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*Insight &
Outlook*

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OF CONSERVATIVE
STUDENT OPINION

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we're back.

In this issue:



TECHNOLOGY: FRIEND OR FOE?



KNUPFER ON WHAT IT'S GONNA BE LIKE WHEN

KORTEN ON THE BOOK ON THE BOSS

VON KANNON ON KUMQUATS

PIROCANAC ON FOOLS GOLD

WHISKER'S ON THE NEW MARCUSE

LONIELLO ON ABBIE HOFFMAN'S BACK

THE DRAFT

WHY IS IT THAT THE REPLACEMENT OF THE draft with a voluntary military—favored by Richard Nixon, Barry Goldwater, William Buckley, Mark Hatfield, James Farmer, Ronald Reagan, Hanson Baldwin, the platforms of both political parties, Stuart Symington, John Galbraith, Adlai Stevenson... by representatives of the entire left-right spectrum in American politics as well as by the overwhelming majority of American youth—has not come about? YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM HAS CONCLUDED that the reason may be ignorance of the facts by the American people, coupled with the bureaucratic lethargy of the Federal Government which—like all bureaucracies in the history of man—is opposed to change. If the people know the facts, the government can be persuaded to change our laws. 1967 SAW THE BEGINNING OF VOLUNTARY military activities by Young Americans for Freedom: testifying before Congressional hearings on the four-year renewal of the Selective Service Act, and informing American youth on the case for a non-conscript military. YAF also joined forces with other legitimate student and political groups in supporting a peacetime voluntary military. The tasks of informing the American people about the wrongs of conscription and about the merits of a voluntary military have fallen to American youth. It is in their direct interest to learn the facts and to change public opinion—now!

THE CASE AGAINST THE DRAFT IS OVER-whelming. Conscription results in a deprivation of civil liberties exceeded perhaps only by criminal incarceration. America has a long tradition of opposition to forced labor, our country was founded by men who led European conscription. The draft results in massive wasted training costs (training 300,000 men per year, instead of 50,000 under a volunteer system—a waste of \$2.4 billion a year). It also results in poor morale and wasteful gold-bricking and featherbedding. The draft imposes added costs on the entire nation by forcing people with civilian skills to serve in the military, thus depriving the country of their productivity—estimated in Congressional testimony at more than \$1 billion. More of the wasted cost of the draft is borne by the draftees themselves—the difference between their military pay and their earning power as civilians. To give an extreme example, if Cassius Clay paid his income tax in cash, it would be enough to train and equip an entire company. This comes to more than \$500 million annually. The cost of some 4000 draft boards is enormous. The draft causes severe personal problems for young men with families, who can hardly live on the \$90 a month paid an Army private, adding to social disintegration. Even though 80% of military jobs could be filled by civilians, the draft attempts to assign conscripts to these jobs for two years (a 1962 CAO survey showed 35,000 misassigned soldiers, wasting more than \$45 million). The cost to American business is huge: in 1966, 35% faced employment shortages as a result of the draft; many are forced by cost considerations to

hire men only over 26, causing more inequities for business and for young people generally.

EXAMPLES OF THE ANTI-SOCIAL AND UNECONOMIC nature of the draft—as well as the dangers it holds for the demands of modern warfare—continue to pile up. The answer to the problem is clear: an incentive-oriented, volunteer military, whose net cost to the United States would be less than the costs of conscription—taking into account all costs, many of which do not appear in the Defense Dept. Budget. (See *Congressional Record*, 3/14/67, pp. 2441f.) At a time when the national defense requires a declining fraction of draft-age young men, and when military technol-

Who Wants It?

"(The Draft) is far more typical of totalitarian nations than of democratic nations. The theory behind it leads directly to totalitarianism. It is absolutely opposed to the principles of individual liberty which have always been considered a part of American democracy."—ROBERT TAFT, 1940

"Every young man... knows the money that could be saved, the new efficiency that could result from a volunteer system which calls on young men not to endure two years in service because they have to, but to choose it for a longer period of time because it offers advantages that seem to them appealing."—ADLAI STEVENSON, 1956.

"I have questioned the whole business of the draft... I have wondered why we couldn't—with the brain-power and know-how we have in this country—evolve a program of inducement to enlistment, to see if we could not switch to a voluntary system."—RONALD REAGAN, 1966.

"As an important added benefit, a shift from compulsion to fully paid service would give us a better trained force—something that modern weapons make most desirable."—JOHN GALBRAITH, 1966.

"The most fundamental right of man is the right to his life. The use of force against that right—as in the draft law—is clearly wrong. It would also be wrong to assume that free men have to be forced to fight for their country."—BARRY GOLDWATER, 1967.

"I say it's time we took a new look at the draft—at the question of permanent conscription in a free society. If we find we can reasonably meet our peacetime manpower needs by other means, then we should prepare for the day when the draft can be phased out of American life."—RICHARD NIXON, 1968.

ogy is obsolescing the semi-trained GI, there is little reason except force of habit to maintain the draft. A volunteer military would be more flexible than the draft: modern war is swift and uses highly complex weaponry, factors making professional soldiers more responsive than millions of young men rushed into boot camps for a few months training. A volunteer army would not jeopardize civilian control of the armed forces; nor is there historical evidence that a voluntary army would foster uncontrollable military elitism. . . or that conscription avoids these evils (Napoleon, Franco, Trujillo, Mussolini, and Hitler all used con-

script armies to support their authoritarian regimes, as has the USSR since 1917). Established constitutional traditions have controlled the conscript armies of the United States since the inception of the draft here in 1917. So would they control a volunteer military, as they did before 1917.

THE INCENTIVES FOR VOLUNTEER SOLDIERS need not be expensive: one of the main reasons for low re-enlistment of military personnel today is the miserable housing supplied military families... something that could inexpensively be corrected in view of the vast real estate holdings of the Federal Government and availability of attractive mass-produced housing for the warm-climate areas where most military bases are. In addition, the retirement benefits offered career soldiers today are among the most generous in the nation. Pay raises will be in order, but their additional costs will be offset by the reduction of training costs. There is a low cost of living from military PX purchasing. In addition, current enlistment is highest in Southern and South Atlantic states where median annual income is only \$2441 and \$2849 respectively—so the pay raises need not be massive. Incentives like the prospect of travel are already available. The substitution of civilian employees for conscript labor now providing clerical work, revision of the Uniform Code of Military Justice to include only those persons in combat or training for combat, hiring specific talent for specific jobs (rather than having engineers serving as military policemen, cooks as dog handlers, etc.) all would make military life more attractive.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO BRING ABOUT A voluntary military system? First, the American people must be informed—by today's youth—that conscription as it operates today is immoral, wasteful, and a potential threat to America's military security. And that a voluntary military would result in social justice, economies, and a strengthened and more responsive defense. Second, write your Representative in Congress in support of Senator Barry Goldwater's bill "S. 503", the Voluntary Military Manpower Procurement Act of 1969 (co-sponsored by nine U.S. Senators), to abolish the peacetime draft and to institute a voluntary military. Third, urge American youth to study the draft, assess its effects on our generation, and participate in political action that will bring about its replacement by a voluntary military.

SOURCES:

The Draft: A Handbook of Facts and Alternatives, edited by Sol Tax. The University of Chicago Press. *Why the Draft? The Case for a Volunteer Army*, by James C. Miller III. Penguin Books. *The New Guard* (May, 1967). Articles on the draft by Barry Goldwater, Russell Kirk, Milton Friedman. Published by YAF (address on back panel). *New Individualist Review* (Spring, 1967), symposium on conscription. Ida Noyes Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois 60637. "Conscription and Commitment," Rep. Thomas B. Curtis. *Playboy* (February, 1967).

THE SHARON STATEMENT

Adopted by the YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM in conference at Sharon, Conn. September 9-11, 1960

IN THIS TIME of moral and political crisis, it is the responsibility of the youth of America to utter certain moral truths.

We, as young conservatives, believe

That freedom means the maximum values of the individual and his God-given free will, where freedom is the right to be free from the restrictions of arbitrary force.

That liberty is indivisible and that political freedom cannot long exist without economic freedom.

That the purposes of government are to protect these freedoms through the preservation of internal order, the provision of national defense, and the administration of justice.

