



# LIBRARIES

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

## **Insight and outlook: a student journal of conservative opinion. Volume 2, Number 4 May 17, 1960**

Madison, Wisconsin: [publisher not identified], May 17, 1960

<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.

Archives

UW ARCHIVES  
DUPLICATE

# INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK

*A Student Journal of Conservative Opinion*

RECEIVED

JUN 13 1960

UNIV. WIS. LIBRARY

Volume 2 No. 4

May 17, 1960

## A New Rationale for United States Policy Toward the USSR

By Prof. Edmund Zawacki

## Judicial Legislation or Liberty

By Anthony V. Cadden Jr.

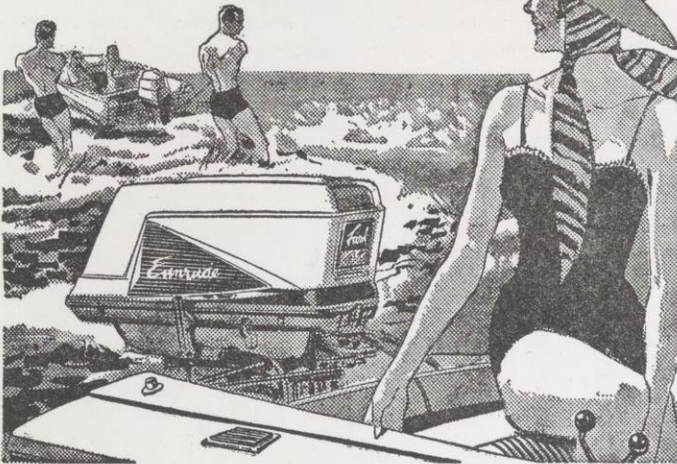
# EVINRUDE

PRESENTS THE NEW

## 40 hp LARK II

SEE IT  
NOW!

OUTPERFORMS ANYTHING  
NEAR ITS POWER CLASS!



EVINRUDE MOTORS • 4143 N. 27th St. • Milwaukee 16, Wis.

Too often current reaction to economic problems seems to be, "Why doesn't the government do something?" Politicians, of course, have a built-in reflex action for this approach. Witness a bill recently debated in Congress for "Federal Aid to Depressed Areas."

Doesn't this approach pose some fundamental moral and economic questions?

- Aren't local problems better handled locally and doesn't Federal intervention always undermine local initiative?
- Are subsidy measures (taxing one group to help support another) ever MORAL?
- Are not the free market responses to natural economic forces the most just and permanent?
- Did Federal money (which can only come from individual taxpayers) really cure the Depression of the 1930's?
- Are not all jobs created by profit opportunities and, when profit opportunities disappear is it not basically because of either high costs or high taxes?
- Does it really help an area to give them aid or does it perpetuate their real problem?

Caterpillar Tractor Co.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

*"Progress is*

*Our Most*

*Important Product"*

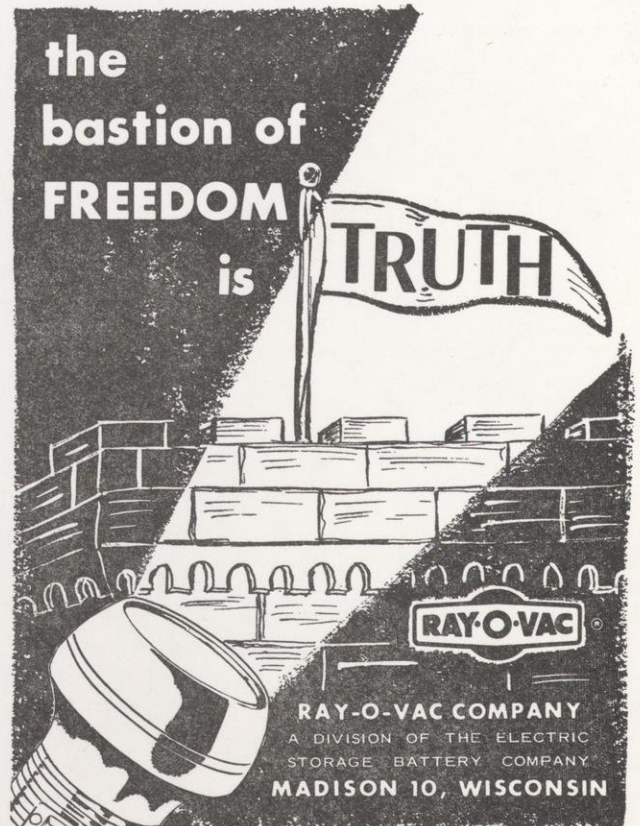
**GENERAL ELECTRIC  
COMPANY**

X - RAY DEPARTMENT

Milwaukee 1, Wisconsin

the  
bastion of  
FREEDOM  
is

TRUTH



RAY-O-VAC

RAY-O-VAC COMPANY  
A DIVISION OF THE ELECTRIC  
STORAGE BATTERY COMPANY  
MADISON 10, WISCONSIN

# INSIGHT and OUTLOOK MAGAZINE

a student journal of conservative opinion

Vol. II, Number 4,

May 17, 1960

Editorial Office 2545 University Avenue  
University of Wisconsin — Madison, Wisconsin  
AL 6-5979 CE 3-7361

EDITOR . . . . . Gale Pfund  
BUSINESS MANAGER . . . . . J. C. Holman  
ASSOCIATE EDITOR . . . . . Robert C. Adams  
MANAGING EDITOR . . . . . William Hellerman  
LITERARY EDITOR . . . . . Millard W. Johnson  
COPY EDITOR . . . . . Joann Toedtman  
DISTRIBUTION MANAGER . . . . . Robert Burmeister

## CONTENTS

### ARTICLES

A NEW RATIONALE FOR UNITED STATES TOWARD  
THE USSR  
by Prof. Edmund Zawacki . . . . . 4

JUDICIAL LEGISLATION OR LIBERTY  
by Anthony V. Cadden, Jr. . . . . 6

OPTIMUM RETURNS FROM UNIVERSAL MILITARY  
TRAINING AND FOREIGN AID  
by Ray Borst . . . . . 8

THE DEPRESSION — A REVIEW OF CAUSES  
by William Hellerman . . . . . 10

### DEPARTMENTS

CAMPUS OUTLOOK . . . . . 3  
BOOK INSIGHT . . . . . 14

## CAMPUS OUTLOOK

### CIVIL RIGHTS

We have for some time viewed with silent amusement the outcries and demonstration of the many would-be champions of civil liberties. With a tremendous burst of energy, pickets, sit-ins and rallies have swept college campuses throughout the country, primarily by dictate of the NSA. Although ultimately self-defeating, the initial success achieved in rallying a segment of student opinion to the cause would indicate to the casual observer that a veritable revolution was afoot. While this possibility is, of course, far from the truth, we are even beginning to see signs of discord and of a certain loss of momentum within the hard core spearheading the fight. Now that the smoke has cleared, we are suddenly aware that the student protest at Wisconsin was neither sanctioned by nor was it the expression of the majority opinion of the student body. Rather, it was instigated and

carried off by the WSA, too often a minority voice in student affairs. Because its role usually turns out in the end to be more that of the weather vane than the leader of student opinion, official policy now supports only the objectives of student protest, not each and every rally, picket or march as originally advocated by the Human Relations committee.

