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INSIGHT *and* OUTLOOK

a conservative student journal

Vol. IV Number IV

Maach 1962

IN DEFENSE OF THE WASTELAND

EDWIN MACDOWELL

A LIBERTARIAN CASE

TIMOTHY JON WHEELER

ANCIENT ART

JAMES BLAIR

THE DEAD HORSE SCHOOL

CY BUTT

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A CONSERVATIVE STUDENT JOURNAL

Vol. IV Number IV

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IN THIS ISSUE

In reply to columnist John Crosby's suggested federal aid to the fine arts **James Blair** puts forward some major objections to the plan ● **Edwin MacDowell**, editorial writer for the *Arizona Republic*, makes his first appearance on these pages with a memorable defense of the harried TV viewer before that would-be propagandist for the New Frontier, Newton Minow ● Managing Editor **Timothy Wheeler** sets out to find a non-coercive solution to Communism in a serial discussion of world disorders ● **Aetius** finds a good target for the ban-the-bombers in Walter Lippmann ● Fre-

mont Guilfoyle is back again by the courtesy of **Cy Butt** to add, as is his custom, to the sum of human joy ● Contributing Editor **James M. O'Connell** reviews two libertarian books, one of which he likes. The other is a stinkeroo.

CAMPUS OUTLOOK

Infringing on Conscience

Through the National Defense Education Act, Congress has enabled the government to provide funds for loans to college students at low interest rates. Congress stipulated, however, that in order for a student to qualify for a loan he must sign an oath of loyalty to the United States and an affidavit to the effect that he is not a Communist.

These stipulations have been denounced as being an infringement upon freedom and discriminatory against those who refuse to sign such documents. Some educators and students have become so outraged that several colleges have refused the federal funds and thereby prohibited students from availing themselves of the loans.

It is difficult, however, to see just whose freedom is being violated by the NDEA stipulations. Both the government and the student have the right to contract with each other or refuse to contract with each other, depending upon whether the terms of the agreement are mutually satisfactory. If the student demands that no conditions be attached to the loan, the government can exercise its right to refuse to enter into the agreement. And if the government imposes conditions that are intolerable to the student, the student has the right to refuse to enter into the contract. The freedom to contract has not been abridged because there is no coercion involved.

However, when a university or a faculty steps in and prohibits a student from entering into a contract with the government, then, indeed, freedom has been destroyed. By preventing students from contracting with the government, the university has abridged the freedom to contract.

Moreover, it is difficult to see how the NDEA stipulations are discriminatory. An individual must be excluded against his will if discrimination is to occur. However, those who refuse to sign the oath and affidavit do so of their own free will. They have excluded themselves.

It would seem that those who are so worried about "loss of freedom" that they would prefer that the university refuse the NDEA funds are infinitely more totalitarian than the Congress which created the stipulations. They would presume to dictate a matter of conscience to individuals.

Walter charges war to Barry; Who's a nuclear Typhoid Mary?

"The poor dears among us who say that they have had enough of all this talking and negotiating and now let us drop the bomb, have no idea what they are talking about.

"They belong to the past . . . only a moral idiot with a suicidal mania would press the button for a nuclear war."

So said Mr. Walter Lippmann, chief shaman of American liberalism, in a recent speech before the Women's National Press Club.

The question is, who is Mr. Lippmann talking about? It is doubtful that there is a single sane person in this country who wishes to drop nuclear bombs on anybody. One would have to scavenge the asylums or search among the depraved to find anyone who would enter so cavalierly into nuclear war.

To whom, then, is Mr. Lippmann referring? Why should he stand before the country's distaff press corps and lash out at non-existent people? Is he, like Macbeth, suddenly seeing ghosts? Has he grown a wee small bit batty in his dotage?

The question can be easily resolved. Mr. Lippmann is not in hot pursuit of ghosts, but of flesh and blood humans. He devoted a recent column to incantations against Senator Barry Goldwater's belief that this nation should commit itself to victory in the cold war. His general thesis was that should this nation commit itself thus to victory, the air would soon be full of missiles and atom blasts and fallout. To Mr. Lippmann (and hence to his ricksha boys Reston, Alsop *et al*) Senator Goldwater's victory ideals are tantamount to advocating nuclear war. It can readily be inferred that Mr. Lippmann was referring to Conservatives in his speech.

"Those who think that war today is what it was against Mexico

or Spain or in the two world wars regard the careful attempts of statesmen not to carry the provocation past the tolerable limit as weakness and appeasement. It is not softness. It is sanity," Lippmann concluded.

This is the line of reasoning that undergirds the entire "accommodation" foreign policy of the present administration and the State Department. "We must give in a bit here, relax tensions a bit there, retreat a bit over here, and never think of victory, or restoring freedom to enslaved lands, for that might bring down nuclear war upon the world." This is the policy our diplomats love to refer to as "sane" and "responsible." Victory, for them, is a thing of the past.

However, the Soviets live in the same nuclear age in which our diplomats live, but the Soviets do not regard victory as a thing of the past, or appeasement as the epitome of sanity. They press the cold war in every possible economic, political and propagandistic way. They generate tensions rather than relax them. They continually probe at all the soft spots of the West, and wherever they find weakness, they move in, often using the threat of military force.

The result of an "accommodating" State Department which has no commitment to victory, and an aggressive international Communism that believes in and attains victory, is evident in the steady retreat of the West. Nations which were once pro-Western allies, committed to liberty, are now neutralists; what were once neutralists, are now veritable Marxist states, and all because our State Department wishes to "ease tensions."

The inevitable result of years of accommodation and piecemeal surrender would be a United States surrounded and isolated in a hostile

Soviet world. There would come a point when this country has no more territory to exchange for "easing tensions." What then? What would this country do with its back to the wall?

It would either surrender or fight: choose either to be Red or dead, as the saying goes. If it surrendered, the country would be looted; perhaps a third of its population exterminated, and the remainder reduced to unholy slavery. However, it is far more likely that this country would *itself* be provoked "past the tolerable limit" and choose nuclear war as the better avenue to the survival of life and freedom. Probably, however, the choice of war would not be made upon such rational grounds: long before the final isolation of the United States, there would be mounting chaos and fanaticism within the counsels of government. The present-day so-called "radical rightist" whose militant anti-Communism is a direct product of the appeasement to date, is but a pale prototype of the sort of man who might capture the reins of government in this nation's extremity.

Mr. Lippmann's policy of accommodation leads either to intolerable war or intolerable surrender, or both. Liberals both in and out of the State Department are the Typhoid Marys of a nuclear epidemic. It is the cowardice of the "peace-at-any-price" devotees which is spreading the seeds of war and the seeds of servitude.

The alternative to ending up Red or dead is to commit ourselves to victory in the cold war, and proceed to wage it with every honorable political, economic, and propagandistic means at hand. The free people of the world can emerge from the cold war unharmed and triumphant if they will only resolve to win the struggle; to commit themselves to liberty; to assume an implacable offensive against the web of subversion and slavery which is ensnaring the world.

— AETIUS

Dissenting Voices

Although the Liberal mystique still pretends that nothing is happening on the Right, the conservative revolt on campus continues to gain strength and polish. Probably the best indication of this phenomenon is the astonishing outpouring of new student journals, newsletters and bulletins of conservative persuasion.

For years, *Insight and Outlook* was the only such journal. The past year or so, however, has seen the appearance of the following printed journals: *Analysis* (Penn); *Campus Conservative* (U. of Miami); *Campus Conservative* (Miss.); *Conservative Thunder* (Wayne State); *The Entrepreneur* (Grove City College); *Gentlemen of the Right* (Cornell); *Liberator* (Louisiana schools); *New Individualist Review* (U. of Chicago); *Student Statesman*, *The Weekly Blatt* and *Tocsin* (all California schools). Reflected in these efforts are both the depth and validity of the young people's convictions.