That, when government, instead of these rightful functions, it accumulates power which tends to diminish order and liberty.

That the Constitution of the United States is the best arrangement yet devised for empowering government to fulfill its proper role, while retaining it from the concentration and abuse of power.

That the genius of the Constitution—the division of powers—is summed up in the clause which reserves powers to the several states, or to the people, in those spheres not specifically delegated to the Federal Government.

That the market economy allocating resources by the free play of supply and demand, is the single greatest system compatible with the requirements of personal freedom and constitutional government, and that it is at the same time the most productive supplier of human needs.

That when government interferes with the work of the market economy, it tends to reduce the moral and physical strength of the nation, that when it fails to meet its burden on another, it diminishes the incentive of the free, the integrity of the nation, and the national economy of both.

That we will be free only so long as the national sovereignty of the United States is preserved, that United States citizens are free, and can exist only when free citizens can remedy their own rights against the United States.

That the forces of international Communism are, at present, the greatest single threat to these liberties.

That the United States should stress victory over, rather than coexistence with, this menace, and

That American foreign policy must be judged by this criterion: does it serve the just interests of the United States?

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insight and outlook

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Insight and Outlook is published by students at the University of Wisconsin, under the sole authority of the board of control of Insight and Outlook, Inc. Address all correspondence to: Insight and Outlook, P.O. Box 1765, Madison, Wisconsin, 53701. Manuscripts are welcome, and should be sent to the above address. However, the editors cannot be responsible for the return of unused manuscripts unless a self-addressed, stamped return envelope is included. Contributions are, of course, manifestly welcome.

FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

I suppose it's only fitting that in an era such as the present, in which mass movements and great fluctuations are the going thing, that *Insight & Outlook* should undergo some changes of its own. The magazine has wended its way expertly through the thick forests of conservative journalism, stopping here and there, but continuing on, editor to editor, until now, when once again it has come under new management.

I am rather new at this business. I had the pleasure of working with a conservative periodical at my high school near my home town of Wilmette, Illinois; so successful was the paper, *The Capitalist*, that it imbued in me a spirit of camaraderie with the conservative movement. But, alas, universities just aren't high schools, as I have so well learned here.

But, I do not work alone. The mainstays of the organization remain to guide me along. The venerable Dick Wright, who stands behind me with, I might add, a rather big shadow, transmits the wisdom which he inherited from his experience at the typewriter. Also, Ed Treick continues the thankless task of seeing to it that the magazine reaches its faithful reading public. In fact, we hear that Ed just procured a bicycle or some other two-wheeled conveyance, with which to deliver the copies personally—such spirit! Also Tom Higdon handles the business affairs of this publication; Tom's just returned from a visit to our friends in Taiwan, but he should be able to see the typewriter through his now slightly slanted eyes. Of course, I cannot express my thanks to Pat Korten of the highly successful *Badger Herald*, for giving so much of his time to aid me in this very confusing business.

We do have some new blood in the organization this ish. Ugjesha Pirocanac, a senior in philosophy at the U, has taken pen in hand to hack at the liberal—left panacea of wage—price controls. Ugjesha's convincing defense of the free market's pricing mechanism will find many an adherent even in these days of creeping socialism. I attempt some speculation concerning the Soviet Union in light of the postponed but finally held 24th Congress of the Communist Party in Moscow this month. The congress itself must have been pretty boring for the delegates, but the atmosphere in which the congress, or really its leaders, approached and “resolved” some of the vital issues of Soviet politics provides interesting material. Some provocative book reviews have also passed into our hands this month. Jim Whisker strikes out at what he terms Marcusean contentions in Richard Rubenstein's book on political violence in America. Mr. Whisker is quite indignant at Rubenstein's distortion of history, but he did like one thing: Little, Brown & Co. could certainly *print* a good book! Pat Korten takes some time from his burdensome duties at the *Herald* to offer some ideas on columnist Mike Royko's new book, *Boss*, which concerns Chicago's five-times-elected Mayor Daley. Pat likes the Royko critique in itself, but is rather upset at the critic's all too prevalent liberal bias. Nick Loniello, editor of the *Herald*, looks into Abbie Hoffman's latest enterprise, which is just what it is: The Movement Speakers' Bureau, which is getting richer while the universities and the public seem to get poorer.

As Boris Badenov used to say, I have “beeg plans” for *I&O*'s future. With a magazine of this sort, the possibilities are virtually unlimited. An expanded campus circulation, accompanied by a promotional campaign, is among the blueprints on the drawing board. Some changes in format, so as to update the magazine a little and please the reading public a little more, are on the way, but all of these changes are done with reverence to the tradition of excellence of this periodical.

So, on the note of hope for the future, we open Volume XI. The UW campus doesn't have a monopoly on totalitarian press, but with the *Herald* alongside, we hope to balance off the onslaught of the left with a real alternative. Ah, but the magazine awaits, reader. As always, your contributions, threatening letters, communications, manuscripts, and blank checks are appreciated and welcome.

PBK



Technology: Friend or Foe?

THE CONCERN FOR the environment in Senator Proxmire's case against the SST had great merit. But he said defeating the development of the SST would be "mankind's first victory over technology." That's an eloquent and newsworthy turn-of-a-phrase, but its premise, that man and technology are at war, is dangerously over-stated.

For the sake of argument, let's replace in that premise the word "technology" with its definition given by our formidable Webster: Mankind is at war with "the totality of means employed to provide objects necessary for human sustenance and comfort." Now Proxmire's humbug should be more obvious.

Let's also assume, for the sake of argument, that you are about to die of leukemia. A technologist rushes out of his laboratory to your bedside shouting, "I've found a cure!" Would you kick him in the teeth, call him an evil genius, and in your last breath murmur "one more victory for mankind over technology?"

Was Thomas Edison doing devil's work in his basement when he invented the light bulb? Was a nation covered with smog a gleam in the eye of the inventor of the internal combustion engine? Was Alexander Graham Bell involved in an international conspiracy to destroy mankind?

Of course not. Technology is a manifestation of man's creative genius, and has served man well. But technology is taking the blame for the noise of the SST, the blame for industrial pollution of waterways, the blame for thermal pollution of the atmosphere, etc. etc. But all those nasty things are not technology's fault. They are the fault of man, the slob, who too often doesn't give a damn about his mother earth. Man uses technology carelessly—often recklessly—but doesn't want to take any of the blame.

THE WARFARE IS NOT between man and technology. The warfare is between man and his careless use of technology. And in the years ahead technology could be the earth's best ally. That's right, its best ally.

Take, for example, the issue of thermal pollution of the atmosphere. State health laws require public buildings to dump out their warm air and bring in fresh air every so many minutes. The result is that hundreds of thousands of furnaces are literally heating up the atmosphere. The doomsday ecologist tells us we don't stand a chance, unless we shut off all the furnaces. The doomsday ecologist,

unfortunately, is not a technologist. Shaking with fear he offers wild-eyed non-technological solutions to technological problems. So we suggest you turn your ear to the technologist who can offer a simple, though less dramatic solution.

A great many buildings are installing heat transfer systems in their furnace operation. It consists of a huge rotating wheel made of a metal mesh. There are two air ducts at diametrical points. Warm air blows out one duct, heating the metal mesh and cooling the air output. The heated metal mesh revolves around the wheel to the input duct. There the cool fresh air is heated by the metal mesh. The result is hardly any thermal pollution of the atmosphere. And a lot cheaper heating bill.

So tell the doomsday ecologist to run home, shut off his furnace, and shiver in the night. Then you install a heat transfer unit, and live comfortably and cheaply knowing you have a warm house, yet are not contributing to the demise of the environment. Thanks to technology.

THE POINT IS TECHNOLOGY can clean up its own act. We don't need a flood of scholarly saliva from earth economists or wilderness sociologists advising the upheaval of the world's most successful economic system. We don't need the fear of the doomsday prophets pleading the reordering of the universe. What we need is more technologists and a lot more technology to get the bad breath out of man's most faithful servant—his own genius. What Proxmire may think is our enemy, technology, is really one of our best friends.