But let not the hasty reader infer from the above commentary that this journal is opposed to all integration or anti-segregation measures. Policies of arbitrary discrimination are totally inconsistent with the conservative position, and personal feelings of class superiority or inferiority would contradict any philosophy of individualism worthy of the name. But, discretion as to method is quite another matter. Anything approaching an open society free of enforced discrimination is impossible without certain important regards for stability. Violent ruptures replace orderly evolution with revolution. The end result is more likely to be a tyranny greater than the original one.

### QUESTION OF LAW

Seldom does one find between the covers of any student publication a thesis that may be regarded as totally new, exploratory, or revealing. And, seldom does a student group delve into issues not having at one time or another been the subject of much discussion and much debate. We have reason to believe, however, that the recent article, "The Liberty to Contract", by Anthony Cadden, Jr., which appeared in the April 11 issue of I and O may well be a possible qualification to this rule. Mr. Cadden's article is one of the few available pieces devoted to an examination of this particular point of view regarding the undesirability of economic inequality as a basis for court decisions involving contract disputes. We find support for our belief not only from several of the UW Law School faculty but from leading attorneys. Dean Terrill, a distinguished Chicago attorney, was kind enough to send a letter which we quote from in part:

One not active in a specific field of law can soon lose the sense of its development. I'd not been aware (though I'd not be surprised if such were the situation) that there is a decided trend in the way of judicial interference with contractual rights based upon the judges' individual notions of what is just or equitable which, I infer from your article, you feel exists or threatens. Collection, analysis and discussion of the decided cases in that respect over the past several years might well provide an illuminating commentary upon another manifestation of the do-gooders' unhappy talent for throwing monkey wrenches in the social machinery.

Mr. Cadden's article may be the starting point for such "collection, analysis and discussion".

# A New Rationale For United States Policy Toward the USSR

By PROF. EDMUND ZAWACKI

When men of repute seriously propose digging multi-billion dollar holes in the ground for the American people to survive in\*, and statesmen contemplate keeping a massive force of atomically armed aircraft aloft on a round-the-clock basis\*\*, and generals testify before Congressional committees that a thermonuclear war may hang on a single decision taken during a Communist-contrived crisis\*\*\*, questions do arise in the public mind. Is the American posture toward the presumed enemy realistic or only pseudo-realistic? In what direction, if any, are we going? Is there no better idea for American policy toward the USSR than the negative idea of deterrent military force? Is coexistence the only answer left?

Coexistence, with or without embellishment by the adjective "peaceful", is premised on the Marxist-Leninist idea of a world divided into two ideologically hostile camps. By the same token, it is the sufficient condition for continuing the frictions of the cold war. If these frictions are continued long enough, the cumulative heat of friction must eventually set off the first hostile thermonuclear explosion. It follows, therefore, that coexistence is merely drift toward thermonuclear war. After all, it is not only wishful

thinking but ideological illiteracy to believe that the cold war can be ended by maintaining the sufficient condition of its continuation.

It turns out, then, that the choice before United States policy never was, and is not now, thermonuclear war or coexistence—but coexistence or peace. On the following four postulates a new rationale for United States policy toward the Soviet Union is proposed.

## Postulate I.

Peace is the opposite of war, not its mere absence.

At first the mind is baffled by the abstractness of this postulate. We are not accustomed to think about peace in terms of a directed non-military process capable no less than war of overwhelming governments that oppose it. But obviously, if peace is to be commensurate with war at all as an activity, it must be conceived as a human activity as natural and simple as it is tremendous, which can be revved up by the right kind of initiative into overwhelming momentum in a direction opposed to war. Genuine peace cannot be conceived as an inert state any more than war can.

## Postulate II.

No amount of American military

or economic power can deter an all-out thermonuclear attack on the United States, nor can the physical safety of the American people be guaranteed by any technical devices.

No problem can be regarded as solved unless it has been solved in its most formidable aspect. If Postulate II is not yet an obvious truth, it will be before long. It is foreseeable that if the war of nerves between the USA and the USSR is acerbated long enough, the side with the weaker nerves will blast off with the first hostile thermonuclear explosion. The compulsive sequel will foreseeably be reciprocal thermonuclear annihilation. Dependence, therefore, on the idea of deterrent military force (massive retaliation) is only pseudo-realistic for it is psychologically unsound and self-defeating.

So far as the peoples of the United States and of the Soviet Union are concerned, both countries already have or soon will have the thermonuclear hardware to annihilate each other several times over. It is not fantastic to believe that from 30,000,000 to 80,000,000 people in the United States will be killed in the first hour of all-out thermonuclear attack. The so-called

Rockefeller Report of 1958 estimated from 60,000,000 to 65,000,000 would be dead and injured in the event of a thermonuclear attack on 50 of our major urban centers. The prospect faced by the Russian people is just as grim.

However, this does not mean that security has been banished from the earth. Security never was a physical state. It always was a state of mind.

### Postulate III.

National and international security is nothing more — *but also nothing less* — than confidence among the peoples of the world that the actions of their governments, and their own actions, are contributing to a dynamically stable and, therefore, genuine peace at home and abroad.

Stability in socio-political relations between the USA and the USSR can be conceived in at least two forms.

(1) There is the static equilibrium of the scale balance. The precarious balance-of-power equilibrium achieved through the ideas of deterrent military force and/or co-existence - with - Communism is of this kind. It is easily upset by material factors like new scientific discoveries that increase potentials for mass destruction of human life, and by immaterial factors like jittery suspicions. Even Khrushchev's toothache during Macmillan's visit in the USSR, or a growl by Khrushchev during his own visit in America, had weight enough, apparently, to disturb such a balance.

