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INSIGHT *and* OUTLOOK

a conservative student journal

Vol. V Number I

October 1962



¿Alianza para What?

JAMES BLAIR

Victory Without Warfare

JAMES O'CONNELL

With Cooler Days

TIMOTHY WHEELER



SPECIAL ISSUE on FOREIGN AFFAIRS



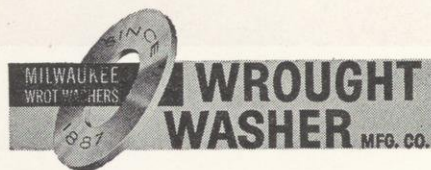
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Barry Goldwater



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A CONSERVATIVE STUDENT JOURNAL

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Insight and Outlook is a journal of conservative and libertarian commentary published three times per semester by students and faculty members of the University of Wisconsin. It is dedicated to helping students understand the ideological importance of current affairs, to defend individual freedom against the forces of collectivism, and to explain the workings of the free market economy. This magazine is supported entirely by advertising, and is distributed free to students.

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We Take The Fifth

After four years of unwavering loyalty to conservative ideals, INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK is finally taking the fifth. We have a new cover again this year, as is our wont, but the rest of the format remains unchanged. It has been an eventful four years, and we take pride in our accomplishments.

The political climate at the University of Wisconsin was anything but amenable to conservative endeavor four years ago. We recall especially one of the Socialist Club's communist speakers, Herbert Aptheker, who spoke in the Old Madison room of the Memorial Union. Aptheker got a nice round of applause from the packed room when he hoped out loud that a communist flag would fly over America in his lifetime.

Four years later, INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK is still only a dissenting journal, but the campus collectivists no longer go unchallenged. Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., brought here by the Socialist Club last spring, discovered this. After his speech in the Union Theater, Hall allowed that this was a "typical college audience but perhaps a little more right wing" than he had encountered in earlier appearances. Student demonstrations last year on behalf of Cuban and Hungarian refugees were evidence of a rebellion against the Left. The summer issue of INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK, which featured a scholarly comparison of modern liberalism and fascism, was in such demand an extra thousand copies had to be printed.

Campus leftists have not always taken their setbacks with good grace. Though with little concert among them, the Left is girding itself for a pitched battle with the upstarts on the Right. Aside from the brief editorship of John Kellogg, a moderate, the *Daily Cardinal* student newspaper continues its liberal orientation. Added to this are two new campus journals which have begun publishing in opposition to INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK. The liberal *Wisconsin Review* is issued sporadically, is staffed by ADAers, and is wholly redundant on a campus which is already deluged by liberal propaganda, most of it emanating from the faculty. *Studies on the Left*, the campus socialist quarterly, is a better executed journal, and it sees the main issue, capitalism or socialism, much more clearly than *Wisconsin Review*.

INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK strives to be an informative and well-written conservative journal, one to which the serious student, disheartened and angered by the socialist emphasis in the classroom, can repair. This journal speaks for the freedom and sanctity of the individual and his property. It opposes collectivism in all its evil forms, from the suffocating embrace of the University administration to the totalitarian socialism of the communists. At stake in this conflict is the very life of America, and the lives of free men everywhere.

Aetius Routs Crassus

Genesis of Civil War

Governor Nelson Rockefeller, the Marcus Licinius Crassus of American politics, recently committed himself body and soul to the old, quack idea of a federation of free nations, modeled upon the federation of the American colonies. He went so far as to suggest that this world federation could share such things as defenses, economic markets and currency.

It is difficult to see just why the governor of New York State should concern himself with world federalism during his campaign for re-election to state office, unless, perhaps, he has his sights set upon a somewhat loftier goal. And it is even more difficult to see why our Crassus should resurrect the hoary idea of world federalism and present it afresh to his constituents, unless, perhaps, he believes that nothing new in the way of ideas has appeared since about the turn of the century.

Be that as it may, Mr. Rockefeller has sounded the clarion for world federalism, and has cited the federation of the American colonies as his historical precedent. His argument is no different, and certainly no less preposterous, than that of scores of thousands of world federalists — namely, that if the divided and bickering American colonies were able to subordinate their sovereignty to a federal government, then the nations of the modern world should be able to do likewise.

Ah, the charm of such an argument!

Consider the condition of the American colonies in the wake of the revolution: for the most part, they shared a common language, a common religion, a common history, a common tradition, a common state of technological development, a common system of monetary units, and above all, a common law. Whether or not they were divided into 13 squabbling political entities, they were in fact a nation—a unified people living in a contiguous geographical area. Yet even in spite of the profusion of ties that bound the colonies into a single civilization, they only barely managed to achieve federation at all, and only because the age was blessed with several political geniuses of a sort nowhere in evidence today.

Now consider the estate of the modern world, with its diversities of language, law, religion, population density, technological achievement, education, philosophy, tradition, history, race, climate and economy. Consider the sort of federal constitution that would be required to bind this motley agglomerate of civilizations into a single unitary structure. It would either have to be the most powerful political engine yet devised by man, or it would have to be so bland as to be a meaningless scrap of paper. On the major issues of law and political theory and economics and religion there would have to obtain a virtual consensus among the participating nations, and even a consensus on a good portion of the minor issues now dividing the races and nations of man.

What could possibly be written into such a constitution? If it prohibits a state church, it would be intolerable to Great

Britain. If it demands a republican form of government in each of the member-states, it will offend Portugal, Indonesia, Spain, Ghana and a host of other monarchies, dictatorships and authoritarian regimes. If it prohibits castes and classes, it will offend India. If it demands the use of Roman law, it will offend the Anglo-Saxon nations which are accustomed to the liberties and privileges of common law. If it universalizes the dollar, it will irk the coolies of Formosa; if it universalizes the yen, it will irritate the American, who doesn't relish hauling around a bushel of currency.

On the other hand, if such a constitution were to avoid mention of such fundamental issues, then it would scarcely be similar to the American constitution. In fact, it would be little different from a mutual defense treaty, or a trade pact, and the whole idea of federation would be nullified. One is reminded of the meditation or prayer room at that other Rockefeller-endowed institution, the United Nations. It is a place where delegates may seek Divine guidance, but there is neither cross nor star of David nor Buddha nor star and crescent there, but rather an obscene and shapeless rock.

In any case, what is the matter with a world of free, diverse and sovereign nations? War? But surely no thoughtful person can presume that a world federation—were such possible—would eliminate war. What would happen if the impoverished nations ganged together into a majority and voted to levy a plunder-tax upon the rich? Or what would happen if two factions engaged in mortal combat for the control of the federation's militia, or constabulary? It is perfectly conceivable that such a federation would present the world with a greater potential war danger than exists among free and sovereign nations today. Moreover, how can the synthesis of man's cultures into a dreary uniformity of law and tradition possibly be considered as delightful as man in all his rich diversity? Why this unmediated, ill-considered drive to unify the world? Surely, if war is ever to be eliminated, it will not be through political reorganization, but through moral revolution within the souls of individuals.

One can scarcely imagine why Nelson Rockefeller chose to advocate world federalism. The idea is not a popular one, except among a certain element of visionary liberals. Certainly, among the members of the governor's own party, the idea is anathema, and is bound to alienate him from Republicans across the country. And certainly the conservatives, without whom the Republican party cannot survive, will sit on their hands rather than vote for a man who peddles such quack nostrums for the ills of mankind. Thus, in political terms, Mr. Rockefeller's position is a mystery: it has no bearing upon his campaign for governor, and it will certainly damage his chances for nomination as presidential candidate. Perhaps his high-priced advisers have done him wrong. Or perhaps he is merely a confused and rudderless politician.

—AETIUS

CAMPUS OUTLOOK

E Pluribus Omelette

If ever a concept were calculated to set the ideologue to Pavlovian salivating, it is that of "Society". All things are done in Society's fair name, all Purpose is derived from serving the Common Good. Who does not believe that, is anti-social and reactionary.

It would be preposterous to waste a second glance on the collectivist ideologies, save with the redemptive faith that Society exists as an anthropomorphic homunculus, a "Man" endowed with the collective characteristics of the human creature and able therefore to reason, to will and to act in His own Interests (He must have Interests, to be sure). *Man* is necessarily independent of and greater than the sum of His individual parts—*His* Will be done. No other construction can logically yield the dictum, common to all collectivist ideology, that the individual person is inferior to the group. Stated obversely, if thee and me ain't common, we ain't good.

We daresay, this Society Image has propped up every piece of Holy Collectivist Writ from Marx on down to Schlesinger. Every Society, Man, Mankind, Humanity, Brotherhood, Community, Common Race, National Interest, Group or Class which could plausibly justify the sacrifice of the individual to the group has been hurled from the pulpit in evangelical fervor. It is all mystical rubbish. Take away men—thee and me—and *Man* does not remain, looking pained at the wilderness.

But the collectivist superstition pervades the world and gives every indication of hanging around until we do, finally, demonstrate scientifically that *Man* is independent of men by executing all men. Is this not the final answer, and would it not, at last, liberate *Man* from the petty bickering of thee and me, thus to release Him in quest of His destiny? Mystical rubbish! We say it doggedly, bravely: we do not believe in the abominable *Homunculus Anthropomorphus*. Society are people!

For the purposes of a statistical study of the human kind, societal generalizations can be useful, e.g., it would be fair to say that the average man does not wish to be shot in the back of the neck. However, because no two individuals are identical, and no two share identical interests, such reckoning must remain academic, solely in the area of specific-to-general. The general proposition cannot replace the specific and dissimilar interests of individuals without abnegating or perverting the idea of an aggregate Common Good. Thus, to impose a rigid social order on individuals is in every instance tyrannous: conformity, not community welfare, is ushered in by the state's guns.

Curiously, the mystics who so zealously preach the

John Oster

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that all you have done is to increase
poverty.***

—Winston Churchill



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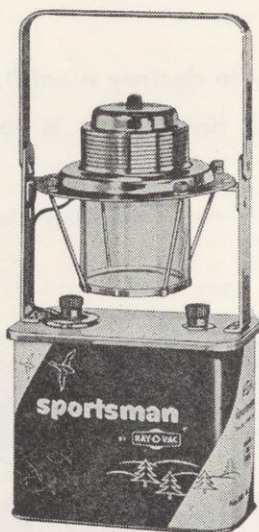
"People, in their desire for the abundant life and social security, have more and more voted away their personal responsibilities and therefore their freedom and opportunity. To this extent they have abandoned democracy for fascism."

