



LIBRARIES

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

Insight and outlook: a conservative student journal. Volume VIII, Number 5 May-June, 1966

Madison, Wisconsin: [publisher not identified], May-June, 1966

<https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/QF5G2TEDCKMKK8I>

This material may be protected by copyright law (e.g., Title 17, US Code).

For information on re-use, see

<http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Copyright>

The libraries provide public access to a wide range of material, including online exhibits, digitized collections, archival finding aids, our catalog, online articles, and a growing range of materials in many media.

When possible, we provide rights information in catalog records, finding aids, and other metadata that accompanies collections or items. However, it is always the user's obligation to evaluate copyright and rights issues in light of their own use.

insight and outlook

in this issue . . .

Two Dimensions Past Left and Right

Dale Sievert

Strong As Its Weakest Link

Richard Wheeler

Some Notes on the Ethical Problems of the Draft

John Meyer



FOR INTEGRITY
MAKE YOUR SELECTION CAREFULLY

CASTINGS

GRAY IRON

STEEL

DUCTILE IRON

ALLOY

SHELL PROCESS

CASTINGS

POLITICS

JOB

*Grede Foundries is a good place
to work and buy.*

FOUNDRIES IN MILWAUKEE, WAUWATOSA, REEDSBURG, WAUKESHA, WIS.; ELKHART, IND.; IRON MOUNTAIN AND MARSHALL, MICH.

FOR CAREER OPPORTUNITIES IN . . .



- ACCOUNTING
- AGRI-BUSINESS
- ENGINEERING
- FOOD TECHNOLOGY
- MARKETING
- PERSONNEL
- PRODUCTION
- SALES
- THE SCIENCES

CONSIDER
OSCAR MAYER & CO.
MADISON, WISC.

CONTACT YOUR PLACEMENT OFFICE, OR CALL HAROLD POLZER AT OSCAR MAYER & CO.
244-1311 EXT. 219 • INTERVIEWS ON CAMPUS FOR POSITIONS ACROSS THE COUNTRY

insight and outlook

EDITOR: Jared Lobdell

MANAGING EDITOR: Richard Wright

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: David Keene
Kenneth Wright
Dale Sievert

CONTRIBUTORS: James Blair
Richard Wheeler
Timothy Wheeler

FACULTY ADVISORS: Edmund Zawacki
Jon Udell

Volume VIII Number 5
May-June, 1966

CONTENTS:

Aetius	4
The Old Custom	7
John Caravan	8
In Memoriam: Leslie K. Pollard	9
Robert Adams	
The Fourth Branch	10
Richard Wright	
Two Dimensions Past Left and Right	13
Dale Sievert	
Strong As Its Weakest Link	18
Richard Wheeler	
Ethical Problems of the Draft	20
John Meyer	

Insight and Outlook is published every other month by undergraduate and graduate students at the University of Wisconsin (Madison) under the sole authority of the Board of Control of Insight and Outlook.

Contributions are tax-deductible if checks are made out to the University of Wisconsin Foundation—Insight and Outlook.

Student subscriptions and subscriptions for 25 or more copies are \$1.50 per copy per annum. Other subscriptions are \$2.00.

Correspondence should be directed to the Editors, at 150 Langdon Street, Madison, Wisconsin.

This issue is dedicated to the late Captain Leslie Pollard, U. S. N. (Ret.), who tried to teach the editors of INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK, during its earliest years, that it was their responsibility not only to tear down the Liberal Establishment, but to build up something in its place. The first step, of course, is to find out what we are talking about when we talk politics, and accordingly, in the editor's opinion, the most important article this time is Mr. Dale Sievert's taxonomic inquiry into the nature of present-day political theory. We hope to see him carry the idea through in greater detail in the future, and what is more, we hope his three-dimensional analysis will make possible more exact understanding of what is going on.

Richard Wright's study of the process of administrative law, which has resulted *inter alia* in his piece on "The Fourth Branch," suggests that this is one field where Conservatives ought to be engaged in passing laws rather than repealing them — and suggests also that the law they ought to be most interested in passing is one that will provide for legislative review of administrative proceedings.

In the same vein, John Caravan proposes two new laws, the proposal of which we trust will produce some controversy. It is all part of the same endeavor to see what is happening under the surface of the political scene, and if what is happening seems wrong, to try to stop it. But in this case our columnist appears to think that what is happening is right, and (wonder of wonders) that the Supreme Court is right. Impeach John Caravan.

A little destructive criticism is not to be taken amiss, and Richard Wheeler attacks the long-range planning and short-range veracity of Mr. Secretary McNamara, with the battle-cry "Remember the Edsel." Following his article, John Meyer (a member of the Class of 1967 at Yale College) wonders about the ethics of the draft and of the draft-protesters, coming up with the conclusion that even if you don't like McNamara's War (and there's a good deal to be said for not liking it), you are still required to answer your "Greetings" letter in the affirmative, unless you can conscientiously object to all wars and not merely this one.

Mr. Meyer is a new contributor — our fifth in three issues. Robert Adams, being one of our founders, cannot claim the lesser honour, but he has not appeared in these pages for half a dozen years, and we are fortunate to have his appreciation of what Captain Pollard meant to INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK in the early days.

Finally, Aetius once again considers the subject of academic freedom, and decides that brick and mortar (and number of graduates) are, in the present scheme of things, more important than sifting and winnowing, if not here (yet) then certainly at another Big Ten school. In any case, the government will eventually pile up enough federally sponsored brick to stifle anyone who wants to winnow, and the problem will become strictly unacademic. So will the academy. And in "The Old Custom," I have looked at some of the results of what has already happened in American education, and what these results may mean to the propagation of Conservatism — assuming that "Conservatism" is what we want to propagate.

This brings us back to Mr. Sievert's inquiry into the names of things, and is a good place to end this introduction and begin the issue, which, as I have said, we have thought it not unfitting to dedicate to Leslie K. Pollard.

—J. C. L.

NO PLACE FOR ORIGINALITY

It all depends on where you sit. I was in East Lansing for a wedding not long ago, and listened to praises (qualified praises, it is true) for the President of Michigan State who has done, and is doing — so my informant said — a great deal to build up the University. He made a good case for it, and I had difficulty in remembering that this was the same President of Michigan State whom a conservative writer on the ills of the academy has criticized from pillar to post for the past dozen years, chiefly on account of his apparent resistance to academic freedom, but for other reasons as well.

It seems to me that both my informant and the conservative critic may be quite correct, though I am not saying they are, and in any case I have never really believed in the existence (in this country) of the thing called academic freedom. But, questions of fact aside, the two ideas of what a university is for, which are implicit in the praise and the criticism, ought to be examined.

If a university is for the purpose of turning out doctors, schoolteachers, lawyers — for the sake of brevity let us say professional men in general — then to praise a university for turning out more professional men each year makes sense, and to attack it for deficiencies in academic freedom is absurd. When one is learning facts, the question of freedom is irrelevant, unless (as I have noted in the past) one wishes to define as academic freedom the freedom to find out that what is being taught as fact is not fact. Though a useful, this is certainly not a widely accepted, definition. Nor is the thing itself at all common. Nor, reasonably speaking, can it be. The medical student who began his course of study by challenging the doctrine of the circulation of the blood would not only learn his medicine very slowly, he would be an intolerable nuisance as well.

If, on the other hand, the university exists in order to teach students how to think, rather than what to believe, the turning out of doctors and lawyers is irrelevant, and the question of aca-

demie freedom immediate and essential. The freedom to challenge what is taught becomes the keystone, and even the intolerable medical student would be of value — if not to himself perhaps, then to the other students certainly.

Whatever the virtues of these two ideas, it is clear that a publicly supported institution — publicly supported because the public gets a return for its support in the form of more doctors, more lawyers, more schoolteachers — has as its primary responsibility not teaching its students to think (though that might be a pleasant if unexpected benefit) but teaching them facts. Consequently, a professor who does not teach the received truth of the day is guilty of malfeasance until such time as what he teaches becomes the received truth. Furthermore, a student who denies the received truth (or, if you prefer, a student who declines to parrot back what has been parroted to him) deserves not commendation because he seeks to be original but censure because he is obstinate.

In a privately supported institution, to be sure, the case may be somewhat different. But surely we would not wish to create a privately educated intellectual aristocracy of those who have learned to think, along with a publicly educated intellectual proletariat of those who have only learned facts. Something will have to be done to put the two forms of education on the same level, and happily steps are being taken to pump federal funds into the private universities, which will eventually eliminate their private character, and end the danger of an intellectual aristocracy.

At which point also, the question of academic freedom will become entirely irrelevant, and we can all praise the President of Michigan State (and of every other university) for building up his institution. We will all be sitting in the same place, and that will be that.

Or is there conceivably a bit of question-begging somewhere in the argument?

— Aetius

We note that a Madison realtor, who happens also to be the Democratic Lieutenant Governor of the State of Wisconsin, is advertising his services to help investors "avoid payment of most, and in many cases, all Federal Income Taxes." (The advertisement is headed "Do You Pay Federal Income Taxes? WHY?") We wonder whether this is merely a business deal (which we suppose it is or whether the Democratic Party is coming around to our side: *we* don't approve of income taxes either.

In company with the rest of the nation, we deplore the shooting of James Meredith. We also, of course, deplore the hysterical reaction of the press service that reported him killed, and of the local newspaper that printed the story without checking it. It is our belief that Mr. Meredith (University of Mississippi '65, Columbia Law '68) has a right to walk along any public highway he pleases, in any one of our fifty states, and it is unfortunate in the extreme that there are those who disagree. Our only reservations concern the efficacy of protest marches in general, and a sneaking suspicion that they feed on themselves — a means becoming an end. But that does not prevent us, and should not prevent *anyone*, from condemning attempted murder.

We would like also to call attention to a statement by Mr. Charles Evers, Director of the N. A. A. C. P. in Mississippi, who has cautioned some of the recent marchers not to preach preference for the Negro over the white. Like him, we had been under the impression that the struggle was supposed to be for equality and not for Black Supremacy. Or have the racists been right all along?

In Pompano Beach, Florida, six-hour race riot started recently when a white shopkeeper slapped a ten-year-old Negro boy in his shop. Negroes complained of police brutality, and for all we know the complaint may be justified. But isn't there something brutal about a six-hour riot anyhow — and something a little

out of kilter when one starts because a man slapped a boy?

