

Insight and outlook: a conservative student journal. Volume III, Number I October, 1960

Madison, Wisconsin: [publisher not identified], October, 1960

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INSIGHT and OUTLOOK

a conservative student journal

Vol. III Number I

October, 1960

THE KOHLER DECISION

ANTHONY V. CADDEN

A CONFERENCE of the GODS

T. C. N.

TWO FREEDOMS

RICHARD S. WHEELER

RIPOSTE!

A NEW FEATURE

*"I have sworn upon the altar of God
eternal hostility against every form of tyranny
over the mind of man."*

—Thomas Jefferson

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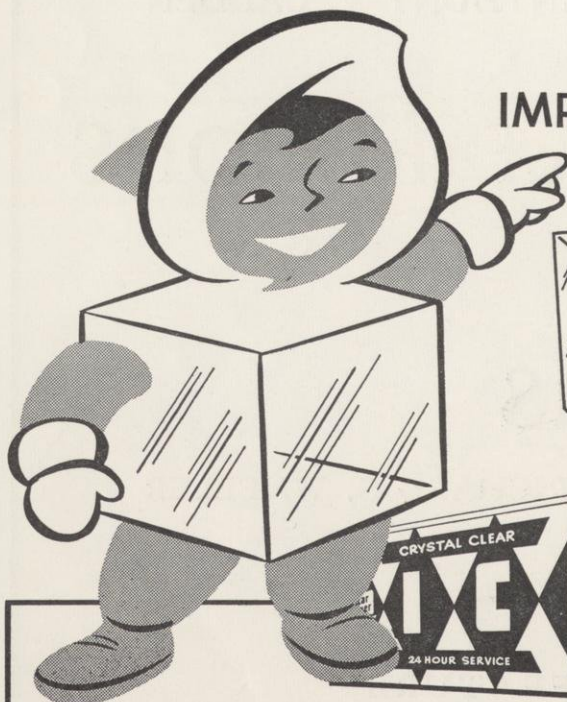
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INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK MAGAZINE

A CONSERVATIVE STUDENT JOURNAL

Vol. III, Number 1.

October, 1960

Editorial Office 2545 University Avenue
University of Wisconsin — Madison, Wisconsin
AL 6-3797 — CE 3-7361 — CE 3-1174

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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

A Conference of the Gods — T.C.N.	9
The Kohler Decision — Anthony V. Cadden	10
Two Freedoms — Richard S. Wheeler	12

DEPARTMENTS

Campus Outlook	3
World Outlook	4
The Nature of the Struggle	6
Riposte!	7
Book Reviews	18

TO OUR READERS

The appearance of *Insight and Outlook* on this campus two years ago was met by readers with mixed response. It came as a shock to some; a ray of hope to others; but a surprise to all. The possibility of a conservative revival was so remote in the minds of so many that even the editors of the now defunct humor magazine, *Octopus*, felt obliged to comment.

"From out of the land of LaFollette, believe it or not, comes this reactionary magazine, honest to God. It has always seemed to us that the college campus was just not the place for reactionaries."

It seems, however, that more and more the college campus is becoming the "place for reactionaries." Our "Great Age of Liberalism" has been a disappointment to men with a sense of probity and a love for freedom. Great numbers of our youth, who lack the resignation of their elders, are seeing liberalism as the hoax it is. They are reappraising the interventionism of the Keynesians and the Galbraiths. They are breaking with the doctrinaire notions of social egalitarianism, in search of a higher morality. They look to a future secured by Social Security and federal welfare as a future filled with boredom and lacking in challenge.

The success of the Youth for Goldwater movement this summer indicates the wisdom of the Senator's own statement that "The preponderant judgment of the American people, especially of the young people, is that the radical, or Liberal, approach has not worked and is not working. They yearn for a return to Conservative principles."

No one knows better than the liberal what can come from such a student revolt. For indeed, the ascendancy of liberalism was not merely the result of uncontrollable social forces. Rather, it came as the product of another revolt not unlike the present conservative revival. It came as the result of a coup within the academy which entrenched the liberals in a position to slant the whole of American higher education in their favor. And the students did their part. Many of the ideologically passionate liberal spokesmen of today were trained in the ranks of the Students For Industrial Democracy, which flourished during the heyday of progressivism.

What the liberals have accomplished by selling their ideological soap to the American public is being demolished with finer tactics by a vigorous and healthy conservatism. In the war of ideas the conservatives have now assumed the offensive and are penetrating deeply.

Insight and Outlook was formed not merely to present the conservative view for comparison to the liberal position; but rather, to aid and abet the conservative offensive in every possible way. Our purpose is to attack the remnants of the New Deal-Fair Deal philosophy; to shake loose the naive idealism which pervades our national mentality; and to demolish the decaying edifice of liberalism.

CAMPUS OUTLOOK

Bolted to the facade of Bascom Hall, Wisconsin's citadel of liberal instruction, is a large bronze tablet inscribed with a beautiful and inspiring message that has become a famous part of the Wisconsin tradition. It reads:

"Whatever may be the limitations which trammel inquiry elsewhere, we believe that the great State University of Wisconsin should ever encourage that continual and fearless sifting and winnowing by which alone the truth can be found."

An excellent sentiment. But, have we academic freedom of *any* sort on this campus? For example, is a diversity of opinion permitted, and indeed encouraged, among the faculty? If so, does that diversity extend only from left to center, or does it encompass the entire spectrum of transient and established ideologies, left to right? Indeed, are there any conservative pro-

fessors on campus, and in particular, in those branches of study which deal with the nature of our civilization, where conservative concepts are of value?

Are the students taught all viewpoints in the spectrum by professors who advocate the various ideologies, or are they indoctrinated into but one belief, — liberalism — at the expense of the rest? Do they depart from academia with a genuine knowledge and appreciation of what constitutes Western Civilization and its values? Do they have the opportunity to form their opinions on the basis of an unperverted presentation of the arguments, right and left, or do liberal professors stuff them with slick and cynical resumé's of conservatism, followed by elaborate refutations and denials?

Judging by the faculty's pious and noisy protestations of love for academic freedom, one would assume that it abounds in every classroom. It doesn't. On the whole of Bascom Hill there is scarcely any professor of moderate views, much less conservative. The faculty has degenerated into a single-minded, smug clique which harrasses those few conservatives, such as Professor William S. Stokes, who enter academic life here. Professor Stokes eventually departed for a college where his philosophy will not jeopardize his chances for promotion.

The faculty is less imbued with a love for academic freedom than it professes to be. It has perverted academic freedom into a tool to accomplish the ascendancy of liberalism over other ideologies. It has come to worship the methodology of inquiry as an end in itself. For, by demanding that the process of "sifting and winnowing" never cease, it implies that we have neither grasped any absolutes, nor are we likely to do so in the future. Thus the liberal, through his version of academic freedom, can reject the wisdom of two millennia of Western Civilization and enthrone his ideological fads within the academy. Academic freedom, therefore, becomes the operating principle of liberal relativism. The liberal's excessive belief in the inevitability of progress runs counter to the fact that immutable truths exist. The only truths they admit are changing "truths" which must ever be pursued.

Thus in the eyes of the liberal majority, the whole conservative philosophy, resting upon truths tried and proved by experience, lies discredited. It is assumed to be irrational, for, to the liberal mind, there are no immutable truths. With a clear conscience, departmental committees can exclude conservatives from their corner of the academic world. The free inquiry of which Wisconsin boasts is now hardly more than the "freedom" to ride the liberal bark as it sways and rocks with the ebb and flow of the current poobah.

The effect of a one-party faculty upon Wisconsin is a marked degeneracy of thought. Theses go unchallenged; hypotheses lie unquestioned; fads ebb and flow in accordance with the enthusiasms of the *New*

Republic or the *Nation*, Drew Pearson or Walter Lippmann. No one is available to needle, to question, or to fight. Graduate students remain unexposed to conservative concepts, and as they become professors themselves, the whole University drifts further to the Left without even knowing or understanding the Right. Students are not taught; they are indoctrinated with habits of thought without having a chance to challenge them. Ideas remain unrefined and unimproved for lack of any criticism. The University of Wisconsin's mental stagnation and paralysis carries it further and further from the golden age of its history.

In the words of Robert Hutchins: "To omit one opinion is to offer tacit support to its opponent. If an issue is presented as though it were one — that is, as though there were only one side to it — this is not education; it is indoctrination."

We presume Mr. Hutchins was thinking of Wisconsin.

WORLD OUTLOOK

Insight and Outlook's purpose as an ideological journal is to inculcate Conservatism into the academic community. Conservatism cuts across traditional party lines, and thus it behooves us not to participate in partisan politics (except to twit the Ass now and then.)

