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insight and outlook

in this issue . . .

Up from Socialism

Millard Johnson

Atlantic Common Market

Timothy J. Wheeler

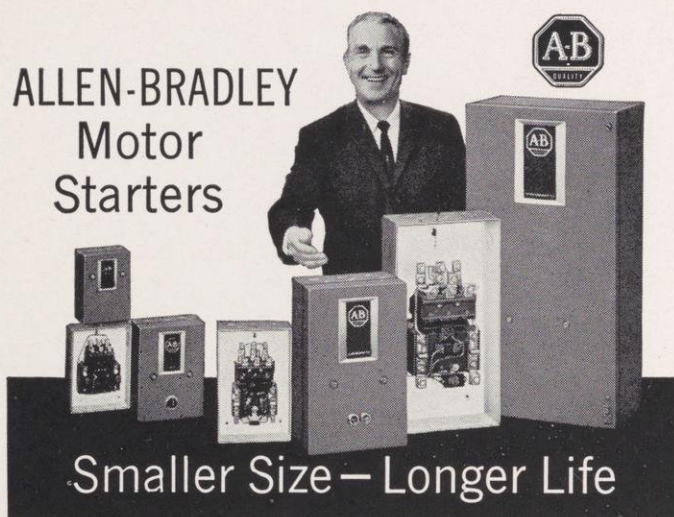
Art and the Soap Peddlers

James M. O'Connell

Liberal Masquerade

James Blair

ALLEN-BRADLEY Motor Starters



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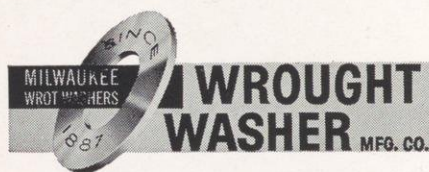
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insight and outlook

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Insight and Outlook is published bimonthly by students at the University of Wisconsin. Editorial offices are located at 150 Langdon St., Madison, Wis. Application to mail at controlled circulation rates is pending at Madison, Wisconsin.

Menu

In this issue, the editors of **INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK** take pride in presenting the best writing from the first six volumes of this magazine. Before we describe the courses we have chosen, some words about the selection processes seem in order.

In order to have a large and varied collection, the committee arbitrarily limited the articles to not more than two pages. Thus, such masterpieces as Richard S. Wheeler's comparison between Liberalism and Fascism and the efforts by William F. Buckley and James M. O'Connell to define and analyse the conservative movement have been excluded. Similarly, in the interest of uniformity of format, much of the work in the first three volumes was also excluded. Nevertheless, we are confident as to the excellence of our choices; three of the articles chosen have appeared in *Under 30*, a magazine which features the best in young conservative writing. Now, without further ado, we offer our choices.

Millard Johnson, a former Editor, leads off with an analysis of the transition from socialism to conservatism among the young, and describes the workings of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. Timothy Wheeler discusses the possibilities of an Atlantic Common Market and its effects on our economy. James M. O'Connell looks into the effects of government intervention on the arts and decides that we can survive the philistines without the help of some would-be Secretary of Culture. Jim Blair discusses some of the superstitions of "academic freedom" as found at the University of Wisconsin, Dan Boyer unravels the difference between "human rights" and "property rights" and concludes that it just isn't so, and Gene Chavkin takes on Lord Russell's *furor illogicus* in the search for peace.

As usual, we have included Cy Butt, whose hero, Fremont Guilfoyle is off hunting fallout from the population explosion and some unabashed hindsights. One of our book reviewers has also been busy.

Finally, the editors hope to have a second issue of "best writings", hopefully with a selection of longer articles. We ask our readers for comments and suggestions on what *they* feel is the "best" of **INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK**. Send your votes to our Langdon Street Office, care of our selections editor—who is hiding from the wrath of excluded authors at the moment.

The John Birch Society --- Cont'd

"The Birch Society is—" well, fill in your own contumely. One hears such a range of charges against it, so frequently uttered, that it can be readily assumed the facts have been marshalled, the prosecution has been heard, and the conviction assured.

Or can it?

"The Birch Society is totalitarian." Or "dictatorial." Or "Hitlerite." At first, you may recall, no one called the Society these things—that came later when someone, somewhere, began to say them over and over and over. Someone, apparently, whose fortunes were being damaged by the Birch Society. And of all the charges brought, these are among the silliest.

What is totalitarianism, after all? It is simply the domination of the whole society by the state. It is the condition of unrestrained, unlimited, total government acting in behalf of "the people." It is always characterized by the insinuation of the state deep down into the private lives of private individuals.