One week the *New York Times Magazine* runs an article by Thomas Szasz on the evils of psychiatric "justice" — the next week an article on Barry Goldwater complete with cover portrait. Another article attacks the decadence of London and traces it to the dissolution of the British Empire. Mind you, we don't think we're dreaming, but all the same we'd appreciate it if you'd go out on tiptoes, just in case, and leave us to contemplate America's newest Conservative weekly.

Milwaukee's newest Conservative monthly, RALLY, has now progressed to Volume I, Number 2. Professional courtesy compels mention of the magazine here, and candour requires us to say that, in our opinion, it's great to have around. If anyone is interested, the ad at the bottom of this page may be clipped and sent on.



Examining American manners and politics in the focus of the interests and enthusiasms of intelligent young people on the college campus and on the move in the business and professional world.

Please enter a subscription at the introductory rate for

- ☐ 1 year at \$5
☐ 2 years at \$9
☐ 3 years at \$12.50

- ☐ Bill me
☐ Payment enclosed*

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

*Entitles you to one extra issue for each year

RALLY
P.O. Box 7068
Wauwatosa, Wis. 53213

FREE ENTERPRISE and COMMUNITY GROWTH

You hear a lot of talk these days as to the merits or shortcomings of the American free enterprise system. At Badger Meter Manufacturing Company, our own experience has been this:

Free enterprise has enabled our company to grow and expand . . . create additional jobs in the Milwaukee community . . . bring millions of dollars of new business to Wisconsin . . . produce better products for our customers.

To our way of thinking, free enterprise is not a stand-pat philosophy. Rather, it signifies a constant striving for new ideas so we can meet competition in the open market.

These new concepts have included pioneer research in magnetic drive meters, Read-O-Matic outdoor registers, special industrial and food meters. With such ideas as a foundation, we believe we have made at least a small contribution to the growth of our community and our state.

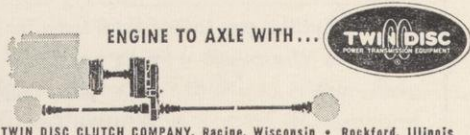
BADGER METER MFG. CO.

4545 WEST BROWN DEER ROAD, MILWAUKEE



Wherever earth is moved ...you'll find **TWIN DISC**

Wherever heavy construction equipment is working on highways, bridges, dams, or buildings, you can bet that Twin Disc torque converters, power-shift transmissions, and universal joints are on the scene too. With a full line of power transmission equipment and the engineers and service personnel to back them up, Twin Disc has been serving the construction industry throughout the world for a long time, helping to make construction more efficient and economical.



TWIN DISC CLUTCH COMPANY, Racine, Wisconsin • Rockford, Illinois

An equal opportunity employer . . . a fine place to work.

"To be turned from one's course by man's opinions, by blame, and by misrepresentation, shows a man unfit to hold an office."
... PLUTARCH

Rare indeed is the man who can hold steadfastly to his basic beliefs in the face of unreasonable opposition. This is as true today as it was nearly 19 centuries ago when the venerable Greek philosopher first discussed the virtues of determination.

Centralab.

ELECTRONICS DIVISION

GLOBE

BATTERY DIVISION

WECO

SPECIAL PRODUCTS DIVISION

Division of

GLOBE-UNION INC.
MILWAUKEE 1, WISCONSIN

A VERY LARGE SHARE OF PREACHING

Jared Lobdell

I remember that, as a boy, I regarded any attempt to mix instruction with amusement as being as objectionable a practice as the administration of powder in jam; but I think that this feeling arose from the fact that in those days books contained a very small share of amusement and a very large share of instruction.

—G. A. Henty

Somewhere, in the not too distant past, I saw a headline proclaiming “a major event in Conservative publishing.” On examination, the major event turned out to be the production of what appeared to be handsomely bound and printed volumes of Burke’s *Reflections*, Tocqueville, Adam Smith, and *The Federalist Papers*. Now I have no quarrel either with the republication of these works in suitably attractive editions, or with the claim that this is indeed a major event in Conservative publishing. What I do quarrel with, very seriously, is the continued emphasis on preaching in print to converts already made. I am not saying this preaching is unneeded — there are many who call themselves conservatives who would be better off for reading these four books, better off for marking, learning, and inwardly digesting them, and *National Review*, and even (it may be) this magazine. Many who profess and call themselves Christians would doubtless be better off for reading the Bible, for that matter. But the point that needs to be made is the old one of leading the horse to water, the Christian to the Bible, the conservative to his books. Those who learn by reading are, I think, a small number, and the number is not increasing rapidly, so far as I can tell. The number of those who learn by conversation and lecture (that is, who learn by hearing) is far larger. To be sure, I am saying this in print, and hoping to reach

the smaller of the two audiences. But I also try — and think others must try, who have or may make greater opportunities — to reach the larger audience. The question is, where?

There is, of course, a second problem in preaching to converts already made, even if the preaching were effective. Originally, indeed, I would have claimed that the question of preaching in print as against preaching aloud was altogether a subordinate question, and much greater importance should be given to what group the preaching is aimed at. The purpose of an evangelist, I would have said, is to evangelize, and since conservatives are in the minority they must be evangelists. But I am reluctantly driven to conclude that a considerable amount of evangelizing is necessary among self-proclaimed conservatives, and that although all our time should not be taken in bringing the gospel of reasonableness to those who ken John Birch, some of it certainly should be.

There is a third problem. These sets of the “Classics of Conservatism” precisely represent preaching — sermonizing, if you will. The late C. S. Lewis once observed that popular ignorance of Christianity “might be a help in the evangelisation of England; any amount of theology can now be smuggled into people’s minds under cover of romance without their knowing it.” But not if you call it theology. And

any amount of respect for conservative values can be smuggled in. But not if you call it Conservatism. To put *The Federalist* into print as a “Conservative Classic” may (I do not say will) put it out of the hands of those who might chiefly benefit by it.

But let us return to the original point: where are we going to argue these questions out? If men do not read (and the inability of men, and more especially of teen-agers, to read is, I think, at the root of much crime and almost all juvenile delinquency), they do watch television. Unfortunately for our immediate purpose, though in general fortunately, they do not listen to it. I know only one place where men will talk, and may even listen, as a general rule (if only the television is off), and that is the tavern, bar, public house, inn — whatever you wish to call it — and, occasionally, the coffee-house. Society, to be sure, does its best to eliminate such places, and in any case I am not calling for a Conservative Crusade in the taverns of America (though that might be fun). What I am pointing out is how little we have to work with that we *can* organize, and the real answer lies not in Crusades, or Conservative Classics, but in the process of making Conservatism attractive by making yourself, and therefore what you believe, attractive to those who know you.

Of course, reading these four books might help in that process.

A columnist hitherto unsuspected of left-wing deviationism discovers that the Supreme Court may actually have done something that will promote freedom. He is being investigated.

Two landmark cases in the recent term of the U. S. Supreme Court have concerned the rights of persons under arrest. With the decision in the Sheppard case, where the Court held that a murder trial was conducted in an atmosphere of circus publicity, a fair trial being therefore impossible, one can disagree only if one believes the public has a right to batten itself on the sufferings of others, and wallow vicariously in wrongdoing and violence, and that this right takes precedence over the constitutional rights of an accused person. The first right is usually called the right to a free press, and is dear to the American people: it bears some resemblance to the right of vultures, hyenas, or jackals to scavenge a dead body.

The second decision — or rather, set of decisions — was that in which the Court held that a confession obtained from an accused person who has had no lawyer present is, in effect, to be treated as presumptive evidence of police coercion. In essence, the majority is holding that all exercise of police power involves coercion, which must of necessity be limited in every conceivable way if individual freedom is to be protected; while the minority is holding that the present limitations on the exercise of police power make ensuring domestic tranquillity difficult, and further limitations will make it possible. Both sides, quite probably, are right. I have had it told me, by an official of the Dane County probation department, that the conviction of youthful offenders not caught in the act is nearly im-

possible unless they break down under questioning. From his point of view, those who are questioned are generally guilty, and only if they admit it can society be protected and the offender helped. Moral judgment of the offender does not seem to be involved: the official, like any good policeman, is interested in doing the best job he can.

Unfortunately — and this is the problem — not only are not all policemen good (though most, one assumes, are), but not all those who are questioned are guilty. Not only that, but society itself, gorging on the flesh of the accused, is not merely ready but anxious to make what it calls moral judgments on the presumed offenders. Every man found innocent represents a police mistake, not because he was investigated but because he was arrested, and arrested wrongly. Put in one scale every guilty man who is coerced into confession, and into the other a single innocent man so coerced, and the first scale will straight fly up and kick the beam.

And where does this leave us? So long as society loves the sin (as presented in the tabloids) and hates the sinner, so long will the Supreme Court find it necessary to bend the law over backwards on the sinner's behalf. Of course, there are those who love the sin and admire the sinner (the usual term is "bleeding-hearts"), who will doubtless hail both these decisions with rapture, but it is not fair to judge the Court by the company it keeps. Not only because police power, like any other,

tends to corrupt, but also and especially because accusation is generally tantamount to conviction in the mind of the *mobile vulgus* — still more, perhaps, because the easiest way to avoid arresting innocent persons is to have all those you arrest found guilty (it's all in a day's work) — it is difficult for me to see how anyone concerned with individual freedom can condemn what the Court has done, though one may certainly wish it had not done it.

Finally, since it is not enough merely to criticize, without sometimes suggesting a course of action, here are two recommendations. First, prohibit by law the publication of news dealing with criminal cases from the time just before the arrest is made till the time the case is decided — or, if this cannot be done, make any public official or policeman who gives out information on a case that is still *sub judice* liable to prosecution, by the accused, if the information is in any way prejudicial to the accused. Second, as a matter of course, require the presence of a Public Defense Attorney at every police interrogation of a first offender.

Both of these are, in essence, makeshift proposals, and the second in particular is unsatisfactory. But the only satisfactory proposal would involve the establishment of a just society, and as a friend of mine (being badgered over the 'phone for information he did not, and could not, have) was once driven to observe, "We are not God on this end of the line."

IN MEMORIAM: LESLIE K. POLLARD

Robert Adams

One of the founders of *Insight & Outlook* tells of Captain Pollard, without whom it might not have been founded and would certainly have been other than it is.