The real fighters at the forefront of the battle to save the environment are the laboratory technologists and concerned businessmen. The technologist finds new and better ways to produce and re-cycle things, and the concerned businessman adopts them. For example, the re-cycling center at Coca-Cola Bottling Company in Madison was developed by technologists and administered by capitalists.

LET IT SUFFICE to say this: If you really knew that tomorrow mother earth would barf up man's pollution and drop over dead, would you a) turn to the doomsday ecologist who would laugh and say "I told you so," or b) turn to the technologist who would say, "I may have in my laboratory a cure."

Aetius

Joe Bollenbeck, R.I.P.

When a Communist or leftist appeared at the University of Wisconsin campus, the white haired old gentleman would invariably be found in the speaker's audience. He would sit quietly until the question period, at which time he would stand and demand that the speaker disclose his Communist background. If the speaker hesitated, the old gentleman would detail for the audience's benefit the speaker's record of commitment to Communist causes.

This was Captain Joseph Bollenbeck, who passed away this fall, and he was providing a service to the student audiences, who, in his view, ought to take into consideration a speaker's Communist background. This, of course, was a service the University Community didn't always recognize the need for, but the Captain performed it free of charge.

I imagine he had retired from his self-appointed rounds of student audiences a few years previous to his death. For all the time he would spend, he, nor any one individual, could have kept his files, replete as they already were, with up-to-date information on the horde of leftist speakers stampeding through the university in recent years. Even at his advanced age, however, he showered the Capital Times with letters to the Editor, and he would forward what ideas and strategies he had to the few young people who he thought were active in the defense of America.

Few students ever knew his name, and his full name doesn't matter at this point — he was Captain Bollenbeck, proud of his service in the armed forces of the United States, and reverent toward his God and his country. He had knowingly watched the University deteriorate into a leftist recruiting station. He knew the falsity of the Communists, and he was aware of the true horror of Communist rule. With this, he adopted as his own personal tragedy the many students that fell prey to the influence of Communist and leftist speakers. He made the campaign for students' minds his own personal battle, and unlike so many of his generation, never lost faith in the essential good will of American youth.

No doubt, most of the students he sought to influence thought him an old fool, a misplaced representative of the white-socks-tennis-shoe right wing. Certainly his manner was not sophisticated such as to appeal to the students. In debate he couldn't match the more fashionable attitudes and mannerisms of a leftist professor. To the contrary, he premised his positions on love for God and country. He assumed that students shared his attitude, and needed only someone to point out that the Communists and leftists did not. Most often, the students found him irrelevant for that reason, and this tendency was not to the credit of their intellects.

Neither did we always appreciate his approach — perhaps we didn't share his faith in our generation. We, at least, will miss the Captain and will give him everlasting credit in our memories for his having fought the good fight until his last breath.

—R.O.W.



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NATIONAL REVIEW

Insights

●(UPI) March 27 "The Senate's Democrat leader...Mike Mansfield...says that the Laotian operation has created the possibility of a North Vietnamese incursion into South Vietnam..."

You think, maybe Mike should be teaching at the war college? No, he'd probably drop out, because according to most military strategists, and these are the guys who know the ups and downs of the war and don't just sit around playing Avalon Hill war games, while it still may seem early to fully assess the situation, the South Vietnamese incursion successfully reached its objectives, and that the South Vietnamese did just what they were expected to do, and most importantly, the North Vietnamese did just what they were expected to do, as predicted by the Allied command. But of all the possibilities that could result from Laos, Mike had to come up with this one, which is contradicted by precedent and the facts. Cambodia provides both precedent and fact, but then, Mike didn't dig Cambodia too much either, did he?

●The capacity of the Federal establishment to extend its influence into every nook and cranny of the nation seems to have no limit. A recent example:

Nearly two years ago, inventor Bill Forington, of Denver, Colorado, had completed the construction of his sixth experimental helicopter, and on his own land, he started the engine and lifted the craft about six inches above the ground. But the Federal Aviation Administration took offense at Bill's inventiveness, and chose to fine him \$2,000 for his transgressions against FAA regulations, to wit: Forington didn't have an "airman certificate" authorizing him to operate the machine he'd built from start to finish with his own hands; and he hadn't obtained a registration of air worthiness from the Agency.

Now Bill Forington has been in the business of aircraft design and construction for some time. He has aircraft engine and mechanic licences, and knows more about the machine he flew than most any pilot could. Moreover, he says he called the FAA three times before he finally made the test "flight," trying to get them to inspect the machine, but he was ignored.

Today, 21 months after the flight, the FAA is trying to show it's now all that picayune, and is willing to settle for \$100 out of court, just for the principle, see. Translation: FAA officials are a little worried that they may have gotten just a little too overzealous, and their case might not hold up in court.

Bill Forington, bless his soul, is calling their bluff. "I'm not going to pay the 100 dollars," he says. "I don't feel I should be penalized for such test flights and for being inventive beyond the scope of FAA regulations."

A small battle in the war against the ever-expanding authority of Big Daddy. But heartening, nonetheless.

●This has gotta be Mike Mansfield month. According to the *Chicago Tribune*, Mike has really done a double-take. Last May 6, it seems, Mike stood up before the Senate, and congratulated that august body for "a highly commendable measure" and for its "willingness to respond efficiently to its legislative chores." What was Sen. Mansfield talking about? Why, the Magnuson-Mansfield bill, Railpax. But now, the esteemed senator from Montana has called for the withdrawal of appropriated funds so that Railpax, (now called Amtrak), "will not be able to operate." Why? According to the senator, Congress was misled to expect that Railpax service would be adequate. How did Mike find out that its service might be inadequate? He checked out his Rand McNally map of Montana, then read over his bill, and did a little homework to find that only one train is to cross the state of Montana, on the northern border, bypassing most of the state's major cities. As far as we know, he hasn't been able to restrain the funds for Railpax, probably just too late. All Abooooord!

●The highly revered chief of the compulsory union movement, Cesar Chavez, affectionately dubbed "Little Cesar" by his victims the grape workers, continues his fight to liberate the California farmworker. According to UPI, the two warring unions, the Teamsters and Chavez's United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, have reached an agreement, not without a few pushes and shoves from George Meany, over the lettuce situation, whereby the leaders of the two rival unions would decide which union represents whom in California, and the joint decisions of the leaders would be binding upon the growers. Not only have some of the Teamsters locals balked at obeying, but also the growers threaten to fight it unless a representative, secret ballot vote is held by the workers, who strangely have been left out of the whole thing, as to whether they want the union in the first place. But Cesar remembers Delano, and so far has refused such elections; the boycotts are much more effective, and Cesar says he'll call off the moratorium on the boycott if the growers don't capitulate. Nope, Cesar doesn't want to be elected by the workers—he just wants to represent them!

●LBJ's brother Sam Houston Johnson says that his famous relative may run for president again in 1972, "if Nixon falters." Sam says that Lyndon would be a grand choice, inasmuch as he doesn't figure that the democrats have yet found a man who can win in 1972.

The Baltimore newspaper which ran the story had to get the interview with Sam Johnson at Johns Hopkins Hospital, where Sam's being treated for a leg injury. Think maybe, as long as he's there, they oughta look at his head, too?

Business & Finance

COMPILED BY THE I & O ECONOMIC UNIT

Feb. 31, 1972

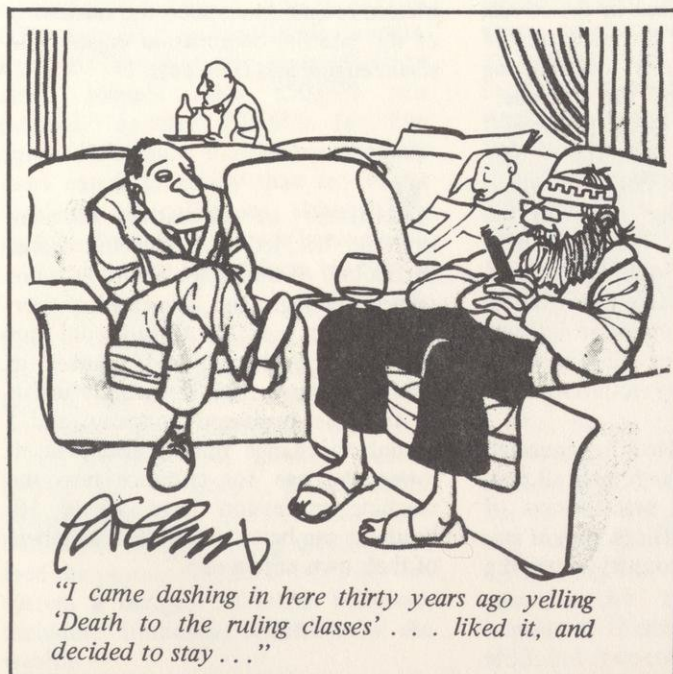
Penn Central Transportation acquired 300 carriages from a Snowville, N.H. factory. After a cost effectiveness study of the corporation's rail system, a think tank recommended the move. Commuters hailed the move as a major victory and predicted a tenfold improvement over present service.