In the current presidential tussle conservatives face a dilemma: Nixon is too scrambled, philosophically, to win our favor, while Kennedy is so radically oriented that four years of the New Frontier would probably guarantee a Conservative explosion in 1964. If the public doesn't impeach Kennedy before then, Conservatives may find themselves swept into office and embarked upon a reign about as long as the Manchu Dynasty. If America's Most Popular Young Rich Boy were elected — assuming the Republic can survive him — citizens would be so aggrieved by his New Fascism (i.e., sacrifice to the State) that his effigies would be lighting the heavens from coast to coast. It is a question for Conservatives of half-pies now, or whole pies in four years, and there are some of us who anticipate a Kennedy regime with glee.

The public has survived the Imperial Roosevelt; it has successfully kept Empress Eleanor at bay, but whether it can shake off four long years of the New Frontier is another question. Such a dose of "growth through taxation" may indeed expand the federal coffers according to all the rules of growthmanship, but only at the cost of depleting private coffers. Public parks, public latrines, public super-duper highways, public professors, public subaltern professors, and public marriage clinics may blossom like toadstools, but the private means to enjoy all these "boons" will shrink to a new low.

Four years of the Kennedy chicanery will ruin the dollar if his current something-for-nothing schemes, such as unbalanced budgets, artificially low interest rates and easy money policies are effectuated. But even worse, his program would expand the Imperial government still further, extend its control into still more areas, such as education, and thereby disintegrate our local and personal liberties even more than they already have been. Kennedy's whole programme does such violence to common sense and the safety of the Republic that conservatives cannot risk the security of the nation just to be able to say "I told you so" four years hence. We must accept the half pie now.

Nixon has been described as a man of many masks. To the liberals he shows himself as an advocate of social security, public medical care, welfarism, and the ideals of artificial social and economic equality. To conservatives, he displays, not too successfully, the mask of fiscal responsibility and private enterprise. He fools no one. His career depends upon pleasing each faction just enough to win their tolerance. The choice for conservatives is not one of alternatives, but one of degrees. The degree of Nixon's patriotism over that of Rich Boy Kennedy's, makes him the lesser of the two evils. Nixon would be competent at the helm of the Republic; Kennedy would not. *Insight and Outlook* grudgingly supports the Republican nominee.

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Our real choice, however, is Senator Barry Goldwater, a man of towering presidential timber, of unparalleled virtue, strength and courage. He is devoted to those principles of individual self-sufficiency which made the Republic what it is today. We expect to see him president in 1964.

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ROGER CLAUS

What is the nature of the struggle we face? As William F. Buckley, Jr., has said: 'I'm sure that we can continue to resist the pressures emanating from the Kremlin. I'm not so sure, however, that we can continue to resist the pressures emanating from Harvard University.'

The aforementioned pressure is, of course, that of "Liberalism." This is the struggle we face, for the trend toward Socialism can be rolled back, and the Soviet monolith can be successfully repelled—if only we can unfreight the load that Liberalism has placed on our backs.

NO SANTA CLAUS

In the future, this column will contain the grim details of the struggle as it is waged: Liberalism in the classrooms at taxpayer expense; Conservatism in our public programs, paid for by voluntary donations.

In the avant garde Socialistic pap that is foisted on the students as bone fide political science and economics, is the notion that the welfare state is inevitable. Although I do not believe this, I admit that it will be hard to avoid if people keep thinking as they currently do. More important, perhaps, is the fact that there are so few politicians who have the courage to risk defeat by informing the voters that there is no Santa Claus. Why should this be? The question begs the obviously painful answer.

The animal man has an inherent inertia (lazy streak) in him—and he thirsts for something for nothing. Everyone wants services; no one

wants to pay for them, and no politician wants to vote the taxes to pay for them. What is more, this phenomenon waxes in degree as the body of government detaches itself from the people. Local expenditures appear to most people to come right out of their wallets. State projects hurt less, but nevertheless hurt. Federal money? Federal Aid? That's mammon from Heaven. Therefore, local inaction breeds a vacuum that a vote-buying politician can smell from his desk in Washington. This state of affairs gave birth to a favorite tale of A. J. Nock's. It seems that a postwar refugee made his way onto the dole, but he had the vision to recognize its electioneering potential. "Yes," he said, "five years ago I was a poor louse; today I am a great national problem."

LOCAL RESPONSIBILITY

Seldom, if ever, is there a genuine effort to discover if local inaction is due to indifference, neglect, or the delays of inquiry. Usually, stalling occurs simply because of the known proclivity of "Uncle Sap" to assume both the jurisdiction and the cost of local projects. Consequently, a wait-and-see attitude holds back the new high school while the irresponsible politician buys the votes of the teachers (or the professors) with the promise of higher federally given pay. The end result is the preemption of local responsibility, leading to the assumption that every matter which invokes national interest is, *by that fact alone*, a subject of federal responsibility and a mandate for spending federal money. Add to this the fact that the politician, while lauded for his good intentions, virtually insures his tenure in office by exploiting

human weakness. For those who savor the prospect of *voting* for a living, while I *work* for a living, I have sad news. It does not work in the long run.

The Federal Government has no resources of its own (that is, until the crafty party hacks deem it 'vital' to confiscate the productive organs of our society: industry). It can only give *to* people what it has taken *from* people. Sacking successful Peter to compensate less resourceful Paul has always been great sport, but nowadays poor Paul is being cleaned to pay for his own vote—and I marvel at the amount of Paul's money that gets waylaid while making the round trip.

WARDS BY DEFAULT

The last effect of this fruit of Liberalism is the most ominous. A false set of values is bred. The crucial distinction between need and desire is forever after blurred. People *demand* that their medical bills be paid, claiming that they can't pay them. Actually, they *are* unable to pay them. Where once people saved for a rainy day, they now live on next week's income and expect the Government to keep them dry when it rains. The prospect of a future infirmity (16 billion, annual cost of Medical care) is given a lower priority than other pleasures (15½ billion, annual amount spent on tobacco and alcohol). Proof of what I say abounds. One day the Forand Bill is viewed by the populace as a kind, benevolent gesture on the part of the Federal Government. A month later, when it dawns on the people that they can sell their votes, medical care becomes an iron clad responsibility of the government, one which it dares not "duck." Adlai Stevenson said it: "When a minority wants it, it is a special privilege; when a majority wants it, it is a human right." Q. But is it feasible, or even moral? A: What are you, anyhow, a reactionary?

Riposte!

Fence with the editors. Send contributions up to 400 words attacking any aspect of Conservatism. We will reply in an equal number of words or less. Address: 2545 University Ave.

With this issue we inaugurate a new feature which will be, in essence, a running debate with the editors. Readers are invited to submit arguments on any subject related to the vital issues of our times. The editors will reply in the same number of words, or less.

The reader may vent his irritations, insult us, corner us with loaded questions, write vitriolic rhetoric or humorous satire. He may assault conservatism with sardonic splendor or acidulous spite—providing he is willing to grant equal "air time" to the editors.

Readers are advised to be as brief and lucid as possible: four hundred words is sufficient for the exposition of most any subject. Remember, the more words you use, the more vulnerable you are.

If the response is great, we will extend the carnage to several bloody pages, so point your barbs and sharpen your pikes and let fly.

The Editors

IMMORAL NATIONS

"The United States is living in an age of profoundest revolution." This pertinent phrase taken from the opening sentence of the preamble to the Republican platform 1960 provides an ample prelude for discussion of the most important issue facing the world and indeed, the greatest moral issue of this generation. The issue quite basically is one of total human destruction or international control of the horrible means of mass destruction. Created by a prominent part of the above mentioned "age of profoundest revolution," namely, the rapid advancement of scientific discovery, the problem has precipitated a world

crisis. Because either of political expediency or ideological inertia nothing of consequence will be discussed in this year's presidential election concerning this crisis. Nevertheless, it is without question a crisis. It is based on the fact that man is in possession of almost total power but his instruments of control are either primitive or non-existent.

Contemporary conservatism, with its almost schizophrenic fixation on the dangers of communism has failed to meet the problem head on. Indeed, this obsession apparently has dimmed the conservatives vision and affected their reason. This excessive preoccupation with communism and its threat, though a real problem, has led to the dangerous embracing of militarism and selfish nationalism instead of constructive, humane examination of the facts concerning the weapons of total destruction.

A brief explanation of the facts relevant to these weapons will facilitate this discussion. The first major category of mass destruction weapons is the nuclear. With the explosion of the "fission-fusion" bomb at Bikini, March 1954, was ushered in the era of the super-bomb. It liberated an explosive energy equal approximately to that of 20,000,000 tons of TNT. Little doubt remains, then, concerning the pure destructive forces that such a bomb could have. Even more gruesome is the genetic damage on later innocent generations—a permanent damage to the pool of human germ plasm, such as to cause the birth of defective children. This is not to mention the conclusive studies done at Hiroshima and Nagasaki concerning the organic damage of nuclear blasts. The correlation with high incidence of leukemia has been

firmly established. Also testimony before the special subcommittee of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy clearly indicates that both sides possess huge stockpiles of super nuclear bombs sufficient to destroy the world many times over.

