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# INSIGHT and OUTLOOK

*a conservative student journal*

Vol. III Number II

November, 1960

## THE HUNDRED DAYS

ROBERT SCHUCHMAN

## THE ISSUE of the ELECTION

T. C. N.

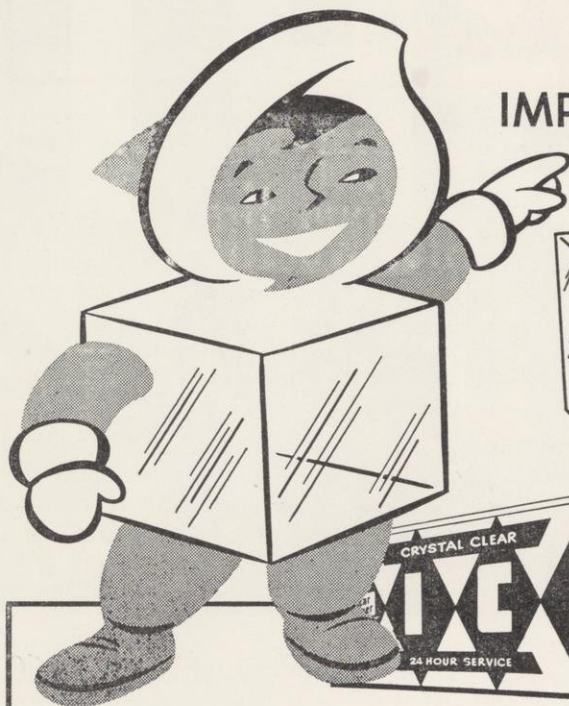
## ON HAPPINESS

RICHARD S. WHEELER

## THE FARM FIASCO

MILLARD W. JOHNSON





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*—Thomas Jefferson*

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# INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK MAGAZINE

A CONSERVATIVE STUDENT JOURNAL

Vol. III Number II

November, 1960

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## IN THIS ISSUE

Certainly one of the most delightful bits of literature that we have had the pleasure to print emerged from the typewriter of Robert M. Schuchman. Master Robert is in the Yale Law School. He is Chairman of the new right wing organization, Young Americans for Freedom, and is an honored guest in these pages.

An old friend and editor of Insight and Outlook, Millard W. Johnson, has fashioned a witty account of the farm fiasco for the delight and edification of our readers.

The offering this month of our man on the hill, T.C.N., is an analysis of the election, with its competing philosophies of socialism and individualism.

Bringing up the rear is Richard Wheeler's tart discussion of individualism and its relationship to happiness, as well as Henry Hempe's sardonic thrust at the hypocrisy of the Left.

For those who enjoy some verbal bloodletting, we once again proudly offer our debate page, Riposte!

## CAMPUS OUTLOOK

At a school which boasts so loudly of its allegiance to the laws of "sifting and winnowing", one would expect to find divergent schools of thought presented with the utmost of fairness and impartiality. To those uninitiated into the academic intricacies of economics, however, Wisconsin's Department of Economics offers a dazzling new world of peace-invoking compromises between capitalism and communism. And to those uninitiated into the emotionalism surrounding the current liberal poo-bah on academic freedom, the department provides a case study of bigotry and hypocrisy.

One need not even pursue his studies beyond Economics 10a to learn that Lord Keynes is indeed revered as Lord by any economist worth his tenure. Although Keynesianism predominates, a narrow freedom permits the inclusion of institutionalism, econometrics, and the monopolistic-competition theory in the curriculum. At bottom, however, even these schools of thought share a common premise: economic stability and growth is best accomplished by increased government intervention and control.

The curriculum is replete with justifications of government-centered economic action. A centrally controlled and governmentally manipulated money supply is deemed essential for stimulating consumption. Counter cyclical taxation is suggested as a good way to offset the fluctuations in the business cycle. Farm subsidies and social security benefits are portrayed as good slump cushions. Federal regulation and control of public utilities is seldom questioned. The alleged monopolistic position of large corporations is considered sufficient to warrant government intervention and regulation. And, the economic effects of the progressive income tax are seldom mentioned.

While government-centered economic theories receive considerable elaboration and explanation, the opposing view of *laissez-faire* capitalism is presented only in the resumé form. A few tidbits from Adam Smith are dragged out of the archives, warmed over, and mixed with an excerpt or two from Frederick Hayek or David McCord Wright. This combination is then stuffed into the rigid framework of supply and demand curvilinear analysis as applied to perfect competition. Thus, in order to defend the capitalist theory, one must first defend the assumptions of perfect competition analysis (i.e., that all products are of equal quality, that everyone in the market has perfect information as to what everyone else is doing, etc.) Obviously, perfect competition has never existed and never will exist. Thus, *laissez-faire* capitalism is refuted and the next step is monopolistic-competition which must necessarily involve government intervention.

No mention is made of the pure deductive theories of Bohm-Bawerk or Ludwig von Mises. No professor is available to present the more advanced theories of



*laissez-faire* capitalism as these authors presented them. The students have no choice but to accept the solution of the theories for the "mixed economy."

The question is not whether the theories of the mixed economy work: many economic systems work, provided you are willing to make the proper sacrifices. Communism works, as did capitalism in the 1850's and as it could again today. The issue for conservatives is what economic system permits the greatest amount of freedom for the individual? Economic theories which justify government intervention are unacceptable on this basis. Thus, the decisions students must make concerning the relative merits of various economic views involve prior decisions as to merits of various political and philosophical views. Professors of Economics, therefore, plainly have a responsibility to their students to present the entirety of economic thought in their lectures.

Moreover, such faddishness as Wisconsin's Department of Economics displays undermines the process of education. It degrades it to mere indoctrination. Students are equipped only to defend one theory without even realizing that alternatives are possible. It is a mark of academic irresponsibility to pattern instruction after the accepted norms and "common sense" of *The Progressive* magazine and the Democratic Party while disregarding the vast heritage of established wisdom we have come to possess. It is a pernicious academic freedom which only "sifts and winnows" to seek out and destroy classical wisdom.

## WORLD OUTLOOK

So far, we have not touched a hair on Castro's chinny chin-chin. Of course, we have impounded a few Cuban Airlines planes, and played hob with Cuba's sugar market, and Standard Oil has begun a vendetta against the Bearded Ones, but by and large we have been most obsequiously respectful of Cuba's precious sovereignty. Indeed, it seems to be a shibboleth of the Left that the sovereignty of all nations (save perhaps our own) should remain inviolate. That, it seems, is International Morality. Moreover, the Left is even scolding us for getting Senor Castro mad: the sugar dictum was unwise in their estimation because it threw the whole island smack into daddy Khrushchev's lap.

The Hon. Dr. Castro has confiscated some nine hundred million dollars of Yankee property — an act of brigandage which makes Batista look like a piker. Castro did so knowing full well that the United States would not retaliate, even though we had moral justification to do so. He correctly evaluated the flabbiness of Uncle Sam; he knew perfectly well that our foreign policy shows none of the virility and pride and honor which characterized that of Teddy Roosevelt only fifty years ago. He pillaged in complete safety — and now we are out nine hundred million dollars.

Of course, that is a drop in the bucket. Nine hundred million? Why, that is less than five dollars lost for each man, woman and child in the Republic. Of course there is the matter of future profits lost, too, but that only amounts to some forty million or so per year. In about twenty years the loss of those profits will only amount to a billion dollars sliced off our income . . . obviously peanuts.

Still, it seems odd that we are in effect paying tribute money to a piratical pest. We haven't done that since before Tripoli, when the Republic was a stripling. Our acquiescence to Castro's thievery must either mean that we don't care, or that we are afraid of him. Apparently we don't mind being robbed — at least not when such a "small" sum is involved. The question is: where do we draw the line? When *do* we start minding? By allowing Castro to confiscate our property and violate international morality, we jeopardize every other foreign investment we possess. We literally invite other nations to plunder us. Our treatment of Castro is a gold plated invitation to the nations in South America, Africa, the Near East, and the Pacific, where American interests abound, to "Nationalize" our riches with impunity. Nine hundred million now — but how many billions in the future when our whole foreign investment goes down the rathole, thanks to our impotent Department of State?