Jan. 2, 1973

A merger was announced today between the Kilum Mousetrap Company and Rodent Supply, Inc., a major supplier of laboratory animals. The merger, which is subject to the approval of the stockholders and the mice, resulted in part from a recent budget slash of unnecessary defense expenditures by the government.

Nov. 8, 1973

First quarter sales of Girl Scout Cookies were off sharply according to a company spokesman. No reason was given for the drop, which was down \$15 million compared to the same quarter last year. Informed sources, however, placed the blame on a recent rumor that there was high mercury content in the cookies.



World-Wide

COMPILED FROM DISPATCHES
FROM I & O FOREIGN OFFICES

March 3, 1972

The ruling Masochist party in the island country of Hangche has suffered a stunning victory in the mob revolution there yesterday. The party had hoped to lose the war, thus turning the government over to the revolutionaries and being able to forget about the details of running a country as the leading party for a while.

March 15, 1972

Britain has pledged to withhold all troops from marching into the colonial province of America until the proper procedures and lines of succession are determined. The current head of the "government" is a self-appointed king who calls himself Richard the IV. Currently embattled over minor quarrels and squabbles, the government nevertheless insists that the economy is on the upswing as a result of the recent repeal of the emancipation proclamation.

July 4, 1976

The abominable snowman has been placed on the International Evolutionary Society's "most endangered species" list. Frankhorn Survival, president of the society, said \$200,000 has been raised to seek out remaining members of the endangered species, "and through the techniques of modern animal management make sure that the breed survives and reproduces young." Not more than three abominable snowmen have been sighted in the past two years, and these sightings were on three separate continents.

Aug. 10, 1977

Nelf Rader, the nation's self-appointed consumer advocate, has demanded that the FDA ban all sales of Frisbees in this country. Rader said that in laboratory tests conducted by an independent agency, rats which were fed three Frisbees per day for two years suffered from acute gastro-intestinal laceration and ulceration in 95 of 100 cases. "We cannot allow continued exposure of our university students to this grave danger," said Rader in his letter to the FDA.

"A woman is only a woman; but
a good cigar is a smoke."--Rudyard Kipling

A Look Into The Future - America, 1992

PETER KNUPFER

For the past three or four decades, the United States has come under the unfortunate influence of the "defunct economists" of Lord Keynes, the promising politicians who do good justice to Leonard Read's law, and a group of influential, unresponsive, and wealthy bureaucrats. This motley crew of "experts" predicted quite long ago the end of our troubles in the politico-socio-economic spheres. They, like Marx, never really supplied the information as to when this utopia would be realized; in fact, today we're still plagued by the same inundation of nonsensical jargon, still ineptly titled the "new economics" or the guideline plan for society." The future will probably find the "land of the free" stepping to the tune of "The Internationale" – perhaps, our government, still functioning in the same way it does now (with a few minor changes), will be situated as follows:

It is 1992, and President Percy's administration has announced its intentions for future domestic and foreign policy. Here is the department by department report:

The Ministry of Public Aid has announced that it intends to "improve economic opportunity" by implementing what Minister Paul Erlich has entitled the "New Bargain" for the American people. "Despite our efforts," he stated at a recent news conference, "there still remains 20% of the nation below the poverty income of \$9,800. We intend to solve this deficiency by supplementation of that income. For comparison's sake, back in 1968 we were spending a mere \$10,000 per poor family. Now we will spend the more realistic sum of \$60,000 per poor family. We feel that this is the only way we can guarantee these poverty stricken millions a life of decency and dignity."

The Ministry of Economic Advancement has disclosed its plan to end the recession and inflation which has plagued the nation since the Lindsay Administration crisis four years ago. Minister Galbraith put it this way: "First we need to expand the money supply to a more well-founded figure of 9.5% per year. This will ease wage demands, and best of all, create purchasing power. A price guideline will then be established to stop rising prices. More priming on the part of government is necessary, because of the slowdown, and much of this can be accomplished through the creation of a deficit larger than the last fiscal year's. We owe the national debt to ourselves, so that our immediate concerns can be taken care of."

William Proxmire, Minister of Defense, and longtime promoter of economy in government, met with President Percy to proclaim the promulgation of a new foreign strategy which, according to Minister Proxmire, will "lead us down the road to peace." In the words of the President: "The communist nations of Vietnam, China, Malaysia, New Zealand, Japan, and the Philippines want peace for mankind. Therefore, I'm taking the advice of Defense Minister Proxmire, in making the first step toward world peace by abandoning our Ministry of Defense." The money previously allocated to Defense will be delivered in Minister Proxmire's Volkswagen to the Public Aid Ministry at a later date.

The Ministry of Agriculture recently stated that its farm programs are not adequately aiding the farmer. Because of the huge centralization of farms in the hands of corporations in the 1970s, the Ministry is taking the bold step of expropriating the farms and putting them in the hands of the "people." "Because of unfair labor practices," declared Agriculture Minister Cesar Chavez, "the raising of corn and wheat has been curtailed. Our plans for the importation of grain from southern Libya are going well. Soon, by purchasing wheat and other staples from Libya, which allows the unions more latitude in growing and running the farms, we shall relieve the starving victims of corporate capitalism."

The Ministry of Health requested that the Ministry of Trade halt all doctors and professional practitioners of medicine at customs offices, should any more try to leave the country. Since the

nationalization of the medical profession and the absorption of the AMA back in the 1970s by government, more than 30,000 doctors and nurses have left the country. The Health Ministry did sound an optimistic note when it announced plans to build and staff two hospitals within the time span of President Percy's term. The hospitals will both be located in Washington.

The Ministry for Environmental Improvement released its latest list of polluters. Those on the list will be the targets of Federal lawsuits within the next year. The Ministry hopes to keep up the tradition of past efforts in cracking down on outlaw polluters. Recent successes have resulted in the 1984 Pure Air Act, which outlawed the private production of electrical power; this legislation was due to the tardiness of the electrical companies in cleaning up their 5% of the air. Other record making breakthroughs have been the outlawing of the internal combustion engine, the steam engine and fireplaces.

Minister of Education Kingman Brewster decided that the educational curriculum of the nation's schools is not relevant enough, and is in need of overhaul. "Last month's revision did not provide enough required courses in Eskimo History. This is certainly unfair to that disadvantaged minority, and I intend to change that. I also plan to lower the age for entrance into the teaching profession from 18 to 16. Students can better relate with members of their own peer group."

The Ministry of Arts has decided to invest its budget of \$18 billion in the promotion of relevant art, in order to show the "true cosmic relationship between man and the universe." This investment is in the form of the National Academy of Arts and Sciences, whose director will be Charles Schultz, the famous artist. The national orchestra will be under the direction of Mick Jagger, who will conduct in the nude.

The trade ministry has taken steps to protect the vitally important national comic book industry, by raising tariffs, and clamping down on import quotas on all literature of that type. As stated in the ministry's report: "If these steps are not taken, the market will be flooded — many jobs would be lost."

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is now concentrating on relations with communist countries. In order to remain friendly and assure peace, the foreign secretary, Mr. Fulbright, has announced his "Fulbright Doctrine," which is a policy of "lasting peace and coexistence with other powers." He dispelled rumors that the Chinese were erecting missiles in the Northern Yukon, saying that reconnaissance by the most

modern available means (referring to the Air Force's giant fleet of Piper Cubs) had proved that the silos in the Yukon were for storage of corn and cotton, not missiles. In the interim, the East German Army of Liberation, accompanied by 750,000 Russian advisors, has approached the Bonn capital with demands for immediate surrender, and the placement of the reins of government in the hands of the People. Fulbright's reaction was made at a news conference a few days ago: "This army has the popular mandate as its substantiation for existence. Certainly the East Germans have no desire to dominate the country; they seek no colony there, only the right of the people for self-determination."