How extraordinary that the Birch Society, which in deed and in policy is dedicated to eradicate Communist totalitarianism and to defend the American tradition of strictly limited constitutional government, should itself be labeled totalitarian!

"Oh, but it's the way the Birchers are organized that's totalitarian," goes the charge. "The Society is undemocratic. It is quasi-secret. Its members must adhere to the lunacy of its fuehrer, Robert Welch."

These are the sole reasons, such as they are, for crucifying the Birch Society.

The central attribute of a totalitarian society is that its leaders can impose their will upon the members, by force if need be. Does Robert Welch, or his advisory council, possess the powers to coerce Birch members? No. Does Robert Welch demand unanimity of method and purpose among the chapters? No. Are the chapters essentially autonomous? Yes.

Is one compelled to belong to the Society against one's wishes or principles? No. May one attempt to alter Birch policy, or express disagreement with the founder? Yes. Does a man who founds a political society to gain certain objectives have the right to demand of those who join him that they undertake to accomplish those objectives, too? Of course.

It is true that the members do not establish policy—Robert Welch does. So let it be agreed that the Society is structurally undemocratic. It can even be argued that Welch is an autocrat. But does an autocratic society which champions limited government and maximum personal liberty endanger American institutions? Of course not.

By way of contrast, one can examine the far-left Americans for Democratic Action, which unquestionably is democratically organized, in that its members establish its policy and vote for officers.

But what policies does this democratic ADA advocate?—without exception policies tending to strengthen and centralize the state, and place greater power in fewer hands; policies calculated to expand Federal and even supranational institutions at the expense of the private (or social) sector; policies that imply or explicate wholesale regimentation of individuals; and policies that accommodate a world tyranny which holds unnumbered millions of wretched people in its grasp.

It ought to be noted also, that a large number of ADA members already hold critical positions in the present

administration, and in the Congress and the judiciary. That is, the ADA is empowered to levy the state machinery behind its ideas. The Birch Society holds no such power.

Thus, on the right, an autocratic Birch Society battles Communist totalitarianism and domestic statism. And on the left, a democratic ADA imposes—that is the right word—statist, pre-totalitarian measures on the public. Which, then, actually threatens our free society?

It must be remembered that democracy is pretended by the Communists, defended by socialists as the one indispensable means of socialization, and limited by free peoples for the same reason. Hitler rose to power through democracy rather than revolution; there seems no doubt that a free election today in Argentina would return Peron.

No, it is not the Birch Society to be feared as totalitarian.

What of the Society's other grand sinning: it is "monolithic." So what? It is "fascistic." Nonsense. It means are deplorable. Which—writing letters to newspapers, trying to win elections, mailing literature, taking part ("power-grab") in local affairs and government? Joining ("infiltrating") the PTA? Its members make nasty, "anonymous phone calls." Anonymous people make anonymous calls.

Although the Society's organizational structure, means and ends are hardly sinister, it does, as a matter of fact, have grave flaws which caused both *Insight and Outlook* and the Wisconsin Conservative Club to refuse all connection with it several years ago.

The central flaw of the Society is an aberrant faculty for analysis, an operating premise (described in the conservative *National Review's* famous editorial attack on the Society) which asserts that from the objective deed one may *reliably* infer the motivation of the doer. Thus: the free world has suffered, demonstrably, a long series of defeats by the Communist leviathan in the cold war years. This did not "just happen." Therefore, the defeats *must* have been deliberately caused by a web of enemy agents and their sympathizers manipulating our government.

This is clearly the conspiracy theory in such great disrepute today (though not always: Jefferson and Lincoln were elected on "conspiracy" platforms), except among the multitudes who regard the Birch Society as a conspiracy.

When the Society's analytical premise is at work, its conclusions can be simply breathtaking: Dwight Eisenhower *knowingly* permitted himself to be used by Communists, the Hungarian Revolution was nothing but a stage show, and so were the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Chinese-Indian war; traitors in the State Department turned West New Guinea over to Sukarno, the Sino-Soviet split is completely fraudulent, and Charles De Gaulle must be a Communist.

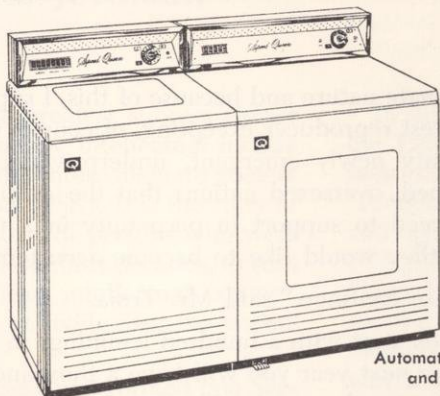
These are very serious errors, stemming, for the most part, from an assumption which does not give due accounting to the endless clashes of countless independent forces, ideas and passions which comprise the sweep of history.