There are those who say it would be wicked and immoral for us to land our Marines in Cuba. But let us examine the question further: first of all, by doing nothing, we are condoning the theft of property. Theft is theft, whether carried out on an international level or locally. So long as we permit Castro to steal, when we have the power to stop him, we are in effect sharing his guilt. It would be entirely legitimate to say that our current administration shares with Castro the onus of the theft of property from American citizens. Nothing is quite so pathetic as for a government to betray its own people. Secondly, because we don't defend the principle of property rights with clear, incisive action, we are conceding a point to the Communists; we now take a cynical view of the very ideals about the sacrosanct nature of property which have been so inherently a part of our heritage. Our passivity is as immoral as any act we have ever committed.

But that is by no means all. Appeasement is always immoral because it permits a situation to worsen until it becomes a catastrophe. The longer we permit Castro to build up a powerful military camp, the more we endanger our peace. A division of Marines in Cuba now may well save a *hundred* divisions in the near future, and perhaps atomic holocaust. We spank a child to prevent him from becoming a spoiled evil adult, and regard it as a moral act; we must apply the same principle to nations as well, for every day that we delay is a day in which Cuba is allowed to grow into a monster amongst the family of nations. Thus, if there is a morality, it is on the side of immediate



intervention. Indeed, the most immoral souls among us are those who would treat criminal Cuba with kid gloves — i.e., the liberals. Not even the spectre of Hitler seemed to teach liberals their lesson. They squeal so loudly for peace that they don't know how and when to use force to keep the peace — which is why they keep blundering into huge wars. International crime must be dealt with quickly, sternly and honorably.

In addition, there is a small matter of national pride. Liberals maintain that to act in a hostile manner toward Cuba would breed resentment across the globe. They seem to think, like all socialized souls, that the purpose of life is to be liked rather than respected. U.S. action in Cuba would restore the awe that so many peoples throughout the world once felt for this country. In fact, the more virility this nation manifests in its foreign affairs, the better liked it will be. It is high time we started acting like a world power — firmly and honorably — instead of like a punching bag or a maiden auntie.

Cuba is part and parcel of international communism, and on that basis it is questionable whether her sovereignty is so sacred. One swift blow could dislodge Communism in this hemisphere, establish a firm, pro-western government in Cuba, recover all our stolen property, re-establish awe for this nation, insure the safety of our foreign investments, and reaffirm the principles of international morality. Are we going to appease and appease until we have a brush fire war or worse — *right here?*

**John Oster**

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*... We must consider what state all men are naturally in, and that is a state of perfect freedom to order their actions and dispose of their possessions and persons as they think fit.*

John Locke in  
Civil Government

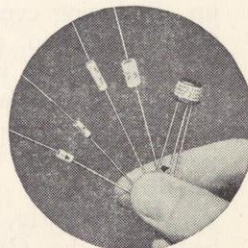
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# Back To Normalcy...

ROGER CLAUS

It is indeed peaceful around the campus when the Liberals don't have a juicy issue to salivate over. The Loyalty Oath hassle provided fodder enough to keep most of the Liberals out of mischief last year, but with that issue now cold, our Children of the Light can be seen these days wearing hang-dog expressions. It is not easy for them to find an issue that they can expect to get any mileage out of. For instance, if the issue is not supercharged with emotion they're stopped right there; if clear thought on the subject is possible, they are at a decided disadvantage, for cold logical argumentation is beyond their ken.

This year started out as though peace and quiet would reign at least until election day. Not so. As if summoned by the muses, an issue has blossomed forth that fulfills all the requirements. It is highly emotional; it beckons legions of support from the far left; it divides the Conservatives, just as the Loyalty Oath did; Mrs. Roosevelt is wrapped up in it; and lastly, but most fun, it gives the Liberals a chance to show the whole world that the American Legion, the D.A.R., and sundry other patriotic organizations are all anti-intellectual crackpot outfits that are left over from the stone age when patriotism was in fashion. The House Committee on Un-American Activities has come to the rescue.

The day is saved; an issue is at hand! Campus boredom and apathy have been routed. Presumably, many Liberals will now be seen dropping courses in order to free their time for the *putsch*, for the sit-ins issue still remains on the N.S.A. edict for action, occupying all their spare moments. No time is to be wasted, however, for the nationwide drive to abolish this

organ of internal security is in high gear. The opening salvo was fired this summer at the N.S.A. Congress. Supremely confident that they were sounding the death knell for Congressman Walter's committee, the intellectuals at the helm of the National Student Association pointed to Mr. Walter's dispicable pack of witch hunters and fired the starting salute. With a cloud of dust, gleeful yelps, and numerous barked shins the student Liberal Establishment picked up bag and baggage and took out after the HUAC. As usual, Wisconsin was in the van.

First to be heard on the subject was that bunch of Marxists and radical beatniks known as the Socialist Club. They brought in Frank Wilkinson who assured his audience that the Committee was a heinous evil and had to be abolished if we are to retain our individual freedom. What will happen to our freedom if we turn the Republic over to the likes of Wilkinson was not brought up. Reducing every facet of anti-Communism to a laughingstock, Wilkinson layed the blame of the Frisco riots to "white cards" and the San Francisco police. This alone jolted the Daily Cardinal to editorialize against the Committee, which incidently, is not to speak badly of the Cardinal, for Mr. Wilkinson was extremely cogent and persuasive. One could point out that his motive in chastising the Committee was other than a desire to provide an unbiased academic forum, but one mustn't smear.

The next volley came in the form of a program sponsored by the N.S.A. bureau of W.S.A. The program was to consist of a showing of the pro-committee film, Operation Abolition. This writer agreed to supply the film to W.S.A. in the naive hope that it would be given a fair hearing. How myopic could I be? I attended the preview (for

W.S.A. moguls) of the film expecting to find a room full of open-minded people busily sifting and winnowing. The second frame of the film had not flickered past the lens when it became apparent that everyone in the room, with one or two exceptions, had already passed judgment on the film. Consequently, the film was greeted with a prolonged Bronx cheer that nearly blotted out the narrator. Academic impartiality was once again consigned by the Liberals to stare mutely from its bronze resting place on Bascom while the viewing proceeded with the demeanor of a homecoming pep rally. Rather sickened at the prospect of witnessing a tenfold reproduction of the scene on the night of the public program, my Machiavellian mind began to search for a way to shove impartiality down the throats of W.S.A. After the preview, the moguls consorted and solemnly agreed that this film was badly distorted and that W.S.A. would have to provide an offsetting counterweight at the public viewing.

The counterweight was something out of Prometheus Book Club. It was a "fact" sheet which machine-gunned the film with such epithets as: "Shamefully distorted," "Sorry attempt," "purposeful distortions," "outrageous perversions," "flagrant misrepresentations," etc. With such a blitz in store for the film, Richard Wheeler and I feared that its essential message—the success of Communist organizers at San Francisco—would be obscured, if not entirely buried. Thus we spirited the film into our possession, and held it until we obtained a guarantee of an impartial showing.

As for me and HUAC? I agree with Carl L. Becker as he states in *Freedom and Responsibility in the American Way of Life*: "Freedom of speech is for those who are for it—for those who are willing to accept it and abide by it as a political method; and I can see no reason why a democratic government should not defend its existence by force against internal as well as against external enemies whose avowed aim is to destroy it."



# Riposte!

Fence with the editors. Send contributions up to 400 words attacking any aspect of Conservatism. We will reply in an equal number of words or less. Address: 2545 University Ave.

Today's conservative brings to the international arena a deep appreciation of the role which tradition plays in limiting courses of action in foreign affairs. But this very quality which serves the conservative so well in traditional situations involving persons experienced in traditional diplomacy, lashes the conservative to the unbending mast of tradition in situations involving nations which do not subscribe to traditional means of international poker.

The Cuban problem clearly shows this weakness.

When President Eisenhower cut Cuba's sugar quota in retaliation for Fidel Castro's vitriolic attacks on the United States, the conservative press greeted his action with a chorus of chauvanistic bellows and hailed it a traditional *quid pro quo* — S. O. P. in international affairs. Only a few liberal voices led by the New Republic questioned the wisdom of a policy which could only force Cuba into a closer association with the Soviet Union. But these warnings were buried by ridicule as being naive — after all, this was the time accepted weapon of diplomacy.

*Quid pro quo* no. 2 came after Russia signed an agreement with Cuba to accept the sugar the U.S. had rejected. Pres. Eisenhower, looking to tradition, dusted off a 19th century document, The Monroe Doctrine, to solve a twentieth century problem — and although a 19th century concept is relatively modern in the conservative scheme of thinking, one might question whether we can still use the British fleet to parry any foreign threat in Latin America. Again, great cheers of joy erupted from the conservative element which defended the invocation of the Doctrine as necessary because Cuba was not mature

enough to act responsibly in a given situation. Thus conservatives who shudder at paternalism on the domestic scene, shrilly proclaim its virtues in Latin America.

