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INSIGHT *and* OUTLOOK

a conservative student journal

Vol. IV Number V

April 1962

THE AMERICAN EMPIRE

JAMES O'CONNELL

FREE TRADE IN A FREE MARKET

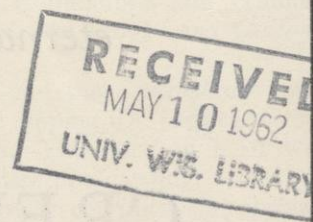
THEODORE CORMANEY

LIBERAL MASQUERADE

JAMES BLAIR

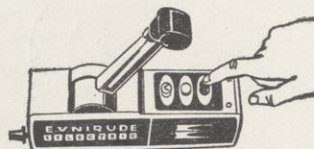
THE BUREAU OF ADVICE AND CONSENT

CY BUTT



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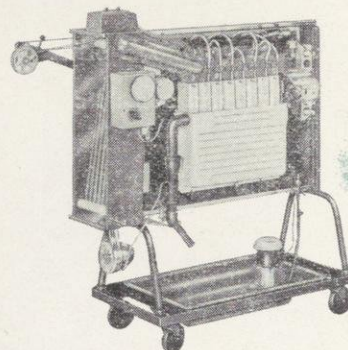
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"A Good Place to Work"

A CONSERVATIVE STUDENT JOURNAL

April, 1962

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INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK 3

JEFFERSON, JACKSON and the DEMOCRATS

Recently, James M. O'Connell, the *Daily Cardinal's* well-known Young Tory, slyly suggested that the ghosts of Jefferson and Jackson would be *persona non grata* at the upcoming Democratic blowout on May 12, even though the affair was to be held in their name. And, indeed, why not? There is a world of difference between the liberalism of a Jefferson and a Jackson and the liberalism expounded in the notorious *Liberal Papers*. Yet, in an attempt to give the refurbished model the same dignity and purpose as the original, the Democratic Party continues to drape the mantle of Jeffersonian-Jacksonian liberalism over the present decadent structure.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to connect the ideas of either Jefferson or Jackson with the present New Frontier model of the Democratic party. Jefferson, for example, for all his supposed love of the people, favored a limited franchise, and harbored a deep mistrust for the city "mobs". He favored, instead, a natural aristocracy based on talent. Similarly, in his plans for "free education", Jefferson favored a system of state scholarships to schools which would see to it that "twenty of the best geniuses will be raked from the rubbish annually." We could compare this to Franklin Roosevelt's belief in a "right to a good education" for all, or with R. H. Tawney's contention, in his *Equality*, that it would be unjust "to spend less liberally on the education of the slow than on that of the intelligent." Such ideas, of course, would serve to reduce everyone to rubbish—in the name of Jeffersonian liberalism! The supposedly "democratic" ideas of Jefferson turn out, in the end, to be aristocratic, and his liberalism does not consist in penalizing ability, but in removing institutional barriers to its free play. Jefferson seems to be no candidate for honor from the present Democratic Party.

What, then of Jackson? Surely, the "Ginral" with his frontier ways and his celebrated love of the common man, would be a candidate for the title of Father of the Democratic Party. But Jacksonian ideas are also foreign to the ideologies of the New Frontier. Mr. O'Connell, in his column, quoted from Jackson's famed Veto Message on the rechartering of the Bank of the United States. To many New Liberals, this struggle was one of the poor against "economic royalists". This shows a lamentable lack of knowledge of the history of the time. Jackson opposed the Bank, not because it "favored big business", but because it served as a centralizing agent; because it was a government-supported monopoly on money, much as our own Federal Reserve System; because, in Mr. Jackson's eyes, it was unconstitutional.

In short, Jacksonian liberalism aimed at a removal of government-granted privilege from the economic order. One of Jackson's "radical" supporters, William Leggett of New York, though considered an anarchist by the pro-Bank faction, was a firm believer in free trade and private property when divorced from special privilege as "the very measure to enable poor men to compete with rich." Another Loco Foco—Jacksonian radical—candidate, Isaac Smith, declared "My creed is to leave commercial men to manage their own affairs." Similar statements favoring limited government, a "hard" currency and *laissez-faire* came from other Jacksonian "radicals". It would seem that the Jacksonians are also not in good standing with those who hold to the tenets of the ADA.

One might well ask, with such an illustrious ancestry, just where the Democratic Party went off the straight and narrow. Certainly Grover Cleveland, the next Democratic president of note, is no ancestor of the New Frontier. His aim, while he was in office, was to limit governmental favor to large corporations, but not to nationalize them or burden them with taxes and regulations. The first cracks in the Jeffersonian tradition of individualism which had guided the Democratic party in the nineteenth century did not appear until the rise of Bryan, and later, Wilson. Yet, even Bryan attempted to maintain the substance of the Jeffersonian-Jacksonian principles.

In his acceptance speech after being nominated in 1896, he declared, "We cannot insure to the vicious the fruits of a virtuous life; we would not invade the home of the provident in order to supply the wants of the spendthrift; we do not propose to transfer the rewards of industry to the lap of indolence." Wilson was the first Democrat to abandon completely the *laissez-faire* views of Jeffersonian-Jacksonian democracy and to replace them with the ideas of the "Progressives". The results, as described by classical liberal John Burgess in his *Recent Changes in American Constitutional Theory*, were such that there remained "hardly an individual immunity against governmental power which may not be set aside by government, at its own will and discretion, with or without reason, as government itself may determine."

Ten years from the publication of Burgess' treatise (1923), the Democratic Party returned to power. Governmental fiscal policy, as determined by the Federal Reserve Bank, had created a runaway boom and a subsequent depression, and the Democratic Party had elected a candidate whom Richard Hofstadter describes in his *American Political Tradition* as "the Patrician as Opportunist". There were many men in the Democratic Party who were, despite the aberrations of Bryan and Wilson, still in the Jeffersonian-Jacksonian tradition. The most literal Jeffersonian was Governor Albert Ritchie of Maryland, who condemned centralization, regimentation and governmental interference with free enterprise, and who favored "letting natural forces take their course, as free and untrammelled as possible" as a cure for the ills of the depression. The 1932 platform itself, called for a reduction in governmental expenditures by "at least 25 per cent", an annually balanced budget, elimination of unnecessary bureaus, "removal of government from all fields of private enterprise".

The followers of this tradition were not, to be sure, pleased by the results of the convention. The vote was never made unanimous, and, when the chairman sought to maintain a note of harmony among the delegates, Missouri Senator James Reed, in what well may have been the last public affirmation of the Jeffersonian tradition, spoke for the old faith:

It is the highest duty of the Democratic Party to get back to old principles and old methods. There has been no improvement on the policies of George Washington in international affairs and there never will be an improvement. There has been no improvement on the philosophy of Thomas Jefferson, and there never will be an improvement. There has been no improvement in the philosophy—the economic philosophy—of John Stuart Mill, and there never will be an improvement.

With that, the Jeffersonian principles were abandoned for relativism, statism, central planning and welfarism. While some traces of Jefferson remain behind—in the person of Senator Harry Byrd, for example—the Democratic Party has adopted a program which centers on expediency. From the New Deal to the New Frontier, the Democrats have reversed the anti-centralization trends of the nineteenth century; they have erected new barriers of privilege against the individual, instead of clearing away those that existed; they have erected a public debt which goes beyond anything imagined by either Jefferson or Jackson. Yet, by declaring that Jefferson and Jackson would act in a similar manner were they alive today, they maintain the mantle of respectability.

So muddled has the "Liberal" philosophy become that it rejects the idea that principles can and do remain constant with the passage of time. And it is in this rejection of principle that we find the basis of the New Frontier ideology. Mr. O'Connell's suggestion that the banquet be renamed is a sound one, though we might offer a different name: Opportunists' Day Dinner. That should cover everything.