Confusion is what the Birch Society should be faulted for. But by no means for "totalitarianism"—for that, and plenty of confusion as well, one should look to the ADA.

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The Bourgeoisie

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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

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what's
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DIVISION OF OUTBOARD MARINE CORPORATION

The De-Populator

Cy Butt

**Through ingenuous means, Fremont Guilfoyle
With the noble assistance of Fifi
Resolves to solve
A corker**

Into Mr. Joseph Troia's steak and martini emporium this Monday morning came Fremont Guilfoyle, consultant to the new Royal Family, and alongside, as usual, was his secretary, Fifi, her silken shafts shimmering in the subdued light of the juke box and her twin Fujiyamas rising from the plain below in a manner that filled the minds of Mr. Troia's client's with what I think was awe.

"Buenos dias," said Mr. Troia, who is a linguist of no mean ability.

"It isn't," said Fremont, "I have enough fur on my tongue to demand protection from the Department of Game Conservation. Give me a couple of those cocktails I thought so highly of last night."

"I don't remember just what they were," said Mr. Troia. "Do you recall the name?"

"I don't remember anything," said Fremont, "except that they began with a base of a pint of gin and then seven or eight other ingredients were poured or sifted in. They were delicious and, I imagine, nutritious, for I don't feel the least bit hungry this morning."

"Ah, yes," said Mr. Troia, "that is our Jupiter Pluvius. Several of them taken rapidly will produce all the effects of intoxication. But what are you and your pretty bird doing for the nonce?"

"Fifi and I are here," said Fremont, "to take a short course in genetics. The Boss is worried about the population explosion and he delegated me to do something about it."

"Have you found a solution to the problem?" asked Mr. Troia, placing a tankard in front of Fremont.

"Not yet," said Fremont. "The Administration put out a few releases urging continence, but the staff lives in a glass house in this regard and such suggestions were cut by the press secretary. This continence thing is for the birds, anyway. Don't buy any stock in it. The only thing left is my lemming project."

"I'm listening," said Mr. Troia.

"The lemming," said Fremont, tasting his Pluvius, "is a small animal allied to the marmot that favors the colder parts of the world for its habitat. It has a most

affectionate nature and because of this, I suppose, it is the fastest reproducer excepting, of course, the fifteen or twenty newly emergent, underprivileged, underdeveloped, oversexed nations that the Administration has agreed to support in perpetuity in a manner to which they would like to become accustomed."

"Please continue," said Mr. Troia.

"If you start with a hundred lemmings in any given area, the next year you will have a thousand, and the next year ten thousand, and so on. In a few years there just isn't anything around for them to eat, and they become retarded even more than the nations mentioned supra in that they haven't yet thought of writing the Director of the Agency for International Development for a grant in aid of a magnitude consonant with the dignity of lemmings." Fremont caught his breath. "Well, the shortage of food gets worse and worse, and finally one of them says, 'To hell with it', and takes off. The rest all follow him and away they go over the hill and dale as if pursued by demons. They finally reach the sea but this doesn't faze them a bit and they jump right in and hit out for the farther shore, which they think is right over the horizon. Bye and bye they drown and that is the end of them except for a few that were playing cards in some saloon when the trek started. There is food enough for these few and they get fat and happy and loving and the whole thing goes around again in another big circle."

"Very interesting," said Mr. Troia, shifting his eyes.

"I am going to get few of these lemmings, Mr. Troia, and knock them off by some humane method and remove the genes and hormones and chromosomes and gonads and grind them up to synthesize the juice for quantity production. This extract will halt the population explosion in short order, and we won't have to grow our food on the tops of our heads as has been freely predicted if people go on doing what comes naturally."

"What does the Administration think of your plan?" asked Mr. Troia.

"Oh, it is delighted," said Fremont. "I was given AAAA-1 priorities and told to go ahead and never mind the cost. There is, however, one restriction."

"And what is that?" queried Mr. Troia.

"They insist," said Fremont, "that the serum be given only to Republicans."

Up From Socialism

MILLARD JOHNSON

Collectivists on American campuses
no longer go unchallenged

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

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

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

Old Radicals

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

The New Radicals

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

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

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

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

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

Richard S. Wheeler, a former editor of *INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK* and a controversial student newspaper columnist. He is now chief editorialist for the *Oakland Tribune*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ For an up-to-date list of conservative and libertarian books, see *INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK*, Vol. VI, No. 4.