We'd have been fortunate to know Captain Leslie K. Pollard at any time during our lives. We were especially lucky to encounter him during those few years when men and their ideas would have the most dazzling effect upon us, when we were being whisked by the pressure of events and new obligations into adulthood, and into discerning and understanding the the broad outlines of ideas, principles and bodies of knowledge essentially new to us, and from them designing the conceptual and moral architecture that we hoped would make us—in Richard Weaver's proud phrase—men in the eulogistic sense.

Probably most generations—and positively the present one—have arrived at the university as, metaphorically speaking, babes in the woods. And even those with a sincere curiosity today seem aggressively unaware that Ideology is scurrying along close by in the intellectual underbrush, hoping to beat them to Grandma's house where, having first gobbled up intellect herself, it will put on her dress and lie in wait to devour another young and unsuspecting generation which just dropped by for a visit.

Belligerence would have been an easy thing in those years, when we were busily engaged in forming a political philosophy, forming this magazine to give it expression, and, as advocates by choice, simply busily engaged. Therefore the special value of our exposure during that period to men whose passionate commitment to principle was in tandem with that graceful suppression of the ideologue's passion to convert his principles into defiantly rigid systems, men who, as A. E. Taylor put it, "regularly combine the power to hold their own position with confidence with the ability to appreciate the difficulties it

involves; they know the 'weak side' of their own case better than most of their opponents do."

Leslie Pollard was such a man, and he knew better than most of his philosophical opponents, and better than any of us, both the weak and the strong sides of his conservative convictions which, in part because of his example, became also our convictions and those of *INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK*, ours we hoped not only in their substance but in the manner of their discovery and advocacy, in which we tried, mostly in vain no doubt, to emulate Pollard. But his influence upon us was reflected from the very beginning in *INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK*, which despite the occasionally simplistic, sometimes sophomorically zealous tone of the first issues, never displayed that hostile and intolerant certitude that characterizes much of the New Student Left, as it did, and still does, much of the Old Left. Perhaps this lack of arrogance was the only distinguishing feature of the early *INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK* (besides its being the only conservative student journal in the country). It was certainly among Leslie Pollard's distinctive virtues. "You mustn't let yourself become doctrinaire or priggish," he would caution.

Pollard was assistant to the president of the Ray-O-Vac Company in March, 1959, when he received from a retired executive vice president of the company a letter bulging with discomfiting interjections to the exhortations of *INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK*'s first issue. Among many other things, his correspondent had written:

"The copy of *INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK* came yesterday and I have read it from cover to cover. It is an excellent journal and presents the point of view of the conservative very well.

"But, reading these articles, I kept asking myself a question to which I don't have the answer. I think it would be good for these young folks to tackle it . . . The question is: To what extent are the problems of today due to the increase in population; and how much need we change our political and economic systems to handle those problems?"

"The material in this issue leaves the reader with the impression that the authors do not recognize that change has taken place . . .

"Maybe I am expecting too much. But if I were to debate this issue with your young conservatives, I would hammer away at the fact of changed conditions and ask for proof that their system would solve the problems produced by those changed conditions . . .

"I'd like your boys to tackle that one."

The demand was passed along to us, with Pollard's note attached.

"The enclosed letter from our retired executive vice president . . . is self-explanatory," he wrote. "In my opinion, he has given all of you a very worthwhile challenge . . .

"It is absolutely essential that the conservative realize the need to make changes to meet changing conditions . . . I believe, however, quite strongly that certain basic principles which make and strengthen the character of the individual can and should be retained and applied to this new world. We are, I believe, in great danger of becoming herd-minded and being subverted to semi-slavery. That we have little resistance to taxes, ruinous inflation, rapidly depreciating currency, bigger and bigger government, and stronger and stronger irresponsible pressure groups indicates that we are a submissive nation and will follow most any kind of leader,

even though he is merely articulate and talks loud out in front.

"It seems to me that the Ten Commandments are not obsolete, nor are the habits of thrift and personal efficiency . . . Anyway, I am sure that your editorial group can find some very stimulating ideas from _____'s letter; I feel he has made a worthwhile contribution to the cause."

The cause, Pollard was saying, at least for us students, was to develop a firmer, more sophisticated understanding of the concepts implied in our arguments by cheerfully submitting them to the challenges of friends, critics and a changing world.

He himself was both a constant friend and critic as well as an inspiration. He combined gentle interests (he raised prize roses), a practical sophistication (forged by high echelon business experience and high intellectual interests), and a manly peace with reality

that one must build only through personal encounters with big moments (he skippered a submarine in the South Pacific during World War II).

But it was the gracefulness with which he put forward his position and the generosity with which he treated opposing views that were most attractive to younger controversialists.

In January, when I saw him for the first time in six years — and for the last time — he had become gaunt from the ravages of a long and relentless illness. But after a few moments, the change seemed superficial, almost unnoticeable, so unchanged were his eagerness for discussion and the range of his knowledge, the precision of style of his convictions, at once both calm and passionate . . . and his unflagging interest in conservative student activity, particularly in *INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK*. And, again most engaging, the fairness and

patience and amiability of his criticism of doctrines he knew to be more destructive than his own illness and which he surely despised much more than the death he faced with such surpassing serenity. He had always seemed to justify Schumpeter's observation that "to realize the relative validity of one's convictions and yet stand for them unflinchingly is what distinguishes a civilized man from a barbarian."

Pollard never flinched from his convictions, only from becoming a doctrinaire, which he considered conducive to violence, intellectual and physical. It is this civility amid the hooting barbarians that causes us to mourn all the more his death on May 4 in Madison. We are grateful for the crucial material and intellectual aid he gave the formation of this magazine, for the example he provided its founders, and for the memory of a civilized man.

THE FOURTH BRANCH

Richard Wright

And the Managing Editor continues the search, which Captain Pollard began, for a positive course of action for Conservatives.

Often, within the pages of *INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK*, I have pleaded with influential conservatives to initiate a positive program of reform — one which recognizes that the dirty work of our adversaries has irreversibly changed the character of

our nation, and further, one which looks to the future rather than argues the virtues of things past. The disappointing response I have noticed to date cannot be attributed solely to this magazine's limited circulation. Too often my similar request through other media have produced among con-

servatives a reaction well described as a blank stare. Is it all that difficult to comprehend?

Upon such frustration, I have set out to practice that which I preach. I now direct your thoughts towards checking our ever expanding government bodies. First, we must recognize that there is little

prospect of reducing the government's size, or its present reach into private lives. It seems that no one can disturb the public's daydream of a better world via government decree; for we have done the bell clanging well. High time it is, then, that we look to changes in the government's structure which could more closely approximate it to our ideas of freedom.

So, I further direct your attention to solving one of the most pronounced problems of our big government, that of its increasing tendency to arbitrariness. This trend is nurtured mainly by the burgeoning administrative branches of the federal and state governments. Charged with broad powers granted by the Legislators, and encouraged by the Judiciary's non-interference, the administrative agencies have developed into a branch of government of effective stature equal to that of the other three. All that remains is for the administrators to recognize the value of their positions; then shall we finally evolve into that dreaded "government of men not laws." Indeed, to one prejudiced against the coercive powers of government, it seems that we have passed that point already—where it counts most, in fact, in the field of economic opportunities. It must be admitted that the government treads heavily upon the economic man. This, in itself, is difficult to reconcile with the rule of law; but the problem multiplies when authority of decision is removed another step beyond the elected representatives of the ruled. Alas, we have done precisely that, by creating an administrative monster, and by giving it the power of the kings.

The bureaucrat describes his power as "discretion." Legislative bodies, recognizing the impossibility of their continued attention to the many economic areas, have freely delegated their lawmaking function to the agencies. Typically, the basic law is enacted by the Congress, for instance, and an agency takes it from there. The ad-

ministrators "apply" the law, in their discretion. Specific rules and regulations are made by the agency, again, in their discretion. Agents interpret and define the law of Congress, once more in the agency's discretion. Armed with such a tool, it is difficult for an administrator to stay within his mandate. Always new problems arise, which may be related to but are not the concern of the particular statutory law. The tendency is to broaden into these new areas—without any more express authority than legislative acquiescence. The only difference between the effect of their process and of the lawmaking function of Congress, is that usually the agency cannot promulgate the sweeping changes known to the later body. In all other aspects, agency law is as much new law as are the enactments of Congress.

True, the agency is bound by the statute under which it acts. But when, as is generally the case, the statute authorizes the agency to do that which "is necessary in the public interest," as in the Securities Act or similarly in the other major regulatory acts, it is nothing less than a rather broad grant of power to formulate new law. Such a statute certainly is no serious limitation on the lawmaking power of the agency. Then, little help in limiting the agency law to the Congressional enactment can be expected from the courts. In one of its few modern day moments of self-restraint, the Judiciary has deemed its own function to be that of non-interference with the "expertise" of the administrator. The result is that no effective control is left over the lawmaking discretion of the administrative body.

The agencies thereby exercise a legislative function, a function, which we have been accustomed to thinking belonged to those responsible to the will of the people. But who or what are the administrators personally responsible to? Certainly the electorate cannot exercise its only sanction by remov-

ing them from office. Curiously, neither can the Legislative or the Executive branches effectively remove them. It is as the old horror tale of the robot becoming the master!

I must admit that our present administrators are a benevolent lot. They seem not to wish us harm. This too is an old, but more real, horror tale; for theirs is the tyranny of ideas, the planned destruction of citizens' desires in the name of "the public good." Without belaboring the point, I would caution that unchecked rule by such a self appointed "enlightened elite" usually not only does disservice to the public good, but ends up quite hostile to a free people.

Further, rule by the elite usually evolves into rule *for* the elite. This is easily shown. Dr. Milton Friedman points out that over the years the major portion of our federal law exercises, a reversal of its original policy—so that it is used by the very groups it was to protect against.¹ I would add to this observation: that portion of the law which does so, corresponds to that portion which requires administrative discretion in its application. It is there that the established interest groups overwhelm the common interests, since it is there that those who have sufficient financial incentive expend effort in pressuring the agencies and it is there that the policy of the law is susceptible to pressure.

Sometimes this tendency manifests itself by a simple solidification of the already established businesses' competitive positions. (Ask the truck drivers how the I.C.C. regulates railroad monopolies by denying truckers competing positions, or ask the farmers how their interests are best served by Milk Control Boards fixing *maximum* prices for milk.) However, in general, regulation by the agencies tends to more subtle, and often-

(1) Stated in a lecture delivered at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, March 1966.

times unconscious service to the interests of the established. I can only decry it, I haven't space to further illuminate the defect.