The Labor Ministry, following its successful drive to repeal the antiquated Taft-Hartley Act, has appealed for Federal intervention in a newspaperboy strike in Oklahoma. The workers had not received their usual two hour ice cream break, and immediately called a strike. Three scabs attempting to cross the lines were "taken care of."

Minister of the Interior Mike Mansfield calmed the people recently by giving his appraisal of a tragic incident in the People's Yellowstone Park. 16 people were killed by a stampede of some 6,000 starving deer and 200 crazed bears. In response to Dr. Frederic T. Nitne, a naturalist who claims that the legalization of hunting would solve this problem, Mansfield said: "the tragedy was probably a freak accident of nature. Strokes of lightning have caused stampedes in the past, you know." At the same press conference, he assured Southern Farmers that the campaign to cut down on the number of boll weevil plagues was going well. He pinpointed the cause of the problem as "the overabundance of these insects. Since we made insecticide illegal five years ago, we probably will have to start a mass migration of birds to the affected areas. Even though the crisis has existed since 1987, I am confident that we can stop the trouble."

That is the State of the Union, 22 years from now. But take heart. Perhaps before the turn of the century, we can end poverty, racism, inflation, crime, pollution, and exploitation.

Abbie Hoffman Turns Capitalist

NICHOLAS LONIELLO



Abbie Hoffman, Rex Prima of revolutionary rhetoric, has turned his office into a big and profitable business. From his first two books alone Hoffman made himself over \$50,000 and probably another \$25,000 for film rights. He's made himself considerably more equal financially than any of his revolutionary colleagues, although his partner, Jerry Rubin, trails behind with an income over \$25,000 on his books.

Abbie Hoffman has simply taken hold of his Army surplus boot straps and raised himself above the run-of-the-mill revolutionary. He's now head of a profitable brokerage called the Movement Speaker's Bureau (MSB). It's a cabinet of accredited radical-theorists-for-hire. They make bundles of money making speeches that feed the peasant victims of our capitalist system a banquet of leftist ballyhoo, including, ironically, redistributing the wealth.

Hoffman recently moved his enterprise into larger quarters, took on scores of garrulous radicals, and began to operate on a professional, (i.e. capitalist), basis. Such an entrepreneurial spirit has its rewards. He has cornered the market, and now radical speakers just don't come cheap any more. Fees are "negotiable," meaning whatever the market will bear, and range from \$100 to \$2,000 per lecture. It would be interesting to know how—or rather if—all this wealth is redistributed.

The Movement Speaker's Bureau claims that 75% of the fee goes to the speaker, and 25% goes to the Bureau. At the end of the year, each speaker has one voice, (one speech, one vote), in distributing whatever profit is left after administrative costs. The collective impulse is thereby allowed to beat in MSB, but it doesn't pump much cash.

In 1970, the Congress of the United States investigated the manner in which the hate-bomb-and-burn-America forces receive financial support. A special committee surveyed 95 American colleges, or 3½% of the total. In that small sampling, \$108,967.85 had been handed over to the exponents of armed revolution in "speakers' fees" between 1968 and 1970. Eighty-seven per cent of that amount came from institutional funds. William Kunstler, counsel for Hoffman, Rubin, and others in the Chicago Seven trial, told newsmen quite candidly, "We raise most of the money for our movement through speaking engagements."

Publication of this Congressional Report was suppressed by one federal

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Fool's Gold - Wage, Price Controls

UGLJESHA PIROCANAC

The author takes a swipe at that time-honored liberal panacea for economic woes, governmental controls, and shows how the free market is a much better solution.

The current recession, which now has reached its seventeenth month (as measured against the standard of failure for the deflated Gross National Product to rise), coupled with a persistent secular inflation which had its roots in actions taken by the Federal Administration and the Federal Reserve Board in 1965-66, has produced a picture of serious economic malaise in the United States. Real wages have not kept pace with the rise in real prices; interest rates have restricted the free choices of individuals to, e.g., acquire mortgage money; workers attempting to keep pace with a rising cost of living have priced themselves out of the marketplace (witness the high unemployment in unions which have recently won wage increases far above increases in their productivity); and so on and so on.

Perhaps in this time of fluid and foreboding expectations, we should only expect as a matter of course that prominent and influential men, both within and without the Congress, should seek to provide a measure of stability by resorting to the ultimate panacea of those who desire stability: wage and price controls. "Put a freeze on prices and wages, at least for a little while, until we figure out what to do next, then do it," is the urging. Control is supposed to be an anesthetic, at least while we operate on the body politic. Unfortunately, it seems to many conservatives, the prescribed anesthetic itself may well do the patient in; while it may not effectively lessen the pain he undergoes in any significant degree.

First, a few words about the role of prices in a market economy — and the United States still behaves along the lines of a market economy, by and large. Prices function to allocate demand, that is, the relations between the prices charged for various items will tell us what the relative demand for these items may be. When this demand, as measured by a market price, is at a level higher than the level of costs required to produce an item at this price, the producer will reap a profit; otherwise, he

will not. Profits may then be viewed as a fee charged by producers for their function of satisfying demand. Producers have in the past shown extraordinary flexibility in adjusting to changes in the tastes and demands of the consuming public, and this flexibility has been grounded in the clear indications which a free-floating price system gives to them, about just where the public is willing to spend its money, that is, where the demand lies.

Now, there are some ways in which a price system can fail to function as it is ideally envisioned. If some central government, for example, provides subsidies for certain items, say by assuring producers that they can sell all they produce at some price which would be above the price expected in the marketplace, these producers will channel resources into such production as long as the supported price is high enough to assure a profit. Resources, then, are not allocated according to demand, but according to the desires of some group acting apart from the marketplace. But these same resources, then, become more expensive for other, say the non-supported, sectors of the economy because they are being used to satisfy both a real market demand and the artificial government-set demand. Price supports in any one sector of the economy will produce a surplus in that sector, and a rise in prices (because of the misallocation of resources) in the other sectors. (This ignores the effects of the taxation required to so support favoured prices.)

There is another way in which a price system can fail to function. And that is if it is decreed by the Federal Government that it must not — that is, if it is frozen into one posture by wage and price controls. Now, the most persistent reason urged for such controls is that they are an indispensable weapon in the anti-inflation arsenal. First, it is supposed that they destroy the "inflation-

ary psychology;" second, they are supposed to "stabilize" the economy until whatever causes over and above this psychology have been dealt with. Both reasons, while they seem attractive, are strictly bogus advantages. To deal with the "psychological" aspect of inflation first: It has been expressed, in the form of a maxim, "If everyone expects inflation to continue and acts accordingly, inflation will continue." If people expect their money to be worth less tomorrow than it is worth today in terms of the goods it will buy, they will attempt to transform as many of their monetary assets into real assets as possible, while at the same time demanding more money in exchange for real assets they may be willing to sell (such as their labor, or the products they manufacture). Now, it is evident that the economy as a whole cannot "get rid" of its monetary assets in exchange for its real assets; it is a closed system in which money may be shuffled from hand to hand, but, unless people take to lighting cigars en masse with ten-dollar bills, this money remains in a closed system.

If we imagine such a closed system, say one in which the number of goods which people desire to sell and the total amount of money they possess is some fixed amount, we may be able to judge the effects of certain "expectations." Let's assume that initially, both sellers and buyers are agreed that the price of any good should be just one dollar; if the system contains one hundred dollars and one hundred goods, then any person who has all one hundred dollars can purchase all the goods; if five persons have twenty dollars each, they can purchase twenty goods each, say from a group of five goods-holders, each of whom have twenty items to sell. We may expect that eventually, a fairly stable situation should emerge, in which each individual can adjust his dollar/goods supply as he sees fit.

