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INSIGHT *and* OUTLOOK

a conservative student journal

Vol. V Number III

December, 1962

Why Taxes?

JAMES BLAIR

The Atlantic Common Market

TIMOTHY WHEELER

The Innocents

JAMES O'CONNELL



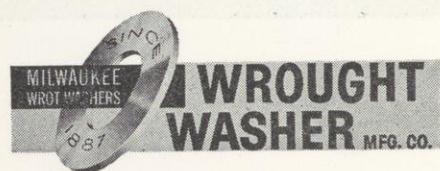
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Insight and Outlook is a journal of conservative and libertarian commentary published three times per semester by students and faculty members of the University of Wisconsin. It is dedicated to help students understand the ideological importance of current affairs, to defend individual freedom against the forces of collectivism, and to explain the workings of the free market economy. This magazine is supported entirely by advertising, and is distributed free to students.

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CAMPUS OUTLOOK

Wrong Man for the Job

The University of Kansas recently sponsored a debate on Communism versus Capitalism. To present the Communist side the school authorities selected Aleksandr Fomin, Counsellor of the Soviet Embassy in Washington. To present the case for capitalism the school authorities chose Arthur Schlesinger Jr., one of President Kennedy's aides.

We find it hard to imagine Mr. Schlesinger really putting his heart into the defense of the American capitalistic system, at least not without reshaping capitalism into a neo-socialist system. The Kansas authorities might well have looked into the credentials of their proposed champion of capitalism.

It was Mr. Schlesinger who, in a recent public debate, was quoted as saying that the Welfare State is the best answer to Communism.

It was Mr. Schlesinger who, in the *Congressional Record* of July 27, 1953, was quoted as saying that the capitalistic system in the United States makes "even freedom loving Americans look wistfully at Russia."

It was Mr. Schlesinger who, in 1947, wrote optimistically that "there seems no inherent obstacle to the gradual advance of socialism in the United States through a series of New Deals."

Mr. Schlesinger is well-known for his socialistic views, known at least beyond the periphery of the University of Kansas. It is incredible that one of the largest and best-known of America's state-supported universities should pick such a man to defend capitalism.

NSA Prefers Red Cubans

We received the following story from one of the principals, and pass it along as a matter of interest.

Last summer, a Cuban student-in-exile group, having prepared proof, for presentation at this year's International Student Conference in Quebec, that Cuba's Federation of University Students (FEU) is Communist-controlled and non-representative, applied to attend a "pre-Conference" in Hanover, N. H., sponsored by the U.S. National Student Association. The application was rejected by the NSA on the grounds that accommodations were not available; but the group felt that its planned exposure of the FEU was the real reason for the refusal. Shortly before the pre-Conference, the group learned (from Radio Havana) that the NSA had invited a delegation of Communist students from the FEU and another from a Peruvian Communist student organization, and was attempting to get visas for

Yankee Personality Cult

Normally, one cannot stare into an ashtray and see history stamped across its bottom. But there are myriads of exceedingly common ashtrays on display in drug stores across the continent which do, ultimately, provide an insight into the evolution of American society. Upon the bottom of these particular ashtrays are emblazoned, variously, a reproduction of the President, or his wife, or the whole First Family. Something for every taste.

Or, if one happens to be omnivorous, he can also purchase dinner and luncheon plates which sport the same images. Or one can purchase full-color John F. Kennedy cards to send to friends, or enemies, depending on his point of view.

And on the news stands one can purchase any of several pocketbooks which sing paeans to the patrician First Lady. Or one can purchase other pocketbooks, scribbled by Ivy League pedagogues, eulogizing the genius of the President. There are even several pocketbooks available which were allegedly written by John Kennedy all by himself.

Elsewhere on the newsstands there are gaudy publications devoted exclusively to photo-stories about the Kennedy family. Only recently, a new one appeared which came right out and proclaimed that it had to do with America's "royal family." And of course there are the movie magazines which have tastefully splashed Mrs. Kennedy across their covers, sometimes in conjunction with Elizabeth Taylor or the Rat Pack.

Among the news and pleasure magazines there has always been extensive coverage of the First Family—but nothing like there is during these New Frontier days. *Newsweek*, for example, (which is a key instrument of the Kennedy Administration) devotes about one cover in three to the President, his wife, or his family. And most of the other magazines are not far behind, except, of course, *U.S. News and World Report*, which stubbornly clings to the notion that there are such things as issues to talk about.

In record shops and book stalls one can purchase long playing records which feature the Back Bay voices and imperial speeches of President Kennedy and President Roosevelt, in happy juxtaposition.

In toy stores one can discover lovely dolls in the Jacqueline image, which even Evita Peron would have envied. And in the windows of smart women's shops there are Jacqueline mannequins to capture the eye of the prospective customer, and invest the firm with the glory and glamour of the State.

And if one happens to live in the nation's capital, he could scarcely help but notice that the *Washington Post* prints a picture of the First Lady in its gushing society pages every day, and often features other Kennedy wives as well. Then, too, there is the United States Information Agency's little film about Mrs. Kennedy's grand tour of the world, in tax-paid technicolor. And of course, one cannot forget the forthcoming motion picture about the President's heroic adventure as a PT boat commander in the South Pacific.

Everywhere—television, radio, newspapers, magazines, housewares, photographs, postcards, mannequins, toys—the Kennedy image intrudes upon the consciousness. Short of death, there is no escape, no peace. The Kennedy's are with us while we sleep, while we eat, while we work and play—while we breathe.

Never in all American history has any administration resorted to publicity of this scope and type. It is designed purely and simply to foster cults of adoration on the broadest possible scale. It emphasizes the man Kennedy, and his charismatic gifts of superiority and omniscience, which presumably enable him to rule with wisdom and justice. It portrays the First Family as a group of demigods, vested with divine beauty and wisdom. It magnifies the President and his wife into an Apollo and Venus, living, laughing and ruling from high upon the Olympic heights. It merges the glory of America and the glory of the Kennedy's into one, vast, united concept of grandeur. Glory to Augustus Caesar and to Mother Rome!

The purpose of it all, of course, is to garner votes: to stay in power. And its eminent and obvious success in that direction reveals things about the American people which many of us would rather not admit.

It means, for example, that the American people are backsliding into barbarism. It means that a winning smile and pretty wife and familiar name are more important at the ballot box than a sound philosophy and program and character. If the campaign to foster adoration of the President didn't pay off in votes on election day, there would be no sense to it. If the concerted effort to turn the President into a demigod did not reflect in the popularity polls, it would have long since been abandoned.

Scarcely more than three decades ago, a concerted drive to glorify a politician would have been regarded by the electorate as the activity of an ambitious mountebank. Such self-serving publicity instantly would have evoked the question, "What is he trying to hide?" But today, the same sort of self-serving publicity evokes a positive response rather than skepticism. Why? Have the techniques of propaganda improved, or do people respond to different stimuli than they did in times past?

The question defies a simple answer. But it might be well to note that under the system of government that survived up until the 1930's, no President—not even a scoundrel—possessed the power to demolish the welfare of the American people. In those days before the advent of social security and depressed area legislation and the host of other programs that made every citizen directly dependent upon the whims of the federal government, no one felt the necessity for a demigod in the seat of power. Quite probably, the search for a superman President today is directly related to the extent that the federal government is embroiled in the lives of private citizens. Perhaps the day will come when American citizens will search for a veritable Zeus to administer their lives.

—AETIUS

them. The Cuban exiles hastened to notify U.S. and Canadian immigration authorities of the matter, and the Communist delegations were denied entry.

From what can be observed of the NSA, the story is at least intrinsically plausible, and we have every reason to believe it true. We do not think it should be the business of the NSA to discriminate against anti-Communist students, and suggest that, by such tactics, it will bring itself into disrepute with the vast majority of the students it purports to represent.

Apathegitica

In an exercise in Liberal dementia, the *Detroit News* recently sought to make light of a picket line thrown up by "self-styled young conservatives protesting (the *News*) treatment of right wing stalwart Richard Durant." We aren't familiar with the particulars in the case, but then apparently neither is the *News*. The interesting thing about the editorial is its basic assumption.

"We're happy to see it," said the *News*. "Better error —among the young at least—than apathy We doubt that any person has hold of heaven endowed truth in these matters of great public moment, and we suspect that those who claim to have it are at best sadly mistaken." This reduces to the proposition that the only alternatives are error and apathy, since no one can lay claim to the truth. This being the case, perhaps some of the *News*' more illustrious countrymen were also "sadly mistaken," and should have amended their utterances accordingly: 1) "I would rather be apathetic than President." 2) "Be sure you're apathetic, then go ahead." 3) "We hold these apathies to be self evident"

Notes from a Ghost

Most students in college today are too young to remember the times when many of the poor were actually too proud to accept charity, and did so only when the alternative was starvation. The welfare state has rotted the American character to such an extent that today those humans who are being supported by the productivity of other humans often spend their time contriving means to extract still more largesse, rather than displaying gratitude.

