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INSIGHT and OUTLOOK

a conservative student journal

Vol. III Number VII

May, 1961

STUDY IN RED

TIMOTHY JON WHEELER

PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

LOUIS FRIEDMAN

BREAKTHROUGH

TOWARD PEACE

EDMUND I. ZAWACKI

THE CRIME BREEDERS

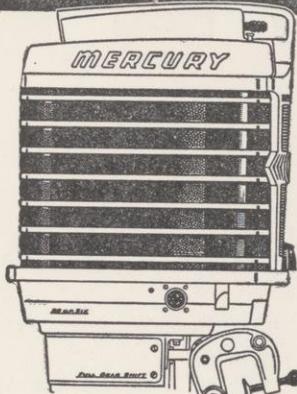
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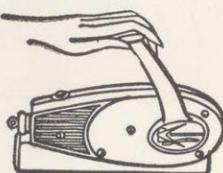
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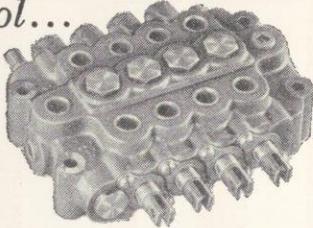
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INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK MAGAZINE

A CONSERVATIVE STUDENT JOURNAL

Vol. III Number VII

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INSIGHTS . . .

• We note that *Time Magazine* has moved perceptibly to the Right in recent weeks. That is encouraging, because *Time* is one of the most sensitive barometers of public opinion in the country. It is forever poking a wet finger into the wind. The breeze is blowing briskly from the Right currently, and we are looking forward with relish to the day when *Time's* bias coincides with *National Review's*.

• Walter Reuther has proposed that we cure the recession by increasing and lengthening unemployment benefits. He claims that this will put more cash into the hands of consumers and, therefore, pull us out of the slump. Some questions: (1) Where will the money come from which the government is going to use to pay people for not working? (2) What does a year of relief do to the moral fibre and the initiative of the unemployed? (3) If people are paid for not producing, who will produce the goods which will have to be purchased in order to manifest an economic upswing?

• Sir Winston Churchill recently paid this country what he called a "farewell visit." To him we say Adieu and Godspeed. He is one of the great men of our times. If only we had listened to what he had to say through the years, and acted accordingly, Russia would be a toothless tiger today, and Communism a dead issue. It is not yet too late, however, to heed his warnings.

• Even though there was no officially admitted American intervention in Cuban affairs, nearly every neutralist and leftist nation in the world howled "Imperialism" at us during the abortive Cuban counter revolution. What good has it done us, therefore, to be covert? We were tarred and feathered just as much as if we had sent in the marines. Moreover, we now have the reputation of being underhanded, hypocritical, cowardly, and two faced. How much better it would be to intervene forcibly and openly, in the name of hemispheric peace. Is national sovereignty so sacrosanct that it must be respected when it is no more than a cloak for savagery, looting and malignancy? The shilly shallying of Mr. Kennedy — who, it turns out is even weaker than Mr. Eisenhower — undoubtedly has Teddy Roosevelt whirling in his coffin.

• The liberals have been excoriating Robert Welsh, leader of the John Birch Society, because he called President Eisenhower a communist. When, if ever, are they going to get their dander up against Harry Truman, who called General Eisenhower a fascist?

• Since the first of the year, at least five new college publications have been entered in the conservative sweepstakes. Each has considerable merit, but two in particular are front runners: *The New Individualist Review*, sired at The University of Chicago, and *Analysis*, bred at the University of Pennsylvania. In the non-college field, *New Guard*, from the stud farms of Young Americans for Freedom, is showing speed. The odds, however, still favor *Insight and Outlook*, sired by Swaps Pfund; "old honeyboy" Wheeler, trainer.

... Government never of itself furthered any enterprise, but by the alacrity with which it got out of its way. It does not keep the country free. It does not settle the West. It does not educate. The character inherent in the American people has done all that has been accomplished; and it would have done somewhat more, if the government has not sometimes got in its way.

Henry David Thoreau in
Civil Disobedience



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The words of the Yankee Political philosopher echo truer today than a century ago when they were written. Government produces nothing; government creates nothing. The engine of big government spending programs cannot be set in motion until it's fueled with what it has *first taken away* from each individual citizen.

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CAMPUS OUTLOOK

Conservatives, according to Cardinal columnist Fauber, are motivated in their demands for a stable dollar and a balanced budget by their natural penchant for arresting progress, both economic and otherwise. What motivates Mr. Fauber to lay such a claim is unclear. We are certain, however, that whatever else it may be, it is neither his ability to correct the common sense conclusions of the day nor to come to grips with the facts of economic life.

In lieu of reading Mr. Fauber's mind we offer the following brief of his opinions: A. The federal government is responsible for maintaining prosperity and preventing business depressions. B. This requires, according to all the most popular economic theories, that the government employ inflationary manipulation of the money supply and expansion of credit. C. Anyone opposed to either A or B is opposed to prosperity, in favor of depression, and therefore against progress.

We submit the preceding in good faith. In view of Mr. Fauber's characteristically wild assertions we assume that he is a liberal and would naturally concur with the views of his elder colleagues as to why inflation is desirable.

Mr. Fauber's economics are the common sense of the day. They are taught at our universities, they are promulgated by the liberal organs of opinion, and they are the working philosophy which guides the actions of the Federal Reserve Board. They are a part of the rationale for the usurpation of responsibility by the federal government, they are the reason we have created a burdensome debt, and they are responsible in large measure for the growth of big government.

Since the drafting of the Magna Carta mankind has considered progress to be a movement away from the dictatorship of strong government rather than toward it. For us to object to America's inflationary bias simply on the grounds that it provides a climate conducive to the growth of a strong centralized government is to underestimate our case. The economic consequences of voluntary inflation are also antithetic to progress, and operate to impede other more viable progressive forces.

When the government increases the money supply either through deficit financing or credit expansion, demand for goods and services is artificially stimulated and prices rise. When the purchasing power of the dollar drops, all creditors lose and all debtors gain. The creditors are repaid in cheaper dollars than they originally invested, and debtors repay their debts with equally worthless money. Oddly enough, the government is the largest debtor. In 1940 the national debt equalled one year of national income. Today it equals about six months of national income. The mass of

creditors who own government or corporate bonds, or have savings accounts, are left holding the bag. Inflation has robbed them of their savings.

Similarly, the recipients of fixed incomes are hurt. Workers, their widows, and others of moderate means who have tried to provide for their futures with insurance policies, annuities, and pensions find that the provisions they could originally afford are now inadequate. Inflation has likewise left them holding the bag to such an extent that it breeds new demands for increased government intervention in the form of an increased social security tax and welfare programs which are in turn financed by inflationary methods, and so the process goes.

As a result, thrift and self-reliance are destroyed, and people become increasingly dependent on the government to solve the problems which it originally created. At first people sit on fiat money in hopes that prices will drop. Thus, inflation is concealed for a time. When it becomes apparent, as it has in the United States, that prices are not going to drop, people start spending to avoid the next increase. They start consuming on credit far beyond their means. It becomes increasingly foolish to save for the future. Investments, which are the cornerstones of real economic growth, are liquidated for consumption and the capital required for new investments cannot be found. Finally, as the process continues, people get panicky and the flight from money begins. Any commodity is better to have than cash, and the inflation gets out of hand as it did in Weimar Germany.

