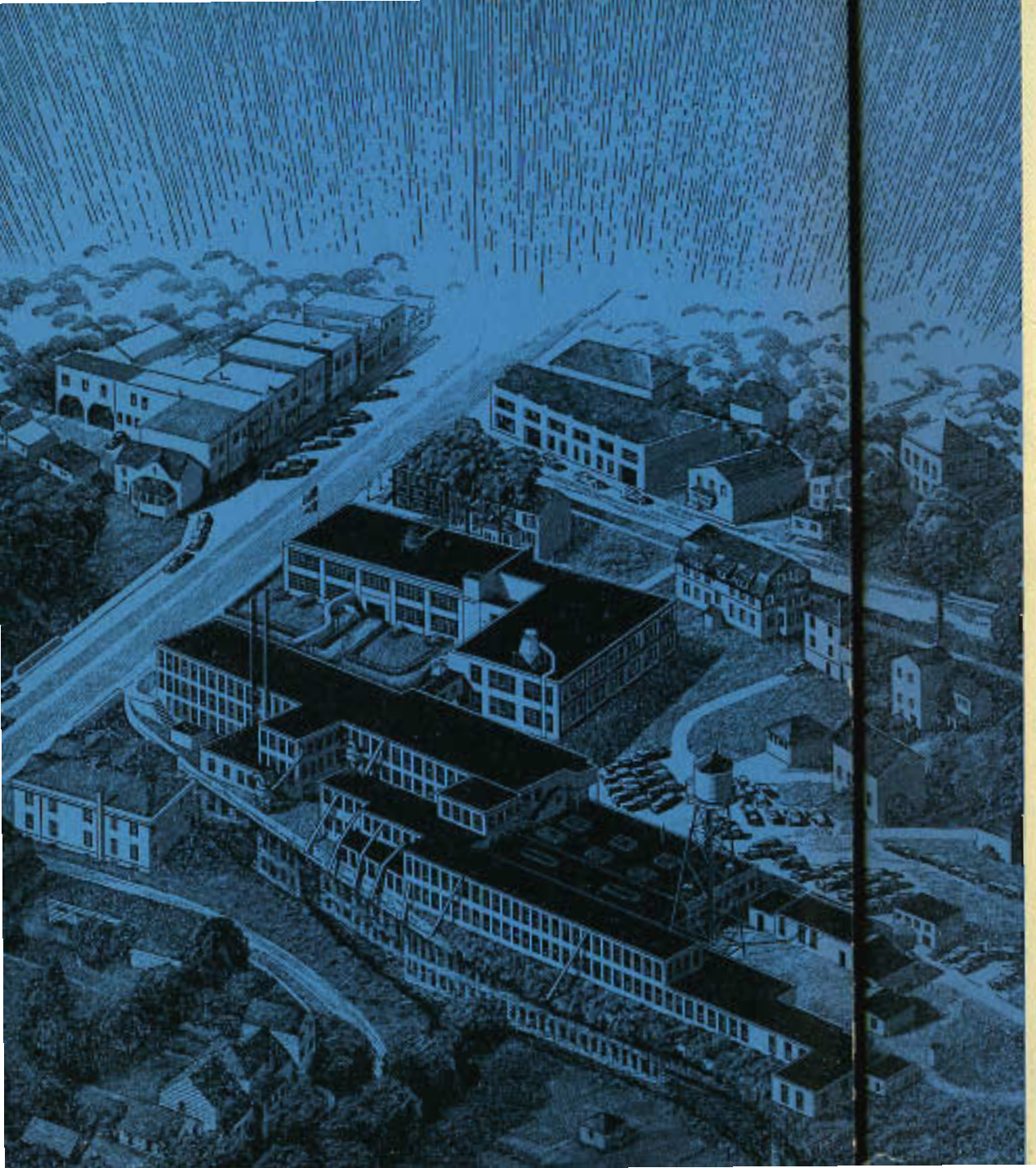

Camillus Digest

APRIL 1953

CAMILLUS DIGEST

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Published by CAMILLUS CUTLERY COMPANY, Camillus, N. Y., an organization founded by Adolph Kastor in 1876.

Edited by ALFRED LIEF. *Sketches by* ZOLA.

★ Quite a few readers have sent letters commending *Camillus Digest* for its information and stimulation. Some want to subscribe! Some use the word "enjoy." We are happy that the values in American life expounded in these pages are giving pleasure.

★ The special section of this issue, Freedom of the Mind, aims to present the essence of democratic striving. And our other authors express this ideal in their own fields.

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BUSINESS IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST

By Clarence Francis

Condensed from an address at the Annual Conference of the Harvard Business School Alumni Association

BUSINESS is just one element of our complex political community. Yet I wonder how often civil servants—or trade unionists, or lawyers, or physicians, or even clergymen—hold meetings solely for the purpose of discussing their responsibilities.

Why, then, do we? Is it because we are especially conscientious? I wish I could think so. Actually, I believe it is because our calling is so new, because our task is so vital, and because we are, frankly, a bit bewildered. America's industrial power has developed, after all, in a few generations. The patterns of human leadership are usually centuries in the making.

People seem to realize instinctively that modern industry is directly related to human welfare socially and politically in every area. The question before the world is how industry shall be run, for what purpose, and by whom.

In the past century much of industry's great growth was achieved by men whose motives sometimes bordered on the primitive. In the mid-nineteenth century the pioneers of the machine age swept across the continent transforming a wealth of raw materials into a wealth of new devices. Profit was, however, their main if not their only motive. Some of them brought upon themselves and upon business generally a store of public indignation from which we still suffer. Many were denounced as "robber barons," "malefactors of great wealth," "exploiters," "freebooters," and all the rest.

The era of *laissez-faire* was followed quickly by a public demand

CLARENCE FRANCIS, chairman of the board of General Foods Corporation, has been active in the business world since 1910 and found time, in his advance to eminence, for public and community service. This article gives the setting of his now-famous Credo for Management, first expressed on June 12, 1948.

for curbs and regulations upon unbridled individualism. From this it became apparent that the profit motive alone was not good enough to justify free business operation.

Somewhere along the line some important changes have taken place in the attitude of business leadership. Today millions of stockholders have a personal stake in industry. However, the service of the stockholder is not in itself a sufficient motive for the operation of a business. New indignations were voiced—this time by consumers condemning shoddy goods and fraudulent claims. Again regulatory intervention occurred. New millions gained an acknowledged voice in the operation of industry.

Then more millions asserted still another claim. Employees banded together to demand consideration of their services as something more than a commodity. Today the rights of employee organizations have been so fully recognized in law that they have had to be redefined—by law.

Finally we have learned, during two wars, that government, in emergencies, can exert a claim on industry's energies that transcends all other claims.

PERSONALLY, I do not know a single businessman of any consequence today who would engage in some of the trade practices and labor policies that were a comparative commonplace 50 years ago. Most managements, in fact, operate as trustees in recognition of the claims of employees, investors, consumers, and governments. The task is to keep these forces in balance and to see that each gets a fair share of industry's rewards.

I am not ashamed to predict that the next age of business leadership will belong to those who count their success in terms of the greatest possible service to the greatest number of people. I say that the human problems of industry are the big problems and that they will not yield to techniques alone, important as these may be.

There must be at bottom a will to make business work in the public interest. And preceding that there must be an agreement on motives. Are our "reasons why" good enough for the future?

Why do we get up in the morning and hurry to work? To hold a job? To make a sale? To finish a blueprint? To balance a set of figures? Those are worthy aims, but they are not sufficient as ends in themselves. Very well: we work for our families, to educate our children, to acquire comforts, leisure, and security. Worthier by far — but still not good enough.