This reliance upon the Monroe Doctrine represents the main of the conservative approach to foreign affairs, the danger of relying on simple ready made solutions to meet modern problems unparalleled in complexity. Our Cuban policy is a mixture of intellectual laziness and fear of innovation.

The real issue is not Cuba's maturity, but her sovereignty. How can conservatives who passionately cling to every scrap of American sovereignty justify the preempting of Cuba's sovereignty which the invocation of the Monroe Doctrine clearly implies?

If we impose a Monroe Doctrine for Cuba which is less than 150 miles away from the United States, how can we prevent China from imposing an Asian Doctrine on Quemoy and Matsu less than 10 miles from the Chinese coast?

Dave Obey

## RIPOSTE!

The traditional role of any nation's diplomacy is the protection of its interests. It was not traditionalism, but postwar liberal "innovation" which created American policies designed more for the benefit and sovereignty of *other* nations rather than our own. This gave Cuba the notion that it could nationalize American property with impunity. A return to traditional diplomacy — i.e., the protection of our interests, would insure against future pillage of American holdings. If Cuba confiscates American property, in violation of the classical property rights of Western Man, then she must be aware that we have a right and a duty to violate

her sovereignty to recover the booty, just as any victim of theft has a right to enter the robbers' lair and recover the loot if he can.

Moreover, our failure to protect our private property demonstrates to the world a cynical disregard of our own ideals concerning the sacredness of property rights. Thus the real issue is not Cuba's maturity, nor is it her sovereignty: the real issue is the protection of American interests. Conservatives have never regarded the Eisenhower Cuba policy as adequate. A true application of the Monroe Doctrine would be to take a forceful stand in protecting our interests.

Most conservatives, Amigo, have a secret yen to ship our marines off to Cuba, string up Castro by his big toes, and end the nonsense down there. That is a good, nineteenth century solution to what is basically a nineteenth century problem: securing our domination of the Caribbean. If such action were to recover the Yankee property which was swiped from us by the Bearded Boor, institute a reasonable republic in Cuba, and insure hemispheric solidarity, then it would be not the least moral, but rather the most moral act of foreign policy we could devise. It might even save us from a major war.

Unfortunately, however, our state department minces rather than swaggers, thanks to the liberals within it, and Uncle Sam is beset from all quarters by small-time banditti hiding behind the shibboleth of sovereignty. Conservatives suspect that it is high time Uncle Sam did some roaring and some big stick swinging, lest we lose everything we possess, including respect.

Self interest, Amigo, should be the basis upon which a nation acts. Yet every time we act in self defense, you liberals denounce us and our "selfishness." And when such countries as Egypt and Cuba act against us, you rush to their support with loud squeals about international morality. Exotic, neurotic, and not very patriotic behavior from the Left!

RSW - GP



# THE HUNDRED DAYS

ROBERT M. SCHUCHMAN

Satire Reaches a New Frontier under the Droll  
Hand of Our Man at Yale

ANNOUNCER: Ladies and gentlemen, we are privileged to present tonight the event which will determine the course of America's future in the years to come. As he promised the American people on the eve of his election last month, President-elect Kennedy will inaugurate the Era of the New Frontier by selecting the men who will constitute his cabinet according to the principles of true social democracy—the great principles of Lincoln, Bryan, and Chester Bowles. We can see many hundreds of courageous Frontiersmen here in the Grand Ballroom of the Comrad Hilton, waiting to propel the ship of state into its rendezvous with bankruptcy. Our new president is about to be introduced by the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. We now take you to the rostrum, where Senator Jackson is speaking.

JACKSON: . . . and in the immortal words of Franklin Roosevelt: "We must be on our way!" President Kennedy has assured us that he will use every measure at his command to extend the great wealth of our country to the underprivileged, to the forgotten, to the 17,000,000 Americans who wake up hungry every morning, to our beloved Senior Citizens—who are now cruelly forced to work in their youth before they may enforce their right to economic justice in their old age, and, last but not least, to the wheat, peanut, and cotton farmers, who remain the standard bearers of American individualism and self-reliance.

Before we hear from our new leader, I have a wonderful surprise for you all. Here to speak to you, straight from her soybean plantation in India, is one who we all know and love. Ladies and gentle-

men, I give you the First Lady of the Galaxy!

ANNOUNCER: The audience is stirred into wild applause, while lute music may be heard in the background.

ELEANOR: When you sit down to breakfast, don't you often think of the starving people of the world? Wouldn't you like to share our abundance with them? Wholesome foods, like Good Luck Margarine.

JACKSON: (Interrupting.)  
. . . those are truly words of the spirit, Mrs. Roosevelt.  
And now, here is the moment we have all been waiting for. Without further ado, I give you the next President of the United States, John F. Kennedy.

KENNEDY: Thank you, Senator Jackson, for your fine introduction. Americans—I call on you to make the greatest sacrifices of your lives. If we are to catch up with our Soviet competitors by 1965, we must be prepared to abandon the myth of privacy. We must leave behind our selfish desires to overindulge in an affluent society. We must substitute toil for tailfins, leadership for luxury, and purpose for pleasure. Nevermore shall we lapse into obsolete banter about personal responsibility—it is national responsibility which must concern us now.

We stand on the launching pad of a New Frontier. With unity and purpose, we may find the courage to conquer disease, poverty, pluralism, and drift. Security, not opportunity, is the pressing need of our time. We must find the men who can best inspire our nation to great heights of sacrifice. The good will not suffice: only the best will

do. This truly is a time for greatness.

Will the candidates for Secretary of Agriculture please come forward.

ANNOUNCER: Former Secretary Charles F. Brannan has just leapt upon the stage, closely followed by Governors Docking of Kansas and Loveless of Iowa.

KENNEDY: Let us roll on to the New Frontier. Gentlemen, what am I bid for the post of Secretary of Agriculture?

DOCKING: I bid 80% parity!

KENNEDY: What! Do you want to destroy the family farmer? How can the tiller of the soil maintain his self-reliance with a destructive lack of interference like that?

LOVELESS: I bid 90% of parity!

DOCKING: I bid 100% of parity!

BRANNAN: Gentlemen, gentlemen. you have not faced up to the issue. It is selfish unwillingness of the urban masses, in their savage disregard for the just interests of the farmer, to consume a fair and equitable quantity of food which has created the present plight on our farms. I propose that all egoistic measures to stabilize one's weight, such as diets, be hereby forbidden. I further propose that each citizen be allocated a required food consumption quota. This will give the farmer the secure market and full parity of income to which he is entitled.

ANNOUNCER: The two governors, Docking and Loveless, have just left the stage, concealing their disappointment.

KENNEDY: Sold to Mr. Brannan! I feel confident that under your inspired leadership, the family farmer may once again become the backbone of the American economy.



And now, who will bid for the office of Health, Education, and Welfare?

ANNOUNCER: Governor G. Mennen Williams of Michigan is ascending to the stage, closely followed by Mr. Oscar Ewing of New York, and the noted expert on Soviet affairs, Mr. Walter Reuther of Detroit.

EWING: Mr. President, I bid a plan for national relief, a plan which will win the eternal war against poverty, hunger, and work. In all of our welfare plans to date, the underprivileged have been forced to undergo the psychological trauma which results from the belief that other people are supporting them. Throughout my career, I have been a consistent supporter of the little man, the forgotten man, the man in the street. We must rescue him from this trauma.

First, I bid that all recipients of relief shall be entitled to a sum which will be 25% higher than the median income of those fortunate enough to be taxpayers. This is to compensate these unfortunate victims of a society which puts a greater premium upon work than upon need.

Second, I bid that we never publish either the names of these many unfortunates, or the amount appropriated for their sustenance. Furthermore, I propose, that we define the recipients of relief as "employed," and that we classify relief payments as "compensation for employment." In this way we may remove the social stigma of unemployment from our land, and allow the recipients to claim the payments as a right due to them, rather than as a charity.

REUTHER: This is fine for the unemployed, but how will it help us catch up with the Russians? We must not ignore the field of education. We must surpass them on every front. In the Soviet Union, 98% of the engineers graduated from the universities are fully conversant in Russian. We must match and surpass them. By 1967, 99.7% of *our* engineers must speak Rus-

sian. In the Soviet Union, 4,000 experts in Mongolian theology are produced annually. Again—we must surpass this figure.

