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# INSIGHT *and* OUTLOOK

*... a conservative student journal ...*

Vol. IV Number I

October, 1961

## SERVE 'EM UP HOT

JOHN RADKE

## THE BATTLE of NEWBURGH

RICHARD S. WHEELER

## PROJECT INFINITY

CY BUTT

## YOUNG AND FREE

TIMOTHY JON WHEELER





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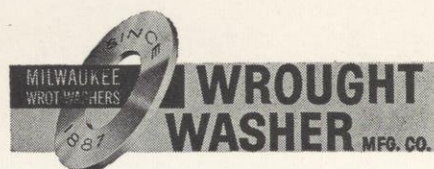
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# INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK MAGAZINE

A CONSERVATIVE STUDENT JOURNAL

Vol. IV Number I

October, 1961

Editorial Office 2545 University Avenue  
University of Wisconsin — Madison, Wisconsin  
CEdar 3-7361

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## IN THIS ISSUE

Now an editorial writer for the *Phoenix Gazette*, Richard S. Wheeler, returns to these pages with an examination of the Newburgh, N. Y., welfare reform. Those who miss RSW's prickly *Daily Cardinal* columns, take note . . . Richard's brother, Timothy J. Wheeler, a panicky ready-reservist, takes time out from his nail-chewing to see if Liberalism is idealistic. He is dubious . . . Cy Butt guides Fremont Guilfoyle, entrepreneur, into project infinity without solving the re-entry problem. Fremont is the rage of Capitol Hill . . . That fine old American tradition, the hot dog, passes into oblivion at the hand of John Radke, a New York correspondent. Better get 'em while they're hot . . . James M. O'Connell seems to think that professor William A. Williams is biased. So do we . . . Come out from under that *nom de plume*, Aëtius! We think you're a World Federalist.

## CAMPUS OUTLOOK

Just as it has become a tradition for us to change our cover format every year, it has also become tradition to quote the now — ironically — defunct humor magazine *Octopus* in its greeting for the first appearance of Insight and Outlook three years ago:

"From out of the land of LaFollette, believe it or not, comes this reactionary magazine (Hindsight and Outhouse). It had always seemed to us that the college campus was just not the place for reactionaries. We had looked to the schools for new ideas."

*Octopus* was not the only detractor. At that time the great groundswell of campus Conservatism had barely begun; the campus Liberal Establishment was at first stunned, then amused. Al McCone, the energetic chemical engineer who launched I & O, had created a monster which could never survive. Or so thought the students, faculty and alumni, never having been weaned from the prevailing orthodoxy, and having heard nought but the pontifical poobah of such campus groups as the American Youth for Democracy (AYD), the Labor Youth League (LYL), and the Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID).

Despite hostile surroundings and the jeers from the Left, I & O survived and flourished, and began the exposure of the bankruptcy of collectivist ideas, with such success that now we hear of a "Liberal revival". Believe it or not. It has always seemed to us that the campus is just not the place for radicals.

Today the Conservative movement is gaining great momentum on campuses throughout the Republic. Entering our fourth year of publication, we find ourselves to be the hoary patriarch among Conservative student journals, at least five of which have been started this year: *The New Guard*, *New Individualist Review*, *Liberator*, *Analysis*, and *Conservative Thunder*.

Insight and Outlook is dedicated to help students understand the ideological importance of current affairs, to defend individual freedom against the forces of collectivism, to offer a conservative rather than a radical approach to the problems of our modern society, and to clarify the workings of the free market economy. We feel that the ideological conflict now in progress will determine the fate, the freedom and the very life of America. Insight and Outlook intends to support the Conservative offensive until the last bureaucrat is pensioned off.

Are you tired of being out in ultra-left field? Are you progressing more now but enjoying it less? It's time for a "base and debased, repressive, colonialist, slave-owning mentality that can exist only in a hard fascist-type conservative regime." Try Insight and Outlook, a magazine of "portentious moderation and banal pomposity".



# DAG HAMMARSKJOLD

## REQUIESCAT IN PACE

Dag Hammarskjöld is gone. He died as he lived — laboring in what he mistakenly believed to be the pursuit of peace.

His death brings with it the genuine tragedy that accompanies the demise of any man, great or small. It brings with it also more uneasiness to what are already uneasy times. But the black bands of mourning should have been worn in America, not when Mr. Hammarskjöld's plane fell over Northern Rhodesia, but when it departed from New York. Tragic as was the death of Hammarskjöld, more tragic was his mission; and tragic as was his mission, more tragic was the West's acquiescence in it.

In his last hours, Hammarskjöld was preparing to sacrifice the one outpost of militant anti-Communism and productive free enterprise in Black Africa upon the altar of "peace in our times". This man, most of whose salary was paid by the U.S., was preparing to administer the *coup de grace* to any hope of protecting U.S. interests in the Congo.

And to this America acceded.

America acceded in the apparent belief that any protest would label it "colonialist", hurt its "image" with the neutralists, and thus do it ill in its struggle with the Soviet Union.

This was the great tragedy of September, 1961.

In a vain effort to "prove itself" to the self-styled neutralists, America has doomed a friend. Once again the State Department's popularity contest, which passes for foreign policy, has crippled just U.S. interests, and dealt a blow to the "image" as well.

It is most decidedly *not* in the best interest of the United States to aid and abet every African colony which seeks to cut its ties with the West.

Does that sound anti-African Nationalist? Does it sound anti-Algerian? Does it sound pro-Western, if you will? Good. It is intended to.

America's place in history is *not* with the Mau Mau or with Congolese cannibals. It is with the West. And the Soviet enterprise is not out to add Bantu tribesmen to its list of "converts". It is out to destroy Western civilization. As the vanguard of that civilization, America has little choice: it can either protect itself — or perish. And what *then* of the principle of "self-determination"?

The Soviets — like every alien invader since the dawn of modern times — seek to conquer Western Europe by possessing the lifelines of North Africa. That they have succeeded in Egypt and Iraq is, or should be, apparent. (Syria is an open question at the moment.) Due to the West's myopia, the Soviets will soon succeed in Algeria. They now seek to protect their gains by grabbing Black Africa as well, and Mali, Guinea and Ghana are among their recent conquests. Only Moïse Tshombe stood in their way in the Congo. Due to the efforts of Mr. Hammarskjöld, who mistakenly believed that Tshombe, not Khrushchev, posed the real threat to peace, the last obstacle to a Communist takeover in the Congo has been in effect neutralized.

And who is to blame?

Surely the late Mr. Hammarskjöld must bear a part of the blame. He, above all, should have recognized the nature of the threat to peace. He, who recognized the danger of Lumumba in 1960, should have seen the folly of destroying Lumumba's chief rival a year later. But Dag Hammarskjöld did not see; and thus he committed United Nations troops to aggressive war against Katanga, an act in every way untenable.

But much of the responsibility for the loss of Tshombe, indeed, the loss of much of Africa, lies with the West, and with the U.S.

Why did not the U.S. protest Hammarskjöld's blatant violation of the UN charter in the Congo? Why did it not stand by its friends on the issue of colonialism to insure an orderly transition to self-rule in the various colonies? Why did it not oppose democracy for semi-savages? Why did it not take a pro-Western stance on the Algerian question? Why did it force Britain and France to give up their defense of the Suez canal? Why does it continue to support UN policies to the detriment of its own interests and the cause of peace in the world?

For the same reasons, we suspect, that it has failed to oppose in any real way the growth of Communism in this hemisphere. And so, at the Bay of Pigs, free Cubans were slaughtered with Czech and Russian arms.