—AETIUS

circumstances, but, when such is to the advantage of their own pet project, will gladly compromise. Total restraint is required if we are to be free. The individual's right to privacy must be respected, for exceptions become the precedent.

Maybe the Attorney General will be allowed his wire tapping equipment. At any rate, we recommend that you go about with a smile frozen on your face. You might be on someone's candid camera.

Governmental Affront

Some men, it seems, just can't be insulted. Either they think so ill of themselves that they will not react to the most outrageous acts and words against them, or they are so venal that any sort of insult is acceptable so long as certain rewards come with it.

Of all the insults that have been leveled at young Americans through the years, certainly one of the ugliest is gaining currency in Congress among those politicians who advocate the administration's medicare plan for the aged. What these men are saying to those of us who are young is this: "We propose to compel you to surrender a portion of your paychecks until you reach your 60's, at which time we, the government, will insure you against the cost of your diseases."

Note that you have no choice except to comply with the plan. The politicians do not believe that you have the foresight, the competence, the prudence to set up your own medical insurance plan, or put away a nest egg for a "rainy day." They want the government to take care of you, do your banking for you so to speak, whether you want it to or not. Perhaps they think you're merely incompetent, but probably they think you're a helpless bit of flotsam awash in a complex social sea, without the internal discipline to take care of yourself, and without the insight to understand that life is not all easy going and continuous health and assured wages.

The amazing thing is that so few young people recognize the massive insult aimed at them by certain of the gentlemen in Washington. The blissful security is what counts, and never mind the blot upon the spirit or the fact that everyone, just everyone these days, looks like a pygmy. Being taken care of is what counts, and never mind the fact that the world seems so childish, so dull, so without purpose.

There are yet some in America who have sufficient faith in themselves to believe that they can manage their own lives without federal crutches. And there are some who still have sufficient faith in the independence and self-reliance of the American people to believe that the vast majority of Americans need no help. It is time for these men of faith to rise up and rid the Republic of the faithless politicians. Freedom lies in the balance.

Why Do Most Socialists Want to Abolish Advertising?

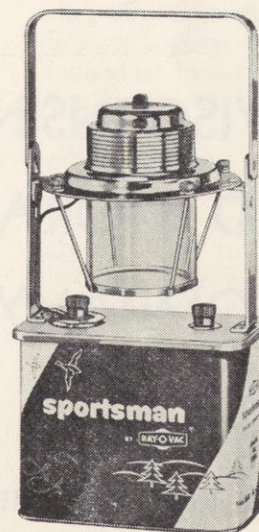
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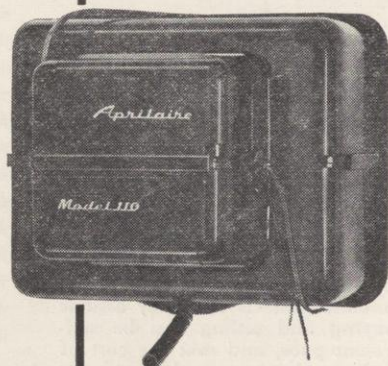


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WORLD OUTLOOK

While the validity of much of the criticism directed at the authors and sponsors of the so-called *Liberal Papers* (Doubleday; \$1.25) is beyond question, one should not be rushed into the conclusion that the whole thing is tommyrot. Difficult as it may seem, even a Liberal is sometimes capable of a truthful statement.

Item: "Recognition of Communist China on our own initiative likewise would have psychological impact far beyond its military significance." (p. 217) Isn't that what Walter Judd has been saying for fifteen years?

Item: "... the United States might make a powerful impression on countries in this area (Southeast Asia) by declaring that it would be ready to give aid to Communist China . . . once Peiping has been admitted to represent China in the United Nations." (p. 261-262) A more powerful impression is difficult to imagine, is it not?

Item: "(The) Western powers might even go so far as offering diplomatic recognition to East Germany and proposing a United Nations guarantee for Berlin's future status." (p. 309) Who would deny that the Western Powers *might* go that far?

This discussion must necessarily be rather strictly limited (we only said Liberals are *sometimes* capable of truthful statements). One could, of course, cull several more statements of fact from the book, but it is doubted that the rewards of doing so would be in any way commensurate with the effort involved. We have, we trust, demonstrated that Liberals can be quoted out of context to their own advantage, and, willy nilly, to the advantage of us all.

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has just issued a new study entitled "Wordsmanship, Semantics as a Communist Weapon". Dr. Stefan T. Possony, Director of International Studies of the Hoover Institution, Stanford, California, prepared the study. "The weapon of words," says Possony, "is more subtle and less immediately destructive than nuclear bombs, but, just like the winds and the seas which can hollow out the hardest rock, it has the power of eroding society."

Possony warns that decision makers, and especially those in the State Department, should familiarize themselves with the doubletalk employed by Communists. "Capitalism", "democracy" and "imperialism" mean something altogether different to Communists than they do to Americans. What can the average American do to protect himself and his country from this war of words? According to Possony, he must exercise "eternal vigilance based on profound skepticism."

The Eisenhower - Zhukov Exchange

JOHN CARAVAN

(The following is from the text of an Eisenhower press conference, *New York Times*, July 18, 1957. Edward P. Morgan had just asked if the President would consider inviting Marshal Zhukov or others to the U.S.)

Mr. Eisenhower: I had a most satisfactory acquaintanceship and friendship with him (Zhukov). I think he was a confirmed Communist We tried to explain to the other just what our systems meant, to the individual, and I was very hard put to it when he insisted that their system appealed to the idealistic, and we completely to the materialistic, and I had a very tough time trying to defend our position, because he said:

"You tell a person he can do as he pleases, he can act as he pleases, he can do anything. Everything that is selfish in man you appeal to him, and we tell him he must sacrifice to the state." He said, "We have a very hard program to sell." So what I am getting at is, I believe he was very honestly convinced of the soundness of their doctrine and was an honest man.

James Reston, *New York Times*: Do you want to leave the inference that it is difficult to defend the proposition that democracy is a more idealistic system than Communism?

Mr. Eisenhower: Well, I said this: I said when you are talking with the Communists you find it is a little difficult, for the simple reason that you say a man earns what he pleases, saves what he pleases, buys what he pleases with that But he said that "We say to the man 'You can't have those things. You have to give them to the state.' In other words he takes the attitude that they don't force this contribution, they are teaching a people to support that contribution I think you could run into people you could have a hard time convincing that the sun is hot and the earth is round. I don't say that I don't believe it. I am merely saying that against that kind of a belief

you run against arguments that leave you breathless; you don't know how to meet them.

Few Americans would agree with Marshal Zhukov's theory; most would wonder how he could call nakedly totalitarian policies "idealistic." Yet Americans have accepted both theory and policies in another form. This is the great paradox of American politics.

In defense of Zhukov, leftists might comment: "Now, to understand this theory you must understand what the state is: the mass of the people, society. Thus our policy is 'sacrifice to society, to other people.' It means that you must be concerned about others—that you must often sacrifice your own interests to theirs. We offer, in other words, a political application of the truism that man should be unselfish."

Neither is Communism's moral principle idealistic. Why must an individual exist for the sake of others? Why must he ignore his own good and work only for the good of others? Why, since they are only men like himself, is it moral to strive for their good, yet selfish and despicable to strive for his own? Although there has been a lot of mystical babbling, never in the history of philosophy has a viable reason been offered.

Yet some think the principle noble. Can they still think so when they have seen its necessary results—the dictatorial rule, the internal purges, the Hungarian slaughter? These are literal applications of the principle. In each case thousands are sacrificed now for the sake of unborn millions. The murderers expect history to vindicate them because they help more than they kill. As long as one believes that individuals may be sacrificed for the good of society as a whole—as long as this primary concern is numbers of lives, not the lives of individuals—butchery logically follows.