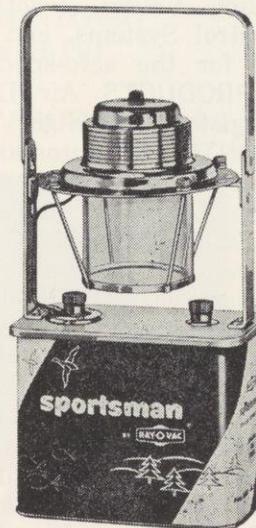
The fundamental moral principle that each human is responsible for his own welfare, and for the welfare of his loved ones, is giving way before the cold disbursements of the government counting-house. No one was more cognizant of the ultimate tragedy of such a

John Oster

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course of events than Franklin D. Roosevelt, who in 1935 said:

"The lessons of history . . . show conclusively that continued dependence upon relief induces a spiritual and moral disintegration fundamentally destructive to the national fiber. To dole out relief . . . is to administer a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit . . . The federal government must and shall quit this business of relief."

How about it, Health, Education and Welfare?

WORLD OUTLOOK

Castro Still a Threat

Fully two long years ago, INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK began to demand an immediate blockade of Castro's Cuba. We emphasized then and in subsequent issues that the United States could ignore the mounting menace at its flank only at peril to the security of this nation and the Latin Republics. Events proved us remarkably accurate. We pointed out that in the event of a blockade, the Soviet Union would not rain atom bombs upon us; on the contrary, it would hastily back off when confronted with superior American force. History proved that assumption accurate, too. We further argued—in the teeth of vehement and "expert" liberal opinion—that a strong and determined show of force by the United States government would elicit instant and joyous support from Latin American nations. That, too, proved to be precisely the case. We also contended that the Castro regime had to be wiped from the face of the earth in order to re-establish the tranquility and security of this hemisphere.

But the administration refused to get down to the business of toppling Castro. Moreover, the President has even guaranteed that the United States will respect the territorial sovereignty of Cuba (although the Cubans are a captive people under the rule of an alien power). While it is true that the government has successfully compelled the Soviets to withdraw so-called offensive arms from Cuba, it is also true that the Castro regime still thrives. Today, the island of Cuba still serves as a haven for legions of subverters, propagandists, guerrillas and saboteurs who fan out to all the free nations of North and South America and foment revolution. The blockade may have been a splendid way to return Democrats to Congress, but subsequent events have made it clear that the blockade was never more than a half-baked attempt to end the Cuban peril.

Thus, the Cuban problem is far from resolved. Unless Castro is overthrown, his provocateurs will eventually subvert the legitimate governments of other

Latin nations, perhaps starting with Haiti and the Dominican Republic. It is not merely Cuban and Soviet imperialism which America faces; it is a revolutionary conspiracy which seeks to obliterate the social institutions of the civilized West. As this conspiracy extends its control into other Latin nations, the difficulties confronting the United States will double and redouble. Each tick of the clock makes it more and more difficult and costly to topple the Castro regime. And so, we say it once again: *Castro must go, and go at once.*

Prior to the blockade the threat of nuclear war was mounting daily—almost hourly—as the Soviets installed missiles along our southern flank. Our show of force instantly swung the balance to the side of peace, where it will remain so long as we stand firm and resolute. But even now, there is evidence that the administration is waxing lax and lazy in its behavior toward Castro, and with this new conciliation comes a renewed danger of disastrous war. Surely, surely, if the President is a man of peace and a man of resolution he will act immediately to demolish the Castro regime and thereby reinstate a firm tranquility in the New World.

Coming Around

The Soviets have discovered capitalism! Or at least, some of the advantages of capitalism. According to a recent UPI dispatch from Moscow, one E. Libermann, of the Kharkov Engineering and Economics Institute, has devised a plan which would introduce incentive, competition, and a certain amount of laissez-faire into the Soviet economy. What's more, although the word "profit" is still in the Soviet doghouse, Professor Libermann managed to come up with a serviceable substitute — "profitability" — which means very nearly the same thing.

Currently, the Soviets have a system of rigid central planning in which virtually all of the nation's industry falls under the purview of the Sovnarkhozes, or regional planning bodies. These Sovnarkhozes establish a production quota for each industry, and also assume the responsibility for provisioning each plant with raw materials, jockeying the labor supply so that each industry has the optimum number of workers, and overseeing plant policies on such matters as increasing efficiency and replacing machinery.

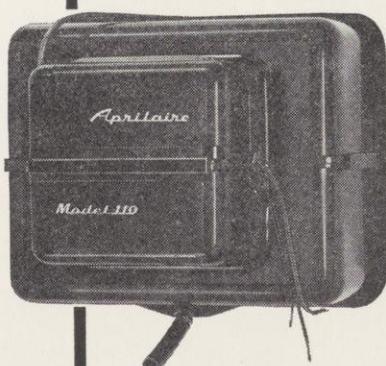
Each year's plan, or quota, is based upon the production estimates submitted to the Sovnarkhozes by the plant managers. Consistently, these managers submit estimates which are lower than actual plant capacity, so that the plant and its workers can "exceed" the quota and win a bonus. As a result of such politicking, the Sovnarkhozes have no reliable idea of what the actual state of the economy is, and thus central planning defeats itself.

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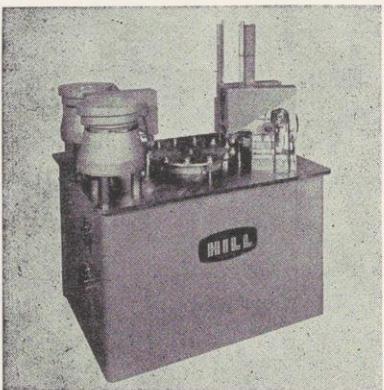
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Professor Libermann's solution for all this could simply be defined as an infusion of capitalism. First of all, he proposes to establish a new incentive system based on the profitability of the business, which simply means the difference between the costs of production and the fecundity of the enterprise. Soviet workers would enjoy financial bonuses for increasing efficiency and production, as do workers in capitalist countries. Secondly, the professor proposes to permit each plant management to obtain its own raw materials on a *free market basis*, set its own firing and hiring policies, and introduce new efficiency-creating machines as it sees fit. In short, Libermann would blow the fresh air of economic freedom into the Soviet economy. And as a *cure for communism!*

It is only a beginning, of course—a small step toward recognizing the social value of private property. But at a time when liberal economic planners in America are establishing their own Sovnarkhozes in the delusion that the free market economy does not provide for the people of America, the news from Russia is fraught with ironical meaning. Today, a half-free American economy still outstrips the lumbering planned economy of the Soviets. But tomorrow, could the American industrial plant, staggering beneath the cross of Keynes, compete against a Soviet economy resurgent under a form of *laissez-faire capitalism?*

Medicare and Freedom

Once again, Congress will debate the issue of compulsory medical care, and once again Americans will have a chance to see which politicians regard their constituents as incompetent boobs who can't take care of themselves or plan for life's unhappy contingencies.

The issue, if you please, is not *need*. With a few exceptions, (which have been overly and emotionally dramatized) everyone who requires medical care receives it, thanks to the charity programs of the medical profession, the proliferating sales of private health insurance, the charitable activities of state, county and local institutions, the voluntary work of private community charities, and the Kerr-Mills legislation which provides matching federal funds for state medical care programs.

The issue is freedom. Specifically, the freedom of American citizens to provide for their own welfare without the gratuitous interference of government. The issue is whether the people of this country are going to surrender to the state an additional portion of their responsibility, or whether they are going to retain the responsibility to care for themselves.

Liberal congressmen recognize that freedom is the real issue, and take pains to cloak their statism in the rhetoric of responsibility. "It is our *duty*," they proclaim, "to provide care for the indigent poor who other-

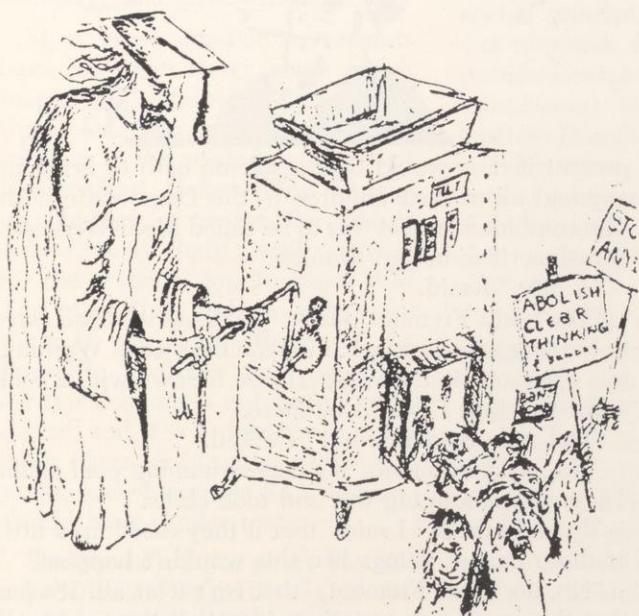
wise couldn't afford adequate medical care." Thus the rhetoric of responsibility is used to foster a program of gross *irresponsibility*, in which individuals would no longer be liable for their own welfare, and children would no longer be liable for the welfare of their elderly parents, and the strong and able would no longer be morally bound to help their less fortunate kinfolk and neighbors. The result will be a barbarous society in which human compassion and love will wither away beneath the crushing embrace of the superstate.

