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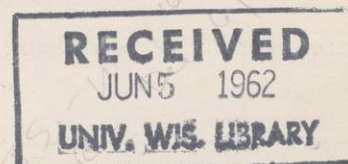
Summer 1962

LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION

A COMPARISON OF

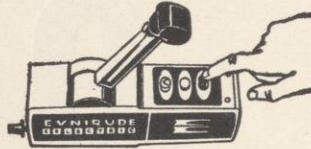
LIBERALISM AND FASCISM by

RICHARD S. WHEELER



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Summer 1962

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INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK 3

QUO VADIS, FITZGERALD?

It is unfortunate but true that the folklore of America contains the myth of the "wicked capitalist". Time and again, otherwise responsible historians have set down the evil doings of capitalists as chronicled by the disgruntled intellectuals of the time, without ever bothering to check the facts behind such "history". So let it be with Big Steel. I can well imagine some day in the far future when my grandchildren, textbooks in hand, will come running up to ask me if I remember when "P-T Kennedy" torpedoed "Roger the Pirate" and was it true that Tycoon Blough chomped on his stogie and muttered "The public be damned!".

Before the Muse of History canonizes Mr. Kennedy and casts Roger Blough and his fellow steelmen into the same exterior darkness now occupied by the Carnegies, Morgans and Vanderbilts, the facts should be set down, if only to provide a reply to future distortion and academic hysteria. What was, as Peterkin asked, the fighting all about? Did Justice triumph, or was this a travesty of Justice?

The person familiar with the arguments for capitalism may well ask why the price rose. Isn't the tendency of the free market toward the lowering of prices? *In a free market*, this is true. Competition for the consumer's dollar must force prices down. However, we have a monopoly situation — not, mind you, on the part of the steel management, but on the part of the unions. Backed by a government which has, for the last thirty years at least, been sympathetic if not encouraging, the unions forced a new set of demands on the steel companies. As such demands do not coincide with equivalent increases in productivity, the companies' profits are cut. So what? the cynic may ask. Big Steel can well afford a cut in its exorbitant profits. And there, we have another myth. The profit margin of steel, though still about two percent above the average profit margin, has been declining sharply. At the same time, much of the steel plant — mills, smelters, and other equipment was becoming dangerously obsolescent. Newer and more modernized companies, such as Inland Steel, were expanding, as is expected in the market economy, to take a larger share of the market. This, taken with the increase of labor costs in 1960 and 1962, amounting to approximately fifty cents an hour, indicated that some sort of action was necessary.

Now, it will be argued that because Inland Steel held its price down no price increase was necessary. Perhaps this is true. Perhaps Mr. Blough and his fellow steelmen were inefficient. However, this inefficiency is not the concern of the law; it is judged and punished in the market place. If the price increase were necessary, and Inland Steel held its prices down for fear of retribution, then it would suffer from a deteriorating and depreciating capital investment. If, on the other hand, Mr. Blough and his associates were wrong, then they would suffer the loss in profits. This is the way the mechanism of the market system works. Unfortunately, Mr. Kennedy and his advisors felt otherwise and thus created another legend for future historians.

Upon hearing of U.S. Steel's projected price increase, Mr. Kennedy flew into a monumental rage. For one thing, that nasty Mr. Blough hadn't told him about it in advance or even asked either his or Bobby's permission; so, the whole thing was unfair. Besides, hadn't Daddy Joe told him that businessmen were unprintable so-and-so's and Daddy Joe was a smart man. Of course, he made a lot of money playing with these same unprintable gentlemen in the market, but he made up for that by sending Jack to Choate, Harvard and finally, to the London School of Economics, where he sat at the feet of Harold Laski and imbibed the unconventional wisdom. Of course, this made

Mr. Kennedy an expert in steel. But did it? No one, unless we have a few deluded souls who believe in touching for the King's evil, would go to Mr. Kennedy for medical advice; no one would consider his suggestions when it came to erecting a bridge; why then is the President an expert in the area of steel and steel prices — to the extent that he can presume to fix these prices at some level consonant with a chimerical "common good"?

But let us be generous. Let us assume that Mr. Kennedy received, on Inauguration day, a gift from on High, a set of charismatic qualities which enabled him to equal the *expertise* of Mr. Blough. Does this give Mr. Kennedy the ability to determine price? Not at all. The characteristic feature of the market price is that it equalizes supply and demand. Any deviation from this point where supply and demand are equal is — in a free market economy — self-liquidating, as was demonstrated in the discussion of the necessity of the price increases.

However, suppose the Government fixes prices at a height different from the market price. The balance of supply and demand is disturbed. Less steel is offered for sale on the market, even though there are those who desire more and are willing to pay a higher price for it. The price can no longer segregate those potential buyers and sellers who can buy and sell from those who cannot. As a result, we find a different system coming into play — a system which permits those who have "connections" to receive goods which are scarce; or one where the free market re-establishes itself outside the framework of the law, in the so-called "black market". More likely than not, one intervention will beget another, so that the government is forced to step in once again to allocate the good "fairly" by means of rationing.

Nor can the charge of monopoly be levelled at the steel companies. Even if it were true, and that it might be desirable for the government to fix a just price, whatever that might be, such an attempt would be futile. Attempts to fix prices outside of the framework of the market have never succeeded; indeed, the foolishness of such action has been pointed out by various neo-classical economists, including Von Mises and Hazlitt. But the charge of monopoly, especially in the light of Inland Steel's refusal to go along with the rise in prices, is patently absurd. That there might exist "price leadership" without coercion seems to escape our government economists. Why not, then, investigate the cigarette companies, or the entire automobile industry? Why investigate steel, where the very undifferentiated nature of the product and the similarity in production methods and costs would indicate that there would be very little difference in price?

Nevertheless, Mr. Kennedy has won his victory, but it cost him dearly. The very methods used, the bullying tones at the press conference, the early morning questioning of reporters, the emotional, if not hysterical interjection of the Berlin crisis, the Vietnam "police action" and other national issues into the question, all in the name of the Kennedy "... ask, rather, what you can do for your country", have alarmed and disgusted the business community. We do not believe that Mr. Kennedy contemplates the nationalization of the steel industry; he would prefer its regulation. Mr. Kennedy's liberalism is not the kind that drifts toward socialism; by seeking regulation rather than control, it would have us revert to the managed economy of the NRA, and from there, to the corporate state and to a weak fascism. Whatever ends Mr. Kennedy or his advisors may have in mind for us, one thing is sure: the actions of the present administration toward the steel companies does not augur well for freedom, and the concerned citizen must ask:

Quo Vadis, Fitzgerald?

— AETIUS

WORLD OUTLOOK

The NEA Lobby

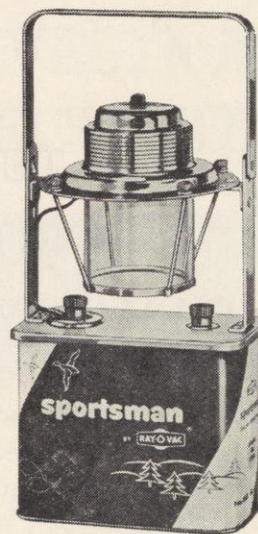
The propaganda mills of the National Education Association have been able to generate an attitude of sustained surprise over the apparent inability of the national government to take over public education. Letting the fifty states supervise and finance the education of their respective citizens is nothing less than a shameful evasion of responsibility on the part of the national government, or so the professional educationists tell us. The arguments for a strong national education program have not changed substantially over the years: Little kids are being born faster than the states are able to handle them; *ergo*, the national government should come to the rescue.

It is argued that only the national government has the great taxing powers necessary to finance education; its sources of funds are also much more diverse than those of the states. Why then has the central government shown a deficit that has averaged \$9 billion annually over the last thirty years? If the government is so irresponsible that it chronically cannot raise enough revenues to pay its own expenses, why then should it take on additional responsibilities?

The national government is not some distant well-heeled foundation with an inexhaustible treasury, contrary to the superstition of those who see government aid as a panacea. True, the national government can manipulate the currency to its own advantage while the state governments cannot, yet the national government taxes the same base that state governments tax. There would be bigger revenue leftovers for the state governments if the national appetite were not so ravenous. Former New Jersey Governor Robert Meyner lamented this unhappy fact before a Congressional committee.

The truth is, federal aid to education is completely unnecessary. Figures prove conclusively that there is nothing lacking with physical school plants and teachers salaries that cannot be corrected by local school boards and state agencies. But as the reasons for federal aid become more remote, the anguish of the professional educators becomes more shrill. Their spokesman is the NEA.

The NEA is an organization by and for the professional educators—the school administrators and the teachers colleges—and not for the teachers, the laboratory and classroom instructors. The point of view which the NEA represents is largely responsible for elementary and secondary school pupils spending much of their time learning how to behave on dates, automobile driving, and calisthenics. The NEA is of the view that reading, writing, and math do not really educate the whole child, and so emphasis must be



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8. You CANNOT further brotherhood of men by inciting class hatred.
9. You CANNOT help small men by tearing down big men.
10. You CANNOT really help men by having the government tax them; to do for them what they can and should do for themselves.



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The demands for federal aid to education can be traced almost exclusively to the NEA, for its leaders have a vested interest in it. There is a long history of collaboration between the NEA and the federal Office of Education, a bureaucracy with the power that would allow the educationists to impose by force the designs that have not been accepted on merit.

We hope that the federal aid to education pressure groups will continue to be rebuffed, and their arguments shown up as mere empty propaganda.

Red Takeover in Cuba

There is evidence that Castro's power is on the wane in Cuba, and that the original band of revolutionaries led by the Castro brothers and "Che" Guevara is on the way out. Like so many 20th century revolutionaries, they are better at making revolutions than administering a post-revolutionary state.

The emerging rulers of Cuba are competent Communist bureaucrats who have formed a shadow government within the Castro government. Their apparent leader, Blas Roca, has already begun the process of kicking Castro upstairs by hinting that the "cult of personality" — i.e. Castro worship — will not be tolerated in collectivist Cuba. Communists who had little to do with the original revolution, such as Carlos Rafael Rodriguez and Fabio Grobart, are organizing orderly Communist programs to replace the chaotic tinkering of the Castro government.