I believe we are working for *freedom*. I believe we are making a system work because without it neither we nor others can be free. I believe we are proving every day to the world that the American way of operating industry is the best way.

This is not to say that we have perfected our system—far from it. Perhaps we should admit that the system itself is vastly better than the mere

mortal men who run it, just as the ideal of democracy is vastly better than any performance that its human practitioners have given to date.

I wonder if there isn't some way in which young men can be dedicated to management with a full sense of the human importance of their tasks. Perhaps a sort of Hippocratic oath could be devised to remind us of the moral responsibilities of true business leadership. And if we were to formulate a pledge to govern all management—young men starting out, junior executives, and department heads as well as top executives —it might run like this:

"I BELIEVE that a business must be run at an adequate profit and must hold its own in fair competition with other businesses. *Within my sphere I will do my level best to help keep my business prosperous and strong.*

"I believe that business must serve employees, stockholders, consumers, and government, and that management must keep the interest of all these elements in balance. *To the extent of my authority I will try to preserve this balance.*

"I believe that management's operating goals are continuously improved productivity and growth—in order to provide jobs, reward investors, attract capital, and provide more and better goods and services at lower cost. *In any capacity in which I find myself I will work toward those goals.*

"I believe further that a business' greatest assets are its human assets and that the improvement of their value is both a matter of material advantage and moral obligation; I believe, therefore, that employees must be treated as honorable individuals, justly rewarded, encouraged in their progress, fully informed, and properly assigned, and that their lives and work must be given meaning and dignity, on and off the job. *If I have the supervision of so much as one other person I will strive to honor these principles in practice.*

"I believe that a reputation for integrity is another priceless asset of any business and that management must deal fairly with customers, competitors, and vendors, and advertise truthfully, fulfill its commitments, cooperate with other managements in the betterment of business as a whole, and oppose any artificial restriction that may limit production, fix prices, or restrain trade. *In my daily work I will try to deserve, and make my business deserve, a reputation for integrity.*

"I believe that the future of the American economic system depends on the confidence, good will, and understanding of the people and that business leadership must make itself a responsible part of the human community by participating in worthy activities locally and nationally. *As a representative of business and as an individual I will identify my business and myself with the welfare of the people.*

"I believe that whenever business has earned a hearing, it has not only a right but a duty to ask for public

confidence and that it must speak freely, give information gladly, and answer the attacks of those who seek to undermine American freedom under democratic capitalism. *I will speak out in behalf of my business and the system which it represents.*

"I believe, finally, that business leadership is nothing less than a public trust, that it must offer a message of courage and hope to all people, and that it can help an economically strong America to lead other nations to lasting prosperity, freedom, and peace. *I will work not only for the advancement of myself, my family, and my country but for liberty and democracy for America and for the world, now and the years to come.*"

This is not a perfect code. But it does constitute a statement of objectives that seems to me worthy of our every effort. Perhaps no one of us is humanly capable of living up to all these principles. Yet I shall always believe that it is far better to fall short of a high standard than to accept and live by a low standard.

But, *progress has been made.* The economic greatness of free America is an actual fact. We must keep our eyes on the greater goals ahead. The millions on whose verdict the final fate of our business system will depend are interested not in yesterday's triumphs but in tomorrow's promise.

Letter from a Country Doctor

Received by Camillus Cutlery Company

"After just having used one of your pocketknives (for the fourth or fifth time) for a purpose for which I don't think you ever intended it, I got a sudden urge to write and tell you how much I appreciate your fine product.

"My wife gave me one of your knives a year or so ago. Knowing that I am a crank on knives, she asked for the best knife in stock, and got your #66—at least as good as any I ever owned and by far the best I have had since before the war.

"As a country doctor some 350 miles north of Winnipeg, I use a pocketknife frequently for making splints, cutting plaster casts, once for cutting through a six-inch poplar tree that had fallen across the road, and sometimes for shaving heads etc. in accident cases far from a hospital or office.

"Some three months ago I had a lumberjack who had been hit on the head by a falling tree. I was making heavy weather with a borrowed razor when he remarked, 'Why the hell don't you use your pocketknife?' I did, and shaved around a scalp wound that took eleven sutures to close it.

"If I lose or break the one I have, I shall know what to ask for when I buy a replacement."

—A. H. Boon, M.D., Birch River, Manitoba

Life in Our Village

Community Chorus

Spring is the season of concerts given by the Camillus Community Chorus. Hark, the 40 voices sing! In the recreation hall of the factory the group may be rehearsing at this moment. Men and women, boys and girls of the village—including several employees of the company—they have been meeting there weekly. The baton is in the hand of Don Snyder, a resident who received his bachelor's degree in music at Syracuse University and succeeds in drawing a swell of harmony from our local choraliers.

A hymn, a choral classic; a Negro spiritual, a folk song; a Fred Waring arrangement of a musical comedy number. Their range is wide, their fervor high, and the effect is mighty handsome. People really pay to hear them.

It's all a volunteer effort, with the company from time to time helping to defray the cost of the music and engaging the services of the Chorus at celebrations. After provision is made for expenses, the proceeds are apportioned among community welfare agencies. And this rounds out an expression of joyous living.

Civil Defense

The somber work of Civil Defense finds Onondaga County among the leading counties of New York State in its degree of preparedness, and Camillus far advanced as an efficient, integrated part of the Onondaga setup. More than 60 residents of this small community are registered for duties as wardens, auxiliary police, medical aids, and other responsible posts. All are volunteers, with true public spirit.

The cutlery office is headquarters for the local Civil Defense. Its switchboard is the focal point for the communications system of the Town, receiving alerts directly from Syracuse and speeding them out to villages near by.

Civil Defense was first organized three years ago. Earl N. Hurd, company personnel manager, became commander for the Village of Camillus. Shortly after, as pressure of work obliged him to give up the responsibilities, they were taken over temporarily by Frank Caplan, Jr., who was then chief maintenance engineer of the company. He was succeeded by Richard M. Greene, currently in charge of advertising.

Among the cutlery foremen and department heads, Eric Maus is chief warden, Jack Nellis auxiliary police chief, Ken House fire chief, Gordon Young communications chief, and Kitty Gordon personnel chief. Many other employees are line workers in the Camillus C.D., giving their time and effort in order that Camillus may keep functioning should disaster of any kind strike.

Local 4783

At an election held by the National Labor Relations Board on May 15, 1952, to determine whether or not our production and maintenance workers wished to be represented by United Steelworkers of America, C.I.O., 147 voted yes, 132 voted no. A week later the union was certified as the bargaining agent.

Management and union representatives entered into negotiations in an attempt to reach an agreement. After a series of meetings the union voted to strike on September 12. The principal issues were: wages, seniority, union security. After a number of conferences a settlement was reached in December and the plant was reopened on the 11th.

The settlement included a general increase of six cents an hour "across the board," the correction of wage inequities, a seniority arrangement by department and plant, and a union security arrangement based on the Steel Formula, requiring maintenance of membership.

Since the reopening of the plant, both management and the union (Local 4783) have demonstrated an earnest desire to live together in industrial peace and are making every effort to adjust to the new situation.

Between Christmases

Though Christmas comes but once a year, the memories linger. It's far too early to begin thinking of next Christmas, but the last holiday party at the plant stands out as a happy reunion of about 250 people who came for a picnic supper, dancing (round and square), and merry conversation.

The occasion spelled fellowship. A highlight was recognition of 61 employees' long association with the company, ranging from 10 to 50 years accumulated service, the time being counted regardless of any breaks in continuity. Service pins and buttons were presented to them by Earl Hurd, personnel manager, while Ralph H. Tate, president, and William D. Wallace, executive vice president, congratulated each one.