Now, suppose that, for some reason, the people in this system expect that at some point in the near future the prices of goods will increase, so that two dol-

lars are required to purchase any good. Since their cash is expected to lose value — in relation to the goods it can purchase — they will try to adjust their balances in favour of goods over money. This means that they will be loath to sell goods at their former price, and that they will seek to accumulate goods at the lowest possible price. So the new selling price will become, say, three dollars for each item, and the general level of prices in the system has increased. Now, before each man could both dispose of and acquire as many dollars and goods as seemed desirable to him — the price set by supply and demand ensured that. In one case, the man with one hundred dollars could buy all one hundred goods, at a dollar apiece. Five men, each with twenty dollars, could buy a total of one hundred goods from a set of five men who each had twenty goods. The rise in price level, however, has the effect that the one hundred dollars in the system can no longer purchase all one hundred goods — at the level of three dollars an item, they can only purchase 33 of the goods. This dictates that some members of the system will be unable to attain the cash/goods balance which they deem desirable — and they cannot because the demand for items at the higher price does not equal the supply of items at that price.

If the assets of this particular system are just the abilities of its members to do work, then this excess of supply over the demand for work at the going price results in unemployment, and a decline in the total level of work done by this system. Now, we can see that the effect of “psychological attitudes” in a system where the monetary supply is fixed can lead to an actual case of surplus supply and lost productivity. What must be done to change this situation, so that we have a genuine case of demand exceeding supply — that is, a genuine case of inflation, as opposed to deflation:

The answer must be to either eliminate assets, or increase the monetary stock of the system. The first alternative is clearly unacceptable to the members of the system. The second produces a genuine inflation — for if each man is given thrice the money he had previously, he can both dispose of and purchase assets at thrice their former price. Hence, even a purportedly “psychological” inflation has its roots in monetary behavior. Any freeze of prices and wages at an intermediate level would

freeze this hypothetical economy into a supply-surplus — say, in the form of unemployment.

On a much larger scale, the construction trades unions have created just this sort of situation. Their members, expecting inflation, demanded and received very substantial wage increases at a time when the monetary factors of the construction market were relatively fixed. The buyers of labor, in the form, ultimately of mortgage-takers, had very limited funds at their disposal with which to buy, and the result has been that high unemployment has prevailed in these particular unions. Now, it is anathema for unions to permit their members to work at “less than scale” prices, which is to say that there has been no downward flexibility in the face of a surplus supply, with the consequence that highly skilled men and women are pounding the streets or looking for menial part-time work. How wage and price controls would help *them* is a question for which no answer has yet been offered. Their expectations of inflation created, in fact, a recession, and no one has ever argued that controls are of any practical significance in combatting *that* form of economic constipation.

The proper measure to deal with this particular situation, it seems to me, would be some sort of act which reaffirms the right of every individual to sell his labor at such price as he can procure, regardless of union agreements with management on what should be paid to labor. A union member who is out of work because his contract is too expensive to be implemented should have the power to renegotiate that contract individually — an employer may hire a man at four dollars an hour even if he cannot hire him at seven dollars an hour, as the union shop contract says he must, if that man is to work it.

The current recession may be attributable to the fact that both businessmen and labor leaders have persisted in maintaining an unyieldingly high price level in the face of a restricted monetary policy — swollen inventories, low demand for many items (houses, automobiles, Christmas toys — the people have said “no” to all these items and others) should have tipped them off that it was time for a decrease in price and/or output. We are beginning to see the decrease in output already; a downward movement of prices would be much more beneficial. Wage and price controls would turn this “psychological

inflation” into an economic nightmare. The current administration’s decision to stimulate the “psychologically inflated” sectors of the economy — especially the housing sector — should be hailed as the only proper course, for an increase in demand here is certainly counter-deflationary, and should restore a large measure of health to an ailing economy. It is a step which should have been taken earlier, and probably would have been, had not this particular sector been singled out to bear so much of the brunt of the restrictive monetary policies designed to counter inflation generally.

Now, it might be argued, “Granted that the move to stimulate credit-starved sectors of the economy is advantageous, isn’t it still in our best interest to keep a ceiling on prices generally, so that while this anti-recession measure is taking effect we can at least keep a tight rein on consumer prices? After all, if real wages are being eroded by inflation — and they are — it seems pointless to try to stimulate demand with one hand while letting purchasing power decline with the other. Let’s keep the patient from squirming while we look for a place to apply the hypodermic. The trouble is, wage and price controls suffocate the patient for the sake of keeping him still.

Any consumer faced with a decision on what to buy and how much of it to buy is faced with a number of considerations which will govern his choice. First, he must consider how much cash he has; what other purchases he wants to make; what his future earnings will be; whether to avail himself of credit — and at what price (interest rate); and, in times of fluid — in an upward direction — prices, what the eventual price of this purchase will be if he defers it, in comparison with his expectation of future earnings. Now assume that the price of this desired item has been fixed, and fixed below what the market price would currently be had it been allowed to float freely. The consumer knows, in this situation, that the quoted price is in all likelihood “cheaper” than the price which it will obtain once the controls are lifted — after all, he has probably studied *some* American history, and knows that prices took a whopping big jump after controls were lifted after World War II (and if he doesn’t know this, he should, because this is what happens in these cases). It will, therefore,

be in his interest to buy the item now, rather than wait for future uncertainties to become unpleasant realities. In fact, he may decide to convert as much of his cash as possible into real assets, since these assets have prices which are explicitly fixed *below* what the free market would charge. Not only would he do this, but all his friends and relations, and their friends and relations, will do exactly the same thing. For in this situation, prices bear no relation to current demand — they cannot rise as that demand rises, and hence cannot function to allocate resources. Now, it appears that wage and price controls have had the net effect, not of damping the economy, but of stimulating demand to the point where actual shortages of commodities will occur. If someone knows that a price is artificially low — as at a bargain basement sale which offers real bargains and will end after

some specified period — he will move heaven and earth to take advantage of the low price. This means that economic resources will be allocated by chance (first come, first serve), rationing, or the black market.

If this seems a dismal picture, it is well to remember that it is not far-fetched. There has been no case in economic history where attempts to fix prices have not led to acute shortages of consumer goods. There has been no case in which a fixed price has not resulted in a drop in productivity. In Germany after the second World War, the Allies adopted wage and price controls to stem a real risk of inflation; production for three years remained at a level far below that which Germany maintained in the last year of the war itself. The “German miracle” starting in 1948 can be attributed to the lifting of these controls, on a Sunday afternoon when the Allied

Command was out of its collective offices, in a decree by Conrad Adenauer. Before that, the German people were actually forced to barter goods in an approximation of a free market system to satisfy their demands — while “currency” in black markets consisted of cigarettes and cognac.

If this picture does seem fantastic, it is because the free market system, in which prices are by-and-large determined by demand, is such an efficient tool for allocating resources. One knows what to produce even from a comparison of inflated prices; one can decide what to buy freely even within a group of inflated prices. Controlled prices provide no such guidance and corrupt the decision-making process — and it is the suggestion that they be adopted for this country which is, properly speaking, fantastic.

The Kumquat Statement

BARON VON KANNON

Want to know what Vice President Agnew gave his friends for Christmas?

He gave *The Kumquat Statement*, a book by John R. Coyne, Jr., associate editor of William Buckley's *National Review* and associate of the national underground magazine *The Alternative*. And he manifested the best of taste and intelligence along with his usual penchant for controversy. I recommend the book not only to those curious souls who are concerned about what is on the vice president's mind, but more importantly to people interested in a lively account of a conservative's view of American universities.

First, I hasten to point out that John Coyne is not the “typical” card carrying conservative. The son of a union organizer, he went to Berkeley to do postgraduate research, “halfway prepared to be sympathetic to the new left.” He left Berkeley, two years later, bedazzled by the idiocies of liberal educators and by the enormities of radical students. His journey brought him toward the right.

He had gone to Berkeley, looking for an atmosphere of calm and contemplation where he might seriously discuss literature with his fellow students and professors. He left shaken by what he'd seen—fearful for the

future but hoping that things would change for the better.

Many people discuss campus unrest in terms of destroyed buildings, mass rallies and physical violence. Coyne mentions this aspect of the problem, but is more concerned with the deeper changes radicalism is bringing to universities.