Those who say "Communism's ideals are noble, but its methods are

vicious," can now understand the full, totalitarian meaning of their words. The vicious methods are legitimate children of a vicious principle. (Those interested may find a thorough explanation of the logic in *Darkness at Noon*, by the former Communist Arthur Koestler.)

The moral principle on which capitalism is based is the value of every individual human life. This morality holds that it is right for every man to try to sustain his own life and right for him to enjoy his own existence. And capitalism provides both economic and political freedom in order to let men choose their own means to these goals. This morality is implicit in Jefferson's thought that men have an inalienable right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

The same Americans who regard self-sacrifice as noble pay lip service to this morality of individualism. Yet the two moral systems contradict each other. The one, valuing the whole more than individuals, requires men to sacrifice their efforts, money, and even their lives, to society. The other, valuing individual lives, thinks such sacrifice immoral. The one regards human lives as dispensable; the other does not.

What is the significance of our using two contradictory codes of ethics? The contradiction is embodied in the welfare state. Only such an ethical miscegenation could have produced such a grotesque political hybrid.

Now we may answer Zhukov's charge that capitalism appeals to the selfish and materialistic in man. It does, literally. Capitalism leaves men free to try to achieve the selfish goals of life and happiness; it leaves man free to create the material objects necessary for that happiness—food, clothing, shelter, and whatever other material goods he can make with the effort of his mind and hand. It appeals to man's selfish desire for life and the objects that make life enjoyable: this is its glory.

Anthropomorphic Absurdity

WILLIAM R. BREIHAN

The student who holds to the libertarian or conservative viewpoint in economic or political theory finds it difficult to keep his balance, if not his sanity, in the "liberal", that is, Statist, atmosphere of the University. Ever since Richard Ely and his brethren founded the American Economic Association to combat the "pernicious" ideas of *laissez-faire* Manchesterism, the departments of Economics and Political Science have been foisting Planned Chaos on the student body. The intellectual contortions performed by some of the more "advanced" members of the faculty threaten to outdo the Twist in wriggle ability.

Fiscal Responsibility

Consider, for example, the ideas put forth in a recent undergraduate economics class. As is appropriate in a fundamental economics course, the professor cautioned members of the class not to deal with the state in anthropomorphic terms, that is to say, not to ascribe human qualities to the government. In response to this, one could be justified in anticipating statements similar to the following: "The state is not the embodiment of everything noble and good in human beings. It is not omnipotent or omniscient, and since the state is composed of naturally fallible human beings, it is reasonable to assume that it can make grave errors. History has borne this out. Thus, you should view the role of the state in society and especially in the economic sphere in a very critical manner."

Instead of taking this critical view of government, the students were told that too many people compare the financial policies of the individual with those of the state. If an individual is financially irresponsible and as a result finds himself bankrupt, this does not mean the state will go bankrupt in the same fashion, even if it too is financially irresponsible. Hence, if the government contracts a heavy debt (300 billion dollars) through deficit spending and inflation, "the federal government can go into debt and not go bankrupt." Why?

For what reasons must the individual be fiscally responsible and not the government? Well, in the first place, if an individual goes into debt he cannot systematically plunder the earnings of his neighbors by means of coercive taxation in order to bail himself out. Second, he cannot mortgage his children's future to cover his debts, and if he did these things he would go to jail. Third, he cannot make two dollars out of one by the process of inflation. Fourth, he cannot expand or contract credit. And last, the reason he can't do these things is because he doesn't have a monopoly over the currency of the country. In fact, he has no control whatever. By means of these devices, the state can put off the "day of reckoning", but *not indefinitely*. Inflation is the crucial question in the so-called modern mixed economy. The government cannot spend itself out of inflation and its natural consequences: insolvency and economic ruin.

It is clear that each individual must be financially responsible for his economic decisions. One couldn't plunder his neighbor because he feels he needs a new automobile or house. Neither could a person defraud his neighbor by offering him in payment of some good or service a dollar that represented no value. No decent person would even consider for a moment mortgaging his children's economic future to finance a neighborhood swimming pool. Aside from these acts being grossly immoral, there are laws designed specifically to prevent such acts. But our government inflicts these injustices upon



each citizen every day and has been doing so for the last 30 years. Is this what the "Liberals" refer to as progressive, moral, and just? What sort of morbid perversion of intellect can seriously propose that this be the wave of the future and the "New Frontier?"

Why didn't the economics professor bring these points to the students' attention? Why the failure to follow the above ideas to their natural consequence? In addition, this piece of intellectual negligence is being financed by the Wisconsin taxpayer who, it is assumed, expects the average student to gain from his expensive education some fundamental ideas about financial responsibility and to gain some rational concepts about the processes which enabled the student to be there in the first place.

It can be seriously doubted if parents save and sacrifice for a student's education in order that the student be taught that the State is some kind of creature that can repeal natural law.

The Bureau of Advice and Consent

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CY BUTT



Into the glittering fastnesses of Madison's Congress bar marched Fremont Guilfoyle, wearing an afternoon coat, a scarlet cummerbund, striped britches and patent leather pumps. Bringing up his rear was his secretary, Fifi. And to be exact about it she was bringing up her own, too, which was much nicer.

"That's an impressive outfit you have on there, Fremont, but does it all fit together?" I asked.

"Well, no," he said, "but it looks different. I must look different. I am director of the new department of Advice and Consent, and I have to stand out from the herd. I tried a suit of armor, but it creaked all the time and spoiled the effect."

"What is this Advice and Consent business?" I asked, "A month ago you were an admiral, the month before a general, and the month before that a professor."

"It's like this," said Fremont, "In his speech a few days ago The Boss said—"

"The Boss?" I queried.

"Yes," he said, "President Kennedy."

"Kind of like 'Il Duce'?" I asked.

"Not just yet," he answered, "but he said, and I quote, '—We are going to solve such problems as housing and transporation, and all that'. Well, that 'and all that' part got me and I conceived the idea for a new superbureau to take care of everything for everybody. When I explained the idea to the Administration they saw the possibilities at once and made me the director and Fifi the Consulting Coordinating Finalizing Analyst. Order up another jolt of that Old Stepfather, and I'll let you in on the master plan."

"Thanks," I said, "I feel that I'm going to need something."

"Well," continued Fremont, "when The Boss suggested that we were going to take care of everything for everybody sooner or later, I thought we might as well make it sooner. At present we can tell the people who they must hire or rent to, and we are working our way into control of television, and education and the medical profession, but it's slow, slow. My bureau of Advice and Consent gives Advice as to what people should do, and we have ways to make it very inconvenient for them if they don't Consent. You see, now we are long on milk, butter and eggs, so we Advise that the people drink milk, and eat butter and eggs—three meals a day if necessary—and we get rid of the surplus and it looks good in the papers. If they don't Consent, we raise taxes. Our

inflation has so reduced the value of the dollar that the income from the investments of the elderly amounts to but a third of what it used to. Thus they must clamor for more and larger payments from our social agencies, and for free medical care, and for governmental housing. This makes them vote for The Boss, and he gets in again and the whole thing goes around in another circle."

"But don't a lot of people object?"

"Well, we now control the speech of the high military, and this control will shortly be extended to the lower echelons and to civilians. Newspapers are next on the list."

"How do you propose to control them constitutionally?" I asked.

"It's easy," replied Fremont, "A majority of our newsprint comes from outside our borders. If the papers don't Consent to write as we Advise, we slap on a 300% duty and break all of them. The Boss is now reaching for power to raise or lower taxes at will, and this power, of course, extends to import duties. When the papers go broke, my bureau of Public Information will take over. It's as simple as that."

"It looks that way," I said, "but order one more before you leave, and see if they haven't got something a little stronger than whiskey. This thing has shaken me."