An extreme example is the case of two brothers in France who each inherited equal fortunes during a period of fiat money inflation. One brother invested his inheritance to provide for his future. The other was more carefree and decided to eat, drink, and live for the moment. When the inflation reached its peak, the profligate brother's discarded wine bottles were of greater exchange value than the entire savings of his more prudent brother. Inflation, moral decay, and restriction of economic growth go hand in hand.

Finally, and most ironically, the very thing that credit expansion is designed to cure is the very thing it promotes. The severity of a recession depends in large measure on the intensity of the inflation which precedes it. Whenever the inflationary boom is artificial it naturally dissipates itself and the economy sags. When new money enters, the interest rate is depressed, which gives a false signal to businessmen that funds are available for expansion. Many previously unprofitable projects now seem profitable. Feverish activity begins. Competition for land, labor and capital bid up their prices to the point where further expansion is no longer profitable. Expansion slows up and a recession is the inevitable result. Instead of following a smooth upward curve, the economy lurches and jolts like a locomotive on square wheels.

All of which leads us to wondering if by "progress" Mr. Fauber does not simply mean movement in the direction of big government.

It is easy to see from the nature of things, that the encroachments of the State governments will tend to an excess of liberty which will correct itself . . . while those of the general government will tend toward monarchy, which will fortify itself from day to day, instead of working its own cure, as all experience shows. I would rather be exposed to the inconveniences attending too much liberty than those attending too small a degree of it.

— Thomas Jefferson

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THE NATURE OF THE STRUGGLE . . .

A SWAN SONG

ROGER CLAUS

As I look back over the last four years, it seems like just yesterday when Alan McCone asked me to hang up some Intercollegiate Society of Individualists' posters. Of course I resented the imposition on my time. It would have been bad enough had the posters been for something like W.S.A., but these particular posters announced a speaker who would defend that old economic wreck, capitalism! I could scarcely believe it. In 1957, it was a rare bird indeed who would be found foraging around the ideological graveyard on this progressive campus.

MORAL REBIRTH

But a lot has happened in four years. Campus observers have seen these rare birds multiply and prosper. They have seen student after student determine for himself, with no help from the faculty, that the body of capitalism is quick with life. They found it ailing to be sure, for it is sick unto death from continued overdoses of the snake oil concocted in the inner sanctums of the Liberal Establishment — but, nevertheless, it is alive. And on an adjacent sick-bed, they found the compromised and prostituted Goddess of patriotism still breathing. She too had managed to weather the prolonged attack upon her by the nation's intelligentsia. Doubtless these two owed their respite only to the fact that they had already been universally abandoned. Most students were occupied with a brazen new ideology which trumpeted Socialism under the guise of cliché-ridden and sentimental

humanism, and which proffered a program of craven appeasement as enlightened international policy. But a small and growing number felt the loss and began to take action.

Perhaps the success of these few is best recorded by the Liberal reaction to their growth and accomplishments. For example, the recent publication of a Conservative student journal in the East (one of five new publications in 1961 alone) triggered an outburst that, *mirabile dictu*, outdid the irrational fulminations that greeted *Insight and Outlook*. A letter to the *Daily Pennsylvanian*, from the Students for Democratic Action began "The leaders of this movement (Conservatism) display the social conscience of a Hitler, a Stalin or a Barry Goldwater." (McCarthyism anyone?) "They would arouse us," the writer went on, becoming so agitated that he split an infinitive, "to actively drag America backward, if not actually to establish a fascist state."

INTO THE VACUUM

Conservatism, as a student movement, is growing rapidly and the trend is eyed with incredulity and dismay by the Liberals who, like the Penn S.D.A., react in a notoriously unliberal manner whenever their position as guardians of the centers of learning is challenged. James Wechsler sees "the animated support of . . . the right-wing rebellion (symbolized by 'Senator Barry Goldwater and nostalgic businessmen') on some college cam-

puses as "testimony to the fads created by the vacuum in politics." Mr. Wechsler does not consider that perhaps the vacuum was created by an intellectually degenerate Liberalism and that the vacuum in the political realm is merely an operational manifestation of a similar condition in the minds of its creators.

But as Mr. Wechsler so worriedly observes, a revitalized and intellectually responsible conservatism is emerging to fill that vacuum. And we are justly proud of our leadership in the movement. It is our belief that there has existed for some time a number of students on every campus who were consciously conservative or at least tired of the unexamined slogans of Liberalism. But, until quite recently, they had not raised their voices, believing that the preponderance of liberal thought on the campus would render futile whatever efforts they made. The success of the Wisconsin Conservative Club and this magazine on a campus well-known for its Liberal and socialist character did much to dispel this apprehension and served to stimulate similar enthusiasm on other campuses.

The Liberals, therefore, had better call to arms and head for the ramparts. We have insisted all along that we are growing, and now, none other than Senator William Proxmire has publicly agreed with us. In a recent Hartford, Connecticut, speech, Proxmire said: "The great political phenomenon of today is the onrush of a conservative movement that would repeal many of the Roosevelt reforms. . . . Goldwater has won the the most surprising personal following in my own state of Wisconsin that any non-President has achieved in many years. Wisconsin visitors come to see me wearing Goldwater buttons. Letters praising Goldwater come almost as frequently as letter in praise of Kennedy. The one Senator students ask to meet is Goldwater."

Yes, it has been a great four years.

A Hundred Eighty Million . . .

Politics and Conservatism Make Strange Bedfellows

RICHARD S. WHEELER

The press calls it a "conservative movement," but the phrase sticks in my throat. I do not use it; I do not like it, and I regard it as a contradiction in terms. I have always thought of a "movement" as a group of busybodies seeking to press its will, good or bad, upon the rest of us. There are anti-vivisection movements, wild life refuge movements, prohibition movements.

The thought of adding conservatism to the list of movements which proliferate the republic, I find intolerable. The very cornerstone of conservative idealism is self-development within the framework of tested traditions and values. It has never been the aspiration of a conservative to reform others, but rather to reform himself through constant striving toward self-sufficiency, integrity and individuality. Whatever conservatism is, it isn't a movement.

REBELLION!

But no matter what I choose to call it, certainly it is clear that something is astir in every nook and cranny of our country, and that this something has to do with those values and ideals commonly called conservative. It is a protest against current conditions; an angry reaction against the demoralization and debauchery of our land and our people by liberal welfarists.

Conservatives have long memories. We remember times when the principles which are now espoused only by a small band of "reactionaries" were once the woof and weave of the social fabric. We remember times when most men were too proud and too self-

sufficient to go on a dole, or accept relief, even when out of work. We remember times when unemployed men had the initiative and enterprise to pack up and move some place where employment might be found — or created. We remember times when people were prudent, and saved for a "rainy day" as a matter of course, because they held themselves — and not their government — responsible for meeting the emergencies of life. We remember times when any politician who proposed a welfare state would have been met with profound contempt.

Remembering these things, conservatives compare the past with the present and find the present lacking. Now we see men complaining because their unemployment compensation runs only 39 weeks. Now we see miners in a West Virginia "depressed area" paid month in and month out for not working. Now we see people throwing prudence to the winds because they believe that social security and socialized medicine will care for them when they are old. What's more, now we see a society so feudal that we aren't *permitted* to be self-sufficient, even if we want to be, because Social Security law forbids it.

In casting about for a reason for all this decay, we come face to face with liberalism—the exploitation and organization of human greed — as the major contributor. We see liberals actually trying to *prove need* for their myriad projects, so that they can rush massive transfusions of other people's money to the rescue. We wonder why liberals should ever have to *prove need* at all, unless, perhaps, liberalism feeds

like a cannibal upon the needy, and would starve to death if everyone in our country were self-sufficient.