He feels that the university should exist as a place for open discussion of various points of view. Yet, after the new left gained power at Berkeley in the name of “free speech,” open discussion was cut off: conservative dissenters were not allowed to air their viewpoints. In one case, a group of thugs “liberated” microphones from a conservative group that had reserved them. Later when a lone conservative raised his voice to dissent from the dissenters he was rewarded for his open-mindedness with a beating. These and other examples cause Coyne to report, “Free speech at Berkeley means freedom for new leftists and their sympathizers *only*.”

Though Coyne hates what the radicals are doing, a perceptible sympathy for Liberal sentiments, memories of his own life as a beatnik and a friendship with Jack Kerouac have restrained him from placing the entire blame on radical students.

He feels the real culprits are the liberal professors and administrators and the case he makes is irrestible, if

John R. Coyne. *The Kumquat Statement*. Cowles, \$5.95.

mordant.

He points out that many professors spend their lecture time “. . . diligently although not always consciously breaking down the values students bring with them to the academy.” They sneer at religion, morality, middle class life and patriotism, replacing these values with: “. . . the standard liberal-arts eclectic blend of liberal flummery, a half-cocked combination of the early twentieth-century popularizations of Marx, Darwin and Freud, stirred in with a healthy dose of the theory of relativity, imperfectly understood and dishonestly applied to human affairs.”

This potpourri of canards has resulted in classrooms overflowing with frustrated students ready to accept the nearest and most convenient solution to whatever social problem is waved in front of them and utterly ignorant and unconcerned about the validity of “the system.”

Enter the radical students.

At this point the sequence becomes familiar. Radical students demand something (the issue is really unimportant) often aided by well-meaning liberal professors or not-so-well-meaning radical ones. The administration tries to appease them. More demands are made. Finally, when

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Hizzoner Da Mare

Mike Royko. *Boss: Richard J. Daley of Chicago*. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1971. 210 pp.

PATRICK S. KORTEN

I had always known that somebody named Dick Daley was mayor of the city of Chicago (*always*—well, since 1956, and that's since before I knew what a politician was . . .), but that the two were nearly synonymous was never clearer to me than when I arrived in the windy city one afternoon in August, 1968. The National Democratic Convention was about to begin, and I was there to report the events dutifully to radio listeners around Wisconsin.

As our Greyhound bus wound its way down the Dan Ryan expressway, huge signs towered over the endless streams of traffic:

Welcome to Chicago, Democrats

RICHARD J. DALEY

Mayor

Dick Daley is the guy who said, "The experts are all saying that our big cities are ungovernable. What the hell do the experts know?" He is also creator of the revealing line, "Together we must rise to ever higher and higher platitudes." Ah, well, he's the mayor of Chicago, not an English teacher.

Mike Royko, the popular and completely unabashed columnist for the *Chicago Daily News*, has come up with a noble effort in trying to capture the wiley nature of "hizzoner." Royko is one of a mere handful of Chicago journalists who is willing to stick his neck out and say what he feels about Daley, and thus "Boss" is probably the best account we shall have of the Mayor until he and his cohorts are dead and gone.

Indeed, objective accounts of Daley and his machine are almost impossible to come by within Chicago these days. Even that bastion of Midwestern Republicanism, the *Chicago Tribune*, regularly endorses the chairman of the Cook County Democratic Party for mayor.

This punchy, witty account by Royko is written in the journalistic style in which he couches his columns, and is easy to read. It suffers from only one main fault: Royko's innate liberalism occasionally suffocates an otherwise fair account of Daley.

Reading about Richard J. Daley and the way he runs Chicago reminds one of

Don Corleone, in the popular novel by Mario Puzo, "The Godfather." The parallels, once one overlooks the difference between an extralegal mafia empire and a legally constituted city government depending on electoral politics (in Chicago's case, the difference is not as great as it might seem), are striking. Royko is hardly adulatory in his characterization of Daley though, and whatever admiration which can be detected is grudging.

As a generalization, it could be said that the difference between the Italians and the Irish is that the Italians were smart enough to make money illegally outside of the public limelight, and the Irish were dumb enough to try and make money illegally while running the government right *in* the limelight. Each, of course, learned to refine his trade over the years, and Richard J. Daley appears to be among the finest practitioners of our age.

Don't misunderstand — Daley is well known for his scrupulous honesty, and he has never, to anyone's knowledge, taken a cent in graft. As one north side senator put it, "You can't give that guy a nickel, that's how honest he is." But Royko, in summing up Daley's brand of honesty, elaborated on that: "Daley's moral code was emerging: Thou shalt not steal, but thou shalt not blow the whistle on anybody who does." And an awful lot of people steal in Chicago. But the Mayor himself is perfectly content to wield political power as his currency.

The most revolting side of the Democratic machine in the Windy City is its electoral system. They say that there are a large number of fourlegged voters in that city, and those who don't have four legs may be dead, and vote anyway. The celebrated controversy over electoral irregularities following the 1960 presidential election was hot indeed. Illinois' 26 electoral college votes went to Kennedy that year, carrying the state by 8,858 votes out of over 4,700,000 votes cast. The state was won for Kennedy by the voters of Cook County, dead, fourlegged, or otherwise, and a recount was demanded by the GOP. Of course, a recount only doublechecks the election official's ability to count, not his ability to help out a "confused" voter behind the voting booth curtain, or to make certain that the person voting had not already voted under two or three names before. Royko recalls, "Daley's election board soberly announced that it would be glad

to conduct a recheck, and it began, one precinct a day. At that pace, they would complete the recheck in twenty years. When they stopped stalling, it became obvious that if they hadn't stolen the White House . . . it wasn't because they hadn't tried."

There's another side to Dick Daley, of course. It is the one most consistently brought up: Chicago is the only major city in the United States that "works." While the rate of major crime in the United States jumped by 11% last year, Chicago actually had a slight drop of .4%. While New Yorkers fume and fuss spending hours getting to and from work every day on substandard trains and subways, Chicagoans travel quickly on one of the nation's best freeway systems, and commute on a reliable train system which stands head and shoulders above any other in the country. While private investors and corporations are fleeing the city limits of New York as if the Bomb were to be dropped there tomorrow (owing to the attitude of men like John Lindsay, who believe that the corporations ought to pay all of society's way, most notably for his exorbitant "welfare" program), the tax base is *expanding* in Chicago, and its municipal bonds are among the most highly rated anywhere.

But there's always another side to such success. Royko examines it, but in the process betrays his desires for bigger and better roles for government to play. He describes "the twin towers of Marina City, the striking tubular downtown, apartment buildings, a self-contained city with bars and restaurants, ice rinks, shops and clubs, and balconies on every apartment for sitting out in the smog." His ironic writing style is at least enjoyable reading.

While it is true that waiting for philosopher-kings to show up to run our urban monsters is a futile exercise, I have heard altogether too many conservatives conclude at quite the other extreme that Richard Daley's faults ought to be overlooked, in light of his capable management of Chicago. Daley's faults stand out quite nicely in Mike Royko's effort, and if one can read between and around the liberal dogma which occasionally obscures that message (especially in the later chapters), one can evolve a more balanced view of "hizzoner," a view which could not forgive the corruption in the Daley Machine if Daley were the Good Lord Himself, which he decidedly is not.

The New Marcuse?

Richard E. Rubenstein, *Rebels in Eden: Mass Political Violence in the United States*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1970. 201 pp.

JAMES B. WHISKER

We have all wondered concerning the nature and origin of political unrest in America; what are its causes and how may we prevent additional violent manifestations? Now we find a liberal, perhaps radical, answer, disguised as a scholarly and dispassionate tract. Its causes are simple: those involved in revolution are merely repeating the good, old, all-American procedure of revolution. The Tom Paines of yesterday are reincarnated in the Eldridge Cleavers of today. The real cause of violence in general is the failure of the democratic free-enterprise system to incorporate the disadvantaged into its operational elite; and the proximate cause of violence is the repression of these people by the representatives of the Establishment — including police, National Guard and firemen.

The answers are to be found neither in liberal nor in conservative thinking, but in radical tracts. The system must become socialistic without saying it is socialistic, granting to Blacks, Third World and other groups the title (presumably as an outright gift) to and control over American industry located in the ghetto areas. Political control is to be localized for the minority groups, while the remainder of society is to continue under centralized federal control. This idea does present a problem because the self-same majority businessman whose property was turned over to authorities now will be taxed to provide these autonomous areas with "foreign aid" which will be spent entirely according to the wishes of these areas.