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

The Atlantic Common Market

TIMOTHY WHEELER

America is at the crossroads
of world economic leadership

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Tariff Walls . . .

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

where protectionism is already an established fact.

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

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

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

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

reaucrat and the labor leader remain obdurate in defense of their privileges, they will find themselves without a host. There will be no industries for Washington to drain, and no jobs for labor.

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

... must fall

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

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

"Why is this?

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

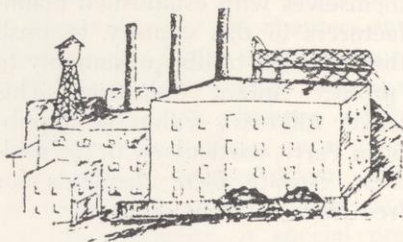
"Lower foreign wages we have

long confronted, certainly, but industrialized America has never before faced a general pattern of lower foreign costs.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Art and the Soap Peddlers

JAMES O'CONNELL

Balph Eubank had joined the group around Dr. Pritchett, and was saying sullenly, "... no, you cannot expect people to understand the higher reaches of philosophy. Culture should be taken out of the hands of the dollar-chasers. We need a national subsidy for literature. It is disgraceful that artists are treated as peddlers and that art works have to be sold like soap."

"You mean, your complaint is that they *don't* sell like soap?" asked Francisco d'Anconia.

—*Atlas Shrugged*, Ayn Rand

The idea endures, and the critics never tire of reminding us, that capitalism ain't got no culture. It is the mean, materialistic capitalist attitude, they say, which poisons art. Art is non-competitive; the market will not support the artists and writers who are, nevertheless, obviously deserving of support. Instead we are assailed with an endless flow of mechanical novels, insipid films and tinny music, all in response to our society's endless pursuit of the dollar.

The remedy follows easily behind the observation: art must be subsidized, by society for the benefit of society. (There does not seem to have been any serious suggestion yet that this subsidy be extended to its most vigorous proponents, the critics — perhaps because the criticism of capitalism is always a profitable enterprise and needs none.)

The critics' ideas, which seem to be true enough on the surface — certainly we are assailed with pulp literature and clatter music — are seen to be nonsense on closer examination. Their advocates show themselves ignorant not only of the functioning of the market economy, but of the very role of the artist, the creative genius, in society. The creative genius unlike the mass of ordinary men does not act to achieve an end separate from the acting; he is rewarded by the acting itself. He differs from the entrepreneur, who must satisfy the

Art flourishes best in a capitalistic system

wishes of the consumer if he wishes to succeed, and who, therefore, must conform to the consumer's ideas and standards; the creative individual is guided only by his own developed standards and is alone responsible for his creation.

As an innovator, the creative individual will more likely than not despise the so-called traditional values and standards, or at least disregard them. Beethoven introduced a new dynamism into the then formalistic music of the European courts by rejecting the orthodox canons of music. But the creative individual must pay for his intransigence. Since he disregards the standards of the masses, he cannot hope for voluntary financial aid from them or attempt to sell them the products of his genius.

In the precapitalistic era, the writers, artists and philosophers were supported by patrons from the aristocracy. Only a few had an independent means of support — Spinoza, we recall, was a lens grinder by profession. It is a historical fact that this system of patronage, for the most part, granted full freedom of expression to those artists and writers it supported. The patrons generally did not attempt to impose their own ethics or politics on their protégés; indeed, in many cases they protected them from outraged clerics and other traditionalists.

Nevertheless, such patronage was usually precarious and sometimes dangerous. The whims of princes and aristocrats, backed up by unchallengeable power, frequently made life intolerable for the genius who dared to offend his patron (for instance, what if the protégé failed to complete his deathless symphony in time for the Grand Duke's ball?)

The rise of classical liberalism gave promise of finding a new base of support for the creative indi-

viduals, in the middle classes. Unfortunately, creating is not conformity but dissent. The middle classes were uncomfortable around the dissenters and did little to support them, and so the creative individuals had to look elsewhere for a living. But this is not the fault of capitalism: it is a result of the timidity and conformity of the majority.

Nevertheless, and despite appearances, there has been no real diminution in the number of artistic and literary works whose candidacy as serious art might be entertained. The apparent decline in both the quantity and quality of creative work is only relative to a general increase in the mass production and sale of books, music and painting.

