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INSIGHT and OUTLOOK

a conservative student journal

Vol. III Number VI

April, 1961

THE BUGGYWHIP COUP

CY BUTT

THUNDER ON THE RIGHT

JOHN KOLBE

DEATHTRAP IN

MANHATTAN

RICHARD S. WHEELER

ANARCHY!

RECEIVED MILLARD W. JOHNSON

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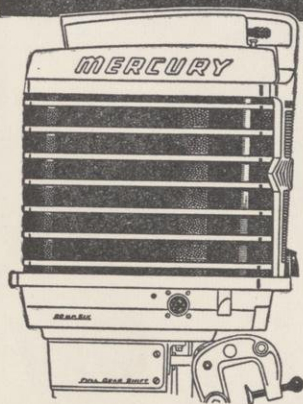
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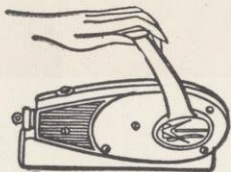
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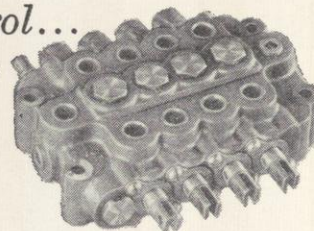
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INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK MAGAZINE

A CONSERVATIVE STUDENT JOURNAL

Vol. III Number VI

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CAMPUS OUTLOOK

Upon reflection we cannot help but regard last month's Mock Senate at the University of Wisconsin as something more than a mere exercise in Tom Foolery. For the few conservatives in attendance the whole event was a revealing study of those tragicomical idealists, the campus liberals. It is not often that we are treated to such a close-up view of the enigmatic desires of contemporary liberals.

Among the more important items on the day's agenda was a bill, similar to the one in Congress, providing for a motley assortment of federal aids to education. It contained everything: booty for teachers, largess for school construction, alms for scholarships, and a scattering of ducats for student faculty housing. It provided for everyone whose vote might someday count.

The reaction of the liberals did not surprise us at all. It remains axiomatic that almost any measure calling for the unnecessary federal expenditure of several billion dollars has the same effect on liberals as manure has on flies.

The hunger for the federal aid bill, however, cannot be explained in terms of the liberal penchant for big government spending. Nor can it be explained solely by the liberal arguments in support of the measure.

They seriously argued that the federal government must aid the educational system because state and local funds are woefully inadequate. If it can be demonstrated that a federal aid to education program is financially unnecessary, if not irrelevant, why then did it receive overwhelming liberal support? If state funds are lacking, what will the Federal Government do to obtain its revenues — liquidate Fort Knox? Barring that alternative, the Federal Government has only one recourse, to tax the same base already available to the states and the cities. This amounts to nothing more than confiscating the wealth from the citizenry, mixing it in a communal pot, and doling it back out at the discretion of the Deweyites in the Office of Education. The advantages of this are hardly apparent.

If scarcity of funds is the problem, then surely the most urgent question is not who has the most funds available — for all levels of government must draw upon the same source of revenue — but rather, how can we best reduce administrative expenditures.

Perhaps routing the monies for educational purposes through an embarrassingly inefficient Washington bureaucracy is desirable in spite of the increased costs, but we failed to hear why. Precisely what considerations make obvious the merits of a federally administered educational fund? Is it because federal administrators understand the problems of this nation's 40,000 school districts better than the officials of those districts do themselves? Or do the problems of the 237 school districts that actually have needs for school construction dictate that we launch a nationwide multi-billion dollar program? Or, will the current proposal, which covers about 5 per cent of the nation's estimated total school budget, provide the local officials with the means to abolish educational deficiencies forever and ever?

At any rate, the liberal mock senators were more concerned with demonstrating that the Federal Government would never, ever usurp control or standardize local districts than they were with demonstrating the *need* for the measure. Why their overbearing concern with demonstrating the harmlessness of the bill? Could it be that they were indeed aware that federal aid *means* federal control? Might they be anxiously awaiting the day when the liberal establishment, already in control of the Office of Education, will be in a position to dictate educational policies for the nation?

One of the mock Senators, echoing the pronouncements of his more influential liberal elders, confided

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... the ideas of economists and political philosophers, both when they are right and when they are wrong, are more powerful than is commonly understood. Indeed, the world is ruled by little else . . . Not, indeed, immediately, but after a certain interval . . . in the field of economic and political philosophy there are not many who are influenced by new theories after they are twenty-five or thirty years of age, so that the ideas which civil servants and politicians and even agitators apply to current events are not likely to be the newest. But soon or late, it is ideas, not vested interests, which are dangerous for good or evil.

— John Maynard Keynes



Our forebears bequeathed to us a set of premises, theories and truths carefully devised to insure the dignity and freedom and supremacy of the individual. But through interpretation, modification, even convenient omission by many of our educators today, there exists a strong and growing tendency to teach that the individual is second to the state. The influence of these teachings — already apparent — will be felt increasingly five, ten and twenty years hence.



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that he would vote for the measure "even if it did bring federal control," because it would then unify the multi-directional policies of local boards in accord with national policy.

The Mock Senate experiment offered an excellent opportunity to reexamine liberal motives. It proved exactly what conservatives have always suspected — that the liberal is either hopelessly naive in his idealism or insidiously oblique in his strategy.

WORLD OUTLOOK

Within the Republican Party, a liberal Rockefeller wing competes with a conservative Goldwater wing. Rockefeller liberalism differs from that of the Democrats in its sounder fiscal approach and its tougher foreign policy. However, in the areas of social security, medical subsidies, school subsidies, depressed area subsidies, farm subsidies, Red China, the Connally Reservation, and government intervention in the free market, the two are almost identical and vary only in degree.

In their quest for political advantage, the Rockefellerites say that a Republican Party under the sway of an unpopular and outmoded Conservatism simply will wither away. The Conservatives, of course, insist that a "Me Too" party is doomed because it can't do as well at being socialist as the Democrats, and thus the party must offer its own viable alternative to socialism if it is to survive.

Each faction, let it be said, has definitely sunk its teeth into the other's jugular vein. The Conservatives are correct in their belief that a "Me Too" party, believing in a foot-dragging drift toward socialism, could not compete with the Democrats. In the last election Mr. Nixon, running mainly on the "Me Too" Eisenhower record, publicly stated that he agreed with Mr. Kennedy's goals, and differed only as to the means of getting there — and he lost. In fact his defeat, along with that of Tom Dewey in 1948, is a clear indication that "Me Too-ism" has little political appeal in itself at present.

However, the Rockefellerites have a point in saying that a wholly conservative GOP would lack adequate support. Contrary to Senator Goldwater's belief, there just aren't great numbers of Conservatives around, nor do they sit on their hands in rebellion at every election. If they exist in his own state, it is because he has *made* Conservatives out of political neutrals through the articulate expression of his philosophy.

The party is now at the crossroads: if only its short range goals are to be considered, the obvious choice would be Conservatism, which has been the political flash flood of the last year. But it is important to look beyond the immediate, and ascertain which

wing has the greatest *long run* potential and durability. If a party is to prosper, it must capitalize upon the energies of its most dynamic faction and free itself from ideological stagnation.

Personalities, machines and local issues are all factors in an election, but in the long run it is the ideology that each party represents which determines *who* votes *what* way. The Democrat majorities of recent times are simply a political manifestation of the prevailing ideology: Democrats are riding the crest of an ideological wave which began half a century ago. If a liberal Republican party intends to muscle in on the prevailing ideology, it has but two alternatives: it can try to out-do the Democrats at socialism (as Governor Rockefeller has done in New York) or it can adapt a "you're right, but let's go slow," attitude such as Mr. Nixon's. If it tries to out-liberal the Democrats it will lose all the Republican conservatives; but if it concedes the ideological initiative to the Democrats, it will wither away because it can't compete. In the long run, therefore, liberal Republicanism is doomed to a bewildering death, no matter what roads and cowpaths it chooses to follow.

Far more potent and explosive is the Goldwater approach. He *creates* Republicans, while Rockefeller can only *borrow* Democrats. What is needed is a conservative philosophic climate of such depth and scope in the minds of men that the *Democrats* will end up as the "Me Too" party, trying to imitate the Republicans.