The other major category of mass destructive weapons is CBR—chemical, biological, and radiological. A brief scanning of the Congressional Record will establish the fact that CBR is not only becoming highly developed but that military leaders are advancing the case for its use before congressional committees. Chemicals included those affecting the human system. For example, G.B., a nerve gas, developed first in Nazi Germany, hits at the fluid or agent in the human body which transmits nerve signals to muscles, thus producing a quick, efficient, and devastating constriction of the body functions of large masses of people. Psychochemicals, according to testimony before the committee on Science and Astronautics of the House, are capable of reducing a soldier to a cringing, confused specimen—thus capable of altering for a time the patterns of human personality of a great multitude of people.

Like chemical, both biological and radiological warfare have equal effectiveness either against military personnel or civilian populations, the former through the spread of dangerous micro-organisms and the latter through explosion of a cobalt-nuclear type bomb. Effective means of delivery exist for all these weapons.

With such a multitude of scientific data concerning the unrefutable destructiveness and mass death potential plus the very real threat of irresponsibility or accidental detonation of such weapons, international agreements that will lead to general disarmament, with a system of controls and inspection guarantees must be obtained for the safety of the world. For this reason the proposed national peace agency which would fully investigate the technology of disarmament is im-

perative. Until such international agreement is feasible, the United States's initiative in furthering this end; continuing the test ban; and immediate discontinuance of a foreign policy of constant use—both implicit and explicit—of a political-nuclear threat of massive retaliation are the only means of assuring human preservation.

To the conservatives who unrealistically reject this solution the moral question still remains. Use of nuclear and CBR weapons, purposefully or accidentally, will cause annihilation of the participants and millions of deaths among those nations not involved, not to mention genetic damage to generations in the future. Can any nation morally exterminate a good part of the rest of the world and leave a horrible imprint on generations to come, even in its own defense?

Granted totalitarianism is the greatest threat to liberal democracy in our time, but is not the threat of nuclear and CBR weapons much more basic—dealing with the very essence of human existence itself?

More than \$100 billion of the world's production now is used for building armaments. Is it too much to ask that at least as much effort in human and technological terms be expended for finding the means of international armament controls as is expended for the development of armaments? Must Aristotle be correct when he said, "Nations are Immoral"?

David Sheridan

(Mr. Sheridan is vice president of the Wisconsin Student Association and a prominent Young Democrat. Ed.)

RIPOSTE!

Some half of your epistle dwells, in the most fashionable liberal rhetoric, on the gory details of the post-war weapons systems. Your fundamental mission was to awaken us all, goose our adrenal glands, and scare us with something, alas, that we already know about—the violent death which may be visited upon us from the heavens at any

moment of our earthly existence, if not by a meteor or a falling safe, then by a Big Bomb. Conservatives, of course, are quite as aware of the destructiveness of modern weapons as liberals, or more so, only our teeth don't rattle as noisily and publicly as Norman Cousins' do, because we regard weapons as our strength: the force we possess to insure our safety. Granting that we are quite as informed as to the nature of new weapons as the liberals, or more so, then we can set aside the 60 percent of your letter dealing with that factual material, spit on our hands, and get down to the question of what to do about it.

Most liberals, of course, keep plying us with such horrendous statistics and magic medicines in the hope that we will see the light, repent, and be saved. Unfortunately, we conservatives are unrepentant fellows, given to torpedoing the best laid plans of mice and leftists.

Your argument, reduced to fundamentals, is this: "Nuclear and other weapons developments are bigger and badder than ever, and endanger all mankind. Ergo, let us seek an international agreement to control them." Thus you posit two alternatives—(1) international control, or (2) destruction. You would like us to think that there are no other alternatives, mostly because you are an internationalist who wishes to decay the sovereignty of the Republic. You can crowbar the people into more and more international government so long as you insist that the only alternative to it is destruction, which is a nifty bit of sophistry.

Conservatives have a third, superior alternative, one which would not castrate Uncle Sam or decay our sovereignty, or demolish our liberties and opportunities: peace with honor. Learning from history, we have noted that the two most stable and civilizing peaces in the Western world—the Pax Romana and the Pax Britannia, were not the products of a balance of power—but of extreme *imbalance*, the power being held exclusively

by one highly civilized nation. Thus the conservative alternative is to maintain a spiritual serenity and military strength so overwhelming that nobody on earth dares attack us. We propose a Pax Americana. That would be a more secure and comfortable and realistic peace than an international paper-maché gizmo which can be violated by any black hearted nation which wishes to. Crises and wars come not when there is a strong imbalance, but when every nation thinks it has a chance—*when power is too well balanced*.

Upon our "selfish nationalism" has rested the security of the free world. Upon our "selfish nationalism" has rested liberty for millions. Upon our "selfish nationalism" has rested opportunity for millions. Without our "selfish nationalism" there would be no humaneness, no free world—and no liberals (freedom, alas, is a mixed blessing.) Without our "selfish nationalism" there would be peace all right—The Russian Peace. Nothing would be more immoral and evil than for us to sell out to impotence, and thus betray Western Civilization, which gave us our ascendancy over all the other peoples of the earth.

What with fail-safe rockets and planes, anti-missile missiles, instantaneous communication between nations capable of explaining and rectifying errors, such as run-a-way missiles, plus the tenacity and adaptability of human life, conservatives doubt that there is any wild and woolly crisis lurking in the wings. We are untouched by the liberal hysteria, and therefore capable of saner policy than the magnificos leading the Party of the Little Man. Massive Retaliation has been responsible for years of non-war, prosperity and security. If it were coupled with an aggressive policy designed to decay Russia's socio-economic system and render it impotent, as Conservatives propose, then we might well usher in the beginnings of a Pax Americana—with our citizens the freest, most secure humans treading the earth.

RSW - GP

A Conference of the Gods

T.C.N.

The gods held a meeting to find out what had happened to the American Dream. "We had such hopes for it," the Chief Spokesman said. To find out first hand, they sent an Investigator armed with an understanding of all the virtues of the American forefathers who had envisioned the dream.

Some time later he returned and gave his report.

"Things are far worse than we had imagined," he said. "Most of those virtues which were once considered common sense are now called 'conservative' and are scorned by numbers that appear to be increasing every day. A new gospel has grown up, with many frightening tenets."

"What do they call the new gospel?" one of the gods asked.

"It goes by many names and under many guises, but the one most commonly used is *Liber- alism*. It professes that men should no longer be held responsible for their own futures."

The gods glanced quickly around at one another with looks of amazement. Then the Chief Spokesman asked: "Who *will* be responsible, then?"

The Investigator slowly shook his head. "I was never able to understand that very clearly," he said. "But I believe they are trying to perfect some sort of welfare state. In fact, right at this moment they are trying to agree on a plan whereby that state would furnish medical care for the elderly, and all the anti-conservatives seem relieved that they will no longer have to save for such contingencies."

"Well, if they don't save for their own old age, who will save for them?"

"That is another mystery," the Investigator said. "But I learned

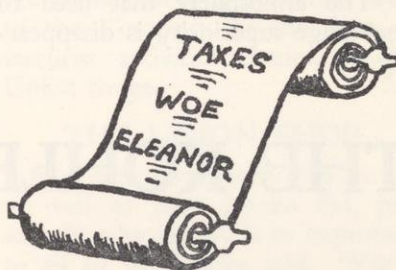
The author crystallizes the essence of conservative common sense into a highly readable story.

that they have a great scroll of figures which they refer to as the national debt. Some of them have a reverence for the scroll and advocate that it should be encouraged to grow with every year. Others have a fear of the scroll but they are seldom listened to."

"But," said the Chief Spokesman, "if the scroll represents a debt it will eventually have to be paid, and who do they think will do that?"

"From what I was able to gather, they think their grandchildren and great-grandchildren will be very pleased to pay it."

An audible gasp went up from the circle of the gods, and they were visible stunned.



"You mean," the Chief Spokesman asked, "that the members of a family can not depend on one another any more than that?"

"Not as before," the Investigator replied. "The Liberals no longer place so much value on family unity. They tax the father so severely that very often he cannot send his children on to school or start them in business—even in times of plenty. And, in turn, the children are taxed so they are unable to help their fathers in time of need. Both have to rely on the welfare state instead of on each other. Delinquency and divorce are becoming commonplace."

One of the gods stood up. "I am not as versed in the ways of Americans as some of you," he ventured, "but one primal urge exists in every man—to pass on to his children the

gains of his lifetime that they may go on from where he left off."

"That urge, too, is slowly disappearing," said the Investigator. "Only the conservatives who still believe in thrift have much to leave their children, and every year a larger and larger percentage of that is being taken by the state. It would seem that the Liberals wish to destroy all ties between the generations except that of debt."

"Do the Liberals use force in confiscating these possessions?" another of the gods asked.