We take this occasion to welcome three more new student journals: from Oshkosh, *Impact*; from the University of Indiana, *The Hoosier Conservative*; from Missouri, *The Conservative Digest*. We are especially indebted to the last-mentioned for reminding us that the wave of the future is made up of some singularly cheerful individuals, and we reprint, gratefully, this letter to Senator Goldwater:

Dear Mr. Senator:

My friend Bordeaux over in Pima County received a \$1,000 check from the Government this year for not raising hogs. So I am going into the not-raising-hogs-business next year. What I want to know is, in your opinion, what is the best kind of hogs not to raise? I would prefer not to raise Razorbacks, but, if there is no other good breed to not raise, I will just as gladly not raise Bershires or Durocs.

The hardest work in this business is going to be in keeping an inventory of how many hogs I haven't raised. My friend Bordeaux is very joyful about the future of this business. He has been raising hogs for more than 20 years and the best he ever made was \$400 until this year, when he got \$1,000 for not raising hogs. If I can get \$1,000 for not raising 50 hogs, then I will get \$2,000 for not raising 100 hogs.

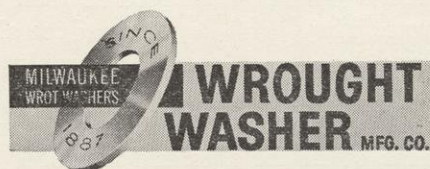
I plan to operate on a small scale at first, holding myself down to about 4000 hogs, which means I will have \$8,000. Now, another thing: These hogs I will not raise will not eat 100,000 bushels of corn. I understand that you also pay farmers not raising corn. So will you pay me anything for not raising 100,000 bushels of corn not to feed the hogs I am not raising? I want to get started as soon as possible as this seems to be a good time of the year for not raising hogs.

Signed, Octave Broussard

P.S. Can I raise 10 or 12 hogs on the side while I am in the no-hog-raising business . . . just long enough to get a few sides of bacon to eat?

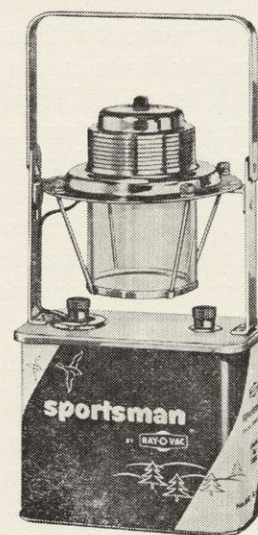
"Socialism is the Philosophy of Failure, the Creed of Ignorance and the Gospel of Envy."

Winston Churchill



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Edison on Socialism:

"... the Socialists, if they amount to anything must improve their program — or what is generally accepted as their program. They can't hope to reduce all mankind to a dead level. They can't figure to abolish capital, which is the accumulated results of labor, mental and physical, of all the ages and is called wealth, wealth of all the ages. They can't ignore the men who do the thinking and the guiding, the great executive minds to whom society owes most of what it has. There is a man who goes into a shipyard and without increasing the hours of labor or making anyone work harder, manages it so that three ships instead of two are built in a year. This he has done without calling for any more exertion on the part of the men and without increasing their number. Didn't he create extra value and isn't he entitled to extra reward? ... Socialism, if it ever arrives, must provide unlimited incentive for its executive minds and its creators. Unlimited incentive. ... Under present conditions I use the reasonable profit which I derive from one invention to make experiments looking toward another invention."

Thomas A. Edison

We subscribe whole heartedly to Mr. Edison's sentiments regarding Socialism and its brother, Communism, and point with pride to the fact that he is a co-founder of our company.

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WORLD OUTLOOK

The Interest of State

There is some question as to whether the State Department is the diplomatic arm of the United States, or simply an appendage of the United Nations. All the evidence in recent months points to the latter.

Take, for example, the case of Laos. Recently the State Department withheld its monthly \$4 million check to the National Bank of Laos until such a time as the right-wing government of the Laotian Prince Boun Oum collapsed, and agreed to form a new coalition regime which would also include neutralists and Communists. Thus American foreign aid, so widely ballyhooed as a bulwark against Communism, was used by our diplomats to force Communists and pro-Communists into an essentially pro-Western government.

The American public was advised at the time that such a maneuver was necessary to secure the peace and stability of Southeast Asia. Apparently the security of the West, the position of the United States, or the freedom of the peoples involved were not determinants in the action. Only peace was considered, regardless whether that peace permitted another small step toward the encirclement of the United States. The whole affair was hauntingly reminiscent of another State Department attempt to impose a coalition government upon another besieged Asiatic nation — and the resulting fall of China. Surely, in no circumstance, in no manner, did the Laotian move profit the United States.

Yet, such a move certainly profited the United Nations. As an instrument of neutralism in the world, the U.N. seeks to expand neutralism — or pro-Communism — wherever possible. Moreover, it is the goal of the U.N. to seek stability in Asia, particularly the sort of stability that results when all Western influence has been dissipated in the area. To be sure, the United States also desires peace — but never the peace of surrender. Thus, the net result of the State Department's Laotian policy has been beneficial to the U.N., while detrimental to this country.

For another example, take Katanga. In this case, the State Department firmly backed the usage of force by the United Nations to eradicate the power of the only ally this country had in central Africa. Indeed, the U.S. paid for most of the *anschluss* and flew in the troops and supplies. Once again, the State Department advised the American people that all this was done to stabilize the Congo, and to prevent a Communist takeover of the whole area. Yet it is difficult to see how the demolition of the only anti-Communists in the area was a blow against Communism and for stability. It is difficult to see why, if Communism was the menace, the U.N. did not turn its weapons upon the Red fac-

tions which were endangering the Congo, and why it has not done so to this day, even though the Reds' presence in the Congo constitutes a continuing menace to that nation.

Surely, it was not in the interests of the United States to strive for a neutralist, rather than a pro-Western Congo. Nor is it the interest of this country to destroy an anti-Communist at any time or any place, so long as Communism is intent upon the destruction of American liberty.

Thus, the only conceivable reason for the State Department's policy in the Congo was blind support of the United Nations. The interests of this country simply counted for naught. The security of the men, women and children of sovereign America counted for naught. For all practical purposes, the allegiance of the State Department is to those restive, sometimes barbaric men who now control the U.N.

And again, consider the case of the Dominican Republic. Recently, the State Department dangled economic aid before the Dominican people — on the condition that they install a State Department-approved, essentially socialistic government. Here again, foreign aid funds were used to promote a cause detrimental to the United States: to install a regime in this hemisphere in accord with some of the ideas of Karl Marx and state socialism. Surely, this is a strange thing for a nation committed to free enterprise to do! Yet, if a new neutralist state is eventually evolved, the U.N. will benefit. The beneficiary of our Dominican policy will ultimately be the U.N. — or the Soviet Union.

If sovereign America is in fact being represented diplomatically by men committed to World Government, then woe to America! For we are laying down our lives, our fortunes, our honor to an organism that may, someday, deprive us of our fortunes, our honor — and perhaps our lives.

Surely, surely, if this nation neglects its own interests long enough, it will perish.

Beans

Amidst the books on the shelves of an acquaintance of ours, whom we know to be a man of refined sensibilities, we found to our astonishment a squat, homely can of beans. Ordinary pork and beans. Here was a mystery — what could possibly have moved our friend to place such an humble object among his less earthy volumes? A moment of insanity? Never. Hunger? Impossible. It was hard to push back the suspicion — had he had some didactic purpose in mind? What indeed can one learn from a can of beans?