Thus seeing to what depths of moral decay the liberal experiment has brought us, conservatives are uniting in anger. It has taken us a long time to respond, because our very ideal of self-sufficiency is hostile to political action.

UP FROM LIBERALISM

Liberalism, with its "let's reform others" attitude has an easier time of it in politics than we do. The liberal can bawl for "reform movements" and "progress" and win widespread support. The conservative, however, can only urge upon each man that he accept the responsibility for his own welfare. The conservative sees uplift and progress everywhere around him in the minds and souls of individuals. But the liberals, seeing no *government* programs of reform in a conservative society, assume that it is static, and sound the alarms for political action.

The only way conservatism can ever hope to vitalize our society with its ideals is to become, in fact, some sort of movement, even though such a development is hostile to conservative tradition. But we could not call it a movement in the normal sense of the word, because it is not really one movement at all: it is a hundred and eighty million of them. It is not our desire to reform society, but rather to impress upon each individual the nature of his responsibilities. Nor is our method to preach, but rather to set examples for the rest to follow.

STUDY IN RED

TIMOTHY JON WHEELER

"I am against Communism . . ."

In remarkable unanimity the American public has become over the years bitterly anti-communist. Communism has been discussed in the open forum, and rejected—as a political system of discredited economics, untenable dogma, heinous moral standard, clear obeisance to a foreign power, and intent to overthrow our government.

Since World War II we have suffered steady defeats in foreign affairs, and steady deterioration domestically. We agreed long ago that Communism was undesirable, and we had the necessary resources, economy, will, and moral integrity to defend against it. Why then have we allowed this growing Soviet monolith to become a threat to our existence?

We are divided in our opinion how best to combat Communism. Beyond the words "I am against Communism" the controversy rages. In the fertile fields of self-proclaimed expertise, it is scarcely surprising that opinions range from Eleanor to Barry, from ridiculous to sublime. However, only the views of the Liberals in power shape policy.*

One of the most vociferous cliques today is the anti-anti-communists. Liberals and Communists agitate similarly, if not jointly, against almost every anti-communist institution and issue: The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee; HCUA; Anti-communist legislation, such as the Smith Act and the Subversive Activities Con-

*Space limitations preclude a discussion of positive alternatives to Liberal policies. I refer the reader to Senator Goldwater's foreign policy proposals which are based on the premise that victory over Communism is essential to peace.

A Remarkable Primer of The World Conspiracy

trol Act; Operation Abolition and the Connally Reservation; even J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI. You've heard the uproar, I'm sure. Unwary Conservatives need not ponder the exasperating enigma, how a Liberal can *profess* anti-communism and *practice* anti-anti-communism; that is, how a Liberal can seemingly work so diligently to destroy our internal defenses. At the best, the Liberals do not know what they are doing; at the worst, they do.

In foreign relations, where the Liberals have been entrenched since 1932, the same ignorance has produced the same result. The Communists now control a quarter of the globe and a third of its people. This was avoidable.

FIGHT OR DIE

When a foreign power has sworn to destroy us, as Russia has, and applies its resources to that end, it is at war with us. If we are not mutely yielding to surrender, we are also at war. It is "cold" war, to be sure, and not of our own choosing, but *war* nonetheless. Although peace is our avowed goal, there can be no peace until the communist threat is removed. We must wage war with victory our objective. It is here the Alarmists and Pacifists and SANE people and Fellow Travellers turn on their sirens: "Brinkmanship" "Hot War" "Extinction" "Thermonuclear Holocaust" and a thousand other craven catchwords. They are afraid. When this cowardice is reflected in policy, it reads: "we will not even *threaten* to bear arms unless overtly attacked." This approach deprives us of our ability to fight and, it follows, to win. The only possible peace follows our surrender. I wonder if Patrick Henry would be revered in

our history books today, had he coined—instead—the favorite pacifist Liberal sentiment: "I'd rather crawl to Moscow on my hands and knees than die in a nuclear war."

Our national survival now rests upon our ability to defeat the international communist conspiracy. We must fully understand the unwavering intent of the Reds, recognize their methods, and comprehend the awesome price should we lose: I die. You die. God dies.

No form of government has been more candid in discussing its aims and strategy than Communism. The Communist Manifesto stated: "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims". They never have. They have never deviated from their chosen path. They won't. You can trust a Communist—always to be a Communist.

"If anyone thinks that our smiles mean the abandonment of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, he is deceiving himself cruelly. Those who expect this to happen might just as well wait for a shrimp to learn how to whistle."

—Khrushchev

What follows will be an outline of Communism, drawing heavily upon the words of the principals.

1.) Simply stated, the objective of International Communism is the total and uncompromising conquest and domination of the world.

"First we will take Eastern Europe, then the masses of Asia, then we will encircle the United States, which will be the last bastion of capitalism. We will not have to attack. It will fall like an overripe fruit into our hands."

"As long as capitalism remains we cannot live in peace. In the end one or the other will triumph—a funeral requiem will be sung over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism."

—Lenin

"The principle feature of our efforts is the emergence of Socialism from the confines of one country and its transformation into a world system."

"Whether you like it or not, history is on our side. We will bury you."

— Khrushchev

"War to the hilt between communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in twenty or thirty years. To win we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep. So we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard-of concessions. The capitalistic countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to co-operate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down we shall smash them with our clenched fist."

— Dmitri Manuilski

(Lenin School of Political Warfare)
The conclusions are inescapable. We are at war, war to the death. There can never be peace in the world as long as Communism exists.

2) *The communist philosophy* is tripartite and consists of Historical Materialism, Dialectical Materialism and Economic Determinism.

Historical Materialism, briefly, divides mankind into two basic groups: the Bourgeoisie, those who own the tool of production, and the Proletariat, the working class. The conflict of interest between these two classes is supposed to be the basis of all human misery. Competition among the Bourgeoisie would inevitably thin the ranks of power-holders, increase the miseries of the Proletariat, and bring the proletarian revolution. But, reasons Lenin, there is no need to wait: the conflict must be accelerated by all means of direct action, including subversion, corruption, terror, lies, deceit, — anything to bring about the proper end.

HISTORIC NECESSITY?

Dialectical Materialism, the cornerstone of communist philosophy, holds that religion is just a capitalistic opiate, morality is bourgeois sentimentality, man is matter in motion. The communist victory is inevitable and the approach is "dialectic" — i.e., "one step backward, two steps forward" (Lenin). This constitutes progress, which consists of undulating synthesis and antithesis.

Dialectical Materialism accounts for the chaotic and bewildering approach to the world situation — a smile one week, a stab in the back the next. Reform, by its standards is inconceivable; only revolution can bring change.

Economic Determinism holds that the entire personality of a person is the product of economic environment. Capitalism is degenerate, and thus the degenerate section of the populace must be eliminated in the interests of establishing an egalitarian communist Utopia.

This, as well as Dialectic morality, justifies the ghastly butchery in the subverted state. In the Ukraine, the toll is estimated at six to seven million lives. Out of three million in Lithuania, 700,000 were liquidated or sent to slave camps. Mao Tse-Tung calmly announced the execution of 800,000 "counter-revolutionaries" in China, but many estimates now place the dead at over 25 million!

America, of course, is heavily "contaminated" by capitalism, so there need be no question what sort of blood bath we face.

3.) *The Methods of the Communist Conspiracy* are limited only to that which is in their interests and will be effective.

A. Diplomacy

"During the last 25 years, the United States has had 3400 meetings with the Communists, including Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam, Panmunjom and Geneva. The negotiators spoke 106 million words (700 volumes). All this talk led to 52 major agreements, and Soviet Russia has broken 50 of them."