—Henry C. Link



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gospel according to *Homunculus* deny that the individual person shares *His* ability to reason, will and act. Thee and me are products, and therefore victims of our environment: a couple of bad eggs from whom can be fashioned by the assiduous use of bayonets, a good omelette. What thee and me cannot do individually, thee and me *averaged* can. Were it otherwise, were people able to reason will and act, they might, unforgivably, revert to earning their bread, saving for a rainy day, raising their children, pursuing their creative urges, minding their own business, worshipping God, and tar-and-feathering any politicians or mystics they catch. But alas!—such a simple solution in these complex times would obviously be a crime against *Man*. *His Will* be done.

WORLD OUTLOOK

Critics, Take Note

Again this semester INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK publishes a selected list of conservative books, and urges that the campus leftists read them, that they might know their enemy. Our critics on the Left have habitually set up a straw man to joust with, rather than to attack the genuine conservative position. When engaging in polemical debate, there is undoubtedly no more embarrassing position to be in than to be demonstrated ignorant of the enemy's ideology. It amounts to a public failure to comprehend what the other side is saying and to criticize it coherently and meaningfully.

Some new titles have been added since the last list was published, and the list is now categorized. For those critics who charge that conservatives offer only simple answers, and that the modern world does not admit of simple answers, we have included some books which have complex answers, although space will not allow us to arrange them in order of complexity.

We recommend the following works of conservative scholarship:

Communism and Foreign Policy

- Bouscaren, Anthony T. *Guide to Anti-Communist Action*. (Regnery.)
- Budenz, Louis F. *Techniques of Communism*. (Regnery.)*
- Chambers, Whittaker. *Witness*. (Random House.)
- Dallin, David J. *Soviet Espionage*. (Yale Univ.)
- Hahn, W. F., and Neff, J. C. *American Strategy for the Nuclear Age*. (Anchor.)*
- Hook, Sidney. *Marx and the Marxists*. (Anvil.)*
- Hoover, J. Edgar. *Masters of Deceit*. (Holt, Rinehart and Winston.)*
- Kissinger, Henry A. *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy*. (Anchor.)*
- Koestler, Arthur. *Darkness at Noon*. (Modern Library.)*
- Buckley, William F., Jr. *Up From Liberalism*. (Regnery.)*
-, et al. *The Committee and its Critics*, (Putnam.)
- Meyer, Frank S. *The Moulding of Communists*. (Harcourt, Brace, and World.)

Monnerot, Jules. *Sociology and Psychology of Communism*. (Beacon.)*

Moreell, Admiral Ben. *The Several Faces of Communism*. (ISI.)

Niemeyer, Gerhart. *A Student's Primer on Communism*. (ISI.)

Possorny, Stefan T. *A Century of Conflict*. (Regnery.)

Staar, Richard F. *Political Dynamics of a Soviet Satellite*. (ISI.)

Strausz-Hupé, Robert, et al. *A Forward Strategy for America*. (Harper.)

....., et. al. *Protracted Conflict*. (Harper.)

Wolfe, Bertram D. *Three Who Made a Revolution*. (Beacon.)*

Conservative and Libertarian Philosophy

Acton, Lord. *Essays on Freedom and Power*. (Meridian.)*

Bredvold, Louis I. and Ross, Ralph G., ed. *The Philosophy of Edmund Burke*. (Univ. of Michigan.)*

Evans, M. Stanton. *A Conservative Case for Freedom*. (ISI.)

Kirk, Russell. *Prospects for Conservatives*. (Regnery.)*

....., *The Conservative Mind*. (Regnery.)*

Kuehnelt-Leddihn, Erik von *Liberty or Equality*. (Caxton.)

Meyer, Frank S. *Freedom, Tradition, Conservatism*. (ISI.)

Nisbet, Robert A. *The Quest for Community*. (Oxford Univ.)

Stanlis, Peter J. *Edmund Burke and the Natural Law*. (Univ. of Michigan.)

Evans, M. Stanton. *Revolt on the Campus*. (Regnery.)

Goldwater, Barry M. *The Conscience of a Conservative*. (Victor.)*

....., *Why Not Victory*. (McGraw-Hill)

Strauss, Lewis L. *Men and Decisions*. (Doubleday.)

LeFevre, Robert. *This Bread is Mine*. (American Liberty Press)

Mill, John Stuart. *On Liberty*. (Appleton)

Nock, Albert J. *Our Enemy, the State*.

Orwell, George. 1984. (Harcourt, Brace)*

Viereck, Peter. *Conservatism: From John Adams to Churchill*. (Anvil.)*

Vivas, Eliseo. *The Moral Life and the Ethical Life*. (Univ. of Chicago.)

Voegelin, Eric. *The New Science of Politics*. (Univ. of Chicago.)

Weaver, Richard M. *Ideas Have Consequences*. (Univ. of Chicago.)*

Wilson, Francis Graham. *The Case for Conservatism*. (Univ. of Washington.)

Constitutional Theory

The Federalist. (Modern Library)*

Hayek, F. A. *The Constitution of Liberty*. (Univ. of Chicago.)

Kilpatrick, James Jackson. *The Sovereign States*. (Regnery.)

Morley, Felix. *The Power in the People*. (Van Nostrand.)

....., *Freedom and Federalism*. (Regnery.)*

Wilson, Francis Graham. *American Political Mind*. (McGraw-Hill.)*

Wright, David McCord. *Democracy and Progress*. (Macmillan.)

Economics

Bastiat, Frederic. *The Law*. (FEE.)*

Hayek, F. A. *Individualism and Economic Order*. (Univ. of Chicago.)

....., *Road to Serfdom*. (Univ. of Chicago.)*

Hazlitt, Henry. *Economics in One Lesson*. (FEE.)*

....., *The Failure of the New Economics*.

Mises, Ludwig von. *Planning for Freedom*. (Libertarian Press.)*

....., *Human Action*. (Yale.)

....., *Socialism*. (Yale.)

Peterson, William H. *The Wonderful World of Modern Economics*. (ISI.)

Robbins, Lionel. *Economic Planning and International Order*. (Macmillan.)

Röpke, Wilhelm. *A Humane Economy*. (Regnery.)

Smith, Adam. *The Wealth of Nations*. (Modern Library.)*

Wallich, Henry. *The Cost of Freedom*. (Harper.)

Education

Babbitt, Irving. *Literature in the American College*. (Regnery.)*

Barzun, Jacques. *The House of Intellect*. (Harper.)*

Bestor, Arthur. *Educational Wastelands*. (Univ. of Illinois.)

Coulter, Charles Wellsley, and Rimanoczy, Richard Stanton. *Education for What?* (ISI.)

Newman, John Henry. *The Idea of a University*. (Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.)*

Weaver, Richard M. *Education and the Individual*. (ISI.)

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The King's New Clothes

CY BUTT

While consulting this morning with Joe Troia, sometime genial host of Troia's Steak House, anent a further extension of a line of credit that instinct had told me was becoming tenuous, the talk turned to Fremont Guilfoyle, Administration trouble-shooter, and his consort, Fifi.

"Fremont is O.K. with us," said Mr. Troia, "It's that Fifi. She doesn't misbehave any more than the average but when she glides down the aisle with that Stromboli strut my clients bite chunks out of that teakwood bar like it was cheese, and Philadelphia cream cheese, at that. She's luscious as a ripe peach, you know, and——"

"Of course I know," I said, "I'm merely insolvent, not blind."

At this point, and with no meeting of the minds on the credit problem, the door to State Street opened and through it came the couple mentioned supra. For this day's apparel Fremont had chosen, from North to South, a beret, a two-foot cigarette holder, a silk scarf, a blazer, a cummerbund, toredor britches and dancing pumps. Whatever Fifi had on didn't conceal any of the points of interest.

"Break out something for the inner man, Mr. Troia," said Fremont, "Something that will stir the artistry in the breast, or wherever it's kept. I'm a court—, a cout—, I'm one of those guys like Dior or Balenciaga, only I do it for men."

"Indeed," I said, "And why?"

"The Boss wants some new clothes designed," said Fremont, "The Mugwump of Malabar and the rest of that league come here on visits with robes and crowns and scepters and plumes and what not and all the Boss has is clothes just like businessmen wear, and you know what he thinks of *them*."

"I do," I said, "He has made that plain enough."

"Well," continued Fremont, "He doesn't like it. He thinks he ought to look more regal. And Jackie thinks so, too. Jackie can talk French and is only First Lady, and this Grace Kelly, who is only a bricklayer's daughter, is a princess. It rankles. And then her own sister is a princess, too. She is Princess Radziwill. Where is Radziwill, anyway?"

"It's a precinct of some kind in Poland," I said, "It's a little bigger than Monaco and a little smaller than the 3rd Ward."

"No matter," said Fremont, "I've got to think of something and even this Leopard Sweat or whatever

Guilfoyle makes good
as the administration's
court taylor

it is that Troia is pouring doesn't help much. The Boss is getting restless. He can tell everybody who they must hire or rent to, he can tell them what they must grow and how much, he can raise taxes and tariffs at a whim or he will before long. The radio and TV boys jump when he says frog, and though the doctors are pouting a little right now, they and the dentists are going to be punching time clocks before snow flies. Lawyers will have to take up some useful occupation because he is going to issue the laws graven on tablets of stone and Bobbykins is going to enforce them—all this and he is only a president and has to wear businessmen's clothes. It's humiliating."

"Indubitably," I said, "What's going to happen to Congress?"

"They," said Fremont, "have the choice of grabbing their Social Security ahead of time or joining Shriver's Peace Corps. There's magnanimity for you."

"Unequalled since Charlemagne," I said, "But lets hear about these new clothes."

"Well," said Fremont, "I thought a toga would be nice, a royal purple toga with tiger skin sandals and a platinum diadem holding the Hope diamond."

"But the Hope diamond is in the Smithsonian Institute," I said.

"Granted," said Fremont, "But the Smithsonian is in Washington not over a couple of miles from where the Boss lives. Does that answer your question?"

"Perfectly," I said, "But go on with the uniform."

"I thought of sequins for the toga," continued Fremont, "but Fifi said that Liberace took a patent on that seven years ago. I guess I'll let the sequins go and make it just a plain royal purple toga. Do you think that that will suffice?"

"It should do for week days for the time being," I said, "Will a scepter go with this outfit?"

"Yes," said Fremont, "A scepter or a lorgnette. I can't decide which."

"Why not both?" I asked, "He has but two hands and if both of them are full he can't be grabbing everything else in sight."

"I don't know just how you mean that," said Fremont, "but it seems logical."