How, Mr. President, are we to do all this? I bid a National Education Recovery Administration. Teachers will be invited to write their own ticket. Tuition will be set democratically—by the student body. But, most important of all, academic freedom must be preserved. I propose that all teachers, students, and school-board members be required to take a *Disloyalty Oath*, as evidence of their devotion to academic freedom and the tradition of dissent!!!

ANNOUNCER: The audience has again broken out into loud applause, this time led by the First Lady of the Galaxy.

WILLIAMS: Mr. President, with due regard for the fine proposal of Mr. Ewing, I would like to withdraw my bid for the post of Health, Education, and Welfare, and throw my support to my colleague from Michigan, who has just offered this breathtaking and courageous plan. I will settle for Secretary of Labor.

KENNEDY: Sold to the highest bidder—Mr. Reuther, our next Secretary! Now, the post of Secretary of the Treasury is up for auction.

ANNOUNCER: The noted economist, Dr. Paul Samuelson, is approaching the stage. He is closely followed by the prolific novelist, Professor John Kenneth Galbraith, and the famous American humorist, Mr. Leon Keyserling.

SAMUELSON: I bid 5% growth each year!

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## THE NEW FRONTIER?

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

— Henry C. Link

KENNEDY: Come, come now, Paul, that won't get us to the New Frontier!

KEYSERLING: Well, Jack, I mean, Mr. President, I bid 10% growth.

SAMUELSON: I bid 12% growth—and with no rise in prices.

KENNEDY: Now gentlemen, we won't catch up with the Russians until 1970 at that rate!

KEYSERLING: I bid 25% growth—and a cut in taxes!

GALBRAITH: My dear friends, I must interrupt you in order to stop this restatement of the Tradition of Despair. We who search for a New Frontier must depart from the Conventional Wisdom. We must advance from the Monetary Illusion of our predecessors and remove the shackles of supply and demand which have hindered effective economic planning in the past.

I bid, as an interim measure, a growth rate of 50% a year, with stable prices, annual tax cuts, and an annual budget surplus to retire the national debt. This program may be expensive—as progress is always expensive—and it will call for courage and sacrifice. But continued growth will pay for the program, and in the end it will cost us nothing—because we owe it to ourselves!

KENNEDY: I am astonished, sir. What brilliant economic statesmanship! The post of Secretary of the Treasury goes to Professor Galbraith. As a consolation prize, Mr. Keyserling will be appointed chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

ANNOUNCER: A scream has just been heard from the audience, ladies and gentlemen! It has been announced that Senator Byrd has just slashed his wrists!

KENNEDY: And now, my fellow Americans, the most important post in my new administration must be filled. We must find a new helmsman for the Department of State. Under the previous administration, Cold War borders remained the same, under a static and sterile foreign policy. By contrast, under  
(Continued on page 17)



# THE FARM FIASCO

MILLARD W. JOHNSON

In Marc Connelly's classic biblical parody, *Green Pastures*, "de Lawd" exclaims in exasperation, "Ev'y time ah works one miracle, ah has to work five mo' to catch up with it."

"De Lawd's" dilemma has a secular counterpart: when the government intervenes in the free market, it upsets things and evokes demands for a dozen similar acts. Soon the whole market structure is shot through with privilege and restriction.

American agriculture is a textbook case of innocent government intervention gone rampant. Once a nation becomes as well fed as this one is, the demand for food can only increase as fast as the population increases. When farm technology outran consumption, and surpluses appeared, as happened here in the 1920's and 30's, farming should have gone quietly to rest with its migraine. Instead, it was doped up with price supports and other governmental narcotics, to which it is still addicted. Farming's "monkey" today is \$19 million *per diem*, quite a habit!

What are some of the fruits of the government's farm intervention?

*Item:* The total yearly cost of the government's farm program, for all departments, exceeds \$7 billion.

*Item:* Lying heaped in government elevators and makeshift storage bins across the land is \$10.5 billion worth of surplus agricultural commodities. It costs over a billion dollars a year just for the storage, handling, and transportation of these surplus foodstuffs.

*Item:* Total government spending in agriculture now amounts to about forty per cent of the net farm income.

*Item:* Administering the bulk of the government's farm program is the Department of Agriculture, a

mammoth bureaucracy of 81,000 people. They distribute billions of dollars every year, make periodic fact-finding junkets, lobby for more appropriations, and nurse that chronic bureaucratic malady, steatopygia. Some are scared stiff that the farm problem might be solved, putting their jobs in jeopardy.

How has American farming come to such a state?

This country has had farm problems ever since communal granaries failed at Jamestown and Plymouth Colony, and it was government intervention — then as it is now — behind it. The problem today emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Agriculture in this country experienced what is known as its "Golden Age" from the turn of the century until the end of World War I. The millions of additional acres brought into wartime production were no longer needed. Argentina, Canada, and France now competed with American farm products at a time when mortgage payments were coming due.

## PANACEAS

A price support bill for farm products, the McNary-Haugen bill, was introduced five times in Congress during the 1920's, and beaten each time. Finally, a Federal Farm Board was created which in turn sired the Farmers National Grain Corporation in 1929. Farmers were urged to dump their wheat into this common corporation instead of the market. A deluge of wheat poured in, the corporation went broke, and President Roosevelt finally killed it in 1933.

There wasn't a single problem that the New Deal didn't have a plan for. Agriculture's panacea was the Agricultural Adjustment Act (A.A.A.). In 1936, the Supreme Court declared the act unconstitu-

tional. With a more sympathetic court two years later, a second A.A.A. was created. In pursuance of its aim to raise prices through planned scarcity, ten million acres of cotton were plowed under and millions of little pigs were slaughtered uselessly. Meanwhile, President Roosevelt complained in his second inaugural address that "one third of the nation is ill-housed, ill-clad, and ill-nourished."

The most non-profit non-profit corporation in history, the Commodity Credit Corporation (C.C.C.), was created in 1933, providing loans to farmers and using their crops as collateral. If the market price of crops fell below the support price, the farmer was not obliged to repay the debt. As of 31 July 1960, the corporation's investment in price support loans and inventories totaled \$8,659,116,000.

Farmers had been given help by the government before, but the intervention had been mild and cautious until the mid '30's. The C.C.C. and the A.A.A. set a new precedent — government now acknowledged a responsibility for the farmer's livelihood. Each farm became a small protectorate. Succeeding Democratic and Republican administrations were to find that this commitment, once extended, could not easily be retracted.

World War II provided ready markets for farm products now, for America became the food basket for the Allies. To boost agricultural expansion, the Steagall Amendment was passed to provide post-war parity against an anticipated price collapse. This amendment undoubtedly encouraged many returning veterans to start life on the farm again.

A comparison of earlier and later Republican farm thought shows how the interventionist philosophy had oozed across party lines. "Silent Cal" Coolidge, when vetoing one of the McNary-Haugen bills warned that "such action would establish bureaucracy on such a scale as to dominate not only the economic life but the moral, social, and political future of our people." Former



President Hoover had termed Roosevelt's A.A.A. project as "fascist."

Later, in the post-war Republican-controlled 80th Congress, little attempt was made to reduce farm supports and eventually return farming to a self-supporting industry. Instead, either overawed by the sprawling Roosevelt legacy or intimidated by the farm bloc, Congress passed the Agricultural Act of 1948 which continued high price supports. For their pains, the Republicans lost the 1948 elections, with the crucial farm vote providing the narrow Democratic margin of victory.

Prior to the 1952 elections, opinion polls indicated a Republican victory. The party platform committee nonetheless felt obliged to promise full parity for all farm products. The Republicans won, Eisenhower was inaugurated as President, Ezra Taft Benson was installed as Secretary of Agriculture, and farm prices promptly nose-dived.

In the first two years of the Republican administration, the C.C.C.'s investment in surplus farm commodities doubled to \$7 billion. An Agricultural Act was passed in 1954 providing the corporation with \$2.5 billion in additional credit, but by July of the following year the increase had proved insufficient and Congress had to raise the total borrowing authority of the C.C.C. to \$12 billion.

What to do with all the surplus farm commodities the government now owned? The deluge filled abandoned boxcars and unused theaters, or lay exposed on the ground.

### MORE PANACEAS

A new scheme was hatched to get rid of the government's grain holdings: the Trade Development and Assistance Act (Public Law 480, 1954) authorized subsidized farm exports and later, outright gifts to certain countries. The aim here, at least ostensibly, was to give aid and assistance to the non-Com-

**It is part of the conservative intuition that economic freedom is the most precious temporal freedom, for the reason that it alone gives to each one of us, in our comings and goings . . . sovereignty.**

— Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.

munist world. But government good-intentions ran true to form, and charges of "dumping" were soon leveled at the United States by foreign governments and their farmers. Formal protests were received from Australia, Brazil, Canada, Mexico, Argentina, and others.