The takeover of the post-revolutionaries is bringing about the final consolidation of the revolution. So long as the bungling Castro government held the reins, there remained the possibility of revolt, and return to freedom. But with the emergence of the commissars as the real rulers of Cuba, and the reduction of Castro to a figurehead, the chances of internal revolt become increasingly slight. The new rulers of Cuba will be able to avoid blame for the worst of Castro's excesses, and possibly even remedy the faltering economy to some extent. The guerrillas in the hills, if they still exist, are ineffectual. There is little within Cuba today that constitutes a threat to the new regime.

These Cuban developments could have several effects on American policy. First, they pull the rug from under those who have advocated a go-slow policy on Cuba on the grounds that the blundering Castro would eventually hang himself in his own noose. Castro does seem to be hanging himself, but his noose is Communism, not internal rebellion.

Second, the consolidation of the new regime means that it can now unleash a war of subversion and propaganda in this hemisphere with relatively little harassment at home, and little expenditure of energy curtailing domestic revolt. This step-up of hemispheric subversion should be countered by a more effectual U.S. policy.

Third, the emergence of a stable Communist regime at a time when the rest of the hemisphere remains virtually free provides an excellent opportunity for the U.S. to act decisively. The Cuban regime is vulnerable because it derives its authority and sustenance from behind the iron curtain. Its lifeline to the Communist world can easily be snapped with a blockade. However, Communist Cuba's isolation will last only as other Latin American nations remain free. *Every Latin American nation which falls to Cuban Communism will enlarge the scope of Red Cuban trade, and render a blockade more and more difficult, both militarily and politically.*

For a little while, there will be splendid opportunity for the U.S. to act. It may be our last chance to do so with relative ease.

Back to the Dark Ages?

Southern Railroad has invested in a string of hopper cars of a design so revolutionary that efficiency is enormously increased. Hoping to pass the saving on to its customers, and also garner a larger segment of the market, Southern Railroad petitioned the Interstate Commerce Commission to reduce greatly its freight rate on certain feed grains.

The ICC, worried about the effect of lowered rates upon Southern Railroad's competitors, refused the application. Just to nail things down, the Tennessee Valley Authority appealed to the ICC to prevent Southern Railroad from lowering its rates, citing the alleged horrors of a railroad monopoly if Southern were to drive the barge traffic on the Tennessee River and elsewhere out of business.

Thus, in the name of competition, the public has been deprived of the fruits of competition—better service at lower cost. Southern Railroad wished to *lower* the cost of hauling feed grains, which in turn would have *lowered* the cost of our eggs and pork chops, which in turn would have raised our standard of living a bit.

The effect of competition is to raise living standards by driving prices lower and efficiency higher. To compete, it is necessary to improve one's product and undersell one's competitor. The net effect of the ICC decision is to perpetuate at public expense the existence of inefficient forms of transportation which, in the free marketplace, would become extinct. It should certainly not be the purpose of the ICC to fossilize archaic forms of transportation into the economy, and thereby stymie progress. How far would this nation have gotten during its great expansion if the railroads had been forced to ship goods at the same or higher prices as the barge lines, stage coaches, and wagon trains?

The hopper car case points up the ultimate evil of bureaucratic regulation. Progress has been halted, and the nation's arteries have hardened.

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The Tulwar of Tumbaroo

CY BUTT

Through the chromium door, over the ankle-deep carpeting, past the red and white bar stools and the bow-tied bartenders and the ladies on the loose, to the rear of Madison's Congress bar where is that section frequented by the newspapermen of the Right came Fremont Guilfoyle. With him, as usual, was his toothsome secretary, Fifi, swishing things to and fro in a manner that would make a mummy chew through his wrappings.

"Deal us a double portion of that Tiger Balm, Mr. Doyle," said Fremont to the host, "though I rarely drink anything stronger than whiskey before breakfast. I am on a secret mission and it is wearing on the nerves."

"A secret mission?" I said, "That's vastly interesting. Could you lift the veil slightly?"

"Well," said Fremont, "I am a Plenipotentiary Extraordinary, a Minister Without Portfolio, and a, a — what is it, Fifi, I never can remember that title?"

"They change every week," she said, "But I think that right now it is Chief Agrarian Reformer."

"Is that it?" asked Fremont, "I usually get something more impressive. That isn't much better than Walking Delegate. I'll wire in tonight and have it changed. But to get on with it, I am here in Madison to investigate infringements of the freedom of speech, freedom of the press, academic freedom, the Four Freedoms, human rights, civil rights and civil liberties. It is a serious matter. I had better wear my cloak."

"Serious indeed, if the facts show it," I said.

"We don't deal too much in facts," said Fremont, "unless we make them ourselves."

"Do you mean that you actually produce favorable facts?" I asked.

"Oh, yes," said Fremont, "My Bureau of Public Opinion recently established that 9,997 citizens out of 10,000 are in complete accord with Administration policies and acts in their furtherance. That's a better percentage than Stalin ever got."

"Where was this poll taken, if a poll it was?" I asked, "And who were the non-conformists?"

"The poll was taken at selected government agencies—another round, Mr. Doyle—and of the dissenters, one was retiring and the other two were fired for being loyalty and security risks."

"That's a laugh," I said, "Democrats cracking down on fellow-travelers."

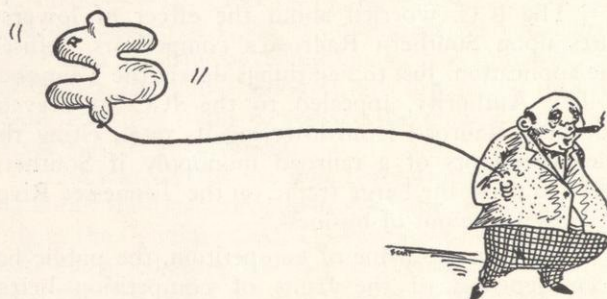
"I don't mean it that way," said Fremont, "I mean loyalty to The Boss and the security of Party bureaucrats."

"How reprehensible," I said, "But get on with the liberties or rights or duties or whatever it is you are

Guilfoyle grants gigantic goodies to gain goodwill of emerging governments

beating the drums for. How did you get into it?"

"I was," said Fremont, "over in the underprivileged, backward, underdeveloped, newly emergent nations trying to start a new league for social workers to be operated by Kennedy in-laws when the Tulwar of Tumbaroo set up a rumble over libels about his nation in American papers and as the director of Global Giveaway I was sent to cool the beef. Well, I got there and with a few bananas got the Tulwar to come down out of his tree and give an audience. He said that papers here stated that his people were knocking off missionaries and Irish and Italian contingents of the U.N. and eating them raw. And he said it was a base canard, and that nobody had been eaten raw in Tumbaroo in all of its recorded history, which covers almost three years. He said that the practice was common over the border in Lumbago, where the natives are virtually savages, but was unknown in Tumbaroo ever since we put in the big



hydro-electric project and gave everyone an electric stove. He said that these libels, condoned or abetted by our government, were costing us dearly in world opinion and that we were losing prestige in Tumbaroo hand over fist, and what was I going to do about it?

"All the time he was saying this he was holding out both hands, palms up, in that plaintive gesture that appears to be instinctive to bellhops and to politicians of our newly-dependent nations. I suggested that as a poultice for his injured dignity he accept \$50 million more than we had earmarked for his tribe, and mentioned that this was a nice round sum. He thought this over for a time and said that there was twice as much roundness in \$100 million as there was in \$50 million. There was just no getting around such logic; so, knowing that it was only money, I doubled my figure and sent it to Washington for approval. It was okayed at once, of course, and I was ordered here to begin the investigation on the suppression of free speech, among other things. I'll have a report for you in a month or so."

"That's fine," I said, "I'll be around."

Frogness as a Property

In which the staff sadist pulls
the legs off the liberal butterfly

THEODORE CORMANEY

Contemporary liberalism in its extalation of the state, mankind, community and all the rest, is the lineal descendant of the Realist philosophies of the eleventh century. In their preference of words for deeds, liberals fall prey to a mysticism that is peculiarly misplaced in the modern world.

Anselm of Bee, probably the leading protagonist of orthodox neo-Platonism in later medieval times, insisted that reality was found in "species", which is to say that individual men collected together formed the "species" Man, or Mankind. It was this abstraction which was real, and the legitimate object of human knowledge, not the uncollected individual man. Mankind was real, because Mankind, not individual men, was an Idea in the mind of God. By giving Form, to the eternal Idea, the entire species of Mankind was created. Only then were individual men capable of being created. Mankind was pre-existent in the mind of God, and only came out of God's thought through the effect of His "Word". (Cf: The Gospel According to St. John, Chapter 1.) This creative Word was not the utterance of our mouths, but the inner Words by which we imagine beings. It is, in divine thought, the model of things created, the means of their creation, and remains as that by which God knows them. The story of Adam and Eve in Paradise is often related by way of illustration. Adam sighted a small amphibian animal which he had not seen before. He asked Eve if she had ever seen it and what it was. She replied that she had never seen it before, but that it was a frog. Adam asked how she knew.

Eve replied simply that it *looked* like a frog.

And so it is with the Realists, medieval and modern. They recognize frogs by the property of "frogness". They recognize man by his "species", Mankind. They recognize the abstraction before the being. They elevate the word above the act. They prefer their mystical knowledge to the perception of their senses.

Modern liberalism has changed the vocabulary, but has been unable to outgrow the idea that the word is creation. What Anselm had planted in his mind by the eternal Word, today's liberal knows innately — feels in his bones. The liberal *knows* that there are no standards by which to render judgments; he need not waste time searching for them. All is relative. All is known only subjectively. Mankind above man. The State above the individual because only Mankind is real; only the State has being. Only abstractions and words have meaning.