A more concrete defect in our administrative process is the not so gradual undermining of *certainty* in the law, an element without which "the rule of law" is a meaningless catch phrase. Where agencies are bound only by vague notions of public interest, etc., they have little incentive to consistency in their lawmaking (or, in their quasi-judicial role, to consistency in their rulings. Again I haven't space to argue the reform of this agency function, although certainty of law is endangered even more in that area). With the administrator's life and death power over an individual, he can lose heavily when an agency changes the rules of the game. Of course, a legislative body can do the same; but there the legislative policy is slow to change when once acted upon. It is not so in the agency process. Indeed, as in the areas of public building codes, the changes come so fast that contractors and suppliers constantly complain of losing the value of stockpiles of equipment, etc., which were obtained in reliance on the earlier rules. If the government wishes to stoop to such menial chores, something must be done to reinstate certainty in the process.

These are but a few of the risks we have encountered in establishing an administrative branch. But, proper concern isn't often expressed in the ranks of the liberal establishment — which is natural; they run the agencies. It's our turn.

It's not that I have exposed a new problem; attempts to control the agencies have been made on numerous occasions. But, generally they have proved half-hearted and did little in the way of arresting the arbitrary tendencies of government. They usually were aimed at agency procedure, which is, true enough, an area of concern. But no amount of procedural changes can be enough; for there

seems to be a uniform bureaucratic reaction adverse to any strict rules of practice. Thus, should we take a procedural reform approach, we would find only that the agencies perform outside of the rules more and more. This is what the legislators have done in the past, and, as can be seen, their efforts failed.

I would suggest one approach, that has been generally scoffed at in America, but instituted quite successfully in England. This is a sort of legislative review process termed "laying in." In its simplest form, it involves a procedure by which Congress, or the Legislature, reviews regulations made in the agencies and accepts or rejects them.

The Establishment has in the past rejected this program because, as they argue, this would burden Congress with the job it has already delegated out. The British have devised a parliamentary screening committee which well alleviates the problem; but permit me to point out that this argument against review is in the first place ill conceived. They have often told us that the government is capable of running our lives — now, they say it cannot be bothered with the very problems involved in running our lives. Viewing a Congress and a set of Legislatures with unbelievable records of creating more problems than they have solved, can we attribute any intelligence at all to the argument? And, as I have pointed out, the administrative agencies are indeed creating new law; is it not as worthwhile for Legislators to concern themselves with this area of new law as with any other? But in any case, the British have shown that the burden need not be heavy. Surely our illustrious Legislators need not be bored with reviewing the codified regulations of their agencies; much of this agency law is particularized and mundane. Yet some of it is of sufficient import so as to qualify for review. Only that sort of regulation need earn the attention of the whole Congress; a

committee can screen out the rest.

Another manner of attack would entail an extensive revamp of the empowering statutes. This must be done by piecemeal or by across the board decree. As pointed out above, the discretionary powers of the agencies are grossly in excess of their need. Their powers ought to be limited to specific areas; their rulings and regulations should be made only in accordance with express statutory standards, leaving only the fact finding to the agencies. By that we could remove much of the present lawmaking power of the administrator. Of course, it is simpler to let the agencies go their own way; and of course it is probable that problems will arise that the agency cannot solve because of their limited powers. But that is just what we conservatives have been saying of our big government. It cannot predetermine answers to future problems. Yet, to empower mere men for that reason to make new laws as the need arises is no more than to revert to the despotic practices of the emperors.

An additional method of arresting administrative discretion is the classic one of Legislative purse string control. I would allow much tighter control, having Congress set salary standards and requiring their approval for quite specific expenditures. There is no need to explain how much a practice would place the essential legislative power back in the hands of the electors; yet, further, it would cut deep into the bureaucratic pride of their independent judgment. Maybe then they will do things *for* people rather than *to* them.

Presented here were somewhat simple answers to a complicated problem. There is a much larger area of concern than the rather abstract one of legislative power. At the same time, there are multitudes of reforms which can be developed. And reform seems to be up to the conservatives. A little positive exercise would do us good, anyway.

Mr. Sievert, a former Editor of this magazine, presents the first steps in what we consider an important experiment in political taxonomy.

The circle, straight line, horseshoe, and the left-right theory all too often fail to show the differences in men and their ideas on politics and economics. I believe the reason is simply that no theory goes deeper than one dimension. A logical extension to three dimensions allows the cube theory (given here as an original presentation) to present most major and practical aspects of every system, clearly showing differences between systems. Actually, this theory, or rather, its model, does not limit us to three aspects or factors of any system. Interchanging of the axes allows comparisons of *any* three factors at one time.

I warn the reader that my purpose is to present the cube theory in its simplest and therefore perhaps its least convincing form in order that its clarity will not be lost in a maze of quantitative confusion. Attempts to use its schematic form to categorize systems must be done very carefully because of its quantitative nature. Finally, one must be aware that three factors cannot fully describe any system. But the use of three, rather than one or two, should improve earlier and clumsier methods.

To begin the analysis, it is most important to recognize that a political-economic system has two components—an ideological base of beliefs on man, society, and history; and, second, a practical system which follows from these basic beliefs. Often it is hard to separate the two. However, only the practical realities are of real importance here.

But in a deeper analysis (which I will omit), one can see how two widely different ideological groups can be inseparably joined in the legislature. If the reader thinks this point important, consider the problem Goldwater had with claims that he and other conservatives

were Fascists and reactionaries. Intelligent analysis should show such claims to be wrong, if not meaningless.

In studying the three-dimensional scheme, one should note that I have chosen the following as practical determinants: 1) The economic system used, whether purely command, purely market, or some balance of both (assuming we have no influence of a traditional economy, as there is in primitive and feudal societies). 2) The vested authority of the government, ranging from monarchy to pure democracy. 3) Non-economic freedom held by the people. While this model only considers the political and not the social and economic aspects of the power parameter (i.e., freedom vs. coercion), a more sophisticated model could do all three.

In the pure command economy (far left of axis (a)), all productive economic decisions are directed by a central planning board. Estimates are made as to how much of each good is needed. The government plants produce accordingly. In this extreme case, even labor is directed where the planning board decides. Non-productive private property can either be allowed or not.

On the other extreme (far right of axis (a)) is the free market. Government's role in the economy here is limited to taxing in order to pay for the cost of law enforcement and the salaries of individual officials. All economic decisions are made by through the price system, which responds to the forces of supply and demand.

But for the model to have any quantitative and explanatory significance, we must be able to measure relatively closely how much a mixed economic system is command based and how much it is market based. Because there are

several determinants used to describe economic systems, we cannot hope to get any precise measurement (or position on the (a) axis) of a system. This is the result of value judgments regarding the importance of each determinant. Rather, after we reach (one hopes) a tolerably good consensus of economists on this last point, we establish a narrow *region* of the axis which we say is relevant for such an approximation of a particular system.

Although it may be some time before such a consensus of economists is reached (there was never a need for it before), I have tentatively chosen the following six determinants of an economic system: 1) *Mode of production*, whether by public or private enterprise. 2) *Production control*, where government does not produce goods and services but does direct private enterprise as to how and how much goods and services should be produced. 3) *Market control*, which concerns how government controls actions of private economic units (consumers, firms, etc.) regarding competitive action, nature of the product, method of production, etc. 4) *Monetary control*, encompassing supply and regulation of the currency and credit. 5) *Price control*. 6) *Property ownership*, of which the most important property is land containing productive natural resources.

Each factor has a certain importance in describing an economic system. This allows us to place coefficients on each factor, reflecting its importance relative to all others, *provided* we can find realistic coefficients. To use the axis as a measure, we arrange the coefficients so their sum totals one.

I have tentatively chosen the following as the coefficients: .40, .15, .15, .10, .10, and .10, respectively, for factors one through six. Be-

cause measurement is from right to left, a factor contributes its full weight (its coefficient) to a system only if it is of such nature to be fully command-oriented. Otherwise somewhat less of its coefficient is used as a measure, placing the system somewhere between the two extremes of the axis.

Each factor, in turn, has its own measuring device as to how much it is command- and how much market-oriented. I will not go through all such measures here, but, as an example, consider (1) production. If one-half of the gross national product (GNP) is produced by public enterprise (government owned), then this factor contributes $\frac{1}{2} \times .40$ or .20 to a command system and, consequently, .20 of the axis distance from the right end.

You may have noted that the present left-right method of classifying doctrines comes mainly from the preceding analysis, and I have purposely placed the axis so as to maintain continuity. However, as will be seen, the left-right method is far too simple to be of real value.

As the second descriptive determinant, I have chosen the vested authority in government. I do not mean the elected and appointed officials, rather who determines at the polls how government is composed, who should represent the people, and who, finally, is the sovereign in government. The extreme left of axis (b) is monarchy, or rule by one man; and to the right, a true democracy where each citizen has equal voting power *and also* exercises it. Democracy in this sense is well defined by Dahl and Lindblom in *Politics, Economics, and Welfare*, where it is defined as "control over government decisions so that the preferences of no one citizen are weighted more heavily than the preferences of any other one citizen."

However, often some citizens are denied suffrage in certain systems. Hierarchy, aristocracy, suffrage of the propertied are examples. Also, a less than complete turnout at the

polls in modern "democracies," such as ours, puts us short of a true democracy.

In order to make the measure of this characteristic quantitative and meaningful, it is necessary to make an important assumption. That is, whatever the number of voters in a nation, even if all citizens are not given the vote, all voters must be given equal voting power or "preference." Now, if we scale the (b) axis so that it measures percentages, we can establish any system at the point which corresponds to its percentage of suffrage.

However, if we consider a bicameral legislature, such as our Congress, we see this assumption does not hold, nor does the percentage suffrage correctly measure what we want. Westerners have more voting power than Easterners, person for person. Therefore, we have to adjust such a system by shifting its position somewhat to the left. Again, this problem can be resolved with extensively detailed analysis, but my purpose is only to show the general approach.

As the third and most difficult determinant to consider, I have chosen non-economic freedom granted by the government. Any act directly classified as economic, such as selecting or changing employment, beginning a business, and so on, are economic rights and are excluded. Examples of non-economic freedoms are the right to assemble, to secede, to bear arms, or to travel without restriction.