It was a preposterous object, and irksome. A mere fleck of chaos in the otherwise impeccable surroundings of a civilized man. We tried to ignore it, but

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tension grew between us and that smug, disorderly tin. Curiosity overcame reticence; we picked it up furtively and turned it this way and that, hoping to divine its secret. It yielded none, for it was, after all, just a can of beans.

What can one learn from a can of beans? It has no poetic qualities to speak of, and is smaller than a breadbox. A symbol of the masses, perhaps, focusing their aspirations for material betterment with nature's parsimony? Dubious. Then we noticed the price: seven cents. Curiously low; was it some sort of novelty in the age of clipped coinage? What an enormous quantity of materials, tools, steps, services, and knowledge went into the production of the can: iron from the Mesabi, mined, shipped, refined, cast, stamped, rolled, shaped, coated with tin from Bolivia; paper label, a product of an entire industry, printed and dyed by two more; the beans themselves, and the pork, and sauce, raised, shipped, prepared, finally canned. Almost uncountable processes of production, transportation and marketing set into motion to disgorge the can. No one man or one hundred men had all the knowledge necessary to produce it, and yet it appeared — for seven cents. An excellent symbol of the interdependence of economic effects on the market. As we thus pondered, can of beans *flagrante delicto* in the hand, our friend entered the room.

"Rather the essence of social co-operation," we said, replacing the can to the shelves.

"Just so," he said, unperturbed. "Just so."

Premonitions of a Super Patriot

Mr. Chairman, the public mind as well as my own is extremely uneasy. . . . You ought to be extremely cautious, watchful, jealous of your liberty; for, instead of securing your rights, you may lose them forever. If a wrong step be now made, the republic may be lost forever . . . An opinion has gone forth, we find, that we are contemptible people: the time has been when we were thought otherwise . . . we commanded the respect of all Europe: wherefore are we now reckoned otherwise? The American spirit has fled from hence: it has gone to regions where it has never been expected . . . Shall we imitate the example of those nations who have gone from a simple to a splendid government? Are those nations more worthy of our imitation? What can make an adequate satisfaction to them for the loss they have suffered in attaining such a government — for the loss of their liberty? . . . When the American spirit was in its youth, the language of America was different: liberty, sir, was then the primary object. We are descended from a people whose government was founded on liberty: our

glorious forefathers of Great Britain made liberty the foundation of every thing . . . We drew the spirit of liberty from our British ancestors: by that spirit we have triumphed over every difficulty. But now, sir, the American spirit, assisted by the ropes and chains of consolidation, is about to convert this country into a powerful and mighty empire. . . . Such a government is incompatible with the genius of republicanism. There will be no checks, no real balances, in this government. What can avail your specious, imaginary balances, your rope-dancing, chain-rattling, ridiculous ideal checks and contrivances? . . . Would this constitute happiness or secure liberty? . . . Why, then, tell us of danger, to terrify us into adoption of this new form of government? And yet who knows the dangers this new system may produce? They are out of the sight of the common people: they cannot foresee latent consequences . . . When I thus profess myself an advocate for the liberty of the people, I shall be told I am a designing man, that I am to be a great man, that I am to be a demagogue; and many similar illiberal insinuations will be thrown out: but, sir, conscious rectitude outweighs these things with me. I see great jeopardy in this new government . . . Your president may easily become king. Your senate is so imperfectly constructed that your dearest rights may be sacrificed by what may be a small minority . . . Where are your checks in this government? It is on a supposition that your American governors shall be honest, that all the good qualities of this government are founded, but its defective and imperfect construction puts it in their power to perpetrate the worst of mischiefs, should they be bad men . . . Show me that age and country where the rights and liberties of the people were placed on the sole chance of their rulers being good men, without a consequent loss of liberty! I say that the loss of that dearest privilege has ever followed, with absolute certainty, every such mad attempt.

If your American chief be a man of ambition and abilities, how easy is it for him to render himself absolute . . . I would rather infinitely — and I am sure most of this Convention are of the same opinion — have a king, lords, and commons, than a government so replete with such insupportable evils . . . If I shall be in the minority, I shall have those painful sensations which arise from a conviction of being overpowered in a good cause. Yet I will be a peaceful citizen. My head, my hand, and my heart, shall be at liberty to retrieve that loss of liberty, and remove the defects of that system in a constitutional way. I wish not to go to violence, but will wait with hopes that the spirit which predominated in the revolution is not yet gone, nor the cause of those who are attached to the revolution yet lost. I shall therefore patiently wait in expectation of seeing that government changed, so as to be compatible with the safety, liberty, and happiness, of the people.

— Patrick Henry, June, 1788

THE DEAD HORSE SCHOOL

Fremont finds modern means
to milk human kindness

CY BUTT

Between the dark and the daylight, when the night is beginning to lower, comes that pause in the day's occupation that is known to clients of Madison's Congress Bar as tea time. Mr. Doyle, boniface, was getting out the platter of horse doves, which he keeps well varnished to preserve their original appearance and make dusting easier. Even so, he watches them narrowly for several of the reporters that carry a line of credit here have developed a vicious habit of concealing small screwdrivers on their persons with which they pry the morsels loose from the platter and dispose of them to the museum as artifacts from the Mezozoic. Just at this pregnant moment the glittering door swung wide and through it strode Fremont Guilfoyle. On his arm was Fifi, his secretary, flashing her crimson smile and jiggling her fore and aft elevations prettily and with a dexterity that amounted to genius.

"You seem to be looking askance at the cap and gown I have on," said Fremont, "It is but a little personal advertising for my new project. I am now in the education business. I am Dean and Treasurer of the



new Guilfoyle School of Social Science. I might say, off the record, that there is, as usual, a great deal more Social to it than there is Science, but that is the way things are these days. We are flooded with the applications of those who wish to sacrifice themselves for the public good."

"How touching," I said. "But I don't understand the spate of enrollees. The University is turning out social workers like rabbits produce posterity and, just in case there might be a lack because of the machinations of the Administration, they are presently con-

structing a new building that will eventually extend from the Memorial Union to Picnic Point. The acolytes will enter at Park and Langdon and emerge at the Point with their degrees without having been exposed to the profane light of day during the interim. This protects them, I understand, from insidious propaganda for private enterprise. They come from the cocoon to add to the sum of human joy, with the milk of human kindness spurting from every pore, and a compulsion to direct the lives of all. Barges will be ready day and night at the Point to carry them to the Sigma Alpha Epsilon pier where recorded hosannahs will be played at each disembarkment. I am quoting this last from the School catalogue."

"I know all that," said Fremont, "It is precisely why my school is so popular. With social workers buzzing around the body politic like flies around a dead horse —"

"Let me write that down," I interjected.

"— there is a crying need for a new, a special type of social worker. We need a social worker equipped to minister solely to retired and indigent social workers since they will soon make up a considerable section of the populace. We must have those who understand the needs, foibles and frailties of the retired social worker; those who can direct the lives of the retired and yet at the same time make them think that it is they who are doing the directing. It is an exacting role to play."

"Why not try hypnotism?" I asked.

"We already have Hypnotism 1A and 1B directed by Doctor Svengali," Fremont replied. "Next year the program will be extended if results warrant. For those of the retired who are far along in their dotage we have miniature cities with small robots that can by remote control be directed into any line of activity. It gives them an almost sublime sense of satisfaction. But the drawback with robots is that the students enjoy the sets so much they wear them out before they get to their intended recipients. But where is Fifi?"

"I don't know," I said. "A few minutes ago she was talking with that chubby UPI man. They seem to have gone someplace."