James Reston of the New York *Times* has said that "Kennedy talks like Churchill and acts like Chamberlain." It is the talk over the conference table that will yield a *modus vivendi* with Communism. Perish the thought of action for victory over Communism. "We cannot negotiate from fear," says Kennedy, "but we must not fear to negotiate." But what have we for deeds? Look at the three step disarmament proposal submitted by the U.S. at Geneva. Look at the Better Red Than Dead crowd that JFK sends to represent us at Geneva. Arthur Waskow, a Kennedy appointee as advisor to the National Security Council, is among the negotiators. If in doubt as to

Mr. Waskow's credentials as a negotiator "not from fear", we invite your attention to page 121 ff. of *The Liberal Papers*. "We cannot negotiate from fear . . ." say the words.

Walt Whitman Rostow has been named as the author of proposals that the U.S. withdraw from its European bases, and curtail its long-range "first strike" bomber force. Why? Because in talks in late 1960 Soviet Foreign Minister Vasily V. Kuznetsov reportedly told Rostow that the Soviet Union considered these weapons to be a hinderance to fruitful disarmament talks. Here we have come full circle. In the person of Mr. Waskow, the liberals' deed contradicts their words. In the case of Mr. Rostow we are asked to sacrifice the implements of our defense and rely upon negotiations; we are asked to repeal our deeds and substitute words.

Kennedy's first budget is balanced at \$93,000,000,000. It is not, however, balanced against revenues. It is balanced against the prophesy that the American economy will indeed supply an additional \$5,000,000,000 to the federal coffers. It is balanced against words.

It is then the word which has reality for the liberal. Things are proved and denied by words. In their bowing and posturing before the Logos the liberals resemble closely the Mongol shaman who knew that if he could only speak the right word his tribe would be saved from a drought. So it is. If the liberals can only speak the right words, the nation will get moving forward again. If only the right incantation can fall from their lips, peace will reign and all will be right with the world.

Lead Us Not Into Temptation

Liberalism and Fascism are not alike,
but they are fast becoming so

RICHARD S. WHEELER

Is liberalism sleeping in the same philosophic bed as fascism? The question is certainly an interesting one, if only because for decades liberals have vehemently denounced all things fascist, and have maintained that fascism epitomizes evil. No doubt a liberal would regard the very question as incredible, and the answer so obvious as to make any discussion superfluous.

Yet, the answer isn't quite so simple as the liberal would have it. Let it be said here and now that the preponderance of evidence indicates that fascism and liberalism are not in the same philosophic bed—yet. There is bountiful proof that they share some fundamental ideas, even some specific programs, but no accurate observer could conclude that they are alike.

What similarities do exist stem mostly from the fact that both philosophies have adopted essentially collectivist patterns of thought and therefore deal in the problems and construction of society, rather than with the moral and social behavior of individuals.

Typical of the collectivist concepts of liberalism are those found in a new book called *The Challenge of Abundance* by Robert Theobald, who is a liberal economist. The book is important because it is endorsed by a vice president of the Fund for the Republic

as containing "all the texts for the Kennedy administration."⁵

"We must recognize that society's needs may be more important than those of a single person," says Theobald on page 108.

"Since the beginning of the twentieth century we have been tacking new pieces of *group* philosophy onto an *individualist* basic philosophy," he argues.

"We must not allow one interest in society to control its members completely when there is a potential danger that the policies of the partial group and those of the total society may clash," says Theobald on page 127.

All these, of course, are pure collectivist sentiments. But, lest there be objections to extracting an entire broad viewpoint of liberalism from one man's book, let's examine some statements made by that liberal's liberal, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. in his 1959 Report to the Democratic National Committee.

"Already the idea of government as the enemy—the one great triumph of Republican propaganda in the last two decades—is beginning to give way before the idea that government is the one means by which a community achieves its purpose . . ."³

This is a significant collectivist statement both because it assumes the "community"—i.e., everyone—has "purposes", and because it recognizes that the major instrument by which the collective will is implemented is government. Further down in the same report, Schlesinger writes:

"In any case, taxation and inflation are technical problems, far more manageable once the national will has decided in favor of definite goals."

That term, national will, is the very essence of collectivist thought. The assumption that there can be such a thing as a national will, and that that will can be exerted in specific directions, is a concept utterly alien to a conservative. If and when this country ever acquires a national will, that will would be the will of a single man—a dictator who expresses the desires of the collective.

Fascism shares with liberalism a belief in collectivist social organization. University of Wisconsin historian C. V. Easum notes that, "National Socialist propaganda re-emphasized the paramount interests of the community, the obligation of the individual to serve. To serve the state was, it said, to serve the people."¹⁵

And it was Franz von Papen who first coined the Nazi slogan, "Gemeinutz vor Eigenutz," which means, essentially, that the general interest of the community comes first, taking precedence over the interest of the individual.

Putting the collectivist concept into more spiritual terms, Mussolini declared that, "Fascism is a religious conception in which man is seen in immanent relation to a higher law, an objective Will that transcends the particular individual and raises him to conscious membership in a spiritual society."¹⁴ The transcendent will, of course, is that of the collective, manifested through the dictatorship of the fascist Leader.

Now, the fact that both liberalism and fascism are essentially collectivist does not necessarily mean that they are alike. It only means that they both subordinate the interests of individuals to something conceived to be the common weal.

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The ramifications of collectivist society are numerous, the most important being that the collective will, however defined, is always expressed through a strong central government — statism. Another is that under collectivist social organization, the citizens tend to be, in sociologist David Riesman's bright term, "other-directed" — dependent upon the communal will for authority, guidance and direction—whereas in an individualist society, the individual is inner-directed, and derives his direction and ethic from his own conscience, in communion with his Maker.

As collectivist ideologies, both liberalism and fascism maintain an interest in the strong central state, and naturally so, because the coercive power of the state is the natural cutting edge of the collective will.

"The people is the body of the state, and the state is the spirit of the people. In the fascist concept the people is the state and the state is the people," wrote Mussolini in 1921.¹⁴

"The whole community, acting through its government, must influence and control the evolution of the economy and society," wrote the liberal, Robert Theobald in 1962.⁵

"It is essential that we Democrats advance a new and broader concept of the overriding *public* interest, both at home and overseas,"¹³ wrote Chester Bowles recently — a statement which might have been less sinister in other, more innocent times.

In 1959, in a speech entitled, "Is Democracy Possible?", another liberal's liberal, Robert M. Hutchins, had this to say about statism:

"The notion that the sole concern of a free society is the limitation of governmental authority and that that government is best which governs least is certainly archaic. The object today should not be to weaken government in competition with other centers of power, but rather to strengthen it That government is best which governs best."³

In his book, *Modern Political Philosophies And What They*

Mean, Louis Wasserman says:

"As Mussolini summed it up, 'Everything within the State, nothing outside the State, nothing against the State.' In this fact lies its totalitarian nature: it comprehends every aspect of human life and controls them all for its avowed purposes."⁷

And elsewhere in the same book Wasserman notes that "the key to an understanding of fascism lies in its conception of the state as a dominant, all-inclusive organism, which gives direction to every form of national existence."

It is clear from these quotes that, while both liberalism and fascism strongly support statist programs, the fascists go much further than do the liberals. The fascists wish to embrace almost every aspect of national life within the workings of the state; the liberals certainly do not. Therein lies the totalitarianism of the fascists, and the liberals' lack of it.

However, the further the liberals push the country toward statist programs, the greater the danger of totalitarianism. Consider the germinal tyranny in this statement made by Arthur Schlesinger Jr. in his 1959 Report to the Democratic National Committee:

"As we develop a sense of national purpose, we will surely decide that extra available income could be better spent for public ends than for an increased flow of ever shinier consumers' goods. And we have in taxation the instrument by which we decide where our national resources should be allocated.

A question for Mr. Schlesinger: Who is "we"?

A study of the above quotations makes apparent another subtle but important difference between the statism of the liberals and the statism of the fascists. In the quotations of the liberals, the state seems to be regarded as an instrument by which certain social goals can be reached, while in the quotations of the fascists, the state seems to be glorified for itself, and statism advocated merely as a rationale for rule by a small oligarchy. The difference is

important because it emphasizes that liberalism is built upon the heritage of the Enlightenment while fascism is not.

Unlike big unionism or big business, whose powers are primarily limited to economic devices, the state possesses law to enforce its will. And the power of law, at bottom, is the power to compel people at gunpoint to act in a specific manner. For this reason, the state is the most dangerous of human institutions, and the prime destroyer of liberty. That's why conservatives are eternally opposed to its expansion.

To liberals and fascists, however, (as well as socialists and communists) the state is a friend. The problem of the liberal, like the fascist, is not how to limit the state, but how to achieve compliance to state programs. This problem is borne out in the writings of W. H. Ferry, who is a vice president of the Fund for the Republic and the staff director of a program called "Study of the Economic Order," which was set up under the auspices of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, which is itself a progeny of the Ford Foundation. Mr. Ferry, whose liberalism is obviously of the finest pedigree, writes that, "The individualism of the 18th and 19th centuries is a casualty of technology, as are the old theories of private property. Government must intervene more and more in the nation's industrial life A radical change in the public attitude toward law and government is necessary if the general will is to be achieved"

What Mr. Ferry is suggesting is that modern technological society demands central planning, i.e., statism, and that individuals are going to have to adopt a more servile attitude toward law and government for the common good.

In *The Challenge of Abundance*, Robert Theobald said much the same thing: "There is a growing comprehension that modern society will operate only if all its members are willing to compromise, that strict insistence on existing

rights would lead to an intolerable situation for all.”⁵

On page 106, Theobald wrote: “We must develop a system where discussion would be directed toward trying to discover the best policy for all and not just for the members of a particular group. Each person and each pressure group would be willing to concede that the interests of the community as a whole—once they were known—should take priority over their own interests.”

In each of these quotes the goal is clearly to circumscribe the present rights and privileges of individuals and abet the process under which the collective will—government—is advanced.

The fascists had a similar problem breaking down resistance of individuals to the programs of the collective will. Historian C. V. Easum, in describing the rise of fascism, noted that “more and more officials were employed as more and more fields of activity and aspects of daily life were regulated.”¹⁵ Obviously, Professor Easum’s observation could apply as well to modern liberalism as it does to the fascism of the Thirties.