"It is right now," I answered, "But Vishnu grew himself four arms and considering the events of the past year it might be better if you had a couple of extra scepters ready."

Who's Never Kippled?

JARED LOBDELL

*Take up the white man's burdens;
send forth the best ye breed;
Go bind your sons in exile to serve
your captives' need;
To wait in heavy harness on fluttered
folk and wild;
Your new-caught sullen peoples, half
devil and half child.*

I quote Kipling's lines with the thought that they have, in the debate over imperialism, been attacked often enough to be familiar to everyone—but that, perhaps, we have missed the point. But I will not speak of imperialism from the point of view of the new-caught peoples—who am I to say how it affected them? It is hard enough to discover how it affected the imperialists.

While the lines above may not accurately refer to the Africa—and certainly not to the Philippines—of today, they do appear to describe with some exactitude the Africa of the nineteenth century. Frederick Hugh Barber tells in his *Narrative* of being halted by a party of Bamangwatos, acting quite on their own, and of the immediate reaction of a superior chief when the whites complained: the chief picked up his axe and threw it at the leader of the scouting party. Anecdotes of a similar kind about the great king Lobengula adorn the *Travel Letters* of Marie Lippert. All available evidence indicates that, however inappropriate the lines were when applied to Emilio Aguinaldo and the Christian Philippines, they were accurate enough in Kipling's experience.

I suggest then that the imperialism of the Nineteenth Century, specifically the imperialism of the White Man's Burden, has its present descendants not in today's neo-colonialists, certainly not in today's *colons*, demonstrably not in the active imperialists (such as Mr. Su-

karno and his variations on the Greater East Asia 'Co-Prosperity Sphere'), but in the reformers, the supporters of the United Nations, the Peace Corps, Crossroads Africa, the Freedom Riders, the sit-ins—in short, for want of a better term, the egalitarians. Now, I have nothing against such as these—at least nothing which is germane to this subject—but it ought to be recognized that they have, however nobly, however much with their hearts in the right place, however courageously and with great sacrifice, nevertheless taken up the White Man's Burden. A friend of mine wrote me a postcard from Dakar, where he is working with Crossroads Africa. "We spent two weeks of tourism in Dakar and are now finishing five weeks of school—building at a village near here. After this we will spend two weeks touring Senegal and Guinea." Except that there is somewhat more touring and somewhat less work, it sounds like the program of a junior district sub-officer in the British Colonial Service, in the years when the sun never set on the Union Jack, the Widow still ruled at Windsor, and Winston Churchill was a young subaltern, a while ago.

I am not, I repeat, arguing that this was good for the black or yellow or brown man who made up the self-imposed burden. I am not even arguing that it was good for the white man. But it must not be forgotten that the bondage was imposed on both, and in the poem (if not always in the reality) it was the white men, even the best of the breed, who were servants, and the conquered peoples who were served.

It was, as I said, a while ago, and it must not be again. I do not hold with colonialism these days, whether pro-Red or pro-Blue. Nor am I sufficiently presumptuous to say it was good while it lasted, too

bad it could not last longer. However, would we have had it otherwise? There was slavery long before any European colonialism, and there is slavery now. One of the most famous of all African slave traders in the Nineteenth Century was born in Africa and raised in Africa and spoke Swahili as his native tongue. He was not white. It was not originally the colonialists who were slavers: it was Dahomey and Ashanti. Kwame Nkrumah—so far as he is an educated man—is a product of the White Man's Burden. I can't say I approve of him, but he is a little better, I suppose, than ritual cannibalism and mass murders and the courts of Kumasi gaily decorated with skulls and decaying bodies and flies buzzing around the still sticky blood. Would one prefer not to have had the White Man's Burden?

If we take the doctrine at its face value, if we say that these men saw their duty to mankind, to the unprivileged peoples and undeveloped lands, and that they chose what they thought were the best means available—if we say this, as they said it, who are we to protest? Is that not what those who fight for civil liberties do now? Is it better to conquer the stubborn and wrongheaded resistance of the South to racial equality than it was to conquer the stubborn and wrongheaded resistance of the new-caught peoples to civilization? Is segregation so much worse than cannibalism? Whether or not I agree with the Psalmist about the beauties of washing my feet in the blood of the wicked, I would certainly prefer that the wicked lost their desire to wash their feet in the blood of me. You understand, I am not saying that I approve of Kipling's doctrine, only that it is the obvious and necessary and beneficial ancestor of our own concern with civil rights and underdeveloped nations.

The story is told of the ingénue who, when asked if she enjoyed Kipling, replied that she didn't know, she had never kippled. Could Sargent Shriver say the same?

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¿Alianza para What?

JAMES BLAIR

Overdeveloped governments
mean underdeveloped economies



Administration thinking in the area of aid to underdeveloped nations, here typified by the Alliance for Progress, seems to be constructed on the following basic axioms, which are regarded as self-evident.

— South American countries need more *government-to-government aid*.

— They need *tax reform*, i.e., higher taxes on corporations and steeply progressive income taxes.

— They need *land reform*, i.e., the government must break up the large plantations and farms and give the land to the peasants.

— They shouldn't worry too much about balanced budgets and *inflation*, since inflation stimulates growth."

— U.S. support should always be given to the *non-Communist Left*.

Now, let us examine these points in order.

Government Aid

Before the U. S. is committed permanently to aiding other governments, it should be recalled that most underdeveloped countries already seem to have overdeveloped governments which drain the limited resources of the nation. To take examples, Argentina in 1958 had 1,800,000 state, municipal and provincial employees, who, along with their dependents, totalled 7,000,000, out of a total population of 20,250,000 — more than a third. At that time over 80 per cent of the national revenue was used to pay salaries, thus leaving little money for building roads and schools.¹ In Venezuela, the number of government employees rose by over 400 per cent between 1957 and 1960. The U.S. found it almost impossible, due to local red tape, to aid the recent earthquake victims in Chile.

Data such as these suggest that

aid to the *governments* of underdeveloped nations is not aid to the *people*. If chronic government overregulation were not enough to cause economic strangulation, paying the bureaucrats' salaries to overregulate would be. It is impossible to overestimate the extent to which bureaucracy can hinder the efforts of ill-clad people to obtain clothing, hungry people to eat.

Tax Reform

The U.S. government is continually trying to push tax reform onto the underdeveloped nation. In his October 19th, 1961, talk before the Mexican-North American Cultural Institute, Chester Bowles set forth the United States' 90 per cent top bracket income tax and the 52 per cent corporation profit tax as shining examples for the Latin American governments to follow, in order to "soak up idle profits". Mr. Bowles is no economist, of course.

For a country to raise its standard of living and develop its economy, it must have capital. Stiff taxes will discourage foreign capital from investing in these lands and will cause native money to be invested somewhere else, profitably. The result of increased taxation can be seen in the case of Venezuela, where the government raised "its" share of private profits in the petroleum industry from 50 per cent to 70 per cent. As a result, the average return on capital invested in petroleum declined sharply and the number of crew-months of drilling for oil has dropped from 240 in 1956 to 144 in 1960.² Evidently the profits soaked up were not as "idle" as Mr. Bowles political obsession led him to believe.

Land Reform

Land reform, above all else, seems to be the panacea that the

United States planners rely upon to cure the ills of our southern neighbors. President Goulart of Brazil, as reported in the *New York Times*, has urged changes in the constitution of Brazil permitting the government to take over land without compensation. It's all so simple. You just take land from the rich (dissolute and idle) and give it to the poor (worthy and hardworking).

But in most of Latin America the problem is not that there is a scarcity of good farmland (a rationale for Robin-Hooding it from the rich) but that much fertile land is not utilized. Less than 5 per cent of Latin America's land area is under cultivation. *U.S. News and World Report* quotes a Latin American businessman: "Personally, I see no need for the land to be seized from some and parceled out to others. There is plenty of land for all in most countries of Latin America, if roads are built and governments divide up their vast holdings." That bears repeating: *Government* holdings.

On the subject of the huge idle landholdings of rich rulers in Latin America, it could be noted here that recently Ruben Jaramillo, a bandito who operated in the Morelos-Guerrero area of Mexico, was killed after his last raid — an attempt to settle 2,500 landless peasants on a large 62,500 acre tract of land owned by the Mexican government.³

"Land reform" — sometimes "agrarian reform" — as peddled by liberalism would entail breaking up the large plantations, which for the most part use modern agricultural techniques, and dividing them up into small farms. This is unquestionably less efficient, and it would provide even less food for the long suffering peasants. Some of the more sophisticated proponents of

land reform recognize this, but argue that even though reform does not make sense economically, it would aid political stability by giving the people more of a stake in the country. But really, can a policy which will reduce production increase stability? Or will it just increase hunger?

It is not even clear that the peasants would accept their new farms. Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador, for instance, have tried for years to entice farmers down from rocky plots on the Andean slopes into fertile valleys and flatlands. But the farmers aren't interested. The Dominican Republic once built a modern farm village only to find in six months time that the model homes had been ruined and abandoned: the new owners had moved back to their mud shacks and resumed their primitive farming methods.⁴

Inflation

Contemporary Liberal economic thinking, on the basis of Keynes' theories, considers deficit spending and the concomitant inflation to be a stimulant to economic growth. In simplest terms, it is held that economic wellbeing is a factor of consumption, not production. Classical theory, however, predicts no growth stimulus from inflationary policies once people begin actively to anticipate the inflation. And, as a capital tax, inflation must eventually inhibit production. The history of deficit spending in Latin America supports the Classicists.

In the ten year period ending in 1958 in Argentina, the money in circulation had risen from 7,600 million pesos to 70,000 million pesos while *per capita* production remained almost stationary. Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil, and Bolivia are but a few of the countries to be devastated by inflation. In the case of Bolivia, as inflation reduced purchasing power to about one-sixtieth of its former rate, productivity fell by about 55 per cent.

Democratic Left

Supporting the democratic Left is the last factor under analysis here.

The latest gimmick for saving the world, among liberal thinkers, is to support always the democratic left, i.e., democratic socialists, in underdeveloped countries. This notion now permeates State Department policy, and is probably part of the justification for U.S. support of Adoula over Tshombe in the Congo and Souvanna Phouma over Phoumi Novasan in Laos.

At any rate this policy is likely to backfire, since the democratic socialist regime trying to institute economic planning through a divided parliament will be more likely to create confusion than growth.

In addition to the inherent problems of social planning by a legislature, underdeveloped nations are faced with the need to attract foreign capital if they are to develop, and leftist governments, with their talk of nationalization, do not look very attractive to corporations seeking to invest.