"Without a single qualm," the Investigator stated. "But force is becoming less necessary. You see, the indolent and the lazy and all of those who felt unwilling to strive long hours, or to sacrifice a portion of their youth to study, or to set aside some of their earnings for tomorrow, have banded together and formed an enormous political power which they call the Democratic Party. Now they have also begun to infiltrate the resistance party, the Republican. Opposition is practically useless anymore, and only a few conservatives still try."

"What of those who *truly* lack the capacity for self-care?" one of the gods inquired.

"There are *some* crippled and mentally infirm," the Investigator replied, "but they seem to be looked after less enthusiastically than the robust and healthy. I saw long lines of strong men accepting handouts from unemployment windows. Frequently they were given more than their disabled friends were *earning*."

"And nobody objected . . .?"

"Nobody I saw there. But I did notice that many of the Liberals were plainly embarrassed by their new gospel and they kept stating over and over again that no matter how hard they tried, they couldn't help themselves—even the healthy ones. It seemed to be their only argument and they became quite emotional over it. Yet I don't understand how they could feel so sure, because they never *did* try to get ahead—at least, not in the same way as those in the Resistance tried."

"Does this new gospel openly endorse indolence, then?"

The Investigator pondered a moment before answering.

"Only indirectly," he finally said. "But the difference between success and failure is steadily becoming smaller. The man who is willing to struggle and sacrifice for success has an ever greater portion of his rewards confiscated by the state, which, in turn, pays them out to those who fail—even if that failure appears to be almost deliberate. Truthfully, indolence and failure have never before been so generously sponsored. And incentive and ambition have never been stifled quite so shamelessly."

On hearing that statement the Chief Spokesman's face grew ashen and he rubbed his fingers across his eyes. Everyone watched sadly until he looked up.

"If what you say is true of these Liberals," he asked, "what kind of man can they find to lead them?"

"That puzzled me, too, at first," the Investigator answered, "and to some extent it still does. I did notice, however, that the most outspoken of their leaders are men who were born into families which had prospered and grown rich *before* the time of high taxation. In nearly every case they openly scorn what their fathers stand for because they neither appreciate what is involved in getting ahead, nor have they had the opportunity to observe others face the same 'alternatives' and *choose* indifference. They do not seem to understand that success is a result of sacrifice and they see the rewards as inequity. To these new leaders it is simply a question of have or have-not—and they possess little appreciation of *why*."

The same god who had stood up before leaned over and faced the Investigator apprehensively. "... then must we assume that there are no superior men replacing those of the past?"

"No, there are superior men coming along in many fields, but a great resignation appears to have overwhelmed their souls. They are accepting, more and more, the sover-

eignty of the wasteful and the inept. More and more do they concur with those who publicly seek to encroach upon their interests. They have lost much of their contempt for the indolent.

"It looks as if too many of the superior men no longer feel inspired to defend either themselves or the ideals of their forefathers. Too many concede to the Liberals that those who still have initiative should take care of those who would rather not take care of themselves.

"As a result, common men can see no reason why they should contribute any effort when inertia will reward them just as well.

"Mediocrity has been accepted, too, as the easiest way to avoid anything special being demanded of them. They are, for example, quite satisfied to lower the standards of their schools to accommodate those who have little interest in study or little capacity for learning.

"The atmosphere that used to encourage superiority is disappearing."

The look of apprehension on the god's face had turned to one of gravity, and he stared at the Investigator . . . motionless. "I cannot envision a gospel that would deliberately set itself against the growth of excellence in anyone."

"Comparison with excellent men has always embarrassed the Liberals," the Investigator said. "And they harbor an urge to destroy all of that which their attitude puts beyond their reach . . . Now, I fear, sheer numbers are giving them the strength to do it."

There followed another and more lengthy silence. There was little more to say.

"How has it happened . . .?" a voice eventually asked.

The Investigator had turned to leave. "The Americans are losing their zeal for self-reliance," was all he answered.

A great gloom settled over the conference table, and the Chief Spokesman arose and sadly drew a question mark after the words "Noble Experiment" on the roll of honor.

THE KOHLER DECISION

ANTHONY V. CADDEN, Jr.

On August 26, 1960, the Kohler Company was ordered by the National Labor Relations Board to re-hire 1,700 men who had walked out on the company more than six years ago in a strike that was to shock the conscience of the nation. Personal assaults, tire-slashings, dynamiting, arson, paint bombs and acid throwing characterized this strike conducted by the U.A.W.

The National Labor Relations Board ruled, however, that the plumbingware company of Kohler, Wisconsin, had prolonged the strike by "unfair labor practices," including giving nonstrikers a wage increase two months after the walk-out began. It also ordered the company to offer to the strikers immediate occupancy of company-owned houses and to give former

strikers full seniority rights dating back to their original hiring dates.

For the sake of appearances the N.L.R.B. recognized that at times members of the U.A.W. had acted unethically, and that the Kohler Company had been justified in discharging a few of the worst offenders. The N.L.R.B. was not on the defensive for long however. Grumbling about "spies", it criticized the Kohler Company for using private detectives to try to solve some of the 900 acts of vandalism in Sheboygan County which the local police were for one reason or another unable either to investigate or solve. Also, it was incensed that the Kohler Company should have used detectives to "spy upon and investigate" the N.L.R.B.'s own attorneys.

THE UNION VIOLENCE

Professor Sylvester Petro of New York University Law School reports that in a dramatic confrontation at the McClellan Committee Hearings on Labor Union Corruption, William Bersch, Jr. accused John Gunaca (imported to Sheboygan, Wisconsin, by the U.A.W.) of a brutal assault. (p. 9079, 9119 of the Hearing). Mr. Bersch testified that during the assault his father, then sixty-five years old, was beaten so badly that he not only had to stay in the hospital for eighteen days but had to return seven times after that, and never fully recovered his health to the day of his death. (907-9080).

Joseph Rauh, the U. A. W.'s Washington attorney, made much of the fact that the senior Mr. Bersch's death certificate did not state the beating he had received as the cause of death (8694-95). The certificate gave "congestive failure or heart failure" as the cause. Professor Petro, who studied the record, felt that "no great acumen is required in order to see that such a certificate is not evidence that the senior Mr. Bersch did not die ultimately as a result of the beating. The certificate could not possibly eliminate the beating and its resulting injuries as causes leading to heart failure, a point attested to by the physician who treated the senior Mr. Bersch's injuries after the assault." (*Power Unlimited - The Corruption of Union Leadership*, page 65, by Professor Sylvester Petro, N.Y.U. Law School).

It seemed to the writer of a recent editorial in *The National Review* (Sept. 10) that the National Labor Relations Board ruling reads 'like a parody written by Morrie Ryskind for inclusion in a musical comedy farce.'

THE SOCIALIST OBJECTIVE

Under the order of the National Labor Relations Board, those former employees of the Kohler Company wishing to return to the Company must be given jobs even if it requires dismissal of workers

who were hired to replace them. The Kohler Company thereby loses its right to determine who will work in its plant. Shiny seated government bureaucrats have pre-empted the field.

One of the primary objectives of any socialist revolution is the appropriation by the government of the management of the means of production. The American people have always rejected socialism when the issue was made clear. It has only been when the utopians were allowed to crawl in through the back door that they have ever made much headway in America.

The N.L.R.B. held that a wage increase which Kohler granted to the nonstrikers undermined the union's bargaining effectiveness and thus prolonged the strike. The fact is that the Union had rejected the company's wage offer. And now the N.L.R.B. is saying that it was "unfair" of the Kohler Company to give an unconditional pay raise to the employees who remained loyal to the Company in the face of terrorist activities carried on by Union thugs.

THE UNION SHOP

Few men have been able to say as well as John Locke did, just exactly why liberty is so important to all of us. Locke said: "For I have reason to conclude that he who would get me into his power without my consent, would use me as he pleased when he had got me there, and destroy me too, when he had a fancy to it; for nobody can desire to have me in his absolute power unless it be to compel me by force to that which is against the right of my freedom, i.e., make me a slave."

The Kohler Company did not shut its plant down in the face of U.A.W. mob action; it also refused to accept a closed shop contract with the U.A.W., which, in the opinion of Mr. Lyman Conger, counsel for the Kohler Company, was what the U.A.W. wanted most. Mr. Conger stated to the McClellan Committee: "The union was very insistent on having the union shop, because they had gotten in by about

a 2.6 percent majority, and in our estimation hadn't made the gains in membership that they thought they were going to make, and they were very anxious to have some way of forcing people into the union. In my opinion, we could have settled all of the difficulties quite readily had we been willing to concede a union shop." (p. 9532, McClellan Committee Hearing; p. 78, Petro. *Power Unlimited*).