— *Congressional Record*

"Promises are like pie crusts—made to be broken."

— Lenin

"Words must have no relation to action — otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, action another. Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or iron wood."

— Stalin

"Negotiate, negotiate, negotiate!"

— Orders, CPUS

B. *Summit meetings* are regarded as nothing more than a flamboyant means of the diplomacy defined above.

C. *Fronts and Dupes* are invaluable to the communist movement. There are more than 600 front organizations in the country.

"As Soviet power grows, there will be a greater aversion to Communist parties everywhere. So we must practice withdrawal. Never appear in the foreground; let our friends do the work. We must always remember that one sympathizer is generally worth more than a dozen militant Communists. A university professor, who without being a party member lends himself to the interests of the Soviet Union, is worth more than a hundred men with party cards. A writer of reputation, or a retired general, are worth more than five hundred poor devils who don't know any better than to get themselves beaten up by the police. Every man has his value, his merit. The writer who, without being a party member, defends the Soviet Union, the union leader who is outside our ranks but defends Soviet international policy, is worth more than a thousand party members."

— Georgi Dimitrov
(Lenin School of Political Warfare)

COURTING DISASTER

4. *Specific Aims and Methods*
(Party line)

A. *Nullification of Anti-communist Legislation*

An American Bar Association report details the twenty decisions concerning Communism handed down by the Supreme Court over a two-year period ending in 1958. All twenty favored the communist side, and most were reversals of lower court decisions. Almost all anti-communist legislation has been weakened or nullified by these interpretations.

Of 108 top Reds convicted by federal juries under the Smith Act, 49 were set free by Supreme Court decisions. *The Daily Worker*, commented on these decisions: "The curtain is closing on one of our worst periods."

B. *Halting the Investigatory Powers of Congress and the FBI*
This muzzling has been effected, to some extent, by the *Watkins Decision** and anti-anti-communism.

*A recent Supreme Court decision upholding contempt convictions for Frank Wilkinson and Carl Braden has undone some of the damage of the *Watkins* case. Dissenting justices: Warren, Brennan, Douglas, and Black.

(Continued on page 12)

BREAKTHROUGH TOWARD PEACE

ASSOC. PROF. EDMUND I. ZAWACKI

Exactly a year ago the student editors of *Insight and Outlook* printed an item by me that I had ambitiously entitled: "A New Rationale for United States Policy toward the USSR". The intervening year has, if anything, added urgency to that particular insight. Again, on invitation from the student editors, I come back to the same theme, and my title is even more ambitious.

It is pretty clear by now to just about everybody except perhaps "accommodation"-minded newspaper columnists like Walter Lippmann that the notion of "co-existence" (with or without the adjectives "peaceful", "hostile", "competitive" etc.) has remained unchanged for over a decade as the Communist strategic doctrine in the cold war of ideas. Stalin gave it his pontifical imprimatur back in 1946. In U.S. cold war strategy, however, we have apparently been more "flexible"; we have had a fairly long succession of "new" doctrines shaping our policy toward the USSR: — "containment", "neutral zone", "prevention of surprise attack", "massive retaliation", "thermonuclear deterrence", "limited war", "the necessity of choice". Unfortunately, every one of these doctrines, in its function as a guiding idea for policy, is as like coexistence as peas in a pod. Each one takes for granted American acceptance of the Communist dogma that world society is divided by "Nature's dialectical law" into two ideologically hostile camps. Each represents, consequently, a successful invasion of the American mentality by the Communist idea in the war of ideas.

If the truth of this observation stuns those responsible for U.S. policy toward the USSR for the

last 15 years and more, it is high time they were jolted out of their coexistence trance. Self-recognition is the beginning of truth to one's self.

Unlike Khrushchev's "coexistence" and Lippmann's "accommodation", the idea of peace is a big and exciting one. Obviously, if international peace is to be commensurable with war at all in the hydrogen age, it must be conceived resolutely as the *opposite* of war, not its mere absence. Only if peace is identified simply and tremendously with a common universally practiced habit of human behavior, a habit capable of being revved up into tremendous momentum in a direction opposed to war, and capable no less than war of overwhelming by non-military means those governments that oppose it, will the idea of peace be realistic in United States policy for the hydrogen age. Such a universal human habit is hospitality, the opposite of hostility. No honor is done to the Kennedy administration by those who gush about the do-goodie Peace Corps idea as the most imaginative item in the Kennedy "new frontier" program.

DYNAMIC STABILITY

Willy-nilly, political science has indeed been pushed by nuclear physics into a fearful confrontation with eternity as a political reality. But, unlike physicist Linus Pauling, political scientists need not stand aghast. As a first forward step, however, they do need — as do fire-eaters like Clarence Manion and other darlings of the Pentagon — to stretch their minds to embrace a simple but unaccustomed concept, namely, the principle of dynamic stability in international relations.

Linus Pauling, being a physicist, knows that the atom remains stable by reason of its internal dynamism. Clarence Manion and Henry Kissinger might refresh their high school physics courses and ponder the phenomenon of a spinning flywheel. It, too, is stable. The flywheel principle is as new to political science as the atom.

Stability in international relations in general, and in U.S.-Soviet relations in particular, can, of course, 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 idea of deterrent military force and/or co-existence-with-Communism (not excluding any of its Western-coined *aliases*), is of this kind. Despite Henry Kissinger's subtlety in intellectual gymnastics, he thinks within this framework of ideas. This precarious kind of equilibrium could perhaps be regarded by political scientists today as adequate to the needs of the mid-nineteenth century, i.e. the times of Karl Marx, but hardly to those of the mid-twentieth. It has time and again been upset by material factors like new discoveries that multiplied potentials for mass destruction of human life, and by psychological factors like jittery suspicions. World Wars I and II were pretty eloquent proof of its inadequacy for the first half of the twentieth century. In the current era of what Norman Cousins calls "overkill", the scale balance principle is hopelessly obsolete, and it should be recognized as such by President Kennedy and his advisors on foreign policy.

(2) There is the dynamic and powerful equilibrium of the flywheel or, if we must parade our modernity — of the stable atom itself. This kind of equilibrium has never yet been translated into non-military human activity on a massive international scale. For the last four years, the cultural coexistence instituted by the Lacy-Zarubin Agreement has actually impeded such a translation. To say, how-

ever, that it would be a superhuman objective for United States foreign policy to achieve, would quite obviously be not a statement of fact but a mere confession of poverty of ideas. The principle of the flywheel is quite simple and well known. Its effectiveness as a stabilizer depends on the massivity of its momentum. Political application of this principle to U.S.-Soviet relations, if resolute and massive, could conceivably disintegrate the Iron Curtain principle of coexistence and be the breakthrough toward a genuine self-enforcing peace in the hydrogen age. Drew Pearson among others would be reassured to learn that world peace, properly understood, is a dynamically powerful process, not a tender flower to be moped over with smug pathos in a syndicated letter to his daughter.

The big question is, of course, whether the tried-and-found-wanting principle of the scale balance (i.e. coexistence-with-Communism under all its various *aliases*) will continue to shape American policy toward the Soviet Union, or whether the still untried flywheel principle will replace it. There have been signs pointing in the right direction, but the actual change-over, simple as it would seem to be, requires imagination and resolve. Four such signs can be pointed out.