The solution to Latin America's difficulties is not as simple as merely acting contrarily to the established policies of Kennedy's Worldwide Patronage and Political Power Expansion program. There is no overnight course which the Latin Americans might follow to alleviate their economic ailments. Depending respectively on whether the Alliance is, or is not, extended, the Latin countries will become poorer, or remain poor, for some time.

For a people to become more wealthy is a function of production, for which it is necessary to have land and natural resources, human energy and tools. South America lacks only tools, which are always purchased through accrued capital. The fundamental problem, for the moment, is the attraction of capital investment, presumably from foreign sources, but this requires an attractive business and political climate not to be found today in Latin America. British Guiana, for instance, is now in the midst of problems of economic stagnation, emigration and pessimism caused by its new left-wing government of Dr. Cheddi Jagan (who is a Marx-

ist). Sugar production is falling, trained professional people are leaving the country, and rioting has crippled business.

In the past, U.S. private investment has been a mainstay in Latin American economic growth. About \$9 billion in U.S. capital has been invested thus far — that's \$9 billion in *tools* of production. But such investment fell to a discouraging minimum last year, only \$90 million (compared to \$540 million as recently as 1959).⁵ The Latins themselves recognize the risk of investing locally, having invested an estimated \$6 billion of their own in Europe and the United States as a hedge against political upheaval and inflation.

It is most important, then, that the political trends of South and Central America be reversed as quickly as possible. The governments will have to be persuaded to provide a reasonable atmosphere for the investment of capital: minimal taxes, sanctity of private property, descending tariff walls, balanced governmental budgets to maintain price and wage stability, reduction in size of governments — in short, all of the unpleasant medicine prescribed by conservatives for patients stricken with the desire to become wealthy without hard work.

It should be noted in closing that probably all of the nonsensical economic advice about prosperity through tariffs, inflation, taxation or increased consumption flows to the backward nations from the advanced ones. There are able economic theorists in Latin America, but they get no support from these parts. Two thousand copies of Henry Hazlitt's *Economics in One Lesson*, given and recommended to Latin American leaders, would doubtless do more good than a \$20 billion Alliance for Progress, at, let's see, one twenty-millionth of the cost.

¹ *The Situation in Argentina*, Dec. 29, 1958.

² *Freeman*, December, 1961, pp. 33-38.

³ *Newsweek*, June 11, 1961, p. 55.

⁴ *National Review*, May 22, 1962, p. 352.

⁵ *Time*, March 16, 1962, p. 33.

Happy-Happy Hooligans

JOHN CARAVAN

Excerpts from a letter mailed by a young lady to her parents from Helsinki, where she attended the Eighth World Youth Festival:

"Yesterday, Sunday — was the opening march of all the delegations into the stadium. We marched over a mile down a street lined with festival and delegation flags. The Finnish people lined the streets in crowds to see and cheer us. From the infants on their fathers' shoulders to the old men and women — everyone waved and shouted 'Peace and Friendship' and we returned their greeting. . .

"It was an unbelievable sight . . . Each delegation was more exciting than the last. They marched in — in costumes—flags and banners waving high. Some sang, some danced.

"Afterwards, about 20,000 people met in the streets, dancing, singing, chanting, clasping hands and exchanging pins and greetings. The spirit and friendliness and excitement of the evening is just indescribable.

"We . . . met the Cubans outside at the end of the show. They are the happiest, most spirited and friendly people I have ever met. They kept showering us with pins, postcards, handshakes, embraces, etc.

"There were representatives from every country. It was wonderful. People are so beautiful — so very beautiful — I don't mean in looks, but in feelings and ideas. . . ."

Perhaps — let us suppose the reader has encountered no data in conflict with the above letter, i.e., has heard nothing of World Youth Festivals, read no press accounts of this one, and is not disposed to worry about how it was financed—perhaps it would be possible to believe such an otherworldly description of the event. The skeptic would

Our correspondent relates some of the highlights of the World Youth Festival

regard it as Hegelian surrealism, designed to promote the belief of those whose ideological obsessions admit the Millennium on no other terms: everyone, regardless of race, creed, color, national origin or politics, weaving daisy-chains. Even the skeptic would get the impression that, by his disbelief, he was about to be bowled over by the wave of the future.

As it happens, the Festival was a Communist propaganda exercise (although not particularly festive). It will be recalled that the U.S. and world press covered an aspect the young lady somehow overlooked, namely, the anti-Communist resistance generated among the Finns.

Not only did Finnish youth groups refuse to participate, they did everything in their power to undercut the Festival, and that proved to be a great deal. They chartered the local bus fleets, forcing the Reds to supply their own. They reserved all available hotel space so that Communist delegations had to be housed aboard the ships that brought them. And day after day they demonstrated in protest, by the thousands. Occasionally their behavior was not good: they lobbed a few rocks at buses and smoked out a few delegations with stink bombs and resisted police efforts with truncheons and tear gas to break them up. ("Such hooliganism," commented the Communist Worker, "was inspired mainly by American and West German 'tourists' who set up a table outside and gave whiskey to passersby who said they were opposed to the festival.")

It was not Finnish youth alone protesting. The Finnish government objected a year in advance, noting that delegates would not be either officially or privately welcomed, and it refused to provide facilities until

pressured by Russian threats against Finnish independence.

The commissars in charge suffered more indignities before the show terminated. As the propagandistic nature of the gathering became obvious, a number of delegations—notably from the Afro-Asian bloc—left in a huff. A couple of YAF members infiltrated with a mimeograph. Sixteen East Germans defected. An East German girl had to be forcibly restrained from defecting to join her fiancé. All in all, it was pretty negative.

Let us now put the young lady's letter back into context. It appeared—where else—in the *Worker*, a paper the journalistic objectivity of which must at all times yield to Party discipline. We conclude that the letter was in the best interests of the Communist Party. It does not matter whether the girl herself was fabricated, or whether, if not, she meant to deceive: the Line was correct.

It must be observed that a Line difficult to believe is bad propaganda—unless the factual situation is so disastrous that the big lie must be employed to charm minds which assume "the truth lies somewhere in between." Forced to doubt the truth of contradictory reports, such minds are susceptible to the Image which lingers long after the facts are forgotten: happy-happy Helsinki. And the facts emerging from the festival most assuredly were this bad for the Communists. (And what non-believer could miss what escaped the Agitprop Image-makers: that all the lockstep and sloganeering and militant World-building added up to a perfect sub-image: fascism?)

There is no cause to surmise that the American delegation to Helsinki was unaware of the Communist sponsorship of the Festival or the implications of the Line. It numbered about 450 from 23 states and 83 universities, and was a third anti-Communist. The largest numbers were supplied by Harvard, Columbia, U. of Chicago, U. of California (Berkeley), Antioch, CCNY and the University of Wisconsin.

The Price of Freedom

GENE CHAVKIN

"So long as the wicked have power, it is not much assuring them that you do not hate them, since they will attribute your words to the wrong motives. And you cannot deprive them of power by non-resistance." Surprisingly, the author of these remarks is the *eminence grise* of the Ban-the-Bomb movement, Bertrand Russell. Lord Russell's excellent sense of little over a decade ago is in sharp contrast to his present decadence. If he had the will to throw off the shackles of what Salvador de Madariaga calls "leftist snobbism," i.e., the egoism of the Left in imagining that on its shoulders alone lies the salvation of the world, and return to his former clear-headedness, England would have a leader to define a fitting strategy against Communism.

When Lord Russell refers to "the wrong motives," obviously he means the wicked would assume any sign of good will as a concession to their superior strength. What inevitably follows are repeated demands by the "stronger" for endless concessions by the "weaker." From this it is proper to conclude that "comradeliness" and accommodation are both futile and dangerous when dealing with, for example, the Soviets or Red Chinese, who are wicked even by Russell's current standards. The Ban-the-Bomb marchers would become, in effect, not communists, but communisants, those who intentionally or unintentionally, for whatever "honorable" motives, aid the Reds.

If non-resistance is useless, unless we accept resignation, the logical course to follow, when possible, is armed resistance.

What has led Lord Russell to his muddle-headedness is an overarching presentment of a cremated world. He is compelled to stick in

his hand to plug up the dike. The ultimate standard for foreign policy, he feels, is the avoidance at all costs of nuclear war. In the case of an imminent and unavoidable clash between the super-powers, he would "prefer concession to warfare." But Russell has the rationale backwards. *Qui desiderat pacem, praeparet bellum* — who wishes for peace, let him make ready for war.

If men will not struggle against despots to salvage their freedom, the outcome is a foregone conclusion. The despot, working on the assumption that he is rational, must be given to understand that his victory will be a Pyrrhic victory. Even Hitler might not have gone to war had he been made "aware" of the consequences beforehand. And would Russell agree to allow Hitler, were Hitler in possession of atomic weapons, to subjugate any part of the world on the premise that he would not cremate the world, merely some Jews and political prisoners? In other words, is the meaning of life to be found in the selfish personal desire to stay alive, which masquerades as the necessity to sacrifice a few to save the many, and in the end loses all nonetheless?

"Whenever power," says Robert Strausz-Hupé, "is removed from the context of legitimate authority—authority which people accept as divinely ordained or stemming from a freely-entered contract—it cannot effect social change. It cannot build. It cannot secure its foundation. It can only destroy and it must destroy itself." The result of the disintegration of the values that cement a society is likely to be tyranny because coercion will be necessary to restore order.

Historically, for the reasons Strausz-Hupé expresses, tyranny has been short-lived, but the twentieth century advance in technology has made possible the engineering

... is armed resistance,
Lord Russell Notwithstanding

of an ersatz "consent" which has been a serviceable substitute for the genuine. The present tyranny fashioned in Russia is a far cry from the inefficient and quixotic autocracy of Imperial Russia. Sripati Chandra-Sekhar, an Indian demographer who visited Red China, observes that "under Communism not only are the bodies of dissenting persons imprisoned (or liquidated), but what is truly terrifying is that their minds too are imprisoned, drugged, and debased into a pathetic, colorless conformity."

Furthermore, even were it agreed that Soviet Communism, for example, is less rigid in internal affairs than is Chinese Communism, these are merely machinations within Communism. A country which continues to disallow opposition political parties, free elections, a critical press and free speech, has as much relation to democracy as witchcraft has to modern medicine. As long as the elaborate apparatus for the maintenance of centralized power remains, what passes for freedom is a mirage of the real thing.

