, as posed, appears irrelevant. For is not time infinite, and man finite? Perhaps the appropriate question would be, "Am I employing my own time to the best advantage in coping with this problem?" If the answer is "Yes," doesn't it then follow that all else, including Time, is subject to forces beyond one's own control.

Competition for contributions is on an unprecedented scale. The arguments range from almsgiving to world-saving -- no two alike. So great are the pressures and confusions that potential contributors ask themselves, "How can I tell?" or "Which one should I help?" as if they were all charities. If

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possible, I should like FEE isolated from such thoughts -- examined on a different basis. Contributions to FEE should not be thought of as gifts to us for the solution of problems peculiarly our own. The steady growth of organized coercion is another's menace as much as it is ours. The way one ought to examine FEE is: Is it a good agency to help my children, my fellow-citizens, my employees or employer, my occupation or my company, myself, in the educational task of ridding our minds of coercive ideas?

Aunt Ruby, Frances, Mother, JB, Ag and I had a roasted capon for Christmas Eve dinner. Came the presents in abundance, the ones from the kiddies being the most fun. Everyone treated us too generously.

December 25. JB and I drove to the Wagner home in Pelham and bought a 6-week old parakeet, a male and cobalt blue. Pretty fellow.

Ag, Aunt Ruby, Frances, JB and I drove to Chatham and had Christmas dinner with Eve and Chauncey. Home at 9:15 PM.

December 26. Our rink, Locke, Kelley, LER, and Uncle Cliff, put up a good fight but got whupped again by Jock McFarlane et al of Maopac. I curled better.

Took Ag and Frances to see "The Robe," and my first view of cinemascope. Both the picture and the device are very good.

December 27. Locke skip, LER #3, Uncle Cliff #2, and The Professor #1 won against Weston et al (Ardsley #1) 13-9, the first win I have been in on this year. I curled poorly.

December 28. Howard Pew phoned to say that the Dallas luncheon is to be sponsored by Ben H. Wooten, Pres. of First National Bank; that the San Antonio luncheon is to be sponsored by T. F. Murchison, an independent oil producer; that somehow the powers-that-be in Houston don't want to do anything. I do not understand, and never have, the quiet sabotage that goes on there. Will do my best anyway.

Phoned Poirot in Washington and got him to delete a poke at the utilities which he had in his public housing piece.

Dick Schofield of White Plains lunched with us. A young businessman who is a vigorous libertarian.

On phone with George Champion, Claude Robinson, and Hazlitt.

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December 29. Ben's office phoned about a gift of stock to be used for distributing Chodorov's "One Is A Crowd" to members of Intercollegiate Society of Individualists."

Ag went to New York with me and got in a shopping mob while I spent two hours at the University Club with Howard Pew, Henry, Leo, and Claude. The whole session was devoted to the editorial policies The Freeman should pursue and Howard read a list of 50 subjects which should be developed, all excellent. He should be the publisher because of his understanding. Howard wants us to suggest other subjects.

December 30. Du Pont's check for \$10,000 arrived as did \$750 from Swift and Company.

Alexander E. Duncan, Chairman of Commercial Credit, an important gent, replies to my recent and I thought excellent note that he is through with us on account of "The Tariff Idea." Mean about it too.

A Harvard Professor of Philology, Joshua Whatmough, spent several hours with us including luncheon. A very brilliant person and opposed to public education! I invited him to do a piece on the subject for us.

Curling committee met 8:00 - 10:30 PM. Locke's nose out of joint on account we didn't pick him as one of the three St. A.'s skips for the Douglas Bonspiel. We chose McCullough, Arndt, and Pitt, the three best.

December 31. Appended are four maps recapitulating my travel for 1953. Approximately I travelled 53,000 miles, away from home base 88 days, nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ of the year.

Ralph Bradford phoned from Washington. Wanted WCM's home address.

I called Carter Harrison of Chicago University Press and closed the deal for 5,000 reprints of Ashton's essay. The price, \$1,000, is too high.

Peyton's 25 shares of du Pont came in the mail but won't show in this year's business. A. B. Dick \$250, one of Pierre's companies \$300, and \$400 from Wyman-Gordon were last-hour donations. December turned out to be a good month, \$46,000 in receipts, almost all donations. Receipts exceed expenditures by some \$16,000.

Ben phoned from Pittsburgh. I in turn phoned Chodorov in Washington.

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November 8. A beautiful November day. Up at 7:00 AM doing complete rewrite of yesterday's piece, draft appended.

JB and I went to St. Andrews around noon and hacked away at 13 holes of golf, wet ground and considerable snow still on the fairways. Good exercise.

November 9. Letter from Edgar Queeny, Chairman of Monsanto Chemical, saying:

Don't bother to send us an invoice for the coming year. Nineteenth Century economics went out of the window when socialism took control of Europe and became dominant in the policies of most of the other countries of the world. Even under our present tariffs, profits in this industry are hard enough to make, and Monsanto Chemical Company cannot contribute to any institution which is working to eliminate them.

Thus goes another donor and \$1,000!

Leo phoned saying Joe Ball could not consider the Freeman job.

Irene Harrison, in Bronxville from Akron, phoned. She is a gal vigorously into everything but not very well anchored.

Most of day spent making changes in NOTES based on views of senior staff.

November 10. Don Williams phoned inviting me to a wingding at the Waldorf on Monday evening.

Prof. John Tietz of NYU here for several hours and luncheon. Also we had for a guest Dr. Phil Sanborn, Superintendent of Irvington Schools, a pleasant and intelligent person.

Claude Robinson phoned from Princeton about Freeman. Told him about my proposal of Lipscomb. Claude gets very irritated about some business leaders in America who don't support him or FEE. He says they ought to be lying awake nights thinking how they can better use the talents such as he and we have assembled, but that he is always at a loss as to how to say this to them. He is right.

Harry Langenberg arrived on the 4:30. Paul, Baldy, Jim R., Dean, Harry and I had our dinner at FEE, each of us doing something including the broiling of a nice sirloin. Harry has introduced a new note. When he greets any of us: "It's good to see a man." Maybe the term to designate those who aren't Socialists, who aren't, like the Mayans, looking to false gods for help or, like most Americans, looking to the state for succor, who, instead, are self-reliant, is MEN. Put Harry on the 9:04.

TO FRIENDS OF THE FOUNDATION:

"This one is going to be a doozy." So said a Foundation Trustee in predicting FEE's difficulties as relating to the on-coming free trade - tariff debate. And maybe "doozy" is what it will be, for one of New York's important public relations and publicity firms has been retained to organize pressure against FEE and other groups and persons who believe in free trade. Quite obviously our study, The Tariff Idea, is held in respect, for the head of this firm has advised me that we must publish a piece in favor of the protective tariff "to show that the Foundation is on both sides." Failure to do this, I was informed, will bring retaliatory action on the part of our financial supporters "many of whom are for the tariff." You, our supporters, are entitled to some of our thoughts on this issue before the pressure becomes too well organized:

1. The sole purpose of this Foundation is, by educational methods, to present the free market, limited government philosophy. The free market and free trade are synonymous. Any deviation for expediency's sake is not a part of true education. If and when we forsake this declared purpose, we should announce the change to all and sundry, or else liquidate the Foundation. No such declaration is being considered, nor is voluntary liquidation being contemplated.
2. Foundation contributors -- the large as well as the small -- are of a cleaner breed than some suppose. Most of them will support those who stand consistently for free market principles, even though there might be differences as to detail. Few if any of them would support an institution of educational mercenaries.

3. "Greater than the tread of mighty armies is an idea whose hour has come." We in FEE have done no more than to present an idea: no political implementation, no campaign for our views, not even a request that anybody do anything about the free trade idea. Yet, the idea, as we and others have presented it, starts a furor! Interesting, too, is the fact that the aforementioned public relations firm declines to discuss the idea as such. There is an interest only in whether or not we can be politically or financially shoved about.
4. Admittedly, the removal of the American tariff would be but a minor step in the restoration of free trade among nations. Of equal importance -- indeed, necessary steps -- are corrections of each nation's internal policies, our own included. Free trade can be achieved only when all the barriers to production and exchange have been removed. Trade to be free must be unhampered by exchange controls, government trading, commodity agreements, embargoes, subsidies, allocations, cartels, and the like. There can be no such thing as free trade unless exchange is free both as between the nationals of a given country and the nationals of one country and those of another country. Nor can there be free trade when money, the medium of exchange, is controlled and manipulated by politicians. A sound and honest money is a requisite to free trade.
5. This Foundation, however, has deemed it educationally unwise to present all of the above subjects at once. Instead, we have

elected to present the free market, limited government philosophy item by item. One mammoth tome and a single momentous release would hardly serve the purpose for which FEE was established. The Tariff Idea is but one item in a continuing series of contemplated studies and releases.

6. The free trade issue as it is now being argued politically -- that is, shall we or shall we not remove or modify American tariffs? -- is, in our view, of small account when compared with the greater issue: Can we rid ourselves of protectionist thinking? Protectionist thinking lies at the root of socialism, the fallacy that more and more pervades American domestic policy. One who understands, believes in, and can explain free trade ought at least to be immune to the arguments for subsidies, federal subventions, St. Lawrence Waterways, public housing, compulsory "social security," rent control, and other Robin Hoodisms. A mastery of free trade thinking is one of the best antidotes for socialism or, the same thing, protectionism. Education on free trade is as implicit in this Foundation's work as is the multiplication table in the training of a mathematician.
7. It is, however, difficult to understand how some heads of the mighty American industrial system -- the strongest the world has ever known -- come to fear the comparatively flaccid industry of European and other countries. Where, for instance, do more new industries begin than anywhere else in the world? In the USA! In what country of the world do the greatest number of industrial infants grow into industrial giants? In the USA! In what country of the world do industrial

beginners face the most vigorous competition? In the USA, against the mighty American industrial system!

8. Industrial flaccidity goes hand-in-hand with a disregard for private property, the absence of competition, and the application of protectionist theories. American industrial might has been built on a greater acceptance of the private property concept than has existed elsewhere, on dynamic competition, and, also, on having available to it the largest free trade market in the world: the population of our own 48 states!
9. The protective tariff -- admittedly the denial of free trade and the limitation of competition -- is an infraction of the private property concept. Private property means that one has the right to the ownership of the fruits of his labor. Ownership does not exist if one cannot control the disposition of his produce: put it under the mattress, consume it, give it away, or exchange it with whomever he pleases. The protective tariff puts a penalty on certain exchanges and therefore limits the extent of exchangeability. To the degree that exchange is limited, to that degree is property not private. A political measure -- which is what the protective tariff is -- that limits exchange, stifles competition, and denies private property, makes for the very flaccidity that exists elsewhere. The protective tariff is, in short, "security" for industry and is not to be distinguished from other forms of "security."
10. One contributor who has already discontinued his \$5,000 donation to FEE because of The Tariff Idea argues that manufacturers in

Czechoslovakia have the same machinery as he has (no doubt financed by American taxpayers); that the Czechs pay their workers 39¢ per hour while he pays his workers \$2.34 per hour; that if the tariff were removed his company could not compete. There is no sound basis for this conclusion. The reason for the low wage in Czechoslovakia is because the workers cannot employ those machines productively. There is no substantial market in their own country for the luxury product in question. Tariffs, quotas, embargoes, and exchange controls diminish markets elsewhere. Let's test this low-wage-of-foreign-countries argument by one simple question and its answer. Suppose there were no market at all for the product of the Czechoslovakian machines. What wage could the owners of the machines pay their workers? Obviously, nothing! Would such workers at a zero wage need to be feared by our American friend? Only in one respect: They could buy no American products of any kind. When and if the Czechoslovakian workers become as productive as the American workers, the wage rates will equal American wage rates -- providing, of course, that the American wage is not artificially or politically pegged. We must acknowledge, however, that a large fraction of American wages are determined artificially (coercive methods) instead of truthfully (free market methods). This is the logical reason why labor unions which specialize in wage rates by coercion favor the protective tariff and fear free trade.

11. I would like to emphasize again, as The Tariff Idea does emphasize, that the American protective tariff as now practiced is relatively

a minor obstacle to free trade. Its important harm is of another sort: It serves as the political excuse for every other item in the American socialistic portfolio, the items which industrialists mostly oppose. "If the businessman can have his tariff, we, the farmers, are entitled to our subsidies." And so the argument goes through the whole population. No proponent of the protective tariff can logically contend against socialism in any of its forms. He has disqualified himself, ideologically speaking, and every accomplished socialist is aware of this fact.

12. There is no wrong place to begin to be free. Nor need we be advocates of gradualism -- that is, supporters of the let's-remove-our-shackles-slowly idea. Restoring the free market all at once, in any division of the economy, does no greater damage than to restore justice all at once. Some folks worry about the losses that would come to owners of protected businesses should their protection be removed. It would be better to worry about the continuing of injustice to millions of property owners -- be the ownership in wages or savings -- if the limitations on exchange are not removed.

The above is not advanced as a refined or complete argument for free trade or against protectionism. (See our The Tariff Idea for that.) This release has another purpose, namely, to assure friends of the Foundation and devotees of the free market, limited government philosophy that pressure, regardless of how well organized and directed, will in no manner swerve the folks at Irvington-on-Hudson from their acknowledged course.

That the Foundation will lose some support is to be expected. That we may

gain more than is lost is possible. Whatever we gain, we will spend -- for the freedom side of the argument. We believe in it.

Leonard E. Read
President

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November 11. Leo phoned saying that it was all very confidential but that Hazlitt had been talking with John Davenport about Barrons taking over the Freeman and that, as a result, Grimes was to see Pew this week. Leo is sore that Hazlitt should do all of this without consulting any of us. Davenport isn't any good for the job. He isn't anchored philosophically. The trouble here is that Henry is getting panicky about not unloading and he does not have good judgment in such matters.

A wire from Neenah that my good friend Henry Boon, V.P. of Kimberly-Clark, passed away last night with heart attack.

Clinchy and Opitz for luncheon at FEE.

Tony Reinach came at 2:30 and stayed balance of afternoon, driving Ag and me to Penn Station for C&O's 6:25 PM train to White Sulphur Springs. Even the steaks aren't good on trains any more.

November 12. Off train at 6:10 AM and to the lovely Greenbrier where one is greeted with coffee in the lobby, and to 1120, a very nice room.

Claude Robinson phoned me from Chicago, as I had requested, and he was much opposed to my sending out the Notes piece on the tariff as written; that a different approach had to be used; that I had taken a belligerent attitude; that an attitude of humility was needed. Claude is probably right although I am deep enough into this thing that I recognize no belligerency.

Met at breakfast with 17 chairmen and consultants of the Industry-College Conference, the meeting presided over by Carroll V. Newsom, Associate Commissioner of Higher Education, University of the State of New York, the conference itself sponsored by Robert Young.

Phoned Bette and called off my Notes, awaiting a revision.

The conference, list of attendants appended, convened at 10:30, Newsom presiding. Short speeches by Robert Young and the two co-chairmen, Henry T. Heald, President of NYU and Ben Moreell. Heald gave a definite support to public education. Moreell's part very good and sound. Lunched with Kitty, Ag, Ben, and Wallace, West Virginian State College. Following this, our work group assembled for the afternoon 2½ hour session. Present were Father Hesburgh, President of Notre Dame, Allen, co-consultant with me, Malcolm Muir, Eark Kribben, subbing for Hughston McBain, MacMillen, Father Mulcahy, V.P. of Fordham, and Salvati. Most amiable and reasonable discussion. It would have been like swatting a baby in the face to blurt out the truth about "Education's" problem and "Industry's" concern about teaching, textbooks, etc. Ben and I edged at the problem as best we could. Father Mulcahy seemed to share our views.

Participants in The Industry-College Conference

Officers of the Conference:

Co-Chairmen: Henry T. Heald, Chancellor, New York University
Ben Moreell, Chairman, Jones & Laughlin Steel Co.

Administrator: Carroll V. Newsom, Associate Commissioner for
Higher Education, University of the State of
New York

Secretary: Clifford H. Ramsdell, Secretary-Treasurer,
Federation for Railway Express

Counselor: Richard Beckhard, Executive Director, Confer-
ence Counselors

Work Group Chairmen:

William B. Given, Jr., American Brake Shoe Co.
T. Keith Glennan, Case Institute of Technology
Theodore M. Hesburgh, University of Notre Dame
Robert C. Hood, Ansul Chemical Co.
Douglas McGregor, Antioch College
Paul H. Sheats, Adult Education Assn. of the U.S.

Members of the Conference:

Arthur S. Adams, American Council on Education,
1785 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

John C. Adams, Hofstra College, Hempstead, N.Y.

Marion J. Allen, American Steel Foundries,
400-410 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago 11, Illinois

M. M. Anderson, Aluminum Company of America
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Richard N. Andrews, Corning Glass Works Foundation
Corning, New York

James W. Armsey, New York University
Washington Square, New York

C. Storer Baldwin, C. H. Sprague & Son Co.,
Boston, Mass.

Richard Beckhard, Conference Counselors
114 East 40th St., New York, N.Y.

Louis H. Bell, Pennsylvania State College,
State College, Pa.

Curtis G. Benjamin, McGraw Hill Book Co.,
330 West 42nd St., New York, N.Y.

Members Continued:

Paul G. Blazer, Ashland Oil & Refining Co.
Ashland, Kentucky

Katherine G. Blyley, Keuka College
Keuka Park, N. Y.

Maynard Boring, General Electric Co.
570 Lexington Ave., New York

Arthur L. Brandon, University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Earl Brooks, Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Champ Carry, Pullman-Standard Car Mfg. Co.,
Chicago, Illinois

Gordon K. Chalmers, Kenyon College
Gambier, Ohio

Grady Clark, Investors Diversified Services,
Minneapolis, Minn.

Wilson Compton, Council for Financial Aid to
Education, Inc., New York

C. W. Darden, Jr., University of Virginia,
Charlottesville, Va.

T. J. Deegan, Jr., Chesapeake and Ohio Railway,
4500 Chrysler Building, New York 17, N. Y.

Herman L. Donovan, University of Kentucky,
Lexington, Kentucky

Cyrus S. Eaton, West Kentucky Coal Co., Cleveland

Percy J. Ebbott, Chase National Bank of N. Y.
Pine St., Corner of Nassau, New York 15, N. Y.

Milton S. Eisenhower, Pennsylvania State College
State College, Pa.

Carl L. Ell, Northeastern University
Boston, Massachusetts

R. H. Fitzgerald, University of Pittsburgh,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Francis P. Gaines, Washington & Lee University
Lexington, Virginia

William B. Given, Jr., American Brake Shoe Co.
230 Park Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

Members Continued:

3

T. Keith Glennan, Case Institute of Technology
Cleveland, Ohio

Virgil M. Hancher, State University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa

Arthur A. Hauck, University of Maine
Orono, Maine

Henry T. Heald, Chancellor, New York University
New York 3, N. Y.

A. R. Hellwarth, The Detroit Edison Co.,
2000 Second Ave., Detroit, Michigan

T. M. Hesburgh, University of Notre Dame
South Bend, Ind.

Robert C. Hood, Ansul Chemical Co.
Marinette, Wis.

Charles D. Hilles, Jr., International Telephone
& Telegraph, 67 Broad Street, New York, N. Y.

Livingston W. Houston, Rensselaer Polytechnic
Institute, Troy, N. Y.

C. C. Jarchow, American Steel Foundries
400-410 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago 11, Illinois

Charles J. Johnson, Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Lewis J. Jones, Rutgers University
New Brunswick, N. J.

Earl Kribben, Marshall Field & Co., Chicago, Ill.

Sylvester F. Leahy, The Detroit Edison Co.,
Detroit, Michigan

Robert A. Love, The City College of New York
17 Lexington Ave., New York

William C. MacMillen, Jr., Chesapeake Industries
New York, N. Y.

Douglas McGregor, Antioch College
Yellow Springs, Ohio

Millicent M. McIntosh, Barnard College
New York, N. Y.

George M. Modlin, University of Richmond
Richmond, Virginia

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C. J. O'Malley, DePaul University
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Clifford H. Ramsdell, Federation for Railway
Progress 4500 Chrysler Bldg., New York

Leonard E. Read, Foundation for Economic Education
Irvington-On-Hudson, New York

J. T. Rettaliata, Illinois Institute of Technology
Chicago, Illinois

Joseph D. Ryle, Federation for Railway Progress
1430 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Raymond E. Salvati, Island Creek Coal Co.,
Huntington, W. Va.

Wickliffe Shreve, Hayden, Stone & Co.,
25 Broake Street, New York, N. Y.

Armstrong A. Stambaugh, Standard Oil Co., (Ohio)
Midland Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio

Irvin Stewart, West Virginia University
Morgantown, West Virginia

Paul H. Sheats, Adult Education Assn. of the U.S.
c/o University of California, Los Angeles, Calif.

Walter J. Tuchy, Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co.
Cleveland, Ohio

Eric A. Walker, Pennsylvania State College
State College, Pennsylvania

William J. L. Wallace, West Virginia State College
Institute, West Virginia

Raymond Walters, University of Cincinnati
Cincinnati, Ohio

F. E. Welfle, John Carroll University
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Maynard Boring, General Electric Co.
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A. R. Hellwarth, The Detroit Edison Co.
Robert A. Love, The City College of New York
Leonard E. Read, Foundation for Economic Education
Eric A. Walker, Pennsylvania State College

Work Group Recorders:

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Arthur L. Brandon, University of Michigan
Thomas J. Deegan, Jr., Chesapeake & Ohio Railway
Joseph D. Ryle, Federation for Railway Progress

Ladies Committee:

Margaret Marshall
Ann E. Stevenson
Patricia Ventura

Conference Office and Information Desk:

Maralouise Hoffman
Shirley Miropol
Elta Moyer

7 - 1953

The doctor put Ben to bed with his cold so I took Ag and Kitty to cocktails and to dinner, getting Father Mulcahy and Merrylye Rukeyser of INS to join us. After dinner we saw the interesting movie "The Sea Around Us."

November 13. Our work group gathered at 9:30. I started off the session by asserting that education and industry had a basic mutuality of interest; that it was not the Moscow apparatus in question but a form of socialism distinctly an American brat and therefore generally liked; that it was this socialism that was at once driving education to industry for help and that causes industry to worry about its own existence and the teaching that is going on. The state assumption of the responsibility for the welfare of the people (and I named items) can be financed only by this inflation; that this, in turn, destroys endowments; that industry and education must go hand in hand in ridding ourselves of this; that if it continues there soon will be no help at all to education from industry because industry will have nothing to give. Ben gave this a vigorous backing but it was not further discussed. Too basic methinks.