In the restitution of liberty, human dignity and self-sufficiency, Conservatives have some very positive goals. They have a new and provocative way of appealing to a man's sense of worth and honor. They deplore the manner in which a liberal legislator tramples all over a man's right to be self-sufficient. They are insulted by social security, which is actually predicated upon the belief that men are incompetent to prepare for their old age. They resent socialized medicine, which is predicated upon the assumption that men are too imprudent and foolish to salt away money for a "rainy day." They are irritated by federal school aid, which is predicated upon the belief that the citizens of the Republic are incompetent to run their schools. They mind, in short, every liberal innovation which makes man smaller and meaner than he really is. If these programs were at least voluntary, and available to those wretches who feel compelled to lean upon the federal crutch, they might be tolerable. But they have been made compulsory — the liberal legislator assumes that *all* his constituents are irresponsible and incompetent. Thus, while the liberal plays the great humanitarian, he steals our freedom and kicks each of us in the teeth.

It is this ancient, yet haunting new cry for liberty which is expanding the ranks of Conservatives these days. It is the familiar, echoing fight against serfdom all over again which gathers citizens to the Conservative colors. It is the hunger to renew the courage and valor of the Republic which makes Conservatism

so politically explosive. There will come a time when Americans grow tired of having liberal legislators, including pseudo-Republicans, appeal to their basest, most greedy instincts; when Americans grow tired of being insulted and degraded and demeaned by a welfare state. Some day liberals in office will discover at their door an army of good men who *don't want help*, and that will be Conservatism's finest hour.

Imitation cannot go above its model. The imitator dooms himself to hopeless mediocrity.

— R. W. Emerson

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The Monopoly Scare

ROGER CLAUS

Unquestionably the foulest word in the vocabulary of any liberal economist is the word "monopoly." Notwithstanding its surface meaning — that being the exclusive control over the production and marketing of a particular product—the new economist, when he hears the word spoken, is thrust involuntarily into a *cul de sac* of superstition wherein "monopoly" is in league with black luciferians, conniving bloodthirsty capitalists, old guard Republicans, and other such manifestations of the anti-Christ.

What should one make of this strange unreasoned conduct toward a mere economic phenomenon? Perhaps we should not question it. For if we did, we would learn a number of startling realities, and it would be most embarrassing for those who judge monopoly to be the most heinous threat to Mother, Country, and Liberalism since the Teapot Dome. We would learn that monopoly actually poses no great threat to the unfettered Free Market. From a study of the case books, we would find that the efforts of the Federal government in the field do not hinder but rather aid "the forces of monopoly." Finally, we would discover that the governmental prosecution is not aimed at monopolies but is directed at big business, based on the thesis that bigness is badness!

First of all, let us firmly establish one concept. Monopoly, by itself, is irrelevant; monopoly *price* is the real issue at hand. If the monopolist charges an elevated monopoly price, the economists are justified in their vehement denunciations. However, if the monopolist *cannot* charge a monopoly price, the whole issue is fraudulent.

Inasmuch as a *free* market precludes the artificially high monopoly price, I recommend that the economist turn their attention to

finding the way back to a free market economy, where they would learn about a number of factors that prevent a monopolist from gouging the public for any protracted length of time.

Potential competition is but the first factor. Anyone can walk into Woolworth's or Kresge's and find a hundred items produced by monopolists . . . and yet they are priced competitively. Why? They must remain competitive lest another firm invade the field at a lower price. This situation applies to all producers, big and small alike. In the case of the bigs, the invader would be another big with equal resources, technical know-how, and marketing apparatus. In addition, there is the potential newcomer who can arise overnight. It is well known that many financiers, promoters and speculators are always on the lookout for areas to establish new enterprises. These newcomers would have the additional advantage of new equipment, new ideas, and new methods of production.

But, alas, the atmosphere of potential competition is quite beyond the control of business. It is the *government*, not corporations, that limits free entry. Corporations search eagerly for new lines, and often a simple retooling can open a whole new vista of diversification and profit security. The government, however, delights in handing out licenses and franchises not to mention the multifarious controls designed "to protect business from itself." These measures curtail potential competition, which is one of the factors preventing monopoly.

Why, then, do so many monopolies exist? These are "efficiency monopolies," existing alone because they are the cheapest producers in the field. But should they raise their prices, they would enable

other, less efficient producers to enter the field. Clearly, they are restrained by the threat of potential competition — that is, where the government allows it to exist.

Next is the "competition of substitutes." The monopolist who sky-rockets his price is certain to drive a portion of his market to the use of substitutes. A clearcut example of this is the decline of coal as a home heating fuel after John L. Lewis's labor union monopoly forced the price of coal out of the market. As thousands of homes were switched to gas and oil heat, Lewis's image as the savior of the coal miner dimmed, and his image as the man most responsible for a half million unemployed miners came clearly into focus.

Closely akin to "competition of substitutes" is "product or dollar competition." The Ford Motor Company must compete not only with other automobile makers, both domestic and foreign, but with refrigerators, hi-fi's and other such alternatives for the consumer's dollar. The car manufacturers discovered recently that this is not a producer-run economy (as sundry econ texts would have them believe) but a consumer-run economy. They discovered that many a consumer will, upon finding that new car too expensive, buy that new stereo he has been wanting and push the old buggy a few thousand more miles.

Why then is "monopoly" such a black word? Why did Judge Hand rule against Alcoa (Alcoa vs. U.S. 1945) solely on the grounds of monopoly, *per se*? Alcoa, we are told by Wilcox in *Public Policies Toward Business*, was guilty of attaining giant stature (not by combining with others) by reinvesting its earnings and expanding its capacity as the market grew. "To retain monopolistic power merely by growing with the market was thus to violate the law." From this we must assume that Judge Hand would have preferred that Alcoa deliberately stunt its growth in order that others might catch up with it. Unbelievable!

The Buggywhip Coup

How Fremont Guilfoyle Found Fifi and Flayed Free Enterprise

CY BUTT

Just the other evening I ran across a boyhood friend, Fremont Guilfoyle. Fremont, dressed to the nines, stepped from his Mercedes with a blonde on his arm who would make a man gnaw a crowbar. I wondered at all this affluence, for since the time he was four Fremont had been known to all as a misfit, a square peg in the round hole.

"Fremont, old boy," I said, "from whence comes this sudden wealth? The last time I saw you, you were having difficulty holding your raking job with the WPA."

"I," said Fremont, "am in the buggy whip business. I am presently en route to California, where I shall open a branch factory."

"But aren't buggy whips a little passe?" I asked. "I have seen no buggies and but four horses since 1925. Just how did you get into this racket?"

"Well, it's like this," said Fremont, "I had about a thousand left from the dough the old man left me and what happens but I get talked into using it to buy a buggy whip factory. Everything else I had tried had blown up in my face."

"There was quite a stock on hand when I bought the place and I kept putting out whips until the grand was gone. I had something like 9,000 whips that were selling at the rate of a dozen a week. I couldn't meet the payroll or even buy my daily cigarettes."

"I was on my way to get a pistol or some poison or a rope or something when I happened to take a gander at a government brochure someone had thrown on the post office floor. From that moment everything was changed. I am now in a position where everyone in the family, including cousins and Fifi, here, has his own swimming pool. Fifi is officially my secretary."

"What is the secret?" I asked. "It may be of interest to the common man."

"It was simple enough," said Fremont. "I wrote to Washington and explained that I couldn't even sell my whips for cost, and that unless something was done, the industry would be ruined."

"They sent an economist down and he agreed with me wholeheartedly, even thinking of some things I hadn't. It was agreed between us that the government would buy for \$1.87 each all the whips I couldn't sell. I produced them at that time for \$1.53."

"But what did they do with them?" I queried.

"I don't know for sure," said Fremont, "but I understand they sawed the handles off short and gave them to the Arab nations for use on camels. Hands across the sea, you know. However, in a couple months all the storage space in town was full of my buggy whips that the government had taken over."

"By this time I was flush. I could put out the whips for 69 cents because of new machinery developed with government aid. I took the money realized from this and bought surplus buildings from the government for 10 cents on the dollar and rented them back to the government to be used for storing the whips."

"I didn't think that things could be any better but I was wrong. The economist came down again and said that since storage was a problem, the government would pay me the estimated profit I would make on any part of the factory I would take out of production."



"I closed down three wings that had the old machinery and in return the government paid me \$19,000 per month. With this money I am going to open a new, efficient plant in California. I figure that I can double my output at a cost of only 58 cents per item. Anyway Fifi adores the West Coast."

"You seem to be doing all right," I said, "but from a common sense viewpoint, is the whole set-up reasonable?"