(2) There is the dynamic and powerful equilibrium of the fly-wheel. This kind of equilibrium has never yet been resolutely translated into non-military human activity on a massive international scale. To say that the translation cannot be made, or that it would be a superhuman objective for United States policy to achieve, would quite obviously be not a statement of fact but a mere confession of poverty in ideas. The principle of the fly-wheel is quite simple and well-known. Its effectiveness as a

stabilizer depends on the massivity of its momentum. Political application of this principle to USA-USSR relations could conceivably be the break-through toward a realistic self-enforcing peace in the hydrogen age. Concrete means of applying it are described under:

### Postulate IV.

It is a truth as humble as it is universal that people who wish each other well practice hospitality toward each other as a matter of course. Among nations it is no different.

With this postulate we translate abstract thinking into a concrete program of action. Section IV, par. 4, of the Lacy-Zarubin Agreement of January, 1958, for cultural exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union, reads as follows: "Both parties will promote the development and strengthening of friendly contacts between Soviet and American cities." The Agreement of November 21, 1959, permits implementation of this item.

In the United States there are some 20,000 cities and villages. It happens that there are about the same number in the USSR. A resolute proposal by the United States government to the Soviet government for an annual exchange of a two-weeks visit by representative delegations from all 20,000 of our respective cities and villages — all expenses (travel and per diem) to be paid by the *host* countries—could conceivably reverse the whole direction of the cold war. Morally and tactically, the most important feature of the suggested American proposal is that the costs of the delegations from the 20,000 American communities are to be paid by the Soviet government, while the costs of the delegations from the 20,000 Soviet partner-communities are to be paid by the United States government. Neither the reciprocating communities nor the individual participants are to be out of pocket in any way. The whole concept can properly be called the 'open city' idea.

This is not tourism but nation-

wide, city-to-city and people-to-people contact and plain social visiting. It would require a Congressional appropriation of at least \$250,000,000 annually, none of which, quite obviously, would be spent abroad. All of it would be pumped into our own domestic economy at the retail level.

At least four Wisconsin municipalities and one in Iowa have already officially notified the Department of State that they are ready to exchange delegations with Russian communities of comparable size and geographical location inside the USSR on these terms. They are Madison, Wisconsin's capital city (population 125,000) which suggested Kazan on the middle Volga as its exchange partner; Appleton (30,000) which suggested Arzamas; Jefferson (4,000) which suggested a city of similar size near Kazan;; Belleville (900) which suggested a village near Kazan; and Waverly (Iowa), a city of about 5,000 people, which made no specific choice of a Russian partner-community. A total, USA-USSR, geographical coverage in a process of reciprocal city-to-city hospitality of this kind would perhaps constitute a sufficiently massive socio-political flywheel. By the same token it would come close to being a self-enforcing peace between the American and Russian peoples, i.e., momentum away from hostility and toward organized hospitality, the *opposite* of war.

The political results expected from American launching of the 'open city' idea on a total scale like this, do not depend on the immediate actual practice of city-to-city visits, but upon a cumulative and relatively swift precipitation *inside the USSR* of an active public opinion on this issue, hostile to the negative stand that the Communist regime must take in every city and village of the USSR. The idea is as tremendous as it is simple, and no Communist regime can accept such a friendly American proposal and hope to continue its repressive,

(Continued on page 12)

# Judicial Legislation

# or Liberty

By ANTHONY V. CADDEN, Jr.

Justice Brandeis wrote in *Olmstead v. U. S.*, 277 U. S. 438 (1928) that: "The greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well meaning but without understanding." I agree with Justice Brandeis and commend the attention of my "liberal" friends to his wisdom.

The issue is under debate today as to what the term "state" ought to encompass. I should think the term "state" could be quite clear in its meaning, but for some reason there is confusion about it in some quarters. Section 1 of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States provides that *no state shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws*. Private discriminatory covenants have been held lawful (*Corrigan v Buckley*, 271 U.S. 323), but the enforcement of agreements of this kind by a state through its courts has been held to constitute a denial of the equal protection of the laws (*Shelley v Kraemer*, 334 U.S. 1). At this point my imagination is strained. Is the United States Supreme Court saying that state courts legislate when they enforce lawful agreements between private parties?

To the question: Wouldn't it be "state action", i.e. judicial legisla-

tion, for a state court to enforce a contract between private parties to commit murder?"—my answer is a qualified "yes". If the state court didn't review the state legislation that made contracts to commit murder illegal and unenforceable before it decided to enforce the contract, the court would clearly be acting in the fashion of a legislature.

In my opinion, the state court in the *Shelley* case which upheld the restrictive covenant was not legislating because the U.S. Supreme Court in the *Corrigan* case had decided that private restrictive covenants were legal. The state court here was merely recognizing the rights and duties which arose between parties at the time the contract was made.

Following the decision in *Shelley v Kraemer*, there have been several articles written and a few decisions handed down by courts concerning either one or the other of two important questions: (1) Do state courts legislate when they enforce lawful agreements between private parties; and, (2) may courts properly identify discrimination by private individuals with discrimination by the state within the meaning of the 14th Amendment's provision for equal protection?

For those who may wish to pursue independent study of these two questions there are several useful sources. Judge Learned Hand's book, *The Bill of Rights*, is a thoughtful one. Professor Herbert Wechsler of Columbia University Law School has written an interesting article in 73 *Harvard Law Review* 1 (1959) in which he disagrees with Judge Hand on some points. Louis H. Pollak of Yale University Law School, a "liberal", disagrees with both Hand and Wechsler in his article in 108 *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 1 (1959). And Professor Arthur Miller of Emory University takes a most extreme and socialistically oriented position in an article published by the Fund for the Republic (1959) on *Private Governments and the Constitution*, in which he claims that corporations have reached the status of governments and should be considered as such under the 14th Amendment.

\* \* \* \* \*

## "Liberal" or Conservative

The differences between modern "liberals" and conservatives is so fundamental on the above-mentioned two issues that it is best to begin any discussion of them with definitions. Russell Kirk in his scholarly book, *The Conservative Mind*, de-

fined some of these differences. I am going to lean on Dr. Kirk.

Man has individual dignity because his Creator has endowed him with rights which ought to be placed above the occasional whims of the majority. Conservatives feel that man has an irremediable propensity to be base. Power corrupts him. Hence it is consistent for conservatives to urge individual liberties on the one hand and limitation of the powers of central government on the other. The Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution were written with these principles in mind. The Federal Constitution made a clear separation of powers between the legislative, judicial and executive branches. Such separation is also reflected in the constitutions of the states.

"Liberals", however, believe at bottom in the perfectibility of man and in the unlimited progress of society. It follows that they must also believe that education, positive legislation, and alteration of environment can produce men like gods. From this tacit belief there inevitably arise: (1) contempt for tradition and excessive admiration for reason, impulse and materialistic determinism as guides to social good; (2) an eagerness for centralization and consolidation of power; (3) scorn for property rights, especially real property — almost all "liberals" and collectivistic reformers hack at the institution of private property root and branch.