(1) There was Ike's "open skies" proposal at Geneva in 1955, the prime feature of which was a *swap of complete blueprints of all military installations between the USA and the USSR*, cross-checked and verified by unlimited aerial photography. Had the prime feature of this proposal been recognized by our own people as embodying the idea of total moral disarmanent of the two greatest military powers on earth, and had the United States government resolutely pressed the Soviet government in the direction of its *enlargement* into the still bigger idea of world peace-in-action, Walter Lippmann would not now be prattling of "accommodations", and the diplomatic history of the last five years would conceivably have been less jittery. Instead, our

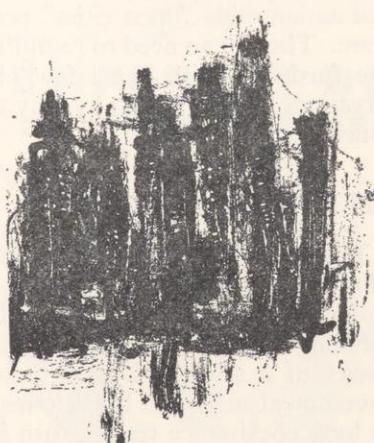
own spokesmen — in the name of "realism" and "the art of the possible" — diminished the idea of total moral disarmament into the idea of legalized espionage (overflights under U.N. auspices), and we learned to our discomfiture that the latter turns out to be neither possible nor politically realistic. For those with eyes to see, the original undiminished "open skies" proposal was the great achievement of the Eisenhower administration in the war of ideas. Big ideas do not dry up and glow away; they gestate in fertile minds to be born again.

(2) There was Ike's formal Proclamation of September 27, 1958, proclaiming the year 1960 as "Visit the United States of America Year" and calling on "officials of the Federal Government, the several States, and the municipalities of the United States" together with "business, labor, agricultural, educational, and civic groups as well as the people of the United States generally" to observe Visit the United States of America Year. Except for the *Wisconsin State Journal* in Madison (Wis.), which printed it in

the State Department. Yet, explicit in this Proclamation is the idea of nation-wide American grassroot hospitality to all peoples overseas, which is, with proper implementation, a political idea of tremendous moral force, not a commercial gimmick. By comparison, the Peace Corps idea is a drop in the bucket.

(3) There was Richard Nixon's speech in his capacity as Vice President of the United States opening the American exhibit in Moscow on July 24, 1959. In describing the freedoms enjoyed by the American people, Mr. Nixon pointedly included the freedom to travel abroad, and added: "We look forward to the day when *millions of Soviet citizens* will travel to ours and other countries in this way". It would seem from this harpoon-like thrust that the *idea* of massive, international, grassroot visiting — although conceived here in terms of private tourism — was presented by Mr. Nixon to the Russian people as a fundamental political freedom. His stand was on the statesmanship inherent in Ike's Proclamation, not on the State Department's unimaginative commercialism.

(4) There was Richard Nixon's farewell speech to the Russian people over the Moscow radio on August 1, 1959. Although none of the popular commentators in this country appreciated the ideological explosiveness of this speech, Khrushchev and his deputy, Frol Kozlov, did. So did the entire Presidium of the Soviet Union's Communist party. The most important passage of the Nixon speech was a head-on challenge to the doctrine of coexistence and a call for enlargement of the "open skies" idea. "To me", said Mr. Nixon, "*the concept of coexistence is completely inadequate and negative. Coexistence implies that the world must be divided into two hostile camps with a wall of hate and fear between.*" What we need today is not two worlds but one world where different peoples choose the economic and political systems that they want, but where there is free communication among all the



a think-piece by me, no newspaper in the country (not even that great newspaper of fact, the *NY Times*) printed this Presidential Proclamation. Those few commentators who belatedly took notice of it diminished it from an international policy move of enormous possibilities into a mere plug for the American tourist industry. The same was done by Assistant Secretary of State Foy Kohler and others at policy level in

peoples living on this earth. *Let us expand the concept of open skies.* What the world also needs are *open cities, open minds, open hearts.*" Khrushchev exploded the Paris summit conference in May, 1960, out of fear. What he had reason to fear after Nixon's ideologically explosive blast was that Ike was coming to the summit conference with his original undiminished "open skies" idea reinforced by a massive "open cities" proposal. Khrushchev knows all about the "open cities" idea, and has perhaps known about it since 1958 when it was first described in the *Wisconsin State Journal*. (Both Madison newspapers are monitored by the Communist apparatus, as editor William Evjue of the *Capital Times* learned in 1959 from personal experience.) Khrushchev's clever postponement of Ike's return visit to the USSR until after the agreed date of the summit conference (May 16, 1960) should have aroused State Department suspicions that he was going to discredit the conference by hook or by crook (the U-2 incident, as it turned out), and call the visit off. I myself sent an urgent letter to a high official in Washington and a copy to a senior editor of *Life* magazine some 10 days before the summit conference, warning exactly of what Khrushchev was going to do and why. Obviously, he would have risked disorderly disintegration of all kinds of Communist controls in the USSR and the European satellites if he had allowed the perfectly foreseeable explosion of united public opinion friendly to Ike and to America, which Ike's visit climaxing the expected "open cities" proposal would have precipitated. Mr. Nixon's reception in Warsaw was not lost on Khrushchev. Even without the capture of Francis Powers the U-2 overflights could have been used by Khrushchev at any time for calling off both the summit conference and Ike's visit. His timing, admittedly, was sensational.

What these four signs all point toward is a resolute hydrogen-age policy for total international moral

disarmament and massive, reciprocal, international hospitality at the grassroots: the opposite of organized hostility. I submit that they constitute the makings of a properly massive socio-political flywheel, which the Kennedy administration is capable of assembling and setting in motion regardless of what Khrushchev or any other Communist leader says or does, or fails to do.

Just what is the "open cities" idea that Mr. Nixon had in mind when he mentioned it over the Moscow radio? Apart from my own expositions of it in the *Wisconsin State Journal*, it was described with reasonable clarity in the *Christian Science Monitor* and the *Congressional Record* in mid-June of 1959, and with a certain guileful simplicity in the May, 1960, issue of *Insight and Outlook*. The first American city to contribute its civic weight to the flywheel principle was Madison, Wis., which as early as May, 1958 (in an official letter from Mayor Ivan Nestingen), formally offered to Secretary of State Dulles its participation in an eventual nation-wide "open cities" program. There is no need to recapitulate further details, but a few observations bear repeating by way of conclusion.

THE BREAKTHROUGH

There are no new frontiers. There are only old ones that thoughtful men are constantly breaking through. It is in the power of a resolute United States government at last to break out of its long coexistence trance, turn its back on unsubstantial "accommodations" with Communist governments and, by consecutive political initiatives, involve the people of our own and their cities and villages in a massive grassroot momentum revved up overwhelmingly toward a programmatic reciprocal hospitality regardless of Khrushchev's policies. And it is in the power of the American people to have our national habit of hospitality translated by the Federal Government into a

foreign policy designed to liberate *ourselves* together with the Russian and all Communist-dominated peoples from the nightmare of annihilation explicit in the Communist formula: "coexistence or hydrogen war, tertium non datur". Concrete ways and means to achieve the liberation have obviously been overlooked in Washington, but they are waiting to be employed. As ideas, they are as simple and startling as waking up from a nightmare. After all, the way to banish a nightmare is as simple as waking up.

COMMUNISM . . .

(Continued)

C. Elimination of Federal and State Security Programs has been successful to the extent of "non-sensitive" positions. Note the NEA loyalty oath.

D. The Phony Peace Offensive. To a Communist, "peace" means communism. Peaceful coexistence means only that the war has gone underground: conflict "without" war.

"This policy (The Soviet peace policy) is the Leninist policy of the proletarian dictatorship. It is merely another — and under present conditions — a more advantageous form of fighting capitalism; a form which the USSR has employed consistently since the October revolution."