"Sometimes I think that I might be overdoing this thing," said Fremont. "Fifi is getting to be social herself. Frightfully social at times. I have noticed this ever since I had to get my teeth pulled. Last week it was the trumpet player at the Pirate Ship."

IN DEFENSE OF THE WASTELAND

EDWIN MacDOWELL

Ever since Federal Communications Commission chairman Newton N. Minow scored television as "a vast wasteland" during his speech before the National Association of Broadcasters early in May, the box in which they allegedly buried vaudeville has come in for some rough times. In hearings before the FCC, an innumerable caravan of performers, writers, directors, and producers have attested to the virtues and venoms of television, with most of the publicity accorded its traducers.

It would, however, be a mistake to view the controversy over TV as merely an intra-mural squabble. Predictably, a powerful, vocal segment of the Liberal community sees in it an excellent opportunity to lay some ideological groundwork. And while they scarcely expect to replace Ed Sullivan with Peter Lawford, Groucho Marx with Mort Sahl, or Betty Furness with Eleanor Roosevelt, these Liberals feel they have found a whipping boy capable of providing them with as much mileage as the recent furor over the John Birch Society.

This is not to say that critics of television tend automatically to be Liberals, any more than critics of the Kennedy administration's futile foreign policy tend automatically to be Conservatives. With the possible exception of John Kenneth Galbraith — whose fear of polluted airways is only slightly less than his fear of polluted streams — no Liberal is more distressed with, or appalled by, the surfeit of Westerns and banal "situation comedies" than I. But before I would consent to Mr. Minow's transforming television into a public relations outlet for the New Frontier, I would

gladly suffer an unbroken skein of "Wyatt Earp", "Rifleman", "Cheyenne", "The Rebel", "Pete and Gladys", "Bringing Up Buddy", "Dobie Gillis", "Father Knows Best", and "Ozzie and Harriet" — with Lawrence Welk thrown in for good measure.

That Mr. Minow has every intention of using TV to extol the virtues of the New Frontier is evident from his own remarks. "It is not enough to cater to the nation's whims," he told the broadcasters. "You must also serve the nation's needs . . . I intend to see that your debt is paid with service." Furthermore, he said, he did not intend "to idly observe this squandering of the public's airwaves." Now, one may argue that because Mr. Minow occasionally splits an infinitive — something his former law partner, Adlai Stevenson, would never think of doing — it does not automatically disqualify him from regulating TV. But, split infinitives aside, the fact remains that his qualifications in that area *are* singularly unimpressive. From what I have been able to discover, they rest solely on his association with Stevenson, for whom he was also administrative assistant when Adlai was Governor of Illinois. And no one, not even the editors of the *New York Post*, has as yet accused Adlai Stevenson of expertise in the vital area of TV programming. (Although, in fairness to the *Post*, it should be pointed out that this is the *only* area in which they neglected to pass Stevenson off as an expert.)

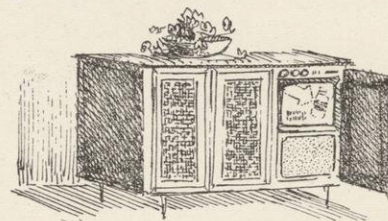
Those who have suffered through the first year of the New Frontier should have no illusions as to what Mr. Minow meant by his reference to "the nation's needs." As Max

"Newton Knocks Best" — or does he?

Our Correspondent stakes his Goldwater

Button on the Good Taste of the Public

Lerner so often reminds us, what's good for the New Frontier is good for the nation, and, apparently, the thing that's best for the New Frontier is more and more publicity. Not the odious kind stirred up by the gaucheries of Interior Secretary Udall, but the kind that assails you from the pages of almost every major magazine, describing in gushing detail the courage, *savoir faire*, and precocity of Jack, Jackie, and Caroline, in that order. Yet it remained for Ed Murrow's U.S.I.A. to give us a preview of what to expect if the scouts of the New Frontier succeed in conquering the TV wilderness. At the time of Kennedy's recent visit to Canada, the U.S.I.A. sent to the Canadian news media press kits so filled with undisguised flattery — the President was called "the foremost personality on the American scene", a



"glamorous political figure", Jackie was described as "a young woman lovely to look at, dressed with individuality and flair, and totally different from any traditional image of the President's wife", and Press Secretary Salinger, protector of the New Frontier's image, was described as "a dynamo who resembles tireless competence in motion, a jaunty chunk of man whose affable manner covers a steel trap mind" — that even leading Canadian news-

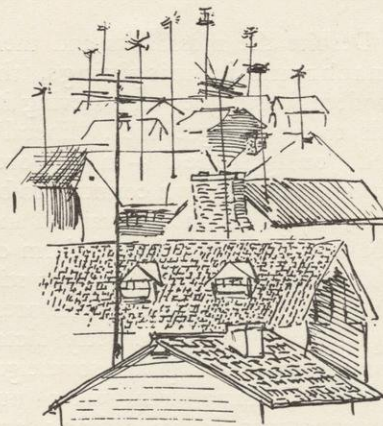
papers complained of the panegyrics Murrow & Co. had packed up in their old kit bag.

Certainly there are improvements to be made in TV fare, and we hope President Kennedy will do something about it if and when brother Bob allows him to participate in future "Great Debates." Billed as a fight to the finish between two pier-6 brawlers, the four debates between Kennedy and Nixon were little more than Alphonse and Gaston routines. Yet nowhere was there an outcry from the Liberal community, charging misleading advertising when their heroes failed to produce as promised. Nor did Estes Kefauver—who wants to spare the public the wiles and snares of drug manufacturers and unscrupulous boxing promoters, by placing both industries under his protective wing—threaten the Demos or GOP with government regulation "in the public interest."

Few people, Conservative or Liberal, will condone such shenanigans as an automobile sponsor refusing to allow mention of the word "Lincoln" in a Civil War drama, or a gas association eliminating the phrase "gas chamber" from the script "Judgment At Nuremberg", or an electric company's trying to force a change in the title of Kipling's "The Light That Failed." But what are we to think when the dichotomous David Susskind attempts to pass off Harry Truman on the viewing public as a genuine historian, in a proposed series of 26 documentaries? Surely that brazen attempt to reduce history to the level of tendentious, partisan politics—something at which Messers. Truman and Susskind are uniquely qualified—is far more pernicious than the absurdities of over-zealous sponsors.

In that same vein, author and playwright Gore Vidal told FCC officials he was frightened that children will lose faith in TV commercials when they discover the space gun they sent away for didn't cause their teacher to disintegrate

on the spot, as they were led to believe. Then, said Vidal, when they see the President on television, they'll conclude he's also a phony. For my part, I'm less frightened by Vidal's big fear (second, probably,



to his dextrophobia, represented chiefly by Barry Goldwater) than I am by the fact that Junior might accept the President's words as Holy Writ. Certainly a healthy skepticism toward Presidential assurances that our sons will not set foot on foreign soil, that the Alger Hiss case was merely a "red herring", that the State Department would soon be "clean as a hound's tooth", that we should ask not what the nation can do for us, but what we can do for the nation, might have proved to be the proper antidote for our ailing nation.

That the public taste is not always what many of us would want goes without saying. And it's reasonably safe to conclude that, in the absence of pay TV, so it will remain. (Curiously, while most Liberals have called either for government regulation of television or a government-sponsored network, none, so far as I know, has as yet endorsed pay TV.) But the average American, it would appear, is no more addicted to inane quiz and panel shows, melodramas, Westerns, and "situation comedies" than his British counterpart. Writing in "Daedalus" last Spring, Leo Rosten

noted that despite the admirable superior fare offered the British public for years by the government-owned BBC—"excellent music, learned talks, literate discussions"—the moment the British public was offered a choice, immediately it embraced the same mediocre shows Americans enjoy. When a British commercial network presented Vivien Leigh in her first TV appearance, in Thornton Wilder's "The Skin of Our Teeth," the show was praised by every important British critic. Yet in 66 out of every 84 homes, Londoners chose to view the 25-year-old American movie "Follow the Fleet", with Ginger Rogers and Fred Astaire, just as most Americans chose to view the "Mike Todd Party" in Madison Square Garden rather than the highly praised production "Green Pastures."