Two decades of government intervention in agriculture had passed, and the situation was worse than ever. The cure, thought Congress, was more intervention and, with that in mind, approved in 1956 the ill-fated Soil Bank program. Farmers would now be paid to take part of their land out of production.

It didn't take much Yankee ingenuity for the farmer to figure out what part of his land to leave fallow: the most unproductive and barren, of course, and at \$10 an acre. Meanwhile, he would be free to devote more time to the rest of his land, which he cultivated intensively.

The 1957 harvest set an all time record for total agricultural production, *yet planted acreage was at its lowest point in forty years*. The following year's harvest broke the newly set record by *eleven per cent*.

It was stated earlier that the government's farm program exceeds \$7 billion annually. This isn't the whole picture. The program has a multitude of hidden costs, and the citizen pays for it in many ways.

A good portion of the program must be paid for by the citizens in direct taxes. Then, his savings depreciate from inflation when the treasury printing presses make a few extra revolutions for the cause. Additionally, if food prices were not artificially boosted by the gov-

ernment supports (with his own money), the consumer would pay only a fraction of his present food bill.

The real problem is not so much surplus commodities as surplus farmers. Only about ten per cent of this nation's population lives on the farm, but even this number is too great. Professor Karl Brandt of the Stanford Food Research Institute wrote in 1945: "The chief expansion of the world economy must occur in the spheres of industry, commerce, and professional services. Its generating impulses originate in the monetary and financial spheres, which in turn respond alternately to the process of growth in the former ones. Due to the relatively limited expandibility of the consumption of food and the great technological reserves in all fields of agricultural production, *the proportion of the people in agriculture must necessarily shrink*. Only in that way can rural poverty be overcome."

Government meddling in agriculture has unnecessarily prolonged and compounded the problems afflicting that industry. Promises of high government price supports keep many marginal farmers on the land, when they would otherwise seek better paying jobs in the city. Moreover, government-supported high food prices in this country lure farm produce from abroad. Canada and Mexico find comfortable markets here for their farm goods while domestic farmers are paid to cut their production.

### AND MORE PANACEAS

There is no paucity of ideas to help the farmer achieve "economic justice" and to stem the flow of foodstuffs from farming's cornucopia. The Brannan plan favors direct cash payments to farmers to make up for their market losses. The Food Stamp Plan, an old nostrum recently re-introduced by Senator Humphrey, favors the issuing of food coupons to needy families, who could present them at any grocery.



Economist Henry Hazlitt a few years ago came up with a trenchant proposal, which he reiterates from time to time in *Newsweek* magazine. His solution to the farm problem is quite simple: the government should stop all of its price support programs as soon as current contracts expire. Then it should sell, at reduced prices, all of its farm surplus holdings back to the farmers themselves.

The ratchet-like progress of state interference in farming is a reversion back to medieval manorialism, the system of mutual rights and privileges, with stability its standard, poverty and ignorance its consequences.

The farm controversy is part of a larger struggle, collectivism *vis-a-vis* individualism. The freedom won by farmers escaping old world statism must be won anew by each succeeding generation, be they businessmen, laborers, or farmers.

In recent years, the government has sought to alleviate the problem of over-production by the soil bank and acreage retirement programs. Actually, these programs are simply a modern version of the hog-killing and potato-burning schemes promoted by Henry Wallace during the New Deal. And they have been no more successful in reducing surpluses than their predecessors. But there is also a positive evil in these programs: in effect, they reward people for not producing. For a nation that is expressing great concern over its "economic growth," I cannot conceive of a more absurd and self-defeating policy than one which subsidizes non-production.

— Barry Goldwater

# The Issue of the Election

T. C. N.

At the present time on earth two thought-camps are locked in mortal combat. One is the Russian-headed spirit of Socialism. The other is the Conservative-led struggle for the preservation of individual freedom and responsibility. No matter what speeches are made, and no matter how emotional we become over local problems, that struggle is the basic issue of the year's election.

The Socialist camp was given its bible when Karl Marx synthesized the residue of socialistic thought. And the Russian Revolution created a nucleus from which it could expand throughout the world. Since that time it has been spectacularly successful in winning converts everywhere — not only open Communists, but collectivists, Socialists, Welfare-Statists, and all those who idealize socially ordered behavior of all kinds.

Simultaneously with the events of the Russian Revolution, the Socialist Party in America, under Eugene Debs, was sponsoring a platform of welfarism and state control. By 1948, the platform of the Democratic Party included virtually every one of Debs' proposals. And the Democratic Party leaders wish to go still further in that direction. They want to follow the pattern already established in those countries more wholly under the Marxian influence. That is, they want to reduce the sovereignty of the individual and the local levels of government and place them, more and more, under the direct control of the central state.

There is no question that the Democrats have developed an affinity with the Socialist camp. While it has not yet caused them to push for outright government ownership or affected their nationalistic stand,

it *has* on at least one occasion, encouraged the leading figure in Russia to voice his approval of their candidate in the election. And it *has* set them increasingly against the camp of individual liberty.

As a result they cannot agree with the idea that the role of government is to *referee* social and economic competition, not regulate it. Unfortunately, their influence has been great and their regulation even greater. Thus basic human freedom (with its demand for individual autonomy) is struggling for its very existence in America. Each of us must increasingly adjust what we say and do to suit the desires of the group and the state.

The immediate result of this regulation has been the creation of a vast horde of wards-of-the-state — men and women whose support by the government is not only an unjust burden on all others, but a deprivation of their initiative to strive and save, which tends to render them both helpless and useless even to themselves.

## COLLECTIVISM

But surely the most frightening aspect of the Social-Democratic affinity is that it introduces directly into the inner workings of America the concept of the Individual as merely a cell in the social organ with less and less right to private ambition and personal destiny. It places another nucleus of the authoritarian state — *here* — where it can expand from within. The Russian leaders know that they can "bury" us far more completely by the expansion of this concept than by the use of war.

Naturally the Democratic Party has become the practical home for



radicals of all kinds, many of whom would announce their communistic leanings were it to become more expedient.

The envious, too, have been given more destructive power under Democratic policies — as were their counterparts under the Russian Revolution. The ninety-one percent income tax is there to appease them although all income taxation above fifty percent accounts for less than one-sixtieth of the treasury's annual receipts.

It is, however, difficult to explain why other citizens of this country are willing to convey their independence to a more powerful central government when the very basis of freedom demands otherwise and the authors of the Constitution were so purposefully set against it.

The only answer seems to be that the issue has become dangerously confused.

Certain ethnic groups, for instance, have a purely emotional attachment to the Democratic Party which is not consistent with their contemporary situations.

And the Southern Conservatives, while frequently siding with the Northern Conservatives in Congress, have demonstrated an unaccountable immaturity in party allegiance. Repeatedly they have given the Democrats a majority in both House and Senate—along with the all-important committee chairmanships.

But the confusion is more than just emotional. It has colored the thinking of those who live in the realm of imagination and theory. The writers and teachers (long recognized faddists) have found it satisfying to speculate on the projected reactions to changes which members of their kind have proposed. These theories are obviously more exciting to them than proven social or economic laws. They also find it appealing to ruminate the mathematical order of planned "Utopias," however impractical they may be. All of this is an integral part of their nature and

should be censured only when it becomes destructive.

But now it *has* become destructive. For, almost as a body, the writers and teachers have confused Socialism with Humanitarianism. And too many of them are advocating it on those grounds.



A recent poll of high school students showed that none of the students questioned were aware of the similarities between the status-quo-of-the-individual under a Socialist state, and the status under previous types of totalitarian government. In fact they had only a vague idea that something was "wrong" with the workings of Communism. More than half of them believed that our railroads, medicine, utilities, and basic industries should be socialized, and that a ceiling should be placed on incomes and inheritance. A majority of them preferred *not* to excel, but to lose themselves in the group, acquiesce to its fortunes, and not stand out as private entities. Almost a third of them stated that "it might be preferable" to have the government plan a secure life for them — no matter how unstimulating it might be — than to be held responsible for their own fortunes. (A tragic example of the Socialistic expansion from within.)