— VI World Congress of the Communist International

"The most dangerous hoax ever devised by the international Communist conspiracy is the current worldwide 'peace' offensive."

— HCUA Report

"Every act that contributes to the Communist conquest is a peaceful act. If they take a gun, they take a peaceful gun, containing a peaceful bullet, and kill you peacefully and put you in a peaceful grave. When the Chinese Communists murder millions, it is an act of peace. When the Russian tanks rolled into Budapest to butcher and destroy, it was glorious peace."

— Dr. Fred Schwartz
(Testimony before HCUA)

Those who believe Soviet "peace" is the same as the peace we want have dictated our policy. We have "waged" peace ourselves. Nothing could suit the Communists better.

E. Cultural Exchanges. Nikita Khrushchev, in February 1956, reported cultural and business exchange as a development which will bring growing weakness to the U.S. In June, 1957, Khrushchev appealed for such exchanges on American television. In January 1958 the U.S. signed a two-year agreement with the Soviet Union for the exchange of persons in cultural, scientific, technical, and educational fields.

"Every Soviet football team, every athlete competing at an international sport event, Soviet scientists attending a congress abroad, the Moscow Ballet performing in a western capital or a group of Soviet artists at a film festival are invariably accompanied by special agents of the Soviet secret police."

— E. H. Cookridge
(Former British secret service agent)

"Every single delegate from Russia or a satellite country with whom I ever came in contact myself, while posing as a Communist for the FBI, was either a member of the Soviet secret police or the Soviet espionage apparatus. The primary activity of every one of Moscow's cultural delegates while in this country is to promote the Communist world revolution."

— Matt Cvetic
(Former FBI undercover agent)

On the other hand, our delegates

and tourists in Russia are shown only what the Soviets want them to see.

F. Recognition of Red China in the United Nations
"Inevitable."

— Adlai Stevenson

The American people and the Congress remember 34,000 dead, 100,000 casualties in the Korean war. To put it crudely, if Nationalist China does not veto, we can.

G. Halting Nuclear Tests has been completely successful.

H. East-West trade

"Foreign trade, to a communist country, is a means of waging cold war. It is a means of getting from the outside the strategic materials to arm itself for world conquest. Trading with the Communist bloc would be a psychological as well as military defeat for the United States."

— Congressional Record

I. Propaganda. It is estimated that the communist bloc spends \$3 billion annually, and employs some 25 million persons in the dissemination of propaganda. President Kennedy recently banned the interception of red propaganda sent to this country.

J. "Humiliation"—the method of "spontaneous" demonstration.

For the skeptics, who still can't quite believe the Communists are earnest, or will continue to do what they're doing, consult your library. There's plenty of information available. Learn how the Reds can subvert us internally. Study the appalling success they have had.

The strict anti-Communism of Conservatism is based on full knowledge of the Soviet threat. We tolerate nothing less than the defeat of International Communism.

I challenge the reader to see how often the Liberal line coincides with the Communist Party line; to see how often Liberal foreign and domestic policy has played into communist hands; to see what chance of success we have if we retain this policy. How can Liberals justify pacifist programs, dreary peace campaigns, cultural exchanges, the "accommodations", the search for "settlements", and the never-ending negotiations? How long will they hope the cancer isn't malignant?



PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

LOUIS FRIEDMAN

"To assume that the level of mutual destruction now possible from total nuclear war or the magnitude and intensity of fallout is sufficiently high to make nuclear war suicidal and therefore impossible is but to evade the most serious military problem that this nation has ever faced. The initiation of total war may be made increasingly hazardous for the potential aggressor but it will remain a course open to him for at least the next decade. The U.S. as the potential victim of such an attack should have ability to fight such a war in a rational manner and should give the most serious consideration to these civil defense measures requisite for the protection and recovery of the population." This statement is taken from the John Hopkins University research report to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and underscores our present need for a civilian defense program.

The Student Peace Center and many other people maintain that civil defense is a farce and can save no one. They are absolutely wrong and the proof of this contention is the purpose of this article. Civilian defense is needed. It is feasible and practical; all that we must decide is: do we want it.

The three primary questions are: what can civil defense do, do we need it, and do we want it or why should we want it. After these are decided, the mechanics of civil defense becomes important. The belief held above, that civil defense is a farce results from an ignorance of the facts, an ignorance the public definitely shares. As a result of this ignorance some people support civil defense when they have no basis to, and others oppose it because of their lack of understanding about it.

Let me first state that it is of course true that if a nuclear bomb explodes on Bascom hill at 11:00 A.M. on a school day that University students attending classes will die — and in fact will be obliterated. This is so, with or without a civil defense program. Civil defense is not designed to protect those directly hit (within three square miles around the blast) but to protect those — the overwhelming majority of the population and potential casualties — from all other effects. With 15 minutes warning a minimum of 60 million lives could be saved. With 3 minutes warning and a good shelter program tens of millions of people could be protected. A bomb dropped on the Madison airport would turn the three mile area into a hot crater, but we in the University area could be effectively protected, and live. These contentions are not mere guesses, but later I will quote figures from reports made on this subject. Two of the most comprehensive and accurate reports made on the effects of thermonuclear warfare can be found in the Stanford University Research report by Dr. Herman Kahn, and the Rockefeller Brothers' report.

We must first reject the idea of mutual annihilation or destruction of civilization that our fiction writers and movie producers have been so willingly turning into best sellers. The amount of damage that the Soviet Union would receive today in an all-out war, would be less than that suffered by them in World War II. Their losses might be kept down to ten million people. All out war would probably increase genetic effects causing death from about 4% today to 4½-5% in twenty years, another far cry from mutual annihilation. A report

Extinction is not the Only Alternative to Surrender

of the Naval Radiological Laboratory states that minimum civilian defense in this country would reduce radiation deaths from nearly 65% to 25% and that reasonable protection would reduce this figure to about 2%. An amazing guess? The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy's subcommittee on radiation estimates that radiation casualties of the assumed attack on the U.S. would drop from 25% to 3%, with good civilian defense — an almost exact correlation with the Naval Laboratory figure. Lt. Col. Edward Marks, an army instructor on nuclear warfare, said in a recent visit to the Wisconsin campus that atomic shelters could reduce the total casualty figure to about 13 million dead and very few injured. This is assuming a high-efficiency perfect nuclear attack by the Russians.

FALLOUT MYTH

Many people feel that radiation hangs around until everyone dies, or until it spreads all over the hemisphere. This is fiction. Dr. Ralph Lapp, reporting in the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, (which is as pacifistic as any magazine existing) has shown data that proves fallout obeys an approximate inverse square law. The actual estimate is that for every sevenfold increase in age, fallout drops by a factor of ten. After 2 days, it will have dropped by a factor of one-hundred, after two weeks by a factor of 1000. Even assuming perfect efficiency with unfavorable wind conditions, this would bring it well within the human accepted dosage range. Thus if the Madison Airport were bombed and we were protected from blast effects by adequate shelter we

could, after two weeks, emerge alive and safe — prepared to do our task. This defense is even more effective if we were attacked with biological warfare — for the only defense here is a shelter, but it is a completely effective one. We know the Russians are developing chemical and biological weapons and it is only logical to protect ourselves from their effects. In talking about nuclear explosions note that I have been assuming a high fission blast nearby — fission (A Bomb type) is much more highly radioactive than fusion bombs (H bomb). Thus with an H bomb explosion in Chicago (comparatively far) we could have total protection by minimal defense.