And let it be clearly understood that the congressman who advocates compulsory health insurance is sneering at the capabilities of his constituents. Note that he does not propose a voluntary program to which the poor or the irresponsible could repair if they wish. He advocates a compulsory program to which all wage-earners *must* contribute year in and year out. By compelling his constituents to accept health insurance, the congressman is proclaiming, in effect, that he doubts the capacity of his constituents to care for themselves. He is proclaiming, in effect, that he knows what is good for his constituents better than they do themselves. Moreover, by rendering his constituents still more dependent upon the federal government, he advances his own political power.

Such a congressman is an outrage to all that America has ever stood for, and he deserves the unmitigated and unqualified enmity of all good men.

Big Brother in Fort Atkinson

There are many well-intentioned people who smile indulgently at those individualist writers who offer lurid pictures of a statist-dominated world arising on the ruins of either American or British individualism. Such writers as George Orwell or Ayn Rand are dis-



The Sifting and Winnowing Machine

missed with a shrug. It can't happen here! But Britain has had its socialist experiment. Could it happen in America, which was once called, by William Howard Taft, "the most conservative" country? A recent news story seems to indicate that not only could it happen, but that it did happen.

Four employees of a Fort Atkinson engineering firm, Norland Associates, had agreed to a unique profit sharing plan, by which they were paid a salary, and, in addition, participate in a monthly profit sharing plan, receive stock purchase privileges, and have the usual fringe benefits. As far as the company and the four employees were concerned, nothing was amiss. But the Department of Labor, pursuing routine investigations — and it is questionable if any investigation of conditions is justified without a prior complaint — discovered that the company was violating one of the many labor regulations.

Now, it is not to be thought that the government should leave business strictly alone; certain rules and regulations relating to health and safety, and to the employment of women and children, are in order. But the regulation violated had nothing to do with these standards. It seems that under a 1938 law, only certain individuals, "professionals" such as engineers and executives, have the right to dispose of their services in whatever way they choose; others must be paid wages and receive special overtime pay. The irony of this is that this law, designed to "protect" the laboring man from the "unscrupulous capitalist," has hurt the men it was designed to protect; indeed, these "victims" of free enterprise are out to fight the Labor Department ruling.

The peculiar nature of our labor laws is exemplified here. For instance, despite the fact that the government was not a party to the contract, and there were no complaints from either side, investigations were being pursued and, as a result, there was an unwarranted interference. The unusual nature of the positions held by the four men, as a liaison between the engineering department and the shop, could conceivably qualify them as professional personnel. The narrowly-drawn definitions of the Labor Department seem hide-bound, if not unjustifiably tyrannical. Finally, in a country supposedly dedicated to the rule of law, it seems questionable that minor officials, rather than judges, should have such power, especially when the law, as it is written, could be construed as a violation of rights recognized by the Fifth Amendment.

Our vaunted society, supposedly based on contract, seems to be reverting to one based on status. Under such conditions, we wonder if a statement made by Hodding Carter, a Southern journalist, about the regime of the late Huey Long might not be meaningful here: "If there was ever a need for shotgun government, that time is now. . . . Let us read our histories again. They will tell us with what weapons we earned the rights of free men. Then, by God, let's use them."

The Nomenclator

CY BUTT

Clad in a brand new uniform, the principal parts of which were a cutaway coat, striped britches and combat boots, Fremont Guilfoyle strode into Madison's Congress bar this morning accompanied, as always, with that bottom of Betty Grable and top of Dagmar which is known as Fifi. Fifi undulated down the aisle with her shoulders thrown back, jiggling various of her precincts in the way the Vikings thought it was done in Valhalla.

"It's nice to see you again, Fremont, my friend," I said. "Why all the post-meridiem clothes in the ante? Do they indicate anything in particular?"

"No, this isn't a uniform, as you seem to think. I am now Head Namer for the Administration and do not require one."

"And what is a Namer?" I asked.

"Just like a tuck pointer is a person that points at tucks, a Namer is a person that names things," said Fremont. "I got started in this racket with General Motors doing names for new car models. Then I got into soap and worked on flakes, shampoos and shaving creams. I did very well at first, and at one time my stuff was on 26 different TV commercials a day. But it's exhausting work. The last six months I was there all I put out was, Twirp, Gleep, Gash, Twinge and Ouch. The last three were for shaving cream and they didn't prove to be very popular. They told me to take a few months off and they would call me when they wanted me back. I saw the *mene, mene tekel upharsin* and got into government work. I landed with the Foreign Aid department."

"That's nice," I said. "How are you doing?"

"Just great," said Fremont. "It's really simple. You see, when the Administration wants to toss a few hundred million to Upper Volta or Lower Slobovia, they need a real nice name to ease the thing onto the public. It's like the orange juice that goes with castor oil. To get this giveaway pill down the citizens' throat we coat it with nice, round, resonant words that you can roll around on your tongue, and even gargle if you feel like it. I mean words that stand for nice things like God, home, love, mother, beautiful, serene—not just those words, but you get the general idea?"

"I'm afraid I do," I said. "Proceed."

"For instance," said Fremont, "when The Boss wanted to throw 20 billion to Latin American we didn't say that we were going to hand this dough to a bunch of dictators to buy yachts and gold beds or build new capitals in the middle of nowhere. We said that it was an Alliance For Progress. The World War giveaways were Lend-Lease and Grant in Aid. Then we had the

Fremont jumps into the alphabet soup

Marshall Plan, the Point 4 Program, the Fulbright Scholarships, the Agency For International Development, NATO, SEATO, UNRRA, and a dozen or so I don't recall just at the moment. Of course, they were all mutual propositions."

"How do you mean that?" I asked.

"Well," he replied, "we gave and they took—that's 50-50, isn't it?"

"It's the way they figure it in Washington," I said. "Tell me, what do you consider to be your best work in this line?"

"It happened not so long ago," said Fremont. "The Boss figured that there were a whole lot of people who were getting along to where they didn't read the obituary columns for fear of seeing their own names, but still could vote and had plenty of time to do it. The Boss figured that he couldn't call them Old Codgers, or anything like that, and he was stuck. In this crisis I came up with Senior Citizens."

"Congratulations," I said. "Anything else?"

"Yes," said Fremont, "I did the Medicare thing, too. Let me tell you about that."

"Please do," I said.

"After we got the Medicare business rolling," Fremont went on, "The Boss got the idea that we would give every bride and groom \$10,000 for a wedding



present if they would take a solemn oath to bring up any and all of their children in the Democratic faith. The combined project was to be called Medi-Wedicare. Somehow it didn't go through."

"A pity," I said.

"Yes," said Fremont, sadly, "but now we shall have to bid you adieu and pack for the next jet to Washington. Everyone in the White House is down with a cold, and I feel that I should be there."

"Did a flu epidemic hit?" I asked.

"No," said Fremont, "it's that swimming pool again. They all got sopping wet and took chills."

"I would think," I said, "that if they eased up a little at those parties, things like this wouldn't happen."

"No, no," said Fremont, "that isn't it at all. It's just that they can't get over their idea that they can walk on water."

The Old Custom

I Care Not Who Makes Its Laws

JARED LOBDELL

In our hands is placed a power greater than their hoarded gold,
Greater than the might of atoms magnified a thousandfold:
We shall bring to birth a new world from the ashes of the old,
For the Union makes us strong.

—*Solidarity Forever* (as sung by Pete Seeger)

I, for one, would just as soon skip making the old world into ashes, whatever may be, or may have been, the desires of the I.W.W., the Almanac Singers, Pete Seeger, or those who follow the doctrines promulgated by any or all of these. But I must admit there is something stirring in the song—if not so much in these lines, which are a modern addition, certainly in the stanza beginning “It is we who ploughed the prairies”—and (to me at least) this brings up a problem. Is there not a danger that such songs may stir too many and stir them to do things they would not do in a more thoughtful moment? And is there not a danger that all our songs tend the same way, that there will be no countervailing force except inertia?

Most great popular movements have had their songs, some which reaped well-merited failure among them. One thinks of *La Marseillaise*, or in the second category, of *Deutschland Ueber Alles*. In our own history, of course, the tune is *John Brown's Body* (or if you prefer the original, *Say Brothers Will You Meet Us*), and the words are those of the *Battle Hymn of the Republic*. That the tune should be a Revival hymn is not merely accidental, and it is indicative that the labor songs, sit-in songs, civil rights songs, even I suppose SANE songs, should have similar roots.

Shelley called the poets the unacknowledged legislators of the world, and Fletcher of Saltoun wrote “Give me the making of the

songs of a nation, and I care not who makes its laws.” The difficulty is that all our songs seem to be revolutionary, although (as Mr. Michael Harrington has pointed out) we are a conservative society in a revolutionary world. Of course, all great songs are sung to change things. Even the *Deutschlandlied*, even—in another context—*Ein Feste Burg*, were part of a revolution against the status quo. Except for an occasional football fight song, there are few enough hymns these days or ever in favor of holding the line.

Very well, but suppose we want to hold the line. Suppose we do not care to atomize the old world, even for the privilege of constructing a new and pleasant earthly paradise on the lines recommended by Daniel De Leon, or Eugene V. Debs, or possibly Joe Hill. Suppose, for the sake of argument, that we are in favor of America, not perhaps as she is, but as it once looked she was going to be. Suppose, Heaven help us, that we believe in the Jeffersonian principles of her Revolution (as opposed, for example, to the pseudo-Leninist principles of *Lumumbisme*), that we agree with Justice Douglas' dictum that we are a religious people whose institutions presuppose the existence of a Supreme Being, that we are (in short) conservatives. What do we do?