"We expect it to have considerable impact," said Fremont, "but we're going to ooze it onto the public gradually with a nice frosting of speeches and press releases, which we are going to Advise that the papers print in full. I tried to call The Boss this morning to get some release dates but he had just left Hyannis Port to join Bobby on their private yacht, the *CON- NIPTION FITZ*, or whatever it is."

"While you're giving away more and larger payments to more dependents, do you plan to keep making presents to guys like Tito who've been Communists all their lives?"

"You have a reactionary, capitalist view," said Fremont. "We consider him but an enlightened, progressive liberal. There is the same difference between an Irish setter and an English setter: one is red and one isn't."

"I know, Fremont," I said, "but if you shaved them, they'd both be setter dogs, wouldn't they?"

"I don't know," replied Fremont, "I never tried."

The Foot In The Examining Room Door

Medicare for the aged is the first step
toward total socialized medicine

LYNDON K. ALLIN

For almost two decades each session of Congress has seen the introduction of a plan for a national health service, that is, "socialized medicine". Advocates of such plans as the Wagner-Murray-Dingall Act have repeatedly demanded a comprehensive system to bring the entire medical profession under the guidance of the federal government. In every Congress they have been defeated.

Since the sustained frontal attack is not producing results, is it not time to alter the grand strategy to a piecemeal approach, in order to gain limited objectives and set precedents? This is the latest tactic by the socialized medicine backers, who have thus set out to give people what they *really* want, as opposed to what they say they want. The hand of Democracy moves in strange and wonderful ways, does it not?

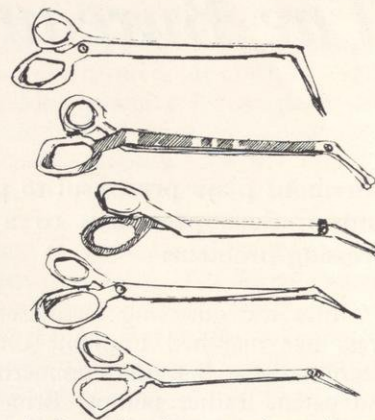
This application of Fabian strategy calls for medical care for the elderly as the first step toward a federal medical program for everyone. The Forand Bill of the 86th Congress and the recent King Bill would provide medical care only for those over age 65 and eligible for Social Security. But lest the backers of these bills appear inhumane and callous toward the medical needs of the rest of the citizenry, they are eager to assert that their program is only part of the Grand Design. Representative Forand himself has said, "If we can only break through and get our foot inside the door, then we can expand the program after that." Mr. R. W. Tucker, chairman of the Socialist Party's Committee on Medical Economics, noted that "once the Forand Bill is passed, this nation will be provided with a

mechanism for socialized medicine, capable of infinite expansion in every direction until it includes the entire population." Two franker statements of ramming it democratically down the public throat can scarcely be imagined.

Without recourse to the example of bureaucratized medicine in other countries, what is the domestic product and what are its drawbacks?

The bills currently under consideration provide payment for hospital services, skilled nursing-home care and home health service, furnished to aged beneficiaries under the Old Age Survivors and Dependents Insurance plan (OASDI) of Social Security. This establishes a new precedent for Social Security, the recipients of which previously were allowed to spend SS payments as they saw fit. Under the plan, the medical profession would be subjected to control and regulation by the federal government.

Since the proposed systems of socialized medicine would be administered as a part of the Social Security program, they would also be financed by that program. As the tax schedule now stands, F.I.C.A. (Social Security) taxes will soon reach the level of nine per cent for salaries under \$4800, and must, by the nature of the program, continue to rise. By any standard, nine per cent of one's economic liberty is a sizeable loss, but even this figure pales before the burden of a Social Security tax inclusive of general medical care. The system would automatically extend fiscal irresponsibility by the government, because there is no special Social Security fund earmarked for beneficiaries, who are paid, instead, out of general revenues. The result of



such financing is not only an imposing burden today, but also a mammoth, ever expanding lien against the economic security of future generations.

What about the urgent "need" for socialized medicine which has popped up so suddenly? As a rationale for rushing in transfusions of other people's money, advocates of the program love to characterize the aged as bumbling and inept, unable to look out for themselves, and, well, sickly. War, fire, pestilence and government meddling notwithstanding, the 16½ million people over age 65 are pretty well off. Four million are employed, one and one-half million receive income from employment pensions, and another million receive income from private retirement plans. Nine and one-half million are already covered by OASDI benefits, and another million are on government pensions. Economically, they are in better overall shape than any other age group, not at all in the "over the hill to the poorhouse" condition painted by excitable and overly imaginative doers of good.

But we are overlooking their health, no? Professors James W. Wiggins and Helmut Schoeck of Emory University interviewed a large cross section of elderly persons, and their conclusions can hardly justify any contention that ill health is rampant among the aged. They found that 90 per cent of the respondents were in good health and 92 per cent had no medical needs which were not being attended, the bulk of the rest consisting of eyeglasses and false teeth the respondents hadn't bother-

ed about. Another survey by professors Steiner and Dorfman reported in *The Economic Status of the Aged* (1951) found that 96 per cent had no medical debts.

The statistical evidence regarding both health and economic means indicates, as one would expect, that a small minority of those over 65 (as well as in other age groups) are unable to look after their own health. This is no excuse to holler for Big Brother. There are other, and better, avenues to their proper care without any bureaucratic implications.

Familial Care

The first recourse for such persons is their own family, whose responsibility, it must be noted, would be more clearly defined if the government did not provide inducements in the form of welfare agencies for them to ignore the biblical injunction of familial obligation. Secondly, numerous private charities exist for the express purpose of aiding such persons. The medical profession itself contributes \$650 million worth of free care each year, and has stated repeatedly that medical care is always available to every citizen regardless of age. It invites information of any instance where this guarantee is not made known to a potential patient unable to pay. As a last recourse, adequate public welfare is available at a local level.

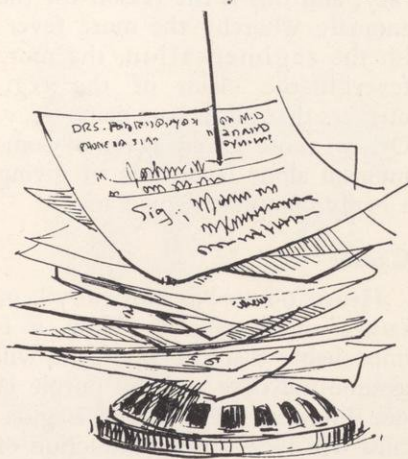
The abovementioned bureaucratic implications of socialized medicine hinge about the loss of individual liberty, thus the destructive potential. Once the program is instituted, one little foggy bottom boondoggle—government bureaus never make mistakes, do they?—and we shall all have to pray for our health or bootleg black market medicine in the dead of the night. There is no turning back.

Government welfare programs are not only parasitic, they are self-perpetuating. In the case of aid for the elderly, the costs can be met only by a deep gouge into income, either through direct or inflationary taxation. In either case, those who are to be helped, the aged, are

hurt the most, for they are largely a fixed-income group. They lose their means to care for themselves, setting the stage for a saviour role by Washington, which, of course, put the ball in motion to start with. In the process, the aged are reduced to dependency.

The shortage of doctors so often touted as a justification for federal interference would only be compounded by it. Nothing brings out every petty ailment and public hypochondria like socialized medicine, to the great detriment of proper medical care to those who really need it. The malingering is encouraged because of the rewards flowing to the sick. When a man is spending his own precious time and money on his health, he is anxious to recover as quickly as possible, but it is well known that a broken leg heals slowly if the state pays the bills. Badly needed hospital space would teem with every sort of goldbricker. Questions of priority would tie up administration while the needy would wait, and wait, for admission and treatment. It is simply amazing how contagious something-for-nothing can be.