The problem unfolds, the mess of the private colleges in competition with state colleges. But no questioning of public education. I said, "Ben, I wonder how I could help J & L with its pricing problem if U.S. Steel were taken over by the federal government." Adams holds that when public education takes over entirely that all in the country will be socialism. Here something was said, almost. But Father Hesburgh immediately cautions against saying anything disparaging about public education; that it is good so long as private education exists along side of it. Talk stays exclusively around industry financing education and almost nothing on other methods of cooperation. Adams suggests a huge loan fund to be set up by industry, available on long-term basis to students. At conclusion of session at noon, Dr. Adams told me that my opening statement was the best he had ever heard; that it should be expanded into a documented book.

Ben called me to his room to counsel on an important and confidential matter having to do with a meeting tomorrow with Herbert Hoover and Budget Director Dodge.

At 2:30, a panel chairmaned by Newson and participated in by Glennan, President of Case Institute of Technology, Robert C. Hood, Ansul Chemical Company, Douglas McGregor, Antioch College, Father Hesburgh, President of University of Notre Dame, Wm. B. Given, Jr., President of American Brake Shoe Company, and Paul H. Sheats, UCLA. Not much came out of this or from the panel which followed: Arthur S. Adams, presiding, American Council on Education, Henry T. Heald, Chancellor of NYU, Robert Young, C & O, Wilson Compton, Council for Financial Aid to Education, Ben Moreell, J & L.

Ag and I joined Earl and Elinor Kribben and Ben and Kitty for cocktails, then to Banquet, program appended.

8 - 1953

Ag had on her birthday present, her window-curtain, lace, formal dress. V.P. indeed.

Was much impressed with Mrs. McIntosh, President of Barnard. Milton Eisenhower is a good speaker, and he at least said little I would take issue with. Afterward we went to The Old White Club and stayed on with Mr. & Mrs. Grady Clark until 1:00 AM. Bad.

Mechanically, this has been the best arranged affair I have ever seen. Done by Richard Beckhard, Conference Counsellors, 114 E. 40th St., New York.

November 14. Breakfast with E. Gahan, recorder for our work group, who wanted me to elaborate on my yesterday's statement. Merryly Rukeyser joined us.

Played Old White course with Fitzgerald, Chancellor of U. of Pittsburgh, Keith Glennan, President of Case I. T., and Armstrong Stambaugh, Chairman of Standard Oil of Ohio. Lovely day and had fun. Had three bad holes 7-8-8, so shot a 93. The others, however, were over 100.

Ag and I had cocktails, dinner, movie (Oliver Twist) with Frances and Grady Clark. He is a fabulous salesman, being V.P. and Head of Sales for Investors Diversified Services, Inc., a subsidiary of Young's Alleghany Corp. Reports he will do \$72,000,000 in sales this month; that his company now has 30% of nation's total investment trust business. He could help FEE, and I believe would do so were I to give him half a chance. His opinion of Young is not good. To hay at midnight.

November 15. Golfed at Old White with Sylvester Leahy (5) of Detroit Edison, Father C. J. O'Malley of De Paul University, and Earl Kribben. Scores: Leahy 80, LER 88, O'Malley 95, Kribben 97.

Cocktailed at Old White Club, just the two of us, had a dinner in keeping with the lushness of this place, said a goodbye to Frances and Grady, and visited the cashier. I had to argue with vigor even to pay for some earrings Ag had bought. Everything -- the drinks, my golf, Ag's sulphur baths, were on the house. A lovely four days. On C&O's 9:05 PM for New York.

November 16. Hance to meet us at Penn Station, dropping Ag off at Bronxville for her Womens Exchange work. At FEE by 10:45 AM and with a dilly of a head cold.

Opitz phoned that Inx would be here Wednesday for a several day stay.

I had to phone Don Williams that I was not up to participating in his N.Y. party tonight. Ivan consented to go in my place.

9 - 1953

Mr. Hoiles sent us a check for \$1,000 -- a 100% increase.

On arriving home, found a wonderful letter from Yur Sun, but containing word of Papa John's passing. His spirit and character, though, will live on forever.

November 17. Berry, Michigan Bell Telephone, phoned me from Detroit asking that St. Andrews enter in their bonspiel January 7-8-9-10.

Hutch phoned and is thinking about a letter to Edgar Queeny in our behalf.

Mr. Fennell of Texas Company phoned asking for a sketch of our progress for their Contributions Committee, meeting next week.

November 18. Spent 26 out of the last 36 hours in the sack.

Check for \$5,000 from U. S. Gypsum.

Check for \$2,500 from Standard Oil (N.J.).

Check for \$3,000 from Luhnow for publishing and distributing Hutt's The Theory of Collective Bargaining.

Spent considerable time on preparing letter and other data to Mr. Fennell of Texas Company, letter (lousy) appended.

Put final draft of NOTES to bed, copy appended.

November 19. First donation came in from my red-line letter to prospects -- \$200 from Alex Hillman.

Phoned Hutch about NOTES and said I was not sending him a copy for review as I had promised. He was quite agreeable.

George Ross phoned from Joe Crail's office asking me to make a Bill of Rights speech at Biltmore, Monday, December 14. Agreed.

Pierre Goodrich phoned twice during evening from Indianapolis about our getting together in New York with Mr. Morgan, Pres. of Ayrshire Collieries.

Attended meeting of Curling Committee 8:00 to 10:45 PM. Present: Seibert, Locke, Dudley, McCullough, and Chattin. Picked skips and set up rinks for Dykes and Apple Tree.

November 20. Harry Gardiner of Pittsburgh called. Has some kind of a scheme for selling free enterprise by display and exhibits. I don't quite get it.



THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.
IRVINGTON-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK

LEONARD E. READ, *President*

November 18, 1953

Mr. H. E. Fennell, Assistant Manager
The Texas Company
135 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Fennell:

The following is in response to your call of yesterday asking for a report of the Foundation's progress and plans for the coming year.

I must say at the outset, in view of our procedures, that it is almost impossible to reply to your request statistically. Figures and provable facts cannot demonstrate our progress. However, and for what they are worth to you, I am enclosing:

Exhibit I - A chart, recently used as a promotion piece, showing what has happened to our total revenue and, also, showing the trend in number of contributors. This latter is significant in that it shows a growing vitality among smaller contributors, justifying support, perhaps, on the part of larger contributors.

Exhibit II - Auditor's report for our last fiscal year.

To gauge the progress of this Foundation, one must be aware of our major premise: Socialism gains because there are so few who adequately understand and can explain with sufficient clarity the opposite philosophy, that is, the free market, limited government philosophy. Our task, then, is to gain a deeper understanding of the philosophy ourselves, to discover ways of explaining what we learn with an ever-increasing clarity, and to send our studies to all who can be induced to want them. A fair development of this thesis is set forth in a piece of mine, enclosed as Exhibit III.

Any success we may have is, as I have indicated, difficult to measure. For success must rest on the number of persons who are more and more becoming accomplished expositors of our philosophy. That we are having a marked success I do assert; but such an assertion is unprovable except as one observes our correspondence and travels about the country as I do, observing the progress in the thinking of specific individuals. The marked increase in the number of our contributors and the fact that teachers and clergy, more than any others, seek to obtain our material lend some credence to my assertion.

The persons whose interest we seek to obtain and the ones we regard to be important in advancing the free market philosophy have two characteristics:

Mr. H. E. Fennell

November 18, 1953

1. They are capable of dealing in this particular area of ideas.
2. They have means of communicating these ideas.

Categorically, such persons are teachers, clergymen, writers, or others with the above qualifications. As in every field of endeavor, the mass of people follow leaders -- as, indeed, most of us are followers of the leaders in the oil industry.

With these thoughts in mind, any accurate examination of the Foundation must include:

1. An examination of the quality of our publications.
2. A measure of the acceptance among social science leaders of our activities.

With reference to the first point, I quote a sentence in a letter received yesterday from the immediate past President of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce:

"I am delighted with it [Bargaining -- enclosed as Exhibit IV] and say without qualification that it is the finest treatise on economic education of anything I have ever read."

It would be too burdensome for your purpose to enclose all of our recent productions; therefore, I am enclosing as Exhibit V an up-to-date list of our publications. Parenthetically, we have, as you can observe, brought into existence a new literature on our philosophy since beginning the Foundation in 1946.

Again, I must not burden you with evidence as to the acceptance of our work. But perhaps the most telling example is in the instance of high school and college debating teams, the debating subjects being organized nationally in both instances. Enclosed as Exhibit VI is a self-explanatory letter which relates to the interscholastic debates. The amount of literature furnished from here to both high school and college debating teams is large and for the most part is done on a "for free" basis. There is no place in educational life where literature is more activated than in the instance of debaters.

Your company has not participated in our College-Business Exchange Program, but this phase of our work is having a remarkable success. Announcement enclosed as Exhibit VII. The Opinion Research Corporation has just completed a study among last year's participating professors, the results of which were so astoundingly favorable that Claude Robinson described them as "almost unbelievable." We cannot obtain our copies of this survey until next week. I will send you six of these on their receipt.

As you know, the educational textbook problem is a serious one, so many of the books containing socialistic doctrine. There isn't any remedy in complaining about this situation. Nothing counts but the use of good textbooks. We were responsible for bringing out Understanding Our Free Economy, a

28 - 1953

A high school teacher from Vancouver, B.C. at Tarrytown for awhile on an exchange basis, a Mr. Hill-Tout, called. A most attractive person.

Put next issue of "Notes" to bed.

The Rogers, Russells, and LERs went to the home of Helen and Ed Opitz for this New Year's Eve. It was a most pleasing occasion with a lovely buffet supper after midnight. Home at 2:45 AM.



The Foundation workshop, Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.

Behold, there went out a sower to sow:

And it came to pass, as he sowed, some fell by the way side, and the fowls of the air came and devoured it up.

And some fell on stony ground, where it had not much earth; and immediately it sprang up, because it had no depth of earth:

But when the sun was up, it was scorched; and because it had no root, it withered away.

And some fell among thorns, and the thorns grew up, and choked it, and it yielded no fruit.

And other fell on good ground, and did yield fruit that sprang up and increased; and brought forth, some thirty, and some sixty, and some an hundred.

Mark 4:3-8

MR. & MRS. LEONARD E. READ



THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.

IRVINGTON-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK

August 31, 1953

Mr. Harry E. Northam, Executive Secretary
Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, Inc.
360 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Harry:

This will acknowledge your letter of the 27th and the compliment you pay me by indicating that I can properly answer your difficult question.

I am not at all acquainted with the proposed bills about which you write, but I believe I understand the question you pose.

There can be no equitable taxation to finance government when its activities are beyond government's purpose of defending the life and livelihood of all citizens equally. Equity in our present circumstances is an impossibility, and I mean this in an absolute sense. All any of these proposed adjustments mean, then, is an attempt to readjust the minor inequities that are born of a major inequitable situation.

The primary task that confronts you and me is to get government again within bounds, and nothing should divert us from this object.

Now, then, conceding that one does not lose sight of the primary task and refuses to be diverted by extra-curricular activities, I can see nothing wrong in the removal of what appears to me to be a discrimination imposed on the self-employed. I wish to emphasize discrimination as distinguished from special privilege.

If no category of persons were getting benefits of exemption for annuity purposes and the doctors asked it for themselves, I would classify such a move as a special-privilege move. But in this instance, other classes of the population have been given exempt status leaving the self-employed discriminated against. I believe one has a moral right to argue for the removal of a discrimination against one's self.

Let's take a fair analogy. Suppose a law were passed granting tax exemption for all money spent on taking vacations in Europe, granted to everyone except M.D.s. with a license. True, the main effort ought to be to get the silly law repealed but assuming that repeal had to rest on a thorough-going intellectual revolution concerning the scope of government, I would see nothing morally wrong in the doctors' insisting on the removal of the inconsistency in the meantime. Tactically, the doctors' insistence would be wrong if they acted in such a manner as to give endorsement to the silly law. I am, in claiming no moral wrong, assuming that the doctors believe and act as if the law were wrong in the first place. I am arguing that they can fight against discrimination without becoming parties to the process of special privilege.

Mr. Harry E. Northam

August 31, 1953

Look at this another way. Suppose everyone were exempted from taxation except those whose first names were Harry, Leonard, Bill, and Jacob. Would we not be justified in crying out against the injustice? And would we in our attempt to be exempt as are others necessarily endorse the principle of special privilege?

I have views a lot more firm than the ones above expressed. You and Dr. Anthony may be right that the legislation should not be actively supported. I do believe, though, that there would be no moral violation involved. Tactically, you might be much better fighters for freedom while bearing the burden of discrimination. Tom Mooney was a most effective person for the leftists while in prison, but he was never heard of after getting out.

The trouble with moves to put legislation of this kind into effect is that the move, if successful, tends to convince the relieved persons that they have made a solid accomplishment; that the governmental mess is less a mess; that a relaxation of their vigilance is in order. Nothing of the kind! Inequity has only been spread out more evenly. And the need for keeping our eye on the main target of excess government has not been diminished one whit.

Cordially,

Leonard E. Read

LER:bf



THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.
IRVINGTON-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK

August 24, 1953

Mr. William S. Street, President
Frederick Nelson Company
Seattle, Washington

Dear Bill:

Abbe Ernest Dimet in his Art of Thinking has a chapter on "Phantasms." The type to which he refers is of common variety -- the annoying thoughts we have about what someone else is thinking about something we have said. The good Abbe tries to make it plain that we shouldn't be so egotistic; that the someone else is occupied with matters distinctly his own and has entirely forgotten the subject that gave rise to the concern. Thus, the worry is baseless, is a phantasm.

Nonetheless, I'm fretting about a point in our talk the other day. You generously took the pains to phone me about a dinner at your home and asked if I had anyone special in mind. Because I have been frowned upon so many times for not scintillating in frivolous nothings and for talking seriously at mixed dinners and such, I, in an attempt to think of my affected social manners, came up with "the Grahams," having remembered them pleasantly in that way. The basis for my concern is that, on reflection, I thought your response had a disappointed note in it; that maybe you had in mind getting together some folks who would be genuinely interested in the kind of talk you and I would have were we together and who would, perhaps, give aid to our libertarian cause. In such a circumstance, I have no reason to believe that "the Grahams" would qualify. Indeed, few would, nor am I in this year of our Lord able to name the ones in Seattle -- aside from you, Cassius, and two or three others -- who would.

The above is only a preface to saying that I welcome, above all kinds of gatherings, large or small, the ones having a serious disposition and aimed at furthering an interest in the philosophy that you and I espouse. If you have anything like this in mind as a preference, I can only cheer. Such evenings do, however, bore hell out of one or the other half of nearly every married couple, and thus my light-weight response to you.

No reply to this is expected. I only wish to be rid of a worry. I will be happy if I can spend an evening with you and Janice. If there are to be more than you two, you do the embroidery.

Faithfully,

Leonard E. Read

LER:bf

Hypothéqué sur les Domaines Nationaux.

ASSIGNAT de cent francs.

Série

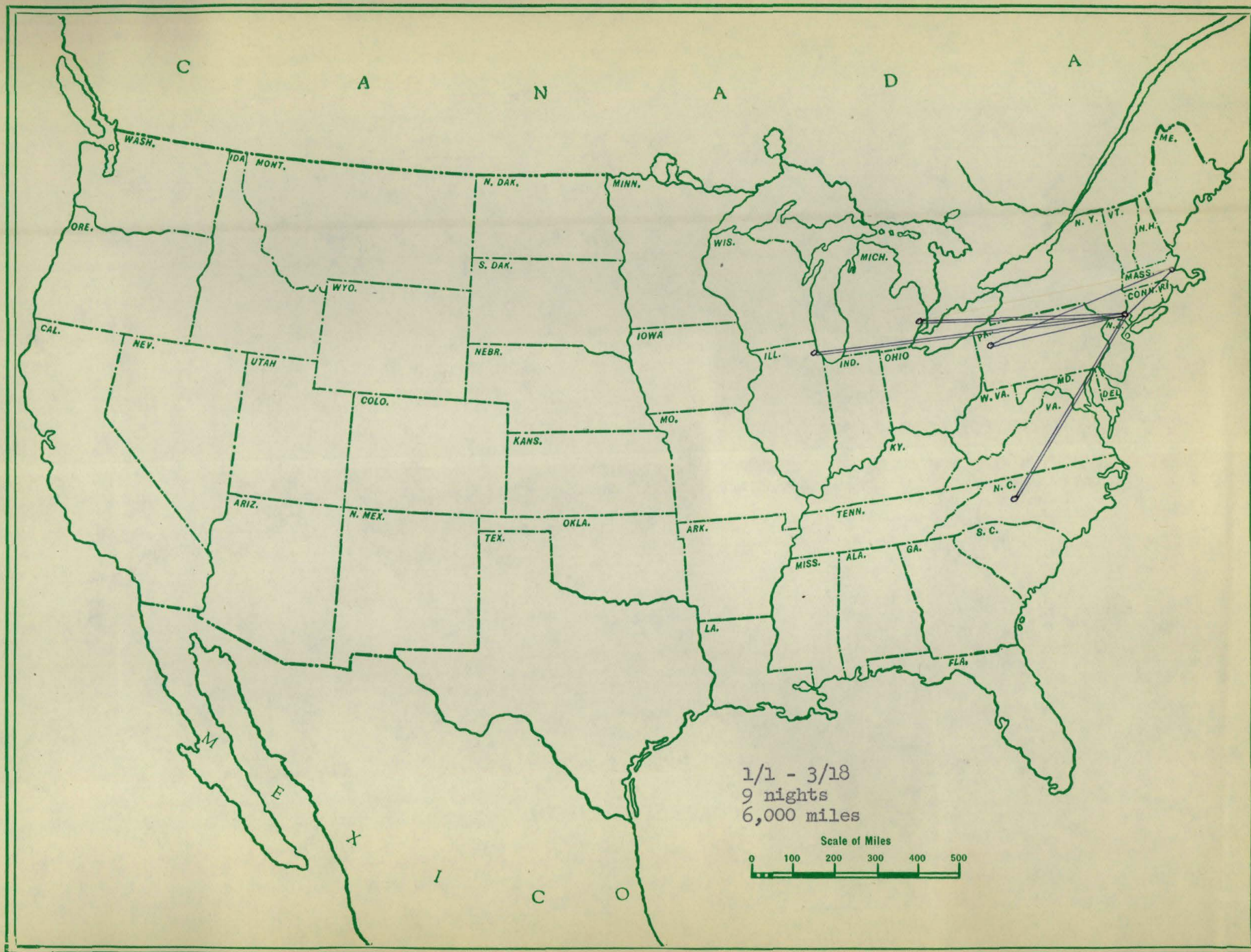
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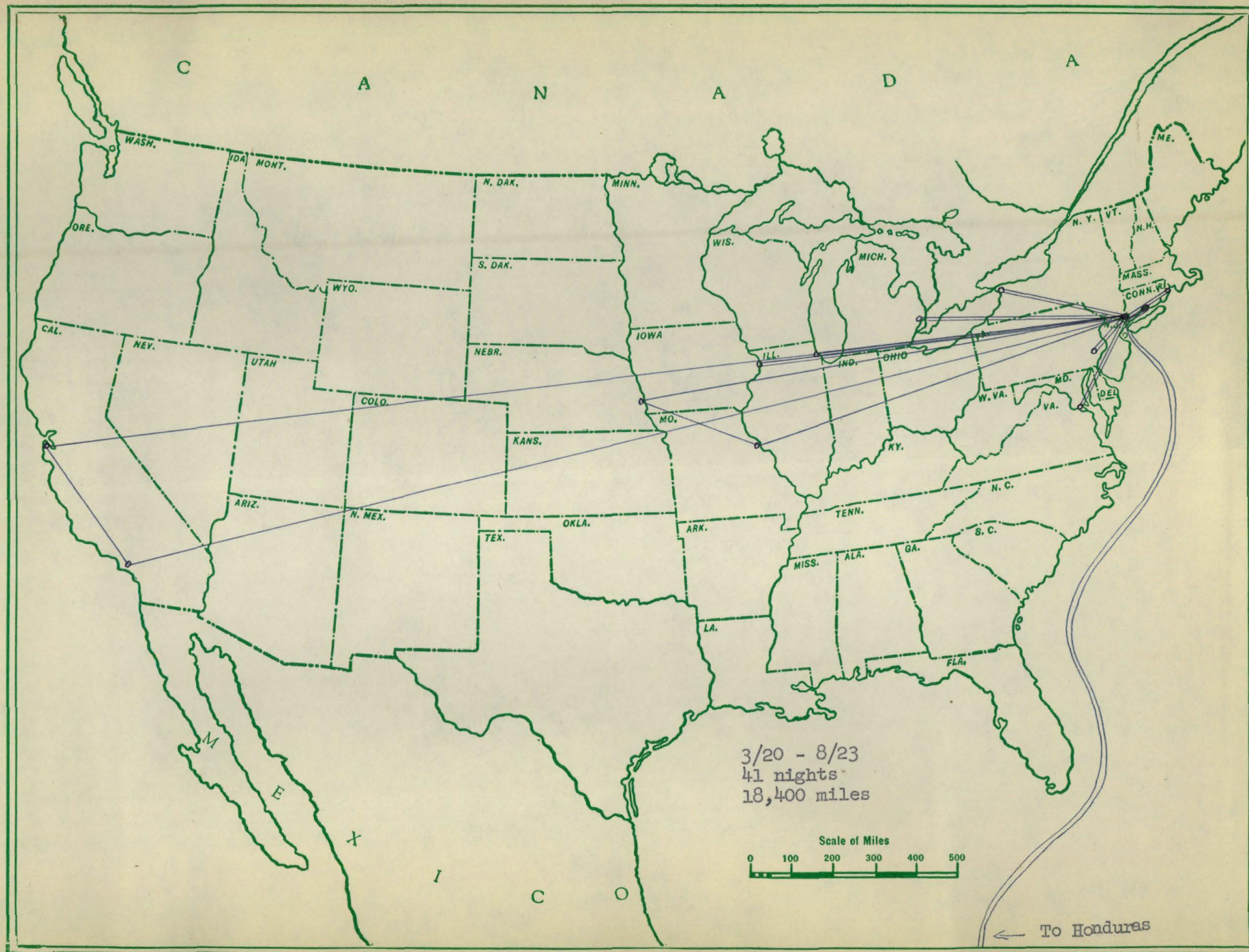
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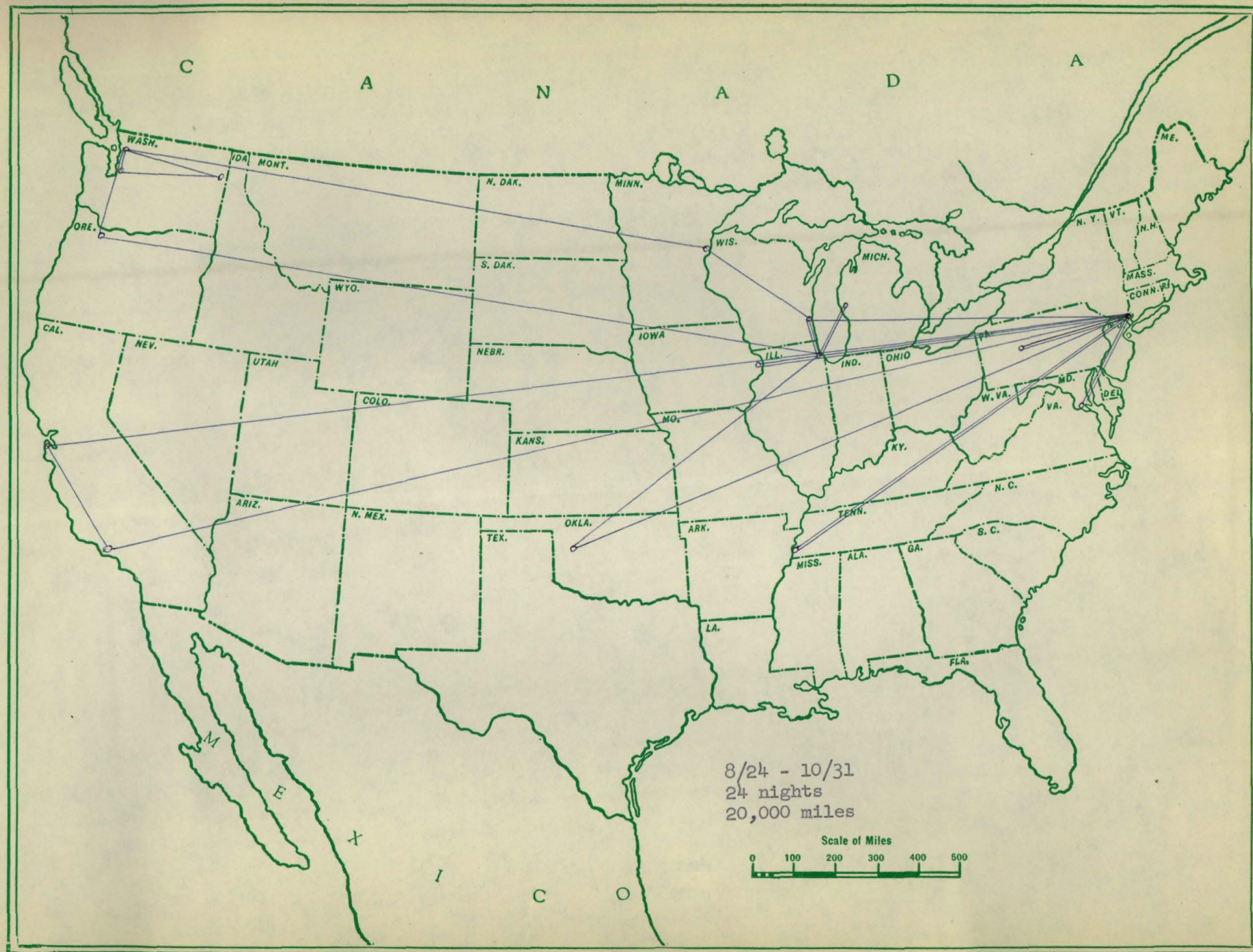
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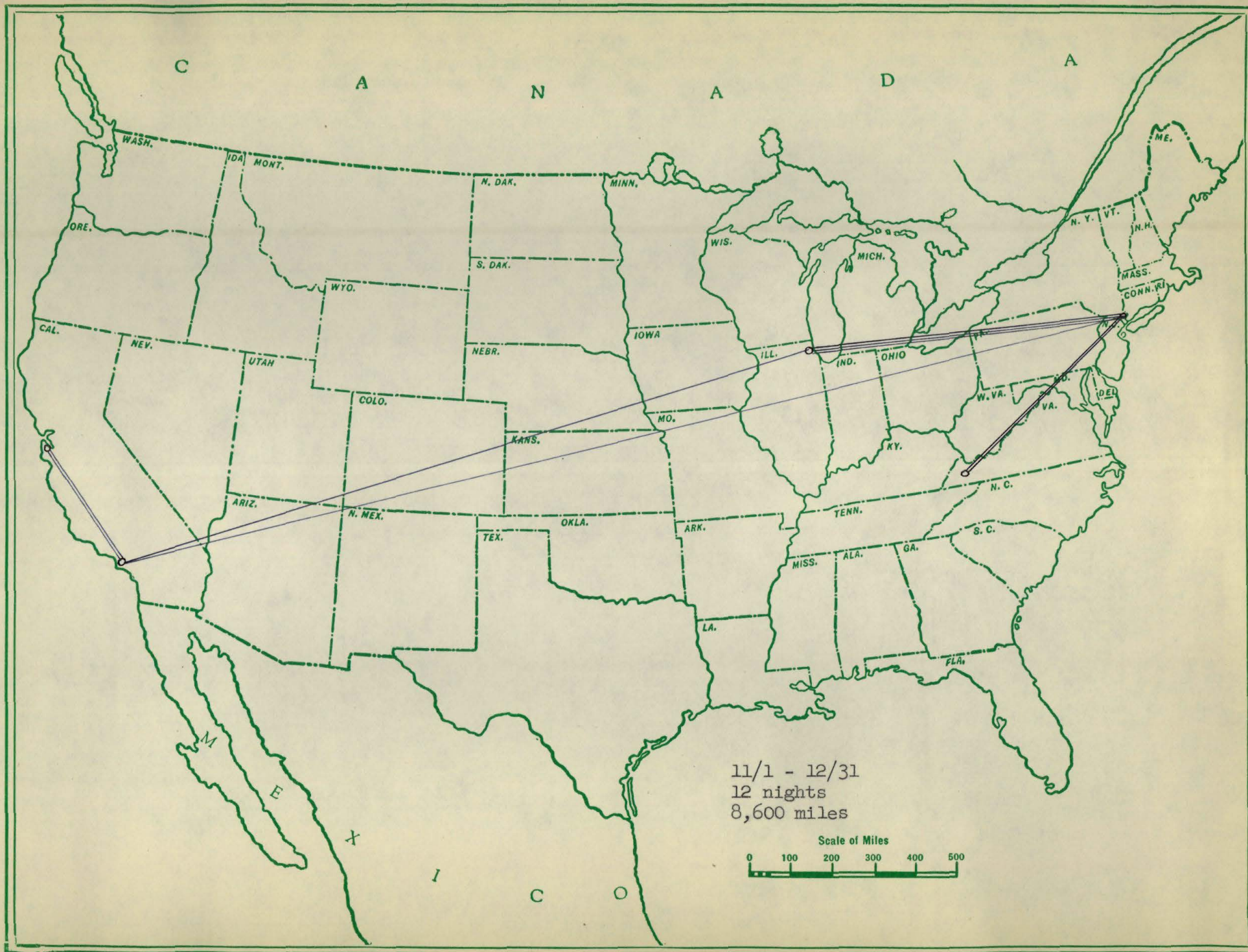
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Créé le 15 nivôse l'an 3^e de la République française.