All this would seem to be a severe indictment of Mr. & Mrs. Average Viewer, and would tend to substantiate network officials' assertions that they are merely giving the public what it wants, instead of what Newton Minow and his New Frontiersmen want it to want. And, it would seem, if the government is unsuccessful in imposing its enlightened taste on the public, many of us will continue to find ourselves overruled by Mr. & Mrs. Average Viewer. But there are signs that the viewing public is not as indiscriminate as Mr. Minow believes. For example, when Walter Lippmann last season gave an enamoured Howard K. Smith and a CBS television audience an hour of his political and economic wisdom—his second Sermon on the Mount in as many seasons—he drew an Arbitron rating of 6. His competitor, on the other hand, "The Untouchables", drew an Arbitron rating of 53. And if that doesn't speak as well for the intelligence of the American viewing public as anything that has happened in years, then I'll gladly trade my "Goldwater For '64" button for one singing the praises of Newton N. Minow.

LIBERTARIANISM: A CASE FOR INTELLECTUAL ANTI-COMMUNISM

TIMOTHY J. WHEELER

I

Modern civilization has an immense momentum, not only physically irresistible but morally and socially dominant in the press, politics, and literature of the Liberal classes; yet the voice of a dispossessed and forlorn orthodoxy, prophesying evil, cannot be silenced, and what renders that voice the more disquieting is that it can no longer be understood. When the prophets or apologists of the modern world attempt to refute those vaticinations, they altogether miss fire, because of their incapacity to conceive what they attack; and even in the exposition of their own case they are terribly confused and divided.

— George Santayana

Granted that to find anything significantly wrong with modernity is to woo the furies, I would nonetheless like to suggest that this is not the best of all possible centuries. For instance, it has been scarred by the two most destructive wars of all time (not to recall rumors that number three looms), the enslavement of whole peoples and nations, genocide, concentration camps, fastidiously scientific slaughter, and the like. It has promoted racism and class hatreds; it has bred at least three slightly modified forms of vicious totalitarianism; it is a time which scorns its heritage.

All this is very nice if you're building a new world out of the ashes of the old, but there are still a few mossbacks around who maintain that good ends cannot be achieved by bad means. Worse, they reason that ideas which produce ashes cannot build anything at all. They are, of course, "Santayana's "dispossessed and forlorn orthodoxy, prophesying evil."

Despite the mossbacks and their anachronistic misgivings, the modern world goes on believing itself to be "progressive", "liberal", and "enlightened"—in a word, "modern". Our own country, to be sure, enjoys the most advanced and liberal public attitude and form of government in its history, yet still finds time to worry about its prestige abroad, pander to petty dictators and support a global sovereign, the UN. Time was, when our country was in its infancy and liberty was its ideal, it acted as a beacon of hope for the oppressed peoples of the world. But that seems *passé* today. To remember brighter moments is deemed horse-and-buggy-think, inadmissible and almost subversive in a world of automatic progress. If there's oppression in the world nowadays, we throw money at it and hope it will go away or at least shut up. America has surely lost its dream.

I consider it therefore one of the ironies of a capricious age that a dispossessed few who realize the sources of world unrest are not only consigned to voiceless exile by the "Liberal classes" but demonized by those otherwise super-tolerant champions of free and open debate. The Liberal classes are aware that the message of their victims is unsettling, even fatal. They are aware, too, perhaps more dimly, that the world disorder is of their own making and that they are being swept before the returning tide of their own ideas, as the world revolution turns upon and destroys itself. But they refuse the counsel of a few who recognize purpose beyond survival and thus present their times with the precious gift of hope.

All of which brings us obliquely to the point: Communism is a clear

First of a series on the question, can there be a non-coercive solution to the Communist problem?

and present danger to our lives and freedom.

What to do, then, to protect our lives and freedom is a relevant question for everyone, and nearly everyone has some sort of answer to it. The bulk of the answers one hears seem to be as disordered as the times themselves and treat only the symptoms while ignoring and probably aggravating the disease. It hardly seems possible to make a comprehensible diagnosis of Communism without putting aside first some of the most cherished suppositions of the twentieth century. Just to concede the possibility that modern civilization is racing in the wrong direction is understandably traumatic. But, perhaps the court of History will allow as evidence for such a thought the scores of millions of very real corpses already spewed out of the philosophical turbulence. So let's be at it.

Determinism

Attempting to maintain the fight against Communism at the leve of ideas, we find that the Communist dialectic shields itself behind determinism: it says history and environment, not ideas, are the masters of men. By definition, then, the ideas necessary to counter Communism cannot exist, and its success rests upon the acceptance of this relativist premise by the holders of ideas, the intellectuals, in both the East and the West. Much of the intellectual appeal of Communism can be traced to the purity of the logic with which it erects a political structure upon its premises—but the political structure yields up immeasurable devastation. It is apparent that the brutality of the Communist system reflects only slightly the ambitions of its warlords and should correctly be

blamed on the fallacy of its determinist premises. Even at first glance, the premises contain a murderous contradiction.

Determinism is an *idea*; thus merely to recognize this and trace the idea as it grew in the minds of men and moved them to action is an elegant proof of the fallacy: the idea, not fate, is supreme. However, the appeal of historical, scientific and economic determinism to intellectuals, so long as relativism permits them to ignore contradictions, apparently cannot be shaken by reasoned proof nor by the testimony of a reality which sees the masses butchered to appease the bitch-goddess History.

Rootless Relativism

Relativism (about which more will be said later) permits contradiction where reason does not. Ideas denied the restraints of a non-contradictory integrating mechanism, i.e., reason, break free of reality and become the supple and complaisant tool of wishful thinking, usually in the hands of the nearest power-hungry politician. The ascendancy of relativism in the Western world acted to hack away philosophical roots sunk deeply in transcendent absolutes, and thus loosed and decimated that set of ideas which once gave the West its supremacy in the world. Now on both sides of the Iron Curtain, relativism undergirds political and metaphysical theory to produce deterioration of reason, or more accurately, an intellectual void.

Nothing less than the breakdown of reason, one assumes, could permit a failure to refute Communism intellectually. Given the fact that men are the masters of their fate, that ideas do indeed have consequences, one can scarcely reach another conclusion. But where in America do we find determined intellectual resistance to the most pressing problem of our times?

Turn, for instance, to the acknowledged nucleus of intellectual activity, the universities. How quickly might the cold war be

favorably resolved, I am given to wonder in weak moments, were the academic community to train its attack on Communism? But this is idle pondering. The attitude of higher educational circles *vis-a-vis* Communism remains one of indifference, pooh-pooh, and occasional sympathetic pampering. A meaningful defense of freedom would require the educational community to give up some of its favorite prerogatives, prejudices and premises, that is, make both emotional and intellectual adjustments. There is little reason to think that the Dewey-dripping preachers of adjustment will themselves adjust. It is too painful. No cogent general defense of freedom has evolved in the academe, and none is forthcoming from that direction, barring intellectual revolution.

If not to higher education, where else can society turn if it is to avoid being buried? To the other elements of the dominant "Liberal classes", i.e., the press, politics and literature? But little of value has appeared from that direction either and one might surmise that little will appear, since the "Liberal classes" outside generally share the attitudes of the academy.