It is the deep conviction, no doubt, of the backers of socialized medicine that they will in some



way be of service to humanity by opening Pandora's box. Unfortunately, their program has never worked because it cannot work—it is the result of wretched economics and misguided emotionalism. Surely it is time for these people to realize that it is other

people's health they so casually endanger with their shallow analysis. It is time they learned that freedom is a necessary component of the medical profession, just as it is the only foundation for all social cooperation.

Medical Progress

Medical progress has been made by a free medical profession. It is no accident that America is the healthiest large country in the world. Chain a physician, or a medical technician, to a labyrinth of regulations and specified procedures and you must dull his responsibility to his profession, destroy his creativity, and bog down his efficiency. Medical research and treatment would chafe—and suffer.

The congenial patient-doctor relationship, so essential to proper diagnosis and treatment, would be jeopardized by government interference. Except for winning a license to practice, a doctor is free to practice as he knows best, and the patient is therefore able to choose the practitioner in whom he places the most confidence. This voluntary association must be satisfactory to both parties to exist at all, where the patient is free to choose. Under socialized medicine, neither party has much choice, if any.

Health insurance, too, is best managed on a private, voluntary basis, for private plans are more economical and more comprehensive. A Health Insurance Institute survey reports that 65 per cent of those over 65 are now insured privately, and the projected trend indicates that 90 per cent will be covered by 1970. A single-minded, non-voluntary government program could only muddy the waters.

Individual liberty is the key to progress. The ever-growing paternalism of the federal government has seriously eroded the very concepts of individual and familial responsibility, overburdened the taxpayer and weakened the democratic ideal: the adoption of socialized medicine would be another giant step toward a stagnant and impoverished generation of bondsmen.

THE AMERICAN EMPIRE

As centralization proceeds, the trappings
of Empire become more apparent

JAMES M. O'CONNELL

This country is a republic, not a democracy; let's keep it that way.—
Motto of the John Birch Society.

One would almost wish the solution were as simple as that—democracy versus republic. Unfortunately, this is not so. We have, in the words of author Garet Garrett, “crossed the boundary that lies between Republic and Empire”. Argument over the validity of the two systems, the democratic versus the republican, is thus academic.

The essential prerequisite for an autocratic system is centralization of power. When a governmental system performs this, as did Czarist Russia, there is no need to go through democratic preliminaries to establish a dictatorship; the existing institutions need only be adopted for the dictator's purpose. As Lenin put it: “Bureaucrats . . . work today, obeying the capitalists; they will work even better tomorrow, obeying the armed proletariat.”

When the governmental system is decentralized, as in a federal republic, then the nature of the government and the institutions which give it its nature must be reformed before such centralization can take place. The people must be made to believe that the system is old-fashioned, unable to cope with new problems, or manipulated by evil men for their own advantages.

While, no doubt, many of the charges of manipulation and abuse are just, and the initial attempts of the reformer are in the direction of preventing the abuse of centralization, the result is usually a new law, supposedly designed to prevent such abuse, but, in actuality, increasing it. The absurdity is compounded by calling such centralization “democratic”.

The easiest way to centralize, however, is not by reform, but by

turning to the central government for aid, rather than by seeking such aid from the local or state government. We need only consider the progress of interventionism to see the results of this. The most perfect device for centralization is, of course, war. It is not a coincidence that every war in which the United States has been engaged was immediately productive of such tendencies. Even the war of 1812, which, to many, seems but a continuation of our Revolution, gave us a national debt, a national bank and a high protective tariff.

War operates on the idea that the people must “temporarily” surrender their individual and State rights in the interest of “national necessity.” The existence of a minority of skeptics and the few who may be sympathizers with the enemy gives credence to the idea that the majority will should become supreme in times of emergency. This is the theory of democracy, and this is the reason for the anomaly whereby the more feverish the regimentation, the more feverish the claim of the regimenters that this is true democracy. Or, to quote Lenin again: “Communism alone is capable of giving a really complete democracy.”

Caesar

Hence on to “democracy”, or rather, on to empire. Now, it is improbable that the president will assume the tiara and the purple in our lifetimes, or that the Legislature will face further reduction of its powers; this does not mean that we have not become an empire anyway, despite our legal titles and Constitution. Consider the trends that exist in the American political system and judge: are we still a federal republic, or has Caesar, in the person of Big Government,

crossed the Rubicon?

The chief characteristic of empire does not lie in the title of its executive but in whether said executive rules territories directly without the freely given sanction of the inhabitants. Such a domain incorporated into empire is acquired by force and is retained for purposes of strategy, whether real or imaginary. There are several secondary characteristics connected with this acquisition of territory, all necessary if the empire is to keep and maintain its alien territory.

Pax Americana

The first such characteristic is the need for military alliances to secure or protect the territory so conquered. Alliances, as a device of imperial policy, are as old as recorded history, but they are by nature impermanent. The ally of one empire today may be the ally of its enemy tomorrow—an elementary political truism which has been taught us, as of late, by Marshal Tito.

From the uncertain nature of military alliances stems the second characteristic of empire, the need to subsidize the allies continually. Once undertaken, these subsidies cannot be stopped and usually require an increasing outlay to keep the ally bought. There is no such moral factor as loyalty between states. As one English statesman put it: “Great Britain has no permanent friends and no permanent enemies, but only permanent interests.”

Furthermore, this need for alliances creates a hostility toward those states which prefer to remain neutral. Thucydides tells how, during the Peloponnesian War, the Athenians demanded a “we or they” decision from the island of

Melos, then seeking to preserve neutrality between Athens and Sparta. That was in 420 B. C., but twenty-four centuries later, the dislike of neutrality is still a main characteristic of imperial thinking. Our own attitude toward India is an example. Ignoring, for a moment, her Goan adventure, what difference is there between India's policy now and our own attempts to remain neutral during the first decade of the nineteenth century? However, former Secretary of State Dulles declared: "The United States does not believe in practicing neutrality."

So much for the relations of the empire with the external world. What of its interior characteristics? An empire, unlike a republic is, to quote Mr. Garrett once again, "a prisoner of history." An empire has the need to operate on the world around it, and in so doing, must find a rationale for its actions. The Caesars had their *Pax Romana*; we have — what? *The American Century*? *Manifest Destiny*? Whatever it is, it has committed us to saving and bolstering an amorphous something called "Western Civilization". How does the central government justify its spending to the people? How do we continue the *Pax Americana*?

The easiest method is, of course, through fear of foreign enemies. Thus, the pressure is on for ever-mounting defense expenditures, and no legislature, whether dominated by Republicans or Democrats, seems to have the ability to say nay to the demands of the Defense Department. A growing military establishment is the sign of empire. Rome, under Augustus, had less than twenty legions throughout the Empire; under Diocletian, there was need for nearly one hundred. Why? Fear of the Parthians, fear of the barbarians, fear of internal subversion all served to bully the Senate, which was at that time no more than a rubber stamp for the Caesars.

Nor are our legislators sure of that for which they appropriate

money. Just as Rome had its *arcana imperii*—its imperial secrets—America has its classified material, its bureaucratic stampings and clearances, making it all but impossible to find out what is being spent, and where. In his essay, *Rise of Empire*, Mr. Garrett details the confusion of several American Senators when faced with the bill for military appropriations. Indeed, not even the Pentagon planners seem to have any idea of where the money goes or how much is really necessary.

The Tiara and Purple

Finally, if appeals to Fear, Security, or Unity fail, intimidation is employed. The isolationists and the sincere pacifists are damned and hectored about; often, they are smeared as either obstructionists, or if it suits the fancy of the Government, as "extremists". In such an atmosphere, any debate is forbidden. We need only a crowd yelling "extremists to the lions" to complete the parallel between Rome and America.

The same attempt at intimidation takes place in the demands of the executive for a "bi-partisan", that



is, non-partisan, foreign policy. "Politics" we are told, "stop at the water's edge." Debate is discouraged, lest we fail to present a "unified" policy. Needless to say, this concentrates power in the hands of the State Department, for either good or ill, it cannot be known.