First of all, we dismiss from our minds the murmurings of those who have long ago decided that these doctrines do not constitute conservatism because conservatives are dangerous radical reactionary mud-slinging underhanded un-American Birchite crypto-fascists, and everyone who isn't, is a Liberal. But we must be careful to see that the murmuring does not become a song, a marching song such as *Solidarity*

Forever, or a rallying song such as *We Shall Not Be Moved*. This is not to say that I disapprove of the sit-ins singing *We Shall Not Be Moved* (in fact I am as stirred by it as ever Philip Sydney was by *Chevy Chase*), only that we must be careful not to let a secular and popular song, a folk-song if you will, usurp the place rightfully held by another and greater hymn.

We are, as Justice Douglas said, a religious people. But the Albany songs, the S.N.C.C. songs, the C.I.O. songs, the SANE songs, take too little notice of this. Whoever it was who said there were no atheists in the foxholes was evidently not speaking of the Class War. On behalf of those who feel we have gone far wrong, that we are neglecting our heritage, that our motto must continue to be “In God is our trust,” that unless we inculcate in our children a love of country such as we once taught and Russia teaches now, we are lost; on behalf, in a word, of the Right, I urge a return to the greatest of our patriotic songs and the spirit of the Abolitionist who wrote it. It is time we had done with imitations and sang the original.

It is time we felt again the spirit of the prison camp where a chaplain from Ohio first sang the hymn, and the warders could not keep the Yankee soldiers from cheering. This is, and must be, the song of the American people. It has been sung in our every war since 1861. It is equally appropriate to the righting of civil wrongs, to the struggle for equality before the law, and to the fight for freedom the world over. There is no need to invent songs for conservatism, or for patriotism, when we have already this:

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea
With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me;
As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on.

Supreme Court or no, Hugo Black doubtless to the contrary, and whatever James Eastland would say, this should be our national anthem.

Up From Socialism

MILLARD JOHNSON

One of the greatest success stories in 20th century intellectual history is that of the Intercollegiate Society of Socialists (ISS). It is the story of a small group of persons who were able, in a few short decades, to turn the American intellectual community from individualism to collectivism.

The Society was formed one September evening in 1905 by ten men who met on the top floor of Peck's Restaurant in New York. Among them were Clarence Darrow, Jack London and Upton Sinclair. Their object was "to promote an intelligent interest in socialism among college men and women, graduate and undergraduate, through the formation of study clubs in the colleges and universities, and to encourage all legitimate endeavors to awaken an interest in socialism among the educated men and women of the country."

Jack London was the Society's first president and he traveled from college to college preaching the socialist doctrine. The first chapters were formed at Wesleyan and Columbia. Within ten years over sixty college chapters were formed and ISS was operating on an annual budget of \$10,000. Walter Agard, now Professor of Classics at the University of Wisconsin, was president of the Amherst chapter of ISS in 1914-15.

Old Radicals

Anyone interested in socialism was welcomed into ISS. You don't have to be a socialist, they said, but at least be a student of socialism. This low-pressure campaign of persuasion won many converts for ISS. Students like Walter Reuther, Murray Kempton and James Wechsler came to hear ISS speakers explain the class struggle, and joined the organization.

Collectivists on American campuses no longer go unchallenged

In 1921 ISS was reorganized as the League for Industrial Democracy (LID), adopted the motto "Production for Use, Not for Profit," and opened its membership to non-collegians. Norman Thomas joined Harry Laidler as co-executive director of the new LID. Members wrote many books. George Bernard Shaw was a contributor to LID's newsletter.

The severe depression which hit the United States economy during the Thirties was a distinct boost to the LID. During the early depression years LID organized a lecture series in from 40 to 50 cities in the East, South and Middle West. In each city six to eight speakers, in an integrated program, addressed audiences of from 200 to 800. Discussion outlines were given to those attending.

The autonomous Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID) could not resist the temptations of the Communist Party's Popular Front line, and broke away from

the parent LID to form in 1935, with other youth groups, the American Student Union. While LID was thus disrupted by this schism, much of its thunder was stolen when the Roosevelt administration put many of LID's programs into effect.

The old SLID has been replaced by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and now shares offices with LID in New York. Delegates to the National Student Association conference in Madison in 1960 will recall how the conference was flooded with SDS propaganda. The effective leadership of the National Student Association is reposed in SDS, which also provides most of the "educational" materials for the Association membership. Half a dozen large state universities have broken off their connection with the Association because of the radical pronouncements of its leadership.

LID could well afford to rest on its laurels, for it had accomplished much since its humble beginnings. The list of its members reads like *Who's Who*: Daniel Bell, Heywood Broun, Babette Deutch, Max Lerner, John Dewey, Walter Lippmann, Victor and Walter Reuther, Will Rogers, Jr., Selig Perlman, and countless others who are or have been in positions of influence. The number of college professors on LID's rolls is almost endless; not a few of them are from the University of Wisconsin. These are the people who, influenced by the socialist ideas of ISS and LID, in turn influenced their fellows and students, and wrought the collapse of the American penchant for individualism.

The conservative reaction to all this was largely unorganized and the reply often misdirected. There had been no serious challenge to



individual liberty in America since the American Revolution, and radical arguments now met only weak opposition. No large body of conservative and libertarian philosophy had been accumulating to rebut the socialist fallacies and to interpret the recorded wisdom of the Founding Fathers.

In 1950 Frank Chodorov, editor of *The Freeman*, appraised the situation in an essay called *A Fifty Year Project*. He reasoned that:

American thought in 1950 was collectivistic because the seed of that kind of thinking was well planted in its most receptive minds during the early years of the century . . . The question now, at the mid century, is whether it is destined to crowd out the remaining vestiges of individualism in the American culture. It would seem so. But, socialism is only an idea, not an historical necessity, and ideas are acquired by the human mind. We are not born with ideas, we learn them. If socialism has come to America because it was implanted in the minds of past generations, there is no reason for assuming that the contrary idea cannot be taught, to a new generation. What the socialists have done can be undone, if there is a will for it. But, the undoing will not be accomplished by trying to destroy established socialistic institutions. It can be accomplished only by attacking minds, and not the minds of those already hardened by socialistic fixations. Individualism can be revived by implanting the idea in the minds of the coming generations. So, then, if those who put a value on the dignity of the individual are up to the task, they have a most challenging opportunity in education before them. It is not an easy job. It requires the kind of industry, intelligence and patience that comes with devotion to an ideal.

With this statement as its guiding philosophy, Chodorov in 1953 founded the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (ISI). Its beginnings were even more modest than those of ISS. Chodorov got in touch with the Foundation for Economic Freedom in New York, and they agreed to supply some of the Foundation's literature to ISI for dissemination to students. Also placed in the hands of interested students were the new books that conservative and libertarian scholars were writing in the early 1950's. Von Mises, Hayek and Hazlitt were writing on economics; Richard Wea-

ver and Eliseo Vivas were writing on philosophy and ethics.¹

E. Victor Milione joined ISI early as its executive vice-president, and he set to work bringing together the isolated pockets of campus discontent with the prevailing collectivist orthodoxy. ISI gradually attracted students of independent mien, ones who sensed that the American heritage of individual freedom might not be vouchsafed to them if the socialist trend went unchecked. About six hundred students comprised the early membership.

The New Radicals

ISI had ambitious objectives, but its methods were slow, gentle persuasion. Those methods had worked for ISS, hadn't they? Don Lipsett, the energetic midwest director,² and other activists in ISI arranged for speakers and for lecture tours. Campus audiences were often hostile. Students came prepared to hear some hoary neanderthal harangue them about isolationism. Instead, they heard erudite and articulate spokesmen for conservatism, men like Richard Weaver, Russell Kirk, Frank S. Meyer, Robert LeFevre and William F. Buckley, Jr. Students and faculty came away impressed. The new seed had been planted.

The number of ISI chapters and Conservative Clubs now continues to grow. ISI frequently arranges conferences and seminars where students from colleges in a given area discuss conservatism with prominent conservative writers and college professors. A special program of summer schools was inaugurated by ISI in 1960.

The results to date have been impressive. While it may be argued that a "society of individualists" is a contradiction in terms, this has not bothered the forty thousand students (Milione's estimate) who

¹ For an up-to-date list of conservative and libertarian books, see *INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK*, October, 1962.

² Lipsett is now at ISI headquarters in Philadelphia. Fred Andre, the new midwest director, invites inquiries from students. His office is in 505 Lemeke Building, Indianapolis 4, Indiana.

have become interested in the ISI either through its mailing activities or its lecture program.

Not until ISS had trained and fielded a group of aggressive and persuasive spokesmen did that organization start to make its biggest gains. And so it has been with ISI. Since its founding a decade ago, ISI has produced a cadre of young men who have a thorough grounding in conservative economic, political and moral theory, and who are able to articulate their views with great force. Some of these men are:

Richard S. Wheeler, a former editor of *INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK* and a controversial student newspaper columnist. He is now managing editor of *Human Events*.

Timothy Wheeler, Richard's brother and also a former editor of *INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK*. He is now an editorial assistant on the staff of *National Review*.