As to this last point, the conservative, in contrast with the modern "liberal", feels that "property and freedom are inseparably connected, and that economic levelling is not economic progress. Separate property from private possession, and liberty is erased." (Russell Kirk, *The Conservative Mind*, p. 8)

A conservative student at the University of Wisconsin shouldn't be surprised when he is showered with criticism for speaking favorably of the conservative principles underlying the Declaration of Independence and the American Con-

stitution. The thoughtful conservative should be able to appraise and put in context the statements made by his "liberal" professors, associates and friends.

By way of illustration, I would like to point to page 112 of Professor Homer Carey Hockett's "liberal" textbook on the *Constitutional History of the United States*. This is the textbook which the class used when I took History 117 here at Wisconsin a few years ago. Professor Hockett states: "The Declaration of Independence is sometimes said to rest upon a philosophy which has been rejected by present-day political science. Students of institutions hold that the assumed state of nature is unhistorical. Man has never existed except as a member of some kind of society, and his individual rights have always been defined by the custom or law of his social group rather than by his own will or desire. Such facts appear to put an end to the concept of natural rights as well as to that of the original state of nature." I doubt the correctness of Professor Hockett's "liberal" interpretation of the "facts". I trust that Professors in the History Department of the University of Wisconsin try more carefully than Professor Hockett to sift "fact" from "opinion".

Dr. Clarence Manion, former Dean of the Notre Dame Law School, quotes Karl Marx on page 54 of his book, *The Key to Peace*. Marx, prophet of the modern socialist political and economic dispensation, disposed of the individual citizen with the now familiar logic: "The democratic concept of man is false, because it is Christian. The democratic concept holds that each man is a sovereign being. This is the illusion, dream and postulate of Christianity." In this way Marx wrote off the importance of the individual human personality in a derisive, wholesale condemnation of Christianity. On closer inspection, his concepts are not different but only more vivid than those used by Professor Hockett.

The record of history would

seem to teach that wheresoever government gets bigger and bigger and more and more powerful, it moves at the same time and at the same proportional speed toward the unwitting goal of the present day "liberal", namely, the nothingness and insignificance of the individual human being in relation to the state.

The conservative believes that the God-given nature of man lays upon all human government a drastic and vital set of limitations. In the United States these limitations are written into constitutions which all our state governments must observe if they discharge their powers with integrity. One of the most important of these limitations is the separation of powers doctrine.

\* \* \* \* \*

The conservative will answer "no" to the question: Do state courts legislate when they enforce lawful agreements between private parties? The answer "yes" to this question would violate the doctrine of the separation of powers.

The conservative will answer "no" to the second question: May the courts properly identify discrimination by private individuals with discrimination by the state, within the meaning of the 14th Amendment provision for equal protection. An answer of "yes" to this question would result in depriving the individual of his liberty of choice.

A socialistically oriented "liberal" will answer "yes" to both questions. The United States Supreme Court in the *Shelley* case seemingly answered "yes" to the first question. In August, 1958, for a variety of reasons, the Chief Justices of the State Supreme Courts in the United States, assembled and voted to urge the United States Supreme Court to act with greater "restraint". Their caution could well be applied in this area.

The United States Supreme Court has not yet directly answered the second question in the affirmative, and Professor Herbert Wechsler of Columbia University Law School thinks that the court will

(Continued on page 12)



# Optimum Returns from Universal Military Training and Foreign Aid

By RAY BORST

We, in America, have decided through our Universal Military Training Law that all young males owe their country two years of their lives. To question whether this is right and proper is pure folly until someone comes up with a better method to defend the nation from foreign foes. However, we must certainly raise the questions—What is the optimum use of our manpower? — How can we best use the talent and training that we have available?

That we must consider our current use of these abilities is apparent when we realize that, in spite of, or perhaps because of, our becoming an armed state (Armed Forces, National Guard, Reserves, etc.), we are losing the cold war. Because of the great advances that the Russians have made in several fields, we must question whether we are using our available manpower to our greatest advantage. Surely a man with 5 or 6 years college education can do more than carry an M-1. Yet, a very large percentage of our college graduates are drafted into the armed services to spend their time peeling potatoes, cleaning latrines, white washing rocks and cutting grass.

This article will serve no purpose if all we do is decry the appalling

misuse of manpower in our armed services. This has been done time and again. Rather, we will attempt to prescribe a plan whereby many of our trained individuals can contribute to the utmost of their ability to the defense of this nation through the use of their specialized training.

We, in the years since World War II, have poured countless billions of dollars into foreign aid — financial gifts to other nations. Much of this money has gone to buy air conditioned Cadillacs and similar luxuries for the fortunate few. Very little has seeped down to the poor downtrodden common man.

We have sent engineers to these countries to build big and spectacular projects. We pay for highways through jungles where the transportation is by bicycle or by foot. We finance huge dams where the immediate need is small irrigation pumps. We build these huge expensive projects yet we neglect the projects that will put food on the table of a starving family — improving the local breeds of chickens and pigs, providing small irrigation pumps, canning of food and improving the quality of seeds.

We send stars like Benny Goodman to these countries. They play

in the major cities but only the coat and tie set (a very small percentage) get to see them. We send them a cut glass exhibit. These nations are fighting for survival, a large percentage of the people are starving and most are existing on a sub-standard diet, and we send them Benny Goodman and a cut glass exhibit.

We must offer these peoples the things that they need today, not the huge and complex machines that our industry is turning out and therefore wants to sell (give away with Uncle Sam picking up the tab). A child has to learn to crawl before learning to walk and learn to walk before learning to run. These nations must do the same.

The ultra-conservative will ask, "Should we have a foreign aid program?" He will say, "If there is such waste in the program, let's abolish it entirely." This article is not intended to be a critical analysis of our foreign aid program. Perhaps those highways in the jungle and the huge dams are necessary. Rather, since we are already in the foreign aid business, should we not question what will give us the most for our dollar? And should we not ensure that our dollars are being spent to greatest advantage? If we intend to preserve personal freedom

on this earth, we must help these nations arise from the depths of poverty and disease. The only alternative is universal communism.

Thus we have established two points of inquiry:

1. If we are to have Universal Military Training (service to our country), how can we obtain the optimum use of the education and training of our superior individuals?
2. If we are to have a foreign aid program, how can we obtain the optimum return on our dollar?

I propose that we establish colleges and technical schools in the underprivileged nations. These schools would encompass many fields such as nursing, agriculture, engineering and education and the trades such as bricklaying, plumbing and electrical wiring. These schools would primarily teach the teachers and the builders of these nations. Thus an individual who attends the "American School" would return to his people and help them lift themselves out of the squalor, disease and ignorance in which these people have wallowed for countless centuries.