The fruits of U.S. Madison Avenue-oriented foreign policy were abundantly clear at the recent "neutralist" conference in Belgrade. There, the assembled heads of state solemnly excoriated Western — and United States — colonialism, despite the fact that the U.S. is *not* a colonial power; it is the one victorious power in all history to refuse territorial aggrandizement. When Russia, which is a colonialist power, began nuclear testing, America waited in vain for a resolution of condemnation.

Bitter fruits indeed, for a nation whose primary aim is, apparently, to be liked. But a reasonable reward, too, for a foreign policy that seeks not respect but prestige, and thereby cannot achieve either.

"Peace in our time" is not attainable, save by victory over international Communism. To seek peace elsewhere, in the pursuit of prestige and a favorable "image", is only self-defeating.

In short, we lament here not so much the death of a man, but the death of the United States by its own hand. We lament the death-throes of Western civilization.

Dag Hammarskjöld died pursuing his misguided policies; if those policies in the adversity of September, 1961, bear witness to the suicidal path of the West, and if they inspire in the West a will to live, Hammarskjöld's death was not in vain. If not, the *Requiescat in Pace* we here offer Mr. Hammarskjöld may soon be repeated over the remains of Western civilization.

— AETIUS



# WORLD OUTLOOK

"Government should do for the people what the people cannot do for themselves," intoned a U.W. professor of political science to his class recently. He went on to explain that there are many things that an individual or small group can't accomplish alone, and which, hence, must be done by government.

The sentiment is a Liberal commonplace and doubtless passed unexamined, or even unnoticed, in the day-to-day stream of Liberal catch-word economics. But the concept could offend the moral sensibilities of the curious and reflective student on whose ear the phrase may fall.

Could it be, the student may ask, that the government merely acts as the agent for those people who cannot *in good conscience* take personal responsibility for their acts? Are there some specific areas where a person would act immorally on a personal level (e.g. theft, coercion) but can act with impunity through the agency of government? Most certainly!

Suppose a farmer accosted you in a supermarket and demanded fifteen cents for every pound of oleo-margarine you bought. Suppose a manufacturer in the same store told you that, if you want the improved and cheaper foreign can opener, you'd have to slip a little extra money to him. Suppose picketers prevented you from approaching a plant to seek a job, and told you that, to get the job, you'd have to join the brotherhood, pay regular dues, and vote as directed. Suppose an unemployed vagrant threatened you and demanded your watch and money.

Clearly, these people are in the wrong, and you have every right to protect yourself against them.

But wait! If they are unable to rob and intimidate you, perhaps government can do for them "what they cannot do for themselves."

Envy and covetousness are everywhere encouraged by government, for government becomes the *modus operandi* of these passions, and the law the invincible weapon of injustice. The reason you haven't been intimidated in the manner described is that the scoundrels are using government to do their dirty work. Subsidies, protectionism, the minimum wage, the dole to the professionally unemployed — these, and other forms of legal plunder, are the sort of demands common to the gangster. The government's methods are more highly organized and comprehensive, and for this reason more brutal.

People who would be quick to join battle with a private antagonist are strangely mute when pushed and shoved by government. This is due to the insidious nature of governmental maneuverings. People crave law and order, and there is a body of just laws which, properly administrated, help keep the country orderly. Beside this body of accepted and respected

(Continued Overleaf)

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*We are living in a world and in a time when powerful leaders with millions of fanatical followers are committed to the forcible regimentation of their fellow men, according to formulas which have no initial authority but that of their own private dogmatism. They not only refuse to recognize the right of private thought and personal conscience to be considered in the management of public affairs, but they have abolished the concept of the individual as a private personality and have reduced him to the level of the bee in the hive. To restore the individual to his former dignity as a human being is the urgent need of the day.*

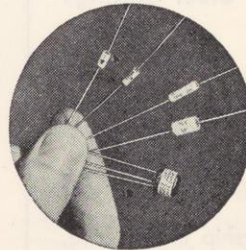
"Education for Privacy"

by Marten ten Hoor,  
Dean of the College of Arts & Sciences,  
University of Alabama



The inalienable rights of individuals are constantly subject to protracted erosion at the hand of powerful leaders. By taking advantage of sometimes tragic inactions of their fellow men, and their own positions of power, these leaders are able to impose their "dogmas of regimentation" upon other leaders, professors and students, and the general citizenry.

Constant vigilance is a requisite for the protection of individual rights from the incursions of even those leaders with only a handful of fanatical followers who exert a disproportionate influence on our lives.



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No powers of language at my command can express the abhorrence I feel at the idea of violating the property of individuals . . . In my view every moral and every political sentiment unite to consign it to execration.

— Hamilton

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laws one finds others that are tyrannical, but which are made to appear just, even sacred, simply because they are law. As the trend for more of these laws continues, the burden of making distinctions between justice and injustice is eased from everyone's conscience.

The political science professor might have more candidly phrased his statement: "Government should do to the people what the petty crooks are doing inefficiently." Government in a society of free men is grotesquely perverted when it is made to do the bidding of special interest groups. What is the proper function of government? It is protection of the rights and property of individuals. It follows that, if people have the right to contract among themselves, voluntary combination can accomplish any project, barring technical impossibility, for which there is sufficient demand. What the people cannot do for themselves, the government *cannot* do for them.

Thus when Government decides what the people "cannot" do for themselves, it is really aggrandizing the power to do "for the people" what the people don't *want* to do for themselves — projects for which there is not sufficient demand. This is flagrant abuse of the concept of representative government, a waste of money, and a damned nuisance.

We hope the professor will learn to be less careless with his words.

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# Project Infinity

## Guilfoyle Guides the Government's Green Goodies Into a Gigantic Galactic Giveaway

CY BUTT

Fremont Guilfoyle, Ph.D. (Director of Philanthropy), clad in what appeared to be a skin-diver's outfit and with a goldfish bowl over his head strode into Madison's Congress Bar yanking and twisting at his helmet and its chrome accoutrements. The bartender, just having ejected a travelling squad of peace corpsmen at the cost of a few minor bruises and a wedge of skin from over his left eye, picked up his bung starter and with one swipe freed Fremont of his incubus.

"Whoosh!" said Fremont, "What a relief. It seemed for a time that I would have to go thirsty. I'd rather not have broken the helmet but we have plenty more, and anyway the government pays for them."

"I imagine it would be inconvenient," I said, "having the water run into that rubber underwear."

"It's not to keep the water out," said Fremont, "but to keep the air in. This, I will have you know, is the official uniform for Guilfoyle's Project Infinity. Our social scientists have, after involved computations, discovered that there is a risk, a very real risk, of running short of nations to support. Now that we have made ourselves responsible for Africa, India, Southeast Asia, Poland, Yugoslavia and some others, I don't happen to think of at the moment, and have been fortunate enough to secure assurances that a gift of a billion, for a starter, will be accepted by Latin and South American nations if it is presented with the proper humility, we have come to a dead end. Little or nothing remains for our Global Giveaway organization just when we have gotten it into overdrive. It means the end of things as we know them now. Therefore, we will have to beat the Russians into space!"

"I just don't follow you, Fremont." I said, "In some circles they would call that a non-sequitur. What are you getting at?"

"Try another touch of that inspirational, character-building brandy," said Fremont, "You seem to be a little on the dense side this morning. If we are there first, we will have first chance to redistribute our national wealth. Think of the stars, planets, constellations, nay, even galaxies that we can flood with social workers! Think of the new Marshall plans, Guilfoyle

plans, Point-4 programs and UNRRA's! The possibilities are unlimited!"

"I'm afraid so," I said, "but what, if anything, is being done about the plight of the 17,000,000 Americans who were alleged to go to bed hungry every night? A great deal was said about them — before election, that is."