Louis Wasserman pointed out that in fascist doctrine, “since the state speaks for a unified people, opposition to its will is a criminal offense and not to be tolerated.” Likewise, Wasserman wrote that under fascism “Freedom is a monopoly of the state, and may be exercised by individuals only when it accords with approved purposes.”⁷

It is apparent from these quotes that liberalism is tending toward the fascist position on the handling of individuals who are refractory toward the collective will. Of course, liberalism has established no concentration camps to house those individuals who remain hostile to the regime. Nonetheless, the further liberalism embraces statist ideas, the more serious will be the problem of enforcing conformity to the state’s will.

It is noteworthy that the chief liberal argument for expanding the scope and purpose of the state is

that modern, complex technological society demands it. In the quotations of W. H. Ferry, Theobald, Hutchins and Schlesinger in this essay, there is either the explicit or implicit idea that modern society demands proportionately more government.

“... In a complex industrial society we can never return to the simple Jeffersonian state,” said Arthur Schlesinger Jr. in his 1959 Report to the Democratic National Committee.³ That statement neatly sums up the liberal case for statism.

It is perhaps coincidental that Mussolini used the same argument. “We were the first,” he said, “to assert that the more complicated the forms assumed by civilization, the more restricted the freedom of the individual must become.”¹⁴

Thus liberals and fascists share a concept which conservatives for the most part reject. In fact, conservatives insist that the more complex civilization becomes, the more imperative it is for individuals to achieve virtue and self-government in order not to abuse everyone else. However, the point here is not whether the “complex society” argument is right or wrong, but that both liberals and fascists use it as a major rationale for expanding the state.

In any statist society the preservation of the liberties and immunities of individual citizens is a grave and virtually insurmountable problem. State planners can’t very well implement their plans if people are free to refuse to cooperate. Fascism solved the problem simply by abolishing individual liberties. All individuals and institutions were assimilated into the state and regulated in accordance with the overriding purposes of the “public weal.” Resistance to the state was regarded as a heinous offense and was a punishable crime.

“Opposition is not necessary to the functioning of a healthy political regime,” wrote Mussolini. “Opposition is stupid and superfluous in a totalitarian regime like the fascist regime.”¹⁴

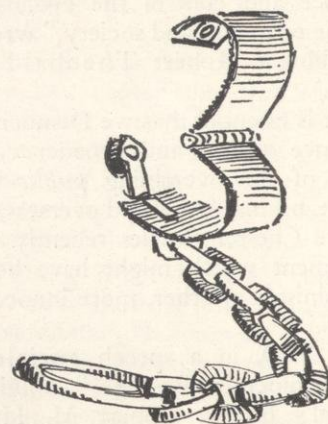
And thus, the one-party state

came into existence. Organized resistance was smashed by physical force; liberties which are traditional in Western republics were utterly suppressed.

G. D. H. Cole, in his fine *History of Socialist Thought*, Vol. V, page 47, wrote that in fascist Germany “the police were given virtually unlimited power to break up and disperse meetings; and the press was subjected to strict control which prevented more than the mildest criticisms of Nazi policy.”¹²

“In a totalitarian regime,” wrote Mussolini, “the press is an element of the regime, a force at the service of that regime That which is harmful is avoided; that which is useful is adopted.”¹⁴

It is ironical that the people have the least voice in government precisely when that government claims to be the manifestation of the collective will. In the name of collectivity, individuals are denied representation in government or control of its legislation. As Louis Wasserman noted, fascist legislation “appeared in the form of decrees issued



by the head of government or of measures formulated in conjunction with the ministers of the grand council.”⁷

All this presumably appalls liberals as much as conservatives, and yet it shouldn’t: a major aim of liberalism for decades has been to give the President of the United States the power to legislate in many areas by fiat. Back in the Thirties the old warhorse liberal, Stuart Chase, proposed to blur the con-

stitutional division of responsibilities "by setting up boards and commissions which, like the Federal Trade Commission, combine legislative, judicial and administrative powers."⁶

More recently, Chester Bowles wrote that "The Presidency is the central place of action in our national life. It is the one focal point which gives unity, direction and purpose to the American people as a whole."¹³

This statement is a remarkable example of the liberal conception of the executive — i.e., the Leader. No longer is Congress the central place of action; no longer does Congress, through its public debate and legislative prerogatives provide "unity, direction and purpose to the American people." All this is now to be the province of the executive, and thus the presidency has assumed, in the liberal view, some of the aura and scope and authority of the fascist Leader or Roman Emperor. "Law and the Leader's will are one," was the fascist slogan. No liberal would agree to that, yet in recent years liberals have transferred enormous powers, particularly in the fields of foreign relations and economics, into the hands of the president, and are eager to transfer still more. The full complement of legislative powers now in the hands of the American executive branch is detailed in the economic section of this essay. It will suffice here to quote a candid statement of Joseph Kraft, who has written on the editorial staffs of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, and can therefore be presumed an articulate liberal. In his new book, *The Struggle For Algeria*, Kraft said that "very few men in the history of the world have held more power than Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy. Macmillan, not to say Churchill, commanded authority the most ambitious Stuart would envy."¹¹

No statement could be plainer than that. If the new executive powers now being proposed by the liberals are added to the powers

already vested in the presidency, this country would be governed primarily by executive fiat.

If all these powers exist, one asks, then where is the nascent police state? Where the bullyboys, the gestapo, the blackshirts roaming the streets and breaking down doors to insure compliance to the President's will?

Obviously, they don't exist. Partly because no American president in recent times has ever exercised to the fullest extent the powers invested in him. Partly, too, because American totalitarianism would develop along quite different lines than European fascism.

In his brilliant book, *The Language of Dissent*, former Federal Trade Commissioner Lowell Mason outlines very graphically what the coming American totalitarianism would look like:

"Novelists, playwrights, publicists and politicians, whose stock in trade is the threat of the total state and who have read all about Berlin, Poznan and Budapest, can only picture the total state as a police state. The belted, booted, brutal bully in uniform—no less, no more—signifies totalitarianism to them.

"To picture an American Gestapo or NKVD is disarming because it is so absurd . . .

"Paradoxically, our danger lies in the absence of the uniform rather than its presence. The man to watch is the man in the brown tweed suit. Mild, courteous and scholarly, he has no badge, no books, no gun, no warrant. All he has is a little identification card in a cellophane holder, issued by an institution that is investigator, grand jury, prosecutor, petit jury and judge—all for one and one for all."⁹

Mr. Mason was referring to the regulatory agencies, the very agencies which Stuart Chase held up as a model for the future. This sort of totalitarian man and institution already exists in America, as those citizens who have had the misfortune to scrap with them would gladly testify.

Yet, it would do a grave injustice to liberalism to claim that its

adherents wish to create a totalitarian state. And it would be massive untruth to claim that we currently live in totalitarian state. Liberals are interested in striking a balance somewhere—at a point as yet unfathomed—between the guiding power of the state and individual liberty.

For instance, after writing reams of pages about extending the long arm of statism into new areas of society, Robert Theobald suddenly asked, on page 115 of his book, "What can we do to preserve the freedom of the individual in this situation?"⁵ That, of course, is a distinctly untotitarian view, though a terribly naïve one, considering the enormous powers he would vest in the central government.

Likewise, Chester Bowles recently wrote, "We do not want either party to win a monopoly of power in ways that spell the death of its rival."¹³ Obviously, this sentiment is a far cry from the one-party notions of Mussolini.

Liberals make a partially valid argument to the effect that the statist concepts invoked by liberalism are subject to democratic process, and are therefore different than totalitarianism.

"... The government agency invoked by liberals is one democratically controlled and subject to the will of the people . . ." wrote Sen. Hubert Humphrey in an article which appeared in *The American Scholar* in the autumn of 1955.³

This, too, is a naïve view. Once a bureau of government is entrenched, it can usually survive even when there is a national consensus opposed to its continued existence. That is the nature of bureaucracy. Even so, the fact that Senator Humphrey is concerned with keeping some strings, however fragile, upon the state, indicates his concern for avoiding totalitarianism.

It should be remembered here, too, that while fascists regard the state as an end in itself, liberals regard it merely as a tool. The fascist idea is totalitarian; the liberal idea is not.

"It should always be recalled," wrote Arthur Schlesinger Jr., "that the point in developing a new conception of the public interest and in producing a consequent re-allocation of resources is *not* that these things are adequate ends in themselves or that strengthening the national government is *per se* a good thing. The point is to bring about a higher quality of life . . ."

Quite plainly, liberalism will not fall into the fascist mould until it abandons its ambivalent position in which it advances the power of the collective, while at the same time it attempts to preserve some personal liberties. If liberalism continues to advocate expansion of the state, however, there will come a point when individual liberties have atrophied, and that will be the point when totalitarianism arrives in America. Liberals loath a police state. But even more, they demand a strong, central government. One wonders where, if ever, liberalism will draw the line.

A liberal would be quick to point out that he uses state power for "good" ends, while the fascist uses it for "evil" ends. Unfortunately, the fascist would similarly argue that he uses the state for "good" ends and the liberals use it for "evil" ends. The essential quarrel between fascism and liberalism, therefore, does not center on *whether* the state should be used to foster social ends, but rather *what* ends the state should be engaged to serve.

For the conservative, the question of whether the state should be used to exterminate the Jews or whether it should be used to compel people to pay social security taxes simply underscores his contention that the state is the most dangerous and cruel of all human organizations. He abhors both uses of the state as infringements upon the lives and liberties of individual human beings.

If the primary distinction between the collectivist ideologies of liberalism and fascism is the way each uses the coercive power of the state, then we must address ourselves to the task of determining

how similar or dissimilar are the social goals of the two ideologies. Or in other words, where have the ideologies employed the state for similar purposes, and where have they employed the state for dissimilar purposes?

One of the most significant areas in which fascist and liberal programs overlap is welfarism. The fascists built an extensive welfare state; the liberals are doing likewise.