These schools would be primarily staffed by young Americans—those men who are currently wasting their time playing soldier. We should allow certain qualified individuals to spend their two years service time in the service of others. Couldn't a young couple of agriculture students accomplish a lot more by doubling the egg production of a nation like Thailand than shouldering an M-1 for two years?

Local students should be able to attend these schools with no cash expenditures. This would mean that they would have to work their way through. Here in the States, several colleges have what is called a "Cooperative Plan" where the student goes to school for six months and then gains practical experience by working on the job for which he is studying for the next six months. I think that a well balanced program would allow each

individual to contribute his practical training to some portion of the required work. Certainly an agricultural program based upon this "practical experience plan" could supply a large portion of the school's food requirements. This "practical experience" is particularly necessary in the trades.

If the students, through their practical training, can contribute to their own upkeep, these schools would cost little to run other than the cost of the instructors and administration. Since, as I have previously proposed, these instructors would be people who are already in the service of their country, the additional cost would be low. Certainly the return on this small additional cost would be astronomic.

Once again, the "aginner" (that American who is against every thing for the sake of being "agin" it) will ask, "Don't they have their own universities? Here we educate them for free and I can't even afford to send my own kids to college." Yes, most of these countries do have rather good, though poorly equipped, universities. The question is not whether we should educate these people—either for free or at their expense. The question is how can we obtain the optimum returns on the dollars that we are sending over there? It is for this reason that we must consider the establishment of "American Schools" in the underprivileged nations.

While these countries do have universities, only the upper classes can afford to send their children to them. The children of the poor peasants who live in the boondocks get little or no education. Thus, these people have no opportunity to attend the university. What the people in the boondocks need is a teacher to teach the people and write plus an agricultural agent to help them improve their methods of farming. Certainly no son of a rich city business man is going to study agriculture and go live in the boondocks to help the poor farmers

improve their lot. The only solution is to educate some of the farmers themselves.

Another problem arises with the present procedure of bringing many of the outstanding graduates of these schools to the United States to take graduate work. A large percentage of these individuals never return to their homeland for various reasons. We are, therefore, siphoning off the cream of the crop—those outstanding individuals who are tomorrow's leaders upon whom the future of these nations depends.

Secondly, are those individuals who do return obtaining the education that their country so desperately needs? Their engineers come to the U.S. and study atomic energy and then return to their country where at the most there is one small training reactor probably located at the national university. Other engineers study the latest metal alloy theories and yet 95% of their foundry requirements could be met with plain ordinary cast iron. Still others study the latest methods of advanced stress analysis when their countries need hundreds of bridges.

This same concentration in advanced work, when their countries need practical educations which can lift their people out of the squalor, can be noted in all fields. The starving child, his body racked with dysentery, gets a dissertation on "The Stress Distribution of a Finite Plate with a Finite Number of Discontinuities", rather than a small water treating plant that will purify his drinking water and cure his dysentery. The hardworking farmer, his crop wiped out by a blight, gets a dissertation on "The Effect of Triclorodinitrodiaquous on the Growth of Lung Cancers," rather than a poison to kill the blight or a disease resistant strain of the crop.

We forget, or perhaps are unable to comprehend that nearly all the people of these nations live off the land. While in the U.S. at the present, only one person in 22 is working the land to produce food for the other 21, this ratio is just about reversed in the underdevel-

(Continued on page 13)

# The Depression ---

## a review of causes

by WILLIAM HELLERMAN

Today this country is retreating in the direction of socialism, yet, we are continuing to voice our belief in a free market. There is always the implication that we owe our material progress to free enterprise but that in a modern society a central organization is required. Without some national control we would have millions of jobless workers wandering the streets unable to provide for their health and eventual old age. The general feeling is that the United States is still proud of its history of freedom, but skeptical of its practicality in the modern society of the sixties.

How can we account for this loss of confidence in freedom and loss of faith in themselves by the American people. Surely we can't say freedom never had any success, but I think we can say that freedom frightened a large number of people. Actually, you must admit that freedom can be a very frightening thought. People became scared when they realize that they must suffer the consequences of their mistakes. One of the most phenomenal qualities in the history of the United States is that it took so long for people to manifest this fear. But, as we know, from 1929 on the public has been seized by paroxysm of fear over the prospect of free enterprise.

The depression created a desperate bewilderment that swept over

the country. Never before had so many men suffered so much for the few mistakes they actually committed. Millions spoke out in one voice against this freedom that appeared to have done them unjust harm. But my question is, was all this despair and destruction completely the result of free unrestrained action by the people?

Any man who believes wholeheartedly in freedom and wants to work for its restoration must be able to answer that question, and be able to answer that question in the negative. He cannot hedge on the principle that since man learns from his mistakes, the depression has taught America certain lessons that will prevent having another depression. This, while it has truth, is in many respects false. Contrary to popular opinion the entire country was not handling its future foolishly; only a few were. But nonetheless many were forced to suffer for the mistakes of a few. It is true that a large majority of the population did profit by learning that a depression of this magnitude could develop, but still the fact remains that the foolish actions of a few could still cause a depression if the nation continued as it was during the twenties. Our governmental setup had many deviations from the free market prior to 1929.

In this article it would be impossible to cover every area that

the government was involved in and to show the multiplicity of ways in which each of these interferences affected the depression. However, if I can take one area of government interference and show how that interference led to the depression, I feel that I will have established a strong foot-hold for my argument. This is especially true if I take the area that perhaps did more to cause the depression than any other, the Federal Reserve System.

Any discussion of the federal reserve system always brings out the fact that the Federal Reserve System is to quite a degree not in the hands of the government but is in the hands of private bankers. It is a manifestation of the situation that existed from 1900 to 1920 when our nation no longer had a free market, but had a "Big-business socialism", a government interference in favor of that special interest group. It is only reasonable to assume that unfair practices like these would disrupt the economy and lay the basis for destruction. The annoying aspect of this affair is that while many people realized the situation, they almost universally misinterpreted it. That big business should use the government as an instrument of force in its behalf became synonymous with the free market. So we have the United States, instead of abolishing these

violations of the free market, establishing new ones by the hundreds, and as a result we have the same capacity to cause an international depression still in existence. Instead of condemning government interference we now permit and worship it.

In the beginning of our history the national banking set up was on a competitive basis, and then with Andrew Jackson, it became the function of the government. Once our monetary system was centralized it was no surprise that corruption became rampant. The period from 1870 to 1920 represents little more than one big black mark on the integrity of government. Men in favor with government officials could induce situations favorable to themselves through the power of government. The result was a succession of panics. After the panic of 1907, the people began to demand monetary reform. Let's see what they got.