In his Reith Lectures, Lord Russell pointed out that one of the ills of the modern age is that man has forfeited the delights of the moment in a constant preoccupation with the "next thing." But, by stretching this characterization, it can be seen as akin to the way Lord Russell looks at the cold war. While it cannot be denied that the moment is too terrible to take delight in, his demand for the "next thing," i.e., for actions to be taken, and a consequent despair at "inaction" becomes a first step to abject surrender. In demanding a more certain future, Lord Russell and his camp-followers, by their overriding anxiety, make one: a future, in Sidney Hook's horrifying phrase, "without the possibility of anonymity" from the Communist overseers.

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Victory Without Warfare

JAMES M. O'CONNELL

The road toward victory over
Communism is the road away from
a statist economy

War — man's inhumanity to man — is something we have always had with us; as a result, we have always been deluged with plans for "a permanent peace". The appearance of atomic weapons has not changed the situation; it has only stepped up the tempo of the discussion. But the glare of the atomic explosion has not served to illumine; if anything, it has served to blind those concerned with peace. Some pacifists favor direct action — they squat in public roads, climb on submarines and, in general, discredit the ideal of peace by making nuisances of themselves. Others lose themselves in the idea of "accomodation" with Russia. Such people cloak their poverty of ideas in the ponderous rhetoric of the bureaucrat; their discussions — the notorious *Liberal Papers* are horrible examples — demonstrate a sophisticated naïveté rather than solid thinking.

But it is useless to speak of peace without some knowledge of the causes of war. And, because the long-run aims of the libertarian are incompatible with war, such a discussion is necessary. Sloganeering, no matter how patriotic, cannot shed any light on the question. War is the product of a *Weltanschauung* — a world-view — which holds that the mystical superiority of a nation, a class, a religion, or a social system enjoins upon those who hold to this world-view the duty of spreading it to other nations.

The differing world-views of Christianity and Islam led to the Crusades; the internal quarrels of Christianity led to the Thirty Years' War in Europe; the battle between England and France stemmed from their own differences over their mercantilist philosophies and their economic and military needs for

overseas colonies. The rise of classical liberalism, with its insistence on religious liberty and free trade, changed this. Under a system of *laissez-faire* and free trade, a nation need not be concerned about the size of its territories or its surplus or shortages of certain goods. The material improvement of a people is achieved peaceably, through a system of division of labor. To many observers in the nineteenth century, it seemed that the total wars of pre-capitalistic Europe were over, and that war could not only be humanized, but abolished.

Unfortunately, such was not the case. Before the ideas of the classical liberals could take hold, they were overwhelmed by a new nationalism, a nationalism which found its aggressive roots in the ideology of the new statism — the various brands of socialism, whether the revolutionary socialism of Marx or the reactionary socialism of Bismark — which were beginning to infest Europe. In these statist systems, the situation changes. The state is now deeply concerned about its territorial area, its *Lebensraum*, and its surpluses and shortages of goods. It is only too ready to cast a covetous eye on the territory of a neighbor. As a result, the limited war of the early nineteenth century was forgotten; once again, we had a national struggle of a whole people in arms for the sake of an ideology.

Functions of the State

The majority of men prefer peaceful cooperation as a means to improving their well-being; this cooperation, under the division of labor system, allows the majority of men to achieve their values and goals without interfering with the aspirations of their neighbors. This

idea, the much abused "greatest good for the greatest number" principle led, for the few short years that it was influential, to a rising standard of living, freedom, and opportunity. If this goal is to be achieved, then the system of division of labor and free exchange, the market, must be expanded and the system of coercion and force, the state, must be diminished. The emergence of an international division of labor system requires the abolition of war.

Under a system of a free market economy, the state, the social apparatus of coercion, is reduced to a point where its function is to protect the market economy and the smooth functioning of exchanges from the onslaughts of criminals. But, while the state is a necessary thing, it is not an omnipotent one; it cannot remove a scarcity of factors of production, it cannot make people more prosperous, it cannot raise the productivity of labor. This is the business of the capitalists, entrepreneurs and technical men working freely under a profit system. The state is limited to restraining unscrupulous individuals from employing coercion against others, either by force or by fraud.

The philosophy of classical liberalism, as expounded by Mill, Bentham and Bastiat, had not completed its task of removing trade barriers and ending government intervention when it was supplanted by the spurious theology of the divine state. Humanitarians and reformers, dismayed at the slow progress of classical liberalism in ending the inequities of the pre-capitalistic era, turned once again to government to improve the lot of small farmers and wage earners. As a result, the countries involved divorced

their systems from the market system then growing in the world and retreated to economic nationalism. This economic nationalism, the direct product of interventionism, led to suspicions, tariff barriers, armament races and war — a total war.

Communism must expand . . .

Such were the ideologies that influenced the leaders of Germany, Italy and Japan; such are the ideologies that influence the leaders of Russia, and even more markedly, Communist China. Interventionism generates economic nationalism which generates, in turn, belligerency. Red China, faced with food crises, an exploding population and a lack of industry, finds that it must, like the Red Queen in *Through the Looking Glass*, keep expanding if it is to hold its position; it must keep running to stay in the same place. Thus it expanded into Tibet, Korea and Viet Nam; it threatens expansion into India; indeed, despite the claim that communism is an international order and that there are no differences between communist states, the Chinese are eyeing the sparsely populated eastern lands of Russia.

But what does this imply with respect to the pacifist argument? For one thing, it shows that the idea of unilateral disarmament is futile; the aggressive actions of Russia and China do not spring from a fear of the United States and its allies but from necessity. These countries, just like Germany, Italy and Japan, must expand their rule if they desire to live. China cannot feed its millions under a commune system; it needs more land, more grain, more industry. Russia must continue to expand its industrial system if it is to support its armaments and provide better living standards for the people. The lack of capital in Russia requires that this expansion be brought about by a systematic looting of the captive nations.

The weakness of the disarmament idea is seen to lie in its assumptions. The pacifist looks on the world as an idealized television western,

where the unarmed man is, even as far as the villain is concerned, safe; he is protected by "the code of the West". But the harsh light of reality would indicate that Russia acts in the manner of a city mugger; the unarmed man becomes fair game. It is folly to expect peace when one nation insists on retaining its arms; it is even more foolish to expect disarmament to occur when the worldview of that nation insists on its need for continued aggressive expansion.

Nor should we be deluded into buying peace. Foreign aid to the so-called neutral nations, programs of technical assistance and encouragement will not prevent this spread of communism; such aid does not instill a friendship toward capitalism, but an envy of it. The "have-not" nation is more likely to join the communists in pouring invective upon capitalism, purely for reasons of envy. This fact also would suggest that the idea of world peace through world federalism is also foolish. We cannot expect peace when we realize that the U.N., like its predecessor, the League of Nations, lacks the spirit of classical liberalism. Both were conventions of governments imbued with the spirit of economic nationalism; they could not condemn aggression without condemning their own policies. The fear of

imports and the spectre of an unfavorable balance of trade continues to haunt the U.N.; this, plus the demands of the new "nations" of Africa, may bring it to total impotence.

. . . or die

What have we left? It seems that if we desire peace, we must uproot the cause of war; we must seek, not a victory over communism alone, but a victory over statism. This victory, though the point has been made by some that it involves "preventive war", does not require the use of arms. It depends instead on the character of the statist economy. As long as the United States can deter further Russian expansion, the Russian state must be forced to turn in, upon itself, for material goods. It is forced, in a way, either to live off itself or turn to the capitalistic methods of the West, which can only work in an atmosphere of freedom. The Russians suffer a larger relative drain on their economy for military purposes; as a result, the United States, under a program of strict economy elsewhere, could last out the Russians. Distasteful as it may seem, the policies of containment and reversal become necessary for survival.

But one thing must be remembered. A victory over communism, even if it is achieved by the atrophy of the communist system, will be meaningless if it gives way to another form of statism in America. The ideology of the all-encompassing state, the generator of war, must also go. As Doctor Ludwig von Mises puts it: "Modern civilization is a product of the philosophy of *laissez-faire*. It cannot be preserved under the ideology of government omnipotence." Thus, the final irony. The right-wing individualists who oppose the inanities of the pseudo-pacifists tend, in the long run, to become hard headed pacifists, while those who oppose war without understanding its causes only feed its flames.



With Cooler Days . . .

TIMOTHY WHEELER

The summer passes slowly in politics. The imperatives of ruling become less intense, then sporadic, then hushed so that even the occasional disturbance, the rattle, somewhere, of a machine-gun, fails to arouse the disengaged combatants from their sonambulence. With cooler days, there will be time enough to resume the conflict.

Quietness was the mark of the United Nations this summer. But in the recesses of the headquarters a few lamps burned and a few cadres worked and reworked the operations plan to wage war, come autumn, against secessionist Katanga. Not even the August sun searing the concrete and glass of New York City could dispel the urgency of their preparations. Twice the Peace Forces of the UN had moved against the Katangese, and twice they had been conspicuously rebuffed: this time there would be no failure.

It was not solely the military humiliation inflicted on the UN forces by Moïse Tshombe's gendarmerie which fueled the planners' urgency. Tshombe's demand for self-determination for Katanga was insolently contrary to the wishes of virtually all UN member-nations — it would therefore be intolerable to let him have his way. Tshombe had, moreover, maintained peace and order in Katanga, at least so the world believed, while unrest had consumed the Congo in flames; but maintaining order is the presumptive function of the UN, and if it appears that the function can be fulfilled otherwise, the UN mission, and consequently its results, would be gravely damaged: therefore, the semblance of lawful and productive

The United Nations makes new war preparations against secessionist Katanga

management in Katanga must be crushed, and forgotten.

There occurs now and then in the course of the conflict an episodic moment, when the shadowed forces in play will, however briefly, be illuminated starkly, and unable to deceive. When, for all that our passions blind us on other days, we will be made to see the nature of those forces, and to understand them.

Of such significance is the continuing struggle in the Congo. For in the equatorial watershed of the Congo River, rich in natural wealth and an object of contest between the competing world-views, the continuum is warped: slavery is freedom and chaos is order and war is peace. If only when the "Blue Helmets" of the UN turn their rifles and rockets once more upon the Katangese citizenry, we will yet understand that the UN does not, as we had been led to believe, respect the right of self-rule, but that it seeks ultimately only the extension of its own power. We will yet understand that there is no value cherished by the civilized world too sacred for the UN to sneer at, not even the peace.

It is largely through our failure properly to assess the September and December, 1961, military actions against Katanga that we permit the farcical drama in the Congo to continue. These actions remain for the most part unsettled and unexamined. In ignorance of them we have not the resolve to correct them or prevent their recurrence. Let us make no mistake about it, the United States assuredly commands the power to halt the impending UN war if and when it is prepared to assert its neglected interests. If it cannot, through an appeal for the extension of freedom, persuade the UN to desist, it can veto; and if it

will not veto, it can, with the mere threat of withdrawing its massive financial support of the UN, bring an early end to the matter. We lack not means, but facts.