The intellectuals thus satisfied, the common people are consoled by

the thought of "bread and circuses," the bread in form of jobs provided by defense contracts, the circuses by space shots and nuclear explosions. While much of the defense expenditure is justified, much more is not. Yet, since we are now an empire, we must find ways to amuse the proles, and if they prefer to see their money go up from Cape Canaveral in a cloud of smoke, well, they're easy to please.

Despite this, it is not time to ship the tiara and purple to the White House. Indeed, it seems to many writers that the tide is turning and we are realizing the folly of attempting to adapt our federal system to the system of empire. There has been widespread disillusionment over our alliances, little support among Libertarians for our adventures in Asia and Africa, rejection of bi-partisanship in foreign policies. Many are beginning to feel that it is of little or no concern as to what happens in Israel or Ethiopia, One World or not. Even though some conservatives favor our defense of "Western Civilization", the current is reversing itself.

Others have noticed the growing comparison between America and the Roman Empire and are beginning to be heard. Americans are beginning to apply to our attempts at imperial grandeur the warning issued by Toynbee:

Whatever the human faculty, or the sphere of its exercise, may be, the presumption that because a faculty has proved equal to the accomplishment of a limited task within its proper field it may be counted upon to produce an inordinate effort in a different set of circumstances, is never anything but an intellectual and moral aberration and never leads to anything but certain disaster.

We have not yet been beguiled into accepting the "intellectual and moral aberration" of the American Empire; let us hope we will not be. What we have had of it already has weakened our federal system; any more may well cause its downfall.

INVERTED VALUES

The contradictory is false

WINFRED BLEVINS

Of the broad generalizations that people accept and act upon, some result from experience, some from reasoning about that experience, others, from tradition. Unfortunately, some people refuse to question what they get from tradition, thinking it obvious, axiomatic. Yet, as people accept traditions unquestioningly, use them in arguments, act upon them, they motivate the behavior of both individuals and, eventually, government. And certain mistaken beliefs are well-enough entrenched in popular thought as to be difficult to assail. Arguments against them are met with amused glances and snickers.

Our society is dealing with one such belief. We have fallen into the error of valuing not the exceptional and worthwhile, but the mediocre. We say we value the 'common man.' We say "I like X group because it stands up for the little man." Statements like these imply the value of fallibility and incompetence. They indicate that the speaker values, not the able men, but mediocre men and failures. They imply the worthiness, not of strength and intelligence, but of weakness and stupidity.

I have heard students and even teachers in literature class make this kind of comment: "I'm glad to see that Emily Dickinson made spelling errors. It makes her seem more *human*." Note that the quality associated with being "human," and the quality valued by the speaker, is fallibility. A student majoring in English literature at an Ivy League college recently asked me if I had read the work of a certain young poet. When I replied that I had not, he commented that he liked the poet's work "because of his ability to put a bad poem right next

to a good one. I think he puts it here because it is just as characteristic of his mind as the good poem is." This is a sophisticated admiration of man's fallibility, not his capability.

Recently I had 25 freshmen write an essay on "Which is a virtue, intellectual independence or intellectual conformity?" I had expected them to conform by issuing clichés about the value of independence. Yet almost all defended conformity for one or more of the following reasons: a) it makes one feel secure, b) being different brings social condemnation, and c) it's arrogant to try to be independent. Few observed that only intellectual independence produces new knowledge.

More serious symptoms are apparent. Most states allocate thousands of dollars annually to aid the mentally ill and mentally retarded. Amounts given for these purposes dwarf those used for developing gifted children. Thus they perversely value the village idiot more highly than the village genius. Legislatures regard such expenditures as an obligation, but in truth they should result from generosity and compassion. In such case, private, voluntary charity, and not government, is the proper medium.

Thus the philosophical confusion of values has serious political consequences. And since the cause of the confusion is philosophical, it makes little sense to attack specific welfare programs; only a refutation of the philosophical base can be effective.

Let us examine the claim to value of the man who is mediocre or inferior in character and skills. His sole claim, I think, is that he is human. As such he still has no particular merit, but he does have

potential merit; he is a rational being; he has the capacity for accomplishment and integrity. Because of this capacity he has value; but we must value the man who has achieved integrity, who has accomplished, more than the man who could have accomplished but has thus far failed. The fact of his failure in the face of his capacity detracts from our admiration for him.

Some say that this man's need transcends all other values. Yet consider the implications of giving financial reward according to need rather than production. First, to do so is to value inferiority. That system asks the employer or the government to pay more to a man with six children who sweeps the floor than to an unmarried research scientist. The fact that the researcher produces more and is thus of more value to other men is thought irrelevant. Such confused rewarding encourages indolence and discourages production, but this fact is ignored. Of course, no employer would pay his employees by such a system. But reward according to need is a basic tenet of socialism and of socialist legislation.

I hope at this point the reader will feel that I have been belaboring the obvious. The basic fallacy is apparent, but the notion that need is a legitimate claim to reward seems to be prevalent in our society.

Some alert readers will here react: "But no one really prizes the inferior, at least no such belief influences most people's behavior. Everyone still buys the better of two cars priced the same, prefers the company of the woman he likes better, hires the more qualified of two men. If anyone didn't, people would think him stupid."

A point well taken. It leads directly to a most important observation: most people's values are self-contradictory. Needless to say, the contradictory is false. And a contradiction in theory can only lead to grotesque confusion in practice — as this one has.

LIBERAL MASQUERADE

Wherein the Liberal Mask of Academic

Freedom is shown to be a bit askew

JAMES BLAIR

The fact that some campus liberal organizations supported the use of hidden microphones and telephoto lenses in the recent, widely publicized anti-discrimination film case, and so drew the condemnation of the American Civil Liberties Union, may have caused concern among some who consider themselves to be "liberal" in the more traditional meaning of the word.

I claim that this is not an isolated incident but rather one event in a growing chain of anti-liberal policies advocated by contemporary American Liberals, policies which are directly contrary to the ideals which Liberals preach at great length across the Republic but which they practice to a much lesser degree. How often do Liberal sources call for open discussion with all viewpoints presented, "academic freedom," "civil liberties," and the like? But how well do they adhere to their ideals? Here are some examples:

Item: In the March 12, 1962, *Daily Cardinal*, Liberal columnist R. E. Fauber entitled his article "Equal Time for the Right?" Fauber's answer is NO. Since the uni-

Most political leaders acquire their position by causing large numbers of people to believe that these leaders are actuated by altruistic desires.

— Bertrand Russell

versity's job is to teach Truth, (i.e., Liberalism), it should not be teaching Error (i.e., Conservative views). It might be noted here that among the Truths that Fauber has discovered in the History Department here is the revelation that American Conservatism is immediately descendent from the slave-holding South, and Calhoun is its prophet.

Item: The National Student Association Congress held in Madison last summer offers several cases from which to choose. Roger Claus, past president of the Wisconsin Conservative Club, gave a detailed account of the entire affair in the January 1962 issue of *The Individualist*, so I will mention just one example here. N. S. A. had ruled that groups like the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists could invite speakers so long as they did not interfere with the N.S.A. agenda, which sounds fair enough. When the conservative Senator John Tower of Texas made it known that he would be available on only Sunday, August 20, the N. S. A. scheduled a session for that time and hence barred Tower's appearance. Next the Conservatives tried to have William F. Buckley Jr. speak to the plenary session. This was rejected, so Conservatives arranged for him to speak at an off-campus location (Madison Inn) at 8:30 p.m. The N.S.A. then attempted to block this by shifting the start of the sub-work shops from 10 p.m. to 9 p.m. so the delegates would not be able to hear Buckley.

On another day the N.S.A. altered the agenda to allow the newly-appointed U.S. Commissioner on Education of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Sterling MacMurrin, to address the plenary session. Hence by altering the agenda the N.S.A. leadership attempted to block Conservative

speakers and accommodate Liberal ones.