The method of measuring this determinant is as follows. In any society, there is always some finite number of activities the government could legislate. Acts prohibited are freedoms or rights denied. But because all rights are not valued equally by the people (e.g., one will value free speech more than freedom of travel to Kenya) every right granted does not contribute as much along the axis as does any of the rest. So we must normalize this variance by assigning coefficients (numerical weightings) to each right so that, sum-

ming all coefficients, we get a total of 1. Each coefficient reflects the importance that each act has to all the people. Furthermore, each coefficient, referring to the *population*, is an average value of all the individual citizen's personal coefficients.

We have some problems in finding realistic coefficients empirically, but theoretically the method is as follows: Assume, first, there is a finite number of possible rights. Require that each right has some real coefficient (it must have if it has any importance) and that the sum total of each of all of these equals 1. As an example, take the freedom of speech as one right. Now, consider all the others as being collected into a second right. Now, face the individual with this choice: offered these two rights, tell him he can only possess one but not the other. Then, to find the value of speech, we ask the individual how many other rights would he need to add to speech that of are of value equal to speech before he would be indifferent as to which bundle of rights he would choose to have. Then we take this number he tells us, add 1 to it (gotten from the freedom of speech), and divide this sum into 1 to get the coefficient of speech, or its value in respect to all other rights. Alternatively, we do this with each right until we know the value of them all. Then the coefficient of speech plus the coefficients of all other rights equals 1.

In considering this axis in analyzing a system, then, we sum the population coefficients of all rights actually granted by the government, arriving at some number which is actually the derived measure of distance from the top of axis (c). Thus, in this way, one system can be called more free than another. We can make such a statement only if our strong assumption that such coefficients have real meaning holds. Admittedly, this is much to ask. However, I believe we can accomplish our purpose with relatively close approximations, not

necessarily precise, which can indeed be made. And for most comparisons of real systems which we will make, there will be significant differences between them so that we can avoid the problem of saying which system is more free than the other. So, again, we say a system falls into some range of the axis, as we did for the economic axis. (Note the diagrams following.)

I now will give brief description of some important political-economic systems in the cube analysis. Diagrams are given to aid in this discussion. Socialism, Communism, Progressivism (i.e., contemporary liberalism, or, at least, a very near cousin of it), contemporary conservatism (libertarian variety), and Fascism will be compared. Bear in mind that this treatment of each system is far too brief fully to understand any of these systems, especially the ideological bases which the scheme does not show directly.

Socialism is considered first. Contemporaries have clouded its true doctrine by confusing it with Progressivism. Pure or Utopian socialism is basically an economic doctrine which uses a very strong central planning economy, with government ownership of all productive capital, government directing what is to be produced and how much, many services performed by government, and labor still being of free movement. The authority of government can theoretically range from monarchy to democracy, but socialism originally stressed democracy. Actually, socialism (all sharing in the operation and wealth of the economy) was the seeming logical extension of democracy. Finally, on axis (c), we see the government must necessarily be strong and often usurpative. However, well organized systems should be able to enjoy much personal freedom. But in reality, there are few such cases.

There are two major groups which are offshoots of socialism, both calling themselves socialists erroneously. The first are the Com-

munists. First there is Communism of the style before Stalin's death and shortly thereafter. Economically, government exercised the near ultimate in a command economy, excluding from their control only some freedom of labor movement and some property ownership.

However, this economic system requires that government must be excessively strong in constraining personal freedom, owing, in my opinion, to extremely sharp breaks from tradition along with the general failure of such an economy relative to alternative ones. This, in turn, makes it impossible to allow democracy for fear of the people changing the government, which they would surely do. But the Communists use a technique which creates an illusion of democracy. They allow voting for factory leaders, local officials, etc., and representatives to the central committee—as long as they are Communist. This, of course, precludes democracy.

However, since Stalin there has been moderation in most of these areas. Property holdings are increasing, the "profit system" is being tried more, unequal wages are paid on the basis of output, etc. Also, many personal freedoms are being restored. But still a true representation of the will of the people is lacking.

Secondly there are the West European socialists. As can be seen from the scheme, they use much of both the command and the market economy, completely unlike the true socialist. Very often the transportation system, public utilities, and the steel industries are government owned, but this still leaves most of the rest of economic production to the market. Many services are performed by government (medical services, free schooling, pension plans, etc.) rather than by the market, giving them the name of "welfare economies." But it can be seen that this in no way necessarily makes a government socialist.

Representation is democratic, but personal freedom is generally

greater than under pure socialism, again reflecting the effects of a more lenient economic policy of the government commensurate with tradition and human nature.

Considered next is today's liberal, or more correctly, an offshoot of the Progressive. He makes up the moderate form of today's "Left." If you were to ask, "left of what?", it isn't always clear. Generally, as in the scheme, he is left of the American economic system. He chooses to use a stronger command economy which regulates business more, provides more services (from where he incorrectly derives the name "socialist" and correctly the name "welfarist"), uses government to bolster and stabilize the economy, enforces socio-economic policy (e.g., civil rights), and so on. He offers something new and is, then, "progressive," because he tries to improve society with new means, having lost faith in older, more established means.

But he is not only an economic creature. He also differs from most Americans by being a stronger democrat. He places great faith in majority rule and equal voting power (note the reapportionment issue). This feeling also made him the command economist, for the market economy flourishes on competitiveness and *inequality* which can produce further economic inequality and, consequently, further social inequality.

Finally, in the area of non-economic freedom, there is much confusion. Conservatives strongly claim an individual's freedom is snuffed out under growing government. But the Progressive says freedom is *increased* by such growth. Who is right? Both, but neither completely. The Progressive strikes out against freedoms denied mainly to the economically oppressed (the poor), socially, and legally oppressed, although I believe such oppression is quite often more an oppression in the mind rather than, as claimed, in deed. On the other hand, conservatives

most often refer to changes put on economic competitiveness by a command system of economics (restriction by fiat rather than by society). Examples are income redistribution coupled with a progressive tax structure, non-voluntary labor unions, and strict regulation of air communication coupled with blocked entry of new firms or stations. In the case of non-economic freedom, the conservative would often choose to have anarchy, if it were feasible. He values freedom very highly, and, thus, he is always wary of government that might remove this freedom. But being realistic, he makes laws. However, paradoxically, there is a strong tendency to pass laws more often for the purpose of protecting national security than a particular individual or groups of individuals. And the two types of laws are not necessarily the same. So here we see one source of the tie-up of conservatives with Fascists. Concluding, then, I still feel it is correct to place the conservative considerably higher on the (c) axis than the Progressive.

Continuing with the conservative, it may be noted he is a champion of the free market. He has the government do for the economy and the people only what he feels the market cannot do properly and sufficiently. And often this isn't much.

He will often not accept democracy, if he feels it will not work as

well as some other control method. The Founding Fathers felt this way. He often feels, too, that democracy may lead to destruction of civil society and of a prosperous and growing economy, such as we see (or saw) in Rhodesia. But before I have everyone calling conservatives aristocrats, hierarchists, racists, and anything else, remember that such generalizations are meaningless and shallow. In this country, most conservatives are as much believers in democracy as anyone else.

I come, lastly, to Fascism, which is a very misunderstood system of government. It uses a very strong command economy, most often a hierarchical form of politics (or whatever else may be the best method for the Fascist's end), and little personal freedom. Mussolini said it better than I can in "The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism," in *International Conciliation*, No. 306, January, 1935:

... , Fascism combats the whole complex system of democratic ideology; and repudiates it, whether in its theoretical premises or in its practical application.

The foundation of Fascism is the conception of the State as an absolute, in comparison with which all individuals or groups are relative, only to be conceived of in their relation to the State . . .

The Fascist State has drawn into itself even the economic activities of the nation, and through the corporative social and educational institutions created by it, its influence reaches

every aspect of the national life and includes, framed in their respective organizations, all the political, economic, and spiritual forces of the nation.

The Fascist state organizes the nation, but leaves a sufficient margin of liberty to the individual; the latter is deprived of all useless and possibly harmful freedom, but retains what is essential . . .

This was Goldwater? If one didn't read extremely carefully, and if the word Fascist was absent, it would be very easy to mistake this for a Communist doctrine. Never for a conservative one.

Before I conclude, I will note that anarchy has absolutely no place in the cube analysis, for true anarchy has no government and no *institutionalized* economy.

I conclude this cursory, incomplete, and unjust glance at the cube theory with a rather apologetic note for its naivety. If its full value is realized, its maturity will have to come from more adept economists and political scientists than I.

I again warn the reader that any system's analysis, as I have observed, is difficult and requires much time and effort. Each system is a chapter of a volume in itself. So if you find my cursory glances leave you confused and dubious, it is not necessarily due to shortcomings of the model, rather to my own shortcomings and to the model's thoroughness, which would require much more detailed filling in than I can give here.

Following are several models showing what particular systems might look like if they were described as I have suggested. Note that the dotted lines, representing particular parameters, intersect at a unique point. This is important, for provided the model is accurate,

the previously nebulous "isms" can be isolated in unique areas. Of course, such a model can be made both more rigorous and inclusive (or realistic).

In the main discussion a model was proposed to describe a political-economic system. Politics and

economics are important because they are subject to public policy, making them a strong and flexible tool. Also, the "isms" are generally completely described by politics and economics. However, this model is incomplete in two ways. First, I have not considered strictly social

institutions and their influence. Second, I have not considered enough parameters.

In order to rebuild the first model in a similar, but in a more realistic way, we can alter axes (b) and (c), leaving (a), the economic parameter, as is. The axis (b) now might be called equality vs. elitism. The three major factors concerned with this are the political, economic, and social aspects. In order to include all three in one axis, we can give them equal weight (or equal distances along the axis) or weights relative to their importance. The former is easier to use and just as instructive. Because, we are faced with three determinants of something, in this case equality, we can draw a separate model for this parameter alone.

The problem remains as to how do we measure all of this. Neces-

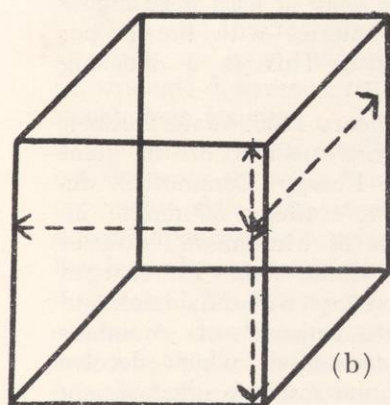
sarily, any real quantitative nature of the model is now impossible, as we are speaking in qualitative terms when dealing with social and economic equality (here meaning opportunities, not wealth or income). But there do exist methods, again too lengthy to discuss, whereby much can still be seen by these models.