A union lawyer is reported to have said once in a moment of frankness that there are only two ways for a person to get out of a union once he is in: "die or be kicked out." Decisions in the courts seem to reinforce this opinion. For example: on March 22, 1957, Milwaukee County Civil Judge John A. Decker ruled that 14 union members were obliged to pay \$100 fines levied by their union when they crossed picket lines. Judge Decker said: "By becoming a member of the union, he subjects himself to the contractual liabilities which the courts for many years have held could be enforced in the legal forum."

Circuit Judge Harvey Neelen of Milwaukee County ruled on September 13, 1957, that AFL - CIO United Auto Workers Local 756 acted within its rights when it assessed one of its members \$9 in fines for failing to report for picket duty.

On April 8, 1958, the Wisconsin Supreme Court held that a former union member was liable for \$37.50 in dues to Local 261, AFL - CIO United Auto Workers. Even though the member followed the union's collective bargaining agreement with the company in submitting her resignation in April, 1955, the court held that her resignation was invalid because she had not followed the resignation procedure required by the constitution of Local 261 U.A.W.

Decisions like the above are a reason why many members of unions are reluctant to buck the dictates of the union bosses, and also why unions can produce pickets in great numbers on short notice.

Barry Goldwater in his book, *The Conscience Of A Conservative*, p. 46, has stated: "Trade unions properly conceived, are an expression of man's inalienable right to associate with other men for the achievement of legitimate objectives. The natural function of a trade union and the one for which it was historically conceived is to represent those employees who want collective representation in bargaining with their employers over terms of employment. But note that this function is perverted the moment a union claims the right to represent employees who do not want representation, or conducts activities that have nothing to do with terms of employment. . . . Yet compulsory unionism is the rule rather than the exception today in the ranks of organized labor. Millions of laboring men are required to join the union that is the recognized bargaining agent at the place they work. Union shop agreements deny to these laboring men the right to decide for themselves what union they will join, or indeed, whether they will join at all. The exercise of freedom for many of these citizens, means the loss of their jobs."

CONCLUSION

In a recent issue of *Newsweek Magazine*, Sept. 19, 1960, p. 103, contributing editor Henry Hazlitt proposed: "What we need to restore both to the employer and the individual worker, is freedom of bargaining. This means that an employer should no longer be compelled to negotiate with a specified union, though he may always voluntarily agree to do so. It means that in a strike he should have freedom to hire any replacements willing to accept employment. The role of government should be to prevent violence, coercion, mass picketing, or an other form of intimidation."

The Kohler Company has appealed the decision of the National Labor Relations Board. The issue is an important one. Let us hope that the courts will reach a wise decision.

TWO FREEDOMS

RICHARD S. WHEELER

It used to be that people wanted freedom *to do* things; now, it seems, people want freedom *from* things, such as hunger, fear, unemployment, want, sickness, and the necessity to think. There is a great gulf between the two concepts. *Freedom to*, which in its purest form is laissez faire, basically means a lack of fetters and controls. It is applied to action. It means that a person will not be hindered by his government when he attempts to do or accomplish something. This "hands off" policy on the part of government was the prevalent attitude in Victorian times, and it played a major part in the economic explosion following the War between the States, although its detractors maintain that it permitted social tragedy to exist as well.

On the other hand, *freedom from*, which is the sort of freedom professed by a number of citizens, is a perversion of the word freedom because what it actually means is protection from, or immunity from. When people speak of the Salk vaccine for instance, they say it provides them with *freedom from* polio. When the Messers Roosevelt and Churchill and Truman spoke of freedoms from hunger, want, fear, etc. they really meant protection from these evils. *Freedom from* is a passive concept. A person need not be doing anything to enjoy *freedom from*, because these are laws designed to prevent others from doing anything to him. Even when he is snoring or reading the Sunday comics, he is enjoying such freedoms.

The two freedoms are antagonistic. Every increase in the *freedom from* of some citizens means that other citizens have less *freedom to*, and vice versa. A law granting

When is Freedom not a Freedom? Here the author lucidly analyzes the nature of liberty — and presents a formidable argument for conservatism.

teachers tenure after two years employment gives a teacher *freedom from* losing her job, but on the other hand restricts the school board's *freedom to* dismiss the teacher if she offends the community. Thus, *freedom from* are immunities against the behavior of other people, while *freedom to* are guarantees of unrestricted action. When people dream of building their society or their fortunes or their lives, they advocate *freedom to*, as did the Victorians. When people are more inclined to hold the status quo, or stem the force of individualism and private enterprise such as some do today, they think more in terms of *freedom from*.

It is easy to see that people who are active by nature, who are the builders and the opportunists and the dynamos of the society naturally favor *freedom to*; while the people who are passive and indolent by nature, who do not build, who do not really create, favor *freedom from*. Thus at bottom, each freedom appeals to an entirely different type of human being, and represents an entirely different approach to living. The man who favors *freedom to* loves the struggle for existence. He finds joy in competition, in daring, in growth, in danger, in valor, and in adventure. He has little use for humdrum security or a highly stable social order. On the other hand, the proponent of *freedom from* desires to hold at arms length all the hostile elements of society. He is non-competitive and hungers for security and comfort and stability most of all. Lusty, competitive life alarms him and he does all he can to insure the smoothness of his passage on earth. He is the enervated sort who daydreams of tropic isles, while the more robust sort dreams of empires.

The government plays an entirely different role in each of the two freedoms. Under *freedom to*, in this country, government was strictly limited to its original constitutional functions, namely keeping the peace, national defense, regulation of interstate commerce and a few other things. It did not dabble with sociology. It did not assume that because one man is rich and another poor that injustice is rampant and equalization should take place. It did not attempt to balance the diverse factions of the society in a manner which delicately neutralizes the power of each over the other. At its historic peak, before the turn of the century, there were even financial interests so powerful that they controlled segments of state and national government, and there were numerous people living on bare minimum wages with little chance of advancement because of their inability to acquire a decent education and clothing. However, there was no forest of prohibitions to prevent a man from rising. It was an age when Bet-A-Million Gates could start out as a barbed wire drummer in Texas and soon garner millions, entirely through his own ingenuity. Horatio Algerism did not exist for the many, but it was dreamed of by the many, because it was a distinct possibility at the time, and it lifted millions into the middle class if only a few into the upper.

Freedom to, at least in a legal sense, applied equally to everybody. It was just as legal for an impoverished newly-arrived immigrant like Andrew Carnegie to hammer a huge business monopoly into being as it was for John D. Rockefeller to piece together his oil monopoly. If the man at the bottom was unable to get ahead, it was either due to his innate inferiority and lack of will, or the crushing environment which he faced. At no time was he confronted with government meddling which made it all but impossible to climb. Victorian times brought the highest degree of legal liberty known to Western Man. If a person failed, it was because he

failed to best other persons and organizations within the society rather than because he was deprived of a chance to succeed by legal hedges and hobbles.

In *freedom from* however, the government plays a huge role, and it assumes the proportions of a massive benevolent bureaucracy. In *freedom from* the idea is to render all factions within the society powerless to dominate any other faction. Thus, if big business is powerful, the idea is to boost organized labor into a position of equal, or even superior power ("because they're poor") by protecting it and by hamstringing the business men. For example, the Wagner Act imposed great numbers of restrictions on management, but none to speak of on labor. *Freedom from* is the popular philosophy of equality. It conceives of justice as the process of making all things equal. It presumes an unequal distribution of wealth to be unjust, because wealth gives the rich man more breathing room and power than the poor man. To achieve equality, it relies upon the coercive ability of law as the only means available to check the strong and coddle the weak. This law is administered through an all-powerful, complex bureaucracy. Merely to control the airlines, for instance, and regulate their expansion, dole out new routes, subsidize some of the lines, enforce safety standards, and set uniform prices for tickets, requires an enormous federal apparatus, not only in Washington but across the Republic. This apparatus is designed to secure for "the people" *freedom from* the "high profits" a well-run line might win, and the "poor service" that badly run lines provide if left unmothered.

Freedoms from are laws, constraining each and every human in the society. The restraints they impose are binding not only on the present but on the future as well so long as the law remains in force. Thus the restraints of *freedom from* are both *universal* and *durable*. On the other hand, under *freedom to*,

the only restraints which exist are those imposed by one segment of the populace on another, so they are neither universal nor durable. A monopolist is usually overthrown when a new man with a better mousetrap can undersell him. Under *freedom to* power tends to shift rapidly from one element to another, never becoming deeply entrenched because the same government non-interference which permits the ascendancy of one group, permits other groups to rise as well. Under *freedom from*, however, power begins to centralize in government and continues to collect there until the nation flounders under the weight of bureaucracy and collapses.

THE EQUALIZER

The net effect of more and more *freedoms from* is simply more and more rules and red tape imposed by the government. Because such control is commonly used against the superior and in favor of the inferior, many businesses flourish which would be instantly wiped out by *finer, more economical* producers if the restraints did not exist. *Freedom from, therefore, encourages mediocrity*. Its proponents justify it by claiming that it also gives opportunity to many potentially superior people who may be mediocre when they begin because they have not yet "learned the ropes."

