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insight and outlook

in this issue . . .

Freedom Was an English Thing

Richard O. Wright

Paranoia on the Left

Ross G. Parisi

Marching on to War

Cy Butt

Why the Coin Shortage?

John Caravan



CASTINGS

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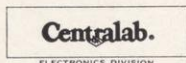
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On Our Purpose

Some students here at our home campus, the University of Wisconsin, are still ignorant of *INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK*. We, the new eager staff of editors, promise their future to be filled with *I&O*.

We will continue to offer the most challenging thoughts, both in and out of the classroom. We will offer, clearly and honestly, our opinions on political and student controversies. *INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK* has been and will be the sounding board for conservative thought at the college level. Finally, our scope will further expand to increase interest.

We feel the future is favorable. In our own editorial office, there is a mobilization of spirit and activity to stem the present liberal tide. However, we will not be content to purely refute, while not offering solutions to the Nation's pressing problems. We do not define a conservative as one who would have the government do nothing.

As we grow out of this year, with this issue, and as we expand and change, follow us, keep aware of our nation's problems, and let us see if we can solve them.

in this issue of

insight and outlook . . .

This issue, the last of Volume VII, is laden with principles by which to live and govern.

Aetius solves the school prayer issue by using the social contract theory in dialectic fashion.

Cy Butt's Fremont Guilfoyle prepares for his campaign as a new marshal in the War on Poverty.

Jared Lobdell has a rather difficult problem with all his "conservative friends."

Where have all the coins gone? Certainly not to piggy banks, says John Caravan. He knows, and he's telling.

The Common Will and the Natural Law systems are compared by James O'Connell. Natural law and conservatives emerge the victors.

Ross Parisi diagnoses the radical Left's problem as paranoia. He gives the symptoms and the medicine.

Richard O. Wright christens a new department on the philosophers. He votes for Edmund Burke.

Dale Sievert opens the new editor's column, giving conservatives a purpose on which to act.

Logic, Prayer, and Politics

The school prayer issue is an old one. The Constitution knows that—God rest its parchment. Requisite to its understanding is the unravelling of its theory and the inherent nature of the rights involved. The social contract theory affords this possibility.

Man, as a component of nature, is subject only to himself. Primitively sovereign, he possesses all liberties and is subject to no social or political regulation. Man, having a unique intellect and a conscience, ought to have sufficient self-control to honor his neighbor's rights and goals. By these natural control techniques, social stability is maintained.

But that is not reality. Man is traditionally selfish and disrespectful of others. He must and does form agreements or pacts with others, accompanied by sacrifice of his liberty **in order to maintain all individual liberty**—and his existence. If agreements were not made, the natural inequalities of men would soon deprive the weak of any liberty. Liberty can be maintained by releasing it through voluntary agreements of a sacrifice-retention nature; to wit, if a person is not receiving the benefits promised to him by the pact, by retaining the choice of severing the pact, he can always recover his liberties. Thus, within the pact, a person has no real liberty except that of breaking the contract. His liberty is only apparent. However, he gains more for his lack of liberty in security, physical products, and stability.

In the contact theory, men avoid irrevocable and unconditional pacts with others. Such pacts nullify those liberties that are temporarily lost and also the liberty of serving the pact. There is no liberty in being unconditionally bound. Because our civil society requires it, some permanent sacrifice of liberty must be made to preserve stability and liberty itself. However, the argument can quickly reach absurdity if overextended. The problem is to find the proper balance between voluntary and irrevocable arrangements. The result is stability, workable and productive government, and the maximum preservation of liberty within practicability.

Generally, each man practices religion in his own sphere. Some feel this privacy is required to maintain sovereignty and identity with God. Others are embarrassed in public worship. If not personal, this God-man relationship becomes too impersonal, like his political relationship with the state. Consequently, religion is personal; it is strongest and most beneficial in this arrangement. Religious agreements similar to the above

facts also destroy the beneficial effect of religion by permitting harmful intellectual dominance and inducement from others. The weak of mind and character need privacy as shelter from domineering intellectual tyrants.

The free-practicers (dissenters of the above supposition) are plainly the moderates in this case. Oddly enough, conservatives are the moderates here, while liberals take the extreme stand. Conservatives seek maximization of liberty of all—not only a particular group.