"Of course not," Fremont laughed, "but they have been doing it for years with wheat, corn and cotton — why discriminate against buggy whips? I am surprised that nobody thought of it before."

"Come to think of it," I said, "I am surprised myself."

Riposte!

Gentlemen:

The Liberal argument against the Un-American Activities Committee may be taken as similar to the one which goes: "This house is dirty; therefore, burn it down." The defenders of the Committee reply: "This house should not be burned, because it is a shelter." I ask, is the house dirty? Is there something to the Liberal charges, and if so, can something be done about it, short of abolishing the Committee?

First of all, is there a need for such a group in the first place? We are informed of the nature of International Communism; we are certain that this movement is no longer a philosophy, but a conspiracy. This could be used to justify the existence of a group concerned with the machinations of Communism. Certainly, we could find no difficulty there. In what branch of the government should such a group lie? Essentially, in all three. The way I see it, the direct investigation of such matters lies in the province of the Executive — i.e., in the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Central Intelligence Agency. The prosecution of such people who have been accused of violation of the Smith Act, or of outright treason, lies, of course, with the Judiciary. Therefore, we ask, should there be a Legislative committee concerned with such actions?

Let us assume, for the moment, that there should be such a Legislative group. What are its duties, and what are its prerogatives? Should it concern itself with direct investigation, or should it act solely on the reports of the Executive Group? I, for one, feel that such questioning should be of a secondary nature. The present set-up allows too many Liberals to come before the Committee to play the role of "Fifth Amendment Martyrs."

We come here to the Constitutionality of this group. The main source of difficulty has been, of

course, "trial by newspaper". It should be made clear to the public that any witness appearing before such a committee is *not* on trial; that any punishment vented upon him as a result of his appearance has no legal backing; in short, that he is innocent until proven guilty. Such is the nature of the procedural safeguards and the due process guaranteed by your Constitution.

Finally, we come to a practical point; the handling of the witnesses and the replies to outside criticism. It has become only too easy to cry "Red" at a detractor, without inquiry into his motives. The "badgering" of recalcitrant or reluctant witnesses often has an adverse affect on the uncommitted (and there are many).

If our government is to be conducted with some measure of dignity, these questions must be asked. Otherwise, we are, in the end, little better than the Congolese natives.

— James M. O'Connell

RIPOSTE!

Except for a few extremists, it is agreed by both liberals and conservatives that our government has a right and duty to weed out and prosecute agents of a foreign power bent upon subverting it. Our liberties, our immunities, our rights all depend for protection upon the security of the federal government. The only real question then, is what arm of the government should exercise the necessary vigilance, and how it should be done.

Liberals maintain that the task is properly the function of the F.B.I. and the Attorney General, in the Executive Branch. Conservatives insist that the investigatory functions are the province of the Legislative Branch, and in particular, the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In any case, the judiciary does not have the power to investigate or prosecute, but only to hear cases before it.

The right of a socio-political order to declare certain ideas and activities as treasonable and to prosecute some men as traitors is an exceedingly dangerous one, and it has been much abused for centuries. Such a right is properly used to protect a society against subversion, but in the hands of a political opportunist it can be used to silence his opposition. Recognizing the danger in such power, Conservatives unanimously prefer to keep it as close to the People as possible — i.e., in the House of Representatives, where congressmen must face an election every two years, and where such powers must be exercised in the limelight of open hearings and political opposition and published testimony.

If the power to seek out treason were made solely the province of the Executive, the following dangers would arise: (1) Hearings and trials might well become secret and closed, rather than open and public; (2) great power would fall into the hands of F.B.I. men, who cannot be easily removed because they are protected by the civil service act; (3) the president, in addition to his already considerable powers, could become the sole arbiter of what is and is not treason; (4) the accused might lose the right to face his accusers; (5) congress could be coerced by an unscrupulous president seeking to destroy opposition; and (6) the F.B.I. would no longer have a congressional "watchdog" to regulate its behavior, and thus could evolve into a political police.

An open hearing, with transcripts of the proceedings available to all, is the very best guarantee against abuse that we have. Far from complaining about the publicity attendant upon hearings, liberals should rejoice in it, and thank God that such sessions are not clandestine, vicious affairs in the hands of a rampant executive political police.

Of all the charges leveled at the committee that it is abusive, there is yet to be published one which is substantiated by evidence. Who has been abused? Where? How?

(Continued on Page 11)

THUNDER ON THE RIGHT

The Call For Liberty Rumbles Once Again Across The Horizons of The Republic

JOHN KOLBE

The convening of the 87th Congress on January third this year was a landmark in the current development of American political philosophy. When members of Congress arrived on Capitol Hill, they were greeted by about 200 youngsters with signs advocating the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. This was no surprise to anyone on the Hill: the anti-HUAC picket had been planned several months in advance and had been well-publicized by several left-wing groups.

What made the occasion newsworthy was the presence of nearly 400 youths *supporting* the work of the committee (although readers of the *New York Times* never would have known it; the *Times* did not mention the pro-HUAC pickets in its original story). The students espousing the liberal position found themselves outnumbered two to one by students of the right. It was a new experience for those on the left, who had been used to unchallenged supremacy in their advocacy of left-wing causes.

This seemingly minor incident is significant because the history of political thought in the United States, as manifested by visible political action, displays pendulum-like tendencies. History swings from right to left and back again, both in reaction to past political trends and in response to the needs of each new age. The past trend toward liberalism having reached its inevitable impasse, the pendulum is now making a broad, sweeping swing to the right.

The Roosevelt-Wilson era represented the natural successor to the sometimes cumbersome age of the late 19th century. Again, the "pendulum" demanded the political

quietude of the 1920's as a moral anesthetic for the overwhelming shock of the First World War.

Events on Wall Street and throughout the world brought an abrupt end to the age of the Roaring, but politically soothing, Twenties and set the United States, under Franklin Roosevelt, sailing off into the left field of collectivism and centralization farther than at any previous time in American history. New federal agencies regulating and often controlling nearly every phase of life popped into existence overnight. Government became bigger, more expensive, and more unmanageable than ever.

The centralization process, begun with the First Hundred Days, lost some of its fiery, righteous luster by the late 30's, but it received an unmistakably huge boost with the entry of the United States into world war. Even after the war, many marks of the wartime economy remained and the scars exist to this day.

FLIGHT FROM FANTASY

But even in the heyday of liberalism, there existed strong roots of dissent. Raymond Moley and other Roosevelt "brain trusters" soon became disillusioned with the New Deal and the shallow philosophy which it represented. That Roosevelt's New Deal had not worked was now common knowledge: there was more unemployment (precisely the malady which FDR had sought to remedy) after seven years of the program than when the program went into action in 1933.

While the novelty of liberalism was wearing off, conservatives had a strong "underground" at work. Sen. Robert Taft gained a following seldom acquired by a member

of the Senate. And as people found more and more government agencies looking over their shoulders and saw more and more of their paychecks going to Uncle Sam, the movement grew.

What conditions enabled, or helped it, to grow?

First, today's college students grew up since the overpowering influence of the glittering, but shallow, aura which was Franklin Roosevelt and his New Deal. As students travel farther in time from the era, they are able to view it more objectively and critically. The myriad fallacies in massive centralization begin to emerge as students view the past which had no all-benevolent, paternal government soothingly assuring men that it was all for the good.

Second, especially in the last decade or so, there emerged a body of literature on a high intellectual plane from members of the academic right which boldly forwarded and clarified the conservative position. Russell Kirk, author of the widely reviewed and acclaimed "The Conservative Mind" probably did more than any writer to raise the label "conservative" to new heights of respectability. William F. Buckley, Jr., just out of Yale, raised a storm of controversy with "God and Man at Yale," in which he attacked the accepted standards of education at his alma mater. Buckley also contributed to the conservative literary output by founding his conservative weekly, *National Review*, which rapidly grew to compete with its liberal counterpart, *New Republic*.

Henry Hazlitt and Raymond Moley, through books and columns in a weekly newsmagazine, explained the strengths of free enterprise,

the intricacies of modern economics, and methods for preserving individual liberties. Dr. F. A. Hayek's scholarly "The Road to Serfdom" was a warning against the dangers inherent in social planning. Dr. E. Merrill Root examined the liberal claims of academic freedom in "Collectivism on the Campus" and found them lacking.