Axis (c) could be changed by adding, in exactly the same way as above, an economic and an institutional (or social) element. The ends of the axis might better be called voluntary vs. coercive, the parameter being called the power structure. It would be instructive to have a model for the power structure alone.

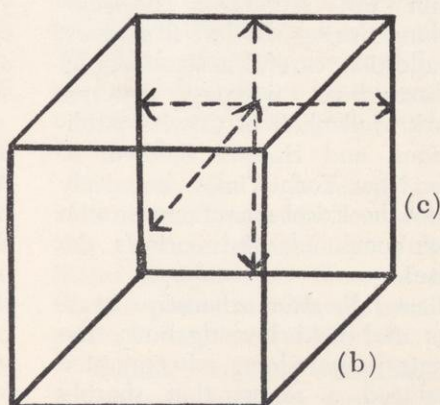
As it seems impossible to come up with a good measuring system with this power parameter, one might settle on some sort of quali-

tative ordering system which separates points on the axis by a "more or less" nature, rather than by some exact nominal ordering. Some work has already been done on this by Dahl and Lindblom.

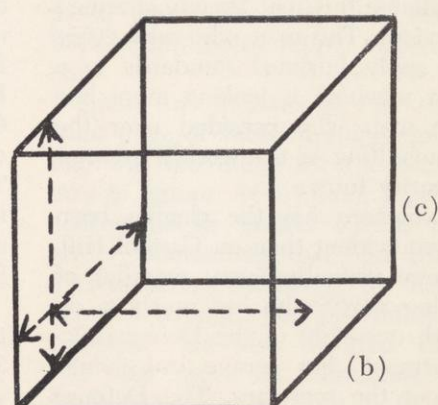
Finally, there are many different parameters of less importance left to consider, many of which fortunately can be quantified. One particular model could further describe our economic structure. One axis could measure concentration of wealth and income. A second axis might show the generally existing market structure of firms and also the relation of firms with society and government. The market structure refers to the number and size of firms and the resulting conditions; e.g., pure competition, monopoly, and oligopoly. On the third axis could be considered the types of goods and services produced and the relative amounts.



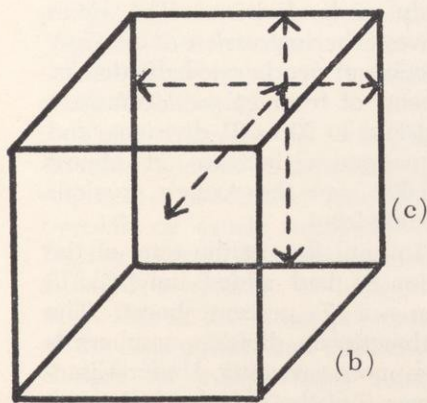
(a)
Utopian Socialist



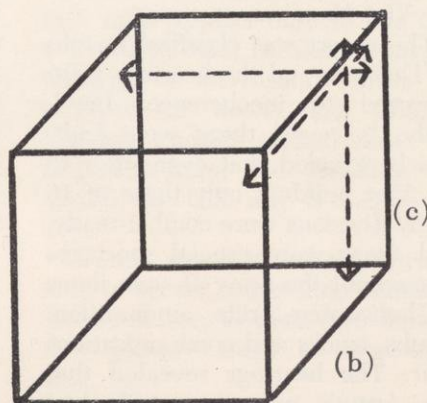
(a)
West European Socialist



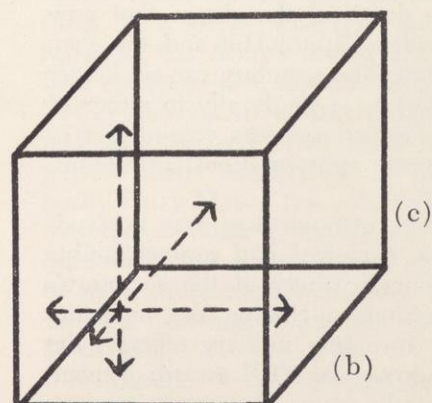
(a)
Stalinist Communism



(a)
Progressivism



(a)
Conservative (Libertarian)



(a)
Fascist

The editor of RALLY investigates the Pentagon and decides we won't win till McNamara's banned.

Back when the nation was awash in New Frontier imagery, Robert McNamara could do little wrong. The "computer-minded" "shrewd" defense secretary and his whiz kids gathered hosannas with every base closure, shuffle, and budget cut. There was carping from congressmen who were about to lose a payroll in their districts, but that was mere parochial bellyaching. The general feeling was that at last, a Defense secretary was boiling the fat out of his fiefs.

Times have changed. The fat-render is looking more like an overzealous butcher; the efficiency expert is looking like a man under a political directive to slash the armed services to make money available to Great Society charmed services. The man who was going to apply business standards to a war machine is looking more like the man who presided over the dismantling of the world's greatest security force.

Nowhere has the change been more evident than on Capitol Hill, where virtually every member of either party who has much to do with oversight of the Defense Department has grave misgivings about the secretary. The Defense chief's relations with Congress have deteriorated so steadily for so long that nobody quite realized the depth of the chasm that now divides Capitol Hill and the Pentagon. The secretary can no longer count on a single ally in either of the armed services committees or defense appropriations subcommittees.

The estrangement was not sudden. Congress had serious doubts about a variety of the secretary's decisions, including the muzzling of dissenting military officers; the controversial TFX award; conventionally powered aircraft carriers; the absence of new weapons systems; the cutback of nuclear arms

production; the abandonment of the anti-missile program; base closures; procurement cutbacks; the evisceration of the National Guard; the secretary's persistent slighting of congressional opinion and direction; and finally the appearance of acute shortages in Viet Nam and elsewhere.

For years, it was possible to ignore the secretary's critics on the ground that they were not privy to the vast array of classified data that shrouds the military establishment. That contention is no longer valid. With bipartisan unanimity, the armed services committees of both houses have painstakingly gathered sufficient information about our preparedness posture to damn the secretary's decision-making during the last five years. In addition, careful assessments by Pulitzer-prize winning reporter Clark Mollenhoff of Cowles publications, and Hanson Baldwin of The New York Times, massively indict the Edsel manufacturer who now commands the nation's defense.

Last fall, after exhaustive hearings and field investigations, the Senate preparedness subcommittee produced a report that sharply criticized the Pentagon for cannibalizing the global resources of our far-flung legions in order to wage the Viet Nam war.

The report was classified in toto by Defense, and the hearings were censored to incoherence. Inevitably, however, there were leaks which revealed that even prior to the Viet buildup, only three of 16 Army divisions were combat-ready, and there were crucial shortages throughout the army of such items as helicopters, rifle ammunition, bombs, trucks and communications gear. The hearings revealed that the Army's procurement budget had actually been cut from \$2.9 billion in 1964 to \$1.223 billion in

1966. The latter figure is substantially less than the \$1.5 billion Congress appropriated to fight poverty. For political purposes, DOD was financing the \$10 billion Viet war by extracting men and materiel out of the hide of the armed services. The report noted that all five divisions of the Seventh Army, in Europe, were rated C-4, which is the Army's lowest readiness category ("not capable of conducting combat operations and requires 30 days to attain readiness condition"). So alarming was the information adduced during the hearings that Sen. Margaret Chase Smith exclaimed, "I assumed that by appropriating around \$50 billion a year we were at least maintaining our inventories with the proper equipment. This is a shocking story..."

In January 1966, Craig Hosmer, a minority member of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, delivered a scathing 30-minute indictment of McNamara's policies on the House floor. He charged the secretary with "habitual and profligate misuse of 'numbers game' techniques which deceive himself and result in misstatement of defense capabilities. Example: His claim to have increased by 45 percent the number of combat-ready army divisions. The claim conveys the impression of an army increase of nearly one-half; that is, a boost of from 14 pre-McNamara divisions to 20 or 21 divisions, and a manpower increase of almost 400,000 over the Army's previous 900,000 level.

"In actuality, at the time of the claim he had added only 63,273 men—a 7 percent boost. The arithmetic on division numbers is even more revealing. Under Eisenhower, 3 of the Army's 14 divisions were considered in training. McNamara subtracted these from the

14 to get 11 divisions against which to calculate his percentage of increase. He then produced three new combat-ready divisions by the simple expedient of issuing the 'in training' divisions additional equipment and relabeling them combat-ready. The two more divisions needed to get 16 came out of thin air. They simply were created by reshuffling manpower from existing divisions to newly-created ones and classifying them 'combat ready' too. The final easy step was to divide 11 into 5 to produce the magic 45 percent."

Mr. Hosmer then moved to the area of his own greatest expertism, the strategic usage of nuclear power:

"In assessing whether the Johnson-McNamara manipulations reducing the nation's strategic capabilities will leave us sufficient power . . . to deter the Kremlin leaders, many factors must be considered . . .

"First. The U.S.S.R. places great emphasis on large-yield weapons for strategic deterrence. Its arsenal stocks them heavily . . . Undoubtedly in their eyes the credibility of our deterrent dwindles because of our major shift from aircraft delivering 40 megatons to missiles delivering only one megaton.

"Second. The U.S.S.R. claims success in developing anti-aircraft and anti-missile defenses able to hit a fly in the sky. It proceeds with a vigorous program to install them at many strategic locations. It is argued by some that installations of this nature . . . signal an intention to strike first, then utilize the defensive weapons to minimize retaliatory damage.

"Third. Success in war, and therefore success in deterring war, requires a substantial amount of over-kill or excess capability . . . During World War II we manufactured a quantity of bullets 65 times that of the entire population of the Axis powers and 2000 depth charges for every enemy submarine. For every enemy submarine 'killed' an average of 1,500 depth

charges were expended. Compare this 1,500 to 1 ratio with the secretary's 3 or 4 to 1.

"Fourth. It is reasonable to assume the Soviets assign some realistic diminution factor to our retaliatory capability arising from our recurring need to divert resources to troubled areas such as the Dominican Republic and Viet Nam.

"Fifth. It is reasonable to assume the Soviets assign some realistic diminution factor to the credibility of our deterrent [because of] the 50 percent cutback in fissionable material production, large slashes in the military budget, wide ranging activities of the U.S. Disarmament Agency, and consistently reiterated presidential fears of escalation, proliferation and accidental war.