Consider the conservative arrangement with voluntary religious participation if a group wishes to worship. No one is forced to join in prayer. The qualifying term, voluntary, clearly is inherent in their commitment to maintaining liberty. Whoever voluntarily worships in public can do so within his own sphere, as in private. Because he has no contact with others, there is no loss of liberty to anyone. In refutation, the liberal abolitionist doubts this and warns: if ever an abstainer does happen to suffer loss of liberty, then the system fails. He will not.

If we adopt the liberal abolitionist's policy, it appears that we harm those who wish public worship. The abolitionist claims not, for religion is personal and cannot be public. However, he rests this statement precariously on the two premises above: 1) worship must be personal to keep sovereignty and identity with God (there is, however, little preventing withdrawal from the group into spiritual privacy); 2) the meek person is harmed socially by worshipping publicly. Whoever is forcing him to anything of the sort? In a different perspective, people, not always wishing to be spiritual entities, often voluntarily confederate for group worship. Importantly, to make such an agreement is also a man's liberty. Restriction of public prayer clearly transgresses this liberty, invalidating such policy in a free society.

With voluntary worship, liberal abolitionists claim abstainers suffer by inducement or discrimination. For instance, a child might be forced against his own or his parent's will. But, by the social contract, a child, also of a free mind, has the liberty to choose his beliefs. A parent can only guide, not dominate him. Liberty cannot be lost by freely choosing beliefs.

The conservative free-practice arrangement maximizes liberty and gives the best church-state relationship. May the state act accordingly.

—Aetius

A Resolution on Reapportionment

The Supreme Court's radical decision forcing state senates to apportion themselves strictly on a population basis is turning out to be one of the most mischievous and unworkable dictums in American history. Not only does it overturn organic political and constitutional traditions, but it also strikes a blow at the sovereign right of citizens to establish whatever form of republican state government they deem wise.

The Virginia legislature, cognizant of the rapid decline of America's free patrimony, has memorialized Congress to call a Constitutional Convention for the purpose of voiding the court's ill-considered invasion of state prerogatives.

The Virginia Resolution declares that the court's decision "denies to the people of the respective states the right to establish their legislatures upon the same pattern of representation deemed advantageous for the Congress of the United States..."

It asserts that the decision restricts "the ability of the citizens of the respective states to designate the manner in which they shall be represented in their respective legislatures, thereby depriving the people of the right to determine how they shall be governed."

The resolution then proposes a constitutional amendment that would restore to citizens their rightful sovereign power. Its nubbin is contained in the clause, "Nothing in this Constitution shall prohibit any state which shall have a bicameral legislature from apportioning the membership of one house of such legislature on factors other than population, provided that the plan of such apportionment shall have been submitted and approved by a vote of the electorate of that state."

Insight and Outlook warmly commends the Virginia Resolution to the legislatures of the several states as the best approach to the preservation of geographic apportionment.

We are well aware of the argument that "people, rather than stumps and cows, should have the right to vote." But we suspect that in the long run, geographic apportionment of one house serves this ideal better than apportionment strictly on the basis of population. Further, we believe that geographical apportionment of one house serves admirably to check absolutist majority rule.

Americans are a mobile people, and likely to become more so. As any demographer knows, the population trends cannot simply be described as an exodus from rural areas to the cities. On the contrary, some urban core areas are losing population, some exurban and suburban areas are gaining, and yesterday's cow pastures are becoming tomorrow's cities. Geographic apportionment helps maintain political

equity by preserving the flexibility of the system. It gives growing areas an immediate voice; it inhibits politicians in declining core areas from hoarding power they no longer should possess. Thus, by providing a framework outside of population factors, geographic apportionment ameliorates rural-urban conflict, and inhibits vested interests.