But facts—not infrequently gruesome facts—are available. I think specifically of the newly-released *Who Killed The Congo?*¹ by a young lady who is already, in her early twenties, well read and traveled, a concert pianist (she played at Congolese Independence ceremonies) and a veteran journalist — Phillippa Schuyler. Miss Schuyler recorded an incredible profusion of details concerning the historical and ethnic, primarily tribal, background of the Congolese as well as an equally detailed survey of their contemporary politics. I think too of "The Hammarskjöld Forums", a summary of the "legal aspects of the United Nations action in the Congo" prepared by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York; "The Congo Crisis and the Need for Conciliation", an impressive speech delivered by Senator Thomas Dodd in the Senate on August 3; "The War in Katanga" by Professor Ernest Van Den Haag [reviewed in these pages in the Summer, 1962, issue]; "Congo-Katanga Quest", a concise and highly informative report by three American students, M. Donald Cardwell of Boston College Law School, Joseph Freeman and Samuel Garrison, both of the University of Virginia [all three representing organizations which, having had addresses by Moïse Tshombe scheduled before he was denied a visa into the U.S. last spring, resolved to send their representatives to him; I had the pleasure of interviewing Messrs. Cardwell and Freeman in New York's Overseas Press Club upon their return from Africa in July]; and finally "46 Angry Men", an itemization of UN atrocities in the Katanga warfare published by the medical corps of Elisabethville. I quote at length from the last-mentioned:

"It is inconceivable that United

1. Devon Adair, New York, 1962.

Tim Wheeler studied at the University of Wisconsin, and is a former managing editor of INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK. He is now on the staff of National Review.

Nations troops could commit atrocities against civilians.”—spokesman for U Thant, Dec. 14, 1961.

“Belgium, faithful to a long tradition of international co-operation, has not lacked in supporting the United Nations Organization of which it has always been an active, loyal and devoted member and within which it has never ceased to promote conciliation and collaboration of peoples in the high interest of peace.

“Just after the painful events of July, 1960, it unreservedly approved the intervention of the armed forces of the U.N.O. in the Congo as this seemed to be the only means of re-establishing the dangerously troubled order. . . . The action of these armed forces was, at first, useful and meritorious.

“Objectivity demands that we be grateful for this.

“But the same desire for objectivity obliges us to note that the U.N.O. leaders later thought it necessary to engage in veritable war operations in Katanga, a decision which can be justified neither in law nor fact and of which M. Spaak, Belgian Foreign Minister, was able to say that it had been in certain respects carried out under conditions that were truly inhuman.

“In the course of these operations, huge industrial riches and sources of supply were destroyed. Numerous lives were sacrificed among the civilian population, black and white. According to reliable witnesses, acts of looting, murders and common law crimes were committed by soldiers or by agents dependent upon U.N.O. . . .

“World public opinion must not desist in demanding full illumination.” — Paul Struye, President of the Belgian Senate.

“To the President of the Central Committee of the International Red Cross, Geneva, Switzerland:

“Dear Mr. President,

“The forty-six civilian doctors of Elisabethville, whose names you will find in the annexed list, have the honour to lodge a complaint against the United Nations Organi-

zation . . . for grave and repeated violations of the International Conventions of the Red Cross in Geneva, (August 12, 1949).

“Here is a partial list of the violations ascertained:

“1) Murder and assassination of unarmed civilians [names supplied] As you will see from our documents, this list includes not one single soldier, nor a single civilian killed by mortar of uncertain origin or stray bullets, or whose doubtful case is not sufficiently proven by conclusive evidence.

“2) Injuries to the integral parts of the body. . . .

“3) Rape.

“4) Arbitrary arrests with or without brutality.

“5) Unmotivated machine-gunning of civilian houses.

“6) Taking of hostages.

“7) Faking or camouflaging equivalent to false testimonies.

“8) Multiple thefts and looting from jewels and wrist-watches onwards up to cars, vans and trucks.

“9) Bombing of the ‘Prince Leopold’ Hospital in Elisabethville, of the ‘Reine Elisabeth’ Hospital in Elisabethville, of the Shinkolobwe Hospital. Bombing without warning and without delay for evacuation of the hospital and of the missionary buildings of Lubumbashi (in fight zone).

“10) Utilization of the Hospital of the United Nations in Elisabethville for military purposes.

“11) Occupation, for military purposes, of the hospital of the B.C.K. and the University Clinic in Elisabethville.

“12) Murder, wounding, arrests of hospital orderlies of the Red Cross; destruction and damage of civilian ambulances.

“13) Aerial destruction of several non-military buildings and very great share of responsibilities in the destruction by mortars of several civilian or private buildings (houses, schools, social homes, churches, temples, missions, post-offices, offices, factories, fuel tanks, civilian railway material, road transport material, trucks, cars, etc.).

“14) Detention in concentration camps of 30,000 to 40,000 Balubas, in living and hygienic conditions bordering on genocide (2,000 probable deaths in less than a half year!).

“Before ending this distressing but necessary letter, we take the liberty of clarifying the following points:

“1. We have nothing against the United Nations Organization as such. We proclaim that such an organization is necessary for maintaining peace in the world and fair betterment of the underdeveloped nations. But it is our duty to denounce the violations of the spirit of the fundamental Charter of the United Nations and the abuses to which they have led. They have, in effect, brought the U.N.O., a peace organization, to wage war and bring ruin to a country where peace, order and racial understanding had been maintained.

“2. It is not as active partisans of an independent Katanga that the civilian doctors of Elisabethville have thought it their duty to warn the world conscience, but strictly as citizens of the world, besides being bound by the Hippocratic oath which compels them to fight against death wherever it may come from. . . .

“We are enclosing with our complaint a detailed record of . . . some of the established violations. . . .

“We remain, dear Mr. President, Yours Respectfully,

“On behalf of the 46 civilian doctors of Elisabethville whose names appear on the list hereafter: the dean of the medical corps, Dr. Roger Van Grunderbeek.”

Of the many pages of evidence “concerning some of the violations of the conventions of Geneva by the U.N.O.” supplied by the doctors, I reproduce four cases:

1. (December 5, 1961.) Shortly after midday, the truck of the ‘Prina’ company returns to Elisabethville from its Lukuni yards. On board the truck are Mr. Ermanno Prina (22-year-old Italian) and Gianni Mino, his cousin (21-year-old Italian),

their driver and eight workmen of Katangese or Northern Rhodesian origin. The truck is followed by a black car in which are seated two unarmed European civilians, Mr. Charles Kreins (40-year-old Belgian) and Mr. Georges Henrioul (37-year-old Belgian) who have arrived . . . on business. The two vehicles are within 200 meters of the terminus of the Avenue Redjaf when suddenly . . . without taking the slightest consideration of the fact that these vehicles are transporting unarmed civilians, some Indian soldiers [of the UN] open fire on them, bursting their tires. The occupants jump from the truck and from the car to seek shelter in the ditch adjacent . . . Panic-stricken, Mr. Mino, the driver and a workman flee into the bush where they are shot in the back. Their bodies are not found until January 15, 1962, in a nearby mass-grave. That of Mr. Mino had a bullet wound in the left buttock and three bullet wounds in the thighs, which entered from behind, and one of which perforated the left femoral artery. He was therefore shot in the back while fleeing.

Mr. Prina and the seven other workmen crawl as far as the conduits situated opposite. . . . After a quarter of an hour, Mr. Prina, confident in his status of unarmed civilian, decides to leave his shelter, raises both his arms. The Indians immediately shoot him down with a bullet which shatters his left arm. He is finished off by a bullet in his right lung.

Mr. Kreins and Mr. Henrioul, as well as Mr. Gregoire Sunga, are killed while in the ditch; the first one has his face smashed by a burst of fire, the second one is hit by two bullets which pass diagonally through both his lungs and also perforate his heart.

Mr. Smeding, Dutch hospital orderly, who was in turn to be assassinated by the U.N.O. on December 13 [see below], testified having found them lying on their face, their arms folded in front of their head, as though to protect

themselves from the firing aimed at them. Mr. Prina was lying on his back, both his arms still raised. . . .

The Indian mercenaries then advanced and from a short distance machine-gunned the workmen hidden in the conduit, killing six of them (Messrs. Kabutano, Lubunda, Kiambo, Samakayi, Nasone and Bwalu) and grievously wounding the seventh . . . who, shamming death and half suffocated by the bodies of his companions, only came out the next morning. . . .

2. (December 10, 1961.) At about 2:00 p.m., Father Alexandre Ferdinando Gagna (known as Father Michel) goes to the Saint-Paul's convent to collect the Holy Sacrament. His vehicle is discovered later on, completely burnt out with his charred body inside. . . . It had been "bazookaed" by a Swedish armored car. The ciborium with the Holy Species was found next to the Father's remains [photo].

3. (December 12, 1961.) Mr. Henri Coureaux (Belgian, 49, professor at Elisabethville University) leaves the rectoral office . . . accompanied by Mr. Jean-Jacques Vermier (Belgian, 43, official at the medical laboratory); they climb into the University Landrover to return [with provisions] to the house they inhabit together in the Uvira quarter. This quarter is cut off from the rest of town, the families who live there have not been able to obtain the U.N.O. authorization to evacuate; provisioning is impossible; water and electricity are cut; there are many children. . . . Mr. Lippert (Belgian, 34) who also wants to obtain provisions for people in the Uvira quarter, forms a caravan with them by following in his car.

They come out at Camp Simonet, penetrate the path which zigzags across a jungle of termite hills, bushes and very high grasses, and find themselves suddenly face to face with an Ethiopian patrol. These make them stop; they descend, perhaps make some movement towards escape and are shot down and finished off.

The Ethiopian soldiers get rid of

the bodies by throwing them into the hole formed by an old quarry which has since become a lake. Since that time, it is the U.N.O. personnel who amble around in the two intact vehicles: they have been satisfied to blot out the indication "Université de l'Etat" by means of three black marks and to replace it by the inscription: "ONU".

The bodies of Messrs. Vermier and Lippert are [found] head to foot, that of Mr. Coureaux is at a sharp angle. They are clothed but their pockets are turned inside out; rings, marriage bands and watches have been stolen. Reaction of the Swedish soldiers: "This sordid theft shows that it was the Ethiopians who did the job." [!] Result: Three European civilians (including one protected by the Red Cross armband) shot down unarmed and robbed by Ethiopians. . . .