"Sixth. The area of the Soviet Union is some 8.6 million square miles. The satellite countries add further to this figure. The area of the U.S. is 3.6 million square miles. The basic strategic coverage load on the United States by this measure thus exceeds that of the Soviets by over 2 to 1.

"Seventh. The high density population and industrial concentration characteristics of the United States compared to those of the Soviets places a relatively smaller strategic load on the U.S.S.R. . . .

"Eighth. The heavy odds that the Soviets will initiate a surprise first strike attack against us . . . further lessens the Soviet strategic load.

"Ninth. The McNamara 2 or 3-to-1 ratio applies only to the Soviet threat. Such substantial megatonnage as increasingly must be reserved to deter Red China's growing nuclear arsenal must be deducted from, and therefore diminish, the U.S. side of this equation.

"Tenth. The fact that the Soviets tend to accept rather large damage factors before, in their own minds, they classify them as unacceptable . . .

"Considering the fallibilities of Mr. McNamara's judgments," Hos-

mer concluded, "we have an absolute right to far better assurances . . . Unless and until it does satisfactorily and independent judgments can be made, the only safe assumption is that the projected lowering of present U.S. capabilities to 71 percent of their existing levels is deadly risky business and must be vigorously opposed."

What was the press reaction to Hosmer's illuminating critique? A yawn. The secretary didn't bother to reply, if indeed he heard about the speech. Hanson Baldwin of the New York Times, however, drew blood. In a front page broadside in the February 21 issue, he concluded that "the nation's armed services have almost exhausted their trained and ready military units, with all available forces spread dangerously thin in Viet Nam and elsewhere." Baldwin compiled a sorry list of shortages of clothing, ammunition, rockets, bombs, rifles, ammunition, spare parts, communications gear, combat aircraft, motor supply material, etc.

Such an indictment, on the front page of such an august journal, was too much for the secretary to ignore. At a March 2 press conference he lashed out at his critics, contending that "far from overextending ourselves, we have actually strengthened our military position." He also asserted that "we can move 21 battalions to Southeast Asia by July 1 if required to do so . . . and we can move or deploy nine additional division forces on 90 days notice." (This is a tricky assertion, inasmuch as the Army's *lowest* readiness category, C-4, assumes only a 30-day delay. An all-out modern war could be over in 90 days.) Reporter Clark Mollenhoff, a tall, portly Perry Mason type, thrice attempted to elicit a response to a question about preparedness, only to have McNamara avoid the issue, get mad and threaten to oust Mollenhoff.

In March, the Stennis preparedness subcommittee compiled a second report, based on field work by

its staff, and fired it at the Pentagon (which promptly classified it). However, by the end of the month its contents had been leaked to the Washington papers. It contended that Viet Nam requirements had hit the Army so hard that four of the Army Strategic Reserve Force (STRAF) divisions in this country were under-equipped and loaded with raw trainees who cannot be shipped abroad until they complete four months of basic training. The 40-odd page report asserted that in the 4th infantry division, the 5th infantry division, and the 1st and 2nd armored divisions, recruits comprised about half the manpower, while there were serious officer shortages and skilled personnel shortages as well. The report contradicted McNamara's March 2 optimism.

In response, a Pentagon spokesman admitted the four divisions were not combat-ready, and added masochistically that not one of the seven divisions in the country was ready. He emphasized that this was "part of the plan." Viet Nam forces would be drawn from the

regular Army without calling up the reserves.

If anything, the hostility has intensified in recent weeks. House Minority Leader Gerald Ford (Mich.) lashed the secretary for failing to provide good logistics in the Viet Nam war, and for bomb shortages that were impeding our air effort.

"All this baloney, and it's only that, about lack of bomb production, is completely misleading," McNamara retorted.

But the cat was out of the bag. The Pentagon was soon admitting that it was repurchasing bombs, at a loss, that it had sold overseas, and that it was also purchasing bombs of Australian manufacture.

In late April, still another exchange occurred when a House armed services subcommittee accused the secretary of deciding to phase out manned bombers despite massive opposition by Pentagon military experts. At the same time, the Senate armed services committee issued a report accusing the secretary of mishandling the urgently-important anti-missile de-

fense system. The Senate report asserted that even though the joint chiefs of staff were unanimously in favor of spending \$167.9 million to speed research and development of the Nike X system, they were overruled by the secretary.

McNamara called the reports a "shockingly distorted picture" of Pentagon policy. The assertion that "major decisions on the manned bomber program were made against the advice of the joint chiefs of staff is without any foundation whatsoever," he said.

Still, the evidence that has been painstakingly gathered by congressional researchers indicates that the secretary's decisions have frequently weakened the country, turned out to be shortsighted, were often false economies, and have stalled the development of modern weapons systems. The evidence is too vast and too detailed to ignore. It is available to anyone who wishes to pore through the hearings and reports of several congressional committees. Secretary McNamara is a weak link in the nation's defense.

SOME NOTES ON THE ETHICAL PROBLEMS OF THE DRAFT

John Meyer

A new contributor examines an old subject, and comes up with some old, but nonetheless valid, conclusions.

A state can only be justified in imposing a draft if to do so furthers the legitimate ends of the state, and if any evil involved in so doing is counterbalanced by a greater good for the accomplishment of which a draft is the *only*

possible means. The first end of any state is defence against foreign enemies, since the state which does not defend itself will, by ceasing to exist, fail to achieve any of its goals, whether these be limited to the preservation of freedom, or

whether they extend to social welfare, the direct promotion of virtue, or other ends.

Now the first question which arises is whether all states are immoral, since all states must resort to war on occasion. In an ideal

world we would not have war, but this is purely an ideal. It would be Utopian to expect to abolish war: the same instincts in man which make the policeman necessary make war inevitable. It is not, however, true that a nuclear cataclysm is inevitable or that the horrors of modern war are or were inevitable; men have waged limited war before in history. The question of limited war would, however, be another whole article.

The only plan with any hope of success which has ever been proposed for limiting war is that of some form of World Government. To be able to continue to exist, such a World Government would need to have a strong armed force — stronger than any possible combination against it. With this it would naturally possess at least as much power as the Federal Government had in 1789. Not only is the world far more disparate in every way than the colonies were, but also the active hostilities in it are many times greater. Furthermore, there would (science fiction aside) be no threat from outside to bind its subject states together. Even so, the fundamental objection to a World Government is not its unworkability, but the danger of tyranny inherent in it. If it becomes a tyranny, there is no place of appeal. Furthermore, I value diversity, and a World Government would tend to promote uniformity, reinforcing the already-strong forces tending that way in the modern world.

The Utopian attempt to end all war (beginning in 1917) not only failed, but also, by misdirecting the efforts of men of good will to the search for impossibilities, has left the manner of waging war to the mercy of the worst elements.

Existence on this earth has always been recognized to be alloyed with evil. The attempt to *impose* perfection, rather than to influence the actual situation toward it, results in disaster because those who attempt to do this neglect the elements of evil which necessarily en-

ter into their schemes, and which the conventions of civilized tradition are shaped to contain.

Thus I would say that even though every state must resort to war on occasion, every state is not immoral. Some wars are just and necessary. Furthermore, I would maintain that the state which fails to defend itself is abdicating its right and proper function and failing its trust to its own citizens. Once the right of a state to defend itself in the world of international politics is granted, many actions far removed from simple, direct defense of one's own territories may rightly be called defense. Furthermore, I consider the liberation of oppressed peoples by offensive warfare to be a justifiable act.

If the object of the draft — defense — is right, and is vital to the preservation of the state, the second question is whether the value of this object is sufficient to justify the undoubted evils of the draft. First let me say what I consider evil in the draft. Coercion is evil. The state is only justified as a monopolist of the legitimate use of force because there is a legitimate need for the use of force in preventing us from following our natural inclination forcibly to injure one another.

The state should accomplish this aim with the minimum possible use of the coercive powers it possesses. Thus a draft when unnecessary is morally unjustifiable. On the other hand, if we once concede its justifiability under some circumstances, it is clear we must leave to the state the prudential question of when it is necessary.

With the exception of real conscientious objectors — by my definition, individuals who feel that war *per se* is immoral on religious or philosophical grounds — I do not believe that the injury done to those drafted outweighs the importance of the objective, which is the preservation of the state itself. Though the draft is often necessary, it should be a last resort —

an undoubted right of the state, but one which it should make every possible effort not to exercise.

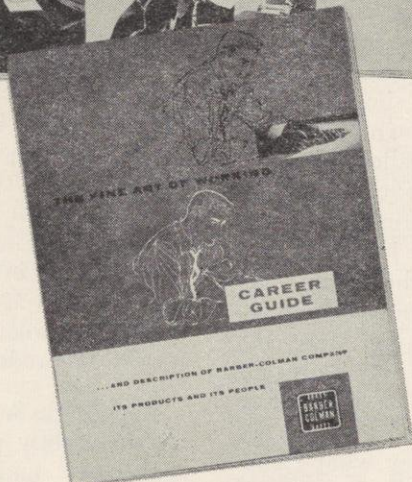
There is one final problem, that of the individual who is against, not war in general, but a particular war in which he thinks his country so much in the wrong that he cannot bring himself to fight for her. If anyone is to be free to refuse to aid the government in the pursuance of its legitimate functions, then the very basis of government — obedience to its decisions — is destroyed. There are no limits at all to the idea that a person has a right to disobey the government because he disagrees, however strongly, with its actions. This leads to pure anarchy. I do, however, believe in the right and duty of revolution against a government which is intolerably oppressive or wholly or predominantly evil.

The Anglo-Saxon countries have always rightly prized the right of conscience and believed that a man's conscience should be his ultimate guide. Therefore I do not say that someone who burns a draft card is necessarily acting immorally, though I think the opinions which could make such an action moral for an individual are radically and completely wrong. I do, however, say that he must not only be willing to face the legally appointed consequences of his action, but also he must recognize the legitimacy of these consequences. He has no reason to consider himself wronged if he is punished, because the state is right in punishing him, unless it were to find that it is wrong in fighting the war, in which case it should cease to fight that war as soon as possible.

Therefore, on this line of argument, the individual who has a deep disagreement with our Viet Nam policy is morally obligated to resign himself to suffering the penalties of the law and the state is duly bound to enforce these penalties.



Write us for a copy of our 28-page Career Guide.



invest
in your
future at.....

Management attitudes and philosophies can help you shape your future personal and professional success. Barber-Colman appreciates this . . . and has a continuing management program aimed at creating an excellent working atmosphere, encouraging employee advancement, and providing rewarding benefits.