The two freedoms have differing views on the role of the government, the nature of liberty, and the purpose of life. In addition, they take diametrically opposite views on the nature of opportunity. One concept of opportunity is the idea that one should get ahead, step up into a higher existence, work harder and more cleverly than other men, and so earn more. The other concept of opportunity is group-centered or collectivist. It seeks to advance the interests of the entire working class. In it, the emphasis is not upon creating a climate in which individuals can *escape* the lower classes, but of making the position of the whole lower class

more palatable by providing it with more income, job guarantees, more security, welfare benefits, more vacation, etc. This concept of collectivist opportunity is fostered by *freedom from*, whereas *freedom to* is the sort of individual liberty which allows the adventuresome to escape the bottom of society altogether. When it is remembered that most every individual who ever attained the middle or upper classes did so through his own *private* initiative, it is easy to see how *freedom from* entombs the lower class forever. Even though the position of that class might improve somewhat on the whole, it still remains the lower class.

The two freedoms each embody a different concept of the social order and social justice. To those who advocate *freedom from*, the proper goal of society is the greatest good for the greatest number. By imposing powerful restraints upon small minorities, it makes life apparently more pleasant for the majority. On the other hand, the proponents of *freedom to* seek a society which provides the greatest good for the *most deserving*. They feel the rewards and blessings of life should go to those who have struggled the most cleverly and diligently. To one faction, justice is a matter of equality; to the other, justice is a matter of merit. One faction holds that whoever is in need should be provided for: if it be a need for medical care or pensions or food, these should be given without thought of merit. It preaches the equality of man and it preaches that man is a product of, and victim of, his environment. Whether he succeeds in life or not depends upon the fortunes of his background, and therefore, all backgrounds should be made identical. It believes that the wealth of the world should be distributed as nearly equally as possible because "all men are equal."

However the other faction points out that some men work harder, think more astutely, possess more courage and doggedness than others, and that such men are more entitled to the fruits of life than their

inferiors. It holds that man can master his environment and himself if he is willing, and that a just and noble society rewards the successful and provides for the rest in accordance with their contributions. It favors charity for victims of tragedy, but not a cent for the incompetent and slothful.

The two freedoms vary even to the extent of their permissiveness in small matters. Take for example a small law, such as that passed in many states preventing the sale of firecrackers. It is basically a *freedom from* type law, designed to free youngsters from damaged fingers, lost eyes and powder burns. Perhaps it is also designed to free persecuted dogs and maiden aunts from designing little boys. Under the opposite freedom however, lads are *free to* bang away to their hearts content. The responsibility for their safety rests with themselves and their parents. Thus the responsibility for the welfare of individuals is placed with *themselves* and *their families* where it belongs, rather than with the state and school.

THE REGULATORS

There are two factions which in the main support the philosophy of *freedom to*: (1) those who are on top of society and wish to preserve their position and prevent further hamstringing of their business, and (2) those who are superior enough to climb the social ladder; those who want a minimum of government interference with their projects. Likewise, there are two factions which support the *freedom from* philosophy: (1) those who recognize their inferiority and want nothing more than to vegetate through life, and (2) rascals who just aren't happy unless they are regulating the lives of their neighbors, such as government bureaucrats and college professors who wish to expand their control over the nation through more laws. Generally, advocates of the former are Republicans and conservatives, while advocates of the latter are Democrats and liberals.

What one group regards as coercion and an assault upon liberty, the other group regards as freedom. On the one hand the liberal workingman regards social security as a great blessing and a splendid *freedom from* the cares of old age and unemployment. He feels *freed from* the nagging responsibility of fending for himself. He feels *freed from* the necessity of making decisions as to how much he should be salting away for his dotage and how it should be invested or speculated or saved. On the other hand, the conservative resents social security because it compels him through taxation to provide for his old age in a manner over which he has no control. It removes his *freedom to* choose, to invest, to risk the money as he sees fit, and assume the responsibility for its stewardship. He feels deprived, in other words, of the freedom to be a master of his own destiny. He *doesn't want* to be a ward of the government in his old age, unhappily voting for whichever party promises him the biggest handouts; he wants to manage his investment and draw from it as he sees fit. He wants the freedom to succeed or fail, because that is what makes him feel like a man with a soul and a will—a worthwhile human being. Moreover, he resents the forced extraction from his earnings because all the years the government is keeping his money from him it could be bearing interest and providing him with capital and assisting him in his commerce. All he wants is for his government to honor him with the assumption that he has a modicum of intelligence, that he is not a zombie, and that he is quite capable of caring for himself. He does not concede the government the privilege of running and ruining his life.

Each of the two freedoms engenders its own attitude toward government. Conservatives, naturally enough, are hostile toward government and alarmed by its unchecked power and appalled by the decay and perversion of constitutional restraints. Liberals, of course, regard the government with warmth because it is their prime

source of power to control the private interests which "threaten" them. They regard the government, particularly the executive branch, as their servant, and are deaf to all admonitions to trim down its size and power. *It does the conservative no good at all to try to persuade the liberal to diminish the power of the very force which permits radical liberalism to flourish.* Those few opportunists on the liberal side almost invariably express their opportunism by entering the civil service or politics, which is why the bureaucracy is predominantly liberal. It is difficult for a politician of either stripe not to be more liberal than his constituents, because liberalism expands his own powers and gives him a greater say in running the world. The larger the government is, the more the liberal regards it as the *servant* of the "people," which is why he is far less bothered by huge budgets and massive government spending than the conservative. As far as the liberal is concerned, each bureaucrat is a man busily regulating the society, warring on greedy private interests in the name of the "people," and ever working toward "equality."

When the government exerts its coercive powers to regulate interstate commerce, to tax, to establish a monetary system and to secure domestic tranquillity, it performs functions which are basically *freedoms from*. A conservative accepts such functions because they are sanctioned by the constitution and because they are inevitable and necessary. Thus conservatives do not advocate pure laissez-faire. The bulk of such *freedoms from*, however, conservatives reject heartily because they are simply equalizers—means to restrain superior men and superior businesses. Conservatives oppose all compulsory welfareism including socialized medicine, social security, and unemployment doles, although voluntary welfareism is acceptable to many conservatives who are aware that the truly disabled and infirm need help. They disapprove of nearly all the postposterous restraints on

business, such as the government's tyrannizing of the railroads while it subsidizes airlines and ignores trucking; all taxes of a graduated nature which discriminate most against the enterprising poor who are forced to remain poor because of them; many of the fetters which hamstring the stock market; and excess profits taxes which penalize success and Yankee ingenuity.



All in all, the conservative is at sword's point with eighty or ninety percent of *freedoms from* because they demolish liberty. He is ever aware that each attack on *freedom to* is an attack upon the chances of everyone. The liberal who sets out to whittle down the rich only destroys any chance he might have of becoming rich himself. His philosophy is a public admission that he feels inferior. He destroys his very dream, and many other people's in the process. Such a man is the epitome of smallness.

Mere inequality, either financially or socially, is never grounds, to a conservative, to justify the passage of *freedom from* type laws. Such inequalities are the natural result of competition: those people who never manifest the necessary will, determination and ingenuity to acquire power stay at the bottom, while those who do, remain on top. The life struggle, unlike a chess game or a tennis match, is not voluntary competition. One must struggle to survive. Noting the compulsory nature of the life struggle, liberals deduce that to be a loser is to be oppressed, and so they seek *freedoms from* superior competitors. Conservatives regard this attitude as perverse. If the life struggle is a fact of existence, then it would be better to build up the talents of the

underdogs than to attempt to tear down every overdog in sight. If the rules of a chess game were stacked in favor of the inferior player, that would be perverse because by all rights, the inferior man should lose. If the laws of society are stacked to favor the inferior, that too is perverse and decadent.

Under *freedom from*, society reaches an equality of *condition*: everyone is placed within the same income bracket. Under *freedom to*, however, society reaches an equality of *opportunity* in which the poor man is as free to use his wits as the affluent one. It is impossible for equality of opportunity to exist when there is an equality of condition, for where is a person to go? Can he rise? Can he fall? He cannot; he must goosestep along with everyone else. True equality of opportunity exists only under laissez faire.

The best way a conservative knows how to honor a man is to unfetter him as much as possible. Perhaps the most sinister fetter upon modern Americans is compulsory unionism: the closed shop. Union monopolies, like all monopolies, can exist only when they have succeeded in obtaining laws which immunize them from competition. Because closed shop laws guarantee the union a monopoly of the labor market, unions have a terrible power over the working man compelled to belong to them. The conservative has always stood for the right of the worker to work as he pleases, to join or not to join a union, to contract with his employer on his own. Contracts between management and unions which affect the life of a third party—the non-union worker—have always seemed a gross injustice to conservatives.