The large publishing houses, the sheet music and record companies, the mass magazines and the movie and television studios do not impose their tastes on the public. As entrepreneurs, they must satisfy public taste insofar as they can measure it. This process does not stop nor even greatly affect the production of serious art and literary works. There are many media for quality work—small book houses, "art" cinema, literary magazines—which forego mass markets to cater to the tastes of a cultured minority. In addition to these, gifts from the wealthy have done much to preserve the good features of the patronage system while eliminating the intrinsic evils of the system under princely or aristocratic tutelage. Such gifts are the private concern of the giver, and are not collected from a group of subjects against their will.

Many people, including a few of the creative, do not understand this. They continue to argue for state subsidization of cultural institutions. Rise Stevens, the noted mezzo-soprano, declared in an article written for the New York *Herald Tribune*, "I feel the taxpayer has every right to demand that his own community be blessed with a new auditorium which houses its own opera company, symphony orchestra, ballet troupe and theatre ensemble." There is no better prac-

tical test of Miss Stevens' sentiments than the controversy which has for some years rocked our own Madison, Wisconsin.

Madison, which is the seat of both the State Capitol and the University of Wisconsin, is supposed to be one of the most "culture-conscious" cities in the nation. Some time ago a new civic auditorium, very much like the sort Miss Stevens recommends, was proposed here. Its actual construction has been delayed and delayed while "town hall" democracy fought out the problems involved. In every case, from the choice of the architect to the very purpose of the auditorium, the views of the "uncultured majority" have prevailed.

The reason for this is obvious enough, but it seems to have escaped those who favor the statist solution. The statist assumes that the same tolerance, the same freedom of expression that existed in the precapitalist era, when the state was run by a cultured few who were eager to recognize genius, will continue when the state is run by men committed to the dictates of the many. But is folly to assume that the creative individual, with his anti-authoritarian, anti-traditionalist viewpoint, would be suitable to a board of men who are attempting to subsidize culture and please the uncultured majority at the same time. Thus, it is not surprising to find, in Madison, a situation where the designs of Frank Lloyd Wright, the state's best-known architect—and also the most intransigent—are rejected. Madison will not have a public auditorium of Wright's design, even though many of his private homes, office buildings and churches dot the state.

Miss Stevens, and others who share her views, might surmise that they would benefit from government subsidies to the arts. Their optimism would appear to be unfounded, when proper consideration is given to the state mechanisms. If the state is to supply a subsidy, it must maintain some meas-

ure of control to see that its funds are used as intended, that is, to support culture instead of plumb-ing or horseshoe-pitching. Thus the state must establish, for the arts, an agency of quality control whose nature will predictably be ponderous, highly orthodox and fatally efficient. It will know nothing of artistic temperament. It will be staffed with bureaucrats rather than artists, interlock with other bureaus, and worry about its appropriations. It will support art on a low-bid basis.

Assuming even that an established performer of Miss Stevens' caliber (and orthodoxy) could cut through some of the red tape to receive a dole, consider the woes of a struggling newcomer. The undeveloped talent who most needs financial assistance would be the one who would have to prove his abilities in order to get it—leaving all the doors closed. Some newcomers might, because of the anti-authoritarian attitude of their craft, be turned down by the bureaucrats and others might refuse to apply for the same reason, or because they feel that begging will corrupt their talent. Still others might take one look at the red tape and run. The "rise in culture" resulting from such a program would unquestionably resemble the vapid gush which emerged from the WPA-sponsored "artists' projects" in the thirties. Whether there could be any real "freedom of expression" under state subsidy is the conjecture of dreams, not facts.

Several available examples of statist cultural support might be considered briefly to see how it all works out in practice. What of the dissenting artist, the dissenting writer under the advanced statist-systems of the Soviet bloc? There, unless the individual conforms to the ruling elite's idea of what constitutes "socialist realism" or "proletarian" art or whatever the fad is, he will find himself denounced and shunned as a purveyor of "bourgeois decadence". Thus, Shostako-

vich, rather than lose his position in the Soviet Union specialized in cranking out pot-bangers in the name of symphonies. Only a few weeks ago one of Mr. Khrushchev's memorable tantrums reaffirmed the unhappy lot of a dissenting Soviet artist. (It was followed by a *New Yorker* cartoon showing a couple of comrades in an art gallery, captioned, "I don't know anything about art, but I know what I'm supposed to like!") On the other hand, even when the state overseers of a medium for artistic expression try to close the field to an artist because of his political views, they are seldom successful.

(A related problem of Soviet bloc culture would be, how much of it arises in an economy not nearly affluent enough to support it, solely out of the political necessity of presenting a front—a sort of Potemkin Culture—to the civilized world?)