Writing about fascist Italy, Louis Wasserman noted that "unemployment insurance on a contributory basis was compulsory for lower-grade workers. A broad program of public works had been carried on for some years to reclaim marshland, construct roads, and provide other improvements. In accordance with a policy of population increase, welfare, bonuses and tax reductions were granted for large families."

In *The Fruits of Fascism*, Herbert L. Matthews wrote that "family allowances were instituted to make salaries conform to the size of the family. A vast system of social insurance, to provide against the coming of accidents, illness, old age and death, was forced upon employers and laborers alike, to the great benefit of the laborer."

Every one of these fascist programs, of course, has its liberal parallel here. Liberals have been able to enact much of what the fascists had, and are still proposing the remainder. The argument here is not that these welfare programs or goals are good or bad; only that the fascists and liberals have essentially the same programs in this field.

In some instances, liberals would have to regard the fascists as very "progressive". Only in recent months, for example, has liberalism begun to advocate state run programs of culture and amusement. In *The Fruits of Fascism*, Herbert Matthews wrote:

"The Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro, or after work association, was a model for similar organizations in many countries. Its scope was the promotion of healthful and useful employment of the free hours

of the workers through clubs, sports, excursions, theatrical presentations . . . and the like. It has always been one of the most popular features of the fascist labor program, and deservedly so."

That little judgment—"and deservedly so"—which Matthews tacks onto the paragraph signifies just how much in sympathy American liberals are with some of the fascist programs.

"Fascism," wrote Matthews, "has great internal accomplishments to its credit, and it would not be fair to deny them."

German fascism likewise promoted an extensive welfare state. A number of points in the 1920 Nazi party program, which in 1926 Hitler declared unalterable, deal with welfarist concepts which must necessarily meet the approval of liberals. G. D. H. Cole, in his extensive work, *A History of Socialist Thought*, details a Nazi program which would evoke a great deal of sympathy among liberals:

"Next came, in Point Seven, the demand that 'the states should undertake to ensure that every citizen has a fair chance of living decently and of ensuring his livelihood . . .'"

"Point Eleven demanded categorically the abolition of all unearned incomes. Then came, in Point Twelve, a demand for the confiscation 'down to the last farthing' of all gains from war profiteering . . ."

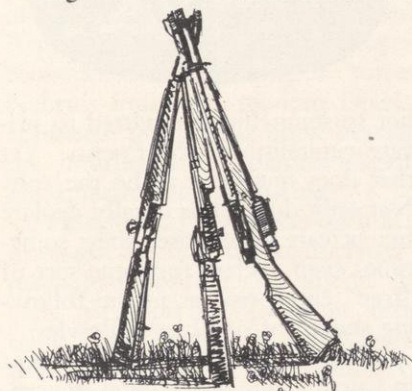
"Point Thirteen demanded that the State should take over all trusts, and Point Fourteen that the State should share in the profits of all large industries. Point Fifteen called for very greatly increased State pensions for the aged."

"Next came, in Point Sixteen, a demand for the 'creation and maintenance of a sound middle class,' followed by an explicit demand that the large stores be communalized and rented chiefly to small traders, and that in all contracts for public supplies, preference should be given to small traders."

"Point Twenty dealt with education and culture. It laid down that

'in order to make it possible for every capable and industrious German to obtain higher education and therewith the opportunity of rising to important posts, the State shall thoroughly organize the entire cultural system of the nation' Specially talented children of poor parents were to be educated at the State's expense."¹²

Quite obviously, the fascist welfare state is eminently similar to the liberal welfare state. What variance exists is in small matters, such as the communizing of stores, rather than in broad principles. The thing to note here is that both liberals and fascists regard the state as a sort of tool with which to alter the face of society for good or ill. As Chester Bowles put it, "The national (U.S.) government assumed the responsibility not only for relieving immediate distress but for



creating a floor of security below which no American family would be allowed to fall."¹³

Fascists used their welfare state programs to remain in power in much the same manner that liberals use their welfare state programs. The psychology of the giveaway has been much the same in both instances: support is obtained by promising handouts, all of which are justified on the grounds that wealthy entrepreneurs are obtaining more than their fair share of the national wealth.

According to G. D. H. Cole, "the jobless (in Nazi Germany) were told that their lack of the means to earn a decent living was due to the malpractices of the enemies of the people, who were feathering their own nests at its ex-

pense. Bankers were denounced for refusing credit in the name of purchasing monetary stability; shop keepers and trade associations for conspiring to overcharge customers; and these onslaughts were reinforced by identifying offenders with alien elements"¹²

Except for identifying offenders as alien elements, these Nazi tactics were similar to what the liberals have been doing for decades.

Likewise, both fascism and liberalism have made political capital out of redistribution of wealth. After describing the workings of the fascist welfare state, Eduard Heimann noted that "thus a direct redistribution of income through the party results in a transfer of social prestige from business to the party."²

It can easily be seen to what extent fascist Italy became a free-spending welfare state by examining this quotation from Herbert L. Matthew's book, *The Fruits of Fascism*:

"If fascist figures are correct, and they presumably are, Italian governments spent 3,071,600,000 lire on public works between 1870 and 1922, while on the same lira basis the fascist regime spent 8,697,100,000 lire between 1922 and 1936."¹⁴

In some senses at least, Mussolini's regime was Italy's New Deal. It initiated a massive welfare state; it spent more on public works in just a few years than all that was spent clear back to Italy's unification as a modern state; it established a bureaucratic elite, possessing legislative powers; and it plunged the nation into war.

Under the social manipulations of both liberalism and fascism, the middle class has burgeoned. The statist schemes of American liberalism to shrink both the upper and lower classes are familiar to all. Not so familiar, however, are the efforts of fascism to do the same thing — also through governmental coercion.

"If the integration of the society by force requires the use of one social type as the norm to subject

the others, the middle class type should be chosen as that norm and center of integration. This was the alternative to communism that fascism offered," wrote Eduard Heimann on page 178 of *Communism, Fascism or Democracy*, and on page 180 he noted that "the fascist goal is to defend the pattern of the lower middle class"²

It should be fairly obvious by now that intimate connections exist between some of the ideas in liberalism and fascism. This is undoubtedly confusing to those who are accustomed to think of the two as being diametrically opposed to each other. The confusion stems from the introduction of the European terms "right" and "left" into American politics. On the Continent, the terms right and left denoted two collectivist-statist systems in competition with each other. The issue in Europe was: which type of statism? In America, however, the issue is: shall there be statism? Thus in terms of the American political spectrum, fascism is properly on the left, along with socialism and liberalism.

Actually, fascism borrowed heavily from socialism and communism, a fact that has been noted by many scholars. It never became wholly socialistic however, and remained to the end a system of state-guided capitalism. In this regard, it duplicates the general course of liberalism, which also advocates an essentially capitalistic system under state guidance.

"Not only is there a strong and radical socialist wing in the fascist movement, but a socialist system of fascism is logically conceivable and politically not impossible," wrote Eduard Heimann.

"The institutional forms of socialism may prove most adequate for expressing and securing the amalgamation of individuals into the totalitarian organization envisioned by fascism," wrote Heimann elsewhere in his book.

"It is certainly correct to say that the strong socialist tendencies in fascism are indicative of the continued presence of the unsolved

class problem. What fascism claims to have done, however, is to have reduced the problem to a technical question of state organization, whereas in humanistic society it represents fundamental spiritual issues of liberty and justice," wrote Heimann.

Herbert L. Matthews is another author who has noted the similarity between fascism and the left. "For Marxism," he wrote, "the state is a sort of police power to check the irreconcilable conflict of classes and economic interests; for fascism also it is a sort of police power, but in effect it supports a dictatorship against all individuals who might oppose it."²

The notion that socialist concepts are used to buttress a dictatorship is also apparent in a statement of John T. Flynn's in *The Road Ahead*:

"... The line between fascism and fabian socialism is very thin," he wrote. "Fabian socialism is the dream. Fascism is fabian socialism plus the inevitable dictator."¹⁶

This consensus constitutes a heavy indictment of the idea that fascism is a right wing ideology, at least in the American usage of the term right wing. If anything, fascism is a few degrees to the port side of American liberalism. If that is the case, then as liberalism drifts leftward, it drifts toward fascism.

Still, in spite of the considerable similarity between fascist and liberal social orders, it would be foolish to assume that the two are alike. There is a similarity which is growing every day, but there is also the probability that liberalism, the child of humanistic tradition, will pull up shy and turn away before the terrible crushing total state of the superman of Europe. Let us pray that that will be the case.

The Economic Order

"Socialism," wrote Winston Churchill, "is based on the idea of an all-powerful State which owns everything, which plans everything, which distributes everything, and thus through its politicians and officials decides the daily life of the individual citizen."

Neither fascism nor liberalism adequately fits Churchill's definition. Neither has envisaged a state which owns all property or distributes everything, although in each the state would plan most economic activity. Neither, in fact, could properly be labeled socialism, and conservatives have been stretching definitions somewhat when they declare that liberals are out and out socialists.

What both liberalism and fascism have done is to impose state regulation upon private enterprise rather than socialize the economy and abolish private property. Both, in fact, are committed to capitalism as a way of life. Both proclaim their loyalty to private enterprise—or at least something they call private enterprise. Both emphatically reject *free* enterprise, or *laissez-faire* economics.