SCHOLARS CONTRIBUTE

John Chamberlain, John Dos Passos, Dr. Ludwig von Mises, William Henry Chamberlain, Ralph de Toledano, Max Eastman and many, many others contributed to a body of writing which gave the college student food for thought and the conservatives an academic rallying point.

Third, there were politicians who sparked the conservative youth movement into meaningful political action, such as the distinguished Senator Taft from Ohio. Then came Senator Barry Goldwater, certainly the most important among them, and others, such as Rep. Bruce Alger of Texas, Wyoming's late Senator-elect Keith Thomson, Sen. Thomas Dodd of Connecticut, and Sen. William Jenner of Indiana. Here, in positions where they could convert political philosophy into political action, were dynamic and respected political leaders.

Most significant of all the reasons for the conservative resurgence—and probably most difficult to explain—is the fact that the philosophy is deeply rooted in sound principles and great traditions. In other words, the argument runs that conservatism was never really dead; it is only momentarily overshadowed by a novel experiment which in the long terms of history, has a "flash in the pan" existence. Conservatives advocate sound progress based on the proven lessons of the past. To ignore these traditions and principles, the conservative argues, is to reject human nature and a belief in a higher moral order.

"Whereas the collectivist movement was based solely on the urge for novelty," explains Robert Croll, a Northwestern graduate and one of the most prominent figures in

the movement, "the conservative revival combines the appeal of the new and the different with the lasting power of transcendent value."

The question arises: how has it manifested itself? What has it done?

The first stir of activity from the student right was produced by Frank Chodorov, an author and assistant editor of *Human Events*, when he founded the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (ISI) in 1953. In a series of essays, he called for the same dedication to the principles of freedom that the liberals had applied to collectivism earlier.

"Socialism is only an idea," wrote Chodorov, "not a historical necessity, and ideas are acquired by the human mind . . . What the socialists have done can be undone, if there is a will to do it."

ISI distributes conservative books and pamphlets free or at nominal costs to its members, sponsors lectures and speakers, and organizes extensive seminars on weekends and



during the summer. Its mailing list, consisting only of those who voluntarily ask to be placed on it, has grown in seven years from 400 to more than 12,000. The response to ISI has been so overwhelming as to necessitate a regional office in Indianapolis, and other offices will be opened soon across the country.

Young Conservatives, like their

counterparts on the left, are issue-conscious. After loosely bonding together through mailing lists and similar means, they needed an issue—a catalyst around which they could rally vigorously. The first politically combustible issue on which right-wing students effectively united efforts was the battle over the loyalty oath provision of the National Defense Education Act. Douglas Caddy and David Franke, students at Georgetown and George Washington universities, formed the National Student Committee for the Loyalty Oath early in 1960.

Caddy and Franke, somewhat to their own surprise, scored a notable success and within a month had members at more than 75 major campuses, including liberal havens such as Harvard, Antioch, and Princeton. They distributed petitions and wrote letters to Congress, where the bill to repeal the disclaimer affidavit provision died.

As the loyalty group faded away (having successfully done its job), the youth movement took on strictly political overtones. Robert Croll, a graduate student doing research at Northwestern, organized Youth for Goldwater for Vice-President, designed to work within the Republican party framework for the nomination of the conservative Arizona. The organization spread rapidly, and in the two months before the convention, Croll had representatives in nearly every state, badgering convention delegates and organizing Goldwater followers.

July and the Republican convention brought the Youth for Goldwater work to a disappointing close, but in other ways, it had been a smashing success. For the first time, conservative youth across the country had been solidly united and had come together geographically in pursuit of a common goal.

A group of the young Goldwater supporters went into a huddle after the convention and came to a common conclusion: it was time for a national conservative youth organization to make its appearance. Whereas ten, or even five, years be-

fore such an organization would have fallen flat, the need which would make it succeed had now arisen. They formed an Interim Committee for a National Conservative Youth Organization, which in turn would make arrangements for the formation of the dreamed-of association.

More than 100 students from 22 states met on Sept. 10-11 in Sharon, Connecticut, and under the tutelage of former-Gov. Charles Edison, William F. Buckley, Jr., and Publisher William Rusher, drew up a resounding declaration of principles, hacked out a constitution, and elected a slate of national officers. Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) thus came to life.

The students dispersed from Sharon to the corners of the country and began spreading their word and gaining support for the infant organization. Within three months, membership was reported at a figure above 20,000, and chapters were springing up everywhere. YAF soon was rapidly distributing pamphlets and books, publishing a monthly newsletter, and coordinating activities such as the successful HUAC demonstration in Washington.

"The reason we have been so successful with these pickets," says one YAF officer, "is that we are treading on the liberals' sacred ground. Informational picketing has long been an exclusively left-wing activity, and our friends on the left are surprised and, I think, dismayed by its 'misuse' in our hands."

YAF was conceived, however, primarily as a coordinating body for the numerous organizations which heretofore had been springing up spontaneously across the country without any central direction or guidance. Its first project in this vein is the Student Committee for Congressional Autonomy (SCCA), organized by two Northwestern students to counteract the left-wing drive to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee and weaken the congressional investigatory prerogative.

The SCCA sent a letter to every member of Congress asking them to "continue to fight to protect the

autonomous right of Congress to inform itself and the American public of the persons and practices which would corrupt or destroy our way of life." A press release sent to 2,500 newspapers, college papers, and columnists has inspired editorials in the *New York Daily News*, *New York Journal-American*, and the *Indianapolis News*. Its formation received coverage in several radio broadcasts, and in scores of newspapers and newsletters.

Meanwhile, students everywhere are organizing in local clubs and holding meetings, sponsoring debates and lectures, and distributing literature.

The University of Wisconsin Conservative Club amazed an entire campus with its crash program of a prominent conservative speaker every four or five weeks, and with the publication of its own monthly magazine, *Insight and Outlook*. The Western Society at Stanford has become a major political voice on that campus, as has a similar right-wing organization at Harvard. At Yale, the largest party in the campus Political Union is an unabashedly conservative group calling itself the Party of the Right.

Harvard students elected as student body president a sophomore (for the first time) who is a national officer of Young Americans for Freedom (Howard Phillips was recently reelected to a second term by an overwhelming margin). Conservative publications are emerging from the campus. Students at Mis-

issippi's Millsaps College have come out with *The Campus Conservative*, and University of Chicago right-wingers will soon publish the first issue of a similar publication. YAF plans to start its own magazine soon.

The young conservatives are fast moving into positions from which they can wield their new-found power. Stan Evans, one of the movement's original backers and instrumental in several conservative projects, recently became editor of the *Indianapolis News* at the age of 26. Doug Caddy, just out of college, is an executive with McGraw-Edison Company.

So the trend toward conservatism continues. The movement is yet in its infancy, but appears to be gathering momentum daily. Until recently, it has not been a movement at all, but a myriad of little brush fires springing up spontaneously in all parts of the country. Its major proponents, long aware of its latent power, have finally recognized the possibilities inherent in such a movement and are starting to give it direction and a sense of purpose.

It has been said that there is nothing so powerful as an idea whose time has come. Conservatism's time is coming, and the pendulum is swinging right. As the conservative philosophy is resurgent, so, believe its adherents, will be the prosperity of America and the hopes of freedom everywhere.

Ed. Note: Drawn from material published in Dimension Magazine, Northwestern University.

RIPOSTE! (continued)

When? What for? We are never told these things precisely, of course, because there is no such evidence. Anyone who has read a sizable portion of the committee testimony is well aware that the committee bends over backward to protect witnesses and to treat them justly, and that it is, in fact, the *witnesses* who indulge in unrestrained and libelous abuse of the committee members.

If some witnesses receive a bad press, it is because they have, of their own volition, advocated the

violent overthrow of the existing social order. What are newspapers supposed to do? — cheer everyone who proposes to overthrow the Republic? If the testimony of the witness damns him, why *shouldn't* he be excoriated in the papers?

The abolition of the committee does not depend on us; it depends upon the behavior of the Soviet Union. Conservatives have always advocated a minimum of government interference, and so they favor the existence of the committee only so long as a national crisis exists. So indeed, do the committee members themselves.

ANARCHY!

MILLARD W. JOHNSON

It takes little effort to build an indictment against government. Historically, government has been more the enemy of liberty than its protector. It provokes wars and wages them. It pushes people around, regiments their lives, and seizes their property. Even when only mildly coercive, it provides the framework for a potential dictator to take over.

The indictment begs the question: Is government really necessary? Must people rule and be ruled? Is civil authority necessary for an ordered society?