Now, abetted by Democratic proposals, their confusion is becoming more universal. Some voters are encouraged to equate success with eligibility for more welfare payments. Normally rational men are being misled into trading their freedom for closer regulation every time the economy fluctuates or a problem arises.

*So fearsome has this confusion become that the Democrats are now*

*willing to sacrifice our whole free way of life to gain nothing but the economic changes which they alone desire.*

It cannot be denied, of course, that some Republicans have been affected by this confusion. Nevertheless the Republican Party is the strongest operative force in existence still insisting on personal liberty.

And while both parties abhor the extension of the Soviet Empire, only the Republicans have taken a stand against the extension of the Socialist Spirit.

That stand is the issue of this election — the same as it is all across the world.

For, the struggle between the parties is merely a segment of the struggle between the two thought-camps.

It is the struggle of the Democrats, irretrievably allied with the camp of Socialism . . . against the Republicans, still dedicated to the camp of Individual freedom and responsibility under which this country was formed.

We must decide, quite simply, whether we shall allow the Democrats to create a "new frontier" of state domination, or whether we shall have the Republicans defend our liberty and self-respect.

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Many people call themselves modern — especially the pseudo-moderns. Therefore the really modern man is often to be found among those who call themselves old fashioned. I know that the idea of proficiency is especially repugnant to the pseudo-moderns, for it reminds them unpleasantly of their deceptions.

— Carl Jung



# ON HAPPINESS

RICHARD S. WHEELER

Wherein the Author, by Means of Sage and Artful Arguments, Intends to Lure Neutrals Into the Conservative Camp

I presume that each of my readers desires happiness. If he doesn't, I suggest that he forbear reading further, and that he proceed to whip himself, or do whatever it takes to achieve his particular objective in life, and meanwhile I shall marshal the remainder of you upon an instructive tour. Because happiness is the legitimate concern of all men, and because individualism is the sole means to all happiness, I have condescended to discuss the subject and share my earthly advantage with my inferiors. I can well assure you that the individuality which I shall describe anon is a cornucopia of happiness, an end to frustration, a cure for boredom, a purgative of malaise, and a cathartic of gloom. It is also, methinks, a destroyer of Liberalism, and all such heresies as bleed a man's soul of its juices.

I hasten to add, however, that I proffer no cure-all, no panacea, but only a means by which a human can spend his days most fruitfully, and command his environment most efficaciously. I can expose him to the nature of those philosophies which act as the engines of his frustration and unhappiness; I can, perhaps, show him the most expeditious means to happiness; but under no circumstances can I force him to partake of them.

I don't presume entirely to know the nature of happiness, but in many regards it can be discussed concretely. Some philosophers describe happiness in negative terms, saying that happiness results when the ballast of worries, fears, frustrations, pains and impotence has been cast from the mind, and the spirit is freed to soar. Other philosophers describe it positively, as an entity in itself, oft the product of love, or of accomplishment, or of virtue. On my part, I find some truth in both views. There is another facet of

happiness, however, that I would make much of, and that is its *frequentness*. An unhappy wretch must needs survive long stretches without a good quaff of joy, whilst a happy chap has access to heady draughts of the stuff.

Not many years ago, I set out to assure myself of happiness by finding out how other men claim to achieve it. There were some kindly citizens who urged me to join groups, to belong, to adjust myself to a collective Liberal society. Others urged me to become a non-conformist and reject the ideals and goals of my society, and be different, for uniqueness, they insisted, was the goal of thinking men, and the womb of happiness. Still others recommended that I become nihilistic, saying that there is no happiness *per se*, but there is an amusing and cynical view of life which could be had by sneering at everything, sacred and profane. These three alternatives, — nihilism, collective conformity, and non-conformity, lay, in various combinations, in the advice of everyone with whom I discussed the matter, and in all the contemporary literature on the subject.

## BOGIES OF THE LEFT

Later I discovered that there is another alternative — individualism — but it took me a long time to recognize it, for modern literature constantly portrays the most vital elements of individuality as the greatest evils and taboos of our times. But I am not particularly constrained by a mere taboo, especially if it is a product of harum-scarum Liberalism, and so I investigated individualism wherever it cropped up. I shortly concluded that it is the sole means to human happiness. Moreover, I soon decided

that it is the only true aristocratic approach to living. I also realized that in this Democracy, individuality has been the victim of an enormous conspiracy; a conscious desire upon the part of our egalitarian writers and opinion-makers to bury individualism, distort it, pervert it, denounce it, and make it the hobgoblin of the young.

The pressures of society are profound. That any individuality at all manifests itself in the American character is only because we were, just a century ago, a nation of individualists. Vestiges of it still remain in conservatism, in religion, in the legacies of certain great industrialists, in American business, in family tradition — but for the most part, individualism is about as rare as an atheist in church. When it does emerge, it usually takes a negative and taboo form, such as in Budd Shulberg's "What Makes Sammy Run." Even the Freudians have sunk their claws into it, claiming that individualism is a mere compensatory device by which weak and impotent men try to cover up their deficiencies.

This vast conspiracy against individualism is nothing more or less than the age-old struggle of herds of little men to topple the few great men. It is the struggle of the masses to balance the vibrant power of aristocrats. It is the struggle of hordes of Liberals tring to "equalize" a few embattled tycoons. Every possible facet of persuasion and force has been brought into play to suppress individuality: cynicism, ridicule, emotionalism, and even moral concepts themselves. Indeed, to be an individualist at present is, ipso facto, to be immoral. Present day society values the collective virtues—tolerance, interdependency, charitableness, mildness — more than it does the in-



dividualistic virtues — self-reliance, strength, will, honor, valor, intolerance, etc.

As for myself, I inherited individuality. I was begat by naturally individualistic parents, who were begat by naturally individualistic parents, who in turn were begat by naturally individualistic parents, etc. Thus the pursuit of happiness has never been any serious problem to me, although for some time I was made to doubt my inheritance, because of the forces of social pressure operative in schools and literature. Eventually, however, I returned to the principles of my inheritance and have found no need since then to doubt their validity. In this brief essay I plan to discuss for those not so fortunately begat, the nature of aristocratic individualism, and of happiness, so that they may see the error of their ways and rectify them. I shall describe my forty days in the wilderness, demonstrate the frailties and the seductiveness of certain modern heresies, and pray that all will profit by it.

### SUPERFICIALITY

At present, I regard a non-conformist as a man with less individuality than the average outhouse. I did not always entertain this opinion however; there was a time when I was intrigued by the whole issue of non-conformity. I noted that many elements, including Beatniks, bohemians, Liberals, and intellectuals express a great affinity to, and love for, non-conformity. It seemed to be a very popular approach to life, gaining ground everywhere among fashionable people. It was so simple: did I wish to be unique? Then I should be a non-conformist. Did I wish to be superior to the herds? Then I should reject the dogmas, platitudes and traditions of the herds. Did I wish to stand out in the crowd? That was simple: I should dress, think, and behave as I wished, free from manners and stuffy formality. Did I wish to escape the pressures of society? Then simply ignore the opinion of others.

Now, the shallowness of that philosophy should be obvious to everyone on the sunny side of imbecilic, and no sooner was it expounded to me than I began picking flaws in it. Take for example the notion that a non-conformist is



a free man. The plain fact is that a non-conformist is as tied to his culture as the most ardent conformist, or more so, but in a negative way. He is opposed to Detroit cars, the profit motive, patriotism, middle class manners and morals, Hollywood, and all things American, just the way his non-conforming brethren are. Being opposed in common to the same things, non-conformists are as similar to one another as baboons, and bound hand and foot to the reigning concepts of the times.

Moreover, the non-conformist is actually less free than any conformist on the streets. His non-conformity is customarily a rebellion downward, and thus his preposterous dress may bar him from restaurants open to any civilized conformist; his bad manners may bar him from employment offices and good society, and his radicalism may bar him from recognition and honor. The non-conformist does not even have the meanest and most common freedoms available to any dull conformist.

But that wasn't the half of it. Soon it grew clear to me that the

whole business of non-conformity is an absurdity. To establish uniqueness I would have to make myself palpably different from 180 million fellow Americans. No matter how ferociously I might tackle the problem—even if I took up Zen Buddhism, glass blowing and polygamy—there would still be myriads of others dabbling in the same fields. Moreover, to maintain my non-conformity in the face of mounting imitation, I would have to seclude myself like a hermit and hide from mankind.