"The fascist economy in Italy," wrote Louis Wasserman, "attempted to establish a working compromise between private capitalism and the requirements of the totalitarian state. A statement of this relationship was provided in the Labor Charter of 1927 which provided that 'the corporate state considers that private enterprise in the sphere of production is the most effective and useful instrument in the interest of the nation. In view of this fact that private organization of production is a function of national concern, the organizer of the enterprise is responsible to the state for the direction given production.' Thus private enterprise was encouraged and protected, but its operation was bound up in a network of restrictions and regulations."⁷

In his history of socialism, G. D. H. Cole concurred in the belief that the fascists favored a highly regulated form of private enterprise: "(The 1920 Nazi Program) clearly contemplates the continuance of private enterprise as the main basis for economic action; but at the same time declares war on trusts and large concentrations of capital."¹²

Elsewhere in his book, Louis Wasserman maintained that "the

word 'socialism' as a part of the name 'National Socialism' is misleading. A more accurate designation of both fascist Italian and German economics would be 'state capitalism' — indicating privately owned, profit-motivated enterprise, operating under rigid state control."⁷

There are some who undoubtedly believe that American liberals are



not so staunchly committed to private capitalism as the fascists. Yet that does not seem to be the case. Not only do liberals usually declare for private enterprise; they sometimes even declare for some sort of "free" enterprise, as in the following statement of Chester Bowles:

"There is never any need except in wartime for our federal government in Washington to issue direct orders to every corporation, business and family, telling them when and what they can buy and sell and for what price. Freedom of direct choice must be preserved to the letter. This lies at the heart of our system of free enterprise . . ."¹³

Scarcely the statement of a socialist! Elsewhere in *The Coming Political Breakthrough* Bowles wrote that the New Deal "laid the basis for a new national consensus on economic questions. It saved our system of private ownership and restored the validity of the American Dream."¹³

Likewise, scarcely the statement of a socialist!

Harvard Professor Alvin H. Hansen, who is a leading Keynesian and liberal economist in this country,

also committed himself to the capitalistic system in his book, *The American Economy*. On page 166 he pointed out that Keynes' General Theory "is not an attack on private enterprise. Indeed Keynesian policies have . . . immeasurably strengthened the private enterprise system."¹

Within the writings of modern liberalism there is abundant evidence of its commitment to a modified form of capitalism. Thus, in the broadest terms, both liberalism and fascism have followed the same path toward state-run private enterprise.

This situation is underscored by the common position Lord Keynes holds in both fascist and liberal economics. The theories of this great advocate of governmental intervention into the market place found their way into the fascist economies of Mussolini's Italy and Peron's Argentina as well as into the liberal economies of the United States, Nehru's India and modern Israel.

Indeed, in a fascist book bearing the imprimatur of Benito Mussolini appeared the following:

"Fascism entirely agrees with Mr. Maynard Keynes, despite the latter's prominent position as a liberal. In fact, Mr. Keynes' excellent little book, *The End of Laissez-Faire*, (1926) might so far as it goes serve as a useful introduction to fascist economics. There is scarcely anything to object to in it and there is much to applaud."²

A Veritas Foundation study entitled *Keynes at Harvard* noted that Nazi thinking paralleled Keynesianism to such an extent that during 1935 in Nazi Germany Prof. Carl Fohl wrote a work which duplicated Keynes' theories.

There is evidence, too, that Keynes' anti-depression nostrums were used by the Nazis. Eduard Heimann wrote that in depression Germany "the business system was revived by an extremely active state policy and continues to be co-ordinated by an extremely rigid regimentation."³ (Of course it took a war, rather than pump priming, to get both American and German

economies moving.)

With the acceptance of Keynes' economic doctrines there appeared the "mixed economy" in both American liberalism and European fascism. The state became the new tool with which to secure certain social ends.

"The objective of the regime in the economic field," said Mussolini, "is the realization of a higher social justice for the entire Italian people. This means assured work, adequate wages, a decorous home, the possibility of promotion and constant growth."⁴

These are splendid goals, desired by nearly the whole of mankind. But the notable aspect of this quote is that Mussolini intended for the state, rather than the private initiative of individuals, to secure these wonderful conditions. The identical statement could have been made by an American liberal, and indeed one can note in the following sentiment of Sen. Hubert Humphrey, first published in the *American Scholar* of Autumn, 1955, a very similar idea:

"Liberalism today stands generally committed to the qualified use of state power to achieve the values of freedom and human dignity."⁵

It is a peculiarity of both fascism and liberalism that small segments of pure socialism are infused into an essentially capitalistic structure. Thus, in fascism, there was the demand to communize the large stores and the trusts, and some effort to nationalize sources of ore and raw material. In American liberalism the chief infusion of pure socialism lies in the field of public power, which many liberals prefer to privately owned power utilities.

"I have no reservations whatsoever about the continued desirability of construction of public generation and transmission facilities and the marketing of federal power . . ." said Hubert Humphrey in a 1959 speech entitled "Energy For Abundance."⁶

But then he went on to say that he was not totally committed to socialized electric power: "I do not take the doctrinaire position that

all the electric energy we need should be public power or private power."⁷

In a similar vein, noted liberal-Keynesian economist George Soule wrote that "a mixed economy may be more satisfactory than either one in which everything is socialized or one in which nothing is socialized."⁸

This flirtation with socialism while remaining essentially committed to private capitalism is something which is found exclusively in liberalism and fascism. It certainly is not found in conservative or laissez-faire economics. Naturally, we are dealing here in broad terms, which prove little except that the economics of liberalism is closer to that of fascism than to the economics of conservatives.

In order to establish conclusively what sort of relationship exists between liberal and fascist economics, it is necessary to go into some detail. Louis Wasserman describes quite specifically just what fascism did with the German economy in the following:

"The government was empowered, at its discretion, to expand or limit production of any goods, to set wages, fix prices, define conditions of employment and dismissal, authorize or prevent new undertakings, subsidize existing enterprises, or operate its own. In such fields as credit, shipping, mining and the production of war materials, private ownership was largely supplanted by state ownership. Although the profit motive remained as the incentive to production, the right of enterprisers to make independent decisions regarding the use of capital . . . was severely curtailed."⁹

Upon the impetus of liberalism in the last three decades, the American government has been empowered to intervene in each and every one of the above ways, though obviously to a greater or lesser degree.

The American government sets minimum wages by legislation and influences other wage levels through its purchasing policies; it can vir-

tually fix prices in a number of ways, ranging from its contracts with private business to the various consent decrees arranged by the Justice Department and Federal Trade Commission with businesses; it defines conditions of employment and dismissal through labor law, NLRB decisions, and the Fair Employment Practices Act; it authorizes or prevents undertakings through the restraint decrees of the Justice Department and the programs of the Area Redevelopment Act (Depressed Areas Bill), and also through presidential emergency powers and defense contracting; it operates enterprises on its own—some 700 by one count; it subsidizes existing enterprises, such as airlines; and to some extent it is empowered to expand or limit production, as it does in the realm of agriculture.

It is particularly in the area of agriculture that liberalism has adopted fascist economics. Secretary Orville Freeman and the Kennedy administration have proposed a farm program which virtually duplicates the corporative economic organization of the fascists. In the Freeman plan, each segment of the farm economy, as for example the wheat growers or the cotton growers, would be organized into a giant cartel, identical for all practical purposes to the "corporation" of the fascist. The farmers would then set up their own production quotas and pricing arrangements, with the government insuring compliance and overseeing the operation. Failure to establish and abide by such quotas would result in massive economic retaliation by government against the farmers. This is fascist economic organization, purely and simply. Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Ralph labelled the Freeman program as "self-regulation," which is an appalling distortion of reality. Perhaps coincidentally, Mussolini said the same thing. According to Herbert Matthews, writing in *The Fruits of Fascism*, Mussolini called corporativism "the self-regulation of production under the aegis of the producers."¹⁴

In the field of labor relations, the fascists were somewhat "ahead" of the American liberals, although liberalism is now scurrying to catch up.

Louis Wasserman wrote that "under conditions stipulated in the Charter of Labor, the state arranged to enforce the collaboration of employers and workers by fixing the status of both within a legal framework, with the government installed as final arbiter."¹⁷

And in his history of socialism, G. D. H. Cole discussed how Hitler's government "appointed for each of the thirteen regions into which it had divided Germany a Labour Trustee, chosen in consultation with the regional Gauleiter; and to these trustees was given the authority to replace collective bargaining by deciding on wages and conditions of work."¹²

And Herbert L. Matthews wrote that "Mussolini's aim—or at least desire—was to protect the interests of labor, employer, production and the state all at once, a program which the Marxists considered a contradiction of facts and an impossibility."¹⁴

American liberals, of course, have not yet reached the stage where they have superseded the process of collective bargaining with state-made settlements of labor disputes. However, they are gravitating precisely in that direction. The Kennedy administration has requested from Congress an "arsenal" of strike settling weapons through which it can settle knotty strikes, and Secretary Goldberg has talked increasingly in recent months about protecting the "national interest" in labor disputes. There have been editorials in prominent liberal papers deploring the greed of "private interests"—i.e., labor and management² in labor disputes, and urging a more profound consideration of the "public interests." It is plain that, given time, the liberal position on labor relations will come to resemble the fascist in that the public interest—i.e., the state—will receive first consideration.

In liberalism's defense it must be

noted that the extent of control over the economy is greater in fascism than in liberalism. We tend to think of American liberalism as having caused the government to intervene into every facet of American economic life. But the fascists went further, manipulating the minutiae of economic life to such an extent that very little room was left for the free play of natural economic forces. Eduard Heimann, discussing the extent of fascist planning, wrote that "any successful planned economy requires the unification of property in the hands of the planners and must not leave any remnant of individual control. The argument stresses chiefly the necessity of unitary management to preclude any such dualism of control or interest as might result from the coexistence of the planning power and the individual property owner. In general, however, the frictionless coexistence of a plan and individual prosperity will become possible as soon as the central power is so impressive as to discourage any offense against its will. This is evidently the main aim of fascism and appears to be realized."

It is also a main aim of liberalism, but has not yet been realized in America. Just how long it will be until liberalism converts our economy into something along fascist lines is conjectural. Undoubtedly, the whole idea of the planned economy appeals to liberals. As the *London Times* once observed, "when authority presents itself in the guise of organization, it develops charms fascinating enough to convert communities of free peoples into totalitarian states."¹⁸

The Spiritual Order

One can find an enormous number of similarities in the social orders and economic programs of liberalism and fascism, yet when it comes to matters of the spirit, liberalism quickly assumes most of the dignity of its rich heritage—and fascism is relegated to the underworld of the jackals, from whence it sprang with such venomous force. One cannot, and must not, take from liberalism its spiritual heritage,

no matter how grave its current faults.