People who are investing in their future at Barber-Colman are now actively engaged in research, design, manufacturing, and marketing of products for transportation, farming, textiles, air conditioning, aircraft, missiles, instrumentation, chemical processing, metallurgy, and other vital areas of our economy.

Senior and graduate engineers and other students with technical backgrounds who have interests in any of the above product areas are invited to inquire about opportunities at Barber-Colman. Several openings now exist. New opportunities are being created with further company expansion.

Address your inquiries to: Mr. W.D. Runne, Barber-Colman Company, Rockford, Illinois.

Aircraft and Missile Products Electromechanical Actuators, Valves, Positioning Systems, Temperature Control Systems, and Special Ground Test Equipment for the aerospace industry / **Air Distribution Products** Air Distribution Diffusers, Grilles, Registers, and High-Velocity Products / **Automatic Controls** Automatic Temperature Controls and Control Systems for heating, ventilating, and air conditioning / **Cutting Tools** Hobs, Cutters, and Reamers / **Industrial Instruments** Recording Instruments and Combustion Safeguards for Industry / **Machine Tools** Hobbing Machines, Hob-Sharpening Machines, and Gear Shapers / **Motors and Components** Subfractional Motors and Gearheads, Ultrasensitive Relays, "Barcol" Hardness Tester, Custom Plastics / **Textile Machinery** Spooling, Warming, and Warp-Replenishment Machines.

BARBER-COLMAN COMPANY
Rockford, Illinois
... an equal opportunity employer

FALK

... A good name in industry

Produces for Industry:

Speed Reducers

Motoreducers

Commercial Gears

Marine Drives

Flexible Couplings

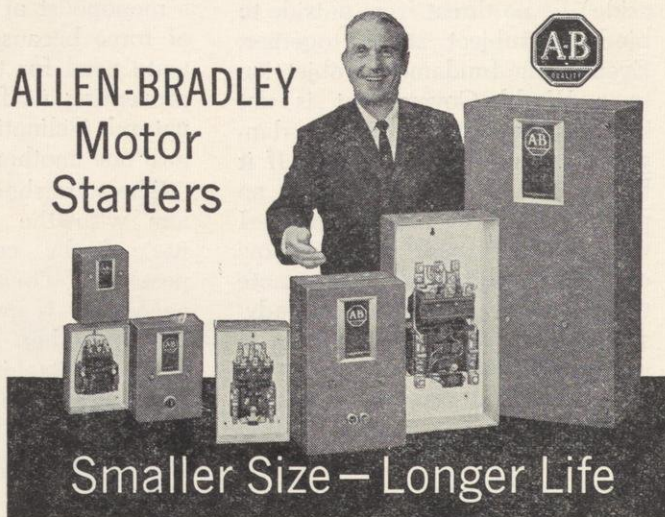
Steel Castings

Weldments

THE **FALK** CORPORATION

MILWAUKEE 1, WISCONSIN

ALLEN-BRADLEY
Motor
Starters



Here's the new line of motor starters everybody's talking about—Allen-Bradley's, of course! They're smaller—but still have extra wiring room—especially in the higher ratings. And they'll outperform and outlast *any other*. "Family likeness" enclosures for general purpose and special applications too.

ALLEN-BRADLEY COMPANY

136 W. Greenfield Ave. • Milwaukee 4, Wisconsin



"... The laws, and the politicians who favor them, are the product of the mass-mind of America, and that mass-mind is the product of the ideas implanted in it long ago and carefully cultured through the years. Unless and until this mass-mind of America is re-educated to freedom, the end product of Socialism is unavoidable. No program based on a policy of immediacy can prevent it.

The Task of those who would stop our descent should not be the changing of laws but the inculcation of values which will make such laws impossible. That is a difficult chore, to be sure, but it is the only one capable of producing the desired result."

From the essay, "For Our Children's Children"

Written in 1949 by Frank Chodorov, Founder and President of the Inter-collegiate Society of Individualists

W. H. **BRADY** CO.

727 W. Glendale Avenue • Milwaukee 9, Wisconsin

Manufacturers of Quality Pressure-Sensitive Industrial Tape Products, Self-Bonding Nameplates, Automatic Machines for Dispensing Labels, Nameplates, Masks and Tape. Est. 1914

Poly-Plates

Self-bonding Nameplates of miracle Mylar* with permanent sub-surface metalized printing
*DuPont's Reg. TM



QUIK-PLATES

Self-bonding anodized and etched Aluminum Foil Nameplates

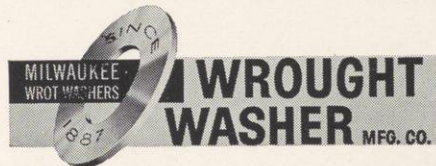


BRADY-CAL

Self-sticking All-Vinyl or Mylar Nameplates — surface-printed . . . permanently protected



W. H. Brady Co. offers employment opportunities to competent young men and women with a strong basic liberal arts education and with specific training in accounting, advertising, business, chemistry, economics, engineering (chemical, electrical, electronic, industrial and mechanical), graphic arts, manufacturing, mathematics, personnel, purchasing, sales.



2100 SOUTH BAY STREET
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

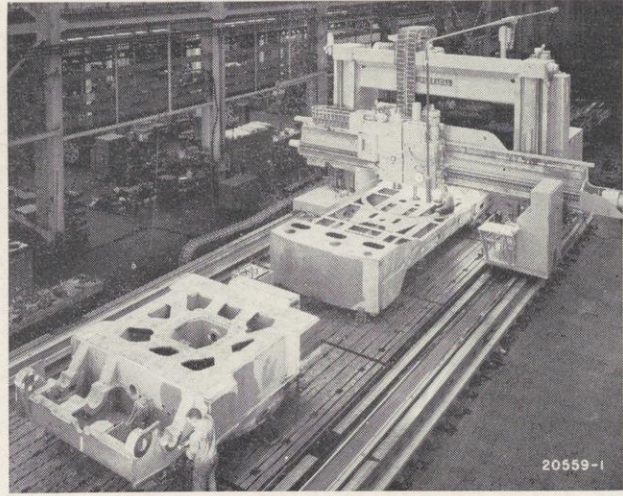
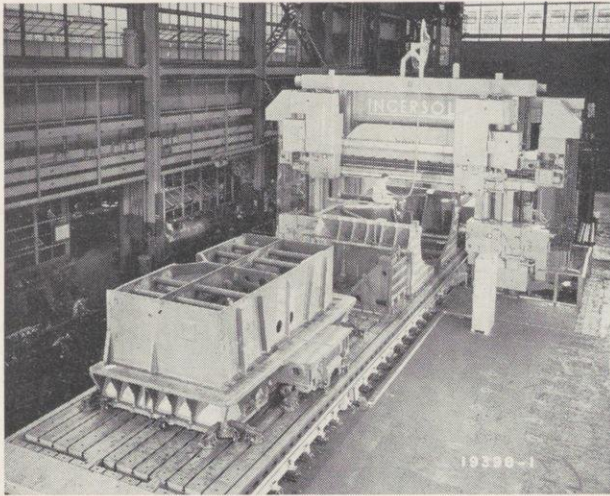
"The world's largest producer of washers"

GROWTH *means* OPPORTUNITIES

we have both . . .

KG KOHLER-GENERAL
"A good place to work"
SHEBOYGAN FALLS, WISCONSIN 53085 • 414-467-4674

- Jenkins Woodworking Equipment Since 1873
- Designers and Manufacturers of Polystyrene Molding Presses and Related Equipment
- Contract Machinists
- Special Machine Design and Construction

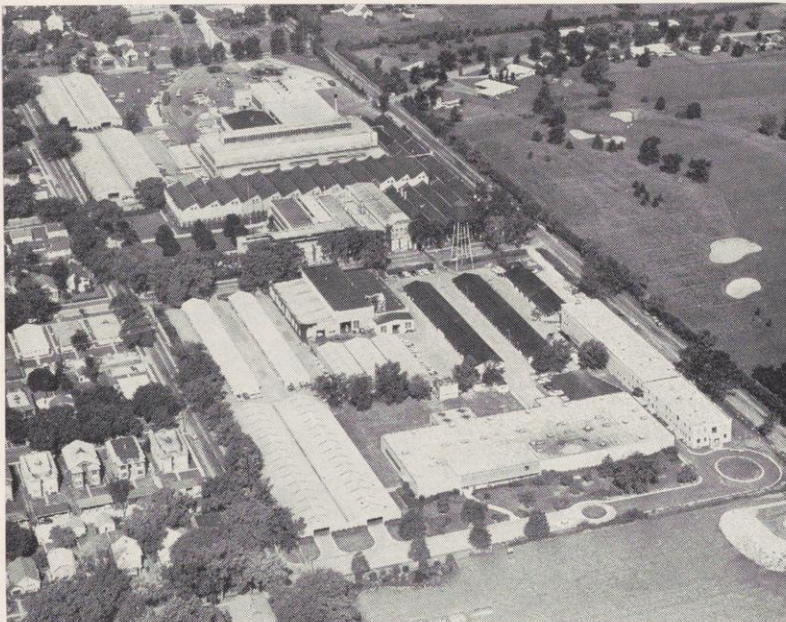


EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR WISCONSIN STUDENTS BELIEVING IN THE FREE MARKET SYSTEM

Only those believing in the operation of the free market, willing to work for a living, assume responsibilities, and who believe that gaining job security is accomplished by furnishing quality goods and services at a price customers are willing to pay, need answer this ad.

The Ingersoll Milling Machine Company is a 79 year old Rockford, Illinois corporation which is privately owned, employs 1400 persons, and sells, designs and manufactures engineering in the form of special machine tools. We are interested in employing intelligent college men who want to make a career for themselves in economics, business administration, or mechanical and electrical engineering as associated with machine tool design. We are interested in offering jobs to undergraduates as well as those of the graduating class.

We at Ingersoll believe strongly in the philosophy of personal freedom and individual responsibility, the open competitive market, the ownership of private property, and a limited constitutional form of government. We would welcome those students from the University of Wisconsin who hold similar beliefs.



A call or a letter to us is all that is needed to set up an interview.

THE INGERSOLL MILLING MACHINE COMPANY

707 Fulton Avenue
Rockford, Illinois
815, 963-6461

Attention: Henry Ortland,
Director of Personnel