Society will always feel justified in entrusting the defense of its freedom to its intellectual classes. That is why the frustration now being felt across the country is intensified by a suspicion of betrayal. It has hardly escaped public notice that the threat from the Kremlin continues to grow despite (or because of) the efforts of the democratic West to halt it.

A New Group

Freedom is worthwhile and it is defensible. It becomes grimly clear from the disposition of present liberal intellectuals that if it is to be defended, a new intellectual group will have to step forward.

The new group will have to be versed in Aristotelian logic, I suppose, to gain a decent disrespect for contradiction; it must know that the relativist disqualifies himself

from any pretense to the title "intellectual". The pedigree of intellectualism is abhorrence of contradiction or more precisely devotion to truth, plus the certitude that truth exists. Who would submit to such old-fashioned disciplines today? Yet more brambles lie along the path, for the new intellectual is not only working against time, he is working in the knowledge that the wrong ideas are armed with nuclear weapons on both sides of the East-West struggle.

II

How safe is treason and how sound ill

Where none can sin against the people's will.

— John Dryden

Anti-communism the task of intellectuals"? What a hypothesis from the Right!

I realize that it is hardly possible to advance a thesis which could be held in lower regard by the present keepers of the sacred intellectual flame. Even while they make the concession reluctantly that anti-Communism is a necessity, is it not still true that the Left has provided that great bulwark of Western defenses, contemporary democracy?

Listen: "Why, everyone knows our democracy is the best political system in the world, so why shouldn't the intelligentsia be a little smug about it? And if someone should notice that this bogey Communism is trampling American democracy into the tundra, well, isn't that just evidence that Communism isn't as bad as it's painted by the reactionaries? Besides, our democracy has been imperfectly realized and administered, so it's still ineffective. There. What we need is more of the same. What could be clearer than that? We have to get busy and ship democracy to the underdeveloped countries. Everyone knows that Com-

1. "There must as many different kinds of democracy in this country as there are Baptists. Every time one of our first-string publicists opens his mouth, a 'democracy' falls out; and every time he shuts it, he bites one in two that was trying to get out."

— Albert Jay Nock

munism is the worst system in the world and democracy is the best, and American to boot, so why the fuss?"

This is an uncharitable caricature, of course, but surely no more ridiculous than any relativist's treatment of uncongenial facts.

No, it is not for a lack of awareness in this country that the problem of Communism exists. Whether the search for Communists reached to Novosibirsk, into the State Department or under the bed, just about everybody found some last year. The search, as I mentioned, might better have been conducted among the philosophical premises of Western ideologues, whose "hands across the sea" program of support for their brethren on the Left is too well known to discuss here. But they are the advocates of democracy, not a pack of godless Reds.

If the same intellectuals who have failed so markedly to halt the Communist problem are thumping the tub for democracy, then democracy would be a good place to start digging for the roots of intellectual failure. Now, one needn't say a harsh, Birch word about it to recognize that the overwhelming commitment of the Liberal classes to democracy marks the retreat of the intellect into complacency, and intellectualism has no more room for complacency than for contradiction. There are plenty of indications, however, that democracy is acting like a communist dupe and this is a failure of greater proportions than just smugness. If democracy shares root assumptions with Communism, then our nation's leaders are fighting fire with fire and will get a scorched earth for their pains. And ashes.

An Apology

What is this democracy which is spooned into every school child, paid homage in every political speech and wherein rests the hope of free men to retain their freedom? The word has been used by so many to mean so much that it

is difficult to draw clear lines of meaning.

To conceive a "democracy" as that nation whose government utilizes the democratic process, is common enough, although foggy and the source of considerable confusion. Democracy is not more than a means of selection and cannot be a form of government. Thus, to



label a government or a nation "democratic" is only an apology for the form of State brought about by the democratic process.

Freedom, however, depends not upon the source of power, but the amount. Tyranny, of which the choice of administration is in the hands of the people, remains tyranny. It is my contention first that "democracy" has broken faith with its American ancestry in liberty, and negates therefore every concept that is progressive, or humane, or honorable with the inclusion of compulsion into its formulae; second, that the intellectual commitment to the democratic process is in keeping with trends of relativism, because in the denial of absolute truth it becomes necessary to formulate an instrument by which "truth" can be determined at any moment in time. The democratic process has served well in this regard: "truth" is determined empirically.

In examining the first of these contentions, a brief dip into the past reveals that, having been rejected and attacked by Western intellectuals themselves for more than a century, that set of values which gave the West its primacy—such as the truism that every man is responsible for his own acts—has

collapsed, and with it the West. Presumably these intellectuals acted out of sensitivity to the ills they could see in their own system, but the reason for their defection is not important here. Rather to be noted is the fact that they turned to Old World socialism for a palliative, and that proved to be a mistake. Socialism, not capitalism, is degenerate.

In the course of things, especially in the "Soviet betrayal of the World Revolution", socialism *per se* became untenable, and its domestic adherents gradually and grudgingly forsook its colors to muscle in on classic liberalism and to wave the banner of constitutional democracy. New "liberals" began to apply the Fabian Socialist technique of expanding government slowly and constitutionally by focusing attention on social problems for which "society" was to blame and which, therefore, only government could cure. That such techniques were applied in the name of "liberalism" produced a *mélange de genres* and semantic upheavals which linger to the present.

Disguises

Traditional American placidity (was this not a country so naive politically that it passed a law against the forcible overthrow of its government?) proved fertile for Fabian technique. The revolutionary transfer of power from the hands of the people to the executive branch of the government did not produce violence as in societies with a more unstable background. As a result, American constitutionalism and Old World socialism became not just mixed but homogenized; vestigial American concepts and words served to disguise the newly dominant radicalism, and to temper its impact. Today the general connotation of "democracy" reflects the leviathan Federal government and has utterly no suggestion of limited government (the ubiquity of the Liberal classes ensures that). "Liberal" hardly connotes a distrust of governmental power any more, either.

Even though the dictionary definition of the socialist state as the owner of the means of production has largely fallen into disuse, ineffectively limited government is perfectly socialistic, for it can and does control the means of production. Ours, for instance, controls production through confiscatory taxation, the power to license, control of currency and credit, price-fixing, a host of regulations and regulatory agencies, protection of monopoly (NLRB), and some public ownership (TVA), etc. These economic shackles are thoroughly satisfactory to socialist design, if not to impatient socialists. As the democratic process is used to legitimize governmental programs without any reference to a power-check, "our form of government" becomes known as a "democracy" while it is essentially socialistic. The affinity of socialists for democracy, and of democrats for socialism, is neither coincidental nor insincere. Why should it be? Generically to distinguish between the two, as they are presently conceived, is almost pettifoggery.

But history has a few uncongenial lessons about socialism — or in this case, liberal democracy — not the least of which is the bloody revelation that men prefer liberty.

Any number of familiar political systems consider the State an admissible or desirable part of the social fabric (as opposed to the view that it is an evil to be limited as such). Among these are the New Deal, the New Frontier, socialism, fascism, communism, syndicalism and our anomalous democracy. Their statist homogeneity marks them all for the same family. None work very well at all.

Rigidity

The power aggrandized by the state (any variety) must be usurped from the individual in terms of his life, liberty and property, the very essentials which, being correctly conceived as the natural rights of man, government is supposed to protect. The greater the state, the

greater the detriment to the individual, and since society is made up of individuals, the greater the detriment to society, too. All this was self-evident to the signers of the Declaration of Independence, part of whose legacy of freedom we still enjoy, but it rarely bothers the mind of the modern political scientist who has his mind firmly fixed on more government.