"No!" is the resounding reply from a long list of social philosophers representative of the primary anti-government theories, anarchism and libertarianism. Two contemporary theoreticians are presenting their views at the University of Wisconsin this semester. The first to appear in this quasi-symposium is an anarchist, Ammon Hennacy, who spoke to the campus Newman Association in February. The second, representing the libertarian view, is Robert LeFevre, who will be the guest of the Conservative Club in May. Like most libertarians and anarchists, they speak the same kind of language. Their combined contempt for government is awesome.

There was an overflow crowd in the basement of St. Paul's the Wednesday evening the aging, spirited anarchist spoke. Newman members heard the soft-spoken Hennacy talk for nearly two hours about the times he had been thrown into jail for failure to register for the draft, for not paying income taxes, and for a host of other sins of omission against the state.

St. Paul's displayed some magnanimity in bringing Hennacy here to speak, for, although a devout Catholic, he is nonetheless a sharp critic of his church's hierarchy. He is the wandering associate editor of the *Catholic Worker*, possibly the last monthly newspaper extant that still sells for a penny.

No lurk-in-the-alleyway anarchist, he brazenly sends notices to the local chief of police, to the bureau of internal revenue, and to the FBI informing them that he is not going to pay his taxes, that he is going to picket the local tax office on such-and-such a day, that his behavior is clearly subversive, and that they had better make up their minds what they're going to do about it.

Hennacy's defiance of government waxes particularly fierce twice each year, when he files his state and federal income tax returns. These consist of a brief account of his meager income for the year, and the announcement that he is not going to pay any tax on it (he won't take a job where the tax is withheld). Here is an excerpt from his 1951 Arizona state tax return:

"I do not ask or accept police protection and do not want any pension, subsidy, or help from the state. I do not desire to help pay for the upkeep of prisons, courts and reform schools which deny the Sermon on the Mount. Any services that the state performs could be done much cheaper by the people themselves. Neither do I favor handing out millions of dollars in old-age pensions to people who do not need it—in many cases to old folks who turn over their property to their children and ask for a pension because everyone else is getting it. This is not the Pioneer Spirit or the true American Way of Life."

What impertinence! This letter is worthy of Senator Goldwater himself.

How does Hennacy fit the pat-

tern of the old time anarchist, if at all? He is unique in many ways, but a careful perusal of his *Catholic Worker* columns and his 1954 *Autobiography of a Catholic Anarchist* would uncover many indications of the traditional leftist anarchist. The book, though it has serious organizational faults, is a fascinating and poignant account of his wars against the state.

"Anarchism," wrote Hennacy in his autobiography, "Has been called non-state Socialism. Despite the popular concept of anarchists as violent men anarchism is the *one* nonviolent social philosophy. It is the very antithesis of Communism and Fascism, which place the state supreme. Anarchists will do away with the state entirely . . . The basis of anarchism is liberty with individual responsibility; its methods are decentralization of activity and federation of local communes for national and international functions."

Note his emphasis on non-violence, which contrasts with 19th century anarchism, when Michael Bakunin pamphleteered for a more active program: assassination. If top government officials were killed off, he reasoned, then succeeding officeholders would fear to take their places, and the state would wither away.

A rash of political assassinations ensued, killing President Carnot of France, Empress Elizabeth of Austria, King Humbert of Italy and President McKinley in the United States. Public sentiment recoiled from anything that smacked of anarchism, despite the efforts of Kropotkin to save its good name.

Hennacy occasionally fasts in homage to the anarchists who were hanged for the 1886 Chicago Haymarket explosion, but otherwise he eschews any connection with the more aggressive forms of civil disobedience.

* * * * *

LeFevre is the genial and erudite founder of the Freedom School, located in the Rocky Mountains midway between Denver and Colorado Springs. His controversial

second book, *This Bread is Mine*, was published in Milwaukee in February

LeFevre is often called an anarchist, for he asserts that government isn't necessary. But he avoids the word because, historically, anarchism has been inimical to libertarianism. LeFevre has neatly unraveled this paradox in a thin pamphlet entitled *Anarchy*, which not only notes the ideological contrasts, but states the libertarian theory as well.

Take a look, suggests LeFevre, at one of the earliest anarchists, William Godwin. This "father of anarchistic communism" (*Encyclopedia Britannica*) saw that governments are instruments of eternal bickering and war; that all this fuss was over property; *ergo*, private ownership of property is a curse on all mankind. Godwin's solution: abolish government, the protector of property.

The two later anarchist theorists discussed in LeFevre's brief, Pierre Proudhon and the Russian Prince Peter Kropotkin, conceived an ideal society where no one is fettered by laws and where all property is held in common. With no government left to protect it, private property would disappear and there would be a more equitable distribution of wealth in the world.

LeFevre's point is that abolition of government has never been the *prime* objective of the anarchists—their goal has always been the abolition of private property. Demolishing the government just happens to be the means to achieve that end, because government supposedly protects property.

Contrast the libertarian point of view. Libertarians oppose government because it is a *threat* to private ownership. The government has the means to tax away or nationalize an individual's properties. It follows that neither the anarchist nor the libertarian oppose government *per se*, but only as it protects or plunders private property. Beyond the anti-government concept, the two theories diverge sharply: anarchism aims to eliminate private ownership; libertarianism is dedi-

cated to the perpetuation and enjoyment of private ownership.

"Never," declares LeFevre, "could two doctrines be more in opposition."

LeFevre sees government as a tool which mankind uses to bolster his weaknesses, and he submits that this tool, like any other, should be discarded when it no longer performs its proper function. "An insistence upon the use of an archaic instrument could hold back man's progress, perhaps indefinitely," he says. "Further, if the tool were basic, a dedication to its employment could become actually destructive. For it might be that this one tool was of such a nature that it could and would interfere with the development or the improvement of virtually all other tools."

The diversity in philosophies, as thus far noted by the theorists, is readily apparent. Granting that anarchism and libertarianism are not ideologically miscible, other than in mutual anti-government sentiment, one would suppose that the practical means—as proposed—of achieving the two ends would be dissimilar. This is generally true, but not always.

COMMON GROUND

Hennacy and LeFevre share many convictions. There is absolutely no function that government now performs, say the two men, that cannot be done voluntarily. They say that political action is not the correct way to stop government (neither of them votes); rather, both propose to defeat government by ignoring it. Snub government, they say; deny its right to govern. It will collapse. Man should be guided by internal laws. Instead of changing others' lives through governmental coercion, one should attempt to perfect his own life. Hennacy, borrowing a phrase from Robert Frost, calls it the One Man Revolution, to which LeFevre nods approval.

Regarding majority rule, both men subscribe to the tenet advanced by the anarchist Benjamin Tucker half a century ago:

"If one man robs another, as does the highwayman, that is theft and is wrong. If one man robs all other men, as does a despot, that is wrong. But if all other men rob one man, as by the instrument of the ballot and majority rule, that also is wrong"

While Hennacy is sometimes *prima facie* of the same convictions as LeFevre, he frequently becomes mired in the internal fallacies inherent in Anarchism. Did he not once say that statist systems, e.g., communism, fascism, etc., were *antithetic* to anarchism? But on the other hand he gives support to the very ideas inherent in statism.

The economic basis for Hennacy's anarchism is, in the most generous analysis, naive. Just how he expects man to surrender voluntarily the fruits of his labor to a common pool, and then peaceably withdraw his equitable share, entirely without government, he fails to say. If the fruits of a man's labor are to be surrendered to "humanity," does this not require coercion?

Man should be free, Hennacy says, but if he uses that freedom to produce something, he has no absolute claim to it. The man who acquires wealth through his own or contracted labor is duty bound to share it with the rest of humanity.

What naiveté! LeFevre is much more realistic. He maintains that man should be totally free; that man has a right to the fruits of his labors, and is under no obligation to surrender them to anyone. Unlike Hennacy, who would free men only to make them slaves of Society, LeFevre would free men to be entirely their own masters.

Let men be completely free from governmental coercion, says LeFevre; if a man wants to produce things that will make his life easier and more abundant, let him do so without fear of confiscation. What he makes is his own; he is entitled to the rewards of his productivity.

LeFevre champions the right to own property. Hennacy champions the right of society to confiscate property, (though he clothes his argument in voluntarism). Libertarianism does not proffer freedom with one hand, and take it back with the other.