There was the case of the Hollywood blacklist of several individuals who refused to answer questions put to them by a Congressional investigating committee, which almost immediately proved to be a failure. The Hollywood producers, whatever they might feel about Communism, must use the best men available to them, if they are to achieve a marketable—profitable—product. If film production had been a government enterprise, it is extremely unlikely that the "Hollywood Ten" would have been reinstated.

Throughout all, then, we see that the necessary ingredient of culture is intellectual freedom, and that it is to be found only in a capitalist society. True enough that, under capitalism, the public is flooded with trivial and salacious material—but at the public's demand and through no fault of the system (if you object to it, don't buy it). It is also true that only under capitalism is there both surplus wealth for the support of genuine art and a guaranteed freedom of expression in which genuine art can develop.

LIBERAL MASQUERADE

JAMES BLAIR

Wherein the Liberal Mask of Academic
Freedom is shown to be a bit askew

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-

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 descendant from the slave-holding South, and Calhoun is its prophet.

Item: The National Student Association Congress held in Madison summer, 1961, 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 1962 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 freedom: "The danger to our institutions is not from the tiny minority who do not believe in them. It is

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

—Bertrand Russell

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 greater 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"?

Human Rights and Property Rights

DAN BOYER

It is not the right of property which is protected, but the right to property. Property, per se, has no rights; but the individual—the man—has three great rights, equally sacred from arbitrary interference: the right to his life, the right to his liberty, the right to his property. . . . The three rights are so bound together as to be essentially one right. To give a man his life but deny him his liberty is to take from him all that makes his life worth living. To give him his liberty but take from him his property which is the fruit and badge of his liberty is to still leave him a slave.

—GEORGE SUTHERLAND,
Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court

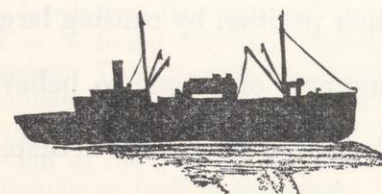
The defender of liberty and individualism who has not been faced with the trite phrase "But human rights are more important than property rights!" is indeed rare. For the belief that human rights and property rights are somehow distinct, and that there is a difference in importance between them has become a major tenet of the Statist mystique. The Socialist who turns out his endless diatribes against the bourgeois propertied class is joined by the so-called "Liberal" who attempts to "defend" liberty by subverting the right to property. Indeed, the apparent Statist hatred of the propertied individual has created some strange bedfellows: the Marxian atheists, under the standard of dialectical materialism, join with the religious who, under a false sense of compassion and a distorted view of religious tradition, advocate "Christian Socialism" and a partial or total abrogation of property.

Under either belief, the capitalist is depicted as an inhumane and selfish individual, unconcerned with need and blind to poverty. The sufferings of the "deserving poor" are used to blot out the

achievements of the capitalists and entrepreneurs who have deproletarianized the "masses"; the activities of those who use their wealth in patronizing the arts, or in experimenting with new products are completely ignored. The use of the automobile, the refrigerator, or even the bathtub would never have occurred had there been no self-sufficient individuals willing to defy the disapproval of the community to try them. We take these comforts for granted, but we forget that they could not exist without the right of the individual to property.

Of course, we do not propose to defend private property on the grounds that it provides creature comforts; its justification must be defended on other than materialistic grounds. Nor shall we go to the other extreme, and defend it by having recourse to such vague terms as the "dignity of man" or "Godgiven rights." The right of the individual to property can be defended by having recourse to such metaphysical constructs, but it is questionable if such constructs compromise the best means of rational persuasion.

We take, as an axiom, the idea that man can achieve more if he acts in cooperation with his fellow



men, i.e., in society. The man living literally alone must spend the greater amount of his time in supporting his life against starvation, exposure and inimical action from

other men and animals. In society, which permits a division of labor, man can devote himself to one task, and exchange the fruits of his action with his neighbors for the fruits of their actions. Now, what does this imply? First of all, we see that his life is no longer at the mercy of the whims of other individuals. If this society is to exist, then each individual must recognize that the person of every other individual is beyond the reach of arbitrary action. Secondly, we must recognize that each individual has freedom of action, so long as he does not interfere with either the person, or the similar freedom, of other individuals.

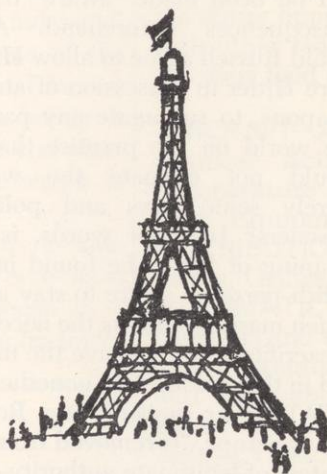
Now, it is at this point that the statist, of whatever persuasion, will disagree. He declares that it is the business of society to decide what tasks the individual is to perform. But such is patently absurd. Society does make that decision, but only by rewarding the individual if he proves to be a success at his chosen field of endeavor, and by not rewarding him if he is a failure. There is no way to judge an individual's success or failure until he acts; thus, if society is to learn whether an individual is competent or incompetent at a particular he must be left free to try. Thus, society must recognize the right to liberty.