Top honors went to William Kelsey and Fred Wishart. Each received a check. They were in the half-century class. Six persons who served 40 years-plus were Paul Grah, Frank E. Kratzer, Elizabeth Krug, Charles R. Kuepper, Sr., Joseph P. Lowe, and Joseph C. Rether; each received a $500 bond and a gold watch, engraved.

Nine who passed the 30-year mark were Hugh A. Barton, August Kuepper, Harry Martin, Gabriel Nagy, Jr., Rocco Palumbo, Carl Ross, Amilia Spisak, Mathias Stieber, and Robert Vensky. Sixteen men and women received awards for 20 years' service, and 28 for 10 years.

The test of time works both ways —as applied to the company and to the personnel.

Thank You, New York

Speaking of anniversaries, the City of New York celebrated its 300th birthday this year, which makes Father Knickerbocker a venerable gentleman. In the person of Mayor Vincent R. Impellitteri, he deemed it fitting and proper to hold ceremonies at City Hall on March 2 for the purpose of honoring old-established New York firms.

It was back in 1876, on Duane Street, that Adolph Kastor started our business. So we were eligible for this public recognition, and the Mayor presented a Certificate of Merit to the founder's son, Alfred B. Kastor, who accepted as our representative.

A Promotion, a Kiss

Those of us who took part in the E-Award program at the plant on August 17, 1943, will remember the handsome lieutenant colonel who bestowed the Army-Navy pennant upon the company and its employees for excellence in military production. Roswell P. Rosengren was his name. He delighted the audience with his knowledge of Camillus hills, familiar since his college days at Colgate. More recently he has come to know the hills of Korea.

Public information officer of the United States Eighth Army, he figured in an Associated Press dispatch from Seoul, January 29, 1953:

"Roswell P. Rosengren received his colonel's eagles and a kiss from General James A. Van Fleet today. In promoting him the General said, 'The only thing that goes with the eagles should come from your wife.' [She lives in San Francisco.] With that he planted a kiss on Colonel Rosengren's cheek."

Always a Knife

Popular reading in the village these days is Carl Sandburg's latest book, *Always the Young Strangers*. In this autobiography he recalls the prairie town of Galesburg, Illinois, and the summer day in 1897 when he left home to hit the road. He was 19. "I walked out of the house with my hands free, no bag or bundle. . . in my pockets a small bar of soap, a razor, a comb, a pocket mirror, two handkerchiefs, a piece of string, needles and thread, a Waterbury watch, a knife, a pipe and a sack of tobacco, $3.25 in cash."

KNOWN all over the South as Colonel Zust, the dean of our company's travelers is now in his 86th year. Many of us who have long heard legends about him will be surprised to learn that the title was conferred simply as a token of affection. He was a crack shot in his time, winning trophies for marksmanship. He served in the New York State National Guard for 15 years. He even gained fame for his aim in billiards. But Colonel, sir, is a term of endearment.

Colonel by Affection

Harry K. Zust must have been a likeable kid. He answered an ad in the *New York World* on Aug. 15, 1885 (there were Boy Wanted ads in those days, and there were boys). "I called, and in less than ten minutes I was hired." His employer was Adolph Kastor.

"I was probably as green as they come." But he proved to be worth the going rate of $3 a week. "When I hired out I was a pickup boy." Mornings, he took lists of wanted merchandise to various hardware firms; in the afternoon he collected the goods. "There was no time limit on our jobs. We worked until we were through. After 8 p.m. we got supper money, 50 cents."

As the business expanded in the direction that led to Adolph Kastor's becoming the largest importer of cutlery, young Harry was put in charge of Customs paperwork. His character traits and mental faculties developed; his knowledge of knives increased. When an opening in the sales department came in the fall of 1906, he was sent on his first trip.

"Lucky for me I made good." He was able to make friends and keep them. Between trips he performed various duties at the company's factory in Camillus and incidentally established his prowess as an athlete among the Camillusites.

Given the South to cover, he traveled the wide arc from New York to El Paso, Texas. "I liked the Southern people and I'll go on record that I made lots of friends."

An associate speaks of the Colonel's remarkable memory. In the old days a man traveled with as many as three trunksful of samples. Harry Zust knew what each roll contained, the position of every item in a roll, and its price, despite constant changes in types and prices. Playing a game with customers, he would face away from scores of open rolls while someone removed samples at random. Turning round again, he would give a full description of the missing items.

It is typical of the Colonel that when he does something it's for keeps. Fifty-seven years ago he plighted his troth. He still has Gussie.

NEWSPAPERS MUST INTERPRET THE NEWS

By Arthur Hays Sulzberger

President and Publisher, The New York Times

RECENTLY I returned from the Far East. Just before leaving, I went to the barber and in asking him to cut my hair somewhat shorter than usual, I explained that I was going to Korea.

"Korea?" said the manicurist at the chair. "Why are you going there? That's a fool war."

I replied that I didn't agree with her; that instead I thought this war in Korea was the first sane war in history; that for the first time nations have joined together to resist aggression, not merely in order to guard some particular strategic piece of territory. The fact that nations were willing to do this, I said, suggested to me that peace might at some time be realized.

And then I added that I was not especially anxious to see a truce reached at Panmunjom. I said the Western world was committed to resist Soviet aggression and we were doing just that in Korea. If hostilities ceased there, Russia would undoubtedly break out elsewhere, and checking the Communists in any other spot in the world would probably be more expensive to us both in lives and in dollars.

I went on at some length along these lines and when I was finished the manicurist said, "You know, I think you're right but you're the first person who ever talked to me that way."

Now, I realize that when I presented this case to her I was giving expression to a point of view with which decent and intelligent citizens might differ. My contention is, however, that in the newspapers which that manicurist reads there should have been more statements of background, more interpretation which would at least have given her the

Condensed from an address before The American Association for Education in Journalism, Aug. 26, 1952

opportunity to reach the conclusion she did after listening to me.

American journalism faces grave problems in this period when an unsought mantle of responsibility has been placed upon the shoulders of the United States.

My deep conviction that American newspapers must report and interpret the news more adequately is strengthened each time I go abroad. In Europe and Asia you realize the tremendous impact and the tremendous importance of American decisions. The peoples of the world know that in large measure their fate is being decided by the American people. The peoples of the world know that the major struggle going on today is the battle for men's minds, not for territory or even for resources. We in the newspaper profession are— or should be— in the vanguard of that battle.

Before the nineteenth century, most of mankind lived isolated from the stream of history. But Stephenson, who put the first railway engine in operation in 1825, Ford, Marconi, Bell, the Wrights, Edison, and Mergenthaler with his space band which made possible mechanical typesetting, changed all that. They brought these hitherto voiceless and isolated masses into the councils of the world. And those masses have come forward with a mighty rush that sweeps aside all that lies in their path.

Empires have fallen, colonialism is perishing. I like to think that the reason we in this country still have a roof over our heads is that we have been modifying the architecture of our dwelling to adjust it to modern needs. We had the means to see the great changes that have come; a government sufficiently flexible to permit it to withstand the ravages of the flood without changing the course of the stream; a governmental system able to preserve its fundamental integrity and form.

It was the free press which Thomas Jefferson had done so much to guarantee which threw light on this epochal testing of democracy. It bore out the journalistic creed of E. W. Scripps, who said, "Give light and the people will find their own way."

I am sure that the principles of objectivity in reporting and presentation of news is part of the teaching of the great school of journalism that Joseph Pulitzer brought into being. He wanted to raise the standards of journalism; indeed, to make of it a profession, like the law and medicine. He wanted better-trained journalists so that they might produce better newspapers. We are greatly in his debt.