It is a sorry indication of the rigidity of the Western intellect that it has been unable to resist the foam rubber charms of statist democracy. With the plethora of data available to confirm that unchecked Statism must bring economic emasculation and social disruption, the old intellectuals' concupiscent pursuit of their democratic mistress becomes the more scandalous. Is any political system so seductive that it must be exempted from a Wassermann despite all the chancres it bestows on the body politic? Such an affair is not intellectualism at all, but tumid emotionalism.

The failings of democracy — classical, imported or domestic — have been competently delineated by thinkers since antiquity and do not concern us here except as they point up the intellectual void with which America faces Communism. The same collapse of values which produced Communism in one setting produced statist democracy in another. Statism is the difficulty.

The next step for the new intellectual group is to trace the ascension of the ideas which promote the unchecked growth of the State at the expense of the individual. The ideas, that is, which hold that men are products of their environment and therefore too base to be free.

This is an area, I might add, in which contemporary intellectualism has been most hypocritical — demanding "freedom" on the one hand and denying on the other the qualities of human nature: dignity, pride, self-sufficiency, conscience, which could permit freedom. The task, then, is restoring dignity and sublimity to the human experience.

To Be Continued

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Ancient Art

JAMES BLAIR

When he put forth his suggestion for Federal aid to the fine arts, confessed columnist John Crosby recently, he had expected a storm of criticism. But any protest he had foreseen failed to develop, moving him to suggest that maybe Senator Goldwater would like to join him in support of the plan?

It may well be that opposition to Mr. Crosby's suggestion did not materialize because people nowadays can't take seriously the notion of Imperial Circuses; or perhaps they had their hands full defending freedom on other fronts. In any event, it appears that Mother Washington is considering the plan seriously, so some serious objections to it, which really ought to occur even to Mr. Crosby, should be aired. In that interest, I submit the following critique of the plan.

My first objection is the least complex: the United States Constitution does not permit the Federal Government to support the arts. If the "General Welfare" clause were to be interpreted to include a program of this nature, subsidizing, that is, music, literature, drama and art, it would be in effect a *carte blanche* for any sort of Federal whim whatsoever, and would negate the whole idea of having a constitution. However, there is little reason to dwell on this point, since for those who accept the concept of constitutionally limited government, this one objection is sufficient. For those who will not be bound by a government of law, the objection carries no weight.

A second objection concerns the necessary controls which must accompany Federal funds. The Administration's views on the subject, as related by Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg, encompass a Federal council on the arts, with

stipulations such as income tax deductions for contributions to culture and special tax exemptions for the artists and composers themselves.

It is easy to see that such measures would be quickly abused. When wealthy men—or even men of average incomes—began making large tax-deductible donations to their "artist" relatives and friends, who received these contributions tax free, the Bureau of Internal Revenue would find that to collect any money at all it would have to establish standards for artistic efforts and for the artists themselves, standards which would have to be met in order that participants gain the special tax privileges. Those artists who failed to meet governmental standards would not be likely to find support from private sources, since contributions would now tend to flow to where they were deductible.

If the government were to attempt, instead, a program of outright grants, similar problems would arise. To stem the flood of "artists", "composers", etc., all clamoring for their subsidy, standards would again be required. I leave it as an exercise for the reader's imagination to conjure up a typical hearing of the House Committee on Artistic Affairs, under the chairmanship of the honorable representative from Mississippi, investigating the topic: Are the paintings of Jackson Pollock really art?

In conjunction with this point, I'd like to take note of comments made to me by a left-of-center acquaintance. In a planned economy such as in the USSR, said my friend, our artist is really "free" to pursue his work—free from economic needs, while in this country he is not free, because he must take time to pro-

vide for himself. Apart from this strange concept of "freedom", is this a realistic approach? In the United States, as in any free economy, the artist who needs financial support must convince some individual or organization to sponsor his work: he must sell his product or potential product. Of the many groups or wealthy individuals who might commission his work, he must convince only one of his talent. In the USSR or any planned economy which has time for culture, it is still necessary to convince someone that you are a talented fellow, or that your work is of great value to the cultural offensive. The difference is that there you must convince the Proper Authority—not one out of a large potential group, but one out of one: The One. Without State support it is impossible for you to pursue your avocation.

Pucker your imagination and assume that the Board in the USSR which chooses from candidate-artists would never permit personal or political considerations to influence their choices—the system is still inferior. Such a Board would be limited to "experts", i.e., those trained in orthodox methods and ideas, and their selections would reflect their orthodoxy. Artistic talent and development would be stifled in such a system.

Another objection to Federal aid to the arts is that the concept is not democratic. Does anyone really think that the majority of the American people prefers opera to shoot-em-ups, or Mozart to Mantovani? To hear advocacy of Federal aid to the arts from those who complain most bitterly about "special privileges allotted to the aristocratic few at the expense of the majority" seems to be a real exercise in doublethink. If the people wanted their money used for such a project, there would be no call for Federal funds.

Finally, for those who are convinced that such Federal aid is progressive, it is pertinent to recall that Eubulus instituted just such a program in Athens in 354 B.C.



BOOKS



Feed the Proles!

It had to happen, of course. In the perfectly elastic world of the leftist ideologue some poor soul became outraged at the growth of libertarian thinking, and decided to tit-for-tat what George Orwell did to Socialism in 1984. So George Smith wrote 1976 — *The Year of Terror*. The work is destined to be a classic if anyone ever finds it in the bus depot paperback racks.

Smith's offering is an ollapodrida of diced Libertarian philosophy muddled with his own surrealistic views of same, and a "sensational story of terror and sadism", all well-spiced with what Orwell might have called *Prolefeed*, lots and lots of sex. The cover makes better reading: "The year is 1976. The president has been assassinated, and the United States is under a reign of terror by the Libertarian Party and the Secret Police. . . ." IT CAN HAPPEN HERE, you know.

Dismissing for the sake of brevity and mercy any comment on the writing style, let us scan Smith's idea of "libertarianism". The "Libertarians" have come to

1976 — *THE YEAR OF TERROR*

GEORGE H. SMITH

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power by force and violence (ignore, for the moment, that libertarianism eschews both power and violence). We find the hero waiting at a tariff (!) barrier on the California border (!) where he is to be checked by 1) The United Five Companies, to insure that he hasn't brought in any goods "detrimental to the interests" of the United Five Companies 2) the church of Jonathan Marcus, which is the "official" church of Los Angeles and 3) the Security Police, the "libertarian" counterpart of Orwell's Miniluv, wherein he declares his non-membership in such varied organizations as the Republican Party, the ADA, and the Diner's Club (!).

Society, under "Libertarian" rule (to pass over another contradiction in terms) comes complete with a coercive apparatus resembling that described in 1984 (psycho-scanners and similar SF gadgets) on the one hand, and near-anarchy (gangs of hot-rodders, out to kill, roaming the Freeways) on the other.

The economic philosophy of the "Libertarian Party" is equally coercive. Such good "Libertarian" legislation (another contradiction in terms) as the Maximum Wage Law (tit-for-tat, remember?) and compulsory child labor (excluding hot-rodders) are

"The smallest minority on earth is the individual. Those who deny individual rights cannot claim to be defenders of minorities."



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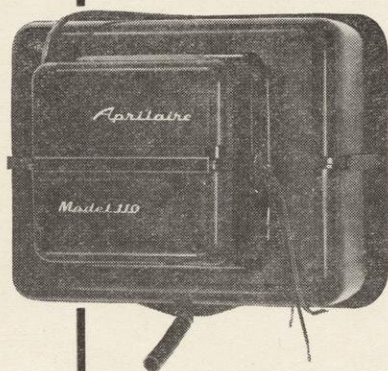


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mentioned. The "Libertarians" justify these laws by referring to Thoreau and Spencer, and maybe Jonathan Marcus. In the near future, say 1984, let us hope they read Thoreau and Spencer. We also find other "Libertarian" monstrosities such as a system of indentured service, justified by "contract", State-supported monopoly, and yet more examples of rampant Statism. Smith seems to have shifted the communist paraphernalia over to the Right, mixed anarchy with Collectivism, added private property concepts to Party coercion concepts, stirred with sensationalism and called the whole works libertarian. As a definition or a prediction of the libertarian society, his brew is unfit for consumption. Except by Proles.