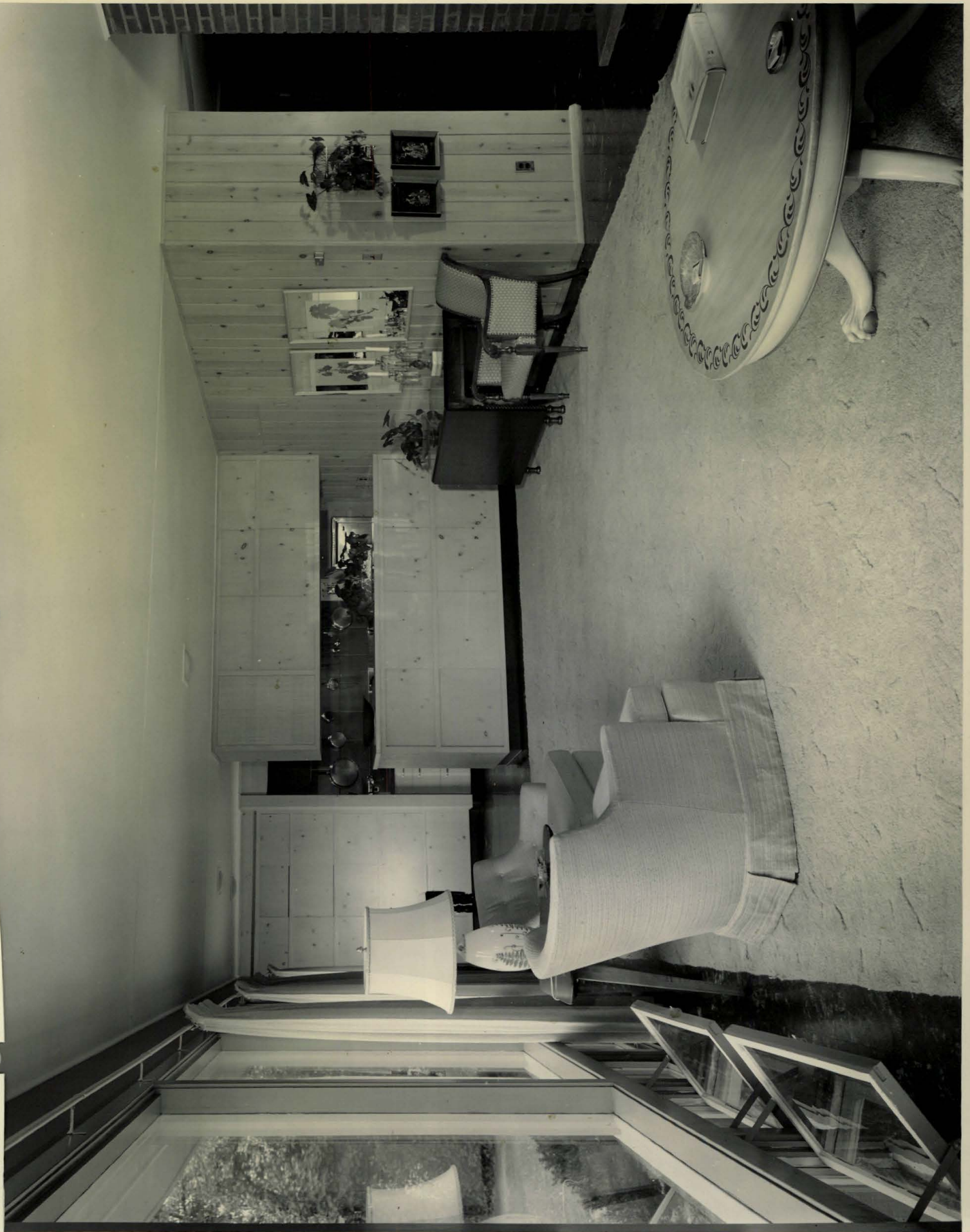




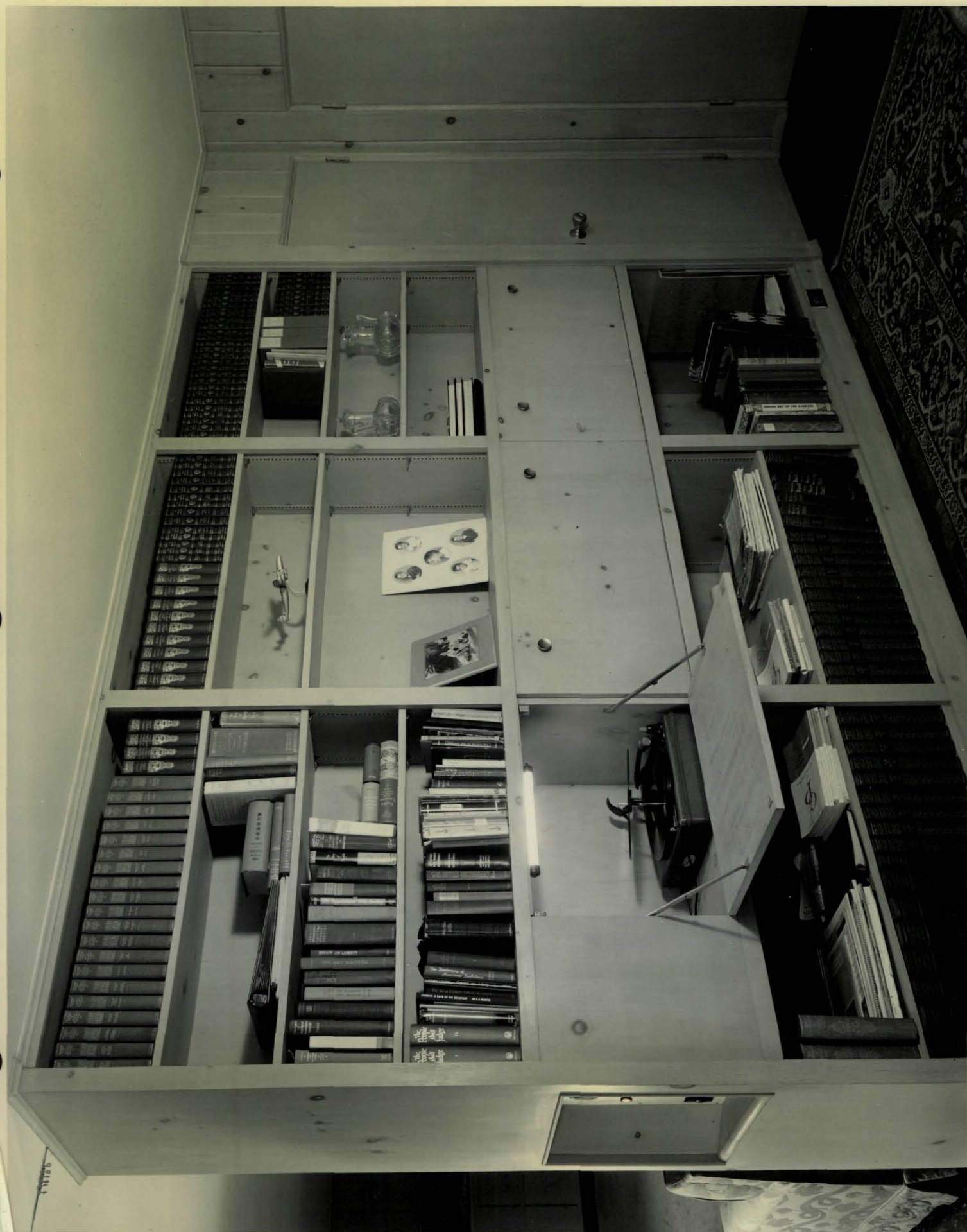


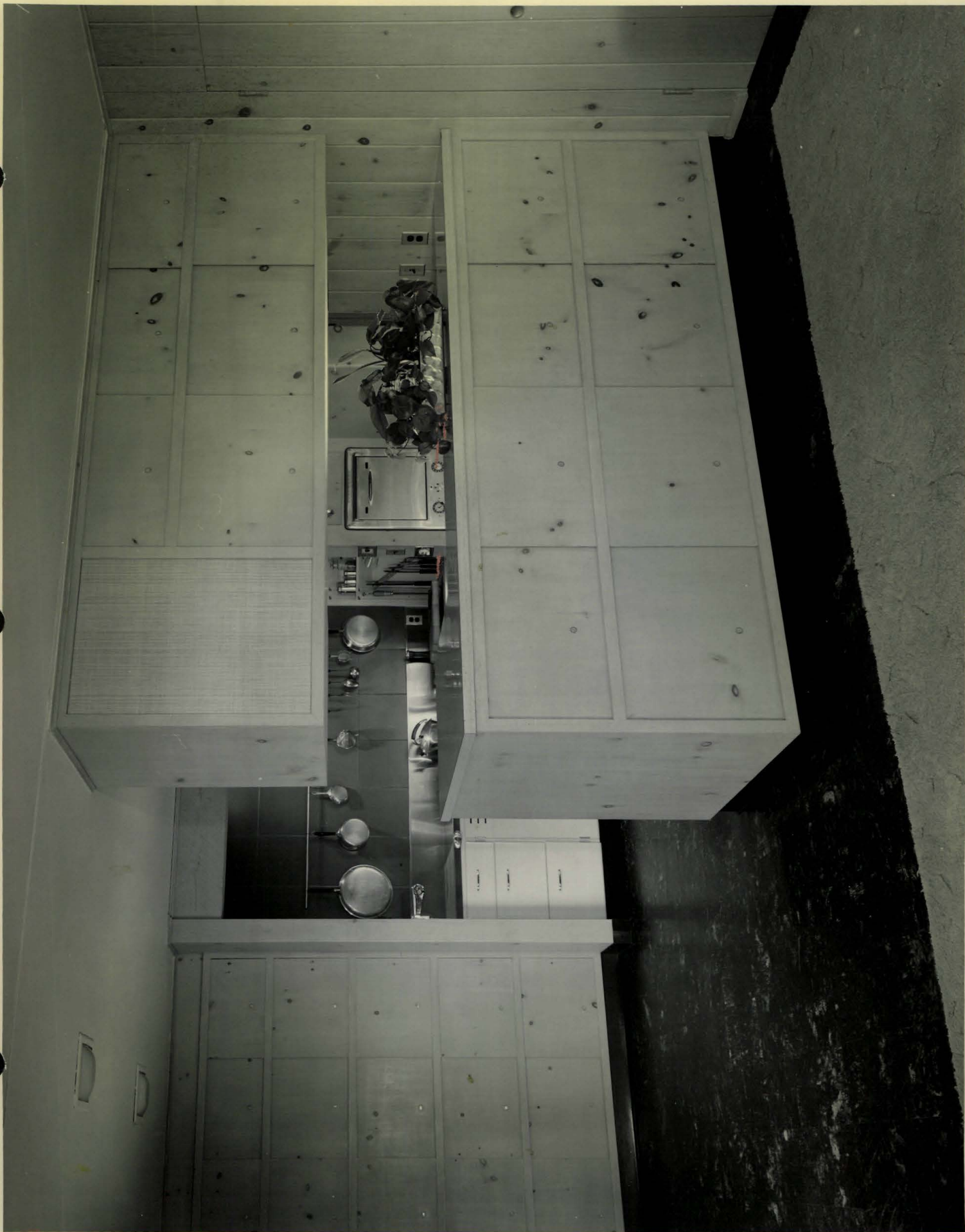
















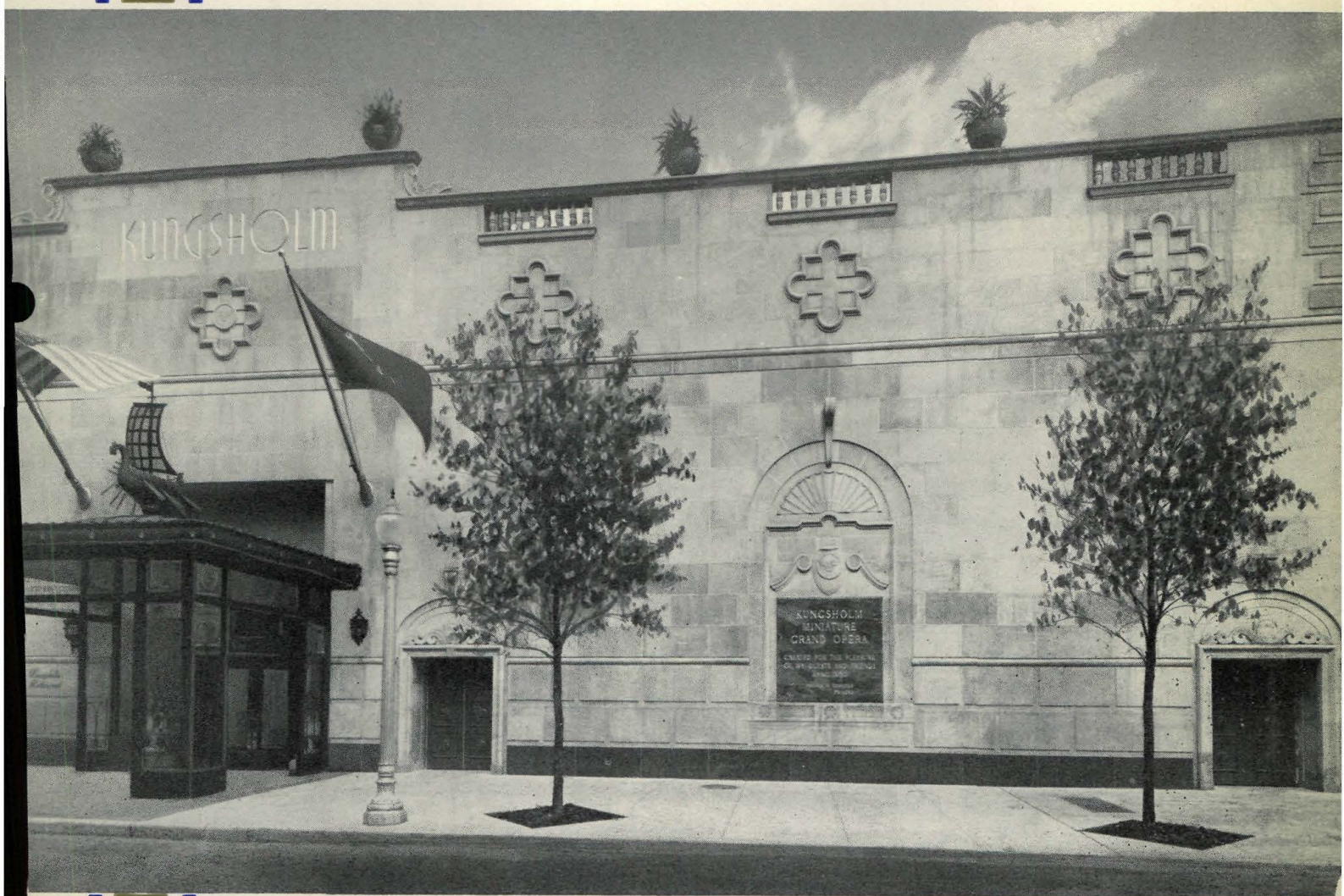
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WALLICK CLOSE
SCARSDALE,
NEW YORK



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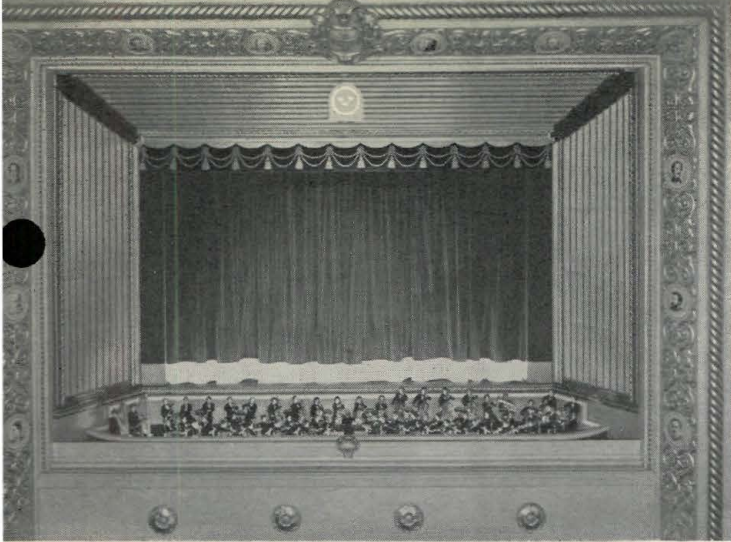
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Kungsholm

MINIATURE GRAND OPERA THEATRE • CHICAGO

Souvenir Program



FOLLOWING the disastrous fire which occurred in February, 1947, destroying my miniature Puppet Opera, I have now been able to again open in a very modern theatre, therefore this evening you have been invited as my guest, to the Kungsholm Miniature Grand Opera Theatre created for the pleasure of my guests and friends who like it and I hope you too will enjoy the performance which I have planned for you as much as I enjoy having you here; therefore I would greatly appreciate my guests refraining from conversation or leaving the auditorium during the performance, as it may disturb the audience.