M. Stanton Evans, one of the early ISI members at Yale and presently a Trustee of ISI. He is the editor of the Indianapolis *News* and the author of a new paperback, *The Fringe on Top*.

Edwin McDowell, an editorial writer for the *Arizona Republic*.

Richard Whalen, formerly with *Time* magazine and the *Wall Street Journal*. He is now with *Fortune* magazine.

All of these men are still in their twenties, a fact that augers well for the future. They have proved the worth of ISI and the potency of its methods.

Freedom is a natural condition, and no body of supporting argument was necessary when freedom went unchallenged. Now all that is changed. Conservative writers and speakers have developed a vast and learned corpus of modern conservative commentary. ISI, among others, is seeing to it that these speakers and writers are being heard by college students.

The mischief done by ISS cannot be undone easily or quickly. But alternatives to socialism now exist for college students where before they did not.

The Atlantic Common Market

TIMOTHY WHEELER

America is at the crossroads
of world economic leadership

As the European Economic Community continues with relative smoothness and speed to integrate its economic affairs, it evokes an ever greater world-wide reaction. For, it will be seen, the formation of a power bloc, on the strength of a large and progressive population and of an impressive industrial plant potentially able to dominate world trade, will as profoundly influence the East-West conflict as it will ultimately influence the price of mousetraps. Moreover, the EEC has time on its side. Its progress compels those who would join and those who would challenge alike to choose their actions quickly or face disaster.

The guiding inspiration for the EEC is the ultimate dismantlement of institutional barriers in order to form a European free trade pool. With the industrial advantages thence gained, it would be able to pull down external tariff walls as well as internal, and thus maneuver in world trade from a very superior competitive position. The early successes of the original six members have already stimulated the formation of a rival European group, the European Free Trade Association, or "outer seven", which is hastening to join the EEC. Britain has sued for admission to the EEC despite having to scuttle its Commonwealth as a consequence.

The Soviet Union, faced not only with an economic rival but a formidable political power in the EEC, has done everything possible to oppose it. The Common Market would be, of course, extremely anti-Communist.

The U.S. faces nothing less than the loss of its economic supremacy in the world, and accordingly extensive economic reversals and de-

generation. Clearly some action is required in this country to preserve economic health. Debate on the issue has patterned itself on an ancient dispute, protectionism v. free trade. It is a debate, noted *National Review* columnist James Burnham, which has created strange bedfellows: "It will be strange and tragic if American conservatives find themselves opposing the Atlantic Common Market in a united front with the Communist Party, the *Nation* and the monopolist trade unions."

Protectionism has the dubious distinction of being one of the oldest economic fallacies with a continuous existence. The mercantilist doctrines pursued by England before the American Revolution (which contributed in part to that revolution) were protectionist. Early "traditional" conservatives (e.g. Alexander Hamilton) allied themselves with established manufacturers in this country to push through high tariffs, presumably to "protect" infant industries. This legacy still exists within the Republican Party, particularly in the mid-west, despite GOP demands for free trade in other quarters.

The Tariff Walls . . .

Neither side embroiled in the debate would deny the primary advantages of open competition. If a consumer believes it is right or expedient for him to pay a higher price for domestic goods and forego the price advantage of imported items, or if he chooses only to buy goods with a union label, he is free to do so however foolish it may seem economically. But, the consumer does not as a rule behave in this fashion: he is primarily interested in price advantage, given like quality. The debate does arise

where protectionism is already an established fact.

In this latter case, those protected can argue that the removal of their institutional privileges will cause disruption and hardship, and therefore will prove economically harmful to the group. Tacit in this argument is the concept that though those lacking the privilege may be harmed, the consumer does not suffer. The argument is fallacious.

It cannot be maintained that while a tariff wall causes higher prices for the consumer, the losses will be offset by the economic advantages to the domestic producer. It would be like the beggar who sought the gift of a dollar from a bartender on the grounds that it would cost the man nothing, because the beggar meant to spend the whole dollar in his bar. Protectionism, in the net market situation, always tends to make people poorer.

The opponent of the Common Market replies that the above theorizing concerns an economy free of governmentally supported fetters on production: minimum wage scales, high tax rates, monopolistic labor unions, bureaucratic regulation. This is perfectly true. The effect of free trade on such institutions will be either to destroy them or to destroy the production they inhibit.

The effect of a competitor, of course, forces the producer to remove from the production process its inefficiencies, in the case of American industries, the enormous gouges going to support the welfare state and the unrealistic and inflationary demands of organized labor. Consequently, if as the EEC presses its competitive advantage with U.S. industry while the bureaucrat and the labor leader remain obdurate in defense of their privileges

they will find themselves without a host. There will be no industries for Washington to drain, and no jobs for labor.

A long-term inflationary situation such as we have undergone in this country can be maintained only by nearly autarchistic rule. It is curious that the dominant statist ideas in this, the country which developed free trade to its fullest and benefited the most from it, will be exposed from abroad. Either bureaucratic hegemony will crumble, or the country will.

... must fall

As debate continues between protectionism and freer trade, such as might be established by the Kennedy Administration trade bill, a third position is being overlooked, that *neither* course can prove satisfactory. This was suggested in an excellent analysis by Mr. Henry Gemmill appearing in the *Wall Street Journal*, portions of which follow below:

"To some... who have gone over and had a look at what is actually happening in Common Market factories — a dour thought occurs. It is this: The United States could turn either toward freer trade or stiffer protectionism (or, as may well happen, toward a hodgepodge of both) with equally dismal results — a gradual, pervasive, chronic stagnation of the economy.

"Why is this?

"Because, whichever direction the U.S. turns in trade policy, it encounters an entirely unprecedented economic prospect. For the first time since it became an industrial society this nation will find its factories at war along an enormous front against an overseas industry which before long should have an essential capability for fabricating any product, almost without exception, at lower cost. That is the meaning of the Common Market—low costs, written in giant letters not merely over the map of West Europe but the map of world markets.

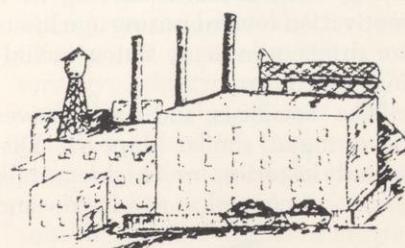
"Lower foreign wages we have long confronted, certainly, but in-

dustrialized America has never before faced a general pattern of lower foreign costs.

"The mass-making of things, which has hitherto enabled U.S. industry to survive and thrive and sell abroad, stemmed not from genetic superiority but from a gigantic domestic market, unique in the world. Soon, if the plain promise of the European Common Market is fulfilled, this American phenomenon will no longer be unique; on the contrary, it can be shoved into a poor second place.

"Western Europe, disposing of its internal trade hurdles, will by population arithmetic constitute a greater mass-market than the U.S., and thereby gain superior potentiality for mass production. If this potential is realized in practice, America's one great saving advantage seems destined to be reduced to inferiority....

"An America which alters no more than the rulebooks handed to its customs collectors will before long discover the Common Market is able to offer to the world prices decisively lower than U.S. price tags—and not just for such specialties as bicycles, watches and midget



autos, but for whole massive catalogs of consumer goods and of wares bought by industry, item by item through thousands of items.

"In the end, U.S. producers could be left with a lingering pricing advantage only in their own specialties; it is entirely possible Europe will never develop a mass-market appetite for peanut butter."

Thus it is that while there is validity to the protectionists' argument that, for the short term, freer trade could be harmful, and to the

trade liberalization argument that, in the long run, freer trade will prove beneficial, neither side can put a whole and cogent argument in the field. If the former must suffer the shock of giving up its privileged position, the latter must yield its cherished statist controls. Both are consigned to learn that the difficulties forthcoming are not from the free trade, but from initial interference with it. It is well to observe that were there no binges, there would be no hangovers. Our present binge is coming to an end whether we like it or not.

Let us then return to the position of those American conservatives who remain adamant about their alliance with opponents of the Common Market, despite whatever economic advantages may be foreseen in meeting the EEC on its own terms. James Burnham, in his article noted above, attributes this protectionist resistance not to economic, but to geographic, political and ethnic reasons. The isolationist sentiment of the American "heartland," the mistaken belief that agriculture benefits from protectionism, and the remains of an old political alliance between the North and Midwest against the free-trading South, have produced the conservative split. Thus some must ally with Communists, who fear the potential of the EEC, and statists, who realize there portends a serious set-back for Socialism in the resurgence of free enterprise.

Conservative factionalism, then, is senseless and wasteful. Nothing can be gained by adherence to the policies of protectionism, but much stands to be lost: such policies might well prove the ruin of our economy, and hence give rise to strong collectivist sentiment.

In Mr. Burnham's words: "My hope is that American conservatives will seize the initiative. They should not bog down in banal arguments over 'reciprocal trade agreements' and 'Presidential powers'. They should put the goal boldly forward: *The Atlantic Common Market.*"

The Innocents

JAMES O'CONNELL

Being an examination of that
strange innocent, the American
reformer

A predilection for experiment and reform has characterized American history since our Revolution. This penchant has influenced both major parties, reduced the law to ridicule and fastened the yoke of unchecked majority opinion on the necks of Americans, a harsher yoke than all the petty indignities and trivia supposedly perpetrated by the British.