### PURSUIT OF NOTHING

This obsession with being different can even become masochistic in its extremity. One damsel of my acquaintance refuses to watch Bob Hope because she can't bear the thought of laughing along with millions of other Americans and sharing their brand of humor. The poor creature is now stuck with Mort Sahl. For the sake of being a non-conformist, she sacrificed the pleasures of a first rate comedian and enamoured herself of a fourth rater. She blithely called this "being superior." Time and time again I observed wretched non-conformists doing the same thing: in the process of rejecting their culture, they adhered themselves to inferior substitutes.

The most individualistic souls I ever encountered assimilated the *most* of their culture rather than the *least* of it. But non-conformists deny their heritage, and browse among obscure, savage, effete, or Eastern concepts in search of a whisp of reality to cling to. Thus they forsake the very concepts which gave Western man his ascendancy over the whole earth.

The notion that an individualistic person is one who is "different" and "non-conforming" is so commonplace that it could be called a cliché. Yet anyone who would explore the facts in the matter would discover that time and time again through history the most individualistic souls were the exact opposite of so-called non-conformists. If anything, they were archtypical of



their culture. To be sure, on many occasions they did not conform, but this non-conformity was a *means* and an expediency rather than an end in itself. The last thing they desired was to be known as a non-conformist. A good example of this is Winston Churchill, the arch-typical Englishman. He possesses a monolithic individuality, and yet he is a man of orthodox views, conventional behavior, and a conservative philosophy. His individuality obviously must stem from some other source within his personality than "non-conformity." Another good example is the Victorians, who lived in an age of strict conventionality and discipline. Yet amongst the Victorians stand the most towering individualists in our history—men like J. P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller. Morgan was a pillar of the Episcopalian Church, and Rockefeller was a middle class Baptist to his dying day. The fact that neither of these great individualists rejected the standards of his society must give many a modern non-conformist an inkling of how absurd and naive and gauche is his approach to living.

### ONLY SNOBBERY

There remained to be answered the one great question: how could non-conformity insure my happiness? The more I pondered, the more I was moved to conclude that except for a small, sterile, snobbish sort of emotion, non-conformity could do nothing at all. It would be far better to accept my culture, use it and enjoy it. I could be critical, of course: a filling station is ugly no matter how much I admire America. But deliberate non-conformity is criticism gone berserk, and I found no need to engage in it.

There are two ways to regard one's culture: the Aristocratic way, or the Liberal way. One can, as the rabble and the Liberals do, continually find fault with it and label it artificial; or one can, as natural aristocrats do, *make use of it*. The Liberals and non-conformists may find pregnant truth in calling clothing a veneer, an artifice, a false and

external value. The aristocrat, however, dresses brilliantly, makes use of his fine appearance to impress people, and open doors, and so dominates the world. Happiness, I decided, is all in the point of view.

In spite of all the foregoing capital arguments against non-conformity, perhaps there are still some who remain unpersuaded as to its sterile nature. These gentlemen I regard as louts and dunderheads, and urge them to cease reading at once, for they are uneducable. On the other hand there may remain certain stragglers who probably agree that non-conformity is sterile, but are hesitant to renounce non-conformity for various politick reasons. These gentlemen would, in the main, be Liberals who are loath to surrender one of the cardinal tenets of Liberal dogma. Non-



conformity is sacrosanct in the eyes of the Liberal because it smacks of change, relativism, Progress, and dissent. Conformity is an anathema to the Liberals because it smacks of permanence, historic truth, and natural rather than artificial social evolution. Such Liberals I urge to cease reading at once, for we are in search of individuality here, and therefore dealing in matters beyond the ken of the average leftist.

I paid little attention to the two remaining "acceptable" alternatives to non-conformity—nihilism, and collective conformity. Nihilism seemed simply a negation of all that is good in life, whilst conformity was scarcely an approach to life at

all, but simply a necrose state of being which was shared by the drifting, grey-faced masses. Conformity expressed itself in the philosophy of Liberal collectivism: the concept of working together, communal enterprise, committees, group action, and socialism. I decided that the whole liberal dream of having non-conformists live within the framework of a collectivist, socialist society is irrelevant to individuality, and not at all conducive to happiness.

### AN OLD REALITY

I had, to my own satisfaction, demolished the various false and sterile approaches to happiness. I was free and clear to embrace my own heritage—individualism—without doubts as to its purpose and efficacy. There only remained the task of putting what I had *felt* all along into words. It was not my purpose to construct a new philosophy, another "—ism," but rather simply to place the reality embodied in all conservative knowledge into words. In the broadest terms, I knew that individuality is really superiority, but this was not enough, even though it explained why individualism has been hated by everyone who has ever been capable of envy.

More concretely, I defined individuality as the Will to Power. Liberals will now, of course go into a tizzy and call me a Nietzsche or worse, but I warned them to stop, and they are reading on at their own perilous risk. None-the-less, Will is the key to happiness, Liberals or no Liberals. The man who possesses Will is the only sort of man who can achieve great things and satisfy his hungers; he alone can avoid frustration and conquer the impotence which plagues lesser men; he alone can turn intelligence into force; he alone dares dream great dreams; he alone is capable of obtaining a full measure of love and giving a full measure of love; he alone can live serenely, stave off misfortune, and defend himself. He is the happiest of men because he comes the closest to omnipotence.



Individuality is another word for Will. The individualist is one of those rare humans who has mastered himself and forged his body and intelligence into the salient tool of his Will. He has mastered other humans, and through his domination of them has made them tools of his Will. He has mastered his material environment and worked his steel Will upon it so it is neither dangerous to him, nor unproductive. From the strength of an individualist stems his serenity; from the prowess of an individualist stems his happiness, and from his control over all things, living and inert, comes his freedom, for nothing has the Will to resist him. To the extent that he is omnipotent he is godly; to the extent that he is honorable and virtuous, he is still more godly. Will is a simple concept, understood more or less by every natural aristocrat who ever lived. It has been available from time immemorial and is available now, in spite of the addled efforts of the egalitarian Liberals to hide it.

As for myself, I knew why individualism is so hated by most men, and why it is so hard to find. I knew why I had instinctively gravitated toward Conservatism not only through my childhood, but in my adult life as well. I also knew that men turn to Liberalism to justify their lack of Will and individuality. I could understand the petty jealousy of every Liberal who ever fled from individualism, who ever extolled group behavior and collectivism, who ever contrived welfarist schemes, who ever praised the lowly and hated the great and willful.

I could see what makes Churchill so individualistic: within the mortal frame of a single man rests the Will to arouse an empire, demolish his opponents in partisan debate, and organize a global war. I could see how a Morgan and a Rockefeller could reach such heights of Will while remaining so perfectly within the confines of American culture. I could see why modern Americans really seem so much alike: it isn't because they all conform, or because they are victims of a mass

culture; it is because none of them have ventured beyond the current taboos and learnt the arts of discipline, resolve and Will. They are weak, and as weaklings they are pale, pliable ghosts with little of the spinal steel of their ancestors. They are cowards, and the extent of their cowardice is the extent of their Liberalism. They are insecure, and the extent of their insecurity is the extent to which they band together and advocate Socialism.

There now. As I promised at the beginning, I have laid bare the essence of individuality and shown how it leads to happiness. And I have bared the engines of frustration which impede you. To the extent that you make yourself an instrument of Will and utilize that Will for your own pleasure, you will be happy. To the extent that you mould your own destiny, relying not on "luck" or "society" but on your Will, and its handmaidens Intelligence and Determination, you will be happy. That is your prob-

lem. To solve it you must needs fling yourself into the teeth of every modern Leftist taboo. Modern Liberals can praise old Daniel Webster for his astounding prowess when it came to dominating men's minds and moving them with every oratorical and rhetorical device yet invented, but if you dare try to do the same, they will yell "thought control," and hate you and fear you. They prefer to keep you impotent. Likewise, if you seek real political power they will call you a Demagogue. They prefer to keep you impotent. And if you become a business tycoon, they will call you selfish and anti-social. They prefer to keep you impotent. And if you seek excellence in the Arts, they will call you neurotic. They prefer to keep you impotent.

I suppose, by way of closing, I should add a little secret. Individualists are blessed in a way unknown to anyone else on earth: unlike the impotent, individualists genuinely like themselves.

## HUNDRED DAYS . . . (continued)

the dynamic statesmanship of President Truman, millions of square miles changed hands. We must return to dynamic forward-looking principles.

Will the bidders for the office of Secretary of State please come forward.

**ANNOUNCER:** Congressman Chester A. Bowles of Connecticut is approaching the stage, closely followed by a surprise entry, Senator Thomas Dodd, also from Connecticut. It appears that they are the only contenders for the post—but—just a moment, ladies and gentlemen. There is a disturbance in the hall and—my goodness!