DEATHTRAP IN MANHATTAN

If the United Nations replaces God, then it ought to have the Goodness of God

RICHARD S. WHEELER

Someday, as technology advances, it will be a relatively simple matter for most anyone to construct his own atomic bomb. Throughout the past, the discoveries of science have never been kept secret very long; once discovered, they are rapidly diffused among all manner of men and nations. There is little reason to believe, therefore, that atomic technology will remain for long the monopoly of a few governments, and there is every indication that the means and techniques of building such weapons will increasingly become cheaper, more widespread, and more practical. If, for example, small nuclear reactors are some day used to drive cars, trucks, locomotives and electric generating stations, it would be easy to remove the fissionable material from such devices and build a bomb with it.

Thus the problem of atomic energy is no longer merely one of governments and international relations. It is rapidly becoming one of domestic affairs and private men. In the past, with conventional engines of destruction, a single man could scarcely dent the social edifice. Society has not been particularly troubled by that tiny element which are insane and unstable because no matter what they did, they were incapable of doing great harm. But possibly as soon in the future as the turn of the century, any man on the street who is sufficiently disgruntled with society, or overly excitable, or mad at his wife, or corrupt, or psychotic, is going to be capable of obliterating much of his environment.

The great bulk of humanity, of course, is stable and ethical, and would never dream of bringing down such ruin upon civilization. But in the future, so much power

can be held in the hand of a single man that it will no longer be possible to ignore those obscure souls who nurse a rancorous hate for mankind in their soul. One wonders, for example, what the recent "mad bomber" of New York might have done in an age of diffused atomic technology. The point is not that atomic power is immense, but rather that only one berserk mind will be needed to obliterate a city. In so far as some men are willing to kill themselves, other men would be willing to kill society.

DUM SPIRO, SPERO

These grim prospects set men to dreading the future. The doctor is set to wondering how each and every case of insanity can be detected in time. The moralist is set to wondering how on earth men can be taught to handle their grudges reasonably and their ambitions moderately. The scientist is set to wondering how civilization can be rescued from the grips of atomic energy. The lawyer is set to wondering how the misuse of atomic energy might be guarded against in law; the political scientist is set to wondering how governments can resist an irresistible force, but above all, the philosopher is set to wondering what life will be like when each man on earth has the power of life and death not just over a few other men, but over nearly all other men.

The liberals have drained their inkpots dry writing about the horrors of atomic energy. Through such organizations as SANE and through liberal journals they have set up in the last few years what they believe to be the solution to the menace of atomic power. Even so, it is only a solution for one facet of the whole problem—that of

international relations. They haven't even begun to think about the much greater danger of atomic energy widely diffused and available to all in domestic life. But insofar as they have thought about the one facet of atomic energy dealing with international war, virtually all of them, from Bertrand Russell at one extreme of intellect, to Steve Allen at the other, agree upon, and promote three things: (1) a ban on testing atomic weapons, (2) international inspection and control to abet and enforce disarmament, and (3) a United Nations world order vested with supreme legal authority over national states, with its own monopoly on military hardware in order to put teeth into its law and enforce the peace.

They believe then, that if power were centralized in the United Nations, and that if each nation surrendered its sovereignty to the U.N., that such an authority could, by arbitrating disputes, enforcing decisions, depriving all nations of arms, and inspecting and controlling all centers of atomic technology, enforce a peace which would remove much of the danger of atomic warfare.

At a superficial glance, this liberal program looks not only reasonable, but it looks as if it were the salvation of civilization. But is it really? The task of the U.N. as a supreme world power will be manifold. On the one hand it will have to preserve peace in an age when atomic weapons will be available to many governments and many private individuals the world over. On the other hand, if war does break out in any area, the United Nations will have to isolate and quarantine it so that it doesn't become a worldwide holocaust. And lastly, if supreme

power over the entire world is centralized in the U.N., it has to be done in such a manner that it does not breed factionalism, and strife within its own political structure as various of its members struggle to control the instrument of world rule. In other words, the U.N. must have the machinery to keep *itself* from becoming a latent cause of atomic war if it is to be the political organization to cope with the atomic age. If the U.N. is given a monopoly on atomic hardware, it will require a foolproof means of deciding who will command these weapons, where, in what order of succession, and also how the commanders of the world's only armed force can be prevented from declaring themselves tyrant of the world. Until these questions can be worked out in detail, the glib demands for world government are of little worth to mankind.

Actually, the world-state is new neither in theory nor in practice, and it is likely that the flaws and failures of the first world order will be the flaws and failures of the proposed world order as well. Nearly two thousand years ago, the Roman Empire came as close to being a world government as the U.N. ever will be. Every civilized occidental state surrendered its national sovereignty to Rome, which, like the proposed U.N., was the supreme authority, the supreme lawgiver, the sole holder of military power.

RAMPANT POWER

For over two centuries this ancient U.N. was fairly successful; it preserved peace and was moderate enough in its tax demands to bring about a high measure of prosperity. But the emperor, at the pinnacle of world power, was free to do good or evil as he wished. There was nothing to prevent him from pillaging, confiscating, murdering and taxing as he wished, and so the empire soon felt the burden of corruption and tyranny and a huge, expensive bureaucracy. Moreover, the struggle of factions and armies and ambitious men for control of this ancient U.N. was shameless be-

yond modern imagination. Nothing at all, not even murder, parenticide, fratricide, torture, poisoning and treachery was too wicked to use in the struggle for the seat of world power.

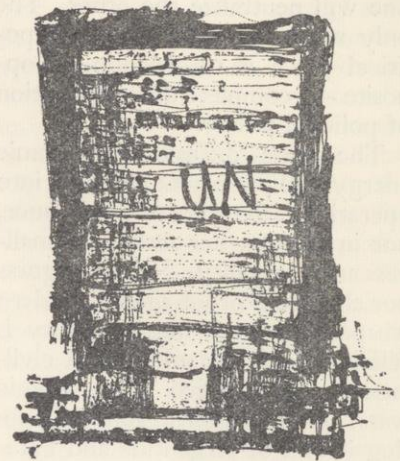
It is only natural to expect that if we surrendered our sovereignty to the U.N., by revoking the Connally reservation, etc., and if the rest of the world did likewise, that the current stock of lofty minded idealists who now inhabit its chambers would be replaced by practical and brutal politicians. Every member-nation would, after all, seek its utmost political advantage in the U.N., and so the Adlai Stevensons of the world would be out on their ear. The lofty oratory of today would disappear forever, and be replaced by hard political infighting, quarreling, and factionalism.

If such is the case, the poorer member-nations will inevitably form factions against the wealthier ones. In recent years a couple dozen such poor nations entered the U.N., all of which are at best neutral and at worst hostile to the wealthy nations—truly a straw in the wind. If these nations eventually control the U.N., as surely they will, then they will have the supreme power in their hands, and could quickly make membership intolerable for a rich "province" such as the United States, by bleeding it financially.*

Now, if such a situation were to develop, the U.N. would declare war upon the rebellious member—i.e. the principle of "collective security" would be applied. That means that every member-nation subservient to the central authority would be at war; in other words, such a war would be a *world war*. An individual nation, having sur-

*The General Assembly has already set the precedent for overriding the veto power of a Security Council nation when it circumvented Russia's threat to block a U.N. command in Korea. That means our own veto-power is not secure. Out of such a situation might come rebellion, secession, and atomic war.

rendered its sovereignty to the U.N., could no more declare its neutrality than a province of ancient Rome could. The U.N. would compel all its provinces to arm against the rebel faction, and would not tolerate neutrality. Already we have seen the beginnings of this when numerous Latin and European states were urged to declare war on North Korea under the U. N. ban-



ner, even though they might profitably have remained neutral. They sent token armies just on the principle of co-operating with the U.N., and thus made a *world war* out of a local conflict. What was voluntary in Korea would be compulsory once the U.N. became the supreme world power.

Thus the United Nations, far from localizing and quarantining atomic wars, would automatically turn each local dispute into atomic holocaust. In the ancient world state there was no such thing as a local war; each war involved the entire resources and provinces of the empire, and thus was truly world wide in scope. Far from being man's 'last best hope,' therefore, a centralized world order is actually man's first, worst enemy.

On the other hand, if a policy of decentralization were urged upon the world, and nations were constrained to remain sovereign at all cost, then the world could breathe easily in the atomic age. Local disputes might indeed drive two or three nations to the desperate extreme of atomic war—but the rest of the world's sovereign nations,

freely declaring their neutrality, would quarantine the fighting to those countries willing to destroy themselves. Atomic bombs are not only a physical force; they are also a political force. They can be used to coerce whole nations. It is not logical, therefore, to *combine* the political force of a world order with the political force of atomic energy in the desperate hope that one will neutralize the other. The only way to neutralize atomic political force is to develop its opposite — a complete decentralization of political power.