Few people have ever taken a good look at the motivating force behind most reformers, whether they be Socialists, Single-taxers, Progressives, Prohibitionists or what-have-you. We have not considered the mind, so to speak, of the reformer. How do these people come to believe that the law can be made to produce that which it does not contain — wealth, happiness, virtue, religious sentiment and the like?

The idea is based on a simple hypothesis: mankind is divided into two parts. The one, the reform group, is endowed with some characteristic power with which it proposes to make over — to "reform" — the second group, the rest of mankind. This second group is, unfortunately, too stupid or too sluggish to see where its real good lies, and Providence has appointed the reformer to lead it to the Promised Land. This idea, complete with surrounding theology, has been a powerful force in American politics.

The theology is simple enough: the reformer assumes that man has no means of valuation within himself, no guide to action. Man is but a piece of inert matter to be weighed, counted, reshaped and handled much as one would prepare clay for a pot. Ever since Plato, the first "philosopher-king", decided to reshape the human race in his *Republic*, the theology of reform has been in existence. And this is

the warrant for every churlish attempt by one man to tyrannize over his neighbors. It has been disguised under other names — Prohibition is one form of the theology, Communism is another. It can adapt itself to theocracy or to atheism with ease. It would take but a cursory examination of most reform programs to find their flaws and errors. But the reformer appeals not to reason but to emotion. The Prohibitionist knew full well that his program of Saharan rectitude would never bear close examination; he chose, instead, to paint a horrifying picture of Demon Rum, evil bartenders in the pay of corrupt politicians and derelicts, brought low by John Barleycorn, whiling away their time in saloons, accompanied by the lugubrious strains of "Father, Come Home With Me Now". Even today, such people continue their emotional appeal; thus we are presented with pictures of teen-agers dying from drunken driving as a motivation toward raising age limits for drinkers in many states, including Wisconsin.

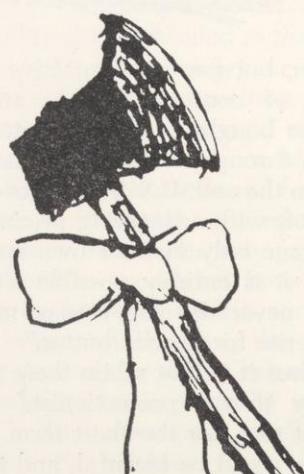
The Socialists and Progressives have made similar appeals. Distorted histories, muckraking, talk about "economic royalists" and

"malefactors of great wealth" have served in the place of facts. The appeal is to envy, to greed, to the hatred of the successful man. Consider some of the stories circulated by the muckrakers.

For instance, we are told that Daniel Drew, a New York businessman, rose to wealth by watering his cattle. As W. E. Woodward, in his *A New American History* puts it: "He (Drew) began his career as a cattle drover, which means he bought farmers' cattle and drove them to the market to sell. Cattle were sold to the butchers by weight. Just before he got to the market, he fed them salt and gave them large quantities of water to drink." Thus, or so Mr. Woodward would have us believe, Daniel Drew cheated on the weight of his cattle. But it seems odd that a simple trick like this, as old as recorded history, could swindle cattle buyers in the nineteenth century.

But consider some of the other "histories of capitalism". Were even twenty percent of Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* true, the United States would have succumbed to an epidemic of ptomaine so vast as to rate mention in any history. Do we find any mention of it? But it was and still is believed, because the reformer was not appealing to reason. He chooses to appeal to emotion, emotion in the form of some abstract value: Equality, the Proletariat, the Race, Civil Rights, or Free Silver. His audience does not stop to think.

Long after the memory of the reformer has past, his emotion remains to bamboozle the worthy. We hear little, even from supposed "conservatives," about undoing the reformer's work; such people are, more often than not, content to hold the line. It is not surprising that a



"liberal conservative" like Wilhelm Roepke, in most things an anti-centralizer and a believer in sound economy, can accept the basic idea of the Welfare State. Writing in his *A Humane Economy*, he declares: "We cannot, nowadays, do without a certain minimum of compulsory state institutions for social security . . . It is not their principle which is in question, but their extent, organization, and spirit." — and the ghosts of the reformers go marching on.

A Lack of Principle

But it is principle that we must follow—the type of principle which led Frederic Bastiat, a nineteenth century French political economist, to oppose laws enforcing religion, even though he himself was a Catholic: "You say: 'Here are persons without morality or religion' and you turn to the law. But law is force. And need I point out what a violent and futile effort it is to use force in matters of morality and religion?" Such principle escapes the reformer or is ignored by him. Freedom is but an illusory thing, something to be surrendered to virtue, or to the State, Nation, Race or Proletariat, depending on what god dominates the theology.

The real god of the reformer is himself. He has the charismatic gifts, he has the prophet's rod and with it he will direct mankind. His plan is the one which will provide a cornucopia for the "oppressed." To top off this arrogant assumption, the reformer brands those individuals who oppose him as "selfish egotists" and "greedy men after their own special interests." As proper treatment for the reformer, H. L. Mencken proposes that "it shall no longer be *malum in se* for a citizen to pummel, cowhide, kick, gouge, cut, wound, bruise, maim, burn, club, bastinado, flay or even lynch."

But let us be gentle with such souls. Perhaps we can find them a quiet little enclave to which they all may be deported in order that they might try out their ideas on each other. In the end, that would be punishment enough.

Votes Bought Here

JOHN CARAVAN

The trend revealed by the 1962 congressional elections is so plain as to be unmistakable. On the liberal and Democratic side (including the South) congressman after congressman campaigned on the idea that he was responsible for funneling vast quantities of "free" federal money into his district. Senator Gruening of Alaska, for example, implied in a newsletter to his constituents that he had separated half a billion dollars from the Treasury and sent it winging northward.

So vast is the disbursement of federal funds through "aid" programs to the several states that its effect upon elections cannot be overestimated. The impact of federal funds upon local areas is so massive that even conservative businessmen are sometimes compelled to scuttle their own principles in order to maintain a viable economic enterprise.

A vivid example of this occurred in the State of Washington, where the ultra-liberal Senator Warren Magnuson campaigned for re-election against a popular young conservative clergyman. "Maggie" is undoubtedly the slickest federal boodle-grabber in Congress. For years he has wangled defense contracts and pork barrel projects and subsidies for the people of his state. As a result, a large segment of the business community was in Magnuson's camp during the 1962 campaign because it feared economic collapse and local starvation if he were defeated. Like a narcotic, so much federal money had been injected into Washington's economy that people of many political convictions there dreaded the pains of withdrawal. Magnuson won handily.

Of course the whole concept of federal aid is a delusion, and everyone with any sense knows it. For

every local area which receives federal bonanzas, such as the State of Washington, there are other areas which suffer a net loss. Quite forgotten is the fact that the government cannot produce wealth; it can only redistribute it. Nonetheless, when federal funds descend like manna from heaven upon a community or district, they create an almost irresistible pressure to elect those statist (usually Democrat) candidates who will keep the "aid" flowing. Often a mere promise of federal aid is enough to ensure election. Moreover, in many areas where there is an actual net loss because incoming aid doesn't equal outgoing taxes, Democrat politicians notoriously feel no compunction about deluding voters into thinking the opposite is the case.

It is plain that the whole system of American politics has been corrupted into something radically inferior to its original design. Elections are no longer free, simply because the incumbent regime can manipulate them by applying the full weight of economic pressure at its disposal. The balance between economic power and political power has been thoroughly breached, with the result that New Frontier politicians with economic power at hand are obliterating free choice at the ballot box. Unless there is a radical change in the trends of our times, voters will soon be compelled to choose between two statist candidates, each of whom will promise his district more and more of other people's money. To put it simply, national elections have turned into auctions, where federal money goes on the block for the highest number of votes. At bottom, the system is little more than legalized thievery. It is as if the liberals have taken a pair of scissors and cut the Constitution into paper dolls.

Why Taxes?

JAMES BLAIR

Much has been said in the past by conservatives about the depressing effect that a steeply progressive tax structure has on the national economy. Lately the administration has noticed this effect and, in an attempt to stimulate the economy, the powers that be are suggesting an across-the-board tax cut. They feel, however, that government spending cannot be reduced at this time. Thus, they suggest another huge deficit—a lien on our children's material welfare—*on top of* already habitual federal red-ink spending.

Recall at this point that in the past 32 years the federal government has run a deficit for 26 years, and we face the twenty-seventh deficit for the current fiscal year.

If taxes are a drag on the economy, and if government spending can continue to exceed government income, one is tempted to ask why we have any taxes at all. Particularly since the Keynesian economists tell us that deficit spending puts money into the economy, and hence stimulates growth and helps to curtail unemployment. Let us then consider the effect of government deficits from the viewpoints of classical economics.

Road to Debt

When the government's expenses exceed its revenues, the government continues to issue checks to its employees and contractors — checks in excess of its bank account. The difference between expenses and revenues can be considered as having been made up by simply printing dollar bills in the amount of the deficit, even though the mechanism is a bit more complex than this.

There is a tendency on the part

of many people to consider money and wealth to be the same thing. This is a natural error since wealth is usually expressed in terms of money. But increasing the amount of dollar bills in circulation does not increase the amount of wealth in the country; wealth is the goods and services which the money buys. You can print up more dollars, but that does not increase the number of cars, houses, doctors, etc.