"They have served their purpose," said Fremont, "though we may get around to do something for them should Project Infinity lag momentarily. But to return to the subject, Project Infinity workers will zoom in on rockets that will be anchored a suitable height above Arcturus, or Orion, or whatever it happens to be. Then helicopters filled with \$50 bills will be extruded and flown to the nearest settlement. The currency will be tossed into the slipstream of the propellers and we believe that with some practice we can carpet a square mile in practically no time at all. I don't know why I didn't think of this before. This gracious gesture will bring us gratitude and friendship without reservation."

"Like it did in India?" I asked.

"Not exactly," said Fremont, "But our leading analysts and consultants are certain that it is all for the good."

"Why do you think that United States currency will be accepted as legal tender on the stars?" I queried.

"We don't think so," said Fremont, "But it will be. In a couple of weeks it will be."



# YOUNG AND FREE

## Can Student Idealism Uncover The Path To Liberty?

TIMOTHY J. WHEELER

"When I asked myself, 'Am I truly free?' I began slowly to understand the nature of man and man's situation on this planet. I understood at last that every human being is free; that I am endowed by the Creator with inalienable liberty as I am endowed with life; that my freedom is inseparable from my life, since freedom is the individual's self-controlling nature. My freedom is my control of my own life-energy, for the uses of which I, alone, am therefore responsible."

— Rose Wilder Lane,  
*Give Me Liberty*

It is widely recognized that students are naturally idealistic. Idealism is the proclivity for Good; it is a force which moves all men. No great banners have ever been held aloft in the name of tyranny: the slogans which unite the efforts of a people to the most barbarous crimes are themselves invariably sublime. And nowhere is idealism more pure and intense than among students.

It is natural, then, that students are usually in the forefront of social reform movements, for their idealism provides a motive to act. Action is guided by a set of ideas or principles. That set, which, unchallenged, has channeled the activities of idealistic students for many years is called Liberalism.

The Liberal ideology embraces the ideals of peace, freedom, equality, justice, and material betterment for all people. It endorses a Society working coöperatively for the Collective (social) Good, within a framework of self-determination and enlightened planning.

These are indeniably attractive ideals, and few students would be moved, upon introduction to them, to ask, "Are they realistic?" "Does this system work?"

Although I assume it is in the students' best interests to determine whether their idealistic energies are correctly applied to the evils of the times, so sanctified have the ideals of Liberalism become that even under the aegis of Academic Freedom it is scarcely safe to question them. Any query is likely to provoke a first class rumble. So be it; the question must be posed. And if, after the Blast, some portion of the truth should fall out, we will be the better off for it.

Ideologies are wide in scope, encompassing, hopefully, every facet of man's nature in order to best secure their ideals for man. In the interests of a critical evaluation of an ideology, it would be pointless to ponder each of its applications to the pertinent questions of the day. This is only superficiality. Beneath the façade of the ideology are several fundamental ideas, *premises*, which color all its outward features. If the worth of an underlying premise can be successfully challenged, this is adequate for the purposes of a critique, for the superstructure built upon the fallacious premise must crumble.

Thus if the Liberal ideology is sound, it must be on the basis of sound underlying principles. How determine the "soundness" of premises? If they can effect the desired Social Good, the acknowledged ideals of the ideology, they are sound. In short, can Liberalism make good its promises?

Let us see.

I think it fair to state that *freedom* is a Liberal ideal (indeed, it has always been one of the great Causes of mankind). I think also that "The Social Good can best be achieved through effective social and economic planning," is a fair statement of an underlying Liberal premise — it certainly is manifest in the Liberal syndrome. The test of the premise is, can it yield the ideal? Is freedom the logical derivative of effective social and economic planning? I contend that this is unthinkable, and involves a fatal misconception of the nature of liberty.

Before checking the validity of my contention, let us first see if freedom is a worthwhile ideal. Few would question that it is, and I will not defend the point at length. I think the blessings of liberty are self-evident.

"Der Gott, der Eisen wachsen liess, Er wollte keine Knechte."

"The God who let the iron grow, He wanted no slaves."

### NATURAL . . .

Freedom is not only worthwhile, but a natural right inalienably endowed by the Creator. Its converse, slavery, is abhorrent to decent men. It should be added that equality, justice and democracy are all *subsequent* to freedom and meaningless terms in its absence. "Progress", at the expense of freedom, is equally meaningless.

Now let us return to the central question, "Is freedom the logical derivative of effective social and economic planning?"

Planning for the Social Good is a function of the intellectual elite acting through the agency of government. It presumably utilizes the most enlightened wisdom available to direct the many complex factors involved in social reform and economic stability. A central plan theoretically maximizes the efficiency of a nation (by elimination of "wasteful" factors, such as individual selfishness and the profit motive); it yields, then, the "greatest good for the greatest number."



Freedom it does *not* yield.

Unfortunately, a central plan, be it ever so benevolent in conception, is the exact opposite of liberty. It is the essence of totalitarianism. The tyranny of Nazi Germany was fashioned on a central plan (*Lebensraum: Drang nach Osten*). Present day Soviet totalitarianism reflects a nation united by a central plan for the purpose of world domination.

### ... OR PLANNED?

Surely a plan for a nation's welfare, to be meaningful, demands the conformity of the citizens. It cannot succeed if it is never put into effect. How does conformity affect the citizenry?

I have said that freedom is a natural right; it is also in the nature of man to *want* to be free. Individuals do not like to be told to take their place as a drone in the great hive; they do not like to be regulated and stifled from without; they will *not* conform to a central plan. But the planners cannot tolerate nonconformity in their scheme of things. This polarity is always resolved by force. *Our* government does not use force? True to an extent; it relies heavily upon the threat of force. But, ignore it. Deny its right to govern you, as is implicitly guaranteed in the Declaration of Independence. Refuse to pay your taxes. *See* if you are not now the subject of a tyranny. A nice tyranny if you wish.

Central planning is the antithesis of individual liberty — yours and mine — and history bears sad witness to its Procrustean oppression.

### PROBLEMS, PROBLEMS

But my censure of planning does not conclude at that point. Observe the concept that it is viable or even possible to control an individual's energy externally:

Every individual is the total master of his own energy. Insofar as he refuses to submit to external

control, that control is not possible, even though it should cost his life to resist.

Assume, though, that you submit to regulation from without, and I, as your master (The Planner) have at my command great wisdom. Am I better equipped than you to direct your energies? Is it possible for me to focus the infinitely diverse characteristics which make up your life into productivity? Is it possible for me to make your muscles move, determine your volitions, wants and needs, provide for your proper care, and regulate your activities to their greatest efficiency? You would think me mad if I suggested that it would be possible, even assuming you docilely sanction such abuse. The complexities indicated in even this simplest "society of two" are far too great for human intelligence to overcome. But what if you do not acquiesce in slavery, how shall I control you then? What if I, your master, do not even know you, how *then*? If I cannot control the activity of a single individual to its greatest advantage under optimum conditions, how shall I fare in adversity with two, or five, or a hundred under my direction? How shall I control the fate of millions, with the billions of factors and exchanges that entails? This is the problem that confronts the planners. That they claim the intelligence requisite to their task is hyper-egotism. External control without bureaucratic



stupidity and massive oppression is not possible.

Is freedom a derivative of effective social and economic planning? Not unless freedom is slavery, and war is peace, and ignorance is strength.

But the necessity of planning is a fundamental supposition of the Liberal ideology. To the extent that such a proposition is advanced, the whole system crumbles; freedom is not enhanced, but stifled, and thus democracy, justice and equality, too, lose their meaning. The student whose idealistic impulses lead him to seek the blessings of liberty must turn away.