This is spectacular, ladies and gentlemen! Thousands of doves are now flying into the ballroom! They are pulling a huge golden chariot, and the aroma of incense fills the hall. The chariot is carrying—yes, ladies and gentlemen—it is carrying **ADLAI STEVENSON!!!!**

Governor Stevenson is dressed in the official uniform of the Indian

Congress Party. He is also wearing the Fez given to him for this occasion by President Sekou Touré. The Governor is now tossing olive branches to the wildly cheering throng, as he progresses to the stage. He has just dismounted, and is being kissed and embraced by the First Lady of Galaxy. This is just magnificent. We now return you to the rostrum, where the President is speaking.

**KENNEDY:** Welcome to you all. Now, who will make the first bid?

**DODD:** I bid that we strengthen our defensive alliances throughout the world, that we attempt to counter Communist propaganda everywhere with a Crusade for Truth, and that we plan a liberation of . . . (Interrupted.)

**KENNEDY:** (Aghast.) Brinkmanship!!!

**STEVENSON:** (Banging his shoe on the table.)

Disqualified, disqualified! He wants to win! He wants to win!



BOWLES: If we are to return to sanity, I bid that we give away Formosa!

STEVENSON: (Excited.)

Well, Chet, I bid that we give away Berlin!

BOWLES: I bid that we give away *all* of Asia—except India, of course. She is too valuable an ally.

STEVENSON: (More excited.)

I bid we give away Western Europe!

BOWLES: I bid we give away Africa!

STEVENSON: (Jumping up and down.)

I bid we give away—America!!!

ANNOUNCER: A tumult of cheering, applauding, and dancing has broken out here in the ballroom. President Kennedy is gavelling for order, while Congressman Bowles

congratulates Governor Stevenson. The New Frontier team is assembling on the platform, and the strains of "Happy Days Are Here Again" may be heard from afar. President Kennedy is now approaching the microphone.

KENNEDY: We have liberated ourselves from the past—we are ready to proceed to the New Frontier. We have abandoned the party of Aaron Burr, Simon Legree, and Daddy Warbucks. The Economic Royalists have been cast out from the temple. A new era has begun. Tonight, we face the past with confidence, and the future with Tito, Sukarno, and Lumumba.

I close with the words of our beloved and divine founder: "WE HAVE NOTHING TO FEAR—BUT THE NEW FRONTIER!"

destroyed immediately—at least in the South."

Ever true to their word, these humanitarians proceed on their missions of carnage, sending "cat's paws" bent double with literature of "encouragement" to the South by the score. These emissaries of "human brotherhood" do fine work. In fact, they "encourage" so much and so well, that many a colored person who would not previously have dreamed of trampling a basic law of a free society—that which protects private property—now find himself in jail for his efforts in that direction. Of course, when this happens, our Northern liberal suffers too. True, he isn't in jail for breaking a law; as a matter of fact, he receives no physical abuse at all. His suffering is of a deeper, more spiritual type. He recovers from it though—and merely sends more "encouragers."

"Use the 14th Amendment, now!", is another of the war slogans of our vocal integrationists, and the final word, "now," is the key word of the plea. Again, their courage is spectacular to behold, as they pay no heed to the difficulties involved in carrying out their erudite slogan. For what difference does it make that segregation has been rooted in Southern emotions since Yankee ships first brought slaves to these shores in the 17th century? Why bother with the possibility that the South's present reluctance to integrate may stem from the Reconstruction Era when in many Southern areas newly freed illiterate slaves, of whom even George Washington Carver expressed doubts as to their ability to vote intelligently, outnumbered the Whites in the exercise of this facet of citizenship. These are historical facts—but based on mere human attitudes which can, by diligence, be bent at will. Two hundred years of culture can be razed in a day!

And so I pay tribute to the courage of these "Watchdogs of the South." They stoically gaze past Northern "inconsistencies;" they superbly defy a basic law of a free

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## A TOAST!

HENRY HEMPE

Gentlemen: I propose a toast! It is dedicated to a small yet growing cell of omniscient and far seeing students of human nature and of history. It is quite freely given—how could it be otherwise given when the advice of the group it recognizes is also so freely given. A toast then, gentlemen, to the Northern abolitionists, known to us as integrationists.

This rabid band of hardy zealots has truly done our nation a great service. It may have redivided the Republic, it may have scorned our Constitution, but courageously and unequivocally it continues to point an accusing finger at those Southern "monsters" who support segregation.

Actually though, it is not these Northerners themselves that I directly salute. It is the great common virtue which they all possess in abundance. I speak of their courage, and truly, it is a remarkable thing.

Who else but a courageous man could condemn the South for its pernicious upholding of segregation,

when by looking at his Northern brethren he could find the same doctrine—just as effectively, but much more subtly adhered to? Who else but a really brave man could castigate the South for its "Little Rocks" when he is aware that a large percentage of colored high school students in New York also attend "segregated" schools simply because their families are not permitted to move into all-White areas because of various social pressures. Or would a timid man agitate reaction over the lynching of a colored man in Mississippi, when he can still smell the smoke of conflict emanating from the Northern battlefields of Cicero and Detroit. It takes real guts and even initiative to search for evil so far from home.

But, our Northern crusaders turn quickly and decisively from their own disaster areas and remain intent on heckling the barbaric South. Perhaps, they are trying to make a model integration area which the North, in its sincere wisdom, may someday follow. Lisp they with shining eyes and throbbing breasts, "Segregation is evil; it must be



society; they optimistically disregard historical record and human feeling. Surely, it requires a sort of supreme type of intrepidity to reach, and then maintain this position.

But, despite this testimony of sheer bravery in the face of fact and event, there are still those in the North unkind enough to call it hypocritical. For shame, you Northern doubters. But why dwell on unpleasantness, true or not? The recipients of my toast do not. So, in the same spirit I would conclude. Northern finger pointers . . . "Salute!"

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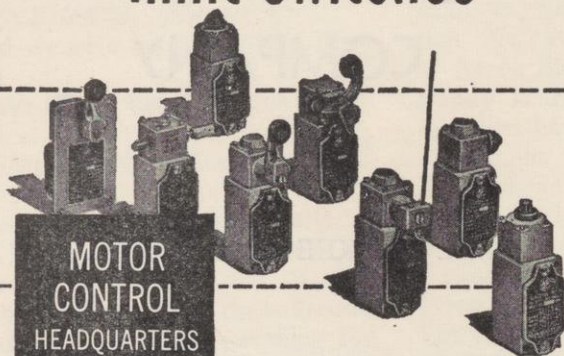
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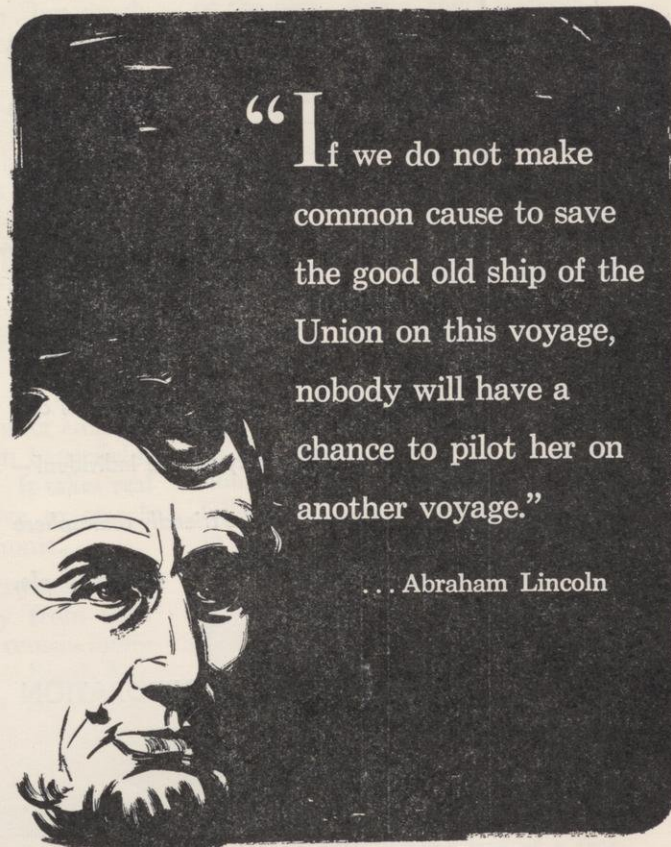
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