Many reject the evacuation of cities by trying to use New York as an example—with a fifteen minute warning. This is ridiculous. No one seriously contemplates evacuation of New York, Chicago, etc., in the time of warning of attack. But there is a point to evacuation proceedings, especially in smaller cities such as Madison. Dr. Kahn in the Stanford Report tells of how a country (e.g. U.S. and the Soviet Union) is divided into two sections, the A country and the B country. The B country is independent, for it contains the nation's farms, resources and bulk of people. The A country containing the fifty-to-one-hundred largest cities is very dependent on the B. But the A country is the prime target, simply because it alone can be destroyed, without making the country useless to a potential victor. The B country is incapable of destruction — even by all the nuclear weapons existing today, it is just too large and too spread out. Further, only the B country has the capability of recovery for both countries, and only the B country can rehabilitate the A country. By maximal evacuation of the A country into the B country we could save millions of lives, make us less vulnerable and increase our deterrent threat. Later in this article I will mention more about this and how it is utilized by

the Russians. Admittedly this is only a theory. But it is well worked out; so much so that it forms the basic part of the Russian civilian defense program. Their evacuation plan, and their civil defense centers around this theory, and they can utilize it in their war and foreign policy planning, as I will show later. In the Soviet Union the people are educated to the civil defense needs; they must take 45 hours of training and pass a written exam in civilian defense. This is not reason enough for us to adopt such a plan but it is indicative of a realistic approach to world situations.

The New York State Journal of Medicine recently presented a series of articles sponsored by the Medical Education for National Defense organization, by Dr. S. Garb, on the nation's ability to withstand nuclear attack. In the twelve articles it was shown how civil defense shelters can save the population and how they can reduce the number of deaths from nuclear attack. These practical structures (costing under \$300) can save 60 million lives in the United States.



The next question that must be considered is whether we need civilian defense. I maintain we do simply because the record of the Soviet Union is not one to inspire security in our safety. A couple of weeks before President Kennedy's inauguration, Chairman Khrushchev made clear in a statement to the Russian legislature that the goal of communization of the whole world was still a very integral part of Russia's policy and that they believe

in all means necessary toward this end. A few weeks later the Soviet leader rattled his rockets, telling the world that the Soviets could blast the United States off the map. The Russians are attempting to dominate us with nuclear blackmail. This nuclear blackmail, with all of the techniques practiced and to be practiced by the Russians, is discussed both in the Rockefeller Brothers' report and the Stanford study. It involves the question of how much risk, and provocation the United States will accept before entering a nuclear war, or conducting a defense, or defending our principles. The Russians are trying to hold up 60 million American lives as ransom for Africa, Asia, Europe and eventually the Americas. Civilian defense can prevent this blackmail simply by making unavailable these 60 million lives. By protecting our population we can maintain our deterrent against possible Soviet aggression, and reduce the likelihood of being attacked. Further, we present less of a target to the aggressor so that he realizes we can neither be blackmailed or conquered by nuclear attack or the threat of it. This is the type of civilian defense in Russia today, and this is the type we need.

Do we *need* civil defense — that is to say, is there a danger of war? Yes, because of the communist goal — A GOAL SO OFTEN REPEATED THAT WE ARE NEARLY INSENSITIVE TO IT. A *U.S. News and World Report* discussion of this question points out, "No dictator with a goal and making progress toward that goal has ever given up his advantage, or ever will . . . only the U.S. among powers which have had the opportunity has drawn back, leaving the field to a dangerous rival." How dangerous? We need only look at Russia's record at past conferences and the "agreements" made there: Yalta, Tehran, Potsdam and Geneva concerning Iran, China, Berlin, Mongolia and Eastern Europe. Is it any wonder that we take their "concessions" with a grain of salt? This

(Continued on page 17)

THE CRIME BREEDERS

You'll Find Them in Capitol and Courthouse

LAWRENCE EARL

My father had a leather strap upon which he sharpened his straight-edged razor. Although the strap performed this function but once a day, it was available at all times for disciplinary purposes. It was rarely used, but it was available. Instead of being used to subjugate me, the purpose was always to train me toward ultimate independence.

Even before I reached the teens, my height exceeded that of my father. However, he was secure in his parental prerogatives and if he was intimidated by my superior size, he did not show it on the infrequent occasions when the strap was used. On the last such occasion, after the strap had performed its office, I said, "When will I be too old to be strapped?" His reply was a revelation to me, "When you are old enough to discipline yourself." I finally got the message.

Every parent conscious of his responsibility strives constantly to wean his children to independence of thought and action. Every parent who is aware to the slightest degree of the threat posed by paternalism in government dreads its stultifying effect upon the initiative he has tried so hard to develop in his children. By instilling self-discipline in me, my father was preparing me to live in a society of free men who engage in free enterprise.

The tremendous increase in regulatory agencies and laws since the turn of the century has undermined the internal discipline of our citizens. As our self-discipline declines, so too does our respect for external law: the two go hand in hand.

The result is a progressive deterioration of respect for law—a growing belief that regardless of the language of the statute, a citizen

may with propriety do whatever he can get away with. The widespread acceptance of this attitude is not an indictment of free enterprise but an indictment of all of us for supinely tolerating creeping statism, which teaches the antithesis of personal responsibility.

Two major attributes of statism have contributed to our present situation. The first is the tendency to regulate the citizen's life to the last detail, substituting statutes for conscience and leaving no room for the exercise of individual responsibility. The second is the tendency of the advocates of strong government to substitute their judgment for the judgment of the people. On the one hand they enact statutes and regulations which give unconscionable power over the lives and actions of others; on the other hand, they say, in effect, that they will decide when they will enforce these laws and when they will not. Behind the attitude of strong government advocates is a repudiation of the very principles of democracy.

As an example of laws which substitute regulation for judgment, and also are erratically enforced, and which contribute to disrespect for all law, consider our traffic laws. The traffic laws are the laws with which people most commonly come into contact. It is natural, therefore, that official attitudes toward automobile regulation are necessarily of great importance in conditioning public reaction. The governmental agencies that pass our traffic laws and the officers who enforce them are running a school for crime and are largely responsible for the widely deplored flouting of laws generally.

Years ago Wisconsin had a very enlightened speed law. It required

only that the operator of the vehicle drive at a speed that was reasonable under the conditions. Other states had similar laws. Why were they changed? Because the police officers said that in order to get convictions they had to have fixed limits. Then, instead of fixing those limits at the maximum speed appropriate under optimum conditions, they set the limit at a speed deemed appropriate under the worst possible conditions. And then they said, in effect, "Most of the time you may go faster than the sign says." In consequence we have limits of twenty-five or thirty miles on multiple lane divided highways and few indeed drive within the posted limits. An official of Milwaukee was quoted as opposing more realistic limits on the ground that "Everyone drives five or ten miles over the limit anyway." This official demonstrated his lack of knowledge of human nature. The fact is that people are reasonable, and in a recent test in Milwaukee the average speed on a given highway *decreased* when the posted limit was raised to a reasonable figure. But instead of passing reasonable laws and then enforcing



them to the letter, we continue not merely condoning, but actually encouraging violation of those laws with which we most frequently come in contact.

What has been said in indictment of our traffic law is true in large measure of all our regulatory laws. Instead of teaching responsible citizenship, the laws are based on the theory that only the great white fathers know what is best and they,

in their wisdom, will regulate and regiment our lives to the last detail and decide on their own whim whether to enforce the law or wink at violation.

There you have it — a school for crime under state and municipal auspices, and with the cooperation of the very officers and judges charged with enforcement. How much better it would be to make people responsible for their own behavior or, at least, if we must have arbitrary limits, to make those limits realistic and then enforce them to the letter.