Fine Operas and good music are my hobbies and have been for many years (in fact I presented my first Puppet Opera to my schoolmates when I was nine years of age); from them I have gained not only limitless pleasures, but relaxation from business as well; consequently my approach in building this Opera Theatre has realized my life long dream and has been a personal one for the joy and satisfaction it gives, also an outlet for creative instincts.

This Opera House has been built to bring forth the true picture of the fine Operas which the Victor, as well as the Columbia Recording Companies have so successfully produced from the two great Opera Companies La Scala, Milan and L'Opera Paris-France. Guest artists all via recording, such as Lauritz Melchior, Kirsten Flagstad, Lotte Lehmann, Pons, Bjoerling, John Charles Thomas, Steber, Albanese, Dorothy Kirsten, Sayao, Pearce, Tucker and Leonard Warren are heard during some of the performances.

To present my repertoire of twenty-four operas, the Victor and Columbia musical masterpiece albums which I have in my music library are reproduced by the latest R.C.A. commercial transcription tables and transferred over to tape by professional tape recorders built by the Shoup Engineering Company of Chicago, and then brought to the auditorium through Jensen's Loudspeakers.

A personnel of fifteen people are required to perform the numerous understage and backstage operations including manipulating of the stringless puppets, operating the electric control board (which by the way was built by Hubb Electric Company of Chicago), and the sound system, shifting scenery between acts, changing costumes, wigs and make-up; the seventeen hundred puppets (which are thirteen inches in height) who sing, dance, love, fight and die in my opera productions are operated from below the twenty by thirty foot stage by twelve trained operators who are music students and know each opera note for note.

An extensive wardrobe consisting of more than eighteen hundred opera costumes is required, supplemented by hats, wigs, silk stockings, shirts, silk tights, aprons, boots and shoes. Each costume is an exact copy (in miniature) of those worn by Metropolitan and La Scala opera artists. All of the new costumes, which we now possess, have been created by Mrs. Greta Foerster and the puppets built by Mr. E. N. Nelson of Oak Park, Ill.

Three hundred forty pieces of scenery, and set-pieces, include street scenes, gardens, palaces, interiors, a bull arena, mountains, forest, a prison, houses, stairways, bedrooms, churches, brick walls, rocks, bridges, etcetera.

The lighting equipment consists of foot lights with six hundred twenty small bulbs, four proscenium border lights with twelve hundred forty small bulbs, five flood border lights with one hundred twelve—seventy-five watt bulbs, twenty miniature spot lights with one hundred watt bulbs and two—twenty foot long cyclorama blue lights also with seventy-five watt bulbs.

The chandelier seen in the first act of La Traviata was constructed from genuine Czecho-Slovakian crystal, while the one in the third act is of brass and has forty four candelabra lights.

The fly loft is three stories high with rigging of eighteen border lines, and in the orchestra pit a full size Opera Orchestra of fifty-two puppets is complete with violins, cellos, bass violins, harps, clarinets, flutes, french horns, bassoons, kettle drums and other orchestral instruments. The diminutive conductor "Tosci" leads the Puppet musicians in perfect tempo with the music.

Stage properties comprise a fine collection of miniatures and consist of six complete suites of period furniture, spinning wheel, tables, chairs, fire-places, clocks, vases, candlesticks, plates, jewel boxes, couches, lanterns, chandeliers, donkey carts, love seats and many other pieces, most of which are produced in my own work shop.

The Opera Building was designed by the great architects, Everett F. Quinn and Associates of Chicago, assisted by Mr. Ernest Wagener according to my own ideas. The interior decorating was done by the famous artist, Mr. Hanns R. Teichert, who also did the interior decorating of the Kungsholm Restaurant. The murals are by the great artist, Frank A. Lackner. The electrical work was so capably installed by D. D. Electric Company of Chicago.

I take great pleasure in mentioning the above firms and publicly thank them for displaying such outstanding interest in helping me to create this modern miniature Opera House.

Permit me also at this time to thank you, my guests, for your valuable patronage at the Kungsholm, and I wish to extend to you and your guests the invitation to be present at a performance in my home Miniature Opera House any evening soon.

Fredrik A. Gramer
Founder

KUNGSHOLM MINIATURE GRAND OPERA

(Created for my guests and friends who like it)

FREDRIK A. CHRAMER

General Director

KARL LAUFKOTTER

(Former tenor Metropolitan Opera Company of New York for eleven years)

Assistant to Mr. Chramer

PRESENTS

MADAME BUTTERFLY

Opera in Three Acts by GIACOMO PUCCINI

Adapted from John Luther Long's "MADAME BUTTERFLY"

CAST OF CHARACTERS

CHO-CHO-SAN (Madame Butterfly).....	{Toti Dal Monti Eleanor Steber
SUZUKI, her maid.....	{Vittoria Palombini Jean Madeira
LIEUTENANT PINKERTON, U. S. NAVY.....	{Beniamino Gigli Richard Tucker
SHARPLESS, U. S. CONSUL.....	{Mario Basiola Giuseppe Valdengo
GORO, a marriage broker.....	Adelio Zagonara
THE IMPERIAL COMMISSIONER.....	Gino Conti
THE BONZE, a Buddhist Priest, Cho-Cho-San's uncle.....	Ernesto Domicini
PRINCE YAMADORI, Cho-Cho-San's suitor.....	Antonio Romano
KATE PINKERTON, wife of Lieutenant Pinkerton.....	Maria Huder

TROUBLE, Cho-Cho-San's Child

Scene: Nagasaki, Japan

Time: The Present

A Victor Standard Musical Masterpiece

Kungsholm Miniature Opera Conductor "Tosci"

Staged and Directed by Fredrik A. Chramer

Stage property built by Mr. Odin Ostness

Stage interior and exterior painted by Mr. Thomas Kadlec

Costumes designed and made in our Own Work Shop by Mrs. Greta Foerster

Mr. Thomas Doyle, Sound Technician

Mr. Johannes E. J. Foerster, Stage Manager

SYNOPSIS OF SCENES FOR THE OPERA MADAME BUTTERFLY

ACT I

Exterior of Pinkerton's House at Nagasaki

ACT II

Interior of Butterfly's House

ACT III

In Butterfly's House the next morning

10 Minute Intermission between Act I

and Act II

No Encores until final curtain

Average performance running time two hours.

Ladies' and Gentlemen's lounge downstairs.

Viking lounge on Main Floor open during
intermission.

No smoking permitted in entire Theatre Building.

Fire exits to right and left of stage.

Not responsible for personal property
unless checked in Check Room.

Theatre is Air Conditioned for your Comfort

The Story of
MADAME BUTTERFLY

by Giacomo Puccini

ACT I

Lieutenant Pinkerton, finding that he will be stationed in Nagasaki for a few months, desires to contract a marriage and is assured by Goro that it will be binding as long as he lives with his wife, and that afterwards she can marry again, which is in accordance with the Japanese custom. However, Butterfly, who has agreed to marry the Lieutenant, falls deeply in love with him and believes the contract entirely binding. The American Consul Sharpless, realizing the girl's attitude, begs Pinkerton to forego the plan, but he only laughs at him. To show her trust in Pinkerton, Butterfly renounces her religion, thus severing all connections with her people. "Hear what I tell you." After the ceremony Butterfly's uncle, a priest, enters and curses her for forsaking her religion. Pinkerton drives him and the guests away and then attempts to comfort his weeping bride. Duet, Pinkerton and Butterfly; "Just like a squirrel." "But now, beloved, you are the world." "O night of rapture!"

ACT II

The villa, three years later, Butterfly is alone with her maid. Pinkerton having returned to America. It is springtime once more, and she awaits him, as he has promised to return when "the robins nest again." Butterfly upbraids her maid for want of faith, as Suzuki does not share her mistress' confidence in Pinkerton. Butterfly: "Weeping? and why?" Consul Sharpless appears with a letter in which Pinkerton asks the Consul to break the news of his return with an American wife to Butterfly, but in her great delight at seeing his handwriting and her faith that he will now return, the Consul has not the heart to tell her the truth. She refuses to listen to Goro, who is trying to arrange a marriage with Yamadori, a wealthy noble, even though both Goro and Sharpless try to convince her that Pinkerton's desertion is equal to a divorce, to which she replies: "That may be so in Japan, but I am an American." Finally, as if to settle all doubt, she shows her fair-haired son. The Consul, saddened, leaves as the cannons announce the arrival of the ship. Butterfly and Suzuki decorate the house with blossoms in Pinkerton's honor, and Butterfly awaits his arrival. As the night progresses the child and maid fall asleep, but Butterfly, ever alert, is still waiting.

ACT III

At dawn Butterfly is still watching. Suzuki brings the child to her (Butterfly: "Sweet, thou art sleeping") and then persuades Butterfly to rest. Pinkerton and his wife and Sharpless arrive and inform Suzuki of the truth. Pinkerton is overcome at the sight of the flowers and cannot remain. Pinkerton: "Oh, the bitter fragrance of these flowers!" Mrs. Pinkerton asks to adopt her husband's son, and Butterfly, expecting Pinkerton, enters while she is speaking. The truth dawns on poor Butterfly, and with wonderful calmness she listens quietly to the request, and replies that Pinkerton shall have the child if he will return for him in half an hour. When they have gone, Butterfly blindfolds her son, giving him an American flag to wave and then kills herself with her father's sword, which is inscribed: "To die with honor, when one can no longer live with honor." When Pinkerton and Sharpless return she has breathed her last. Finale, Butterfly: "You, O beloved idol!"

The Danish Inscription

"EJ BLØT TIL LYST"

Which is over the Proscenium of the Royal Opera House in
Copenhagen, Denmark, means in translation,

"NOT ONLY FOR AMUSEMENT"

Kungsholm

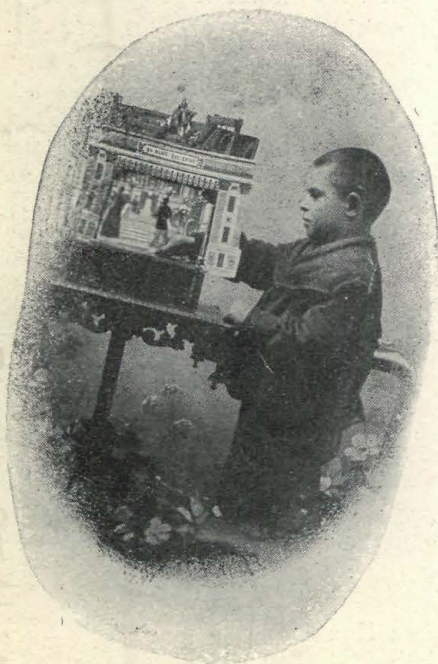
MINIATURE GRAND OPERA REPERTOIRE

AIDA • LA TRAVIATA • CAVALLERIA RUSTICANA • IL TROVATORE

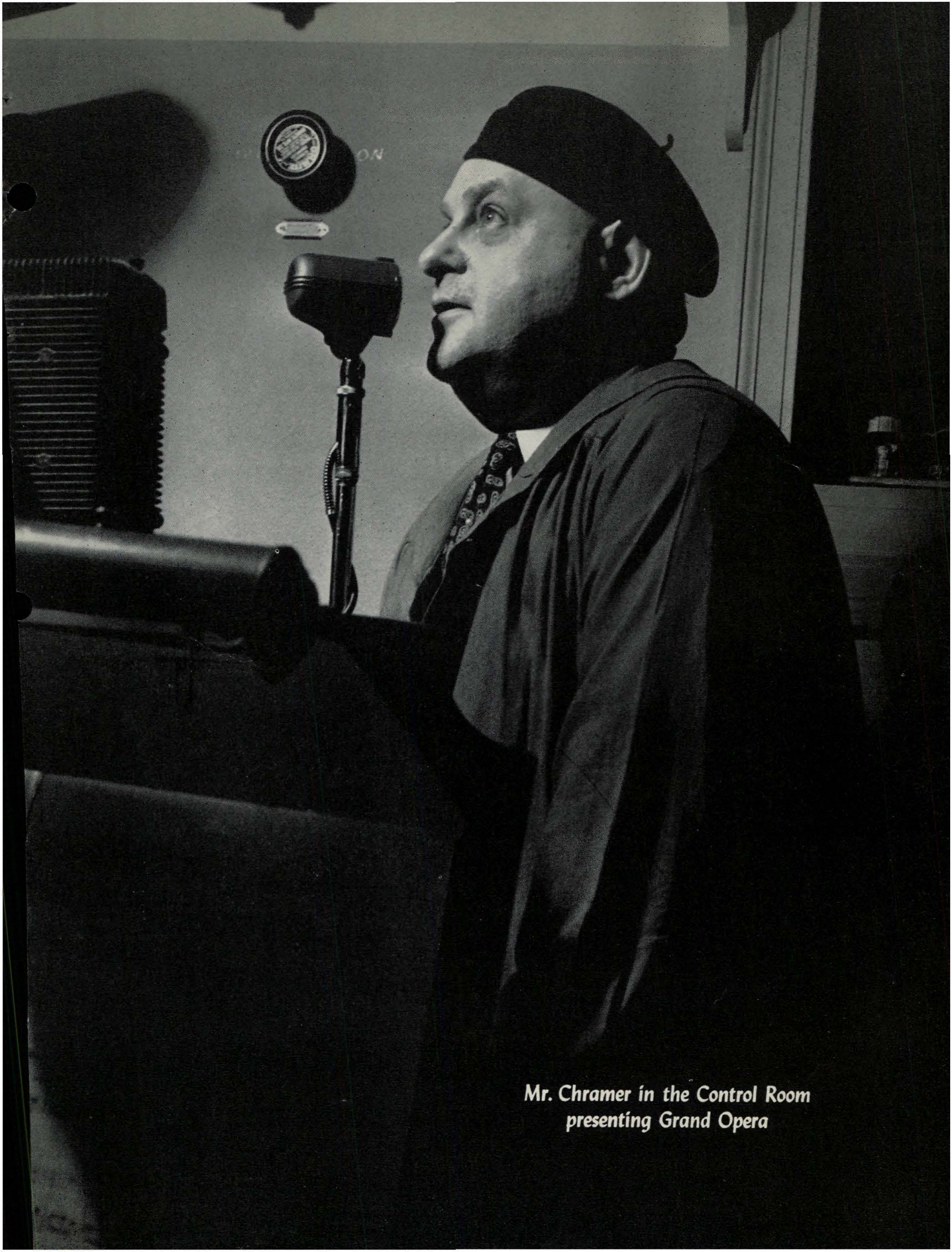
RIGOLETTO • CARMEN • FAUST • MIKADO • LA BOHEME

PAGLIACCI • LA TOSCA • MIGNON • LOUISE • WALKURE

BARBER OF SEVILLE • MADAME BUTTERFLY • HANSEL and GRETEL



My first Opera Theatre at age of nine



Mr. Chramer in the Control Room
presenting Grand Opera

ABOVE ALL ELSE, CHRISTMAS IS A DAY, A TIME,
FOR REDEDICATION TO THE TEACHINGS OF HIM
WHOSE BIRTH IS COMMEMORATED
BY THE CHRISTIAN WORLD

AND WHAT DID HE TEACH? He taught a way of life,—the way through and by which each of us may best attain the realization of our *human* potentiality. That way does not guarantee us wealth in a worldly sense, not the fulfillment of all our earthly desires nor the satisfaction of all our physical appetites. But that way leads to the great and enduring satisfactions of life—to awareness and broader perspective, to harmony, to freedom from frustration and angry conflict, and to the “peace that passeth all understanding.”

The spirit of Christianity is so free from mystery and complexity that many reject it because of its very simplicity. It is the great and simple principle of brotherly love, of compassion, of complete respect for the rights and the inherent integrity of every other human being. The words which define the way and lead to its attainment are likewise so clear, so plain that no one who wills to do so can fail to understand directions. They read: Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you! Therein lies the greatest recipe for real success, for highest happiness which ever has been given to man.

There is another way of life,—another road which leads in the opposite direction. Its principle is force. Its direction is: “Only power, force, coercion will enable you to get what you want.” Force begets force. He who lives by the sword will die by the sword! In this century, human relations have been more and more dominated by the philosophy of force.

Christmas 1953 finds the world divided into two armed camps and following the way of force. Men talk of peace but, in the midst of revelations of treasonous plots and warnings of terrifying catastrophes from A-bombs and H-bombs, preparation for the holocaust of another world war proceeds apace. Despite the multiplication of mechanical and electrical devices designed to enhance our material comforts; to annihilate distance through travel at the speed of

sound; and to increase communication, oral and visible, at the speed of light,—despite all this “progress” of modern civilization, dissension and antagonism rather than understanding and harmony has been the trend of human relations thus far in the Twentieth Century. The clumsy endeavors to realize the ideal of integrating humanity into one world thus far have achieved only disintegration and greater disunity. Why? Because the appeal of the leadership in human affairs has been to force and coercion. The minds of men have been corrupted by demagogues who while preaching liberty and democracy, have used fraud and deceit to sow distrust, suspicion and hatred.

As never before in human history, our lives depend upon voluntary cooperation, upon sincere mutual respect, and upon each responsible adult honestly meeting and performing his individual responsibility in the common tasks in company, community, state and nation.

Within the year, we in our Company had the sad and shocking experience of conflict in which resort was had to force, both physical and mental. No one of us, and no member of our immediate families, escaped the resulting emotional shock, the mental strain, worry and anxiety. I doubt also that any of us wholly escaped some feeling of shame that this resort to force, and this threat to the performance of our public trust, should have marred that close and friendly relationship which had particularly characterized our Edison Company.

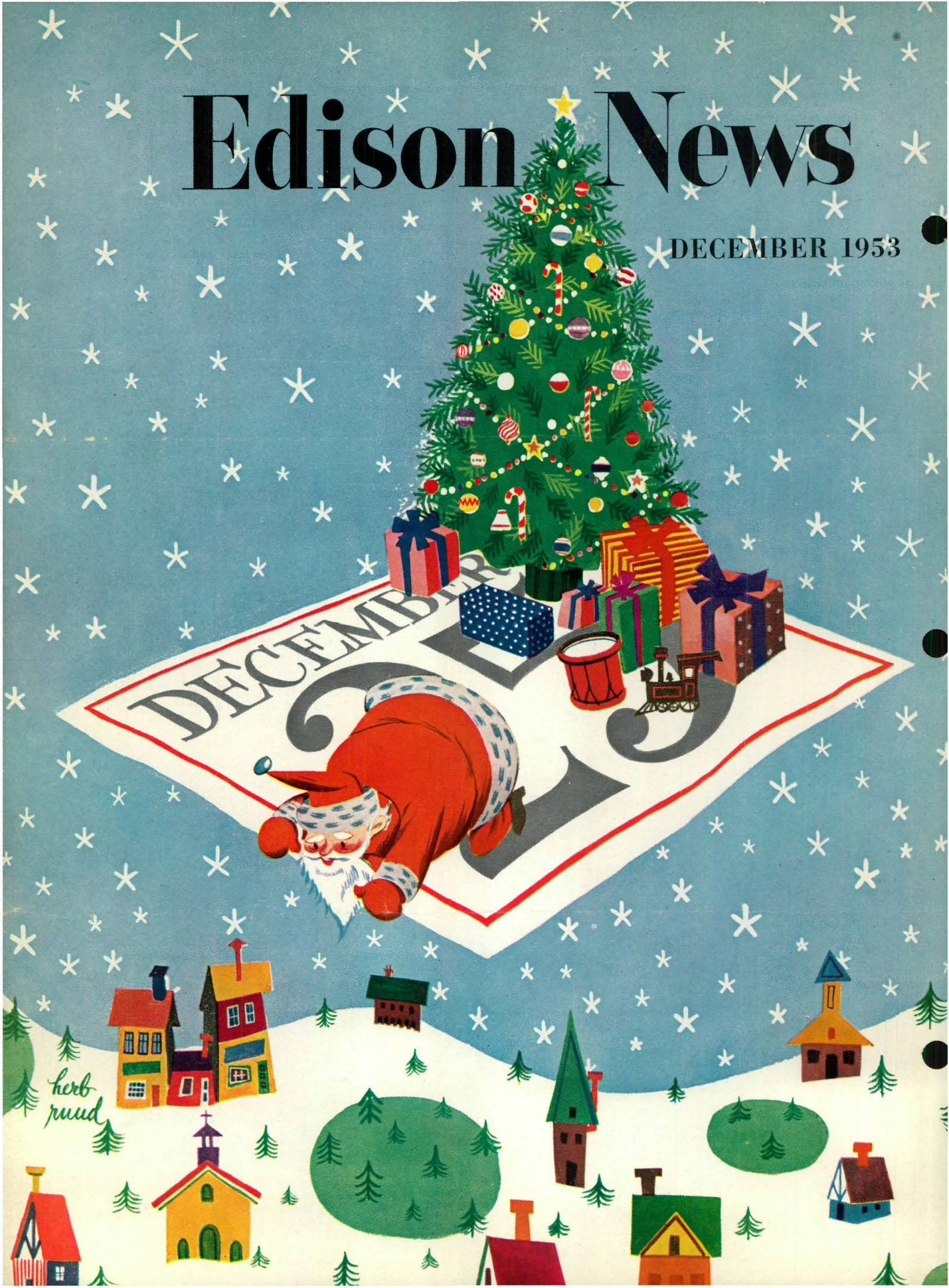
The great truth, that the way of force and a resort to power solves nothing but leads only to greater confusion and frustration, thus has been borne in upon each of us within the past year. Because within this year we have mutually pledged ourselves to the ways of peace and resolved to divert our energy and endeavor from the paths of force and conflict to the ways of cooperation and honest discharge of our mutual responsibility in our common endeavor, the spirit of Christmas and its great message has special significance for us this year.

W. G. Mullendore

P R E S I D E N T

Edison News

DECEMBER 1953



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In brief

CONSCRIPTION

BY

PART I Daniel Webster

PART II H. B. Liddell Hart



THE FOUNDATION FOR
ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.
IRVINGTON-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK

EDITOR'S NOTE

Daniel Webster in 1814 voiced a warning and a prophesy which B. H. Liddell Hart verified in 1945 when he reviewed historical events during the interim.