Yet nowhere that I can find does he refer to the ideal of objectivity in the news. Recall, for example, the ideal he set for his newspapers. They were "never to be satisfied with merely printing news." They were to "fight for progress and reform, never tolerate injustice and corruption, always fight demagogues of all parties, never belong to any party, always oppose privileged classes and

public plunderers, never lack sympathy with the poor, always remain devoted to the public welfare . . . never be afraid to attack wrong, whether by predatory plutocracy or predatory poverty."

Here is a highly emotional dedication. Compared with it, the ideal of Adolph S. Ochs sounds coldly intellectual. He promised to "give the news, all the news," to give it in good language, to give it early, if not earlier than it could be had through any other medium, and to give it impartially, without fear or favor. Some of the fervor expressed by Mr. Pulitzer was embraced by Mr. Ochs, but in *The Times* it was to be confined to the editorial page. The news columns were to be untainted by the passions of the crusader.

And even on the editorial page *The Times* in those days was loath to throw its weight around. Mr. Ochs feared that too much intensity of interest expressed editorially could insidiously affect the reporters' objectivity and that before long editorial biases would show up in the news. I confess that I shared this opinion.

Now, strange as it may sound, I do not believe that it is possible "to give the news without fear or favor, without regard to any party, sect, or interest involved," and I sincerely trust that this heresy will not cast me for the leading role in an *auto da fe*. I do not think it possible to be strictly objective or to present the news without any bias.

I do believe, however, that one can aspire to these ideals. Only those who are aware that these ideals are, in fact, beyond their reach can ever truly approach them. As I see it, all of us have been acquiring prejudice from the day we were born, and we must strive constantly and consciously to rid ourselves of those prejudices if we seek objectivity.

I have changed my point of view about the undue influence of a strong

editorial page. As the war with Germany was brewing, I recall coming home and saying to Mrs. Sulzberger, with tears in my eyes, "If we could only print in cordite instead of carbon, so that the words in *The Times* would explode in the faces of its readers!" It was all there, the fact that war was coming and that the United States would inevitably be involved, and yet too many people didn't want to believe what they read.

And then, when the war had started in Europe and we believed that the United States should be in it, we threw the weight of *The Times* into that controversy. Again I said to Mr. Ochs' daughter, "I am not certain that we are not ruining *The Times,* but the crisis is so grave that I have the feeling we must put everything we have into the struggle." My associates shared this point of view. I was comforted by the thought that the subtle influence I had feared was no longer a threat because *The Times* long since had become firmly established as an objective purveyor of the news, and the men who made *The Times* fully understood and adhered to the guiding principles of the paper.

And then slowly, bit by bit, something new emerged, a new form of journalism shaped to fit the period, a form demanded equally by the needs of the many and the hitherto unheard-of complexities which confronted the few. The time had come when news had to be explained, when interpretation had to go hand in hand with the statement of the fact itself, when the meaning of things that occurred had to be made clear if they were indeed to have meaning. And out of it all came this new approach, something which in effect was the development of a new craft.

I REMEMBER many years ago saying to a group of young people that one of the beauties of the newspaper business was that whatever hobby you had would some day be of service to the paper. I recalled particularly Carr Van Anda, a great managing editor, who, just as an avocation, was an Egyptologist, able to read hieroglyphics and spot the forgery in connection with Tutankhamen's tomb. Also, as a sideline he was a mathematician and an astronomer. He played Einstein's theory and the discovery of Betelgeuse as front-page news because he understood their significance. At the same time I recall the reluctance we felt to let Hanson Baldwin specialize on the military or Bill Laurence devote his full time to science. The feeling was that these men should be regular members of the city staff and only work on their particular specialty when an item up their alley was presented to us.

Well, it's not necessary to tell you that such thinking no longer exists. Take our labor team of Stark, Raskin, and Loftus. Take religion or fishing. Take drama, TV, aviation, real estate, ships; traffic or education or social welfare. The categories are

too numerous to mention, and in all of them we have experts, many of whom are studying their subjects when not actually working on a story which is within their particular orbit.

Our foreign correspondents are presumably experts on the lands they cover. But in addition a man like Harold Callender, chief of our Paris bureau, probably knows as much about ECA and MSA as anyone associated with their administration.

The complex world in which we live and the fact that it becomes daily more literate and articulate and that large numbers of people are now ruling or helping to guide the world's affairs instead of sitting as mute subjects of the anointed few—all of these compel the press to improve its presentation of the facts and to develop objective ways of interpreting those facts.

It is essential that people understand and attach meaning to reports on atomic energy, the problem posed by Soviet Russia, the Schuman Plan, the North Atlantic Defense Community, taxes, and the future of our economy. Hardly a week goes by without significant developments in these fields. These developments must be interpreted and they can be interpreted satisfactorily only by newspapermen who themselves understand the problems involved. For each hour our correspondents and reporters spend getting their stories and writing them, they should spend more hours in research, in inquiry, and in study. Publishers and editors of our newspapers, managers of our news agencies must consider the time devoted to research and study as part of the job. They must provide opportunities for such study and they must insist on it.

In future it will be a good investment, as well as necessary to meet our responsibilities, if men and women who are to cover foreign countries are first given a period of study, so that they will know something about the history, the culture, the problems, and the background of the country to which they are assigned.

Once publishers and editors improve the standards in their own backyards, their criticism of the government, of the State Department, of other institutions and agencies will carry more weight.

Despite everything I have said about the need for interpretation of the news, it does not take the place of the factual news report. It is supplementary and, essential as it is, it is dangerous if not watched and done correctly and within rigid limits. The balance between opinion and interpretation is delicate and it must be preserved. The newspaperman must be imbued with the spirit of a crusader for truth and then, drawing on a rich educational background, try to explain the meaning and the consequence of that truth. There is no profession which makes greater demands, none to which higher responsibility is attached. Let us do our work well. Happiness and peace are the goals.

Dwight D. Eisenhower and Georgi K. Zhukov Had a Talk

The General and the Marshal

Condensed from an address by President Eisenhower before the Freedoms Foundation*

I WANT to relate to you a little story. I had a friend, a man who really turned out to be quite a good friend, and who suffered for it. His name was Marshal Zhukov, of the Red Army. In fact, his later disgrace came about because of the fact that he was supposed to be too good a friend of mine; at least that is a suspicion. We used to talk about the bases of our respective forms of government, our convictions.

One day he put me back on my heels with the statement: "Of course, we have difficulty in promulgating our theory, because we appeal to the idealistic in man and you appeal to all that is materialistic and selfish. We tell a man that he is not to work for his own special rights, for his own privilege and the opportunity of indulging in anything from religious worship to earning and saving of property and giving it to his children.

"We appeal to something higher and nobler," said he. "We tell him his only glory is in the glory of the body, of the whole group, the entirety of the organism to which you belong. Therefore, we say, don't worry about earning money. Don't worry about worldly advancement. Work for the Soviet Union. Work for Russia. That," he said, "is what we have to say. But you tell a man, 'Why, you can do as you please, and there are really no restrictions on the individual.' So you are appealing to all that is selfish."

I didn't know exactly what to say

*This address was given Dec. 22, 1952 at the Waldorf-Astoria. Next morning, Alfred B. Kastor congratulated General Eisenhower in a telegram calling it "reminiscent of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Woodrow Wilson at their best." Mr. Kastor added: "I wish you and Mrs. Eisenhower and your family a Merry Christmas, and my Christmas prayer will be that God grant you continued good health, courage, and fortitude in the next four years. We in America are fortunate that the people have selected you to guide them in their manifest destiny."

to him because my only definition was what I believed to be the basic one. I knew it would do no good to appeal to him with it, because it is founded on religion. And since at the age of 14 he had been taken over by the Bolshevik religion and had believed in it since that time, I was quite certain it was hopeless on my part to talk to him about the fact that our form of government is founded in religion.