Recently several prominent officers and employees of large corporations were given fines and jail sentences for anti-trust law violations.

This development is a direct indictment of paternalism in government. No less a person than the newly appointed attorney general has said, "We are all guilty." And so we are. The individuals and companies found guilty merely happened to play their part at a time when the courts decided to crack down.

I am reminded of a courtroom scene I happened to witness. For years court rules had required that briefs be filed at stated times. For years briefs had been filed late and the court had ignored it. Without warning the court struck a number of late briefs from its files. Among the protesting lawyers caught in this dilemma was a leader of the New York bar. In their solemn black robes, the judges took turns at flaying him. One of them said rudely and testily, "Are you incapable of reading the clearly printed rules of this court?" To his eternal credit, the lawyer did not flinch. He replied, "My ability to read is unexcelled when I am not blinded by the glare of the violations which this court has condoned."

One need not condone anti-trust law violation to recognize the fact that the parties indicted are no worse morally than many of the rest of us who violate traffic laws daily.

The traffic law violator may say

that he has sinned far less than one who violates the anti-trust law. The difference is a difference in degree only. One recalls the well-known story about a beautiful lady who was scandalized by dinner talk about a woman of easy virtue and said "I might sell my body but only for at least a million dollars!" Her companion said, "Come now, wouldn't you take twenty-five?"

"What do you think I am?" replied the lady, indignantly. To this, her companion rejoined, "We already know *what* you are; the only question is one of price."

What can be done about disrespect for law? For one thing, we may elect legislators who really believe in free enterprise; men who will either repeal restrictive legislation or restate the law in terms which will permit the individual to be responsible. Under current practice, no law is repealed except to pass a more rigorous one. We need to teach citizens that they are responsible for doing what is proper without having an officer breathing down their necks. We need to revise our laws and regulations to promote that point of view. Far from approving any violation of law, I am convinced that a good citizen may work toward the alteration or abolition of a law which he deems objectionable but meantime will obey it, good or bad. To the extent to which we are responsible citizens we will not consciously violate any law. If we consider ourselves good citizens, we must set an example for those less well trained. Our examples are far more convincing than our words. Each of us should seek, therefore, to act as a believer in free enterprise should act — responsibly.

Each of us should not only obey the existing laws literally but we can insist that others do so. If some of our laws were required to be obeyed literally by all — including the legislators — they would be repealed at once. The fastest way to get rid of unreasonable laws is to enforce them strictly and universally.

The fastest and surest way to return to a republican form of government is to elect responsible law makers and responsible law administrators and insist on the appointment of judges committed to a government of law and not of men.

CIVIL DEFENSE . .

(Continued)

is the same country that is fighting us in Laos and the Congo. This is the same country that uses co-existence only as a temporary means to achieve its ends of world domination (e.g. the pact with Hitler in 1939, the off-again, on-again cold war with us). But to make the people realize that we are fighting the war today, you have to hit them over the head — like at Pearl Harbor — only now there isn't so much "mobilization and preparedness" time.

The Russians might risk war. We have already seen that it is feasible for them to do so. Their casualties could be kept down to an acceptable level. Their civil defense procedure is such that their damage would be minimal, and they could withstand a counter-attack. They have maintained that it might, and in most quarters it *will*, be necessary to use force to bring the final overthrow of capitalism. The John Hopkins report states, "While the Soviets may never achieve assured ability to knock out SAC (our main line of defense) . . . they may prefer someday to risk the damage of a crippled SAC rather than the dangers of not striking first."

Thus the only way that the present conflict can stop is for either the Russian goals or our goals to change. Since we cannot sit by in isolation hoping and waiting for the overthrow of communism within the countries and since the latter implies that we renounce our beliefs in freedom, independence and integrity we are caught in that awful, but necessary, dilemma of working toward peace by preparing for war.

The third question to decide is: do we want civil defense, now that

we know we need it? This is largely an individual question but I will explain why I want it, and you may decide if the reasons are good enough for you. First, in case of nuclear war I still would like to live, if possible — I am not prepared to die, or even to become uncivilized in a dead society. I would like to have the ability to maintain my life and my freedom — I would like the United States to "win" the war so that it may preserve its life and its freedom. Freedom can triumph — even if it loses materially. If this is what you think of as trite — then I can understand how America will fall. From the Rockefeller report, "A free nation which has sought nothing but peace would gain peace only at the price of its freedom."

Secondly I believe that civil defense is a deterrent to war because it reduces the target the aggressor will have, and since it prevents the ransom of our 60 million lives. We can have a more effective defense, have the ability for realizing it and have the population to resist domination.

It will provide peacetime as well as wartime defense against the disasters of nature which are more terrifying, perhaps, than those made by man.

I care a little about human lives, and would like to see the maximum number live in any disaster — to rebuild where necessary and to attempt again to see people everywhere free and happy.

I regard civilian defense as a mighty cheap insurance program for sixty million lives, and the preservation of our freedom and our human rights.

To those who argue that civilian defense is upsetting psychologically, I must express complete bewilderment. Are they maintaining that we must close our eyes to the facts and learn only what is good? Do we ignore fire safety, hurricane protection, storm cellars, etc.? Are our children apt to grow up more adjusted when they are ignorant? Is truth bad? Civilian defense will prepare us, so that we can meet the bad part of living as well as the good. Civil defense will protect us

from needless and deadly panic which in the past, has been the result of inadequate protection and preparation, and has resulted in terrible and needless disaster. The ostrich attitude, can never be right, psychologically, sociologically or otherwise. I have seen civil defense practiced in the grade schools and have seen no resulting psychological disorders, but only intelligent questions from curious, thinking children.

I close this discussion with quotations from the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists by Drs. A. Bellamy and S. Warren: ". . . man can easily forget that if an enemy does succeed in delivering a heavy attack the extent and promptness of enemy destruction becomes largely a matter of academic interest to be recorded in future history." "Since war may not be preventable, non-military defense preparations are vital and could mean the difference between national survival and chaotic primitive conditions of existence for a long period of time."

**Socialism is the Philosophy
of Failure, the Creed of
Ignorance and the Gospel of
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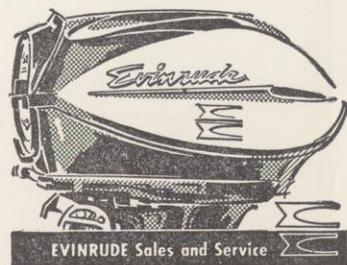
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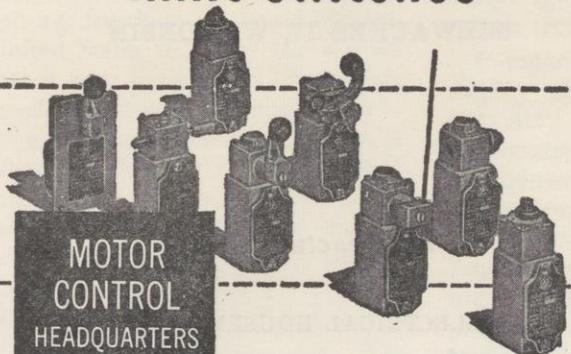
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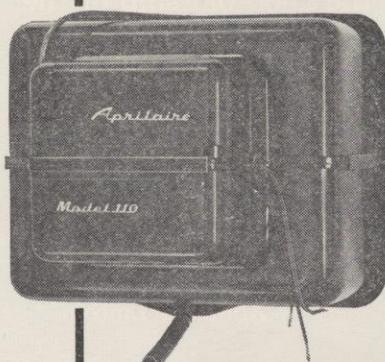
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