Human freedom is not to be found in the collectivist concepts of the socialistic spectrum. But it is far from a dead issue in the world of today. The idealist would not be misguided in seeking it.

### A PRINCIPLE

The quest for liberty is often confusing. The prey is elusive, for liberty is *directional* rather than representative of a fixed goal. We are not able to pinpoint "target freedom" but we can try to orient our compasses properly. We can try to find an operating principle.

Recognizing the nature of liberty to be natural, not "granted", individual, not societal, inherent but alienable, and voluntary, not coercive, one might deduce that it defines its own area of responsibility: our liberty terminates where our neighbor's begins. We may easily recognize our own obligation to respect the liberty of others; but it is not as easy to discern the extension of this principle: To impose upon others *their* obligation to respect *our* liberty can be done only at the expense of *everybody's* liberty. Therefore, simply stated, you are totally, but only, your own master.

Where must one turn in order to best serve the world, the nation, the Social Good? Inward, to one's self; there's nowhere else to go.



# SERVE 'EM UP HOT!

Being the Nostalgic Reminiscences of our venerable correspondent, for whom that long-forgotten institution, The Succulent Frankfurter, will always maintain its Old-Fashioned, Reactionary Appeal.

JOHN RADKE

I suppose the passing of the old ways is a good thing. Let us sentimental oldsters move aside for the younger generation! But yet I like to reminisce now and then about, well, *our* ways—they seemed so much more comfortable and orderly. Take the old hot dog pushcarts, for instance. When I recall how easy it was to buy a “frank” in the old days, people simply won’t believe me. In the rush of progress, they’ve forgotten about hot dog stands.

Perhaps you didn’t want to fight the crowded restaurants, or you wanted to spend your lunch hour out in the fresh air and sun. Maybe you were short of money. What could make a finer lunch than a pair of franks for fifteen cents apiece?

Near the office where I worked two vendors had their pushcarts. One was a Puerto Rican woman, the other a Greek. They actually did all the work themselves—but who would believe this today? It was fun to watch them plop the frank on a bun, daub on mustard or relish, spoon out sauerkraut or onions and serve it up hot, neatly rolled in a paper napkin. Their motions were so quick and deft, and their smile so genuine, one would have thought they took pride in their profession.

But that was all long ago—am I boring you?

I remember a funny thing happened one sunny afternoon while I was eating a frank by the Greek’s cart. A Negro approached and put down a dime, demanding a frank. The Greek told him in his broken English that the price was fifteen

cents. The man then said that an Italian on Eighth Avenue sold hot dogs for ten cents, but the Greek still refused to lower his price. The man protested that he only had one dime, and I thought to myself, “Well, go buy a hot dog from your Italian, then,” but the Greek was more patient than I. The man turned to me and asked me to pay the other nickel. I refused. He finally pulled a nickel out of his pocket, got his frank, and left in a huff.

## A BUSY CONGRESSMAN

I would have forgotten about the incident, but later I saw the Negro’s picture in the paper, along with a letter he had written to his congressman about hot dog prices.

At the time, this congressman was having a bad time of it. None of his constituents had written him for weeks and he was at his wit’s end to know what to do for them. The letter provided him with an issue.

The congressman made a speech from the floor of the House, and

his words were filled with emotion. He said that “wiener barons” were exploiting the common man through excess profits and that the hot dog industry should be investigated and that hot dogs should be for “all the people” regardless of race, creed, or who had fifteen cents. He accused the pushcart operators of monopolistic practices. He closed his speech with a stirring call for Freedom and Democracy.

Then the congressman had a press conference at which he handed out copies of his speech reprinted from the Congressional Record, stamped “for immediate release” in red ink. Many newspapers ran the item and not a few commented editorially in heated terms about the scandalous conditions in the hot dog business.

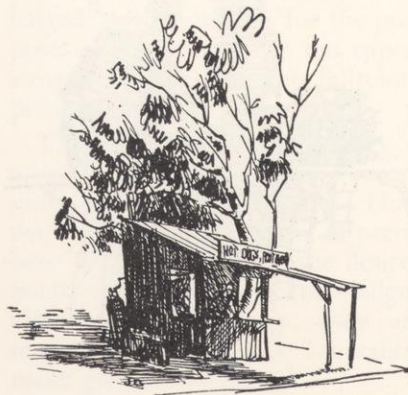
Since a Negro was involved, minority groups charged “discrimination”. Several committees with euphonious, patriotic names were organized by the citizenry.

The labor unions felt they had a mandate to unionize the pushcarts, in order to protect the working man from the abuses of hot dog Management. They threw up picket lines.

## PLUS PUBLIC OPINION

Many government officials took the part of the unions, and the rights of the unions were upheld in a test case.

In some places union toughs upset pushcarts, beat up vendors, drove away customers, and even put sand in the mustard and relish.





Finally the stand owners capitulated, and each one hired a helper. Later, "to provide jobs for all", there had to be a special cashier, a mustard man, a relish man, an onion man and a sauerkraut man, all, of course, holding union cards. The union wouldn't let a mustard man put on relish, or an onion man put on anything but onions. Hot dog prices went up and up.

## AND A DYNAMIC UNION

There was a steady demand by the helpers for wage increases to combat "cost-of-living" increases, and for fringe benefits. The price of hot dogs rose higher.

Labor leaders, left-wing journalists, teachers, socialists and some government officials said that wages could be raised without raising prices, and that the pushcart owners were taking advantage of the public through their greed for profits. No mention was made of stand owners forced out of business by the wage-price spiral; only the most successful were held up as examples. No mention was made of the costs of buying the pushcart or stocking franks and buns and other supplies. No mention was made of the owners' risks in the hot dog business, such as low sales or bad weather.

## EQUALS PROGRESS

The opinion-makers said that the workers at the stands were the real producers and entitled to some of the profits. No one mentioned losses.

When the price of hot dogs passed seventy-five cents, mail to congress from the public became a flood. The people demanded that the government "do something about it."

The president declared the hot dog industry to be in a state of crisis, and requested special temporary powers from the Congress to deal with the situation. The congress passed a law establishing the Federal Frankfurter Commission (FFC) and appropriated \$220 million for its first year of opera-

(Cont'd on page 17)

*H\*ll\*, W\*sc\*ns\*n!*

*The Bourgeoisie*

*Is at it again, as you shall see.*

*The fat cat party is on the spot*

*Since your reporter uncovered a plot*

*By Business Barons and the military*

*To soak the poor. It seems that Barry*

*And Karl and Strom and that rag-tag crowd*

*Defended Walker (right out loud!)*

*Who, as you've heard, got in a mess,*

*(You'd never know from the one-party press,*

*But only from a respectable source;*

*I refer to Overseas Weekly, of course)*

*For indoctrinating in his command*

*A militant anti-communist stand,*

*And other extremist political views.*

*He cited, it's said, the "pinkish" hues*

*Of Roosevelt and HST,*

*Like all those nuts who think they see*

*Some tie between progressive reform*

*And socialism; the very form*

*Of a typical, vicious, commie smirch*

*By one of that secret gang, John Birch,*

*Whose founder, Robert Welch, has said*

*That Dwight D. Eisenhower's a red,*

*And whose Society has sworn*

*To impeach Chief Justice Earl Warren.*

*Now this reporter happens to know*

*That vested interests running the show*

*Called the boys on the radical Right*

*To give the public a horrible fright*

*About the bogey communist threat.*

*Then the fat cats all could get*

*The dirty profits from national defense,*

*And exploit the poor of their dollars and cents.*

*The very same big boys, more or less,*

*(You'd never know from the one-party press)*

*Who supported McCarthy's brash attack*

*On the Freedom of Speech a few years back.*

*In answer to the numerous queries,*

*The McCarthy-Evjue Lecture Series*

*Will be held this year—State Journal spare us—*

*On the lakeside plaza of Monona Terrace.*

*To shield the public from infamous crimes*

*Is the everyday task of the C\*p\*t\*l T\*m\*s.*

*One dollar brings a half-year subscription*

*To the C\*p\*t\*l T\*m\*s, the Monday Edition.*

*"Give the people the Truth and freedom, as well,*

*To discuss it, and surely all will go well."*



# THE BATTLE OF NEWBURGH

## A Local Conflict of National Concern; Newburgh and the Nation Take a Second Look at Public Charity

RICHARD S. WHEELER

Newburgh, N.Y., was in trouble. Dry rot had set in and was silently, inexorably spreading through the old Hudson River valley town.