At bottom, the motives have been different: liberalism, however madly it has embarked on foolish excursions, still claims to be dedicated to human well-being. Fascism has ever been dedicated to perpetuating the power of ruling cliques in total states. Noting the occasional similarity between fascism and the more humane philosophies, Eduard Heimann perceptively wrote that, "It is not the goal but the direction, not the success but the attempt, which distinguishes a humanistic from a naturalistic foundation of life. It makes all the difference in the world whether a social order designed to realize justice violates it, or whether a social order flatly denies the idea of a justice superior to any order."²

Of course, the fascists did try to establish a spiritual base for their programs. Yet that base failed to transcend fascism itself—hence was, at bottom, self-worship.

"Fascism is not only a party, it is a regime; it is not only a regime, but a faith; it is not only a faith, but a religion," said Mussolini at Pisaro in 1926.¹⁴

Unlike liberalism, which until its postwar decay maintained some intellectual discipline, fascism never placed much stock in rationality, reason or logic.

"The self-chosen name of anti-rationalism is another fitting expression of the new principle enunciated by fascism," wrote Eduard Heimann. "It does not spurn the services of rational methods as such, but repudiates the predominant position of reasoning, and with it the authority of the intelligentsia."²

"... any study of the rational type of man," Heimann continued, "proves inadequate to a full understanding of fascism."

Now while a goodly number of conservatives would insist that the same statement could be made about liberalism, the fact is that liberalism, whatever intellectual aberrations it has slipped into in recent years, remains at least committed to rationality as a guide to human

action. It also remains committed to the search for factual knowledge, while fascism, according to Louis Wasserman, "stresses the virtues of courage, duty and discipline as more desirable than the search for objective knowledge."⁷

Naturally, with the emphasis placed on a non-rational mentality, fascism never produced any strong philosophic defenses of its programs, while liberalism, up until the postwar era, was enhanced by a powerful and fairly defensible basic philosophy.

Just to what extent fascism was "playing by ear" is hard to ascertain. On page 176 of *The Fruits of Fascism*, Herbert Matthews



wrote that "the real fascist leaders never claimed to have any doctrine, nor did they seek one."

But on page 177, Matthews quoted Mussolini as saying that "fascism, besides being a strong system of government, is also, and above all, a system of thought."¹⁴

Mussolini's statement has some validity when it is understood that fascist intellectualism was fundamentally an *ex post facto* rationale for the *realpolitik*s of its cunning leaders. One thing is certain: fascism had no profound vision of man, or man's proper condition, to act as a lodestar in its horizon. No profound idea of justice or virtue magnetized its energies.

"Fascism," said Mussolini, "is a movement of reality, truth, life, adhering to life. It is pragmatist. It has no *a priori* isms. No remote ends. It does not promise the usual heavens of idealism. It does not presume to live forever or for long."⁴

Thus, beneath its strident air, fascism obviously wallowed in a

deep lassitude, devoid of direction and purpose. Its surface aggressiveness seemed almost a hyper-compensation for its spiritual doldrums.

By coincidence, Hubert Humphrey, writing in the *American Scholar* of Autumn, 1955, made a statement remarkably similar to Mussolini's:

"The liberal approach," said Senator Humphrey, "must be experimental, the solution tentative, the test pragmatic. Believing that no particular manifestation of our basic social institutions is sacrosanct or immutable, there should be a willingness to re-examine and reconstruct institutions in the light of new needs."³

If ever there was evidence that postwar liberalism has simply abandoned its sense of direction, this is it. The Humphrey statement is remarkable because it reveals a mental languor among liberals which parallels the languor of those minds which turned toward fascism in Europe.

Nothing in either Mussolini's or Humphrey's statements admits of eternal values or goals; nothing admits of eternal virtues or morals. In each case, the spokesman for each philosophy has defined his creed as nothing more than "muddling through."

This sort of jaded attitude can only emerge from minds which have abandoned moral absolutes and substituted relativistic concepts in their stead. When one accepts the idea that what's good today may not be good tomorrow, then nothing is sacred, including freedom and human life. Today we abhor lampshades made of human skin; but tomorrow . . . who knows? It is precisely those persons who are not anchored to a set of eternal values who hanker the most for novelties.

Of course, these statements of Messrs. Mussolini and Humphrey should not be taken to mean that liberalism and fascism are alike; they merely establish that each man regards his ideology in much the same light as the other. On the contrary, there are a number of spiritual areas in which the two ideologies are at

sword's point, among them the questions of war, imperialism and racism.

Certainly, for example, modern pacifistic liberalism channels a great deal of its energy into easing the preconditions of war. The search for peace pervades liberalism to its core, yet the touchstone of fascism was its martial air, its devotion to war, and its glorification of the spirit of aggression.

"Fascism," proclaimed Mussolini, "does not believe in the possibility or the utility of perpetual peace. It therefore rejects pacifism which hides a renunciation of struggle and a cowardliness in the face of sacrifice."¹⁴

(This statement is an excellent example of how the collectivist transmutes personal faults and virtues, such as cowardice and aggressiveness, into the faults and virtues of a whole people—as if a whole society could possess common traits.)

Liberals have made painfully clear their position on racism. They say they thoroughly disagree with the racist ideas of the fascists and are appalled by the acts which fascists have performed in the name of purifying the human race. However, it should be noted that both fascism and liberalism agree upon the ultimate racial good—the elimination of differences, as befits the necessities of collectivist society. Where they disagree is in the method: fascists attempted to exterminate the unassimilated minority, while liberalism is attempting to unify the races sufficiently to eliminate physical and cultural differences. In neither case is there the live-and-let-live philosophy inherent in an individualist society.

At present, these differences of opinion on the questions of racism, imperialism and militarism are sufficient to put these collectivist ideologies into two camps. The quasi-militaristic fascist societies possess a completely different spirit than the pacifistic liberal societies. Surely no one who has had actual experience with a pre-war fascist regime would declare that spiritual conditions

under American liberalism are similar.

Yet it is certainly true that liberalism will assume the spirit and some of the trappings of fascism if it gravitates much further in the direction in which it is going. This is already evident in the growing feeling among liberals that they constitute a ruling elite in America, and that they are privy to wisdom that is beyond the ken of the average American. Such a conceit is evident in statements such as that of Sen. William Fulbright, who recently wrote that the President alone "can hope to overcome the excesses and inadequacies of a public opinion that is all too ignorant of the needs, the dangers and the opportunities in our foreign relations."¹⁷

Joseph Kraft displayed much the same arrogant attitude in his book on the Algerian problem. Perhaps because he was writing about France rather than America, he could be more candid than usual in expressing sentiments which are epidemic among those of liberal persuasion.

"Under the Fourth (Republic)," he said, "the civil service was a superb elite corps. The financial and economic administration, in particular, was staffed by far-seeing central planners, many of them educated abroad, all of them familiar with Keynesian doctrine and far advanced over the pedestrian views of the average French businessman, not to say peasant."¹¹

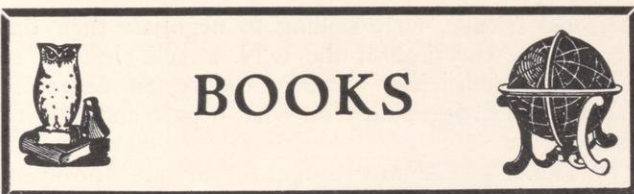
Liberalism is rapidly arrogating to itself the exclusive right to run the country. It has held effective operating control of both political parties for three decades and has succeeded in rendering conservative opposition virtually impotent until recent months. Unless the nascent conservatism can terminate the liberal reign fairly soon, the country stands to acquire an elite—and not necessarily a wise and virtuous elite—as a ruling class. Heretofore there have been business elites, and now there is a labor elite, but never in America has there been a governmental elite, vested with the power

to make and enforce law. The emergence of a liberal elite in government marks a radical departure from our traditional free institutions.

The question is, can liberalism reform itself before it succumbs totally to the temptation of totalitarianism? At present, there is no indication that it can or will. In fact, those who are currently lamenting liberalism's doldrums are proposing a splurge of nationalization and centralization of power as the new rallying cry, rather than a new commitment to liberty. Fortunately, liberalism is in its death throes, and needs but a merciful thrust to dispatch it into history. Fortunately because liberalism has succumbed to the temptation of tyranny, and is leading us all into profound evil.

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My U.N., Right or Wrong?

Just off the press, *The War in Katanga* has been denounced as "erroneous from beginning to end" and "deliberately distorted" by Ralph K. Bunche of the United Nations, who has called for renewed backing of the U.N. in the face of such "know-nothing" attacks. What is the work which has generated this bombast?

The War in Katanga is the report of a nine-day tour of the Congo made in December, 1961 by Professor Ernest Van Den Haag of the faculty of New York University and the New School for Social Research. While in the Congo, Van Den Haag talked with Dr. Sture Linner, the U.N. representative in the Congo; Lewis Hoffacker, American Consul to Elizabethville; Mr. Edmund Gullion, U.S. ambassador to the Congo; Mr. Brian Urquhart, U.N. representative to Elizabethville; Cyril Adoula, Premier of the Congo;

THE WAR IN KATANGA

ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

American Committee for Aid to
Katanga Freedom Fighters, 1962, \$1.50
79 Madison Ave., New York 16, N.Y.

and Moise Tshombe, President of Katanga. Van Den Haag also talked to most of the Katanga Cabinet, and to scores of local people: doctors, students, officials, Baluba tribesmen, etc. The result is the *only* report on the U.N.'s war in Katanga.

The findings published in this report are not going to be well-received by the many U.N.-firsters among us who feel that the U.N. can do no wrong and should always be backed by the United States government because it *is* the U.N. But the findings are well documented, and include the following items:

1) The first military action, begun September 13, 1961 was a military attack initiated by the U.N. forces and directed against the Katanga forces and ultimately against the population of Elizabethville. Apart from the casualties of combat, a number of acts which are unrelated to any legitimate military purpose were committed by the U.N. forces, including:

a. deliberate murder of unarmed, non-combatant civilians, white and black, including women and children;

b. deliberate injury, rape and robbery of unarmed civilian non-combatants, white and black;

c. damage to buildings, including hospitals, churches and business establishments which were not, and could not reasonably be believed to be, used for military purposes;

- d. shooting at plainly-marked ambulances;
- e. thefts; and
- f. arbitrary arrests.