4. (December 13, 1961.) An ambulance of the Red Cross leaves the public building of the Red Cross at the "Reine Elisabeth" Clinic. Mr. Georges Olivet (Swiss, 34), delegate of the I.R.C., accompanied by Mrs. Nicole Vroonen (Belgian, 35), hospital orderly, and Mr. Sijtse Smeding (Dutch, 35), ambulance driver, go to the headquarters of the U.N.O. in order to get the authorization to pass by the Square Uvira to try to organize supplies or the evacuation of the families, many of whom with several children have been blocked for more than eight days. . . .

Having presumably received the pass, these three . . . go as far as . . . the junction of the avenue Redjaf and the boulevard Baudouin, [where] a bunch of Ethiopians stops them; Mr. Olivet gets down, talks with them and then gets back into the ambulance, together with two Ethiopians who place themselves in the vehicle behind the orderlies, threatening them with their weapons. The ambulance turns back, turns to the right up the path which leads directly to the Guest House of the Sabena.

Many testimonies agree on the

preceding events as well as on the fact that the area was completely abandoned by the Katangese forces.

[Having received permission from the Ethiopians to continue, they proceed] by the Kasapa detour . . . Suddenly, from the left and from in front, fire is opened on them, wounding the driver, Mr. Smeding, with two bullets in the left shoulder; the ambulance shows traces of a dozen bullet impacts.

The driver finds the force to turn to the right, into a large road leading to the former air terminus and to stop twenty meters further on. The ambulance people get down, the assailants probably realize the terrible error they have committed in firing on members of the Red Cross and through fear . . . decided to complete their crime by camouflaging it; from the right two bazooka rockets are fired on the ambulance . . . close together . . . [photo].

Mr. Smeding has the skull blown away; the horrible wound reaches as far as the nape of the neck and the top of the back; Mrs. Vroonen is riddled with a hundred-odd pieces of shrapnel [photo] with cutting burns in particular in the back, the abdomen, the base of the sternum, the thighs; and Mr. Olivet, wounded by forty-odd pieces of shrapnel, with cutting burns, in particular on the skull, the nape of the neck and at the thighs (each showing a very large wound) and on the left forearm as well as at the wrist, with an enormous wound blown into them. [The bodies were found] lying in a lateral ditch, covered with a thin layer of earth. [A search party sent after them was also assassinated.]

"Formal orders were given to the U.N.O. troops so that they would do everything possible to protect and safe-guard the life and proper-

ties of the civilian populations and I know that they have executed these orders so far as it is possible—Stop — In truth I have every reason to be proud of their discipline and their conduct." — Telegram from U Thant to M. Spaak.

Who has not lived close to such horrors cannot, one supposes, fully understand them, although a vicarious sense of the ugliness and obscenity is readily enough found in the above descriptions. U Thant's messages — politicking as vulgar as his vote-gathering attempts to remove the Hungarian question from the UN agenda — strike a bit closer to home. The kinder analysis is that he really is proud of his soldiers and their conduct. But we who are financing murder, the shelling of unarmed priests and Red Cross personnel, the bombing of hospitals: must we be proud too?

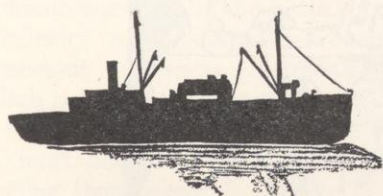
Perhaps there remains in the aftermath the resolve we have long needed to stop all this. Or perhaps we shall only be permitted to wonder, with what impunity the UN leaders prepare once again to shed innocent blood.

A world, we need not be reminded, which cleaves with all the sensitivity it can contrive to the cause of peace, overlooks and even applauds Acting Secretary General U Thant discussing with his underlings (all present keeping a straight face) ways and means of compelling Tshombe to commit an act of aggression. Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, once chief UN representative to Elisabethville, goes on BBC to conjure quite out of the whole cloth a political reality for Katanga amenable to his desire to see Tshombe crushed. Dr. Ralph Bunche, who once dismissed witnesses' affidavits describing the UN atrocities in the September and December actions against Katanga as "deliberately distorted", pleads the case for more — undistorted, one presumes — atrocities. Elsewhere President Kennedy thinks that, no, the UN should not wage war against Katanga, except as a last resort; what we should do rather is starve it into

submission; but in any case, the U.S. knows its duty to support the UN if it decides to resume hostilities.

Anything to ensure that the Katangese are denied the right of self-determination. Let us note, but disregard, the fearfully silly alibi, being cooked up to replace the long overworked tales of wicked mercenaries, that Tshombe will commit aggression — unless we are to assume that he has aggressive designs (territorial imperialism?) against the UN Peace Forces, which are, after all, supported by most of the world's power; and that the UN occupation of Katanga is not provocative; and that when the UN compels Tshombe to act, its retaliation will really be self-defense. All this is being seriously advanced by serious men. Let us note also, but disregard, the issue of mercenaries in the Katangese gendarmerie (originally dreamed up by Patrice Lumumba to establish his rule with the aid of UN intervention, and to drive all whites, and order, out of the Congo); all the mercenaries save those of the UN have left (a few whites enlisted in Tshombe's forces) and in any event, the issue had nothing whatever to do with the basic factors dividing Katanga and the Congo. Let us even disregard the much harsher facts that the UN mandate in the Congo forbade it to intervene in internal Congolese affairs, and that the practical reason for its intervention — the presence of Belgians — no longer exists, and that to this day it has not even attempted to justify its intervention in terms of its own Charter (it can't). We need only observe that the modulated voices issuing from the oak-paneled rooms, the voices of both the East and the West, are agreed that the stubborn flame of freedom in Katanga must be ground out, the sooner the better.

Of this much we may be certain: unless Tshombe surrenders, there will be more war. The matter has been decided, the troops assigned, and the spoils all but divided up. Additional comment is superfluous.



★ BOOK INSIGHT ★

Dewey's Legacy

In the opinion of Mr. Max Rafferty, modern education stinks. Not all of it, to be sure, but enough to cause him to do gladiatorial combat against a whole phalanx of modern educational absurdities, and knock them all senseless.

Suffer Little Children, however, is no mere jeremiad against the tinkering of lamebrained pedagogues. Instead, Dr. Rafferty's book is an expression of profound disgust over the role modern education has played in the disintegration of American civilization; an expression of horror over the ignorant, twisted, helpless, amoral spawn of America's glistening education factories.

It should be emphasized that Dr. Rafferty is no reactionary, automatically denouncing all innovation as the devil's work, but rather a critic with sufficient stature and vision to see that not all innovation results in progress, and some innovation does irreparable harm to the souls and spirit of America's children. When Dr. Rafferty denounces, he does so from the conviction that the new technique offends against the traditional superiority of the American character.

In a series of incisive and vivid chapters, Dr. Rafferty describes the process by which modern education isolates a child from his heritage, and drains him of his sense of values. At times, according to the author,

MAX RAFFERTY, *Suffer, Little Children*, DEVIN-ADAIR, \$3.

modern education draws a veil between the child and his heritage, so as to shield from his eyes the heights to which man can ascend when motivated by great ideals. And at times, modern education seems deliberately to condition the little wretch to the life of a malleable, socialized drone.

"Ulysses and Penelope have been replaced by Dick and Jane in the textbooks of our schools," says Dr. Rafferty. "The quest for the Golden Fleece has been crowded out by the visit of Tom and Susan to the zoo. The deeds of the heroes before Troy are now passé, and the peregrinations of the local milkman as he wends his way through the stodgy streets and littered alleys of Blah City are deemed worthy of numberless pages in our primers. The sterile, stone-age culture of the Pueblo Indians looms large in our curriculum, but the knightly Crusaders are ignored. Jackie pursues his insipid goal of a ride in the district garbage truck with the good old crotchety Mr. Jones while the deathless ride of Paul Revere goes unwept, unhonored and unsung. It is interesting, and certainly significant,

that modern education has deliberately debunked the hero to make room for the jerk."

Rarely has the dehumanization of America's children been described so pungently! At one point, Dr. Rafferty comes very close to saying that modern education deliberately mutes the ambitions and enthusiasms of youth in order that none may excel and so embarrass their inferiors. Even in spite of recent interest in the gifted child, there is a great deal of justice in the charge. As Dr. Rafferty points out, one need not look very hard to adduce evidence of the tremendous human wastage in our school system:

"The children are being ushered along a facile runway, paved ever so smoothly with construction units and field trips, socializations and sharings, assemblies and group dynamics. The priests who prod them forward are hot-eyed, with telltale patches of saliva in the corners of their mouths; they are devotees of the mediocre, which they worship under the sacred alias of Democratic Methods."

Likewise, Dr. Rafferty believes that modern education corrodes a child's sense of idealism and love of country by muting the acts of heroism performed in the service of the republic, and obscuring the slogans and ideals which once moved men to acts of greatness. Thus, not only does modern education rob a child of a sense of patriotic values, but it also robs American civilization of the chance to perpetuate itself and its traditions.

"Words that America has treasured as a rich legacy, that have sounded like trumpet calls above the clash of arms and the fury of debate, are fading from the classrooms and so from life itself. 'Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable . . . ' 'I only regret that I have but one life to give to my country . . . ' 'Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute . . . ' Search for these golden phrases in vain



today in the textbooks of too many of our schools . . .”

Thus, deprived of examples and deprived of values, the youngster is set to studying pap. Curriculums are disemboweled of most every course that cannot be justified under the dreary criteria of utilitarianism.

“Can it be,” asks Dr. Rafferty, “that our great goal is to teach our sons and daughters to twitch in convulsive tremors of adjustment to the ever shifting kaleidoscope of modern life? Can we justify the billions we spend if the results are to be found largely in the areas of finger painting, folk dancing, and the writing of business letters?”

Of course not! But that’s the way most pedagogues — and some parents — would have it. That’s the inevitable result of preaching for decades that pragmatic education should adjust children to their environment — i.e., that children should be taught to become passive and submissive dictator-fodder.

Unchallenged either by idealism or discipline, American children quite naturally come to regard their schooling as an exercise in tedium:

“Watch the abler ones grow dull and apathetic, bored and lackluster as they yawn and watch the clock over the stupid adventures of Muk-Muk the Eskimo Boy or Little Pedro from Argentina,” continues Dr. Rafferty. “Then, suddenly, as though opening an enchanted window upon a radiant pageant, give them the story of the wrath of Achilles . . .”