After six years of study and debate, President Woodrow Wilson signed the Federal Reserve Act in 1913. Under this act there were twelve banking districts established, all under the Board of Governors. These governors are appointed for a period of fourteen years (longer tenure than any elected office) and must be members of the banking profession. The Federal Reserve System has the power to carry on all shipments of gold for the United States, coin money, and regulate our credit system. The only form of censure that the American People have on this group is through a congressional investigation, and this would be only to eliminate an incompetent that might get the position.

This board of governors has the power to regulate every matter of a monetary nature that affects the United States, yet this board is composed entirely of bankers under salary to their own banks at the same time they are working "in the public interest". Our government has permitted a special interest

group to cloak itself with the dignity of the United States government and to have free use of the powers of this government. Would you consider it too unwarranted a conclusion to say that often these men might act in the interest of themselves and not in the interest of the country as a whole?

Throughout the twenties the federal reserve system did everything in its power to stimulate easy credit. Through the use of their discount rate powers they induced the banks to loan money on easy terms. In particular there was a tendency to promote long term real estate mortgages. In the international market they stimulated extensive loans to Europe by shipping gold to foreign countries, thereby making their economy appear more stable than it really was. In 1929, there was so much credit money in circulation that the bankers finally became scared. By raising the discount rate in 1929, credit was sharply contracted. Loans were called in that could not be paid, and a rash of selling began in an attempt to get the money for these loans. Overnight the bottom fell out of the market, and panic seized the country. Since many banks were unable to collect their loans, people were frightened and tried to draw their money out. The banks didn't have it, but in a desperate attempt to regain money they foreclosed on their mortgages. The result of this was that many people lost their homes and savings. Nevertheless, much of this disaster could have been avoided if the Federal Reserve Board had once again lowered the discount rate thus stimulating a normal investment flow. They didn't and this long period of contracted credit gradually forced an increasing unemployment because of the difficulty it caused in acquiring the necessary funds to carry on a normally expanding business. All in all, the Federal Reserve System is crowded with mistakes, the majority of which have been costly.

The major lesson that can be

learned from the depression is not so much to never let these same set of circumstances happen again, but to stop assigning a godlike nature to the government. Throughout the twenties, bankers, investors, and interested men in the streets must have had some doubts as to the advisability of loaning money with little or no collateral, but they felt the banks must know what they were doing. The banks must have had the same apprehensions, but if the government said they did not have to have a large reserve and should try to loan as much money as they could, then the government must have known what it was doing. The fact of the matter is that the government usually doesn't know what it is doing, and if the people had realized they would have to take the responsibility for their mistakes, the depression would never have occurred.

Now in all logic, would you give thousands of dollars to just anyone to invest on the stock market just on a tip from his barber? A lot of brokers did. Then, how about the people who believed that since they had monetary reform there was no danger of a recession. They blithely went ahead and contracted themselves to long term loans that in event of a monetary disaster couldn't be paid off. These people put their faith in the government, and what did they do after it let them down? They put more faith in it, until we have the situation today where millions of citizens are depending on the government for their existence.

It is difficult to understand why the effect of the Federal Reserve System is so rarely mentioned in discussions of the depression. Most history courses seem to dismiss the whole question as being the natural result of an uncontrolled economy. A little thought on the above statement should make anyone wonder about its over-simplification. This

(Continued on page 12)

## RATIONAL (con't)

monoparty, political control there-after over the vast population outside the Communist privileged class. Nor can the Communist leadership in the USSR repeatedly reject the friendship of the American people clearly expressed in such a proposal, and hope to escape the mounting wrath of the Russian people. It should be noted, too, that for reciprocal inspection purposes in any serious disarmament program, the 'open city' idea affords total geographical coverage.

It is conceivable that the Russian people's deep tradition of hospitality, their equally deep curiosity about everyday life in the United States, and their normal human desire to avoid biological extermination in a thermonuclear holocaust would outweigh their concern, if any, for the longevity of the Iron Curtain and the Communist system that cannot exist without it. What would then happen to the Communist regime in the USSR would be the business of the Russian people, not ours. Our business is only to demonstrate to the Russian people that our 'open city' proposal is friendly, sincere, and serious.

This would be power politics of a new kind, power politics with moral force — the opposite of war. War is power politics with military force. In the hydrogen age, it is perhaps time to practice the new kind, and quit trying to make friends of Communist parties, and quit talking ponderous nonsense about mere survival.

People want to live, not survive.

\*The Gaither Report (never published, but leaked to the press by the Office of Defense Mobilization in Dec. 1957). Also, Governor Rockefeller of New York (See *Life*, April 11, 1960).

\*\*President Eisenhower in a press conference on March 5, 1959.

\*\*\*General Maxwell Taylor of the Joint Chief of Staff in testimony on the Berlin crisis before the Senate Subcommittee on Military Preparedness on March 11, 1959.

## JUDICIAL LEGISLATION (con't)

not "yield to such temptations" (73 *Harvard Law Review* 31, 1959). I believe that Professor Wechsler is right. Professor Louis Pollak writing from a "liberal" point of view in 108 *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* disagrees with Professor Wechsler.

\* \* \* \* \*

### Conclusion

Concern over unwarranted intrusion upon the individual's liberty is abundantly reflected in the body of our Constitution. The very structure of our government with its checks and balances, a structure that owes much to Montesquieu's *The Spirit of Laws*, was designed to safeguard the individual and his liberty. As the renowned French author observed, "When the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person, or in the same body of magistrates, there can be no liberty, because apprehensions may arise lest the same monarch or senate should enact tyrannical laws, to execute them in a tyrannical manner."

Again, there is no liberty, if the judiciary power be not separated from the legislative and executive. Were it joined with the legislative, the life and liberty of the subject would be exposed to arbitrary control for the judge would be then the legislator. Were it joined to the executive power, the judge might behave with violence and oppression." (Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws*, Book 11, page 182)

James Madison made this same point more succinctly when he wrote: "The accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive, and judiciary in the same hands, whether of one, a few, or many, and whether hereditary, self-appointed, or elective, may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny." (*The Federalist* No. 47, page 313, Mod. Lib. edit.)

More recently, Judge Learned Hand of the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals, one of the truly great

men of the judiciary today, had this to say of the proper role of the judiciary, I have often said to myself: 'What do you mean by interpreting?' . . . But in . . . cases when the legislators have not handed over the authority to us (the judiciary) to make our choices, we have to assume that they did mean to impose some choice of their own." (Learned Hand: *Report of the Arden House Conference of 1958*, page 118, published by the American Law Institute in the series *Continuing Legal Education for Professional Competence and Responsibility*, 1959).