Item: Liberal hypocrisy is not confined to student groups. President Moise Tshombe had arranged to visit the U.S. in early March of this year and had accepted invitations to speak at the Madison Square Garden rally of the Young Americans for Freedom, to appear on Meet the Press, to speak at a luncheon of the National Press Club, the World Affairs Council in Los Angeles, and several university and college forums. Tshombe's visa was "held up" because he had not "properly applied", because his application was "incomplete" and so on. The State Department finally admitted that it was not going to permit Tshombe to enter the country, and in words that made it clear that the department did not want the American public to hear what Tshombe had to say about the U.S. Congo policy.

Is this action consistent with Liberal preachments about "open discussion in the free market place of ideas?" Patrick Murphy Malin, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, didn't think so, and he called on the State Department to reverse its decision, saying that the government's action "leaves little doubt" that the visit "was barred only because it was not in the Administration's interest to have Mr. Tshombe publicly express his point of view on the Congo situation."

Item: There is probably no cow so sacred to the Liberal mind as that of academic freedom, but the Liberals have been notably cavalier in violating that freedom.

Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins of the University of Chicago authored this glorious call for academic free-

(Continued on overleaf)

dom: "The danger to our institutions is not from the tiny minority who do not believe in them. It is from those who mistakenly repress the free spirit upon which those institutions are built. The policy of repression of ideas cannot work and never has worked."

Subordinate to Dr. Hutchins was Dr. William T. Couch, then head of the University of Chicago Press. Dr. Couch made the mistake of voicing some anti-Communist opinions and publishing some books of the same view. Since Dr. Hutchins is of the view that anti-Communist investigations are "the greatest menace to the United States since Hitler," you can see that it is only Hutchins' devotion to academic freedom which would safeguard Dr. Couch's job. How strong is that devotion? Dr. Couch was notified that he was finished at Chicago and was given little more than six hours to vacate his office. The faculty subcommittee investigating the episode noted that it was a "gross violation of the right normally accorded to members of the academic community. No hearing was held prior to the dismissal, nor did Dr. Couch have any opportunity to defend himself . . ."

(The Hutchins-Couch fracas is not an isolated instance. For more details on this and several similar cases, see the section "A Short Way with Dissent" from M. Stanton Evans' book, *Revolt on the Campus*, p. 218-230.)

Now all of this may not prove that there is a totalitarian movement afoot in the Liberal camp, but it may cause one to show concern at several statements that would have been passed over lightly before, for example the enthusiastic reception given to Rear Admiral William C. Mott's statement that "amateur anti-Communists are as dangerous as amateur brain surgeons." Now we all know that laws have been passed to restrict the activities of amateur brain surgeons. Could the Liberal establishment be hinting at similar legislation for "amateur anti-Communists"?

Free Trade in a Free Market

The Economy cannot long endure
half slave and half free

THEODORE CORMANEY

President Kennedy, in an address before the convention of the National Association of Manufacturers on December 6th last, launched his campaign for a "bold tariff policy." The president hopes to reverse the deficit trends in the United States' balance of payments and trade. The balance of trade deficit for the last ten months has been \$450,000,000, down from \$2,000,000,000 in the preceding ten months. This balance is so close to the merely "breaking even" point that the U.S. now insists that three-fourths of its economic aid to the "underdeveloped" countries must be spent in procurement in the United States. For the first time in a generation the Treasury has been directed to buy and sell foreign currencies in the international exchange market, so as to offset unfavorable developments affecting the value of the dollar.

The U.S. is down to about \$16,900,000,000 in gold. Contrary to popular apprehension, the President even submitted a balanced budget to the Congress for fiscal 1963. Though only precariously balanced, this was largely an attempt to reassure the nations of Western Europe that the U.S. would not further deflate the value of the dollar through further deficit budgeting.

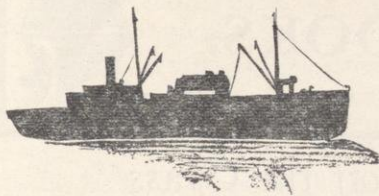
"Most important of all," said the President in discussing the tools at hand for reversing these trends, "we are seeking to increase our exports and thus our surplus of exports over imports . . . One of those tools, one which we urgently need for our own well-being, is a new trade and tariff policy."

The stimulus for this "new and bold instrument of American trade policy" is the European Common Market, which soon, with the U.S., will comprise some 90% of the free world's industrial production. The Common Market will have almost twice as many people as the U.S. With national economies which have been growing twice as fast as ours, it will represent an area with a purchasing power which some day will rival our own. "It could be—it should be—our most reliable and profitable customer."

Pernicious Protection

The President's aim is what the *New York Times* calls "freer trade", i.e. tariff levels commensurate with those imposed by the Common Market upon U.S. goods.

The President's basic proposal, "freer trade", is a consummation devoutly to be wished. It is necessary to a free economy that that competition which ensures the lowest prices, the highest quality, and the most appropriate allocation of raw materials, labor, and finished products not be hampered or restricted as it happens to cross a political boundary. Protective tariffs are of the basest form of economic interventionism. The producer who goes to the government to establish a privileged position commits the doubly self-defeating act of 1) upsetting the free market, and 2) encouraging governmental regulation of the economy. It is, of course, the coercive power of the state which underlies and enforces any sort of restrictive or protective tariff. It is the consumer who must ultimately pay the tariff. He not only pays it in higher prices



for the protected product, he must through his taxes pay the cost of governmental administration and collection.

The protectionist's first arguments against President Kennedy's "freer trade" proposals are that, should the tariffs be drastically reduced or eliminated, cheaper goods will be poured so fast into the home market as to deprive many thousands of employment. The President's bill before Congress (HR. 9900) anticipates such a contingency and in fact assumes that such will be the case, by making available several hundreds of millions of dollars for "adjustment assistance". This assistance will go to wage earners put out of work by the effects of "freer trade" and to industries thrust into competition with foreign producers by the removal of protective barriers. These provisions, however, largely enervate the effect of the "freer trade" clauses of the bill, by taking away from these workers and industries their protection and, in effect, putting them on the federal payroll. Whether federal subsidies to marginal industries are preferable to protective tariffs is debateable.

Free Market Best

Free trade re-arouses competition in the economy which will draw job-creating capital into areas heretofore by-passed as the purview of protected businesses. That is, free competition has never, indeed cannot, fail to draw capital and thereby jobs to areas of the economy that are open to the best and cheapest product. If previously protected areas of the market are not subject

to price competition, no amount of federal money will make them productive and competitive. Only a free market can appropriately allocate capital.

The private interest of the protected industries will rise up to oppose the effective breaking of their monopoly. But a monopoly in trade has yet to be established independent of the collusion and coercion of the state. That a broad, all encompassing tariff is in fact a broad monopoly, and that this monopoly rests upon the police power of the state is merely an argument for its removal.

An Un-free Economy

The primary fallacy of the President's "freer trade" proposals is that it is impossible to induce free trade in an un-free economy. An economy restricted by legislated minimum wages out of context with the value of labor cannot be free. An economy in which labor is empowered to demand wages out of relation with the value of that labor cannot be free. An economy in which capital accumulation is discouraged by a confiscatory income tax cannot be free. An economy in which the government competes with private enterprise in everything from power and transportation to the manufacture of rope cannot be free. An economy in which the agricultural sector is almost entirely under the direct and artificial subsidy of the government cannot be free. An economy in which huge portions of the transportation industry exist only at the pleasure of governmental regulatory agencies cannot be free. An economy in which the individual is forbidden to own gold cannot be free. An economy in which the government seeks to direct foreign investment into areas where, to quote Mr. Kennedy, "we would like to see American capital invested" cannot be free. To propose, as Mr. Kennedy has proposed, to make but a single sector of the economy "freer" without freeing its dependent sectors is either purposefully malicious, or incredibly naïve.