Published October 1953

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CONSCRIPTION

It has been said of Daniel Webster (1782-1852), the great American statesman and orator, that his massive mind needed the spur of a great national crisis to make him render his best with words befitting a nation hanging in the balance. Such a situation, he felt, was that of the closing months of 1814, shortly before the end of the conflict with England. Under the pressure of war needs for men and money, a conscription bill was then before Congress, backed by the Secretary of War, in order to further the conflict for the conquest of Canada. The following is extracted from his speech in the House of Representatives on December 9, 1814, a copy of which is on exhibit at the New Hampshire Historical Society.

THIS BILL indeed is less undisguised in its object, & less direct in its means, than some of the measures proposed. It is an attempt to exercise the power of forcing the free men of this country into the ranks of an army, for the general purposes of war, under color of a military service. It is a distinct system, introduced for new purposes, & not connected with any power, which the Constitution has conferred on Congress.

But, Sir, there is another consideration. The services of the men to be raised under this act are not limited to those cases in which alone this Government is entitled to the aid of the militia of the States. These cases are particularly stated in the Constitution — “to repel invasion, suppress insurrection, or execute the laws.” But this bill

has no limitation in this respect. The usual mode of legislating on the subject is abandoned. The only section which would have confined the service of the Militia, proposed to be raised, within the United States has been stricken out; & if the President should not march them into the Provinces of England at the North, or of Spain at the South, it will not be because he is prohibited by any provision in this act.

This, then, Sir, is a bill for calling out the Militia, not according to its existing organization, but by draft from new created classes; — not merely for the purpose of “repelling invasion, suppressing insurrection, or executing the laws,” but for the general objects of war — for defending ourselves, or invading others, as may be thought expedient; — not for a sudden emergency, or for a short time, but for long stated periods; for two years, if the proposition of the Senate should finally prevail; for one year, if the amendment of the House should be adopted. What is this, Sir, but raising a standing army out of the Militia by draft, & to be recruited by draft, in like manner, as often as occasion may require?

The question is nothing less, than whether the most essential rights of personal liberty shall be surrendered, & despotism embraced in its worst form.

I have risen, on this occasion, with anxious & painful emotions, to add my ad-

monition to what has been said by others. Admonition & remonstrance, I am aware, are not acceptable strains. They are duties of unpleasant performance. But they are, in my judgment, the duties which the condition of a falling state imposes. They are duties which sink deep in his conscience, who believes it probable that they may be the last services, which he may be able to render to the Government of his Country. On the issue of this discussion, I believe the fate of this Government may rest. Its duration is incompatible, in my opinion, with the existence of the measures in contemplation. A crisis has at last arrived, to which the course of things has long tended, & which may be decisive upon the happiness of present & of future generations. If there be anything important in the concerns of men, the considerations which fill the present hour are important. I am anxious, above all things, to stand acquitted before GOD, & my own conscience, & in the public judgments, of all participations in the Counsels, which have brought us to our present condition, & which now threaten the dissolution of the Government. When the present generation of men shall be swept away, & that this Government ever existed shall be a matter of history only, I desire that it may then be known, that you have not proceeded in your course unadmonished & un-forewarned. Let it then be known, that

there were those, who would have stopped you, in the career of your measures, & held you back, as by the skirts of your garments, from the precipice, over which you are plunging, & drawing after you the Government of your Country.

It is time for Congress to examine & decide for itself. It has taken things on trust long enough. It has followed Executive recommendation, till there remains no hope of finding safety in that path. What is there, Sir, that makes it the duty of this people now to grant new confidence to the administration, & to surrender their most important rights to its discretion? On what merits of its own does it rest this extraordinary claim? When it calls thus loudly for the treasure & the lives of the people, what pledge does it offer, that it will not waste all in the same preposterous pursuits, which have hitherto engaged it? In the failure of all past promises, do we see any assurance of future performance? Are we to measure out our confidence in proportion to our disgraces, & now at last to grant away every thing, because all that we have heretofore granted has been wasted or misapplied? What is there in our condition, that bespeaks a wise or an able Government? What is the evidence, that the protection of the country is the object principally regarded?

Conscription is chosen as the most prom-

ising instrument, both of overcoming reluctance to the Service, & of subduing the difficulties which arise from the deficiencies of the Exchequer. The administration asserts the right to fill the ranks of the regular army by compulsion. It contends that it may now take one out of every twenty-five men, & any part or the whole of the rest, whenever its occasions require. Persons thus taken by force, & put into an army, may be compelled to serve there, during the war, or for life. They may be put on any service, at home or abroad, for defence or for invasion, according to the will & pleasure of Government. This power does not grow out of any invasion of the country, or even out of a state of war. It belongs to Government at all times, in peace as well as in war, & is to be exercised under all circumstances, according to its mere discretion. This, Sir, is the amount of the principle contended for by the Secretary of War.

Is this, Sir, consistent with the character of a free Government? Is this civil liberty? Is this the real character of our Constitution? No, Sir, indeed it is not. The Constitution is libelled, foully libelled. The people of this country have not established for themselves such a fabric of despotism. They have not purchased at a vast expense of their own treasure & their own blood a Magna Charta to be slaves. Where is it written in the Constitution, in what article

or section is it contained, that you may take children from their parents, & parents from their children, & compel them to fight the battles of any war, in which the folly or the wickedness of Government may engage it? Under what concealment has this power lain hidden, which now for the first time comes forth, with a tremendous & baleful aspect, to trample down & destroy the dearest rights of personal liberty? Who will show me any constitutional injunction, which makes it the duty of the American people to surrender every thing valuable in life, & even life itself, not when the safety of their country & its liberties may demand the sacrifice, but whenever the purposes of an ambitious & mischievous Government may require it? Sir, I almost disdain to go to quotations & references to prove that such an abominable doctrine has no foundation in the Constitution of the country. It is enough to know that that instrument was intended as the basis of a free Government, & that the power contended for is incompatible with any notion of personal liberty. An attempt to maintain this doctrine upon the provisions of the Constitution is an exercise of perverse ingenuity to extract slavery from the substance of a free Government. It is an attempt to show, by proof & argument, that we ourselves are subjects of despotism, & that we have a right to chains & bondage, firmly secured to us & our chil-

dren, by the provisions of our Government.

The supporters of the measures before us act on the principle that it is their task to raise arbitrary powers, by construction, out of a plain written charter of National Liberty. It is their pleasing duty to free us of the delusion, which we have fondly cherished, that we are the subjects of a mild, free & limited Government, & to demonstrate by a regular chain of premises & conclusions, that Government possesses over us a power more tyrannical, more arbitrary, more dangerous, more allied to blood & murder, more full of every form of mischief, more productive of every sort & degree of misery, than has been exercised by any civilized Government, with a single exception, in modern times.

But it is said, that it might happen that an army would not be raised by voluntary enlistment, in which case the power to raise armies would be granted in vain, unless they might be raised by compulsion. If this reasoning could prove any thing, it would equally show, that whenever the legitimate powers of the Constitution should be so badly administered as to cease to answer the great ends intended by them, such new powers may be assumed or usurped, as any existing administration may deem expedient. This is a result of his own reasoning, to which the Secretary does not profess to go. But it is a true result. For if it is to be

assumed, that all powers were granted, which might by possibility become necessary, & that Government itself is the judge of this possible necessity, then the powers of Government are precisely what it chooses they should be. Apply the same reasoning to any other power granted to Congress, & test its accuracy by the result.

If the Secretary of War has proved the right of Congress to enact a law enforcing a draft of men out of the Militia into the regular army, he will at any time be able to prove, quite as clearly, that Congress has power to create a Dictator. The arguments which have helped him in one case, will equally aid him in the other. The same reason of a supposed or possible state necessity, which is urged now, may be repeated then, with equal pertinency & effect.

Sir, in granting Congress the power to raise armies, the People have granted all the means which are ordinary & usual, & which are consistent with the liberties & security of the People themselves; and they have granted no others. To talk about the unlimited power of the Government over the means to execute its authority, is to hold a language which is true only in regard to despotism. The tyranny of Arbitrary Government consists as much in its means as in its end; & it would be a ridiculous & absurd constitution which should be less cautious to guard against abuses in the one

case than in the other. All the means & instruments which a free Government exercises, as well as the ends & objects which it pursues, are to partake of its own essential character, & to be conformed to its genuine spirit. A free Government with arbitrary means to administer it is a contradiction; a free Government without adequate provision for personal security is an absurdity; a free Government, with an uncontrolled power of military conscription, is a solecism, at once the most ridiculous & abominable that ever entered into the head of man.

Sir, I invite the supporters of the measures before you to look to their actual operation. Let the men who have so often pledged their own fortunes & their own lives to the support of this war, look to the wanton sacrifice which they are about to make of their lives & fortunes. They may talk as they will about substitutes, & compensations, & exemptions. It must come to the draft at last. If the Government cannot hire men voluntarily to fight its battles, neither can individuals.

Into the paradise of domestic life you enter, not indeed by temptations & sorceries, but by open force & violence.

Nor is it, Sir, for the defense of his own house & home, that he who is the subject of military draft is to perform the task allotted to him. You will put him upon a service equally foreign to his interests &

abhorrent to his feelings. With his aid you are to push your purposes of conquest. The battles which he is to fight are the battles of invasion; battles which he detests perhaps & abhors, less from the danger & the death that gather over them, & the blood with which they drench the plain, than from the principles in which they have their origin. If, Sir, in this strife he fall — if, while ready to obey every rightful command of Government, he is forced from home against right, not to contend for the defence of his country, but to prosecute a miserable & detestable project of invasion, & in that strife he fall, 'tis murder. It may stalk above the cognizance of human law, but in the sight of Heaven it is murder; & though millions of years may roll away, while his ashes & yours lie mingled together in the earth, the day will yet come, when his spirit & the spirits of his children must be met at the bar of omnipotent justice. May God, in his compassion, shield me from any participation in the enormity of this guilt.

The operation of measures thus unconstitutional & illegal ought to be prevented, by a resort to other measures which are both constitutional & legal. I express these sentiments here, Sir, because I shall express them to my constituents. Both they & myself live under a Constitution which teaches us, that “the doctrine of non-resistance against arbitrary power & oppression, is absurd, slavish,

& destructive of the good & happiness of mankind." With the same earnestness with which I now exhort you to forbear from these measures, I shall exhort them to exercise their unquestionable right of providing for the security of their own liberties.

A military force cannot be raised, in this manner, but by the means of a military force. If administration has found that it can not form an army without conscription, it will find, if it venture on these experiments, that it can not enforce conscription without an army. The Government was not constituted for such purposes. Framed in the spirit of liberty, & in the love of peace, it has no powers which render it able to enforce such laws. The attempt, if we rashly make it, will fail; & having already thrown away our peace, we may thereby throw away our Government.



CONSCRIPTION

The following extract is from the notable book "Why Don't We Learn From History," by B. H. Liddell Hart (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1944). The author, a distinguished British military authority, is the Military Historian and Critic for *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

We learn from history that the compulsory principle always breaks down in practice. The principle of restraint, or regulation, is essentially justifiable in so far as its application is needed to check interference with others' freedom. But it is not, in reality, possible to *make* men do something without risking more than is gained from the compelled effort. The method may appear practicable, because it often works when applied to those who are merely hesitant. When applied to those who are definitely unwilling it fails, however, because it generates friction and fosters subtle forms of evasion that spoil the effect which is sought. The test of whether a principle works is to be found in the product.

Efficiency springs from enthusiasm—because this alone can develop a dynamic impulse. Enthusiasm is incompatible with compulsion—because it is essentially spontaneous. Compulsion is thus bound to deaden enthusiasm—because it dries up the source. The more an individual, or a nation, has been accustomed to freedom, the

more deadening will be the effect of a change to compulsion.

These logical deductions are confirmed by analysis of historical experience. The modern system of military conscription was born in France—it was, ironically, the misbegotten child of Revolutionary enthusiasm. Within a generation, its application had become so obnoxious that its abolition was the primary demand of the French people following Napoleon's downfall. Meanwhile, however, it had been transplanted to more suitable soil—in Prussia. And just over half a century later, the victories that Prussia gained led to the resurrection of conscription in France. Its re-imposition was all the easier because the renewed autocracy of Napoleon III had accustomed the French people to the interference and constraints of bureaucracy. In the generation that followed, the revival of the spirit of freedom in France was accompanied by a growth of the petty bureaucracy, parasites feeding on the body politic. From this, the French could never succeed in shaking free; and in their efforts they merely developed corruption—which is the natural consequence of an ineffective effort to loosen the grip of compulsion by evasion.

It is generally recognized today that this rampant growth of bureaucratically-induced corruption was the dry-rot of the Third Republic. But on deeper examina-

tion the cause can be traced further back—to the misunderstanding of their own principles which led a section of the creators of the French Revolution to adopt a method fundamentally opposed to their fulfilment.

It might be thought that conscription should be less detrimental to the Germans, since they are more responsive to regulation, and have no deeply rooted tradition of freedom. Nevertheless, it is of significance that the Nazi movement was essentially a voluntary movement—exclusive rather than comprehensive—and that the most important sections of the German forces—the air force and the tank force—have been recruited on a semi-voluntary basis. There is little evidence to suggest that the ordinary “mass” of the German army has anything like the same enthusiasm; and considerable evidence to suggest that this conscripted mass constitutes a basic weakness in Germany’s apparent strength.

Twenty-five years spent in the study of war, a study which gradually went beyond its current technique to its well-springs, changed my earlier and conventional belief in the value of conscription. It brought me to see that the compulsory principle was fundamentally inefficient, and the conscriptive method out of date—a method that clung, like the ivy, to quantitative stand-

ards in an age when the trend of warfare was becoming increasingly qualitative. For it sustained the fetish of mere numbers at a time when skill and enthusiasm were becoming ever more necessary for the effective handling of the new weapons.

Conscription does not fit the conditions of modern warfare—its specialized technical equipment, mobile operations, and fluid situations. Success increasingly depends on individual initiative, which in turn springs from a sense of personal responsibility—these senses are atrophied by compulsion. Moreover, every unwilling man is a germcarrier, spreading infection to an extent altogether disproportionate to the value of the service he is forced to contribute.

Looking still further into the question, and thinking deeper, I came to see, also, that the greatest contributory factor to the Great Wars which had racked the world in recent generations had been the conscriptive system—the system which sprang out of the muddled thought of the French Revolution, was then exploited by Napoleon in his selfish ambition, and subsequently turned to serve the interests of Prussian militarism. After undermining the eighteenth century “age of reason,” it had paved the way for the reign of unreason in the modern age.

Conscription serves to precipitate war,

but not to accelerate it—except in the negative sense of accelerating the growth of war-weariness and other underlying causes of defeat. Conscription precipitated war in 1914, owing to the way that the mobilization of conscript armies disrupted national life and produced an atmosphere in which negotiation became impossible—confirming the warning, “mobilization means war.” During that war its effect can be traced in the symptoms which preceded the collapse of the Russian, Austrian and German armies, as well as the decline of the French and Italian armies. It was the least free States which collapsed under the strain of war—and they collapsed in the order of their degree of unfreedom. By contrast, the best fighting force in the fourth year of war was, by general recognition, the Australian Corps—the force which had rejected conscription, and in which there was the least insistence on unthinking obedience.

A system of conscription entails the suppression of individual judgment—the Englishman’s most cherished right. It violates the cardinal principle of a free community: that there should be no restriction of individual freedom save where this is used for active interference with others’ freedom. Our tradition of individual freedom is the slow-ripening fruit of centuries of effort. To surrender it within after fighting to de-

fend it against dangers without would be a supremely ironical turn of our history.

An argument in favor of conscription has long been the rule in the continental countries, including those which remain democracies, we need not fear the effect of adopting it here. But the deeper I have gone into the study of war and the history of the past century, the further I have come towards the conclusion that the development of conscription has damaged the growth of the idea of freedom in the continental countries, and thereby damaged their efficiency, also—by undermining the sense of personal responsibility. There is only too much evidence that our temporary adoption of conscription in the last war had a permanent effect harmful to the development of freedom and democracy here. For my own part, I have come to my present conviction of the supreme importance of freedom through the pursuit of efficiency. I believe that freedom is the foundation of efficiency, both national and military. Thus it is a practical folly as well as a spiritual surrender to “go totalitarian” as a result of fighting for existence against the totalitarian States. Cut off the incentive to freely given service, and you dry up the life-source of a free community.

We ought to realize that it is easier to adopt the compulsory principle of national

life than to shake it off. Once compulsion for personal service is adopted in peacetime, it will be hard to resist the extension of the principle to all other aspects of the nation's life, including freedom of thought, speech, and writing. We ought to think carefully, and to think ahead, before taking a decisive step towards totalitarianism. Or are we so accustomed to our chains that we are no longer conscious of them?



“If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterwards defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair. The event is in the hand of God.”

Attributed to George Washington
during the Constitutional Convention



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SCARSDALE,
NEW YORK

In brief

DANGERS OF TREATY LAW

BY

Frank E. Holman



THE FOUNDATION FOR
ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.
IRVINGTON-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK

EDITOR'S NOTE

Frank E. Holman is past president of the American Bar Association. He has approved this condensation from his address of the same title delivered at the 1952 Annual Encampment of the Department of Washington Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Published November 1953

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DANGERS OF TREATY LAW



FOR MANY YEARS, Americans have been justly proud of their economic and political independence and of their right to govern themselves. Since the establishment of our government under the principles set forth in the Constitution, Americans, through the Congress and the various state legislatures, have made their own laws without foreign direction or interference. Now I am under the necessity of telling you that our right to self-government and the very integrity of the republic are threatened by the program of "treaty law" contemplated by the so-called International Bill of Rights program of the United Nations.

Ordinarily and until the organization of the United Nations, the average citizen—and in fact most lawyers—took comparatively little interest in treaties between the United States and foreign countries. This lack of interest was understandable because usually a treaty dealt only with some specific subject of interest to two or three nations, such as questions of boundaries, trade agreements,

and like matters. We tended to view treaty-making as the sole business of the State Department, the President, and the Senate. Or possibly we assumed that these international engagements did not affect the basic rights of the average citizen and could not result in any substantial infringement of our individual rights as citizens. Certainly we did not believe that treaties could possibly result in changing or destroying the American form of government or its system of free enterprise. But Article VI of the federal Constitution provides that:

“ . . . all Treaties . . . shall be the supreme Law of the Land . . . any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.”

A NEW DEVELOPMENT

SEVERAL court decisions have confirmed the fact that we are approaching a new development in lawmaking. By means of “treaty law,” the normal legislative processes of the Congress and of the state legislatures are to be by-passed by international agreements ratified as treaties. Through such treaties, the established law in the United States and in every state might be changed or nullified

without the people generally knowing anything about it.

The outstanding and most alarming example of the effect of treaties on our domestic law, on our own United States Constitution, and on the thinking of our judges is to be found in the opinion of the Chief Justice of the United States in the 1952 decision dealing with the President's seizure of private property in the steel industry. In his dissent in the steel seizure case, the Chief Justice of the United States advanced the shocking doctrine that the United Nations Charter and other international commitments give the President of the United States authority—nowhere granted to him either by the Constitution or by the laws of the country—to seize private property.

In other words, acting under the doctrine of the new internationalism, the President has powers not only *not* granted to him by the Constitution but moreover even denied to him by the Constitution.

AN EXTRAORDINARY DOCTRINE

THE CHIEF JUSTICE succeeded in getting two other members of the Supreme Court to join him in this extraordinary doctrine whereby the United Nations Charter and commit-

ments in connection therewith would be superior to the Constitution of the United States. If he could have succeeded in getting two additional members of the Supreme Court to side with him, the United States would in effect then and there have ceased to be an independent republic. We would have been committed and bound by whatever the United Nations does or directs us to do. We would have had a full-fledged world government overnight. This is exactly what may happen under so-called "treaty law" unless a constitutional amendment is passed protecting American rights and American law and American independence against the effect of United Nations treaties.

Article VI of the Constitution, as we have seen, unequivocally provides that a treaty when ratified becomes "the Supreme Law of the Land . . . any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding." Hence, when an international agreement like the United Nations Charter or the Genocide Convention or the Covenant on Human Rights is ratified as a treaty, it supersedes every city ordinance, every county ordinance, every state law, every state constitution, and every federal statute on the same subject throughout every state of the union.

WORLD GOVERNMENT

AS NOW SPELLED OUT by so great a personage as the Chief Justice himself, "treaty law" is not only a direct threat to many of our basic rights, but it is also a direct step toward an all-powerful world government. Unless we get a constitutional amendment, we can be put into full-fledged world government by treaty without the American people themselves having an effective vote or a voice in the matter.

It is false to say that we can adopt any of these schemes of world government and not thereby give up American independence and the integrity of the republic. To talk of having "limited world government" is nonsense. In order to make any of these schemes successful, the supernational entity of government, whether the United Nations or whatever you call it, must have the following three attributes of power:

1. The power to raise armed forces, and hence to draft Americans to fill America's allocation;
2. The power to raise money to finance armaments and to carry on war, and hence the power to tax or to make levies, by whatever name you call it;
3. The power through an international

court or commission to enforce the will of the supernational government on American citizens, both as to drafting them for war and as to raising moneys to support armaments.

Any organization possessing those three powers is not limited; literally, it has power over the life and property of any or all persons under its authority.

WITH OUR OWN MONEY

THERE ARE ORGANIZATIONS in almost every city to propagate these ideas of a new world order. Through moneys appropriated to the State Department—and also due to the fact that a large proportion of the United Nations expenses are paid by us—millions of dollars of our own tax moneys have been used and are still being used to try to persuade Americans to embrace some form of world citizenship.

It is probably the first time in all history that the citizens of any great nation have been forced by their own government to finance a program leading to their own destruction. The citizens of other nations in the United Nations are still devoting themselves to their own national interests. This is true of England, of France, of Egypt, and of

all the rest—including, of course, the Russians. They are defending their national identity and integrity while many Americans seem willing to sacrifice and destroy ours.

Edmund Burke once said: "The people never give up their liberty except under some delusion."

One great delusion for the moment is that many Americans seem to think we can save the world and achieve world peace by giving up American rights and American independence.

The wheel of history has turned completely around. Many present-day Americans entertain strange thoughts and support strange doctrines in the fervor of pursuing their notions for world peace. As Chairman of the Atlantic Union Committee, Owen J. Roberts, former U. S. Supreme Court Justice, speaking to a conference in Ottawa, Canada, last April 30th, said: "We must decide whether we are to stand on this silly shibboleth, national sovereignty."