Out of 30,979 residents, fully 1,382 were on relief — about 5 per cent. Those 1,382 human beings had cost the city almost a million dollars to support in 1960 — a third of Newburgh's three million dollar budget. To be sure, 60 per cent of the relief money was provided by the federal government as part of a \$200 million federal welfare grant to the State of New York, but even so, the city itself paid \$423,000 to take care of its indigent — quite a load for a few thousand local property tax payers.

What's more, the city's income was declining rather than increasing. Like most municipalities it relied primarily upon its property tax for income, but in the past three years the assessed valuation of Newburgh property had declined a million dollars. The old area down along Water street, where prime business establishments once flourished, had degenerated in the last five years into a "civic nightmare."

Between 1950 and 1960, Newburgh had lost 4,075 whites and had gained 3,097 non-whites. Between 1951 and 1961, the cost of welfare had increased 33 per cent. Many of the newcomers were migratory workers from the South, who had come to harvest the crops in the lush valleys of New York, and who had discovered the ease with which they could obtain relief during the long northern winters. Most of them were completely unskilled, and could not, therefore, be assimilated into Newburgh's needle-trades, such as women's

clothing and handbag manufacturing.

"Four and five families took up residence in one-family homes," said the Wall Street Journal. "The crowded conditions soon spawned violence and immorality. Water street is the police department's biggest headache — the average weekend is good for a couple knifings and barroom brawls. Girls begin careers of promiscuity and illegitimate child bearing at 12 years of age."

### ENTER JOSEPH MITCHELL

They were there because Newburgh had a reputation as a "good relief town." Their presence caused property values to plummet. The very ones who were receiving relief were destroying the city's ability to provide relief. Welfare payments cost the city more than it spent on its police force, and almost as much as it spent on its fire-fighting force and public works projects.

Amidst this steady degeneration, a young and ambitious city manager, Joseph McD. Mitchell struggled. He had the unenviable task of trying to halt Newburgh's plunge into oblivion and put the city back on its financial feet once again. At 39, he was an old hand at renovating cities that had been unable to live within their means. He had done well with the lackluster town of Culver City, in the Los Angeles area. But never had he been confronted with such a malevolent situation as Newburgh's.

It was obvious to him that the heart of Newburgh's troubles was

its lax welfare code. It was not lax by municipal choice, but by federal and state command. One of the stipulations under which the federal government makes welfare funds available is that the funds be disbursed according to uniform welfare codes across the state.

It was not out-and-out chiseling that caused the vast expenditure of welfare funds; it was, rather, that the code stretched the concept of charity unbelievably far, and virtually invited the weaker and less morally secure people to try a free ride. It was available to most anyone who walked in and announced that he was unable to get a job. It was available to people who had scarcely established residence in Newburgh. It was available in such quantity that some families on the public dole were getting more money than the lowest-paid city employee (a policeman, \$242 monthly). It was available to mothers of illegitimate children and in greater amounts for each additional bastard, with no check-rein upon the mother's immorality. Thus, Newburgh's welfare program was a sort of self-perpetuating, self-expanding drain on the city. The code itself lured the struggling poor away from whatever self-sufficiency and pride they might have had and seduced them into the existence of a parasite.

### A NEW CODE

Joseph McD. Mitchell acted. Along with members of the city council, he evaluated the flaws in the old code and began to construct a better one. The problem was to draw a distinct line between the genuinely needy and those who



were on relief simply because nothing prevented them from receiving it. The task was not easy: foremost among the council's worries were the political and racial repercussions that would inevitably come upon the heels of such a reform. But they went ahead anyway and eventually Councilman George F. McKneally drew up a 13 point reform, the full text of which is printed on this page.

### COMMON SENSE

Among the more crucial reforms were these:

(1) Able-bodied adult males capable of work were to be placed on city crews and put on a 40-hour week for the city. The purpose of this was to prevent relievers from thinking that public charity is a picnic; to give the taxpayer some return for his money; and to give the reliever a chance to feel like a worthwhile, productive human being.

(2) Recipients who turn down a privately offered job were to be denied further relief, for the obvious reason that beggars can't be choosers. A man on public charity has no *right* to collect further relief once a chance to be gainfully employed has been offered him.

(3) Those who left their jobs voluntarily were to be denied relief. This provision was designed to prevent people from simply quitting and then signing up for charity benefits. Relief properly goes to those who are unable to work, either because of body illness or because of being laid off or fired.

(4) Allotments to any one family were not to exceed the pay of any city employee with a comparable family. It is extremely demoralizing for an honest, hard-working city employee to know that any time he quits, he could get more money for doing nothing.

(5) Mothers of illegitimate children who had further bastards were to be denied further relief. There was no point in subsidizing immorality: automatic relief to unwed mothers was an invitation to them to spawn children, because it eliminated the need for a father

Newburgh 13-point Welfare code, as received June 20, 1961 from City Manager Joseph McD. Mitchell by Mrs. Doris Harding, Deputy Welfare Commissioner:

1. All cash payments which can be converted to food, clothing and rent vouchers and the like without basic harm to the intent of the aid shall be issued in voucher form henceforth.
2. All able-bodied adult males on relief of any kind who are capable of working are to be assigned to the Chief of Building Maintenance for work assignment on a 40-hour week.
3. All recipients physically capable of and available for private employment who are offered a job but refuse it, regardless of the type of employment involved, are to be denied relief.
4. All mothers of illegitimate children are to be advised that should they have any more children out of wedlock, they shall be denied relief.
5. All applicants for relief who have left a job voluntarily, i.e., who have not been fired or laid-off, shall be denied relief.
6. The allotment for any one family unit shall not exceed the take-home pay of the lowest paid city employee with a family of comparable size. Also, no relief shall be granted to any family whose income is in excess of the latter figure.
7. All files of all Aid to Dependent Children cases are to be brought to the office of the Corporation Counsel for review monthly. All new cases of any kind will be referred to the Corporation Counsel prior to certification of payment.
8. All applicants for relief who are new to the city must show evidence that their plans in coming to the city involved a concrete offer of employment, similar to that required of foreign immigrants. All such persons shall be limited to two weeks of relief. Those who cannot show evidence shall be limited to one week of relief.
9. Aid to persons except the aged, blind and disabled shall be limited to three months in any year — this is a feature similar to the present policies on unemployment benefits.
10. All recipients who are not disabled, blind, ambulatory or otherwise incapacitated shall report to the Department of Public Welfare monthly for a conference regarding the status of their case.
11. Once the budget for the fiscal year is approved by the Council, it shall not be exceeded by the Welfare Department unless approved by Council by supplemental appropriation.
12. There shall be a monthly expenditure limit on all categories of Welfare aid. This monthly expenditure limit shall be established by the Department of Public Welfare at the time of presenting its budget, and shall take into account seasonal variations.
13. Prior to certifying or continuing any more "Aid to Dependent Children" cases, a determination shall be made as to the home environment. If the home environment is not satisfactory, the children in that home shall be placed in foster care in lieu of welfare aid to the family adults.



who could provide support. A fatherless child is a great burden on society. He costs taxpayers 10 to 15 thousand dollars until he can support himself, and a great deal more if he gets into trouble with the law. By cutting out financial props for wantonness, the new code would cause a woman to think twice before bearing additional children.