History leaves little doubt as to the wisdom of the words of James Madison and Learned Hand. It likewise is clear, as Judge Hand said in 1958, that where legislatures refuse to legislate on a given issue, and thus prevent courts from interpreting the laws as passed by them, it is not the court's privilege to legislate for them by indirection. In the formation of both federal and state governments, the legislative and executive branches were established as distinct and separate entities from the judiciary.

An interpretation of the 14th Amendment which would slur over this distinction is not based on principled reason, but rather, I submit, on a theory of expediency not consistent with either ideas of liberty or justice.

---

## DEPRESSION (con't)

writer's conclusion is that the government influences people to act against their behalf because they trust the government to protect them from their errors. It is unfortunate that there is not enough space to cover all the manipulations of the Federal Reserve System in detail. In summary it can be said that in almost all cases Federal manipulations were more to the detriment of the economy than to its aid.

## OPTIMUM RETURNS (con't)

oped nations. It is beyond the realm of imagination to conceive the magnitude of the results that an agricultural program could give to these peoples. If the agricultural output per man could be doubled (not unrealistic when considering our present knowledge in this field), their dietary standards could be raised tremendously and several of the 22 farmers could be used to increase the output of manufactured goods of the nation.

These nations are presently handicapped because of their lack of capital which is required for manufacturing facilities. This capital can only be accumulated after some of these farmers are freed from the necessity of supplying their own food. Thus the raising of the standard of living and the economic freedom for these peoples can only come after an agricultural revolu-

tion — a drastic improvement in the agricultural output of these nations.

Thus, you can see that for just a few percent of the total amount of foreign aid we can, and must, begin to bring about some effects which will benefit the common people. We are currently neglecting the common man in these countries — neglecting the little things that mean so much to him and his family. Burdick and Lederer in their book, *The Ugly American*, say, “. . . the Russians will win the world by their successes in a multitude of tiny battles. Many of these will be fought . . . in the rice fields of Asia, at village meetings, in schools; but mainly they will take place in the minds of men . . . The sum of these tiny battles will decide whether our way of life is to perish or to persist.” Yet we are not even on these battlefields. We are building huge power stations where the average home doesn't

require more than a few light bulbs. We are building huge dams where a dozen irrigation pumps will do. And, most important, we are neglecting the poor common starving masses — the people among whom communism finds widespread support because communism promises to feed them and their children.

---

In the Carboniferous Epoch we were promised abundance for all, by robbing selected Peter to pay for collective Paul;  
But, though we had plenty of money, there was nothing our money could buy,  
And the Gods of the Copybook Heading said:

“If you don't work you die.”

— Rudyard Kipling

*“I have sworn upon the altar of God  
eternal hostility against every form of tyranny  
over the mind of man.”*

— Thomas Jefferson

# GREDE FOUNDRIES, INC.

IRON, STEEL & DUCTILE IRON CASTINGS  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Elkhart Division  
Elkhart, Indiana

Iron Mountain Division  
Iron Mountain, Michigan

Liberty Division  
Wauwatosa, Wisconsin

Milwaukee Steel Division  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Reedsburg Division  
Reedsburg, Wisconsin

South Water Division  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Spring City Division  
Waukesha, Wisconsin

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

*An organization of significant, important individuals who are recognized as such.*

**“A Good Place to Work”**

## BOOK INSIGHT

### The Rape of the Mind

"This book attempts to depict the strange transformation of the free human mind into an automatically responding machine—a transformation which can be brought about by some of the cultural undercurrents in our present-day society as well as by deliberate experiments in the service of a political ideology."

Meerloo's opening paragraph is too modest, for his attempt is most successful. He is a psychiatrist at Columbia University and has a wide reputation for scholarship, credentials that portend to a plodding academic dissertation. But *The Rape of the Mind* is fascinating reading not only for its keen insights but also because Meerloo liberally laces the text with his own experiences.

A native of the Netherlands, Meerloo narrowly escaped arrest when the Nazis invaded his country. Tipped off by a policeman that he was a marked man, he fled to Belgium. He was captured there by the Nazis and subjected to interrogation, but he escaped by way of France and Spain and for the rest of the war he was head of the psychological department of the Netherlands Army in England.

As a member of the resistance movement in the Netherlands, he and others of the underground forces sought methods which a member could use to resist brainwashing if captured. Narcotics were tried with some success, but besides dulling the body against pain, they also dulled the brain, making it more vulnerable to mental pressure. Systematic exercises in mental relaxation and auto-hypnosis (comparable with Yogi) were tried in order to make the body more insensitive to hunger and pain. Meerloo found that few people were able to bring themselves into such a state.

"Finally we evolved this simple psychological trick," writes Meerloo, "when you can no longer outwit the enemy or resist talking, the best thing to do is to talk too much. This was the idea: keep yourself sullen and act the fool; play the coward and confess more than there is to confess." It worked. Scatterbrained simpletons confused the enemy much more than silent heroes whose stamina was finally undermined in spite of everything.

Much of Meerloo's book (his thirteenth) is a handbook to resistance, but he is generally pessimistic about an individual's power to resist interrogation successfully. The ordeal of Cardinal Mindszenty is cited as an example of what a prisoner can expect. Meerloo divides the treatment into three phases:

First, the inquisitor tries to weaken the prisoner both physically and mentally. Torture is used. If

the prisoner's mind proves too resistant, narcotics are given to confuse it: mescaline, marihuana, morphine, barbiturates, and alcohol. If his body collapses before his mind capitulates, stimulants are administered: benzedrine, caffeine, and coramine.

Next, the victim is trained to accept his own confession. He is forced to repeat his confession again and again, backwards and forwards, like a performing bear.

In the third and final phase of interrogation, the prisoner is completely conditioned. He is convinced of his own guilt and is ready to implicate others.

To designate this process, Meerloo has coined the word "menticide," derived from *mens*, the mind, and *caedere*, to kill.

Meerloo draws heavily on examples from Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia when he speaks of Totalitaria, the dictatorial state.

"The aims of the rulers of our fictitious country," says Meerloo, "are simply formulated: despotism, the total domination of man and mankind, and the unity of the entire world under one dictatorial authority. But the simplified brotherhood conception of a universal dictatorship is false and reflects the danger inherent in the totalitarian goal: all men are different, and it is the difference between them that creates the greatness, the variety, and the creative inspirations of life, as well as the tensions of social intercourse. The totalitarian conception of equalization can be realized only in death, when the chemical and physical laws that govern all of us take over completely. Death is indeed the great equalizer."