The first chapter sets the tone for Rubenstein's work; it is entitled, "The Myth of Peaceful Progress." Holding that "... domestic violence is neither un-American nor... unnecessary and useless..." it remains as the *only* way for major adaptation for our system and the only way which will allow for participation for the "out" groups in our society. "Black Americans... were the victims of white attacks, better descr-

ibed as massacres than as riots..." and it is therefore quite logical that they should choose the white man's methods in their drive for "freedom." Riots and other violent acts are not the work of conspiracies, isolated individuals or the depressed few; and in fact, "... most major uprisings have expressed the felt desires and perceived interests of large domestic groups." Whereas Liberals have largely seen the causes of riots in slum conditions, etc., Rubenstein sees their origin in the American political and social structure and consequent institutions.

America is, in Rubenstein's view, one of the world's most restrictive societies. Tied to an outmoded economic system (...the economic failure of the ghetto is attributable... to a breakdown of capitalism), America has little to offer economically. Big Brother is constantly vigilant in the ghettos. "Young men in particular have been degraded by this lack of control over their own lives... by the man in the house policy of the welfare system; by dependence on alcohol and other self-destructive pleasures..." Federal "urban renovation" projects, in addition to their truly unjust invasion of federal powers, are "popularly known as 'nigger removal.'" Official retribution is sanctioned against dissident political groups. "Almost all of the excesses of official violence which Americans like to attribute to German fascism, for example, have been practiced at one time or another against domestic groups." After denying peaceful change as a myth, Rubenstein allows that, "France, the Soviet Union and China have known peaceful progress, while many of the most significant alterations of the American political system have been revolutionary in character." The courts are better in foreign countries than in the United States ghettos. "... Municipal criminal courts are often staffed by political hacks whose chief qualifications are careers as prosecutors and loyalty to anti-Negro political machines... [while] other nations (the Soviet Union, for example) have devised schemes to bring courts closer to the people."

What precisely will replace this facade of democracy is unclear. "The administration of welfare funds... hopefully will soon be [replaced by]... some form of income maintenance scheme." We will see either blacks and others armed to meet police weapon for weapon for self-defense or we will see multi-lateral internal disarmament. Political distinctions will be made. "Hamilton's 'radical reformer' category should be sub-divided to distinguish Marxists like the exiled Cleaver from black nationalists like Stokely Carmichael." Society will become "conditioned to accepting a higher degree of political militancy and social turbulence..." We will forget the myths of capitalist free enterprise and "... Horatio Alger begins to disappear even as a myth." New groups will arise and weld new alliances and "... the new alliance, if any, must be anti-capitalist." Revolutionary groups will arise, presumably defying the imagination in their acts, since Rubenstein concludes that "despite occasional shootouts with police, the imprisonment of West Coast leader Huey Newton, and the exile (to escape imprisonment) of Minister of Education Eldridge Cleaver, the [Black] Panthers are not yet revolutionary activists."

If New Left anti-capitalism and revolution want to succeed they will continue to need apologists from "the Establishment" and from the Middle Class and its intellectuals. The legitimacy offered in part by the now-old Herbert Marcuse has now been continued by Richard E. Rubenstein. Certain views, such as their failure of the liberals to meet the challenges of integration of minorities, the constant and ever-persistent involvements of big government in the every-day life of the individual, the excesses of governmental power and coercion, and so on, can be accepted by the conservative and the moderate. The methodology and the reasoning cannot. This is a book filled with half-truths, illicit manipulations of history, innuendo, misinformation, and illogical deduction. Little, Brown, however, continues to offer large, readable type in a well-bound paperback at moderate cost.

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Hoffman

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judge. His landmark decision—or judicial book-burning—apparently concluded the extent to which American institutions finance their own destruction is not fit for public consumption. But the public consumption of MSB's service is growing, and the quality of that service deserves some analysis.

Presentations by MSB speakers range from sheer entertainment to revolutionary enlightenment. For example, one could invite Jerry Rubin on a T.V. show to discuss the great issues of the day, and be fired upon mercilessly by a water pistol aimed with the accuracy and audacity of an eight year old delinquent.

One could invite Rap Brown on stage to demonstrate his command of all the music and dynamism of the English language with "Power to the People," and "Right On," or "We gotta burn this m---r f---g country down," etc.

Or one could ask weatherwoman Linda Evans to offer her intellectual analysis of the revolutionary struggle. Here is a sample of her dynamic, provocative oratory, transcribed from a speech she made to a crowd of admirers at the University of Wisconsin on January 27, 1971:

"I'm going to jail tomorrow, so it's really, uh, you know. So you see, and uh, a month and a half of freedom. I didn't know I was supposed to talk about our culture. I didn't know, uh, how I would label it but, uh, . . . Psychedelic patterns in my head and uh, . . . There's really a lot to say, and uh, I'm just getting these vibrations of real power from us, you know, that we really are brothers and sisters and we need to understand to get together how much we . . . We have to make that count in the struggle that is happening and that's going to happen in the years to come because whatever evolves from the last year."

That universities and students spend real American dollars to hear destitute intellectuals like Linda Evans spew revolutionary poppycock is the wonder of 20th century education. But placing the quality and substance of the speeches aside, the speakers themselves remain to be examined.

One of MSB's big drawing cards, Dr. Benjamin Spock, has dropped out to sign a more lucrative contract with a "straight" agency. Competition just couldn't help but creep in. If we're lucky, the competition could drive the prices in the rent-a-radical business way down.

Some in-demand speakers (e.g. Mark Rudd, Rap Brown), cannot be located. Maybe they just don't like getting up in the morning to go to work. MSB's own booking agent, Joyce Plecha, was arrested in connection with an attempted bombing of a New York bank. I guess that's suppression of free enterprise.

But the worst problem is that some of the radicals—for-hire have difficulty living up to their business obligations. For example, Rennie Davis, one of the Chicago Seven, and Jennifer Dohrn, sister of Bernadine Dohrn, a weatherwoman on the FBI's Most Wanted list, were scheduled to speak at St. Cloud State College last December 2nd and 3rd. Both are listed in MSB's directory of accredited radical theorists. The program, sponsored by the Student Senate, included some conservative speakers and scheduled a debate format. Although all of the speakers showed on December 2nd, the leftists failed to attend a scheduled press conference that night. Instead, they pressured the students running the program to change the direct debate format scheduled after the press conference.

At the end of what they had transformed into an indirect debate, Dohrn and Davis refused to participate in the scheduled question-answer period. Then they tried to take the audience with them as they left for a rock dance. Most of the audience stayed, however, and questioned the remaining conservatives until after midnight.

Further events were scheduled for the next day, but Davis and Dohrn both left that morning before their engagements began. The Student Senate was considering reducing the honorarium for Davis and paying nothing for Dohrn. In addition to leaving early, most of Dohrn's major "speech" December 2nd had consisted of a taped message from Timothy Leary.

Abbie Hoffman and friends have driven a tap into almost every American campus. Through it flows the money America willingly spends to finance its flagellation. But the lack of business sense and customer service offered by MSB and organizations like it could drive them into bankruptcy. It is also possible that the Ivory Tower residents and custodians could realize the fair market value of the bunk they're paying for. Then they would presumably throw the dirty revolutionary capitalists into the moat, saying good riddance to bad rubbish.

Kumquat

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the situation grows so bad that the equivocating administration has no choice they call the police.

The kids overreact. The cops overreact. The denouement is People's Park. . . or Kent State.

All this could have been avoided had the university not shunned reality. This is the cause of Coyne's bitterness. The academics are so busy chitchatting about tommyrot and the imagined "danger from the right" they can't even perceive the immediate and perilous threats from the left.

Thus Berkeley academics allowed their world to be destroyed, physically and morally. The university was John Coyne's world too. He expected things from it and hoped to contribute to it. But radicalism had done its damage long before violence became its method and his expectations were never fulfilled.

Coyne feels, in the case of Berkeley at least, the university has lost its goal. Other universities have since followed suit and still others are in the process.

Let's hope, with John Coyne, that they can be saved while they are still worth saving.

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