LOSS OF SOVEREIGNTY

WE MUST, said Mr. Roberts, yield national sovereignty to some "higher authority—call it what you will." In addition to giving this

supergovernment the authority by which to conduct a "common defense"—which means authority to put the United States into war anywhere at any time—Mr. Roberts said we must also give it the power to make "such economic adjustments as are necessary to put the people of all the member countries on an equal level." In plain English, Mr. Roberts' second provision means we would give the supergovernment absolute control of business, industry, prices, wages, and every detail of American economic life.

Our Forefathers fought a revolution for what Mr. Roberts now calls the "shibboleth" of national sovereignty. They fought to become an independent nation. They fought for the right to be governed by laws made by their own elected representatives. They fought against taxation by or for the foreign policy of Europe. They fought to be free from many other grievances, not the least of which was the claim of the British King to transport them overseas for trial.

If you will turn to the Declaration of Independence, you will find a full list of their grievances. But now, through the United Nations organization, our laws are to be made by and through treaties concluded in the United Nations, where the representatives of other nations have a majority voice

in what these treaties shall cover both as to language and content. We are to be governed in our local affairs by laws and concepts agreeable to a majority of the other nations of the world. We are taxed to pay the expenses of these new lawmakers, for we pay a very large part of the expenses of the United Nations and its various agencies. Under the provisions of the Genocide Convention and the proposed new treaty for an International Criminal Court, our citizens are even to be transported overseas for trial. Make no mistake about it, this and much more is the program of those who would govern us by "treaty law."

Benjamin Franklin once said: "Those, who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety."

LOSS OF RIGHTS

AMERICANS in their great desire for safety and peace should not be fooled into sacrificing either their individual freedoms or their integrity as a nation. We can easily lose our rights and freedoms in the entanglements of international commitments and agreements if we permit our basic rights under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights

to be rewritten, leveled out, compromised, and confused by nebulous and ambiguous United Nations treaties.

First, there must be a general recognition and understanding of the danger of "treaty law" by the American people. Then, proper consideration can be given to an appropriate constitutional amendment. The text of the constitutional amendment should be designed to do at least three things:

1. It should provide that no treaty is valid which conflicts with the Constitution of the United States. (In other words, our treaties should be subject to the Constitution.)
2. No treaty is to be effective until implemented by legislation. (This merely puts the United States on a par with other nations as to the initial effect of a treaty.)
3. No such legislation shall be valid if contrary to, or in excess of, the powers delegated to the Congress by the Constitution.

You will be told by some that such an amendment is not necessary. You will be told by others that such an amendment would interfere with the functioning of the United Nations as an international organization for peace. Out of my experience of

more than four years' close study of this matter, I am convinced that a constitutional amendment is necessary and that such an amendment will not interfere with the functioning of the United Nations in its announced role as an international cooperative organization to discuss and attempt to maintain world peace.

PRESERVE OUR FREEDOM

BUT WHATEVER WE DO in world affairs, our first consideration should be the preservation of this country's integrity as a free, solvent, and independent nation—the preservation of the rights and liberties of its citizens as free men and free women.

Such a policy is not isolationism. Certainly we have an interest and a stake in the well-being of the rest of the world. But America will perform its role in world affairs better if, instead of being a Santa Claus to all nations, it first of all protects the rights and liberties of its own citizens, conserves its own economy and its own strength, and encourages other nations to stand on their own feet.

In all the world, we are the last hope and last stronghold of individual liberty. When the great problem of world peace is ex-

amined from all sides, the necessity for preserving America's identity, integrity, and strength becomes more and more apparent. And one is impelled to the conclusion that a strong, independent, and free America is not only best for its own citizens but is also the best guarantee of world peace and world order.

Note: This statement by Mr. Holman is one of many excellent studies on this important issue of treaties and our Constitution. Additional information may be secured upon request to the Foundation.

*“If, to please the people, we offer
what we ourselves disapprove,
how can we afterwards de-
fend our work? Let us raise
a standard to which the wise
and honest can repair. The
event is in the hand of God.”*

Attributed to George Washington
during the Constitutional Convention

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BULLETIN

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The following article is written by Mr. Leonard E. Read, author of "Students of Liberty", "Outlook for Freedom", "Victims of Social Leveling," and other books and articles, and a member of the staff of The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc. at Irvington-on-Hudson, New York.

The article comes to grips with the fact that few individuals have really tackled the problem of understanding the freedom which was *the* fundamental in the minds of the authors of our great American Constitution.

I feel that the following article expresses beautifully the aims and purposes of our monthly Bulletin.

JOHN J. ROWE, President

COMBATTING STATISM

By LEONARD E. READ

HOW CAN a person best prepare himself to combat trends toward statism? Finding the right answer to this question became an obsession with me in the early 1930's, and the obsession has in no way abated. I hope it never does.

The answer, it seems to me, can be put in five words: "Know statism and know freedom." That answer, however, is easier to express than it is to accomplish. And it is easier to make this admonishment than it is to prove its correctness.

First, what is statism? It has many names: Fabianism, nazism, fascism, communism, socialism, state-interventionism, the welfare state, the planned economy, and all sorts of "deals"—new, fair, and otherwise. These labels, rather careless generalizations, have a common characteristic that identifies each and every one as essentially the same thing: *the use of government—the organized police force—as the means to direct the creative activities of the people.*

From The Same Source

A careful examination of these so-called progressive ideologies will reveal that their philosophical justification rests on this use of the legal force of government as an alleged means of doing good. They are founded on and exist by coercion, this alone and nothing else. Any difference in any of them has to do with organizational details as to how the coercion shall be administered.

The question that primarily concerns me is the control, or the taking, of life and livelihood without consent; I am only secondarily interested in whether life and livelihood are controlled or taken by a Robin

Hood, a Malenkov, or a gang of voters legally ordering the cop into action.

How did statism in America begin? We need to know this in order to identify and to understand it.

The American Idea

The American society originally set up a government founded on the basic premise that each citizen has an inalienable right to life. It follows that if a person has a right to life, he also has a right to defend that life and to sustain that life (livelihood) by his own productive efforts. The right to life without the right to protect that life and without the right to sustain that life is utterly meaningless. Livelihood being only the fruits of one's labor or property, the American premise clearly said that each citizen has an inalienable right to life and property. This fact is proved in the Fifth Amendment to our Constitution, where life, liberty, and property are listed in the same phrase on an equal basis.

It is one thing to adopt such a premise. It is quite another matter to put this premise into practice.

Two ways suggest themselves. First, let each citizen carry his own defensive weapons to protect his life and property. This is a risky and unpredictable business, subject to individual moods and capriciousness. Short of a perfect citizenry, this could be the worst possible form of authoritarianism. There would be millions of governments, each one changing as the moods and capriciousness of the individuals changed. Rejected!

Second, why not appoint an agent and, in effect, give the agent all of our weapons—that is, give him a

monopolistic control of all defensive powers? Ask of this agent only one thing: Protect or secure the rights to life and property of all citizens, equally. Accepted!

The Constitution and the Bill of Rights were aimed, primarily, at prohibiting our agent from doing more than this. The prohibitions were stipulated because governments had theretofore gotten out of hand.

Well and dandy! The idea worked for a time. And because the American society succeeded better than had any other society in limiting our agent of force—government—there was in this country a greater release of human energy and a wider acceptance of personal responsibility than had been known before. These facts account for the American miracle!

There wasn't, for all practical purposes, much statism in this arrangement. Indeed, there was none except for certain compromises or infractions of the American principle, such as slavery and tariffs, which were admitted into the Constitution. But what happened?

The Idea Perverted

Our agent, government—federal, state, and local, composed of persons not unlike the rest of us—perhaps became tired of performing the merely negative function of defending life and property. Or, perhaps, the citizens reverted to the ideas of their European forebears and called on the agent to do things beyond the defensive function. Regardless of cause, irrespective of whether the agent usurped powers or received additional granted powers, the agent turned the defensive weapons into coercive weapons.

A weapon is a weapon. A gun or a force that can be used to defend life and property can also be used to take life and property. *Statism begins at precisely the point where the defensive function is turned to coercive activity of a positive nature.* Statism begins, for instance, when the state leaves off protecting one's income and begins taking one's income for others. It begins when the state traffics in *coercive* or *initiated* force instead of sticking to *defensive* or *repellent* force.

Statism is coercion. Coercion (initiated force) is evil in every instance of its application. There are no exceptions.*

A Test

If one will relate what aspects of his life he will willingly concede to another's control, it becomes obvious, in logic and equity, what his views on the limit of the state ought to be. Quite likely he will make only one concession because he will want others to make the same concession to him: the right to defend (repellent force) his life and property against the aggression (coercive force) of another. No person on the face of this earth has any moral right to use other than defensive force against any other person on earth. Rights which we as citizens do not possess cannot properly be delegated to any agency—even the state. The state,

*The collection of taxes for purely defensive purposes deserves a more complete treatment than space here permits. Such collection, in my view, does not classify as coercion.

then, cannot, in good reason, be in possession of rights that do not inhere in the citizens. For the state to go beyond this is to argue that its extracurricular rights come from somewhere else. Where? From God, as the Divine Right of Kings theory argues?

Here is my own radical belief—radical in the sense that it is shared by only a relatively few individuals: I believe that you are better able to control your life than I am. I believe this about every adult person regardless of wealth status or occupational level. I believe you and others are better able to control your lives than is the head of any government, whoever he may be, or than anyone he can appoint.

The above belief is self-evident to the point of appearing silly. Yet, let it be tested against all personally held beliefs. How many can claim that they place no reliance on coercive force, as distinguished from repellent force? The few who can make such a claim are free of statist beliefs.

A Contradiction

Only now and then is there a person who does not advocate coercion in one way or another. A study by Link and Freiberg showed that 75 per cent of the American people believed themselves opposed to socialism (statism). Yet, 66 per cent of them favored governmental actions which fell within their own definitions of socialism! There is not, to my knowledge, a single businessmen's organization—chambers of commerce, manufacturers' associations, or others—whose minutes won't reveal support of statism in their resolutions on public policies.

No person can ever combat statism unless he knows precisely what statism is. Without such understanding, he won't even recognize statism in its numberless forms. This understanding is the first requirement. All other requirements are secondary—by far.

Now, let us assume that one knows and measures statism as a guide for his own actions. Then what? Know also the potentialities of freedom if one is to have any effect on others.

Two Types of Influence

Influencing others *against* statism and *for* freedom is a complex problem. Influence divides into two types, the nonrational and the rational. All we need to know about the nonrational is that it is useless for our purpose.

A slogan, for example, is a nonrational device. It is effective for destructive purposes. "Kill all the Jews" effectively influenced millions of people to follow a madman. Clever clichés and phrases like "Human rights are above property rights" or "What would you do, let them starve?" have effectively influenced Americans to vote for charlatans and to advocate legal thievery.

The solution of the statism problem by those of us who love freedom is not a destructive project. Rather, it is creative. It has to do with the advancement of understanding—just plain *learning*.

The learning process presupposes the existence of two things:

1. A person with the desire to learn.
2. A source of knowledge from which the learning can be drawn.

No person will ever learn any particular subject or how to make any particular object unless he has the desire to learn. Advancing the cause of freedom requires that thousands of individuals have the desire to learn about freedom and its potentialities.

Source of Knowledge

The question, then, is how does any general desire to learn about freedom begin? What sets it off? *It is the source of knowledge that creates the will to learn.*

At this point it might be logically asked: "From whence comes this source?" John Baker, the eminent English scientist, answers the question: "The desire to know is widespread among men: the desire to know specifically that which is not known is on the contrary very rare." The few derive their desire to learn from a source higher than other persons.

It is the source of knowledge that creates the will to learn. For example, only a short time ago there was no general desire to learn about nuclear fission. But the moment that one person discovered how to release atomic energy, the moment that such knowledge existed and was communicated, there was automatically created the desire to learn among tens of thousands of persons all over the world who had an aptitude for that subject. The presence of this knowledge and its existence in the mind of a human being served attractively, magnetically. They created the desire to learn on the part of many.

The Fault

The problem of knowing freedom is, quite obviously, a learning problem. The reason for the growing belief in coercion as a means to direct the creative activities of citizens within society is erroneously laid to "the ignorant masses." We could, with as much logic fifty years ago, have laid the lack of understanding of nuclear fission to "the ignorant masses." The real fault is an inadequacy of source of knowledge about freedom. Bluntly, there simply is no one today who is making an adequate explanation of liberty—the free market, the voluntary society, and a state limited to defensive functions—to serve sufficiently as an attractive, magnetic source, which in turn serves to create the desire to learn in effective proportions.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. The proof that source is inadequate is the fact that the belief in coercion continues to grow. It grows because there isn't enough of the freedom philosophy standing as an intellectual bulwark against it. The freedom philosophy is lacking in understanding and acceptance, not because many Americans cannot learn it, but because there isn't any considerable desire to learn it. The shortage of desire derives from a dirth of source.

An Example

To contrast the distinction between the learning

approach and the popular propaganda approach—between improving the source of knowledge and disseminating existing knowledge—let me illustrate thusly:

Suppose you belong to a golf club composed of 200 "dubs," among whom you are a distinguished incompetent. Let's assume you become obsessed with the idea that all of the members should become scratch golfers and that you proceed to exhort and admonish your colleagues—you a "dub," one who doesn't know how to be a scratch golfer! Such action, consistent as it is with popular propaganda techniques, would be obnoxious and, if persisted in, would bring a request for your resignation.

Now then, assume you take the opposite approach—the one here advocated as a method of knowing freedom—and that you go to work on the only person in the world over whom you have control creatively, namely, yourself; that you try desperately to become a scratch golfer. Now make the assumption that you succeed. This action, obviously, would be attractive, magnetic. Many members of the golf club would come to you inquiring how you had made such an achievement. What you could do, they could do. You would have created the desire to learn by reason of your own competency. You would have qualified in their eyes as a teacher, one who could with profit be drawn on.

Explanation

The second item, then, in preparing to combat statism is to understand and learn better how to explain the potentialities of the freedom philosophy.

Explanation is important. For instance, had only one man learned how to release atomic energy and had he been unable to explain what he knew in terms intelligible to others, atomic energy would still remain unreleased. Right principles do not change. But very often, if new generations of people are to understand them, new explanations become necessary.

It may be that some persons at certain periods in history understood all they needed to know about freedom and were able to make proper explanations of what they knew—that is, proper and adequate explanations for their times. But, *we are not making proper and adequate explanations for our times.* Indeed, one of the faults may be that we are using terms and expressions and explanations useful in a period that has had its end. Our very words have changed their meaning, and new influences have made their mark on our thinking.

Unknown Answers

The understanding and the explanations of freedom I am arguing for are as yet unknown to me. They have not, to my knowledge, appeared on today's scene. They can be ours only by the processes of invention, imagination, research, probing, discovery. It is as much one person's obligation as it is another's to think through and to write the answers as to why man should be unrestrained, except for infringing on the rights of others. It is as much your obligation as mine to explain

why there should be a free, uninhibited flow of all creative human energy. We must invent or discover ways to write this thesis dramatically, scientifically, logically, compellingly, morally—for it is a moral problem.

Any person with a high sense of procedure can readily see the distinction I am arguing—the distinction between the methods used to disseminate existing knowledge and the methods necessary to develop new sources of knowledge.

Actually, the latter calls for a trend toward self-perfection in the understanding of freedom and statism. Another way of saying this is: The problem of combatting statism must be approached qualitatively by individual persons in order to find a solution quantitatively. In short, I must improve my own understanding before I can be of any help in improving anyone else's understanding. There is, in my view, no short cut to this process.

Facing The Facts

There are other things one can do, important steps in combatting statism. But such activities should be based on the recognition of several facts:

1. There is only one person in the world that one can do something *to* in the creative sense, namely, one's self;
2. So far as others are concerned we will be well advised to confine ourselves to what we can do *for* them in the way of knowledge that they can tap;
3. Combatting statism does not necessarily involve getting any substantial percentage of voting citizens to understand the problem. Knowledge is never general on any subject. We are all followers in most respects, leaders only rarely and momentarily, if at all;
4. The leaders in any subject are the ones at "the head of the class" on that subject;
5. All movements in history, good or bad, have had their intellectual leaders, persons who could not have been predicted ahead of time. One, I recall, was born in a manger. Another, the leader of a bad movement, was, only a short time ago, an Austrian paper hanger;
6. The leaders against statism and for freedom, the one or ones who will lay down the intellectual basis for statism's overthrow and the ascendancy of a free society, are unknown to you or me. Keep an eye on everyone as potentially that person. He may well be the machinist rather than the corporation president,

Our Approach

Our approach in the Foundation for Economic Education, based on these ideas, is simple. Nor can I see wherein the approach of any other person or group of persons should differ in principle. We here, as individuals, are searching for a better understanding of this subject and are trying to find refinements in explaining what we uncover in the way of understanding. Not only do

we send our own findings to all persons who want them, but also we search for the works of others and pass those on, too.

Stated another way, we are trying to get as many persons as possible to join with us in a search for the answers. The law of probability suggests that there is a better chance of some one or several persons coming up with answers and explanations if many are trying to find them than if only a few are at the task.

An important feature of our approach is that we do not regard the ones who want our studies as objects for our indoctrination. It is not up to me or any of my associates to indoctrinate anyone. Our only task is to develop our own skills as relating to the freedom philosophy. If we know enough, our understanding will be drawn upon. If we don't have anything rather special to offer, what purpose is served so far as others are concerned?

In the case of cancer projects, for example, we citizens do not set up a program where all the doctors tell the people how to cure the disease. To our knowledge, no doctor knows that answer yet. Instead, we citizens set up research efforts, get as many interested as possible, and hope that someone, someday, will make the essential discovery. And only one is required. The knowledge the one gains will never become general, but the benefits will be immediately generalized.

Summary

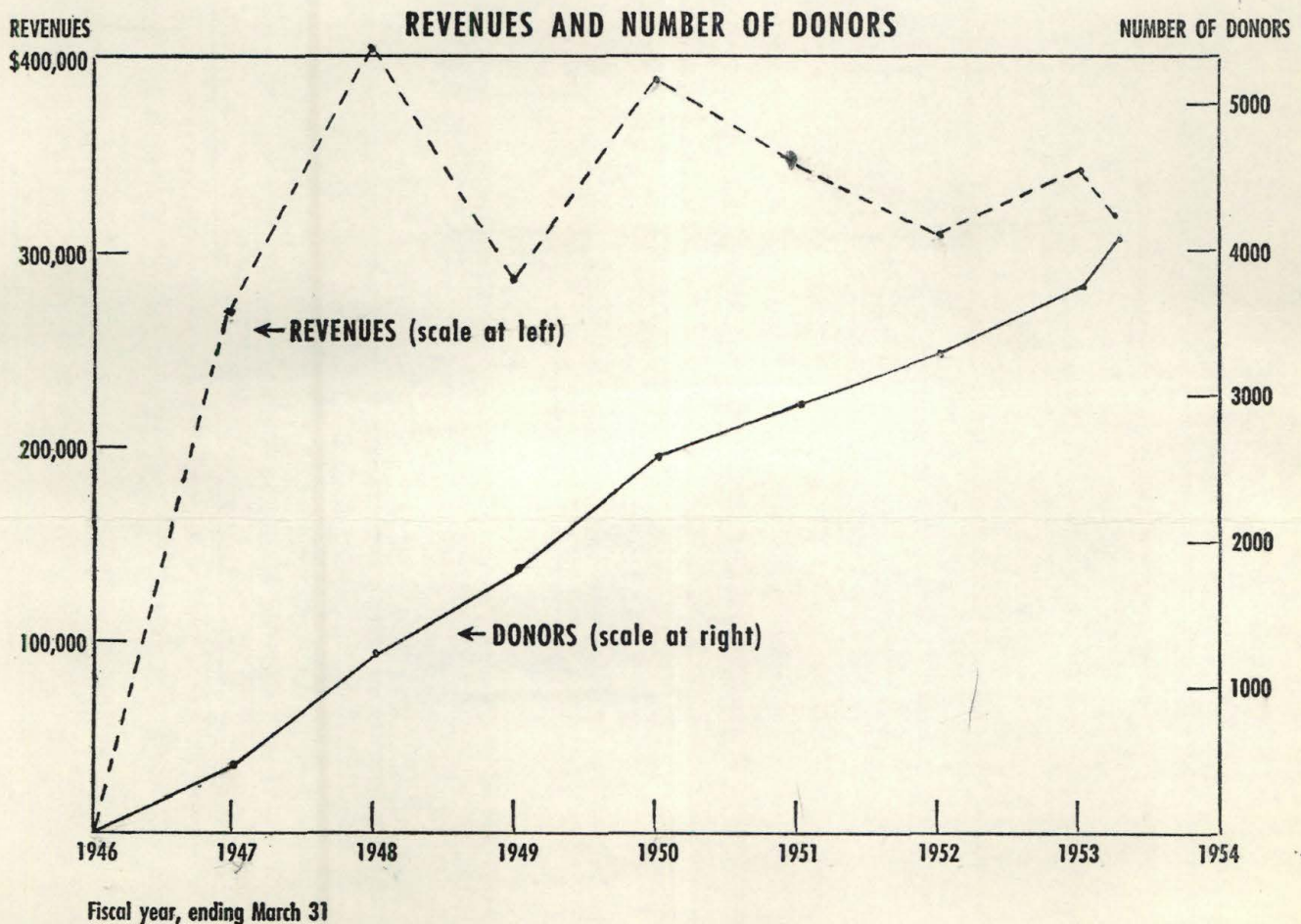
In preparing ourselves to combat our country's growing trend toward statism, we keep these objects ever in mind, objects that appear as appropriate for others as for ourselves:

1. Know statism.
2. Become better students of the freedom philosophy and personally practice it at all times.
3. Pass on our findings, orally or in writing, to those who can be interested in them—especially to those within our own circles of activity.
4. Pass on the ideas or works of others which in our judgment are free of all statist ideas and which have proved helpful to our own thinking. (The approval of any one statist idea, no matter how minor, is to make the case for the whole kaboodle of statism.)
5. Use such educational means as we possess to identify statist ideas as they arise.

In short, we do everything in our power to create a desire on the part of others to develop an understanding of liberty, knowing that such power can derive only from our own advancement in understanding. We then try, as befits our means, to satisfy whatever desires we succeed in creating.

Some there are who make the pessimistic observation that there is nothing one can do as a lone individual. I should like to counter with the hopeful idea that there is really nothing that can be done except by an individual. Only individuals learn. Only individuals can think creatively. Only individuals can co-operate. Only individuals can combat statism.

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The above chart shows the trend in FEE revenue—hardly “holding its own.”

Shown, also, is the trend in number of Donors—rather a remarkable record.

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FEE purveys. Still others want “quick action” as opposed to education which, they say, is “too slow.”

We here at FEE accept the free market for ourselves as we argue its blessings for our country and for the world. Implied in the free market, however, is letting others know what is offered in exchange.

FEE offers the ideas and the explanations that underlie and justify a faith in free men—an investment for our children and their children—in exchange for whatever support anyone decides such an effort is worth.