But an increase in the supply of money, i.e., in the number of dollars in circulation without a corresponding increase in the available wealth, means inflation. Prices will rise; each dollar will buy less because its value has been diluted. Hence deficit spending brings inflation. The inflation does not always proceed step-by-step with the deficit since the price level is affected by other factors, but continued large deficits mean rises in the price level.

... Wherein our Associate Editor analyzes the Income Tax Question

As noted above, some modern economists predict that deficits are a cure for unemployment and promote growth, although U.S. experience in the ten years from 1931 to 1940 inclusive stands at variance with this notion. For those years the U.S. operated on an average annual deficit of 3.6 per cent of the Gross National Product (GNP), or the equivalent of an annual deficit of \$18.7 billion at present GNP levels. Yet average annual unemployment was 18.6 per cent of the total working force.

Classical economists also predict some reduction of unemployment from deficits under certain conditions—because the inflation has the effect of reducing real wages. Clearly more jobs are available if wages are lower. This gives a temporary appearance of health to the economy, just as a fever often gives a person rosy cheeks and the appearance of health. But clearly this is lowering wages the hard way — hard on those with fixed incomes. Besides which, deficits become a less effective way of lowering real wages as they are used more often. Workers begin to anticipate the price rises in their wage demands and through escalator clauses in their wage contracts.

High Cost of Empire

When the government builds dams, highways and other projects, and does so while operating on a balanced budget, it is clear who pays for the projects: the taxpayer in proportion to the taxes that he pays. If the highways were necessary and useful he probably feels they are worth the price that they cost him. It is also clear that jobs are not created from the government projects, since every dollar

Recommended Reading

This is necessarily but a cursory view of the problems of taxation and inflation.

I. For a very readable introduction to the classical theory view of the problems of taxation and inflation, see Henry Hazlitt's *Economics in One Lesson*, especially chapters 4, 5, and 23.

II. For a detailed analysis of one particular inflation, that of France from 1789 to 1799, see Andrew Dickson White's *Fiat Money Inflation in France*.

III. For a comprehensive treatment of the subject, see Hazlitt's *The Failure of the New Economics*. These books are available from the Wisconsin Conservative Club.

spent on the projects is a dollar less than some taxpayer somewhere has to spend. So while a truckdriver gets a job building the highway, somewhere a worker in a fishing rod factory loses his job because Joe Taxpayer can't afford to buy that fishing rod with his after-taxes income. Jobs are not created, only redistributed by the government projects.

But who pays for the above projects when they are financed through deficit spending — when no taxes are levied to pay for the projects? Common sense tells us that someone has to pay the bills for these projects. If it is not the taxpayer, as in the case above, then who? As noted earlier, deficit spending leads to an increase in the money supply and to inflation. In an inflation, some people's income rises as the price level rises, some have incomes which tend to rise faster than the price level, and others have relatively fixed incomes which rise more slowly than the general level.

It is this latter group, composed in part of old people trying to live on pensions and insurance payments, teachers, and the like, which pays the bills for deficit spending projects. They are the ones whose wealth has been reduced by the amount of the deficit when the process has been completed. Hence, deficit spending amounts to a tax levied largely on those least able to pay. This is the basis of the phrase "inflation is the cruelest tax of all." As in the case of the government project financed by a balanced budget, those financed by deficit spend-

ing do not, on the net, create jobs. Even if the government expenses were useful and necessary, it is not fair to push their cost on to those in the fixed income group.

In this connection it is worthwhile to note that some apologists for inflation suggest that if everyone's wages and prices were to double, no one would be any worse (or better) off than before. To which it is replied that everyone would indeed be worse off after the doubling of wages and prices since all money reserves that they possess (in cash or bank accounts) would now buy only one-half as much as before. But at any rate, all persons' wages do not rise at the same rate, and in fact it is usually those at the bottom of the economic ladder whose wages are least likely to keep up with the inflation.

It is the highly organized (and highly paid) workers who have cost-of-living clauses in their wage contracts, and not the migrant laborers and the laundry workers.

Others consider inflation to be good because "debtors" gain by being able to pay off their debts in cheaper dollars. This is true, and remember who the nation's biggest debtor is: Uncle Sam. He is in debt to those of us who have bought U.S. government bonds.

But if taxes retard growth and deficits cause inflation and shift the burden to those least able to pay, then tax cuts should be matched by corresponding decreases in government spending. In regard to the tax structure, the taxes which most retard growth are taxes which bring very little money into the treasury anyway. They are the 52 per cent corporate profit tax and the top bracket income taxes. If the top income tax rates stopped at 50 per cent instead of the present 91 per cent, the government would lose, at most, less than one billion dollars, or about one per cent of its current revenue, and this loss only for a year or two. In the long run such a cut would produce revenue for the government.

Another tax reform which would cost relatively little at first and which would bring in much more revenue in the future through increased growth would be a depreciation write-off of thirty or forty per cent the first year for capital investments. This would encourage the investment and modernization that results in growth.

Tax reform along these lines will cost the federal government very little in the first year and would soon result in increased tax revenue. Modest reduction in government spending would then maintain a balanced budget and curb inflation through the period of reduced government revenues.

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For the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW write for free copy, 150 E. 35 St., New York 16, N.Y.

Reflections on Secrecy

It is a unique book that can win wholehearted accolades from liberals such as Senators Clinton Anderson and Henry Jackson, and from Conservatives such as Senator Barry Goldwater and Editor Virginius Dabney. The book that achieves this feat is called *Washington Cover-Up* and it discusses the outrageous practice of clamping a curtain of secrecy upon the activities—and blunders—of the sprawling Executive Branch of the federal government. More specifically, it is a study of the rise of the spurious doctrine of “executive privilege” and how that false and malevolent doctrine has been commandeered by bureaucrats who wish to conceal corruption, bungling, red tape and treason from the eyes of the American people.

The need to keep the activities of government open and aboveboard is understood by most good citizens. They understand that the difference between a government which rules the people and a government which

WASHINGTON COVER-UP, by Clark Mullenhoff. Doubleday, \$4.50.

serves the people, hinges precisely upon whether that government makes all its records—with a few exceptions—available for public scrutiny. But beyond this generality there is an abysmal ignorance of the specific reasons why the public must maintain pre-emptive rights to bureaucratic records, and even more ignorance about the means by which the public can keep itself informed.

Eternal vigilance, goes the saying, is the price of liberty. And there are but three major methods by which the American people can exercise vigilance over the activities of government. One is through the investigating and prosecuting activities of the attorney general and his Department of Justice, along with its subordinate agencies such as the FBI. The second is through the researches of journalists and commentators, who make their findings public and urge necessary reforms. The third is through congressional investigation and legislation.

Human nature being what it is, most attorney generals are obviously reluctant to initiate full scale investigations of corruption or subversion within their own administrations, because the adverse publicity endangers the prestige of the incumbent regime. This means that for all practical purposes, investigations of the Executive Branch must be initiated either by the press or the Congress, or both. (Grand juries often develop information too, usually after the press or Congress has done the initial spadework.) And to do the

job, these outside agencies *must* have access to the records and files of the Executive Branch.

Up until the early years of the Eisenhower Administration, the concept that most of the records of the Executive Branch were subject to congressional purview was so obvious that there was very little discussion of the matter. Precedent dating back to George Washington, and law, and judicial interpretations, had all combined to buttress this view. Indeed, had Congress been unable to compel disclosure of the records of the Harding Administration, the Teapot Dome scandals might never have been uncovered, and the convictions of some of the malefactors might never have been accomplished. Likewise, the famed tax scandals of the Truman Administration might never have come to light.

It will go down as one of the greatest ironies of American history that Dwight Eisenhower—the man who was vehemently opposed to further aggrandizement of executive power by presidents—was responsible for the “executive privilege” doctrine, which now looms as the principal destroyer of the balance of powers, and the chief avenue toward an American monarchy or dictatorship.

The doctrine of “executive privilege” was promulgated on May 17, 1954, during the height of the Army-McCarthy fracas. The Department of Defense had sought means of preventing its personnel from testifying before the Senate committee which was investigating, ironically, whether or not McCarthy had sought favors for his former assistant, Pvt. G. David Schine. The Department inveigled the President to write a letter to the Secretary of Defense, upholding the right of the Executive Branch (including the Defense Department) to prevent its personnel from testifying before the Senate. Curiously, the letter cited the separation of powers concept as one of the grounds for invoking executive privilege. Thus was born a doctrine which was sired neither by law nor precedent, and which achieved its result simply because it was the handiwork of an extremely popular President, and because it was used against an extremely unpopular senator.

It took little time for the bureaucracy to discover that in the “executive privilege” doctrine it had a splendid new carpet beneath which it could sweep its dirt. In short order, Congress found itself up against a solid, squalid wall of secrecy which curtailed its capability to legislate wisely. Bureaucratic arrogance reached such endemic proportions that even the regulatory agencies, which are responsible to Congress alone, and are not a part of the Executive Branch, began to cite “executive privilege” whenever Congress wished to

examine their operations.

Eisenhower himself was obviously unaware of the abuses of his doctrine, and he continued to expound the classical concepts of open government, although he made it clear that he felt that he had the power to withhold documents from Congress if he wished. But meanwhile, the Moss subcommittee in the House of Representatives, which had been convened to probe secrecy in the Executive Branch, continued to meet roadblocks and abuse from administration underlings.