Liberals and union leaders favor the closed shop because presumably it strengthens organized labor and places it in a better bargaining position vis-a-vis management. They claim that whatever private liberty is lost by the closed shop is more than made up for by the gain in "group liberty"—i.e., the increased power of the union. They claim the problem is academic anyway, be-

cause virtually all workers are happy to belong to unions. Moreover, they claim that in an open shop, with voluntary unionism, non-union workers will get a "free ride" obtaining all the benefits won by union men while avoiding membership and work in the organization.

Such arguments as these are logical to any believer in *freedom from*. To conservatives, however, the real reason unions fear an open shop is not the "free riders", but on the contrary, the workers who, not being constrained to featherbed or to work only a union-dictated maximum of hours, put in *harder* work than union men because they want to contract for *better* wages than the union can guarantee them, and get ahead in the world. A man free of union restraints is a man free to work at his own pace without having the shop steward suggesting he slow down. A man guaranteed *freedom to work* is a man guaranteed *freedom to make good*. Although the goal of the union is to improve the position of working men as a class, the goal of individualistic workers is to escape the lower class altogether, and thus the ends of the union are antagonistic to the ends of a good worker seeking a future. What unions fear most about the right to work is not that independent workers will cash in on union bargaining power, but that independent workers will outshine their brethren and become embarrassing reminders of their inferiority.

Management, far from gaining from the right to work, only finds itself having to bargain with numerous private parties rather than a single union. If it gains anything, it gains a source of up-coming, young, aggressive talent into its ranks, men too superior to be trapped in the working classes by the force of organized labor. Conservatives, by advocating the right of a worker to work, *wish to insure two kinds of opportunity*: the opportunity of the laboring classes to improve their condition through unionism, and the *opportunity of*

private individuals to escape the lower class through their own willingness to work and their own superiority. Liberalism, on the other hand, fosters only *one* opportunity: collectivism. Sociologists have eagerly been informing us for years that there is as much raw intelligence in the lower class as in the upper. If this be the case, then it behooves unions to recognize the fact and have mercy on their rank and file by freeing as many of them as possible to climb. If they pursue only policies which benefit the *group* or the *class*—i.e. collectivism, they simply damage the opportunities of numerous individualistic working men. Protected monopolistic unionism only acts as an additional oppressive force upon the poor.

MARXIAN RIGIDITY

Conservatives, with their rich philosophy of individualism seek to provide opportunity for industrious and bright souls from all walks of life. The ideals of modern conservatism are basically the concepts of classical liberalism, constructed upon the liberties of the individual. Conservatives wish to keep the society *flexible*, rather than rigidify it into classes warring upon one another. Unions and liberals, however, pursue the policies of Marxism socialism, which is founded upon class and group "goods." Socialism anathematizes individual opportunists. It is ironical that modern liberals use the same arguments to defend union monopolies as Victorian monopolists used, and conservatives use the same arguments to defend individual freedoms as classical liberals once used.

In one sense it is strange that the wealthy are conservative. If they desire exclusiveness, and all the prestige therefrom, they should be liberal and foster the ideals of collectivism and class warfare so as to seal off all routes upward for individual enterprising people. They should approve of the graduated income tax, which is far more punishing to people trying to climb (because it prevents them from

accumulating capital) than it is for people whose fortunes are already secured, and who, therefore, pay high taxes only on newly earned income. Indeed, some wealthy individuals are liberals and express great concern for the working man's collective welfare. Of course such rich men are the most selfish humans on earth, for they are sealing off the working man from any chance whatsoever to reach their own status, with their liberalism. However, most wealthy men are fundamentally more kind-hearted than that; they are aware that they didn't get where they are through collectivism, *but as separate enterprising individuals possessing the freedom to work and gain*. Far from possessing any desire to oppress working men, most rich conservatives do everything possible to free individuals to reach their own level because that assures the wealthy of new blood, as well as greater security. So long as they can encourage individuals to rise, they have allies among the less rich who can help them to protect their property from the equalizers. There are myriads of impoverished conservatives, great-hearted men and perennial optimists, who seek the best that life and society have to offer. There is no greater delusion abroad in the Republic than the notion that the wealthy seek to oppress the poor. The only wealthy people who truly wish to limit the opportunity of the poor are, ironically, those rich liberals who keep getting themselves run for the presidency of the Party of the Little Man.

It is no accident that most intellectuals are liberals. In spite of all their noise and jabbering, intellectuals are basically passive men, human vegetables, and as such, they have a far greater appreciation for *freedoms from* than they do for *freedoms to*. Because they have no private projects, no schemes, no empires to build, they have no need for *freedom to*. Only lusty, spirited builders of the world comprehend what a jungle of restrictions the welfare state is. The human vegetable may feel magnificently free in

the welfare state, but to the conservative or the man of action, the bars and walls and watchtowers are everywhere. The liberals and the legislators have been so busy enacting Progress and a Better World that they destroyed one of the most necessary ingredients of a happy life—the freedom to fail. To conservatives, this is the most precious freedom of all. Intellectuals discarded the freedom to fail because it didn't make sense. Why should anyone want to fail? Failure was exactly what caused misery in the bulk of humanity, and so it was decided to do away with failure and misery.

Accordingly, in our modern Utopia it has become almost impossible to fail. Neither as a housewife nor as a businessman nor as a working man nor as anyone else is it easy to fail. The first faltering steps usually bring in social workers or psychiatrists or guidance counselors or doctors or sociologists or psychologists or student loans or Guggenheim fellowships or Ford Foundation grants or community service care. A mattress has been spread beneath society: anyone who ceases to struggle need only land on it and immediately obtain forty or fifty dollars a week unemployment compensation. One need only possess a neurosis or two to become everybody's favorite project. In short, people are forbidden to fail both by law and by the reigning social idealism of these times.

Conservatives alone seem to resent and deplore the fact. They alone know enough about life, and what life means, and why they are here on this earth, to resent the prevention of failure. Not, of course that they *want* to fail. They most certainly don't. But as human beings with souls, they realize that *the freedom to fail is a prerequisite to the radiant joy of succeeding*. Without the possibility of failure, success becomes a hollow mockery. Every aid, every crutch, every easing and oiling of the way, every humanitarian force which pushes a man upward in no relation to what he *accomplished* or what he *is* only

deprive him of the romance of being alive. The welfare state, with its "freedoms" from failure and its super-protection for all, is, perhaps, the dreariest, most desolate and inhuman existence a conservative can imagine. When man is deprived of the struggle to exist, he is deprived of life itself. There is no reason for him to live. His life will have no more meaning than that of an idle playboy.

The tyranny of the executive power will come in its turn, but at a more distant period.

— Thomas Jefferson

There comes a point when there is too much civilization, and that point is reached when society is made to run so smoothly that none of its members face adversity. Such is the state of affairs in Scandinavia, where the welfare states assure the citizens of a life *free from* despair and defeat—and equally *free from* victory and triumph, and the satisfaction of accomplishment. A Scandinavian can't very well succeed on his own when his state has done all his succeeding for him. It is no wonder that the Scandinavian countries have the world's highest suicide rate. And it is no wonder that those countries are experiencing terrible problems with their youth, who are restless, and hungry for excitement and adventure. They are restless because they are not free. They will never know whether they possess courage, or whether they can face adversity, or whether they have the willpower and great-heartedness to live successfully in harsher environments. Conservatism frees a man to succeed or fail according to his talents, and by so doing, casts man into a nobler mould than liberalism. It takes account of a man's soul, his honor, his valor, his industry—and not just the welfare of his belly.

Two freedoms compete upon our public stage. Which of the two each person chooses for himself depends upon his attitude toward life

and what he believes himself to be. If he thinks of himself as a "little man," or a "regular Joe" who is no better than the next fellow and no worse, then he may as well choose *freedom from*. He deserves nothing better. He will believe the social philosophy that he is a helpless product of his environment. He will believe that such things as social security and socialized medicine are a boon to humanity. Being a little man, being incapable of making decisions, he will favor having his government do all his saving for his old age so he needn't bother with the irksome details of staying alive. Being small and unimportant and helpless, he will favor for his own protection any laws which hamstring his superiors. His concept of liberty will be a child's concept; *freedom from* all responsibility, failure and struggle. His most terrible problem will be boredom, his most terrible secret will be a sense of impotence, and his most terrible agony will be frustration.

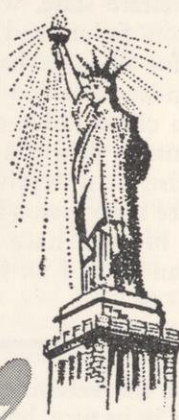
On the other hand stands *freedom to*, the philosophy of men of stature. It is for men who believe themselves capable of securing their ends and moulding their destinies and mastering their environments. It is for men unafraid of adversity, despair and defeat. It is for men who rejoice in triumphs and victories. It is for men who think well of themselves, who believe the human mind and willpower have great capacities, who conceive of human beings not as the smallest thing in this vast universe, but the greatest. It is for men of ego, men of daring, men of honor and perseverance. It is for men who hate fetters and controls and domination. It is for men who wish to secure the Republic, both from internal decay and foreign enemies, by being so strong that military, economic or spiritual attacks from within or without would be unthinkable. It is for men who enjoy themselves and enjoy life. It is for those few robust and wonderful souls who haven't sold out to decadence, and still pursue the American Dream.