### ILLEGITIMI . . .

(6) Children who lived in unsatisfactory or immoral environments, as determined by the welfare workers, were to be placed in decent foster homes. Thus, where aid was denied immoral mothers, the innocent children were to be provided for, and their environment so improved that they would have a good chance in life.

(7) All except the blind, disabled and elderly were to be limited to three months of relief out of any year. This was to prevent relief cases from stretching out interminably, and to pressure the reliever into learning a trade, looking for work, or moving to some area where work was available. Three months was deemed a more than reasonable period for the welfare department to hunt down a job, or for the worker to find one.

(8) Wherever there was indication that relief checks were ending up in the till of the local saloon, the relief was to be given in the form of vouchers for rent, food, and so forth, in order to prevent the abuse of the relief funds.

These eight measures were the heart of the 13 point reform. Every effort was made to insure that the truly needy, the old, the ill, the blind, would receive permanent, adequate care. But every effort was also made to discourage morally weak people from succumbing to the lure of easy money. For example, the provision regarding unwed mothers was not designed to deprive the girl who made one mistake; it was aimed at the hardboiled women who made a living out of the relief payments for their bastards.

After perfecting the new code to the best of their abilities, the town fathers announced that it would go into effect on July 15, 1961. It scarcely occurred to them that their handicraft would arouse a furore across the nation, or that it would be the beginnings of a vast, national examination of the purpose and practice of charity.

It is amazing, in the light of calm reflection, that there should have been any controversy at all. But there was, and it began even before the code went into effect. Resistance generated in at least three quarters: (1) the professional welfare workers across the country who obviously felt that the reform threatened their existence, (2) the more extreme humanitarian liberals, who believed the program to be an exercise in cruelty, and (3) politicians and elected officials who feared a loss of voting support if such reforms were to become widespread.

Among the first into the fray was that august body, the New York State Welfare Board. In a statement drawn up at Saranac, in upper New York, the board lambasted the new code as "inhuman and indecent" but failed to say which of the 13 points they referred to. They said that most of the 13 points were illegal and the rest unnecessary. They went so far as to say that the code denied certain citizens their "constitutional rights", but didn't say what constitutional rights were being violated. Perhaps they meant that if Mitchell, by administering the new code was violating the law, then he was depriving welfare recipients of their right to live in a society governed by law. On the other hand, maybe the board simply meant that everyone has a constitutional right to public support.

### . . . NON CARBORUNDUM

Then the board busied itself with scratching up a lot of factual dust, which, after it settled, would reveal a whitewashed assortment of relievers and a blackwashed Hud-

son River town. It claimed, for example, that only 2.9 per cent of the city was on relief in 1960, and not 5 per cent, as the city claimed. (Which, if true, only means that each reliever was getting an even *bigger* chunk of the welfare budget than if 5 per cent of the population were dividing the kitty.) And it claimed that the city had been unable to find a single case of fraud. (Which was true, but which neatly avoided the point. The reform wasn't designed to uncover fraud, particularly, but rather to tighten up the rules so that there could *be* such a thing as fraud. The reform set the criteria for fraud.) Elsewhere, the board contended that few of the migratory newcomers were on relief and that only ten able-bodied men were on relief — both of which statements were in error.

### "ILLEGALITY"

But the board's main point of attack was the alleged "illegality" of the reform, even though up to then there had been no court test to determine whether it was legal or not. The charge that the reform was illegal was entirely presumptive, and designed to influence public and judicial opinion prior to any legal skirmishes. Newburgh attorneys had assured Mitchell that the reform was quite legal, so the question of legality was certainly not so cut and dried as the welfare board wished to imply.

Aroused by the bellowing of the welfare board, Governor Rockefeller ordered his attorney general, Louis J. Lefkowitz, to begin legal action against Newburgh. At the beginning, Rockefeller took an exceedingly dim view of the reform, and announced dourly that he might be forced to take action against "elected officials who persist in violating the law." Immediately thereafter he ducked to Venezuela for a ten day vacation. Lefkowitz trained his biggest legal guns on Newburgh, and in late August demolished the reform by obtaining injunctive relief, pending a court test of the reform's



legality. (Probably the bulk of the reform will be found legal. A perusal of the voluminous Social Welfare Law of the State of New York reveals that several of the key features in the Newburgh reform are not only permissible, but are required by law. On other points the law is silent, neither prohibiting them nor demanding a different, correct procedure. So far as a layman can tell, Mitchell should eventually triumph.)

But even as there were some who lashed into the reform for various reasons, there were others who thought it a thing of dignity and virtue. Among them was Senator Barry Goldwater who wrote Mitchell a letter likening the reform to the clean air of his native Arizona. Also endorsing the reform was John Tower, the first Republican senator from Texas in a century.

"I don't like to see my taxes paid for children out of wedlock. I'm tired of professional chiselers who don't work," said Senator Goldwater. "I would like to see every city in the country adopt the plan."

But by and large, the first rush of opinion was hostile. Myles B. Amend, chairman of the welfare board and Newburgh's bitterest opponent, charged that the code was constructed on the philosophy that "95 per cent of those on relief are lazy bums and maybe 5 per cent are decent people," — a statement which seems scarcely justifiable.

## BLACK AND WHITE

The National Association For The Advancement Of Colored People was quick to level its own charges: the Newburgh plan discriminates against Negroes, it said. Thus it took the embarrassing position that a tightening of welfare law was discriminatory—a stand that could hardly have been more insulting to the Negro people themselves.

To the eternal credit of the Newburgh Negro community, however, Newburgh Negroes in general repudiated the NAACP's stance.

"I think he (Mitchell) is doing the right thing," declared one Negro barmaid. "The newcomers make all the colored people look bad. I don't care what the NAACP says. I used to belong to the local chapter but I quit. You know why I quit? Because they were getting too touchy. Just like a lot of white people, the NAACP forgets there are colored people, and there are colored people." Out of 15 patrons in the same Negro bar, 13 approved the reform. (Quoted in the Wall Street Journal.)



The liberal New York Times, during all this, could scarcely contain itself. Finally, on July 11, it burst forth with a lead editorial that probably surpassed in sheer emotionalism any other editorial the Times ever published. "Newburgh and the Law" was its title, and it harped from beginning to end upon Newburgh's "flagrant and willful" outlaw course and its "inhumane policy."

"It is punishing innocent children in the name of 'morality' and driving or keeping the unfortunate off the relief rolls because the taxpayers are weary of their burden," the Times said, thus indicting John Q. Public for being selfish.

"It decided to be a law unto itself, a city where mercy took a beating," continued the Times, thus impugning the competence of Newburgh's legal counsel.

"Governor Rockefeller has a legal obligation . . . a moral responsibility to tell Newburgh what year this is, in the march of civilization and in the government's protection of human rights." Meaning, presumably, that support for each additional bastard is a human right,

and that removal of such support constitutes a regression in human endeavor.

"The voice of man's inhumanity to his fellow man is loud in the land, applauding Newburgh . . . who will take a stand also for the poor—even the imperfect poor—who need help by the standards duly established by Congress, by the State Legislature, and by the heart . . . ?" Thus spoke the Times, in a sort of crescendo of tears. Unfortunately for the Times, a great number of people bothered to read the new code and drew their own conclusions.