Our ancestors who formed this government said, in order to explain it, you remember, that a decent respect for the opinion of mankind impels them to declare the reasons which led to the separation [between the American colonies and Britain] and this is how they explained them: "We hold that all men are endowed by their Creator. . . ." Not by the accident of birth, not by the color of their skins or by anything else, but "all men are endowed by their Creator."

In other words, our form of government has no sense unless it is founded in a deeply-felt religious faith, and I don't care what it is. With us, of course, it is the Judeo-Christian concept, but it must be a religion that holds all men are created equal. So what was the use of talking to Zhukov about that? Religion, he had been taught, was the opiate of the people.

Now, it seems to me that if we are going to win this fight we have got to go back to the very fundamentals of all things. And one of them is that we are a religious people. Even those among us who are, in my opinion, so silly as to doubt the existence of an Almighty are still members of a religious civilization, because the Founding Fathers said it was a religious concept that they were trying to translate into the political world.

I didn't mean to be evangelical in my approach, but what I do say is this: There, it seems to me, is the basic doctrine to which we must always cling. And if that is true, then we must look at some of the teachings of that religion as well as the political teachings that have come to us from our laws that are written into our Constitution, the interpretations by members of the Supreme Court, and all the rest. Have I done my duty unless, in all my conduct, in all my examples with my fellow citizens, I am living this democracy, indeed this religion, the tenets of this religion? Until I have done that I am not doing my best.

If we can be strong enough to sell ourselves this idea at home, from the very heart of this metropolis and Washington to the remotest hamlet in the desert and in the mountains—if we can sell that, we can win the ideological war. We can then stand before the world in that strength, and all of the other nations will see that our leadership is not one of imperialism but is one of purity. It is one of integrity, with a belief in the dignity of man. And they will go along.

Camillus Performs A "Point Four"

How to improve international relations? An example of the simple, direct way, based on the comity of nations and individuals, may be gleaned from the following correspondence concerning a young man associated with a small cutlery factory in Norway.

It started with a letter received by Camillus Cutlery Company from the Drexel Institute of Technology, Philadelphia. Harry Pfeffer, assistant professor of mechanical engineering, wrote:

"For several months we have had studying at Drexel Institute, under the sponsorship of the Mutual Security Agency, Washington, D.C., a number of European students. One of them, Mr. Sigvald Vaardal, a Norwegian, is planning some plant tours through New York State and Connecticut before he returns to Europe. If it would be convenient for you to have him call on you, will you please let me hear from you at the earliest possible date? Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated."

The letter was acknowledged by Alfred B. Kastor, chairman of the board, who invited Mr. Vaardal both to the plant in Camillus and to his home. "We are very glad," Mr. Kastor wrote, "to oblige the Mutual Security Agency as well as the Drexel Institute in this regard, and we are particularly pleased to oblige Mr. Vaardal because he is a Norwegian, as the wife of the writer was born in Skien, Norway."

The tour of the plant was arranged. The visitor asked many questions and was fully answered. He found particular interest in our time-study methods, saying that he had been studying the subject at Drexel and was delighted to have this opportunity of seeing a time-study method in practice. Speaking of his own plant, Mr. Vaardal said it produced timber and hunting knives, sold mostly in Norway, with some small export to Finland.

"Your people treated me in the most friendly way," Mr. Vaardal wrote on his return to Philadelphia a few days before sailing for home. "I felt that it was important for them that I should see and learn as much as possible while being here. I dare also say I learned a lot. In my opinion, this is the most interesting plant I have visited.

"I have now been in the U.S. one year and am glad to tell you that my impression of the American people is very good. Specially have the American industrialists shown a great understanding of the problems we have in Europe and a willingness to help us in our trial to solve them."

YESTERDAY AND TODAY

Progress in Producing Cutlery

By William D. Wallace

CUTLERY MANUFACTURING is a comparative newcomer among American industries. Before 1900 only a very small proportion of the cutlery used in this country was made here. Nor was cutlery steel produced in the U.S. even as late as 1915.

Until the turn of the century, the few small American plants that were making knives followed the English method of production, but soon afterward Camillus and one or two others adopted the German method. The main difference, and it was vital, lay in the breakdown of operations.

An English cutler not only made the knife parts, he assembled and finished the knives. In contrast, the German cutler had the benefit of progressive production: the parts were fashioned for him; he did their final preparation and the assembly, and then the knives were finished by other skilled workers.

The skills compounded in a single, old-style cutler were necessarily manifold. In the English-type plant he forged the blades, heat-treated the blades and springs, and punched the holes. He shaped the tangs with a file. Usually he ground the blades on a large imported sandstone, lying prone on an elevated platform over the wheel to reach the point of operation. With crude hand dies and files he next prepared the bolster scales and handles, and after the knife had been assembled he shaped or "hafted" the handles. Sometimes he had help with the finishing, but mostly he did all the direct labor on a completed knife by himself.

Camillus started out with the German method. Blades were blanked by means of the simple hand dies and punch presses then available. Hot forging of the blanks was an art in itself, requiring a keen eye to judge the right temperatures and a deft hand to strike properly at the right speed to prevent spoilage. Fortunately, the S. & C. Wardlow steel that Camillus imported from Sheffield, England, was derived from about 80 percent pure Swedish iron ore; wide variation in heating did not injure it.

Blades were heat-treated in oil-fired furnaces, and here again the workman knew only by eye when the proper temperature had been reached for quenching. One blade at a time. This was standard procedure. Thanks to his experience and the high quality of the steel, he produced a fairly good uniform blade.

With the introduction of Hemming grinding machines (composition wheels), Camillus at once adopted them to replace sandstones. This step not only gave better production, it eliminated the greatest hazard to health in the industry—silicosis, commonly called "grinder's consumption." That was more than 40 years ago. No apprentice in the plant of Camillus Cutlery Company has ever been subjected to this risk.

After grinding, many other highly skilled operations on the blades improved their appearance. On a two-bladed pocketknife there were about 100 operations. Most three-bladed knives took 20 to 30 more. Practically everything was done by hand, with the aid of simple mechanisms. The number of man-hours— and they were man-hours, for hardly a woman was employed in the industry then—was five times the amount needed today, skilful though the oldtimers were. Hourly wages were less than one-sixth of current wages.

Why is it that the best pocketknives (considering the deflated purchasing power of the dollar) now sell for less than they did 35 years ago? Today every operation is simplified. With special machinery, these operations are performed better and more uniformly. Utilizing research and engineering, Camillus is able to build a finer, more useful product.

Camillus pioneered. The first cutlery steel produced by Crucible Steel Company of America was developed for Camillus around 1919. Steel is now purchased in coils at a saving of much handling. Progressive dies, working with close tolerances, insure uniformity of parts. Scientific heat treatment and close inspection give long life and proper hardness to the blades. Grinding machines designed and constructed by Camillus make uniform edges a certainty. Quality and value are thus built into our cutlery.

Handles, well designed, of proper materials, are shaped and polished by machines which Camillus has specially made. Knives are chemically cleaned and reach the customer free of rust.

In the old days knives went out into the world with little thought as to packing and display. As long as the jobber and retail stores received them in good condition, they were considered satisfactory. In modern practice the package is so designed as to facilitate handling and selling. Handsome display cases attract the consumer. A flair for merchandising vies with product engineering in importance.

While it is true that Camillus produces cutlery to sell, the welfare of our employees has been paramount over the profit motive. We have a plant which is clean and comfortable and free of safety hazards; our low insurance rates attest to this. We have built a community of happy Americans. We have benefited by paying high wages with a Profit Sharing Trust Fund. In constructing homes for sale and rent at reasonable rates, we have been assured of the right caliber of labor.