“

... Government never of itself furthered any enterprise, but by the alacrity with which it got out of its way. It does not keep the country free. It does not settle the West. It does not educate. The character inherent in the American people has done all that has been accomplished; and it would have done somewhat more, if the government had not sometimes got in its way.

Henry David Thoreau in
Civil Disobedience

”



The words of the Yankee political philosopher echo truer today than a century ago when they were written. Government produces nothing; government creates nothing. The engine of big government spending programs cannot be set in motion until it's fueled with what it has first taken away from each individual citizen.

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BOOKS...

THE CONSCIENCE OF A CONSERVATIVE

BARRY GOLDWATER

by LEETA McCOY

Senator Barry Goldwater's *Conscience of a Conservative* is a vivid illustration of Conservative thought. It gives a complete and concise report of Conservative ideas on the major political issues of today. The book leaves no room for wonder as to what the author wants the reader to know and understand.

Goldwater repudiates the Liberal accusation that Conservatism is an economic theory. He states that "Conservatism is *not* an economic theory, though it has economic implications... It is Conservatism that puts material things in their proper place—that has a structured view of the human being and of society, in which economics plays only a subsidiary role."

Liberals preach that they think of the "common man"—the one who is just like his neighbor. The Conservatives say that each man is different and that his most sacred possession is his individual soul. Goldwater points out that "Only a philosophy that takes into account the essential differences between man, and, accordingly, makes provision for developing the different potentialities of each man can claim to be in accord with Nature... that to regard man as part of an indifferently mass is to consign him to ultimate slavery."

In the fourth chapter of the book Senator Goldwater defines States Rights and Civil Rights and shows that they are not one in the same. He quotes a portion of the Tenth Amendment of the Constitution for his definition of States Rights—"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." A Civil Right, however, is "... a right that is asserted and is therefore protected by some valid law... but unless a right is incorporated in the law (i.e. common, local, federal or Constitutional), it is not a civil right and is not enforceable by the instruments of the civil law."

As all Americans know, the Soviet Union is determined to conquer every inch of the world. Senator Goldwater points out that we have heard this and hear it continually—but he also wonders how many really believe it. He feels that if we had really believed it the approach to foreign policy over the past fourteen years would have been radically different. Our goal should have been, and should be, "Victory", not "Peace". Goldwater says, "Our avowed national objective is peace. We have, with great sincerity,

“waged” peace, while the Communists wage war. We have sought “settlements”, while the Communists seek victories. We have tried to pacify the world. The Communists mean to own it.” And further, “Peace, to be sure, *is* a proper goal for American policy — as long as it is understood that peace is not all we seek. For we do not want the peace of surrender. We want a peace in which freedom and justice will prevail, and that — given the nature of Communism — is a peace in which Soviet power will no longer be in a position to threaten us and the rest of the world. A tolerable peace, in other words, must *follow* victory over Communism. We have been fourteen years trying to bury that unpleasant fact. It cannot be buried and any foreign policy that ignores it will lead to our extinction as a nation.”

“We do not, of course, want to achieve victory by force of arms . . . But we cannot . . . make the avoidance of a shooting war our main objective. If we do that . . . we are committed to a course that has only one terminal point: surrender. We cannot, by proclamation, make war “unthinkable”.

The book points out why the various “Defense Alliances” play a limited role in safeguarding American freedom: First, there are many areas of the non-Communist world that are not touched by the Alliances. Secondly, political penetration and internal subversion are not protected by the Alliance System. Thirdly, the Alliance System cannot protect its members against overt aggression. Finally, the Alliance System is completely defensive in nature and outlook.

Goldwater believes that “By measuring each aspect of our foreign policy against the standard . . . we can understand why the past fourteen years have been marked by frustration and failure.” He closes the book with ten “guideposts”. “(1) The key guidepost is the Objective, and we must never lose sight of it. It is not to wage a struggle against Communism, but to *win* it . . . (2) Our strategy must be primarily offensive in nature . . . in addition to keeping the free world free, we must try to make the Communist world free . . . (3) We must strive to achieve and maintain military superiority . . . (4) We must make America economically strong . . . (5) In all of our dealings with foreign nations, we must behave like a great power . . . (6) We should adopt a discriminating foreign aid policy . . . (7) We should declare the world Communist movement an outlaw in the community of civilized nations . . . (8) We should encourage the captive peoples to revolt against their Communist rulers . . . (9) We should encourage friendly peoples who have the means and desires to do so to undertake offensive operations for the recovery of their homelands . . . (10) We must — ourselves — be prepared to undertake military operations against vulnerable Communist regimes . . .”

The book is an excellent one — a primer of Conservative thought, beliefs and views — one that should be read by all for greater understanding.

John Oster

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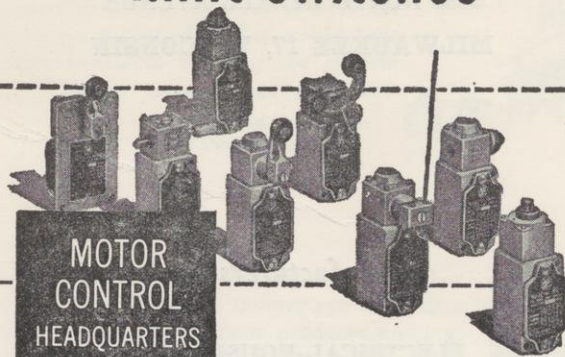
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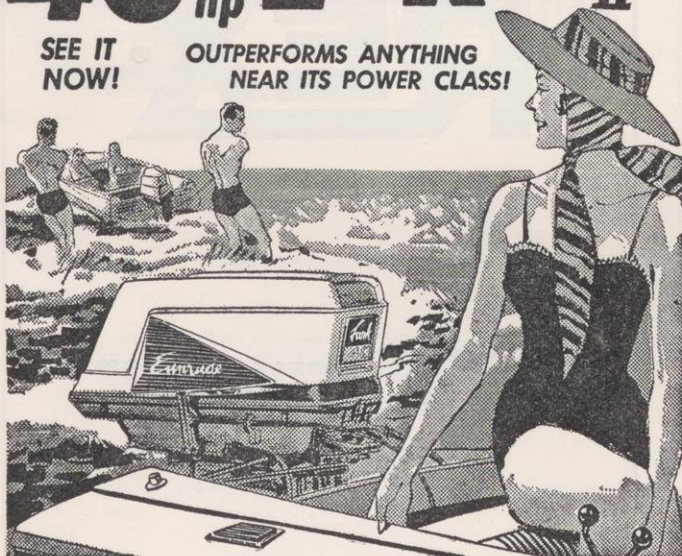
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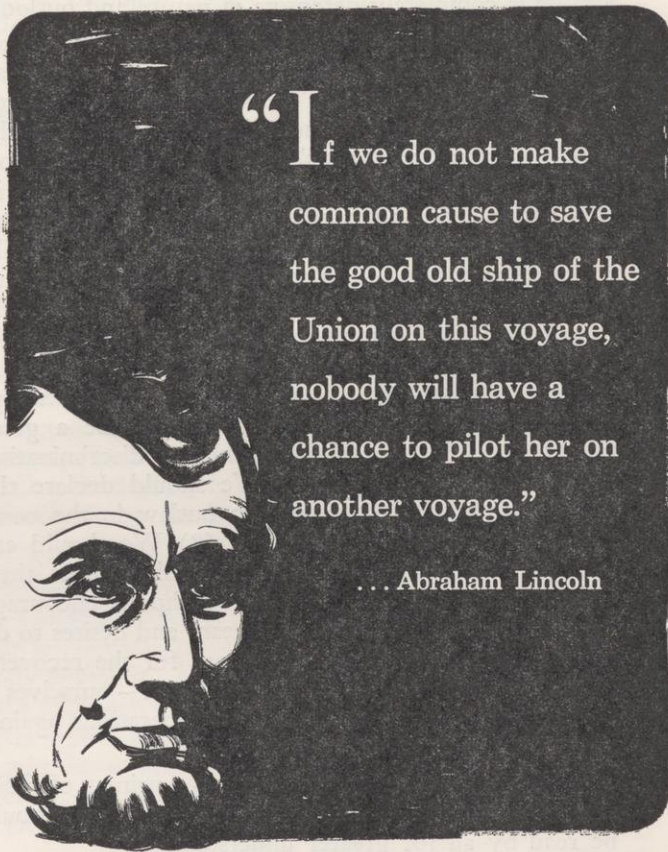
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