The challenge of the Common Market is indeed serious. To meet this challenge and turn it into an opportunity, we indeed require "freer trade." But "freer trade" is a practical impossibility without a "freer" economy. If Mr. Kennedy honestly seeks to "take the initiative in the economic arena" he must first set the American economy free of governmental intervention, restriction and harrassment.

THIS BREAD IS MINE

by Robert LeFevre

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BOOKS



Keep off the Grass

There is a good deal more to being a man than simply being a male. There are beasts of the field that are male, yet it would be preposterous to suggest that they are men. There are human males, as well, in whom it is equally ridiculous to search for one virile spark of manhood. These are the loafers, the looters, the liars who fear nothing — if ten million shuffle with them.

In his recent book, *This Bread Is Mine*, Robert LeFevre emphatically stakes out and defends his claim to manhood. Bound to shock portions of a society which has been conditioned to value the group conscience over that of the individual, LeFevre's message is conscientiously and persuasively delivered. Much of its proselytative effect stems from sheer admiration of a man who dares to be alone, of a man who is more than a male because he ventures to think and act independently. Yet, certainly, there is also a logic present which is difficult, if not impossible in some parts, to refute effectively.

Beginning with a devastating scrutiny of socialism and closing with a declaration of *individual* independence, LeFevre brilliantly develops his theme of the sanctity, dignity, and worth of the individual human being. "No possible combination of human beings is quite so unique or fascinating as the nature and characteristics of ONE SINGLE PERSON," he writes in his preface, and then sets about to prove it.

Socialism, by definition, is the opposite of individualism. It is socialism, then, that LeFevre must first demolish. He believes it probably began as a myth form of primitive peoples. From there he traces

THIS BREAD IS MINE

ROBERT LEFEVRE

American Liberty Press, 1960, \$4.50

it to the Hammurabian Code of 3000 B.C., and up through the influence of Karl Marx. He demonstrates that the concept of socialism is not a relatively new idea originating in the nineteenth century.

Finished with history, LeFevre begins a painstaking dissection of the philosophy of socialism. He explains that pure socialist conviction holds that each human being should be entitled to a pro-rata share of living land areas; any person who has less than his pro-rata share has been criminally deprived of what rightfully belongs to him. Since simple arithmetic division of land is obviously impossible due to differences in land values and fluctuations of these values, socialists attempt to make equal by legislation what cannot be

made equal by nature. There are two primary tenets involved here: 1) No man shall have more than the least of his fellows; 2) If any man does have more, he shall be made to give it up for the benefit of others.

All this is unworkable, says LeFevre, because it is in direct opposition to the natural laws of the universe. All men, he avers, have the right to live; all men have a right to sustain their lives; if a man has a right to sustain his life, he has a right to produce whatever he wishes so that his living may be sustained; if man has a right to produce, then he must have a right to use whatever he produces in his own interests; if this is true, then man has a right to absolute private ownership. All men possess these rights, but no man possesses the right to take them away from another.

LeFevre is not content to say that "that governs best which governs least." He claims that that governs best which governs not at all. Man, he says, is an individual rational being, quite capable of providing for his own needs. He believes that government robs its citizens of their property in exchange for services which the citizens could and should provide for themselves.

Despite this aversion to government, LeFevre does not classify himself as an anarchist. He points out that despite the differences among former anarchists, such as Proudhon, Bakunin, and the rioters at the Chicago Haymarket Square, they all shared a common belief as to *why* government should be destroyed. They viewed government as the protector of private property; since, in the words of Proudhon, "Property is robbery," they wished to raze government in order to abolish private property. LeFevre, on the other hand, is opposed to government because it takes from its citizens that to which it has no right. His objection is not that government protects private property, but rather that it socializes it.

LeFevre is open to criticism on a few philosophical points. His view that certain admonitions of Christ concerning great wealth advanced the cause of socialism is of dubious validity. It was not great riches, *per se*, that Christ was concerned about; it was rather the *self-enslavement* to wasteful pleasure-seeking which may often accompany massive riches.

Perhaps the greatest obstacle between LeFevre and many of his readers is the impossibility of a completely governmentless society. His enthusiasts claim that he is under no illusions as to the impracticability of putting his theories into immediate operation, were this possible; they say he is speaking in terms of an eventual ideal, obtainable through gradual reeducation. But in doing so, LeFevre approaches the naïveté of the socialists he attacks. That socialism has proven to be a nightmare, while LeFevre's governmentless society is still a blissful dream, does not improve the validity of the latter.

Yet, after constant inhalation of the stale air of collectivism, *This Bread Is Mine* is as invigorating as the Colorado breezes in which it was written. Its

timely and well-reasoned bombardment of socialism is evidence enough of the author's intellectual ability. Though the reader may or may not agree with LeFevre's final ideal of a governmentless society, his powerful arguments on the superiority of the individual over the group are desiderative and overdue to combat the myth of socialism.

All in all, *This Bread Is Mine* is a triumphant and fearless message. But why not? It was written by a Man.

— Henry Hempe

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”

Calvin Coolidge
President of the
United States, 1923-29



HINDSIGHTS

◆ During World War II, after the Japanese Americans had been removed from the west coast, there was much agitation to keep them interned. One of the loudest tom-tom beaters for this view was the then Governor of California, Earl Warren. But times have changed, and Mr. Warren has discovered minorities . . . which serves to illustrate Liberalism's devotion to principles.

◆ Dr. Marvin K. Opler, a psychiatrist and professor at the University of Buffalo, N.Y., reported recently, after an intensive eight-year study, that more than eighty per cent of the residents of New York City need mental treatment. The professor's figure comes close, but the Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA) have already computed the figure at 80.953 per cent, which is the percentage of Congressmen from New York City who are Liberal.

◆ "Shelters against atomic and hydrogen bombs are nothing but coffins and tombs prepared in advance," said Soviet Defense Minister Rodion Y. Malinovsky a while back, echoing the sentiments of a noisy minority of anti-shelter Americans. A *New York Times* dispatch of March 25, however, notes that there is evidence of an extensive system of bomb shelters in Soviet cities. Exhibition films and other materials have permitted western observers to recognize above-ground air vents and escape hatches on public shelters in Moscow, and travelers have seen them in other Soviet cities.

◆ Before taking office, President Kennedy cautioned Americans that we cannot return "to the days of McKinley," which sounded at the time like a forward-looking, progressive statement. That is, until we read C. W. Wright's *Economic History of the United States* and noticed that at the end of the nineteenth century the U.S. rate of growth of per capita realized production income, adjusted to cost of living, was the highest of any period in U.S. history, and that during this time the long-term annual increase in total production was about three and one-half per cent — a figure which the current administration would love to equal. All this growth was achieved with no income tax and a federal budget a fraction of the present one. Oh yes, and it was during the administration of William McKinley that the United States successfully liberated Cuba.

◆ Lysistrata was the heroine of an ancient Greek play who persuaded the Athenian women to withhold their affections from their husbands until peace was made with Sparta. John R. Boyden, a leader of a ban-the-bomb movement in Britain, has turned out to be her modern male counterpart. Boyden is urging wives who favor disarmament to "withdraw their love" until their husbands agree to work for the abolition of nuclear weapons. When things have come to this, it's time to bomb the banners.

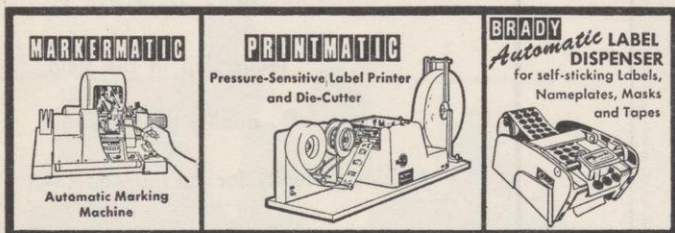
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