These folk are our friends and neighbors— the most valuable asset a company can have. Management and personnel have common ambitions. Together we live and work, producing fine cutlery.

The Great Days of Whittling

That nineteenth century English naval captain and novelist, Frederick Marryat, took a look around and wrote *A Diary in America,* based on his 1837 trip here. We don't know how much fictional license he used, but he made this observation:

"Whittling is a habit, arising from the natural restlessness of the American when he is not employed, of cutting a piece of stick, or anything else, with his knife. Some are so wedded to it from long custom, that if they have not a piece of stick to cut, they will whittle the backs of chairs or anything within their reach.

"A Yankee shown into a room to await the arrival of another, has been known to whittle away nearly the whole of the mantelpiece. Lawyers in court whittle away at the table before them; and the judges will cut through their own bench. In some courts they put sticks before noted whittlers to save the furniture.

"The Down Easters, as the Yankees are termed generally, whittle when they are making a bargain, as it fills up the pauses, gives them time for reflection, and moreover prevents any examination of the countenance—for in bargaining, like in the game of brag, the countenance is carefully watched as an index to the wishes."

Now comes a current comment from Charles M. Sievert in the *New York World-Telegram and Sun.* He says:

"We were better off when we had fewer chiselers and more whittlers."

The Colonel Didn't Belong Up There

Compiled from Associated Press and United Press dispatches

THE rugged hills on the central front of Korea are known to the U.N. troops by sardonic names: Old Baldy, Sniper Ridge, Pork Chop Hill, Jane Russell Hill, Heartbreak Ridge. That corrugated terrain north of the 38th Parallel is grim with bloody slopes. Up one of them, Triangle Hill, last October an officer from Gambrills, Md., led the first charge.

"He didn't belong up there," said a sergeant who was in the thick of it.

Lt. Col. William H. Isbell, Jr., 45, was an artillery officer. He went out on a reconnaissance to see if he could get precision artillery zeroed in to help the infantry who were ordered to take a trench on the crest of Triangle Hill. Two companies of the U.S. 7th Division had tried four times to take that trench. Each assault was stopped by Chinese mortars and grenades.

The colonel, a stubby little figure, worked his way through the merciless fire and reached the men about 50 yards from the crest. He asked, "Where's a hole big enough for me to sit in?" Then, without saying more, he climbed through the sliding dirt up to the top. He looked into the trench and waved to the men with sweeping "come on" motions of his pistol. Ten fellows crawled after him.

"He yelled that there weren't any Chinese in the trench," the sergeant said. "The colonel was sitting on the edge of the trench, looking in. He yelled for a grenade and we threw him one.

"After the grenade exploded the colonel looked again. Just as he stuck his head over, the Chinese set off a satchel charge— sticks of dynamite tied together. It made a terrific bang. He just doubled up and toppled over in the trench."

All this time a brigadier general was observing through glasses, not knowing that the man he watched was Colonel Isbell, an old friend. The general told a correspondent: "If he had lived we would have taken the crest that day and saved all those assault casualties the next day."

The sergeant said, "He was a great soldier. He led an infantry charge. That wasn't his job."

A word is not a crystal, transparent and unchanged; it is the skin of a living thought and may vary greatly in color and content according to the circumstances and the time in which it is used.

—*Oliver Wendell Holmes*

FREEDOM OF THE MIND

The Perils of Conformity

By Claude M. Fuess

Condensed from "The Saturday Review"

ON INDEPENDENCE DAY 1854 at Framingham, Massachusetts, William Lloyd Garrison at an abolitionist gathering, after describing the Constitution of the United States as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," publicly burned a copy of that document, crying, "So perish all compromises with tyranny!"

It was the foolish act of a misguided fanatic, which discredited the perpetrator and accomplished nothing towards the freeing of the Negro. But the interesting fact is that, although Garrison was denounced by conservative newspapers in the North, he was in no way officially called to account for his diatribe, either by the courts or by a Congressional committee. Nobody seems to have been afraid that Garrison would be able to abrogate the Constitution.

What would happen today if any so-called "liberal" committed a similar absurdity may be left to the imagination. It is certain that he would be brought before a loyalty board and that his situation would be precarious.

Some of the greatest of our statesmen would fare badly if they were living and writing now. Thomas Jefferson was a "radical" who advocated a general revision of all the established laws and forms of society. What would our witch-hunting senators make of a statesman who wrote, "A little rebellion now and then is a good thing" and who argued that perhaps a society without government, like that among the American Indians, was to be preferred to any other type?

This would be regarded today as

CLAUDE M. FUESS, former headmaster at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., is a native of Central New York (Waterville) and author of biographies of Rufus Choate, Daniel Webster, Carl Schurz, and Calvin Coolidge.

subversive talk, to be promptly suppressed, by force if necessary. Nevertheless, the monument to Thomas Jefferson still stands in Washington, visited with reverence by millions of Americans, and we quote with pride what he said of the university which he founded: "This institution will be based on the illimitable freedom of the human mind. For here we are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate error so long as reason is left free to combat it."

"We are not afraid," said Jefferson. But today, when the nation is actually and relatively far stronger than it was when he was President, we are dominated by a fear so pervasive that it approaches hysteria.

In our zeal to protect ourselves from an outside peril we have allowed extremists to curtail our personal liberties. We are paying our enemies the tribute of admitting that coercion and suppression are legitimate weapons for combating other ideas. In other words, what Sinclair Lewis dreaded has already happened here. A large number of respectable people, dwelling in an atmosphere of suspicion, are afraid to say what they think.

Slander, libel, and calculated falsehood— some of it protected under our Constitution— have done their deadly terrorizing work. In the intellectual world this is almost as bad as the intimidation by Capone and other racketeers.

Dr. Samuel Johnson in 1775 burst out to Boswell, "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel!" Boswell commented, "He did not mean a real and generous love of our country, but that pretended patriotism which so many, in all ages and countries, have made a cloak for self-interest!"

Fear and its miserable companion, hate, are leading men to condemn indiscriminately all those who do not think as they do. This emphasis on conformity is, of course, completely contrary to the American tradition.

Our colonial civilization was created by men and women who were unorthodox, not to say heretical. In one section or another the Pilgrims, the Friends, and the Roman Catholics— in each instance representing religious minorities— sought on these shores the opportunity to live their own lives in their own fashion. Suppression has since been attempted more than once, but so far we have managed to preserve the original freedoms. Now, however, the Fascists are back with us, stronger and more determined than ever.

A biological axiom explains that progress is made only through differences. The breeders of race horses succeed only because some animals are born different from the ordinary. The same is true of roses or potatoes or grapefruit— or thinkers! If we all tend to think, or appear to think, the same way, under compulsion or from any other motive, the laws determining intellectual evolution cease to operate.

Nevertheless the signs are not all ominous. Our intellectual climate is still such that public opinion has a chance to form and be felt. After all, we do have elections at which voters may express their views and newspapers to which they may write. It must astonish natives of other countries to hear what is being said openly about our government on the floor of the Congress by our own representatives.

I agree fully with Professor Clair Wilcox [of Swarthmore College] when he says, "Our society is strong enough to withstand criticism." Our system of free enterprise, if allowed to function as its founders intended, need not resort to force for its defense. I believe, however, that we can convert others permanently only by precept and example, not by suppression— not even by military victory.

One of our missions at the present crucial moment should be to show the world that our American social and political and economic order is more efficient than that of Communistic countries, that it leaves men and women happier, and offers them the maximum of hope and opportunity.

Footnote on Conformity

I believe that that community is already in process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy; where nonconformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation without specification or backing takes the place of evidence; where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent; where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists to win or lose.