Society and the State

This second right implies, almost immediately, the third: the right of the individual to retain the fruits of his labor, and to dispose of them as he so chooses. This is the right to own property. Were it not recognized, were every man's fruits at the disposal of every other man, there would be no incentive to produce and the whole of society, every individual, would suffer. Even now, when the government takes but half of the fruits, we cannot estimate what advances in wealth, in consumer goods, in medicine, in art and general well-being we have put off, if not permanently lost.

Up to now, we have spoken of *society* rather than the *state*. It is

unfortunate, but men are not angels. There are those in any society, who, either because of greed or of laziness, desire to live on stolen wealth. Thus, part of society's force is channeled into providing for a protective agency. This agency provides the necessary conditions for the preservation of rights and the existence of society: order, liberty and justice. Without order, no life would be safe; without liberty, no action would be possible, and without justice, the basis for the exchange of property, the idea of contract, would be impossible. It is these three things, each existing to guarantee a right, which make society possible. Without order, we would have neither property nor liberty nor life; society would degenerate into the anarchic "war of all against all. Without either liberty or justice, society would stagnate under an ener-



vating despotism. It is through the preservation of the free society, and thus through the preservation of the above-mentioned rights that the true meaning of the often misused phrase, "The greatest good for the greatest number," is achieved.

The so-called "Liberal" will, of course, protest. To him, it is never a question of destroying property rights, and the system of the free market or the contractual society which is based upon them. His

goal is to "ameliorate" capitalism; to help the poor escape the rigors of the economy based on contract. Thus we hear grandiose plans and schemes for income taxes, social security, subsidies and other such games. But because the "Liberal" differs from the socialist only in extent does not make him less evil. The so-called mixed economy tends, in the long run, to produce the same disastrous results. If the immorality of the "Liberal" programs were not enough justification for their condemnation, then the economic results would provide us with our case.

Root of Poverty

The poverty, the crime, the general loss of initiative which has increased in this country since the turn of the century is not a result of property rights, but a result of thinking of them as something different, apart from and inferior to the other human rights. This fallacious thinking, which fails to recognize that property rights form the basis for freedom, and that in the long run, that freedom forms the basis of all human action, and therefore of life itself, has led us into stagnation. It is only in a society where the interaction of human rights with each other is recognized, and where an attack on one is regarded as an attack on all, that progress can really occur. It is only when a government exists to protect these rights by supporting order, liberty, and justice, and by avoiding any further activity as an attack on order, liberty and justice, that man can be said to be free, to be something more than an animal of the forest, continually fighting for his life, or a mindless robot in some Orwellian nightmare. Take away the right to property—either because of a misplaced Socialist hatred or because of abstract sloganizing and false sentimentality—and you take away from man the very thing that does make him what he is; you reduce him to the pigsty—and in the name of a cliché about "Human rights" being more important than "property rights."

The Price of Freedom

GENE CHAVKIN

"So long as the wicked have power, it is not much assuring them that you do not hate them, since they will attribute your words to the wrong motives. And you cannot deprive them of power by non-resistance." Surprisingly, the author of these remarks is the *eminence grise* of the Ban-the-Bomb movement, Bertrand Russell. Lord Russell's excellent sense of little over a decade ago is in sharp contrast to his present decadence. If he had the will to throw off the shackles of what Salvador de Madariaga calls "leftist snobbism," i.e., the egoism of the Left in imagining that on its shoulders alone lies the salvation of the world, and return to his former clear-headedness, England would have a leader to define a fitting strategy against Communism.

When Lord Russell refers to "the wrong motives," obviously he means the wicked would assume any sign of good will as a concession to their superior strength. What inevitably follows are repeated demands by the "stronger" for endless concession by the "weaker." From this it is proper to conclude that "comradeliness" and accommodation are both futile and dangerous when dealing with, for example, the Soviets or Red Chinese, who are wicked even by Russell's current standards. The Ban-the-Bomb marchers would become, in effect, not communists, but communisants, those who intentionally or unintentionally, for whatever "honorable" motives, aid the Reds.

If non-resistance is useless, unless we accept resignation, the logical course to follow, when possible, is armed resistance.