(Students interested will find accurate descriptions of libertarianism in *Government - An Ideal Concept*, by Leonard Read, and *This Bread is Mine*, by Robert LeFevre.)

It would be fair to ask why this work was reviewed at all. For one thing, it was funny. For another, it had lots and lots of sex. But surely no intelligent person could accept the "message" of the book. In a recent issue of this magazine, one reviewer, commenting on Liberal "study" of Conservatism, wrote:

"Among the failings of contemporary Liberalism is its inability to deal with fresh-blooded conservatism without a departure into cliches, catchwords, and a considerable amount of common, garden-variety yelping."

One wonders, after seeing Smith's and other Liberal "portrayals" of the Conservative-Libertarian philosophies, if the Liberal knows what he discusses at all. Or would that be too much to ask from the intemperate pundits of the Left?

Reversing A Trend

There are times when a distinction must be redrawn between concepts, once separate but now, because of the deterioration of ideas, intermingled. That is the task Mr. Frank Chodorov undertakes in *The Rise and Fall of Society*. In distinguishing in his book between the philosophical entities *State* and *Society*, Mr. Chodorov might appear to be in crisp pursuit of the obvious, but the conjunction of these concepts at

THE RISE AND FALL OF SOCIETY

FRANK CHODOROV
Devin-Adair, 1959, \$3.95

the level of popular thought for the past century has been most pernicious.

The omnipresent orthodoxies, Interventionism, Welfarism, Socialism, *et al*, have degraded men to the level of creatures of the State. Their lives, their actions, their property and their morality are all regulated and circumscribed for the good of a misconceived Society. This effect Mr. Chodorov has fought most of his adult life, and his logic is of long practice

polished and calm. Society, he points out, cannot exist without its individual members, and is, therefore, no greater than the sum of its parts. Individuals are different, with diverse personalities and goals: they are not faceless units to be manipulated by medium and long-range planners and they cannot be wedged into some Procrustean mold for their own good. Thus Society is not a mass-based idol to be worshipped by its own members, to the end of their own sacrifice. It is not, and cannot be, prior to the individual, on whom it is dependent.

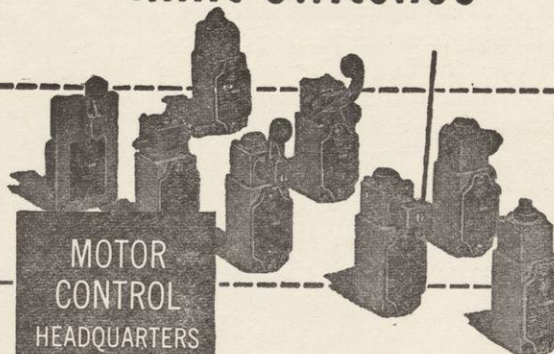
To Chodorov, Society arises because individuals have wants which they must satisfy, and the only feasible means to achieve this satisfaction lies in exchanges with others. In short order they learn that vastly more can be accomplished by voluntary cooperation than by working alone or by using force. In short, Society seeks the market, and it is through the market that civilization advances. On the other hand, the State by definition functions coercively, therefore antithetically to the aims of individuals, and is thus not synonymous, but antonymous, with Society: it becomes an end in itself. At best, the State is a non-productive arm of Society, organized to protect the rights and liberty of all; at worst it becomes a modern Moloch and an instrument of tyranny.

Where does the idea of the State originate? Chodorov prefers to hypothesize with man in his natural state. To survive in the wilds, a man would have to be capable of both self-protection and self-rule. With the growth of population and the collection of individuals into definable societies, however, the specialization of essential functions would occur, to be implemented by exchange. At this time the function of protection would be delegated to a specialist, who is given a monopoly of coercive power to protect the market from predation. Unfortunately, the possession of power breeds a desire for more power, which the State aggrandizes at the expense of the others, until it topples Society and devours it, thus bringing its own collapse. No civilization has yet escaped this fate; one wonders, how shall we? The idea of a limited state, dependent upon surveillance and Constitutionalism is appealing to many. But, as Chodorov notes, "experience shows . . . that constitutions and suffrages only delay, do not prevent, the fermentation of political power." Perhaps an answer is to be found in decentralization by atrophy, the *willful* refusal to sanction coercion, which would reverse the trend toward accumulating power.

Mr. Chodorov's thesis is both bold and thoughtful — bold, in that it comes to grips with problems inherent in Society most men prefer to overlook, and thoughtful, for it is not just another doctrinaire blueprint of the mass-cult, but rather derives from the individual: the only proper starting point for social analysis. It is a welcome contribution to libertarian thought.

— James M. O'Connell

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”

*Calvin Coolidge
President of the
United States, 1923-29*



HINDSIGHTS

◆ Borrowing a theory from one T. Malthus, we suggest that gloomy fates await mankind, for government spending is increasing geometrically while taxable production is increasing only arithmetically. The result of this alarming trend is a burgeoning national We-Owe-It-To-Ourselves, which not only grows, it grows faster and faster at shorter and shorter intervals. For optimists, this means only that the nation will go broke and starve. For pessimists, and we seem to have a strain of pure Schopenhauer around here, it is a clear indication we will all be crushed to death by government filling cabinets covering every inch of the land.

◆ A Mr. Esley Sproat of Grant, Nebraska, died recently and left an estate of \$300,000 to the federal government. Sproat attained this small fortune by living without electricity, running water or central heating in an unpainted house with boards for window panes.

The government is spending money at the rate of more than \$80 billion a year, or \$320 million per working day, or \$40 million per hour. Thus, although it took Sproat 64 years to accumulate this \$300,000, it will take the federal government just 27 seconds to get rid of it. — Cy Butt

◆ Dick Roberts, columnist for the Daily Cardinal, writes that “the socialist position demands complete protection, complete security in one’s education and career, at the sacrifice of the freedom to accumulate great power and wealth.” Very interesting. It is pertinent to recall that the United States once had a class of people who enjoyed complete protection, secure in guaranteed education, employment, food and housing, and, oh yes, they lacked the freedom to amass great power and wealth. Then we had a civil war to free them.

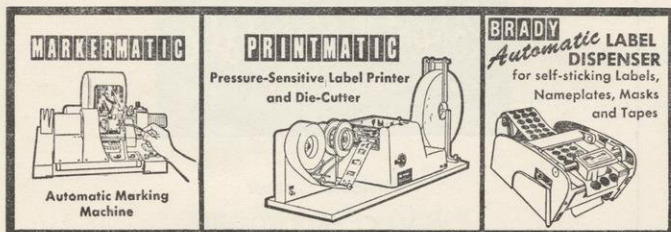
◆ By contracting with all but seven major league baseball players, Topp Chewing Gum Inc. has created, alleges the Federal Trade Commission, an illegal monopoly of bubble gum picture cards “contrary to the public policy of the United States and in detriment of free and open competition in the bubble gum and picture card industries.” We commend the ever-watchful FTC guardians of the public interest, and respectfully suggest they direct their attentions to the problems of, say, free and open competition in agriculture, in labor markets, in electric power, in shipbuilding, in transportation and other areas as much in the public interest as bubble gum cards.

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