— Millard W. Johnson

## The New American Right

Criterion Book, New York

*The New American Right* is a series of essays by seven well known historians and sociologists. These gentlemen, Daniel Bell, Richard Hofstadter, David Riesman, Nathan Glazer, Peter Viereck, Talcott Parsons, and Seymour Lipset, try to prove that the current conservative movement is actually a "radical right."

It is a worthwhile book for conservatives for two reasons. First, these men are unquestioned intellectuals, and they raise some very interesting points concerning the current conservative ideology. Some of these men, Hofstadter in particular, raise arguments which, to be answered intelligently, cause conservatives to do a good bit of soul-searching. Secondly, these men are unquestioned "liberal" intellectuals, and they demonstrate to what lengths they are willing to go to discredit conservatism.

Perhaps the title of the book should have been, "Joseph McCarthy, The New American Radical Rightist," for Joe is the nirvana of the seven authors.

One by one, they attempt to explain how a movement (conservatism) so dull, boorish, and intellectually despicable could possibly attract more than a handful from the lunatic fringe. Each takes his turn in the mystic seat and tries to equate and correlate catholicism, slums, Nouveaux Riches, status seekers, red baiters and Roosevelt haters. Each becomes more ridiculous than the last. But hark, the satalytic element — McCarthy. His five o'clock shadow and crued demeanor ("Throw this radical out of the room") charms the Milktoasts; his Harvard-baiting charms the lower classes; his anti-New Dealing charms the wealthy; his goals delight the isolationists, the "liberal" halocaust gives the reactionaries the best reaction material in decades — in short, he becomes the focal point of a torn and divided political movement. Now comes the task, and incidentally, the point of the book: how to effectively discredit such a diverse potpourri of thenic and semantic odds and ends. First of all, the *Freeman* ("old maidish organ of the Radical Right") becomes a lesson in philosophical anarchism. Next, the exposure of "Individual Liberty" as a clever front. Next, we are told of the dire threat to civil liberties. Page after page goes by with the reader receiving the impression that the book, unlike this review, is written from a neutral, middle-of-the-road viewpoint. How is this done?

Two sure-fire methods are employed. The first is very common. One surveys the entire body politic and places oneself as "center". When a good sound New Deal "liberal" intellectual places himself at center-point, here is what happens: (from left to right) blatent fellow-travelers become people of liberal intellect; the New Deal is the middle of the road; the modern

Republicans such as Stassen, Case, Rockefeller, etc., become conservatives; and the "radical right" remains for those who would withdraw from the U.N., abolish the income tax, stop foreign aid, censure Federal Health Insurance, say anything at all about Socialism — or in any way decentralize and limit the powers of the Federal Government.

To deal with McCarthy, the seven have come up with a new formula. To many of the "liberal" intellectuals, the political horizon consists of two, and only two, sectors. One half is the sector of pro-New deal thinking, and the other is out-and-out fascism. In this situation, any anti-Communist outcrys that emanate from more than two degrees right of the median can easily be displaced with subtle neo-fascist mumblings. In *New Right*, this is only too clear. Although no one comes out and says, "Joe is a fascist", the boys proceed to pepper their discriptions of the McCarthy Right with the word. For example, we hear Peter Viereck saying *sotto voce* (although not so sotto that we miss the inference), "McCarthyism tends to be more a cruel publicity hoax than a serious 'fascists' party. McCarthy has abstained SO FAR from anti-Catholic and anti-negro propaganda." Mr. Viereck feverently hopes that no one falls for the "zany rumor that McCarthyism is anti-Communism." Such is the treatment that Conservatism receives at the hands of those who would calmly analyze our political scene.

Daniel Bell, the editor of the book, begins the edition by saying, "the tendency to convert issues into ideologies, to invest them with moral color and high emotional charge, invites conflicts which can only damage a society."

It is too bad his advise was not heeded.

— Roger W. Claus

**IMPROVE COLD BEVERAGES WITH  
OSCAR MAYER  
ICE CUBES**

- Pure, crystal clear . . .
- Longer-lasting — last almost twice as long
- Taste-free — no ice box odor
- Hard-frozen — all air is removed
- In large, water-repellent bags

**BUY THEM AT CONVENIENTLY LOCATED  
ICE VENDING MACHINES  
OR AT YOUR FAVORITE BEVERAGE STORE**

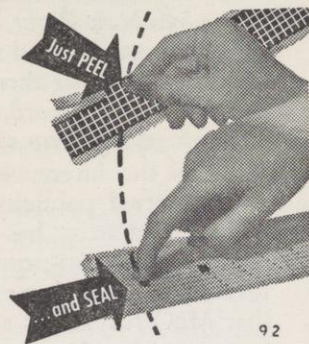
Oscar Mayer



# CORRECT KEY- PUNCH ERRORS

with **BRADY** self-sticking  
**CORRECTION SEALS**

Made of super-thin Mylar® . . . feeds freely, won't jam equipment. Highly visible opaque red color easy to spot. Fast to apply. Low in cost. Order red and transparent seals from stock; silver on special order. Send for free sample.



92

W. H. **BRADY** CO. • 798 W. GLENDALE AVE. • MILWAUKEE 9, WIS.

Manufacturers of Quality Pressure-Sensitive Tape Products • Est. 1914  
SALES OFFICES: Atlanta • Boston • Buffalo • Chicago • Cincinnati • Cleveland  
Detroit • Hartford • Los Angeles • Milwaukee • New York • Newark • Philadelphia  
St. Louis • San Francisco • Brampton, Ontario, Canada

## MILWAUKEE GEARS

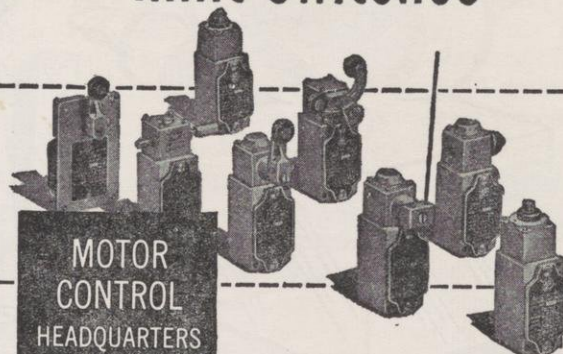
•  
*favorite of*  
*American Industry*

## WISCONSIN COLD STORAGE COMPANY

MILWAUKEE - MARSHFIELD

*"The security of the frozen food industry  
rests upon the quality of its Refrigeration"*

... a complete stock of  
**ALLEN-BRADLEY**  
limit switches



MOTOR  
CONTROL  
HEADQUARTERS



Quality Motor Control  
**ALLEN-BRADLEY CO.**  
136 W. Greenfield Ave.  
Milwaukee 4, Wisconsin