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From Mr. Read's Kitchen

THE VIRTUOSITY of Leonard Read, president of the Foundation for Economic Education, in advancing sound American economic and political doctrine, is equalled only by his virtuosity as a highly competent cook. In the past, through *BOHEMIAN LIFE*, he has shared his culinary legerdemain with his many friends who are readers of this publication.

Now he has been at it again—hard at it in his functional kitchen back at Irvington on the Hudson—and he has a report to make to his fellow gourmets. The editor of this tract feels highly privileged to present it in his inimitable language. Says Mr. Read:

The ancients used "beans" medicinally. Bruised and boiled with garlic, they were taken to cure coughs.

—De Gouy.

KIDNEY BEANS BOURGUIGNONNE

If you want a dish exotic in flavor, low in cost, sparing of time, and simple in preparation and, if you like beans . . .

I learned a recipe by this title from Savarin St. Sure ten years ago, but two years later the main ingredient—Heinz Oven Baked Kidney Beans—disappeared from the market and hasn't been heard of since. However, an excellent oven-baked kidney bean recently became available (Friend Bros., Inc., Melrose, Mass.) and I did the dish from memory: Chop fine one-half onion, one-half handful parsley tops, one clove garlic, add pinch thyme and saute with olive oil until onions threaten to turn brownish.

Add one pound can Friend's Oven Baked Red Kidney Beans and one-half cup red wine. Simmer for 20 minutes.

Das ist alles.

"—Prince, would you forget your thinning hair,

Your troubled state and cardiac?

Then try, for liberty from care,

The pleasures of a midnight snack."

EGGS BABBLE

This dish is not named for the purpose of being funny. It could not be more accurately described if done in the French. The setting and the time of day are just as important as the ingredients. To violate either one would be to present a culinary error.

It happened like this. Agatha and I were spending the holidays in San Francisco with Leonard, Jr., and his Mary. We had returned to their home after midnight from a party. A general hunger was announced. I asked the girls to take it easy and Len and I would go into the kitchen and "create something." Not knowing what you are going to do is a part of the recipe. I reached blindly into a cupboard and came out with a bowl. Obviously something had to be done that required a bowl. That suggested eggs, so I told Len to break eight eggs into it. Nothing creative about eight eggs! Both of us peered into the refrigerator. There, big as life, was a bottle of cream. In went an unmeasured slosh of it, in the neighborhood of half a cup. By this time Len was laughing and I was speculating, audibly and continuously, both essential ingredients to this incomparable dish. We stuck our nose into a cabinet and spied a bottle of sherry. Carelessly, and with no semblance of regard for quantity, a gurgle was added (maybe a tablespoonful). We looked at the condiment shelf. Len contributed a dash of Tabasco and I gave the

bowl two squirts from the Worcestershire bottle. I asked him to touch it up with some salt and pepper and to whip the mess with a wooden fork, while I cogitated on what we were going to do now that we had gone this far. Three slices of bacon were discovered which, with reckless abandon, were hacked into tiny bits. These were put into an iron skillet and half cooked, as though the extent of cooking made no difference. After pouring off most of the grease, the egg goo was added. At this point we agreed that such a lovely concoction required tender care lest we bruise it, so we turned the flame very low, and gently scraped the bottom of the skillet with a wooden spoon—with never a second's respite in this vigil until our creation had reached a soft consistency. I had been so busy talking that I had not noticed Len preparing some toast and a pot of coffee. Agatha and Mary were so pleased that we two Lens have lived happily ever since.

My son seldom writes his father—in this instance not until St. Patrick's Day. Nary a mention of our week's visit in the letter except to recall the fun we had had preparing that dish, and he added, "Ten per cent eggs and ninety per cent babble: EGGS BABBLE!"

SHASHLIK ROSECRANS

No person ever turns to me when seeking perfection in operatic music, golf, fly fishing, the theory of relativity, or mumblethepeg. But when it comes to preparing *Shashlik*, the story is different. However, like in other



fields, the pioneer seldom reaps the glory or profit. That is usually left to someone else who capitalizes on the original idea. Thus, a noble gent, yclept Rosecrans, a capitalist in one sense, has come to regard me as a capitalist in another sense. I have capitalized on one of his ideas. And, thus, the name, *Shashlik Rosecrans*, conferred by me, the profiteer.

There is little use in trying to do a *shashlik* unless you know the jargon. In this instance the taste buds refuse perfectly to function without philologic support.

If you do this dish in America or England you should spell it *shashlik*. If you were to get Frenchy about it the spelling would be *chachelique*. Moving across the Rhine into Germany the transliteration would be *schaschlik*, in Poland, *scaszlik*, and in Czechoslovakia, *saslik*. I can spell this dish in Hebrew, Greek and Russian, but my typewriter cannot.

There are three requirements to a *shashlik*. It has to be lamb, it has to be marinated, and it has to be grilled or barbecued.

Most persons know *shashlik* as it is done in Turkish, Russian, Armenian or Persian restaurants, or in American facsimiles thereof: small cubes of lamb, marinated in there, stuck on a sword, with slices of apples, onions, mushrooms, tomatoes or whatnots between the cubes, the whole affair aflame "...to Versaille, then like as not ending up at Kasbek to hear the Tsar's guitarist, hear the superb chorus of big breasted Caucasian girls, the dagger dancers, and to consume *Shashlik* packed on bayonets, and brought into the small dark place flaming and spitting fire."

Or, the same arrangement on skewers over a bed of coals. The latter is sometimes known as *shish kabab*, or *kebab* or *kebob*, according to where you come from, or the manner of your dialect.

Shashlik Rosecrans is of another and not well-known school of *shashlik* thought. This school holds that wine does not complement but rather supplements the flavor of lamb, and therefore is taboo.

To do: Procure a well-hung leg of lamb. Bone it yourself in such a manner that, when boned, the lamb lays out in a flat, thick piece, something like a 3-inch top sirloin. In a large-dimensioned, flat tray or pan put 6 tablespoons of olive oil, the juice of two juicy lemons, and a tablespoon of freshly ground pepper. Thinly slice three or four cloves of garlic, bruise the slices, rub thoroughly over the meaty side of the lamb, tossing the left-over pieces into the marinade. Swish the meaty side of the lamb in this marinade, rest meaty side up in the tray, leaving for 24 hours. Baste several times during this period. The barbecuing of lamb is like the barbecuing of anything else—it is a matter of heat judgment. How big is the lamb? How great is the heat? How close is the heat to the meat? Cook slowly! Aim to finish with a slight char on the outside and the middle somewhat pinkish. This is not an ideological pun. It is a culinary necessity. Serve in diagonally cut, one-half inch slices, and admonish the lucky plate holder to salt each slice.

A tossed green salad, kidney beans, a bottle of good California red wine, some Italian bread, finished off with a light toasting of Parmesan cheese, and you are partaking of *Shashlik Rosecrans* at its level best.

The War on Alcoholism

THE WAR on alcoholism is proceeding at an accelerated pace. Medicos, psychologists, public officials, and just plain good citizens have joined forces all over the United States to seek ways and means for correcting the problem of excessive drinking among individuals.

The alcoholic beverage industry al-

ways has applauded objective approaches for remedying this situation, and has contributed substantial sums of money to well-sponsored and organized movements to minimize this evil. The excessive or "problem" drinker is a threat not only to the industry but to the liberties of the



moderate, social drinker, for he is the "horrible example" that reformers and prohibitionists point to in their constant efforts to dry up the nation again.

Unfortunately, however, there is too little unity of opinion on what causes excessive drinking, and even less on proper methods to rehabilitate the alcoholic.

This situation was impressively demonstrated when "America's Town Meeting of the Air" recently conducted a radio forum discussion on the question "What is the Best Answer to Alcoholism?"

Professor Selden Bacon of Yale University, Associate Editor of the *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, and Dr. James J. Smith, Director of Research on Alcoholism at the New York University Bellevue Medical Center, differed sharply.

Professor Bacon made the point that the alcoholic was a "highly neurotic individual" and alcoholism an "emotional illness." On the contrary, Dr. Smith insisted that "alcoholism is a physical disease" and that the "alcoholic is a sick person who is behaving poorly because his body is working poorly."

Obviously, even though the best of intentions are involved, those seeking a cure for alcoholism can accomplish little until the area of agreement is firmer and better than at present. The matter seems to resolve itself into the question: Is alcoholism a physical or a psychical disease? The answer will

have to be a positive one, supported by adequate scientific proof before the present crusades can hope to gain much more momentum.

Reynard in the Oven

ATTRACTED BY a discussion on the cookery of exotic animals that appeared in these columns some time ago, Rene Black, Manager of Restaurants for New York's Waldorf-Astoria, and an ardent reader of *BOHEMIAN LIFE*, offers these remarks on the roasting of a fox:

"Fox—the elusive joy of dogs! How to cook it? One needs not a flying carpet, but can find them aplenty in Maine, Wisconsin, Connecticut. Roasted, the fox is to the beaver what ptarmigan is to grouse. Its flesh is snowy white, tender and wholly delicious.

"The first I ever tasted was on a menu among 30 other items of the Abbey Crote d'Oro in Mogadiscio, with a baked pumpkin as a goodly accompaniment, since apple sauce is unknown to those parts. I have eaten it since, but prepared according to culinary principles, as follows:

"Banishing the family from the kitchen, I butchered the fox, carefully wrapping the head, skin, etc., in a newspaper which I stealthily deposited in the garden bin. When the animal is thoroughly cleaned, put it in a large roasting pan with red wine, mushrooms, small onions, wine vinegar, brown sugar, caraway seeds, poppy heads, and raisins. When colored a golden brown, on goes the lid—and you play croquet for two



hours. The pungent odor of the cooking then starts to animate the nostrils, and when served never was wild turkey more enjoyed, up to the time when, with strong black coffee and brandy, I confessed with foxy wiliness my duplicity.

"Enthusiasm, however, was not abated when, the next day, the remainder of the fox was served cold with green pepper salad and seasoned mushrooms."

APROPOS OF exotic flesh foods, Frank J. Haberl, well-known western hotel man now at the Country Club Apartment Hotel in Phoenix, Arizona, contributes this note on beavers:

"Some time ago you wrote a very nice

article in *BOHEMIAN LIFE* headed 'Now It's Beaver,' and stated that the English people would have to go on a beaver diet. You also asked for a reader with practical experience regarding beaver meat.

"My experience in the Colorado mountains with beaver, which is a very shy animal, has been very interesting but you have to go out at night to see them work.

"Regarding its palatability, we have roasted beaver meat with plenty of garlic and onion flavor, also with dressing like any other game, or made beaver stew, hunter style, and I assure you that it is very palatable. The most delicious part of the beaver is its tail. I had several beaver tails given to me while at the Brown Palace in Denver. Our chef, Emil Born, prepared the beaver tail like he always prepared his green turtle meat, put it in glass jars in jelly, and prepared a soup stock like clear green turtle with the beaver tail meat in it. You could not tell any difference between green turtle and beaver tail soup, as it was then called, with the exception that beaver tail was very rich in fat. To overcome that, we always added several glasses of good heavy Sherry in a large bowl of beaver tail soup and, as all the old-timers in that country can tell you, the miners would come down from the mountains and pay \$10 a plate for this delicacy.

"In late years, however, the government has prohibited the killing of beaver and we have not been able to get any more beaver tails and, therefore, no more beaver tail soup."

M. Simon's "Dictionary"

ANDRE L. SIMON's long-awaited *Dictionary of Gastronomy* has at last appeared (Farrar, Straus and Co., New York, \$5.00). It is an exceedingly interesting and valuable compilation of known and little known facts and lore about food and beverages.

Produced by the world's most celebrated authority on the subject of edibles and potables, it is bound to settle a multitude of questions about matters related to them.

Yours truly, for example, learned a number of things from the master that he never knew until now. For instance:

That AGRAS is a popular beverage of Algeria, concocted of unfermented grape juice, water, sugar, and crushed almonds, and is served very cold.

That ZUCCO is an Italian dessert wine made from grapes grown in the vicinity of Palermo, Sicily.

That ALKERMES, a red French cordial, is colored with *kermes* berries, which are not "berries" at all, but insects related to the cochineal family.

That TWANN is a deep, golden wine from the Swiss canton of Berne.

That AMBROSIA, the mythical tippie of the gods in Olympus, was rumored to have been nine times sweeter than honey.

That SINGING HINNIE was the name applied to a form of griddle cake popular at one time in the north of England.

That the ASS is as wholesome a food as the ox "and might be just as good if the ass were given less work to do and more food to eat."

That PIMENTOS are the dried berries of the allspice tree, which are used as a condiment, whereas PIMIENTOS are the red Spanish sweet pepper, from the dried seeds of which paprika is made.

That BASTARD was a sweetened and spiced Spanish wine popular in England in Shakespeare's time.

That the GRAPEFRUIT is known in England as the SHADDOCK, and in France as PAMPLEMOUSSE.

That BATH CHAP is the English designation for the lower half of a pig's cheek, cured like bacon.

That DEMOISELLE, in French, means not only a miss—not necessarily young—but also is a term used in Normandy and the west country to describe a small tot of spirits.

Wonderful treasury of esoteric arcana, certainly, is M. Simon's *Dictionary*!



In brief

COMBATTING STATISM

BY

Leonard E. Read



THE FOUNDATION FOR
ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.
IRVINGTON-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK

EDITOR'S NOTE

This is a condensed version of an address delivered before the 60th Annual Meeting of the Pacific Coast Gas Association at San Francisco, September 10, 1953. Leonard E. Read, author of *Students of Liberty*, *Outlook for Freedom*, *Victims of Social Leveling*, and other books and articles, is a Foundation staff member.

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COMBATTING STATISM



HOW CAN a person best prepare himself to combat trends toward statism? Finding the right answer to this question became an obsession with me in the early 1930's, and the obsession has in no way abated. I hope it never does.

The answer, it seems to me, can be put in five words: "Know statism and know freedom." That answer, however, is easier to express than it is to accomplish. And it is easier to make this admonishment than it is to prove its correctness.

First, what is statism? It has many names: Fabianism, nazism, fascism, communism, socialism, state-interventionism, the welfare state, the planned economy, and all sorts of "deals" — new, fair, and otherwise. These labels, rather careless generalizations, have a common characteristic that identifies each and every one as essentially the same thing: *the use of government—the organized police force—as the means to direct the creative activities of the people.*

FROM THE SAME SOURCE

A CAREFUL EXAMINATION of these so-called progressive ideologies will reveal that their philosophical justification rests on this use

of the legal force of government as an alleged means of doing good. They are founded on and exist by coercion, this alone and nothing else. Any difference in any of them has to do with organizational details as to how the coercion shall be administered.

The question that primarily concerns me is the control, or the taking, of life and livelihood without consent; I am only secondarily interested in whether life and livelihood are controlled or taken by a Robin Hood, a Malenkov, or a gang of voters legally ordering the cop into action.

How did statism in America begin? We need to know this in order to identify and to understand it.

THE AMERICAN IDEA

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY originally set up a government founded on the basic premise that each citizen has an inalienable right to life. It follows that if a person has a right to life, he also has a right to defend that life and to sustain that life (livelihood) by his own productive efforts. The right to life without the right to protect that life and without the right to sustain that life is utterly meaningless. Livelihood being only the fruits of one's labor or property, the American premise clearly said that each citizen has an inalienable right to life and property. This fact is proved in the Fifth Amendment to our Constitution, where life,

liberty, and property are listed in the same phrase on an equal basis.

It is one thing to adopt such a premise. It is quite another matter to put this premise into practice.

Two ways suggest themselves. First, let each citizen carry his own defensive weapons to protect his life and property. This is a risky and unpredictable business, subject to individual moods and capriciousness. Short of a perfect citizenry, this could be the worst possible form of authoritarianism. There would be millions of governments, each one changing as the moods and capriciousness of the individuals changed. Rejected!

Second, why not appoint an agent and, in effect, give the agent all of our weapons—that is, give him a monopolistic control of all defensive powers? Ask of this agent only one thing: Protect or secure the rights to life and property of all citizens, equally. Accepted!

The Constitution and the Bill of Rights were aimed, primarily, at prohibiting our agent from doing more than this. The prohibitions were stipulated because governments had theretofore gotten out of hand.

Well and dandy! The idea worked for a time. And because the American society succeeded better than had any other society in limiting our agent of force — government — there was in this country a greater release of human energy and a wider acceptance

of personal responsibility than had been known before. These facts account for the American miracle!

There wasn't, for all practical purposes, much statism in this arrangement. Indeed, there was none except for certain compromises or infractions of the American principle, such as slavery and tariffs, which were admitted into the Constitution. But what happened?

THE IDEA PERVERTED

OUR AGENT, government — federal, state, and local, composed of persons not unlike the rest of us — perhaps became tired of performing the merely negative function of defending life and property. Or, perhaps, the citizens reverted to the ideas of their European forebears and called on the agent to do things beyond the defensive function. Regardless of cause, irrespective of whether the agent usurped powers or received additional granted powers, the agent turned the defensive weapons into coercive weapons.

A weapon is a weapon. A gun or a force that can be used to defend life and property can also be used to take life and property. *Statism begins at precisely the point where the defensive function is turned to coercive activity of a positive nature.* Statism begins, for instance, when the state leaves off protecting one's income and begins taking one's income for others. It begins when the state

traffics in *coercive* or *initiated* force instead of sticking to *defensive* or *repellent* force.

Statism is coercion. Coercion (initiated force) is evil in every instance of its application. There are no exceptions.*

A TEST

IF ONE WILL relate what aspects of his life he will willingly concede to another's control, it becomes obvious, in logic and equity, what his views on the limit of the state ought to be. Quite likely he will make only one concession because he will want others to make the same concession to him: the right to defend (repellent force) his life and property against the aggression (coercive force) of another. No person on the face of this earth has any moral right to use other than defensive force against any other person on earth. Rights which we as citizens do not possess cannot properly be delegated to any agency — even the state. The state, then, cannot, in good reason, be in possession of rights that do not inhere in the citizens. For the state to go beyond this is to argue that its extracurricular rights come from somewhere else. Where? From God, as the Divine Right of Kings theory argues?

Here is my own radical belief — radical

*The collection of taxes for purely defensive purposes deserves a more complete treatment than space here permits. Such collection, in my view, does not classify as coercion.

in the sense that it is shared by only a relatively few individuals: I believe that you are better able to control your life than I am. I believe this about every adult person regardless of wealth status or occupational level. I believe you and others are better able to control your lives than is the head of any government, whoever he may be, or than anyone he can appoint.

The above belief is self-evident to the point of appearing silly. Yet, let it be tested against all personally held beliefs. How many can claim that they place no reliance on coercive force, as distinguished from repellent force? The few who can make such a claim are free of statist beliefs.

A CONTRADICTION

ONLY NOW and then is there a person who does not advocate coercion in one way or another. A study by Link and Freiberg showed that 75 per cent of the American people believed themselves opposed to socialism (statism). Yet, 66 per cent of them favored governmental actions which fell within their own definitions of socialism! There is not, to my knowledge, a single businessmen's organization — chambers of commerce, manufacturers' associations, or others — whose minutes won't reveal support of statism in their resolutions on public policies.

No person can ever combat statism unless

he knows precisely what statism is. Without such understanding, he won't even recognize statism in its numberless forms. This understanding is the first requirement. All other requirements are secondary — by far.

Now, let us assume that one knows and measures statism as a guide for his own actions. Then what? Know also the potentialities of freedom if one is to have any effect on others.

TWO TYPES OF INFLUENCE

INFLUENCING OTHERS *against* statism and *for* freedom is a complex problem. Influence divides into two types, the nonrational and the rational. All we need to know about the nonrational is that it is useless for our purpose.

A slogan, for example, is a nonrational device. It is effective for destructive purposes. "Kill all the Jews" effectively influenced millions of people to follow a madman. Clever clichés and phrases like "Human rights are above property rights" or "What would you do, let them starve?" have effectively influenced Americans to vote for charlatans and to advocate legal thievery.

The solution of the statism problem by those of us who love freedom is not a destructive project. Rather, it is creative. It has to do with the advancement of understanding — just plain *learning*.

The learning process presupposes the existence of two things:

1. A person with the desire to learn.
2. A source of knowledge from which the learning can be drawn.

No person will ever learn any particular subject or how to make any particular object unless he has the desire to learn. Advancing the cause of freedom requires that thousands of individuals have the desire to learn about freedom and its potentialities.

SOURCE OF KNOWLEDGE

THE QUESTION, then, is how does any general desire to learn about freedom begin? What sets it off? *It is the source of knowledge that creates the will to learn.*

At this point it might be logically asked: "From whence comes this source?" John Baker, the eminent English scientist, answers the question: "The desire to know is widespread among men: the desire to know specifically that which is not known is on the contrary very rare." The few derive their desire to learn from a source higher than other persons.

It is the source of knowledge that creates the will to learn. For example, only a short time ago there was no general desire to learn about nuclear fission. But the moment that one person discovered how to release atomic energy, the moment that such knowledge existed and was communi-

cated, there was automatically created the desire to learn among tens of thousands of persons all over the world who had an aptitude for that subject. The presence of this knowledge and its existence in the mind of a human being served attractively, magnetically. They created the desire to learn on the part of many.

THE FAULT

THE PROBLEM of knowing freedom is, quite obviously, a learning problem. The reason for the growing belief in coercion as a means to direct the creative activities of citizens within society is erroneously laid to "the ignorant masses." We could, with as much logic fifty years ago, have laid the lack of understanding of nuclear fission to "the ignorant masses." The real fault is an inadequacy of source of knowledge about freedom. Bluntly, there simply is no one today who is making an adequate explanation of liberty — the free market, the voluntary society, and a state limited to defensive functions — to serve sufficiently as an attractive, magnetic source, which in turn serves to create the desire to learn in effective proportions.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. The proof that source is inadequate is the fact that the belief in coercion continues to grow. It grows because there isn't enough of the freedom philosophy standing as an

intellectual bulwark against it. The freedom philosophy is lacking in understanding and acceptance, not because many Americans cannot learn it, but because there isn't any considerable desire to learn it. The shortage of desire derives from a dirth of source.

AN EXAMPLE

TO CONTRAST the distinction between the learning approach and the popular propaganda approach — between improving the source of knowledge and disseminating existing knowledge — let me illustrate thusly:

Suppose you belong to a golf club composed of 200 "dubs," among whom you are a distinguished incompetent. Let's assume you become obsessed with the idea that all of the members should become scratch golfers and that you proceed to exhort and admonish your colleagues — you a "dub," one who doesn't know how to be a scratch golfer! Such action, consistent as it is with popular propaganda techniques, would be obnoxious and, if persisted in, would bring a request for your resignation.

Now then, assume you take the opposite approach — the one here advocated as a method of knowing freedom — and that you go to work on the only person in the world over whom you have control creatively, namely, yourself; that you try desperately to become a scratch golfer. Now make the assumption that you succeed. This action,

obviously, would be attractive, magnetic. Many members of the golf club would come to you inquiring how you had made such an achievement. What you could do, they could do. You would have created the desire to learn by reason of your own competency. You would have qualified in their eyes as a teacher, one who could with profit be drawn on.