The report appendix contains four pages of reproductions of sworn statements of witnesses describing United Nations troops shooting unarmed civilians. The testimony includes accounts of U.N. soldiers slashing a five-year-old child with bayonet; machine-gunning an elderly lady, Mme. Dericks, in her home; shooting civilians and Red Cross personnel in plainly-marked ambulances, then robbing the bodies; and other similar acts.

2) Thus far these acts remain unpunished. The U.N. has not seen fit to acknowledge them, to establish individual responsibility for them, or to offer compensation. The U.N. has not initiated inquiries of its own, or at least none have been publicly announced. No public proceedings have taken place; no one has been formally accused; no witnesses have been called by the U.N.; nobody has been notified of any U.N. proceedings; no one among the U.N. personnel has been punished. In view of this, it is the U.N. itself which must assume responsibility for the individual culprits whom it has refused to identify.

3) In addition, the U.N. openly violated its own agreements and promises on many occasions and actually spread violence and disorder in northern Katanga by transporting troops of the central Congolese "army" into that region where they robbed, burned and killed freely.

U.N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld explicitly promised to President Tshombe that "... the United Nations Force cannot be used on behalf of the central government to subdue or to force the provincial government to a specific line of action. It further follows that United Nations facilities cannot be used, for example, to transport civilian or military representatives under the authority of the central government, to Katanga against the decision of the Katanga provincial government." (United Nations document S/4417/Add. 6, 12 August 1960 pp.3-4) In spite of this assurance, U.N. planes conveyed Egede Bocheley-Davidson to Elizabethville at the time of the September attack. Bocheley-Davidson was admittedly sent to Elizabethville as "commissioner" of the central government to replace the elected government of Katanga headed by Moise Tshombe.

4) Although the U.N. demanded and initiated a war to effect the expulsion of "foreign mercenaries" from the Katanga army, yet the U.N. never asked the Leopoldville government or the Stanleyville government to get rid of their foreign specialists. To be sure, their specialists, including Soviet and Eastern bloc pilots, were not called mercenaries but "experts." No one, incidentally, has asked Prime Minister Nkrumah to fire his British officers, or the Vatican to get rid of its Swiss mercenaries.

5) According to Van Den Haag, there are many reasons for believing that the war was totally unnecessary since Tshombe and Adoula, who are close

...a complete stock of

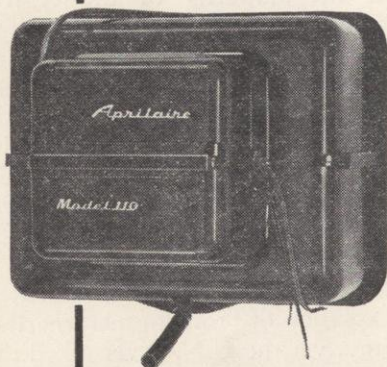
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personal friends, were willing to negotiate their differences at the time of the U.N. attack. Indeed, all Congolese politicians agree in theory on decentralization and disagree only on what degree and in what form.

This report is must reading for anyone who wants to be informed on the Congo. In view of the recent United States disarmament proposals to work for the elimination of national armies and the creation of a United Nations armed force to maintain international order, this report takes on even greater significance.

For just \$1.50 and an evening of your time spent poring over the documents, signed statements and affidavits, you too can become a "know-nothing".

— James Blair

A Manual for Individualists

Why do we lose liberty? How can liberty be regained? This little volume (158 pages) answers these two fundamental questions with much more thoroughness than its brevity would suggest. Leonard Read has again done a first rate job as one of the foremost libertarian exegeses in the country.

Elements of Libertarian Leadership is a misleading title to those who expect the book to outline a precinct-by-precinct take-over of American government for dismantlement by libertarians. Rather, the book eschews political revolution, and calls for nothing less than a complete philosophic revolution.

"The term *libertarian* is used," writes Read, "because nothing better has been found to replace *liberal*, a term which has been successfully appropriated by contemporary authoritarians. As long as *liberal* meant

ELEMENTS OF LIBERTARIAN LEADERSHIP

LEONARD E. READ

Foundation for Economic Education, 1962
 Irvington-on-Hudson, New York

liberation from the authoritarian state, it was a handy and useful generalization. It has come to mean little more than state liberality with other people's money."

As Read sees it, there are three main pitfalls of libertarian leadership.

The first of the booby traps is the resolve to "sell the man in the street on free enterprise," or, "We gotta educate the masses." The mass man, says Read, is anyone who lives by a double standard of morality, who acts in the mass—the collective, the committee, the organization—in a manner inferior to the way he acts on his own responsibility.

Suppose that the federal government were to decree that all farmers are entitled to \$30 for every acre of land taken out of production and that each farmer, with the help of an armed officer assigned to him for the purpose, is to call, personally on people, rich and poor alike, and forcibly collect the booty. Few farmers would have the stomach for such a face-to-face procedure. Yet the same hold-up is being con-

ducted through the governmental tax apparatus.

The second pitfall is the notion that vanishing liberty can be restored merely by an increased or stepped-up political activity. Read believes that political leaders merely echo the prevailing sentiment of the times. It is the philosophers and the thought leaders behind the scenes who really determine what the coming political temper will be. "There is no way to improve the quality of political leadership except as we lift the level of influential opinion — and this is an educational task," writes Read.

The third main pitfall is a narrowly conceived anti-communism. Moscow is not the sole source of communism; communism is a world-wide phenomenon and originates as much in the minds of Americans as in the minds of other people. The real danger lies in the thinking that "the welfare state is the best security against communism," as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. wrote recently.

"Such terms as communism, socialism, Fabianism, the welfare state, Nazism, fascism, state interventionism, egalitarianism, the planned economy, the New Deal, the Fair Deal, New Republicanism, and the New Frontier," asserts Read, "are simply different labels for much the same thing. To think that there is any vital distinction between these so-called ideologies is to miss the really important characteristic which all of these labels have in common: organized police force — government — should control the creative and productive actions of the people."

If we still harbor any illusions about individual freedom under the welfare state, Read suggests that we just try to avoid paying our "share" of a TVA deficit or of the farm subsidy program or of federal urban renewal.

In answer to the question, why do we lose liberty, Read lists a number of reasons, and explains them in detail. Man loses freedom when he sets himself up as his own creator. He loses freedom when he supposes that he knows how to regulate the affairs of other individuals better than those individuals themselves do. He loses his freedom when he entrusts the safety of his liberty to other people. Freedom is lost when labor, and not the market, determines the value of a commodity. Man loses freedom when he supposes that government can do things better than free men. Freedom is lost when there is a shortage of men who can articulately explain the workings of the free market.

For libertarian leadership, we must not look to politicians, Read advises. Such leadership must come from the people. How is this leadership to be developed? "Let each one of us try to attain such heights in understanding and clarity of exposition that others — the few whoever they may be — will be attracted to do likewise by reason of the inspiration, however modest, we may be able to provide."

From this, Read sees the emergence of several thousand creative thinkers, writers, speakers — exemplars of devotion to freedom. Others must be in-

fluenced to expand their consciousness, to enlarge their cognitive powers.

What Read proposes is by no means for weak men. He calls for a level of integrity which few men can ever hope to attain. Read takes account of human frailty, but he seems to hope that those who can reach the perfection he has described will somehow redeem the rest of us. The hour may be later than Read thinks; such a revolution will take a very long time. In the interim, the publisher could very well supplement this leadership manual with a second manual of arms.

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A revolution is taking place which will leave the people dependent on the government. . . . Finding markets will develop into fixing prices and finding employment will develop into fixing wages. The next step will be to furnish markets and employment, or in default, pay a bounty and dole. Those who look with apprehension on these tendencies do not lack humanity, but are influenced by the belief that the result of such measures will be to deprive the people of character and liberty.

”

*Calvin Coolidge
President of the
United States, 1923-29*



HINDSIGHTS

◆ The government has a grand total of 5000 chicken inspectors in its employ. However, only 1,500 of them go out and inspect chickens. The other 3,500 are cooped up behind their desks. Eggheads, we presume.

◆ Walter Lippmann, we learn, has been awarded a Pulitzer Prize for "wise and responsible international reporting." Now the last we heard, Mr. Lippmann closets himself three days a week in his suburban D.C. home to grind out his syndicated column. Far be it from us to suggest that this procedure falls somewhat short of "reporting" (not to say "international"), but we wonder if it is only coincidence that the drama prize went to "How To Succeed in Business Without Really Trying"?

◆ In the vocabulary of the Communists, "peace" means the lack or resistance to Communist designs. It was just a few days ago that Premier Krushchev said that the policies of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia were "almost identical on the question of peace." Khrushchev was no doubt impressed by how peacefully Tito acquired all those U.S. jet fighter planes.

◆ The University of Wisconsin was recently treated to an appearance on campus by one Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party, USA. Hall's speech was attended by about 1,700 curiosity seekers and the Socialist Club. After the speech Hall told reporters that his audience was a "typical college audience but perhaps a little more right wing" than he encountered in similar appearances recently. And all this time we have been thinking that the Conservative Renaissance was only a figment of Barry Goldwater's imagination.

◆ On the Saturday before Easter fifty or so ban-the-bomb demonstrators marched ten miles to Parliament Hill in Ottawa, Canada, to protest against nuclear arms for Canada. The distance of the march was said to coincide with the radius of severe damage that would be caused by a five megaton nuclear bomb dropped on the center of the city. If the radius of severe damage is to be the criterion for marches against menaces to mankind, then Americans have rather a monumental task before them: 1) somehow calculate the radius of damage caused by SANE, Lord Russell, and Norman Cousins, and 2) find fifty people willing to walk that far.

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