With overwhelming majorities, Congress passed laws which compelled the Executive Branch to divulge its records upon demand—but these were simply and outrageously ignored.

One such law required that if the Office of Inspector General and Comptroller (OIGC) did not, within reasonable time, open its books to auditors of the Government Accounting Office, the Comptroller General was to deny funds to the OIGC. Eisenhower regarded this as an infringement upon presidential prerogatives, and countered by issuing a certification which denied access to OIGC documents. Accordingly, Comptroller General Joseph Campbell, head of the GAO, moved to shut off funds to the OIGC. But some days later, Attorney General William Rogers proclaimed that the President had a constitutional right to withhold any records belonging to the Executive Branch. Rogers even advised the President to direct the secretary of the treasury to disregard the Comptroller General's order to stop funds—which he did. Thus a law, duly passed by Congress, was not only ignored; it was deliberately violated in a test of strength between the Executive and Legislative branches of our government. It was one of the most inexcusable actions of the Eisenhower Administration.

President Kennedy's Administration has done no better—and, in fact, a lot worse, after faithfully promising during the 1960 campaign to insure freedom of access to the files and records of the bureaucracies. The New Frontier was scarcely in power when Dean Rusk slammed down an iron curtain of secrecy over the operations of the scandal-plagued ICA (which was later partially revoked by the President). And of course, the Defense Department initiated stringent censorship policies upon personnel of the military services which continue to this day. Even more significantly (although too late to be included in this book) the Agriculture Department successfully invoked the executive privilege doctrine to hamstring a full scale public investigation of the Billie Sol Estes scandals. Thus does an evil doctrine continue to serve those who seek immediate political advantage.

Washington Cover-Up is the sort of book which should be read by all students of good government. It illuminates an area of struggle which may well decide whether America's citizens will remain sovereign, or will gradually become the subjects of a tyrant.

The author enumerates a number of proposals to

HOLIDAY GREETINGS



from the Staff of
Insight and Outlook
and from the
Wisconsin Conservative Club

"A nation that wants anything more than freedom will lose its freedom, and the irony of it is, if it is comfort and security it wants, it will lose them, too."

—Somerset Maugham



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remedy the secrecy problem, ranging from a collection of anti-secrecy laws to new administrative directives within the Executive Branch. But while these have merit, they seem ineffectual. The Executive Branch has already overridden the law of Congress in the matter, and could scarcely be expected to promulgate, or adhere to, a new doctrine of open information. The American people's only recourse is in a constitutional amendment which would affirm, once and for all, the right to know.

—Scott W. Lake

AN ADDENDUM

Shortly after the above review was written, the Cuban crisis exploded on the international scene, and with it appeared a new and ominous chapter in the history of news suppression by bureaucracy. Upon the advent of the crisis, the Kennedy Administration not only abandoned all pretense of adhering to an open information policy, but it willfully engaged in "managing" the news—i.e., distorting it. Moreover, the Defense Department's career and public relations wizard, Assistant Secretary Arthur Sylvester, even boasted to Washington correspondents how successfully he and the Administration manipulated the facts—although under White House pressure he was compelled to retract some of his franker statements.

So tight was the curtain of secrecy thrown around the blockade that virtually the sole source of information available to newsmen was the releases which emanated from Sylvester's office. The secrecy clamp on the Pentagon was—and still is—so total that military men are under order to report to Sylvester's office any conversation they have had with a newsmen, even if they only passed the time of day during a chance encounter in a corridor.

Assistant Secretary Sylvester's braggadocio about the way he managed the news elicited a scathing response from a good segment of the nation's press, of which the following comments, from the *Washington Evening Star*, are typical:

"Mr. Sylvester is to be commended for his frankness, at least. But he has let an ugly cat out of the bag. In his own words, as reported in *The Star*: 'I can't think of a comparable situation, but in the kind of world we live in, the generation of news by the government becomes one weapon in a strained situation. The results, in my opinion, justify the methods we used.'

"Weigh those words. Their meaning is truly sinister. In an administration that is becoming quite notable in its efforts toward achieving managed control of the news, Mr. Sylvester may have overlooked one likely result of 'the methods we used.' This result is that Mr. Sylvester and his superiors, from this time on, are suspect. They have, in our opinion, recklessly and thoughtlessly forfeited a confidence that in this country has been the rule, rather than the exception. What they say from now on, as arbitrarily established sources of public information, may be truth. But that truth will be accepted with a grain of salt."

Ideas from a Texan

Who can pinpoint the exact moment in American history when conservatism shed its defensive cocoon, and emerged in the halls of Congress adorned in brilliant legislative raiment? Perhaps it was just a few weeks ago, when Senator John Tower's book, "A Program for Conservatives" appeared in the bookstores of the Republic. If that is the case, then the senator's book marks a watershed in American politics—the point where organized forces representing liberty and fiscal responsibility and a free economy seized the initiative.

For some time conservatism has badly needed a man who could transmute its libertarian idealism and its magnificent free market economics into a sound legislative program, and then herd that program through the labyrinthine halls of Congress. For over three de-

A PROGRAM FOR CONSERVATIVES, by John Tower, McFadden, 1962.

cades conservatism's legislative activity has been defensive; its tactics have been to delay, and harass and amend, and its victories have been little more than forestalling for yet a little longer the amassed forces of centralism. Not even in recent years, when conservatism was blessed with the formidable leadership of Senator Goldwater, has the pattern changed, perhaps because the Arizonan is not so much a legislative leader as a national spokesman for conservatism.

However, in the person of John Tower, the diminutive political science professor from Texas, conservatism seems to have found its legislative bulldozer. He has introduced in the Senate a series of eight heartening bills which are designed to get the country moving again, after its tailspin of recent years. And now he has produced a book which elucidates in blunt, plain language, the rationales for each piece of legislation. Undoubtedly, the senator's literary effort will aid materially in the passage of some of his legislation; indeed, in most instances, his arguments are so compelling that his bills appear to be much too modest and moderate. In some areas, drastic measures would certainly be seasonable.

But as Senator Tower himself points out, his legislative program is geared to what Congress might be willing to accept in the next few months, rather than what would benefit the nation. If the need for vast reform is great, the need for immediate relief is even greater, and that is what Senator Tower's moderate legislation would accomplish.

Senator Tower's legislative package is a dream for the forgotten man—the American who has been whipsawed by vicious taxation, the man whose family food budget has burgeoned under subsidized agriculture, the man who has despaired for an America which wallows and retreats and cavils while the world comes

tumbling down, the American businessman who is sick of competing with privileged government-owned businesses, and the American who resents the legislation-by-decree of an arrogant Supreme Court.

At long last, there has appeared on the legislative horizon a program designed for the *people*, a program which ignores the pressure groups, whether they be organized labor, the National Education Association, or the Farmers Union. If enacted, Senator Tower's program would brighten the life of each and every citizen of the Republic, and advance liberty and prosperity for all.

— Scott W. Lake

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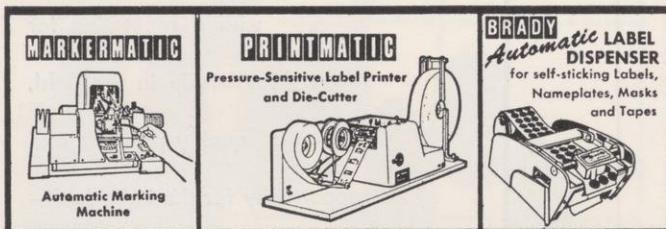
HINDSIGHTS



THE VIRILE characteristics of freemen, individual initiative, self-reliance and personal responsibility would be stifled by the enforced mediocrity of the Santa Claus state. Maxwell Anderson eloquently and lucidly pinpointed the issue when he asserted: "A guaranteed life is not free. It is the absorption of the individual into that robot which he has invented to serve him—the paternal state."

From an Essay, "My True Security", written by Raymond L. Riccio when a student at Providence College in Rhode Island

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► In THE NATION for October 20, 1962, Jack Levine tells us that nearly 20 per cent of the members of the U.S. Communist Party are F.B.I. informants. This should awaken the American Left to the need for effective internal security measures. While they may not normally object to communist penetration of our institutions, the Left will certainly object if the people thought to be only Communists are really agents of J. Edgar Hoover.

► The Federal budget for the current fiscal year, which administration "experts" predicted would show a modest surplus, is in fact going into the red by at least seven billion dollars. Anybody surprised?

► We are informed that the chanson "The Last Time I Saw Paris" was written by King Priam shortly after he had sent Paris out to give foreign aid to the Horse.

► A high-ranking Western official involved in the emergency supply of weapons to India for its border war with Red China says it's all being done on a "commercial basis." "We provide the money," he explains, "and they buy our arms." USN&WR

► The American Broadcasting Company can find nothing wrong with calling upon Alger Hiss to comment upon the political career of Richard Nixon. Of course, if this is their standard of a "free press," we can't imagine why they didn't call in Westbrook Pegler while they were gushing over Eleanor Roosevelt.

► Without making any inferences, we would like to point out that three of the more prominent student newspapers in this country are the Harvard CRIMSON, the Chicago MAROON, and Wisconsin's Daily CARDINAL.