What has led Lord Russell to his muddle-headedness is an overarching presentment of a cremated

world. He is compelled to stick in his hand to plug up the dike. The ultimate standard for foreign policy, he feels, is the avoidance at all costs of nuclear war. In the case of an imminent and unavoidable clash between the super-powers, he would "prefer concession to warfare." But Russell has the rationale backwards. *Qui desiderat pacem, praeparet bellum*—who wishes for peace, yet him make ready for war.

If men will not struggle against despots to salvage their freedom, the outcome is a foregone conclusion. The despot, working on the assumption that he is rational, must be given to understand that his victory will be a Pyrrhic victory. Even Hitler might not have gone to war had he been made "aware" of the consequences beforehand. And would Russell agree to allow Hitler, were Hitler in possession of atomic weapons, to subjugate any part of the world on the premise that he would not cremate the world, merely some Jews and political prisoners? In other words, is the meaning of life to be found in the selfish personal desire to stay alive, which masquerades as the necessity to sacrifice a few to have the many, and in the end loses all nonetheless?

"Whenever power," says Robert Strausz-Hupé, "is removed from the context of legitimate authority—authority which people accept as divinely ordained or stemming from a freely-entered contract—if cannot effect social change. It cannot build. It cannot secure its foundation. It can only destroy and it must destroy itself." The result of the disintegration of the values that cement a society is likely to be tyranny because coercion will be necessary to restore order.

Historically, for the reasons Strausz-Hupé expresses, tyranny has been short-lived, but the twentieth century advance in technology has made possible the engineering

. . . is armed resistance,
Lord Russell Notwithstanding

of an ersatz "consent" which has been a serviceable substitute for the genuine. The present tyranny fashioned in Russia is a far cry from the inefficient and quixotic autocracy of Imperial Russia. Sripati Chandra-Sekhar, an Indian demographer who visited Red China, observes that "under Communism not only are the bodies of dissenting persons imprisoned (or liquidated), but what is truly terrifying is that their minds too are imprisoned, drugged, and debased into a pathetic, colorless conformity."

Furthermore, even were it agreed that Soviet Communism, for example, is less rigid in internal affairs than is Chinese Communism, these are merely machinations within Communism. A country which continues to disallow opposition political parties, free elections, a critical press and free speech, has as much relation to democracy as witchcraft has to modern medicine. As long as the elaborate apparatus for the maintenance of centralized power remains, what passes for freedom is a mirage of the real thing.

In his Reith Lectures, Lord Russell pointed out that one of the ills of the modern age is that man has forfeited the delights of the moment in a constant preoccupation with the "next thing." But, by stretching this characterization, it can be seen as akin to the way Lord Russell looks at the cold war. While it cannot be denied that the moment is too terrible to take delight in, his demand for the "next thing," i.e., for actions to be taken, and a consequent despair at "inaction" becomes a first step to abject surrender. In demanding a more certain future, Lord Russell and his camp-followers, by their overriding anxiety, make one: a future, in Sidney Hook's horrifying phrase, "without the possibility of anonymity" from the Communist overseers.

Gene Chavkin is a student at New York University. He has also contributed to National Review.

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

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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 some criticism. For instance 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 naïvité 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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"Mr. President," giggled Hubert, as he soiled his shoes while chasing cows at the LBJ ranch, recently, "I've just stepped on the Republican platform." We freely admit the analogy. Just as cow manure rejuvenates barren soil, the Republican platform could revitalize a sterile republic.

And while we're on the subject of politics, we might note our vast disappointment that LBJ didn't select Bobby Baker as his running mate. President Johnson, it will be remembered, in 1957 said that "Bobby Baker is my strong right arm," and we wanted him to have his trusty sidekick back.

Speaking of scandals, we recall that former Democratic National Committee treasurer, Matthew McClusky, stands accused of bilking the American taxpayers out of a few million dollars, as well as the phenomenal financial finagling of Billy Sol Estes. Suggested Democratic campaign slogan for '64: "Moderation in the pursuit of vice is no virtue."

Greek mobs hold anti-American demonstrations because they think our position on Cyprus is anti-Greek. Turks, on the other hand, stone the U. S. Consulate Building in Istanbul because they think our position on Cyprus is anti-Turk. Aw, cut it out, fellas. We were just trying to be pragmatic.

It is reported that Communist rebel, Gaston Soumialot, took off enough time from fighting Tshombe in the Congo to declare war on the United States. If this is true, we wouldn't be surprised but what Soumialot has read an amusing little satire called *The Mouse That Roared*. So who's laughing? Any predictions on where our next foreign aid dole is going?