Herb Block, the brilliant but often-times vicious cartoonist for the Washington Post, thought he saw in the Newburgh case a chance to get at Senator Goldwater. He drew a cartoon that ranks among the prime examples of the smear, which depicts Senator Goldwater in an ape-like guise slaving over a ragdoll labelled "illegitimate child." The cartoon conveyed the idea the Arizona senator (and by implication all conservatives) was devoid of compassion for innocent illegitimate children because he approved the reform. Both the cartoon and the complementary editorial inside carefully avoided mention of the 13th point in the code—the one that provides for such children by placing them in foster homes if their environment is unsatisfactory. Far from advocating an inhumane policy, Senator Goldwater was proposing one a great deal more humane than had existed before.

A similar editorial attacking Goldwater was published in the N. Y. Times, but by now its readers were cognizant of the concerted liberal campaign to vilify the Newburgh reform, and they protested against the Times' editorials so vehemently that the Times was forced to publish two columns of hostile letters.

## POLITICAL FUSS

Once the press machinery of the Liberal Establishment begins to grind out a specific opinion, it usually stamps that opinion deep into the



public consciousness. That it failed to do so in the Newburgh case was only because it was caught flatfooted. Even so, it tried:

From New York, a "Citizens Committee For Children of New York" cabled Rockefeller to "restrain Newburgh from violating the law . . . Your active role . . . is urgently needed."

## A FAMILIAR REFRAIN

The dean of the New York School of Social Work, Fred Delliquadrim, protested Newburgh's action in a long letter to the Times.

The president of the N.Y. State Employee's Union charged Mitchell with producing "no-think employee robots." To which Mitchell rightly replied that the statement was half-cocked, and that if left unchanged, social work might well result in a "form of government that truly does smack of an ideology we are all fighting today."

Senator Hubert Horatio Humphrey, that jack of all opinions, had this to say about Newburgh: "A substitute of police methods for welfare methods." Unfortunately for Humphrey, a lot of people have read the code.

Joseph O'Connor, the regional director of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, said that the state could simply take over the administration of Newburgh's welfare program without regard for the wishes of the local electorate.

Wrote liberal columnist Murray Kempton in the N.Y. Post, perhaps only out of ignorance, "(The Newburgh plan would) deny relief to any illegitimate child born to a mother while she is on relief. This stands on the doctrine, condemned by every religion except Stalin's and Hitler's that the child is to be punished for his parent's sins."

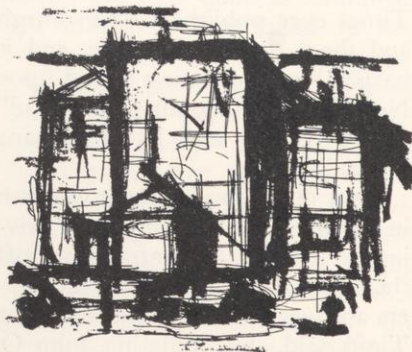
It is noteworthy, indeed breathtaking, to see the left-wing press roll out the hatewords. In the course of a few comments we see Newburgh crucified as a police state, communist and fascist, while in fact there is no relation whatever between the reforms and totali-

tarianism. It is usually the case that the side which has nothing to say resorts to name-calling on the one hand, and peripheral issues, such as the legality of the question, on the other. To argue the legality or illegality of the reform is irrelevant to the question of whether the reform is good and should be implemented, or evil and should be abandoned.

The Newburgh reform raises two vital and fundamental issues, each of which deserves the utmost attention. The first has to do with the nature and purpose of charity, and the second has to do with the freedom and independence of local communities and the lengthening shadow of federal control.

The problem of enlightened charity, either public or private, can be clarified by postulating two simple and powerful ideas.

(1) Ideally, all men should be self-sufficient. In other words, in the ideal society there would be no charity because each human could take care of himself and his family. Thus the goal is never to increase charity, but to eliminate it. The goal is never to obtain more funds



for the needy, but to correct the internal and external circumstances that reduce people to dependency upon society. The fact that we will probably never reach that ideal, because there will always be the sick and blind and helpless, in no way lessens the ideal itself.

(2) Man is weak. He may be happiest when busy, self-sufficient and productive, but when he is offered something for nothing he will often cast aside his own happi-

ness and even a good income in favor of the "gift" of charity. Unless charity has safeguards against such weakness, it loses its humanitarian virtue and becomes instead a vicious destroyer of character and happiness. It is more humane to force a lazy man or a weak man out into the world with no help, and let him come face to face with starvation, than it is to coddle him interminably. One real bout with starvation often lights a fire under the laziest of men, and turns them into some of our most productive citizens.

## JUDGMENT OF PEERS

If either of these concepts is ignored or obscured, welfare programs become intolerable burdens upon the taxpaying public, and corruptors of those on relief. About at the time when the Newburgh controversy was at its peak, a Gallup Poll sought to ascertain just how much support the reforms were receiving. Professional sociologists and others were astonished to discover that the highest percentage of support came from people in the lowest income bracket — \$3000 per year and under, while the least amount of support for the program came from the more educated, higher income brackets.

However, the results of the poll are not so astonishing when considered a bit. When a man who earns 60 or 65 dollars a week sees his neighbors get 50 dollars without working, week after week, he must grow resentful. Easy welfare is an attack upon his honesty, integrity and will to work. If his neighbor can loaf on public money, why shouldn't he? Only his innate sense of what is decent and proper prevents him from riding the gravy train, too. It's no wonder that the poor favored the Newburgh reforms! It would be better to have no charity than to have a sort of charity that corrupts whatever it touches.

The other great issue raised by the Newburgh episode is one of liberty. Is it right for the federal and state governments to impose



their will upon local communities regardless of the wishes of the electorate? Is it right that taxes be collected by the federal government and then simply returned to the local communities once again, minus the bureaucracy brokerage, and burdened with strings and controls? Is it right to give so-called expert social workers power to set up welfare programs that don't meet the approval of the people?

No, it's not right, and that's why Joseph McD. Mitchell began a revolt in his town. His own battle is lost for the time being, but across the country welfare boards, legislatures and just plain people are taking a hard new look at welfarism, and in a broader sense, charity itself. If they are good students, they will see how charity can be a vicious destroyer of mankind and how welfarism can be a subtle and dangerous attack upon liberty. They will be prepared to remedy their codes to fit their new insights. But if they are poor students, they will think that the current welfare set-up is fine, or they will think that the cure for mankind is to increase the charity, pour even more into public alms, make even more people dependent upon government for their livelihood.

Joseph McD. Mitchell has performed a remarkable service for America. It now depends upon the people of America to take advantage of his leadership.

### SERVE 'EM UP HOT (cont'd)

tion. The Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the FFC *pro bono publico* in a test case. As the Chief Justice wrote in the majority opinion, "The right to contract . . . is not relevant to the central question. That subnormal conditions (in the hot dog industry) constitute a denial of the rights of the public domain without due process . . . cannot be questioned."

Finally, in desperation, the pushcart owners sold out to the government. Funds for the purchases were made available out of general tax revenues.

Today we are all familiar with

the truck fleet and modern office buildings of the FFC all over the country. Who hasn't seen the field representatives and examiners and auditors of the FFC, their briefcases bulging with the forms, regulations, manuals and questionnaires necessary to conduct their routine duties? If you are interested, the FFC provides a large book detailing its activities, pertinent statutes, the various departments and sub-departments, the history of the FFC, and civil service status for FFC employees, from grade three clerks to grade fourteen procedure writers. There is one chapter devoted to methods of boiling hot dogs.