The wide diffusion of atomic energy will put a new principle into operation: safety lies not in alliance, nor in bigness, but rather in smallness and neutrality. Neither bigness nor alliance is proof against modern weapons systems, but neutrality is relatively safe. Mankind and civilization can outlive local atomic wars. If Luxembourg and Belgium slug it out, or Argentina and Paraguay, there is loss to be sure, but not universal holocaust. What is really dangerous is universal atomic war, in which thousands upon thousands of bombs are detonated. Not only would civilization be physically destroyed, but all higher creatures might die a radiological death. Therefore it is imperative to seek out the sort of political structure which, if wars do manage to get started, will at least localize and isolate them. There is no indication that man has given up his warlike ways, and, if he is thus imperfect, it is better to minimize the damage his imperfections might cause rather than to gamble on a world order that would either permanently end war — or destroy mankind.

SINE QUA NON

Security can no more be achieved in the atomic age through a central world order than a ship can be made secure by thickening its skin and removing its compartments. Such a ship, without compartments and bulwarks, would last just as long as it had no accidents, but the first rending of its shell would sink it. Likewise, a monolithic world order could preserve peace in the

atomic age only so long as it had no accidents, but the moment any element within it became corrupt — it would sink mankind. And, as Lord Acton points out, absolute power corrupts absolutely.

There is another reason, however, why compartmentalization is desirable. A central world power would be a glittering, irresistible magnet for all the world's ambitious men. If power corrupts absolutely, then any man in search of absolute power is liable to extreme corruption. Small, local governments, however, breed less ambition, less hunger, less lust and rage. They evoke moderation. Moreover, local sovereignty provides an admirable safety valve because it encourages differentiation. If one nation were tyrannically ruled, its people could flee to freer countries, as they do now from behind the iron curtain. But if the U.N. were supreme, it would immediately begin to establish uniformity of law and custom. In the hands of a tyrant there would be universal, uniform tyranny; there would be no place on earth to escape to, and the sensation of being trapped would drive men to extremes of behavior. Thus local sovereignty acts not only to quarantine wars, but also to sooth the minds of men and reduce the motivations for war.

International politics is not the only sphere in which decentralization is vital in the atomic age. In large nations such as our own and the Soviet Union, it is vital for the survival of orderly government, and as a preventative of atomic blackmail. By planting bombs in the nation's key cities and then demanding the capitulation of government, a cabal could do what Caesar did to the Republic of Rome. Caesar had his legions — the irresistible force of the ancient world; a modern man intent upon usurping the government power has the bomb. At present, there is no machinery in our government to prevent such a coup. The government could not possibly fight back without endangering the bulk of its citizens. Once the diffusion of

atomic technology is well advanced, government's control of power will be as precarious as the Roman Senate's hold on the ancient legions.

If, however, each state in the union were to acquire its original constitutional sovereignty, and if the federal government were to relinquish all the powers that it has usurped, then the political security of the nation could be guaranteed. Each state would have to be subverted separately in order to accomplish a national coup — a task too great even for a cabal equipped with atomic explosives. The principle of compartmentalization is as valid in internal affairs as it is internationally.

STILL VALID

There is a cliché among liberals that science, by producing the atom bomb, has outrun man's social and political development, and that we must hurry and evolve our social sciences to cope with the physical sciences. This simply ignores the fact that the one form of political organization which is singularly suited to the atomic age was conceived nearly two centuries ago in the Age of Enlightenment. It was the concept of decentralized power worked out by Montesquieu and the founding fathers. Science is only now catching up to the genius of these men. It was Thomas Jefferson, for example, who said:

"But the true barriers of our liberty in this country are our own State governments; and the wisest conservative power ever contrived by man is that of which our Revolution and present government found us possessed. Seventeen distinct States, amalgamated into one as to their foreign concerns, but single and independent as to their internal administration . . . can never be so fascinated by the arts of one man, as to submit voluntarily to his usurpation. *Nor can they be constrained to it by any force he can possess.*" (Italics added)

It is no wonder that some liberals are hysterical about atomic energy; that Lord Russell has taken to sitting on sidewalks, that Dr. Schweitzer has taken to pamphleteer-

ing, and that Steve Allen has been swelling the mails with SANE literature. Everything they do to promote a *world order* increases the probability of *world holocaust* both by destroying the right of nations to be neutral, and by building a glittering summit of world power to lure men to their doom. They have underestimated the gravity of the problem and at the same time have grown overly hysterical—two facets of a single mental disorder. And, as is usually the case in hysteria, everything they do tends to magnify rather than lessen the danger. SANE is the coffin of the human race.

Even though compartmentalization of governments would help prevent universal atomic war and atomic blackmail, it is still not adequate to cope with the domestic dangers of the atomic age—nuclear power in the hands of the insane, the excitable, the careless. Still another change is needed to cope with the raw power of atomic energy, and that is a decrease in urban culture. Atomic power itself is not



dangerous unless it is expended in the vicinity of mankind. It is the application of atomic power to cities and urban areas which staggers the mind. An insane man with an atom bomb is not particularly dangerous in a rural area, but a terrible menace in an urban one. Cities are simply too vulnerable to survive the atomic age in their current

form; the safety of civilization depends on a non-urban culture. Such a culture would not only be proof against atomic blast; it would also be relatively immune to bacteriological and chemical warfare as well, both of which are essentially anti-city weapons.

Gunpowder rendered the castle obsolete; atomic energy renders the city obsolete. Even without the advent of atomic power, cities are growing obsolete anyway as new forms of high speed, low cost transportation and instantaneous communication destroy the reasons for living so closely together.

SIC PASSIM

If the population of the cities were diffused into a hamlet culture, then vulnerability would be greatly reduced, and the motives for detonating any sort of atomic weapon would also be greatly reduced. There simply wouldn't be a worthwhile target. Such hamlets could be established in any township, and they could be placed close together if the strategic value of the terrain were put to use so that they were built in basinlands or valleys. Each could contain several thousand residents. As the industrial age advances toward automation and miniaturization, sprawling urban industrial complexes will no longer be necessary and each hamlet could have its own small, modern, clean industry to support itself.

Cities are vulnerable because (1) they have a large, compact populace, and (2) they have an industrial complex. If, however, the industrial complex were removed from cities, broken up, and made a rural rather than urban activity, then much of the reason for bombing cities would disappear. The city would exist only as a small, clean, bright cultural center, shopping area, and financial district. The removal of industry to the hamlets would also mean the removal of workers and executives to the hamlets, and thus cities would no longer be filled with vast, dingy residential areas, or suburbs. Only the "downtowns" of cities would remain, and

they would immediately be surrounded by vast parks. In this way, city life and its delights need not be entirely lost, but it would be modified to decrease greatly its vulnerability to atomic bombs.

The great danger of the future, then, is not atomic energy: it is the failure of men and society to adjust to the new conditions imposed by atomic energy. *With a culture politically and socially adapted to the new conditions, atomic energy need be no more dangerous to modern man than dynamite is.* Gunpowder was indeed terrifying to those who insisted on living in castles, but not to those who were capable of altering their life to fit it. It is not the purpose of this essay to ring fire alarms for decentralization; that will take place inevitably as the diffusion of atomic energy, plus an atomic accident or two, forces the alteration. It would be advisable, however, for the congress to alter the tax structure in a manner that would release capital to any corporation willing to build a modern rural plant. Such activity on a widespread level would soon of its own accord draw down the population of cities. It is the purpose here, however, to establish the *principle* of political and social decentralization which is needed to survive the atomic age.

It is the large things—large cities, large centralized governments (such as the Soviets), large political alliances, large industrial complexes—which will not survive the atomic age. A world order may have been plausible in Woodrow Wilson's day, but now atomic energy renders it obsolete and a deathtrap. The U.N. need not be entirely scrapped, however. It can serve as a charitable and educational organization, and perhaps a world bank—but not as a political institution.

The whole liberal approach to the problem has been one of reaction; of trying to save an urban structure which is patently unsavable; of trying to halt the march of science (by the test ban.) It can't be done. The bomb is here; the sole recourse is to make the society less vulnerable to it.