Such fears as these are a solvent which can eat out the cement that binds the stones together; they may in the end subject us to a despotism as evil as any that we dread; and they can be allayed only in so far as we refuse to proceed on suspicion, and trust one another until we have a tangible ground for misgiving.

—Judge Learned Hand, at the 1952 convocation of the University of the State of New York

What Are We Really After?

GOALS OF A FREE SOCIETY

By Paul G. Hoffman

Condensed from a Freedom House address

THERE never has been a time in our history when there was more need than now for concern with the maintenance and perfection of a free society. The liberties which our forefathers called the inalienable rights of men are under attack everywhere.

The most obvious danger to our freedoms is the determination of the Kremlin to force its tyrannical way of life on the rest of the world. A more subtle danger, however, stems from our failure to understand as well as we should the true nature of our free society and the deep sources of its strength. As a result of that failure, we have *outside* of America too much neutralism and *inside* America activities, often carried on in the name of freedom, which are putting our freedom in jeopardy.

The contention of the neutralists is that this free society of ours and the totalitarian society of the Soviets have one basic weakness in common —both are materialistic; neither meets the inner needs of man. They see the present world conflict as one between two great powers, each intent on forcing upon the rest of the world its way of life.

Undoubtedly we in the United States have contributed to this misunderstanding by our constant droning of statistics about the number of automobiles, telephones, radios, washing machines, and television sets that are owned by our 150 million people. We have every right to take pride in the extraordinary capacity of our economy to create wealth and a right to even more pride because that wealth is distributed equitably. But it is a mistake to overstress these accomplishments. Their

PAUL G. HOFFMAN, formerly president of The Ford Foundation and head of the Economic Cooperation Administration, received the annual award of Freedom House in 1951. He is now chairman of the Studebaker Corporation.

real significance lies in their relationship to the source from which they derive. For they reflect the creative strength of a free society. In and of themselves, they are a bright spot, but they themselves are not the glory of America.

The glory of our American free society is that here men have a constantly expanding opportunity to realize on their capacities intellectually and spiritually as well as materially —that here conditions have encouraged the growth and development of the individual. Our goal must be not only equality but certainty of opportunity for full growth for every citizen. We are some distance from that goal— America is still unfinished business but we are on the way.

PARTICULARLY during the past 50 years there has been a spectacular growth and development in opportunity for intellectual and spiritual progress. This has been made possible because our free society squares with the nature of man. Man is by nature free; man is by nature social. This fact of a dual nature of man was much in the minds of our forefathers as they laid down the principles of our free government. They spoke again and again of "the laws of nature and of nature's God."

That man is by nature free can be supported by scientifically established evidence and philosophically disciplined reasoning. Futhermore, we Americans know instinctively that men who are enslaved cannot fulfill their nature. We Americans also accept as self-evident the fact that man is by nature social. "No man is an island— an island entire of itself." He cannot forsake society for the sake of liberty any more than he can satisfy his natural need for social life by forswearing his natural right to freedom.

Basing our major argument for a free society on the fact that it accords with the nature of man makes all the difference in the world to the character of our cause. Any support of our system that is based upon our ability to outgadget, to outproduce, and to outfight any other nation is fundamentally weak. It overlooks the vicissitudes of history. It means that if some other nation at some time should for a period outgadget, outproduce, or outfight us, their system will have proven itself better for man. It could also be taken to mean that our system acquired its validity only in the last 25 or 50 years, which witnessed our rise to material supremacy. It unconsciously mocks the America of the Founding Fathers when, in the material sense, we were relatively small and weak alongside the France of Napoleon and the Russia of Alexander I.

IN CONTRAST, when we rest our case for a free society on its capacity to fulfill the deepest needs of man, we are saying that a free society is right and good for all men everywhere because their nature as men demands freedom, and we are proclaiming to the whole world that we want it not

just for ourselves but for all mankind.

In stressing the moral basis of a free society, I do not wish to ignore or minimize its practical basis. From this standpoint, it is the strongest of societies, for it is the only form of social organization which makes it possible fully to draw upon the chief resource of any society— the character and talent of its people.

The authoritarian society, in suppressing the free thought and action of its people and forcing them all into a mold prescribed by a handful of men, automatically squanders and nullifies that most precious resource. Such a result is certain, even under wise leaders, but wise leaders are a rare phenomenon in a totalitarian society which is by nature sick with two corrosive forces of corruption— the corruption of unlimited power and the corruption of unlimited submission.

But it is not enough to know that a free society is best for all men. Certainly, if freedom is to be defended and extended, it must be understood. We must be able clearly to identify those elements in a free society that are principally responsible for its capacity to meet the needs of the free and social nature of man.

Since each man in the exercise of his free nature directs himself to the attainment of his own ends, he cannot be rightly treated as a means to the end of another man or of the state. The essential point of the dignity of man can best be expressed in terms of the basic natural right of every man to be respected as an end. Upon this turns the distinction between the free man and the slave. A free society must therefore grant rights and privileges which leave men as far as possible free to decide for themselves all matters affecting their own development— rights and privileges which provide security from arbitrary actions by other men or capricious intervention on the part of the state.

If society is to meet man's social needs, it must provide conditions under which he can live and work together with his fellowmen in mutual respect and confidence.

THESE GOALS of a free society can be quickly and easily stated but can be reached only through complex arrangements. Our Constitution, our Bill of Rights, our federal and state laws, our customs, our mores, and our voluntary organizations are all a part of these arrangements. That is why a free society has been called the most signal achievement of mankind.

A totalitarian society differs sharply from a free society in almost every particular. A totalitarian society cannot by its very nature accord to its citizens as individuals the right to determine for themselves what they should think, discuss, do. In Russia today life goes on under a cloud of pervasive and corroding fear.

These differences which dramatize the failure of a totalitarian society to meet the inner needs of man, provide a complete answer to the neutralist. They point up both the need to sharpen our determination to keep our society free from any taint of totalitarianism and the manner in which this must be done.

We must be on guard against any and every activity which puts in jeopardy our rights as individuals. Freedom of thought is a basic human right from which flow freedom of religion, freedom of press, and freedom of assembly and association. But freedom of thought is a sterile and meaningless right unless we are free to discuss, to criticize, and to debate. Criticism, discussion, and debate are the only means to peaceful progress. All history shows that without them a society must stagnate and die.

The thought control of dictatorships is imposed by force, but persecution by public opinion can be as powerful as purges and pogroms. School teachers, government clerks, government officials, and even businessmen can be frightened out of their rights under the First Amendment as effectively as if that Amendment were repealed; and frightened men are at best irresponsible in their actions and at worst dangerous. Of all the forms of tyranny over the mind of man, none is more terrible than fear.

If we want to assert the free nature of man and strengthen our free society, we must insist that within the law of libel and slander, the unlimited right to criticize must be maintained. This right is meaningless unless it extends to the thoughts with which we disagree — in the words of a great justice of the United States, "freedom for the thought that we hate."* I would not for a moment suppress irresponsible critics. They must not be suppressed. They must be answered.

We must remember too that a free society is a just society. Everybody concerned about freedom in America must be concerned about justice. The reason we must encourage criticism is that we must encourage people to point out such injustices as remain in America and to fight for their elimination. An unjust society cannot long endure. Only by safeguarding the rights of minorities do we safeguard the rights of majorities. Racial and religious discrimination, special privilege, and inequality of opportunity for growth are on the wane in this country; but where they still exist, these and other injustices must be discovered and rooted out.

The aggressive expansionism of the Kremlin has made the rebuilding of the military strength of America and of the free world vital to the maintenance of the peace. But something more is needed effectively to counter totalitarian plans for world domination. We must dedicate ourselves anew to making in America a demonstration of a free, just, an unafraid society at work.

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* See page 32 for context of Justice Holmes.