### AND MORE PROGRESS

The public can get a frank now for seventy-five cents as a "public service", but it takes several days. Sometimes the government will make outright grants of hot dogs, if hardship can be proved. The actual price of the hot dog is about \$4.00, but the difference is made up by the government out of general funds.

Lately, some of the syndicated columnists in the newspapers have been citing the hot dog industry as an excellent example of modern social progress. There is a movement extant to raise funds for the erection of a statue to the brave congressman whose dramatic speech awakened the nation to the appalling conditions of the hot dog business in the old days. That Negro fellow has already been honored by a bronze plaque bearing his name affixed to the cornerstone of the new FFC building on the Virginia shore of the Potomac.

I suppose all this modern progress is wonderful, but it's a bit confusing to an old man. Somehow it seemed so much easier and so much more pleasant to buy a frank for fifteen cents at one of the old pushcarts and watch the man serve it up hot. The franks seemed to taste better then, too. But you must forgive me. I'm so old-fashioned and I'm boring you. I'll just be on my way now . . .

To Be Released Nov. 19th . . .

## REVOLT ON THE CAMPUS

by M. Stanton Evans

A lucid and authoritative account of conservative movement and the philosophy behind it — the most exciting intellectual development in the United States today.

Henry Regnery Company, \$4.50.

Twelve years ago, anyone who got his hands on a copy of George Orwell's 1984 might have thought Orwell had gone too far into fantasy when he had the telescreen bark at his hero. "Smith! 6079 Smith W! Yes, you!" People calling each other by numerals? Impossible—but that was twelve years ago. Now it's 1961, and time is running out; we have a schedule to meet, a rendezvous with Ingsoc; and President Kennedy has signed into law a bill requiring all taxpayers to have numbers for names and to use their numbers when paying their blood. It was bound to come. As one of our editors (press card #15, driver's license #544801, auto registration #3517982, library cards #21124 and B-106, AF Reserve AO-2222858, Standby Reserve #50-7-28-156 AF, blood type O positive, commercial pilot license approved

by 4176-08-1. FCC radio-telephone permit by 2G4267) said recently, "It's not so bad as all that; maybe after ten years of good behavior they'll let us use our initials."

From the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW. Write to Dept. A-4, 150 E. 35 St., New York 16, N.Y., for free copy.



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## BOOKS

# HISTORY OR HISTRIONICS?

*A Review of William A. Williams'  
The Contours of American History*

"It has been asserted that the task of history is to show how events happened, without imposing pre-suppositions and values. The historians' report should be a faithful image of the past, an intellectual photograph, as it were, giving a complete and unbiased opinion of all relevant facts. The writers who consider historical events as an arsenal of weapons for the conduct of their party feuds are not historians but propagandists and apologists. They are not eager to acquire knowledge but to justify the program of their parties. They usurp the name of history for their writings as a blind to deceive the credulous." — Ludwig von Mises, *Human Action*.

If we were to apply this criterion to Professor Williams' latest work, *The Contours of American History*, would we be able to declare it history, or propaganda? The latter designation is, I fear, more applicable. Professor Williams, in his eagerness to put forth the principles of what he calls "democratic socialism", has applied the techniques of the television script writer to history. He sees American history as a conflict between the Good Guys, the John Adamses, who were working toward the attainment of a "corporate Christian commonwealth", and the Bad Guys, the Thomas Jeffersons, who were motivated by greed, and sought continual expansion of territory. The Good Guys lost out, according to Williams, because they could not rid themselves of the "evil" notion that the right to private property is sacred, while the Bad Guys used the doctrine of *laissez-faire* to erect industrial empires. Professor Williams concludes his melodramatic tour of the past with the query, where does America go from here, to a system of "syndicalist oligarchy" (the New Deal, Big Labor, Big Government combination) or to rule by an "industrial gentry" (Big Business)?

Professor Williams terminology is familiar enough; "corporate Christian commonwealth", for example, is a reiteration of the market interventionist's attempt to equate Christianity with anti-capitalism. How one equates the principle of voluntary sharing enjoined by the Judeo-Christian tradition with the practice of confiscation for the Social Good, common to all collectivist government, is beyond comprehension; a serious misunderstanding of the principles of Christianity is indicated.

We cannot ignore Williams' oft-repeated claim that the "frontier" has passed. This continued restatement of the Turner Thesis (at the start of the New



Deal, for instance, we were suffering from a "mature economy") conceives the "frontier" to be only a geographical entity, rather than inclusive of the unlimited area of consumer wants, and hence does not realistically describe the frontiers of human progress.

Finally, Williams' "democratic socialism" bears examination, if only to illustrate the tortuous semantic juggling of the statist mind. "Socialism", to the "masses", is a bad word; "democratic" is a good one. The conjunction of the two, or so Professor Williams seems to feel, will sugarcoat the "evil pill". Unfortunately, the pill is still beneath the sugar; Socialism remains what it is: legalized robbery. No amount of semantic hybridization will change it.

To find the root of Professor Williams' bias (and eventually the bias of all interventionists), one must consider the nature of the free-market economy. The taste of the general reading public, which determines the demand for literature, is such that the ideas of the literati, including Professor Williams, suffer from low demand. In seeking reasons outside himself, Professor Williams, as others like him, has formulated a "devil" theory of history and economics, and has populated the Hell with the "sharpies" and the "greedies". He decries the "evils" of the "industrial elite" without realizing that Big Business, as such, owes its success solely to the will — and good will — of the customer. Unlike Big Labor, which supports itself by coercion, and Big Government, which exists through inertia, confiscation and expansion, Big Business necessarily depends on the efficient satisfaction of the needs and wants of the "masses" to survive.

Professor Williams' thinly disguised polemic against the capitalist system may rank with other propaganda of the Schlesinger-Galbraith school. It may even be useful as an insight into the tortured "logic" of Liberalism-Socialism. However, as a work of any value for the historian, it is worthless.

*Riposte!*, the feature page that allows the readers to fence with the editors, will again be offered this year. Readers are invited to submit arguments on the vital issues of our times. The editors will reply in the same number of words, or less. In the words of the original challenge, flung last year by the swash-buckling executive editor, "the reader may vent his irritations, insult us, corner us with loaded questions, write vitriolic rhetoric or humorous satire. He may assault conservatism with sardonic splendor or acidulous spite — providing he is willing to grant equal "air time" to the editors. Readers are advised to be as brief and lucid as possible: four hundred words is sufficient for the exposition of most any subject. Remember, the more words you use, the more vulnerable you are. If the response is great, we will extend the carnage to several bloody pages, so point your barbs and sharpen your pikes and let fly."

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## A LEAKY BUCKET

Federal subsidies to schooling is comparable to carrying water in a leaky bucket from your own reservoir to a big, communal well. What is left of the water is poured into the well, and then the bureaucrats in charge apportion you some water — according to what they think you need — into that same leaky bucket and you carry it home.

Besides spilling some water on the round-trip, you eventually find yourself being told what to do with the water that remains (or you are told not to return to the communal well) although it is your own water you are rationed.

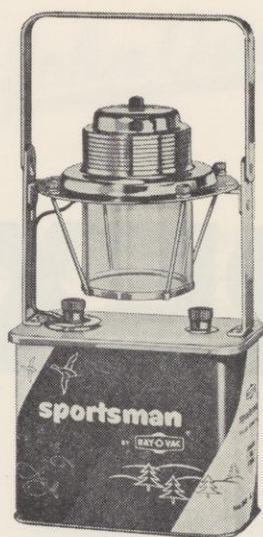
Education means learning. And the principal lesson one learns about federal subsidies to schooling is that you receive considerably less than was confiscated from you to start with. The handling costs get more excessive as the bureaucracy grows.

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