John Oster

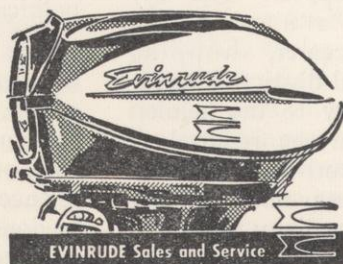
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BOOKS

THE SEED OF DECADENCE

Our society is in great danger of degenerating into stagnancy. There appears to be a definite decline in the idea that the institutions of society should serve as a means for the individual to develop. The end result of this regression will be a society consisting of individuals who are placid, non-competitive and unenterprising.

In his book, *THE FREUDIAN ETHIC*, Richard LaPiere asserts that psychoanalysis, the philosophy derived from the Viennese psychologist Sigmund Freud, is unscientific and a revolt from reason. Psychoanalysis, he finds, is more than a vogue or fad; it is a new religious cult of despair and human negation, a retreat to the man of the Middle Ages who believed we were simply born to suffer and die. The Freudian doctrine offers no positive course such as the goals, aspirations, values and sentiments characterized by the Protestant ethic; its only ideal is to adjust and maintain the so-called delicate psychic equilibrium of the individual. The Freudian ethic implies that the best we can hope for is a relatively secure life within a hostile world which is always in conflict with the nature of man.

LaPiere, Richard Tracy
The Freudian Ethic

New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1959

LaPiere points out clearly that the Freudians believe the individual to be a product of his environment and is, therefore, a victim of it. They conclude then, that the only effective way to change the individual is to bring planned changes into his society.

This belief is of paramount importance, for it is rapidly displacing the longstanding Protestant ethic which held that every man is responsible for his own welfare, and that an individual's worth is measured by his accomplishments in the sight of God and man. Its ideal is the life of action rather than passive acceptance of the *status quo*, and it holds that man has the courage and confidence to seek the satisfaction of his needs.

The "new" idea that man is a victim of his environment shifts the responsibility and blame to the individual's environment. Since the responsibility no longer rests with an individual, it is the duty of society to assume his responsibility and provide for his welfare. The values of self-reliance, independence, integrity, discipline, courage, honesty, and productive, enterprising activity embodied in the old Protestant ethic no longer apply. Criminals and delinquents are looked

upon as victims of an evil society and cannot, therefore, be held responsible for their actions. If this belief is granted cultural validity one can readily imagine its effect on individual behavior. Law abiding citizens will not even be assured the protection of the courts.

The Protestant ethic provides that the ideal man is an active agent capable of determining his social destiny. Man is believed to be physically, mentally and morally sturdy, and because of this he is self-reliant and therefore also responsible. LePiere points out, however, that a component of the Freudian ethic is the idea that man is a fragile creature of whom very little can be demanded without jeopardizing his mental stability. How this idea has invaded the crucial institutions of our society is both interesting and noteworthy.

The indoctrination of a youth begins when he is born into a child-centered, permissive family where the magic word is security and parents ooze love toward the child while demanding nothing in return. Thus even before entering the so-called progressive primary school the child is imbued with the thought that he should receive everything and give nothing. There he learns that the group is of more importance than himself, and by the time he reaches high school he readily accepts "adjustment to the group" in place of genuine scholastic achievement. The so-called progressive educator now admits that the psychological welfare of the student is primary, and learning secondary. The progressives believe also that neurotics are formed by the need to compete, so they discard competition in the classroom — the final break with the Protestant ethic.

The net result of this is that a student from the progressive school is totally unprepared to cope with a competitive society where courage, stamina, discipline and knowledge mark the successful enterpriser. Having never been trained toward these qualities, he is likely to become frustrated when he finds his ego isn't the center of the universe, and thereby he becomes neurotic, the very thing the Freudian ethic and its disciples attempted to prevent.

LaPiere serves warning that the number of people springing from this type of background is increasing and that since they are, in fact, frightened and unprepared to accept responsibility for themselves, they will tend to look toward large organizations and maternalistic government to provide them with a protective environment where "security" again will be the magic cureall.

— William R. Breihan

To be "normal" is a splendid ideal for the unsuccessful, for all those who have not yet found an adaptation. But for people who have far more ability than the average, for whom it was never hard to gain successes and to accomplish their share of work — for them restriction to the normal signifies the bed of Procrustes, unbearable boredom, infernal sterility and hopelessness.

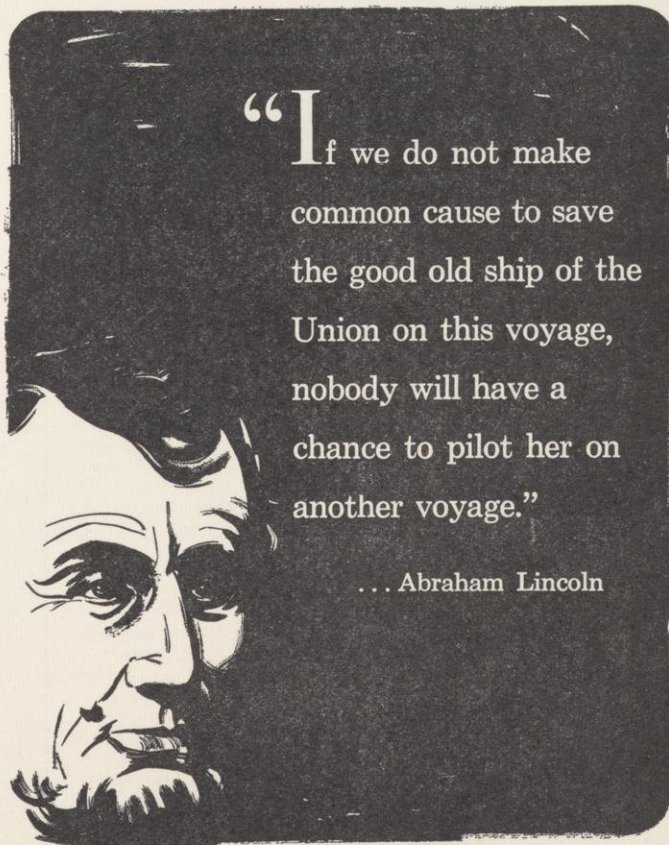
— Carl Jung



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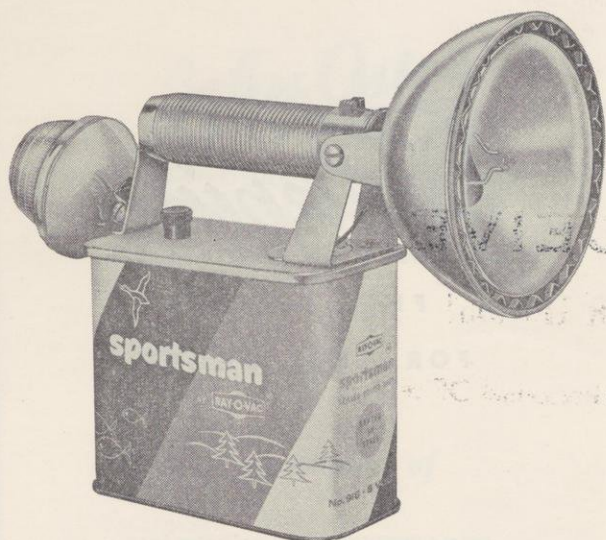
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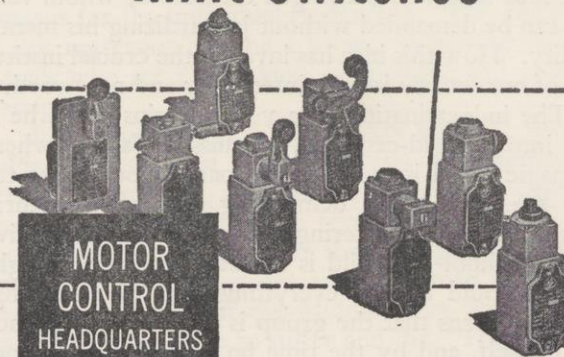
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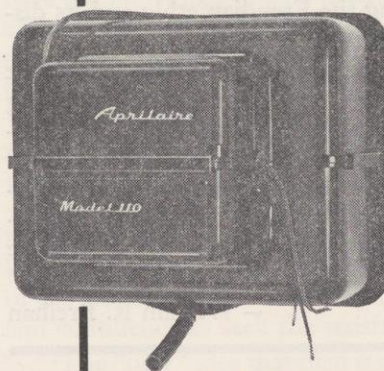
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