Starting With Public Schools

By Willard E. Givens
Executive Secretary,
National Education Association

NATIONS do not enjoy for any great length of time one freedom, or a few freedoms, to the exclusion of others. The great human freedoms, inextricably tied to each other, stand or fall together. Fundamental to all of them is the freedom to learn which characterizes the public school.

The public school has a responsibility for their maintenance and can fulfill this only when it practices them itself. The public school is dedicated to the platform of no political party, to the doctrines of no religious sect, to the tenets of no economic philosophy advanced by a minority for its own benefit, to no single theory of social progress.

At the heart of the true educational process is intellectual integrity. This is not achieved by attempts to conceal the truth, however distasteful and unsatisfying truth may be. It is not achieved by giving undue emphasis to the unimportant or by glamorizing the new simply because of its novelty. Above all, intellectual integrity is not built upon bias or prejudice of the teacher, of the pupils, or of segments of the community working to secure acceptance of their own political, religious, or economic philosophies.

The implications of academic freedom are simple. Academic freedom means that students may have access to all the facts related to a significant issue that is under study. It is a safeguard against the advocacy in the classroom of any particularized viewpoint. It results in learning *how* to think, not *what* to think. It makes mandatory the classroom consideration at appropriate age levels, of all matters important enough to be in controversy among the American people. Its objective is to prepare citizens for intelligent decisions in public affairs.

These are uncertain times in America. Our ability to withstand the menace of Communism may well depend upon the vigor with which we demonstrate the vitality of our belief in our freedoms, and the persistence with which we resist the encroachments of dictatorship upon our free public schools.

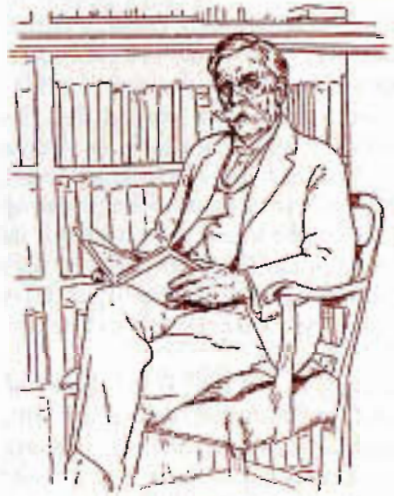
—Condensed from
1952 Report, N.E.A.

I HAVE SWORN UPON THE ALTAR OF GOD ETERNAL HOSTILITY AGAINST EVERY FORM OF TYRANNY OVER THE MIND OF MAN

—From the rotunda of the Jefferson Memorial in Washington

Portrait of a Dissenter in Action

Dissenting Opinions
of Oliver Wendell Holmes
Quoted in part



Associate Justice, Supreme Court
of the United States, 1902–1932

I DO NOT DOUBT for a moment that by the same reasoning that would justify punishing persuasion to murder, the United States may punish speech that produces or is intended to produce a clear and imminent danger that it will bring forthwith certain substantive evils that the United States constitutionally may prevent. The power is undoubtedly greater in time of war than in time of peace because war opens dangers that do not exist at other times. But as against dangers peculiar to war, as against others, the principle of the right to free speech is always the same.

It is only the present danger of immediate evil or an intent to bring it about that warrants Congress in setting a limit to the expression of opinion where private rights are not concerned. Congress certainly cannot forbid all effort to change the mind of the country. . . .

Persecution for the expression of opinion seems to me perfectly logical. If you have no doubt of your premises or your power and want a certain result with all your heart you naturally express your wishes in law and sweep away all opposition. To allow opposition by speech seems to indicate that you think the speech impotent, as when a man says that he has squared the circle, or that you do not care wholeheartedly for the result, or that you doubt either your power or your premises.

But when men have realized that

"The Dissenting Opinions of Mr. Justice Holmes," edited by Alfred Lief, copyright 1929 by The Vanguard Press, New York, $5.

time has upset many fighting faiths, they may come to believe even more than they believe the very foundations of their own conduct that the ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas—that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market, and that truth is the only ground upon which their wishes safely can be carried out.

That, at any rate, is the theory of our Constitution. It is an experiment, as all life is an experiment. Every year if not every day we have to wager our salvation upon some prophecy based upon imperfect knowledge. While that experiment is part of our system I think that we should be eternally vigilant against attempts to check the expression of opinions that we loathe and believe to be fraught with death, unless they so imminently threaten immediate interference with the lawful and pressing purposes of the law that an immediate check is required to save the country. . . .

Only the emergency that makes it immediately dangerous to leave the correction of evil counsels to time warrants making any exception to the sweeping command, "Congress shall make no law *** abridging the freedom of speech."

—*Abrams* v. *United States*
250 U.S. 616, 624 (1919)

☆ ☆ ☆

EVERY IDEA is an incitement. It offers itself for belief and if believed it is acted on unless some other belief outweighs it or some failure of energy stifles the movement at its birth. The only difference between the expression of an opinion and an incitement in the narrower sense is the speaker's enthusiasm for the result. Eloquence may set fire to reason. But whatever may be thought of the redundant discourse before us it had no chance of starting a present conflagration.

—*Gitlow* v. *New York*
268 U.S. 652, 672 (1925)

☆ ☆ ☆

IF THERE is any principle of the Constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any other it is the principle of free thought—not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom for the thought that we hate.

—*United States* v. *Schwimmer*
279 U.S. 644, 653 (1929)

☆ ☆ ☆

I DO NOT suppose that anyone would say that the freedom of written speech is less protected by the First Amendment than the freedom of spoken words. Therefore I cannot understand by what authority Congress undertakes to authorize anyone to determine in advance, on the grounds before us, that certain words shall not be uttered. Even those who interpret the Amendment most strictly agree that it was intended to prevent previous restraints.

—*Leach* v. *Carlile*
258 U.S. 138, 140 (1922)

A Few Definitions

DICTATORS

In the Andean regions of South America, the mountaineer knows well how that bird of prey, the condor, destroys the lamb. First, the condor flies high in the sky, making great circles. Little by little it comes down until, with a great beating of its wings, it circles round and round the little animal, which by now is frightened and bewildered. Quickly the vulture darts in and plucks out the eyes. When the lamb opens its mouth to cry for help, with equal rapidity the condor tears out the tongue. Afterward, the bird of prey calmly ends the work of destruction and consumes its victim. Thus the dictators destroy the eyes and silence the tongues of peoples. Then, blind and mute, the people lose their liberty.

—Alberto Gainza Paz, former editor of *La Prensa*, Buenos Aires

COMMUNISM

Communism and all concepts of statism are the refuge of frightened, defeated personalities. Lacking faith in mankind, in the scientific method, and in the power of love, they fear freedom and fall back on cynicism, hate, and thought control. We must realize that it is freedom for the mind of man that is powerful, that Faith, Truth, Love, Beauty, and Freedom are the high roads to the fullest release of human potentialities, to the highest economic productivity, and to our greatest total strength as a nation. Only an education that is truly free— one in which no door to knowledge, to ideas, is closed— can possibly serve us in this trying period.

—Ernest O. Melby, dean of the School of Education, New York University

DEMOCRACY

The democratic way of life rejects standardized thought. It rejects orthodoxy. It wants the fullest and freest discussion, within peaceful limits, of all public issues. It encourages constant search for truth at the periphery of knowledge.

The great danger of this period is not inflation, nor the national debt, nor atomic warfare. The great, the critical danger is that we will so limit or narrow the range of permissible discussion and permissible thought that we will become victims of the orthodox school. If we do, we will lose flexibility. We will lose the capacity for expert management. We will then become wedded to a few techniques, to a few devices. We will surrender a great deal of our power.

—William O. Douglas, Associate Justice, Supreme Court of the United States