EXPLANATION

THE SECOND ITEM, then, in preparing to combat statism is to understand and learn better how to explain the potentialities of the freedom philosophy.

Explanation is important. For instance, had only one man learned how to release atomic energy and had he been unable to explain what he knew in terms intelligible to others, atomic energy would still remain unreleased. Right principles do not change. But very often, if new generations of people are to understand them, new explanations become necessary.

It may be that some persons at certain periods in history understood all they needed to know about freedom and were able to make proper explanations of what they knew — that is, proper and adequate explanations for their times. But, *we are not making proper and adequate explanations for our times*. Indeed, one of the faults may be that we are using terms and expressions

and explanations useful in a period that has had its end. Our very words have changed their meaning, and new influences have made their mark on our thinking.

UNKNOWN ANSWERS

THE UNDERSTANDING and the explanations of freedom I am arguing for are as yet unknown to me. They have not, to my knowledge, appeared on today's scene. They can be ours only by the processes of invention, imagination, research, probing, discovery. It is as much one person's obligation as it is another's to think through and to write the answers as to why man should be unrestrained, except for infringing on the rights of others. It is as much your obligation as mine to explain why there should be a free, uninhibited flow of all creative human energy. We must invent or discover ways to write this thesis dramatically, scientifically, logically, compellingly, morally — for it is a moral problem.

Any person with a high sense of procedure can readily see the distinction I am arguing — the distinction between the methods used to disseminate existing knowledge and the methods necessary to develop new sources of knowledge.

Actually, the latter calls for a trend toward self-perfection in the understanding of freedom and statism. Another way of saying this is: The problem of combatting

statism must be approached qualitatively by individual persons in order to find a solution quantitatively. In short, I must improve my own understanding before I can be of any help in improving anyone else's understanding. There is, in my view, no short cut to this process.

FACING THE FACTS

THERE ARE other things one can do, important steps in combatting statism. But such activities should be based on the recognition of several facts:

1. There is only one person in the world that one can do something *to* in the creative sense, namely, one's self;
2. So far as others are concerned we will be well advised to confine ourselves to what we can do *for* them in the way of knowledge that they can tap;
3. Combatting statism does not necessarily involve getting any substantial percentage of voting citizens to understand the problem. Knowledge is never general on any subject. We are all followers in most respects, leaders only rarely and momentarily, if at all;
4. The leaders in any subject are the ones at "the head of the class" on that subject;
5. All movements in history, good or bad, have had their intellectual leaders, persons who could not have been predicted

ahead of time. One, I recall, was born in a manger. Another, the leader of a bad movement, was, only a short time ago, an Austrian paper hanger;

6. The leaders against statism and for freedom, the one or ones who will lay down the intellectual basis for statism's overthrow and the ascendancy of a free society, are unknown to you or me. Keep an eye on everyone as potentially that person. He may well be the machinist rather than the corporation president.

OUR APPROACH

OUR APPROACH in the Foundation for Economic Education, based on these ideas, is simple. Nor can I see wherein the approach of any other person or group of persons should differ in principle. We here, as individuals, are searching for a better understanding of this subject and are trying to find refinements in explaining what we uncover in the way of understanding. Not only do we send our own findings to all persons who want them, but also we search for the works of others and pass those on, too.

Stated another way, we are trying to get as many persons as possible to join with us in a search for the answers. The law of probability suggests that there is a better chance of some one or several persons coming up with answers and explanations if

many are trying to find them than if only a few are at the task.

An important feature of our approach is that we do not regard the ones who want our studies as objects for our indoctrination. It is not up to me or any of my associates to indoctrinate anyone. Our only task is to develop our own skills as relating to the freedom philosophy. If we know enough, our understanding will be drawn upon. If we don't have anything rather special to offer, what purpose is served so far as others are concerned?

In the case of cancer projects, for example, we citizens do not set up a program where all the doctors tell the people how to cure the disease. To our knowledge, no doctor knows that answer yet. Instead, we citizens set up research efforts, get as many interested as possible, and hope that someone, someday, will make the essential discovery. And only one is required. The knowledge the one gains will never become general, but the benefits will be immediately generalized.

SUMMARY

IN PREPARING ourselves to combat our country's growing trend toward statism, we keep these objects ever in mind, objects that appear as appropriate for others as for ourselves:

1. Know statism.

2. Become better students of the freedom philosophy and personally practice it at all times.
3. Pass on our findings, orally or in writing, to those who can be interested in them — especially to those within our own circles of activity.
4. Pass on the ideas or works of others which in our judgment are free of all statist ideas and which have proved helpful to our own thinking. (The approval of any one statist idea, no matter how minor, is to make the case for the whole kaboodle of statism.)
5. Use such educational means as we possess to identify statist ideas as they arise.

In short, we do everything in our power to create a desire on the part of others to develop an understanding of liberty, knowing that such power can derive only from our own advancement in understanding. We then try, as befits our means, to satisfy whatever desires we succeed in creating.

Some there are who make the pessimistic observation that there is nothing one can do as a lone individual. I should like to counter with the hopeful idea that there is really nothing that can be done except by an individual. Only individuals learn. Only individuals can think creatively. Only individuals can co-operate. Only individuals can combat statism.

*“If, to please the people, we offer
what we ourselves disapprove,
how can we afterwards de-
fend our work? Let us raise
a standard to which the wise
and honest can repair. The
event is in the hand of God.”*

Attributed to George Washington
during the Constitutional Convention

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THE FOUNDATION FOR
ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.
IRVINGTON-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK

Notes from FEE

November 30, 1953

The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc.



Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y.

TO FRIENDS OF THE FOUNDATION:

A past president of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce has this to say about our recent release, Bargaining:

I am delighted with it and say without qualification that it is the finest treatise on economic freedom I have ever read.

- - -

It should be realized, however, that not all of the reactions to the publications issuing from FEE are offered in praise. For instance:

I regret to advise you that after reading the pamphlet, The Tariff Idea, our Contributions Committee, including myself, voted not to approve renewal of the company's contribution /\$5,000/ to the Foundation.

Subsequently, tariff proponents retained a New York public relations and publicity firm to cope with free trade proponents. I was told by the head of this firm that he had no interest in discussing the ideas in the current free trade issue, but that his only interest was in having the Foundation put out a piece in favor of the protective tariff "to show that you are on both sides." How much financial support FEE will lose is impossible to tell, for most failures to renew contributions are not accompanied by explanations. Here, though, is another "straw in the wind" just received:

Don't bother to send us an invoice /\$1,000/ for the coming year. Nineteenth Century economics went out of the window when Socialism took control of Europe and became dominant in the policies of most of the other countries of the world. Even under our present tariffs, profits in this industry are hard enough to make, and /our company/ cannot contribute to any institution which is working to eliminate them. If you will send me a list of your contributors, I'd like to find out from them if your policy meets with their approval.

We cannot, of course, do this because we do not release a donor's name without his consent. But apparently our "policy" has not been made clear to the Board Chairman who wrote the above letter. I should like, therefore,

to explain it to our 4,218 contributors -- and to 22,500 others on our mailing list who will, I hope, want to become contributors as sincerely as this man wants to discontinue being one:

- 1 This Foundation does not take "positions" in the resolution-passing sense, any more than does a college or university. Nor are we in the business of political implementation.
- 2 The sole purpose of FEE is to present the philosophy of the free market and limited government by means of educational methods. The free market is synonymous with free trade. An explanation of free trade is as implicit in our work as is the multiplication table in the training of a mathematician. So for us to deviate from our announced objective for fear of losing contributors would be a breach of faith with all contributors.
- 3 The removal of the American tariff would, admittedly, be but one step in the restoration of free trade in the world. Of equal importance -- indeed, of necessity -- is the correction of each nation's internal policies, our own included. Trade will not be fully free until all the barriers to production and exchange have been removed. Trade is hampered by exchange controls, government trading, commodity agreements, embargoes, subsidies, allocations, cartels, and the like. Nor can there be free trade when money, the medium of exchange, is controlled and manipulated by politicians. A sound and honest money is a requisite to free trade. Required is free exchange, both as between the persons of a given country and between the persons of one country and those of another country.
- 4 This Foundation, however, has not deemed it the best educational procedure to try to present all of the above subjects at once. Instead, we have elected to present the philosophy of the free market and limited government item by item. The Tariff Idea is but one in a continuing series of contemplated studies and publications -- over one hundred already prepared and released.
- 5 I should like to emphasize again, as The Tariff Idea does emphasize, that the American protective tariff, purely as a tax on exchange, is not the greatest obstacle to free trade. A most important harm is of another sort: It serves as the political excuse for every other item in the American socialistic portfolio, items which industrialists mostly oppose. "If the businessman can have his tariff, we, the farmers, are entitled to our subsidies." And so the argument goes through the whole range of subsidies and political favors for one group after another.
- 6 Good educational work requires getting at the roots of things. For instance, what thinking and motivations lie behind socialistic actions? It is the desire to be free from competition during life, to have what one wants beyond what is his, and to have "society" put up the difference. These and other urges account for TVA, compulsory "social security," public housing, the use of force in

labor relations, and so on. It is sometimes referred to as "protectionist thinking," and we are obligated to examine all of it even though some businessmen and others may not agree with our analysis. To study and report other than impartially would properly classify our work as special pleading. Good education requires the diagnosis of a question on its own without regard for one's own prejudices and those of friends -- even financial supporters. This attitude is an essential discipline of good education. We presented The Tariff Idea in this spirit.

7 We of the staff and Board of Trustees of the Foundation do not presume to have the last word even in our own specialized subjects. In our research we are attempting, as best we can, to gain a better understanding of the free market and related institutions, and to discover ways of explaining what we have learned with an ever-increasing clarity. It is not to be expected that what we find and report on in our search will meet with unanimous approval. Thorough popularity would signify a useless effort -- that is, if one concedes that there is some error in present-day thinking. This Foundation, if it is to be supported by anyone, must find justification in an "on balance" performance -- a performance never marred by expediency or inconsistency.

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But enough about tariffs; the subject is explained in our The Tariff Idea for all who are interested. Now for another question:

Should there be branch offices for FEE? Suggestions for these are numerous: the Pacific Coast, the Midwest, Germany, Lebanon, Canada, and other countries. We need only one workshop for efficient research, study, writing, editing, correspondence, literature distribution. The proper divisional offices for ideas worth spreading are the minds of men and women everywhere. Ideas are little related to office space, furniture, geographical glad-handing.

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"I use it /FEE's literature/ frequently in class lectures and regularly in conjunction with special report assignments. I am interested in getting the students to read the material rather than have me lecture them on it too often. When the students prepare their own reports, they get more of a sense of 'discovery' and present the material with great fervor."

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Another Study Guide by Tom Shelly of FEE's staff. This one is for Hazlitt's Economics in One Lesson. Designed primarily for adapting the book to secondary classroom use, it is also useful for adult study and discussion groups. Single copy free to teachers; to others \$1.00. (60 pages, multilithed, bound).

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We have prepared and printed a new and complete index for Human Action, the 900-page monumental reference work on economics by Ludwig von Mises. The new index will be sent on request to any present owner of the book and will be mailed with all volumes we sell henceforth. The book itself: \$10.00.

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The Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (not sponsored by FEE) now numbers 1,300 students and is growing rapidly. We send each student one of our books or pamphlets monthly, and we are receiving many appreciative responses.

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Each year, several thousand high school students participate in the inter-scholastic debate contests. This year's question concerns the methods of electing the President. We have compiled a bibliography of references covering the background of the Constitution and the republican form of government. The bibliography is free on request. A packet of articles on the subject is sent free to each school making a request; \$2.25 each for additional packets.

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At the college and university level, there is the intercollegiate debate program. The subject this year is "Resolved: That the United States should adopt a policy of free trade." We have a bibliography and a packet on this, too. The bibliography is sent to anyone on request; one packet free to each school making a request; additional sets \$2.00. Already this year, these materials have been sent to more than 500 universities.

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Libertarian thinking requires an awareness of man's vast differences, his variability. Written for the layman, but by a noted scientist -- Roger J. Williams, Director of Biochemical Institute of the University of Texas -- is the book Free and Unequal. This can be obtained from the University of Texas Press, Austin, Texas. (177 pages, \$3.50).

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"More power to you." That was the parting remark of one of the country's fine business leaders following an hour's conference. One needs to reflect but a moment to determine how more power can be added to the work of this Foundation. Various individuals have various ways of helping. Each individual knows best his or her ways of doing it.


Leonard E. Read
President

Research

for a priceless ingredient

By Ruth Sheldon Knowles

PERCHED on a wooded hill overlooking the sparkling Hudson river outside New York City is a spacious, rambling, country house whose idyllic aspect belies its function as a revolutionary headquarters. Nor is there the look of the revolutionary about its steady stream of visitors, who are quiet, conservative oil men, clergymen, writers, industrialists, housewives and teachers. Yet all of them are dedicated to sparking a new American revolution, one of ideas.

This revolution is, in the literal sense of the word, a turning back to the beginning, to the same ideas upon which the first American revolution was based, to free market ideas, voluntary society ideas, limited government ideas. These men and women are coming by the thousands, either in person or by the proxy of a mail carrier, to the Foundation for Economic Education at Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, in search of help and inspiration in tackling the most important problem of our time, the finding of a solution to the growing disrespect of private property, a disrespect which is also nourished under the names of Communism, Socialism, Planned Economy and Welfare State.

Everywhere in America there are signs of increasing awareness of the true nature of the affliction from which America and the rest of the world is suffering. Leonard Read, president of the Foundation for Economic Education, describes it as "social cancer, which like physical cancer seems also to have the capacity for inordinate growth. The cell of this affliction is not difficult to identify. The characteristic common to each of the so-called progressive ideologies is the belief in the use of force (power) as a means of directing the creative activities of individuals within society."

During the past twenty years the Amer-

ican philosophy of freedom has succumbed to this malignant disease to the extent that there is scarcely a healthy cell left in the body politic. Government control of creative behavior is accepted in farming, manufacturing, charity, security, education, insurance, labor and practically every kind of activity.

This increasing belief in government as the master rather than the servant of the people has been opposed by oil men more vigorously perhaps than by any other group. Seasoned by their own battles against government control of their industry, more and more oil men are realizing that without a true climate of freedom for every creative endeavor, victories limited to the oil industry alone have little meaning. Further, there is a growing realization that the remedy does not lie simply in opposition to legislative proposals but that the required solution is an educational one.

It is as necessary for those who have faith in a free society to become specialists in freedom as it is for geologists, engineers or business managers to be specialists in their fields. Failing that, it will not be necessary to specialize in any field—as the history of our time is all too grimly proving.

There is an unlimited supply of curbstone economists and cracker barrel political philosophers, but the more pertinent a discussion grows, the more inarticulate the believers in freedom usually become. This is the reason why the self-recruited students of liberty in the oil industry, those who believe that freedom is the priceless ingredient of each barrel of oil—are finding the Foundation for Economic Education a unique source of inspiration and guidance. One cannot sell liberty to someone else without first learning the art of its explanation and the Foundation's program is designed to make this art of explanation possible for everyone.

The Foundation is a wholly independent institution not dictated to by any "group." It is financed on a voluntary basis by those interested in finding the freedom answers, ranging from corporation contributions of \$10,000 a year down to a typical \$2 from a clergyman, who wrote "I have no money to squander, but I consider this an investment in security and true liberty. I must fight for the little I have as well as the much which my neighbor may have and to which he is entitled."

The Foundation's educational platform is simple but profound:

(a) No one will learn the philosophy of freedom unless he has the desire to do so.

(b) The desire is not yet general, simply because no one is presenting the philosophy adequately in depth or with clarity.

(c) This deeper understanding is a personal process of self-improvement as relating to these ideas.

(d) The problem is not solved by doing something to some one else.

(e) The self-improvement process, so far as FEE's staff is concerned, begins with themselves.

(f) What they learn they make available to all who can be interested in wanting such information.

(g) Finally, the proper method is not one of indoctrination but rather one of getting as many persons as possible, from all walks of life, to join in the search for a better understanding of freedom ideas.

Most of the Foundation's work takes the form of printed material: a single page, "Clippings of Note," 16-20 page "In Brief" pamphlets, 24-80 page booklets, and 96-200 page books. Single copies of all their publications and a place on the mailing list are free for the asking.

More than half of the publications are authored by others than Foundation staff

members. For example, the address "To Communism Via Majority Vote," which Admiral Ben Moreel, board chairman of Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation, delivered before the last annual meeting of the American Petroleum Institute, was issued as a booklet by the Foundation.

Whenever and wherever someone has made or makes a real contribution to better understanding and explanation of the freedom philosophy, it is published by the Foundation, whether it may be a radio address on "Where Karl Marx Went Wrong," given by Samuel B. Pettengill, former member of Congress from Indiana, or an impassioned and classic speech on "The Law" delivered by Frederic Bastiat before the French Chamber of Deputies a hundred years ago in an effort to prevent France from embracing socialism.

The Foundation's ten senior staff members, a group of brilliant thinkers, are such careful researchers in this complex field that almost 2,000 hours of work are done by them for every hour of reading material released. They have authored penetrating and lucid analyses of such important subjects as tariffs, pensions, TVA, inflation, human rights and the United Nations, stand-by controls, morals and the welfare state, charity (Biblical and political), ownership in common, property rights and human rights, ways to stop strikes, price supports, and the outlook of freedom. Their material makes so-called "heavy" reading a joy because of the understandable and interesting way in which it is presented.

Although the mailing list numbers over 30,000, including libertarians in many other countries, the number of people reached by these ideas is far greater. Writers incorporate the material in their own writings, teachers use it in their class work, clergymen in their sermons; businessmen use it as source material for speeches and order reprints for distribution to associates and employees. A recent Foundation release, "The Price of Price Controls," was reprinted in *Reader's Digest* in its domestic and foreign editions with a circulation of some 15 million. Magazines such as the *Saturday Evening Post* use Foundation material in their editorials.

What the Foundation accomplishes is aptly summed up in a letter from a newcomer to the mailing list: "You put tools in the hands of people who instinctively feel they are right, but who are so often driven into corners by the so-called 'social planners.'" Perhaps nowhere is there more foggy thinking and fallacious reasoning than in the fields of freedom and economics. For the individual who is aware that something is wrong in this world and feels uncomfortably that something should be done about it, the discovery of the Foundation as a source of clarification of ideas and an inspira-

tion as to what can be done is like finding an oasis in the desert.

The Foundation has prepared an outline of a course of reading in its publications for those who want to become students of liberty, so that the initiate can begin with the easier pieces and proceed to the more difficult ones. In addition, they have prepared a bibliography on the voluntary society, one hundred selected titles in economics, history and philosophy, considered most worthy of study by anyone wishing to understand what a society of free men could be like.

The Foundation sponsors a fellowship program under which college professors spend six weeks during the summer working and studying with business firms. In 1952 a total of 106 professors from 83 American colleges and universities were awarded fellowships by 64 business firms in every part of the country. The professors have the opportunity to test theories and beliefs with actual business experience and the businessmen find unexpected benefits, both tangible and intangible, in the exchange of ideas. Almost every type of business is represented, and oil companies already participating in this program are Atlantic Refining Co., Gulf Oil Corporation and Standard Oil Company of Ohio.

The Foundation prepares special packets of books, pamphlets and bibliographical material for high school and college debate programs, where young thinkers are propounding such questions as "What Form of International Organization Should the United States Support?" and "Resolved That The Congress of the United States Should Enact a Compulsory Fair Employment Practices Law."

One of the Foundation's most unusual requests last October was from the State Prison Colony, Norfolk, Massachusetts, asking for material to enable the prison debating team to take the affirmative side of the proposition: "This House regrets the advance of the Welfare State," in a debate with the Cambridge University English team. The judges, a member of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, the Dean of Boston University School of Law, and a V.P. of Tufts College, voted two to one in favor of the logic of the debaters from the State Prison Colony against the Welfare State.

The Foundation was organized in 1946, under the guidance of its president, Leonard Read, former manager of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce and former executive vice-president of the National Industrial Conference Board. An ardent libertarian, author of many books and articles and in great demand as a speaker, Read has assembled an unusual staff of economists and writers who share his faith in free men. Among them are such personalities as Dr. W. M. Curtiss, former Cornell University professor of marketing; Dr. Paul L. Poirot,

economist for the OPA during the war and later for the Cooperative Grange League Federation Exchange; Dean Russell, writer, small businessman and graduate student of Harvard and Columbia Universities; Dr. Russell J. Clinchy, former Congregational minister; Dr. F. A. Harper, noted writer and former Cornell University professor; and Thomas Shelley, former economics teacher.

The Foundation's Board of Trustees is an exceptionally notable one, including: Levin H. Campbell, Jr., chairman of the board, Automotive Safety Foundation; George Champion, senior vice-president, The Chase National Bank; J. Reuben Clark, Jr., director, Utah State National Bank; T. Jefferson Coolidge, chairman of the board, United Fruit Company; Jasper E. Crane, Wilmington, Delaware; Fred R. Fairchild, Knox Professor Emeritus of Economics, Yale University; Lamar Fleming, Jr., president, Anderson, Clayton & Co.; Pierre F. Goodrich, Goodrich Campbell and Warren; Laurence M. Gould, president, Carleton College; Henry Hazlitt, editor of *The Freeman*; B. E. Hutchinson, chairman finance committee, Chrysler Corporation; J. Hugh Jackson, dean of the Graduate School of Business, Stanford University; Vincent W. Lanfear, dean of the School of Business Administration, University of Pittsburgh; William Mathews, publisher, Tucson, Arizona *Daily Star*; A. C. Mattei, president, Honolulu Oil Corporation; Hughston M. McBain, chairman of the board, Marshall Field & Co.; James E. McCarthy, dean of the College of Commerce, University of Notre Dame; James A. McConnell, executive vice-president, Cooperative Grange League; Robert A. Millikan, California Institute of Technology; Ben Moreel, chairman of the board, Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.; W. C. Mulendore, president, Southern California Edison Company; Thomas Parkinson, chairman of the board, Equitable Life Assurance Society; W. A. Paton, School of Business Administration, University of Michigan; J. Howard Pew, Sun Oil Company; Claude Robinson, president, Opinion Research Corporation; Robert B. Snowden, Horseshoe Plantation, Hughes, Arkansas; Franklyn Bliss Snyder, President Emeritus, Northwestern University; and Leo Wolman, professor of economics, Columbia University.

Perhaps the most revealing insight into the Foundation's spirit of inquiry is a handsomely framed quotation hanging over the fireplace in the Foundation's library. These words, attributed to George Washington during the Constitutional Convention, guide the writing and choice of all the Foundation's material: "If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterwards defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair. The event is in the hand of God."