Dr. Rafferty’s descriptions of the debaucheries of modern pedagogy are graphic enough, but not nearly so graphic as his half contemptuous, half compassionate portrayal of the pathetic products of progressive education, who are now finding their way into the businesses and universities of America. They are much in evidence everywhere: on the delinquency rolls, in the drop-out statistics, in the divorce notices, and on the rosters of mental institutions. Even if they should be so lucky as to overmaster the worst of their educational lacks, and live a life of relative normalcy, they still cannot expect to compete seriously with people whose schooling was more efficacious. Their lack of self-discipline and their blasé attitudes doom them to lives of obscurity and mediocrity.

Dr. Rafferty discusses two of the manifestations of the new pedagogy — the Slob and the Conformist — with great acuity. He regards the Slob as the product of modern permissiveness and pampering.

“The Slob’s mental processes are so rudimentary as to be almost non-existent,” he says, “although a certain amount of animal cunning is sometimes to be found in his agile twisting and turning to avoid work and remain out of jail. The brain, however, is not so much deficient as unused. It has been short-circuited by a constant succession of appeals to the emotions. The Slob is ruled by his passions. He warms easily to rage. He burns with lust upon the slightest pretext. He shivers, occasionally, with clammy fear. He is adrenal rather than cerebral . . . He is, in short, the perfect

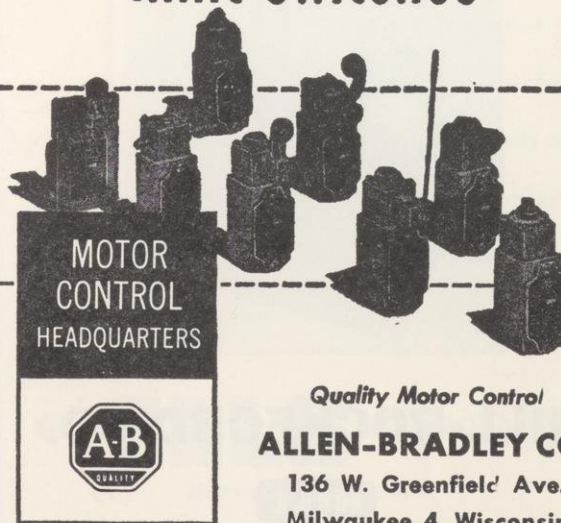
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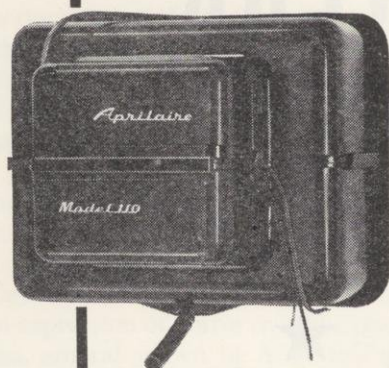


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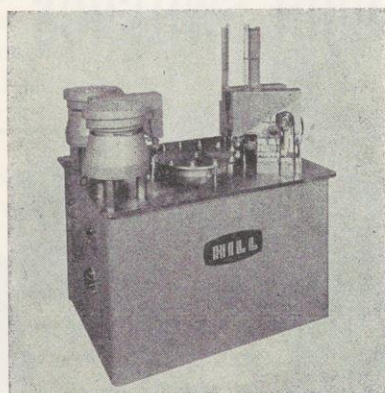
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antithesis of everything that Education stands for. The paradox lies in the fact that he is also the product of Education."

As for how the Slob got that way, Dr. Rafferty has his own remarkable insight:

"Is it possible," he asks, "that we have produced a group unamenable to discipline simply because we have never insisted upon their mastering anything which required discipline to overcome?"

Upon the Conformist, Dr. Rafferty heaps particular scorn, even though he realizes that the young peas in the pod got that way because of the efforts of misguided teachers and textbook writers.

"A beehive is a comfortable place," writes the good doctor. "It is warm and safe and stocked with delicious food. Its inhabitants are disciplined, cooperative, and seemingly happy. They labor unceasingly in highly specialized but relatively pleasant jobs for the good of the hive. In return, they are cared for by the welfare state, from the cradle to the grave, or rather from egg to bird's craw, to keep our parallels properly biological. They are perfectly adjusted to their environment. They are born, they eat, they reproduce, they die. It is difficult for the observer to detect any significant variations of conduct on the part of the individual bees."

A beehive society has been the true goal of most educators ever since they decided that individuality is an outmoded ideal. And the results of their labors in the vineyard are showing across the republic.

"The great dogma of Group Adaptation forms the cornerstone of twentieth-century educational theory," says Dr. Rafferty. "As laid down by the pragmatic philosophers who, paradoxically enough, professed to abhor all dogma, the only eternal verity is that of constant change and flux.

"All values are relative.

"All truths are mutable.

"All standards are variable.

"Therefore . . . it is the philosophy of the man on the roller coaster."

Dr. Rafferty is a discontented man, but not a discouraged one. For every evil in the cults of educationalism, he has his remedy. But nowhere is he more eloquent than while pleading to do away with conformity in the educational system:

"We can rediscover what seems to be a forgotten truth: that the men who made the earth move in new orbits, who have lifted humanity out of ruts and given it wings, have not adjusted to environment. They have adjusted environment to themselves. Impelled seemingly by some force outside themselves, these men, like novas in the summer heavens, burn themselves out in brief exuberance, but change the shape of constellations overnight. Let us not insist upon conformity."

Indeed, let us not.

R.S.W.

Capitalist Pig

... is an epithet, as everyone knows, invented by the socialists. While it does not, perhaps, exemplify the pinnacle of intellectual Marxmanship, it has at least an effective combination of sibilant and guttural which just *hangs* in damp cellar air, and can carry a country mile, properly hollered. That we had nearly forgotten the epithet you may put down to a decline in socialist enthusiasm. Recently, we ran across it unexpectedly in the apartment of a friend, who had scrawled it across the side of his piggy bank.

Much amused, we were put to reminiscing about the honorable estate of capitalist piggery. Having piously disavowed the Internal Conspiracy theory (capitalist pig = fascist = anti-communist = McCarthyite = anti-semitic = racist = war-monger = isolationist = neo-Nazi = witch-hunter = revanchist = obscurantist = anti-progressive = Bircher = McCarranite = rugged individualist = capitalist pig = ... one must be terribly careful with whom one associates these days), our discussion, being conservative in nature, (we don't have to tell you, faithful readers) was *con*-structive and *pro*-gressive and we think worthy of remarking.

After all [we observed] a piggy bank is a good symbol of *laissez-faire* economics, for expanding production is financed by the savings of individuals, voluntarily loaned. Capitalism is an economic system vastly and demonstrably superior to any radical competitor, and the only system, moreover, under which individual freedom and the dignity of the individual are possible. (Its merits, here a dogmatic assertion, will be explained in these pages frequently in future months.) On the other hand it takes a tremendous, unremitting ideological obsession to ignore or disbelieve the historical evidence that no experiment with socialist economics has ever succeeded. We freely predict, no socialist plan *will* ever succeed. The world has had quite enough of mysterious droughts and austerity programs and slave labor camps.

Capitalism is superior because it is simply *natural* economics, deriving its principles from changeless human nature and from the moral orientation for which the American Revolution was fought. Since all transactions in a capitalist framework are non-coercive, it embodies the Christian concept of a society of cooperation. Socialism, however, is a human invention, an *ersatz* system designed to remove apparent inequities from the human experience. It sanctions whatever transmutative surgery proves necessary to graft an unnatural millenaral vision onto human nature. The individual resists "temporary" tyranny, and the road to progress becomes heir to yet another corpse. The ends

of socialism are explicitly un-Christian, its means atrocious.

The utopian radicals have for centuries expended their energies in attempts, ranging from the genocidal murder of property owners and coining epithets to wishing like mad, to bring down capitalism. They haven't killed it because it can't be killed, as long as there remain two persons somewhere who eschew violent methods of gaining their daily bread; as long as there yet exists somewhere a "capitalist pig."

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HINDSIGHTS

The Honorable John Morris Cabot, U.S. ambassador to Poland, vehemently protested the Senate's recent curtailment of economic and military aid to nations whose governments are Communist or Marxist dominated. Cabot said, "there would be a drastic fall in temperature of our relations and (it is) highly probable that the Polish government will retaliate in one form or another." Retaliate? Like cutting off military aid to Cuba? Like stopping the shipment of tons of Communist propaganda to the U.S.? Like stopping economic aid to Communist China? Or does the Honorable John Morris Cabot mean REALLY retaliate? Like refusing to let American vice-presidents tour the country? Like refusing to make cultural exchanges? Or does the Honorable John Morris Cabot mean REALLY, REALLY retaliate? Like pay its UN dues?

A good deal of effort is spent every fall in an effort to indoctrinate new students in the protocols, mores and taboos of the University. There are Freshmen Weeks, Student Handbooks, Activities Jamborees, Fraternity and Sorority rushes, Convocations and so forth. New students are invariably told that the bronze "sifting and winnowing" tablet bolted to Bascom Hall is a true symbol of the University — is a piece of the true Liberal Cross. There is also, over in Bascom Woods, another symbol of the University: a dying tree leaning slightly to the left.

Mr. John Kenneth Galbraith, liberal economist and New Frontiersman, recently wrote a book in which he maintained that Americans are so affluent, so busy lavishing their boodle on sparkling geegaws, that taxation should be increased so that government can start spending more money on sensible public projects. Mr. Leon Keyserling, also a liberal economist, now proclaims that in 1960 two-fifths of U.S. citizens lived in deprivation, and so government programs should be initiated to relieve those in distress. Thus one liberal says we should expand government because we're too rich, while the other says we should expand government because we're too poor. For those of statist persuasion, it looks like any old excuse will do.



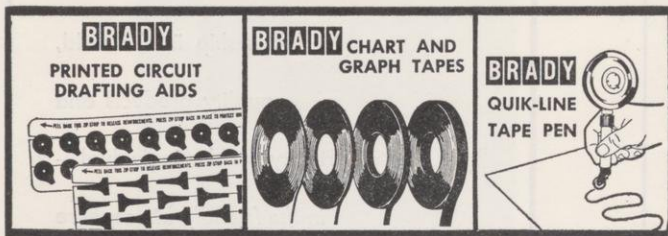
"MY TRUE SECURITY rests with the unbounded opportunity for advancement offered by the American competitive enterprise system. It rests with my capacity for accepting individual responsibility. It rests with my own ability, industry and determination."

From an Essay, "My True Security", written by Raymond L. Riccio when a student at Providence College in Rhode Island

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