In the absence of state senate coalitions based on geographical politics, urban machines will quickly dominate both houses of most legislatures. When that occurs, the flexibility that kept most states reasonably well apportioned will evaporate. We hazard to predict that the day will come when power-starved sub-

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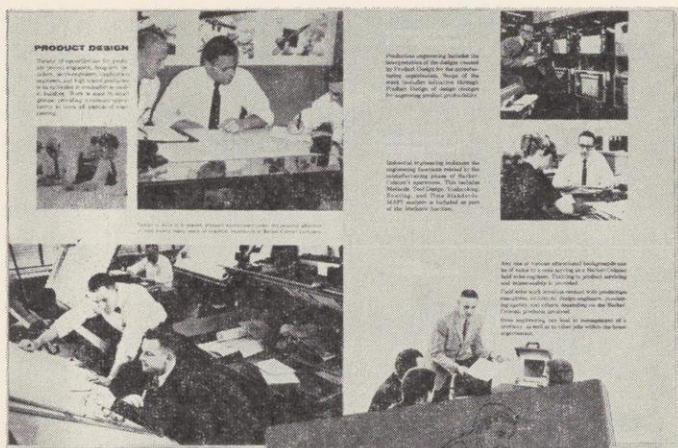
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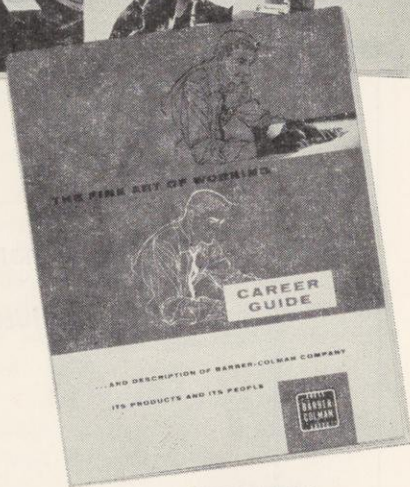
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urbs and new communities raise the old cry, but with a new twist: "People, rather than fire hydrants and asphalt, should have the vote!" We are saying, in other words, that a political power grid based exclusively on population is more rigid, hence potentially unfair, than a grid based on alternative power sources.

On the other hand, geographic apportionment is crucially important to the welfare of minorities of all sorts. Obviously our rural population, which provides our very sustenance, gains from geographic apportionment. But so do all the other minorities who have much to lose in legislatures under the absolute dominion of urban machines. Frequently the very backbone of a state's economy, such as mining, is located in unpopulated areas. Geographic apportionment helps rural industries maintain a political voice approximately equal to their importance to the economy.

Moreover, urban populations are notoriously less stable and tranquil than rural ones. It is simply common sense to weight legislatures in behalf of the most stable elements in the populace.

We believe these are compelling, indeed, overwhelming reasons to overturn the notorious Supreme Court decision. We further believe that the Virginia Resolution offers the most positive approach to the problem. And if Congress refuses to consider the resolution, we propose that it carefully weigh other alternatives, such as the Dirksen amendment.

NSA Go Home

Normally we in Wisconsin extend a gracious welcome to our visitors. It's a nice place to be in the summertime, and tourists find us hospitable people. However, with the many thousands converging upon our fair state, we expect that some riff-raff, some undesireables, should also enter. Chicago, for instance, sends some of their more amateurish hold-up artists, who attempt to share in our summer's capitalistic profit.

Then, this summer, the Nation's colleges and universities are sending us some of their problem students, who are too lazy or too incompetent to find summer employment and who have tired of raising unreasonable furor on the streets back home; they will come



to agitate against capitalistic profit in general.

They will also inform us that, as N.S.A. delegates (National Student Association), they are representing their student bodies back home, but we won't believe them. They will ignore that slight inhospitality on our part and proceed to rant and cheer at the fire eating oratory condemning freedom's cause in Viet Nam, Dominican Republic, etc. They will then endorse their revised but less than unique version of the leftist platform.

We know what you will do; you know what you will do; why, then, are you here? You are not fooling anybody with your pretenses of general representation, and few but the F.B.I. are interested in your perverted view of world problems.

Of course, we'll not close our halls to your meetings—you are too insignificant to warrant such curtailment of freedom. And we'll watch what you do, to make certain that you follow the form. But don't expect us to welcome you here.

Take Thy Place in the World

Recently, a Chinese Communist functionary accused himself of giving in to "Western bourgeois sentimentality." His crime? He had listened to Beethoven's Ninth (Choral) symphony with "pleasure and enjoyment." There are many who will dismiss this as another example of the artistic philistinism of the Communists; yet we wonder if there is not something deeper here, an example of what the late Richard Weaver called, "the logical clarity with which the Communists face all problems."

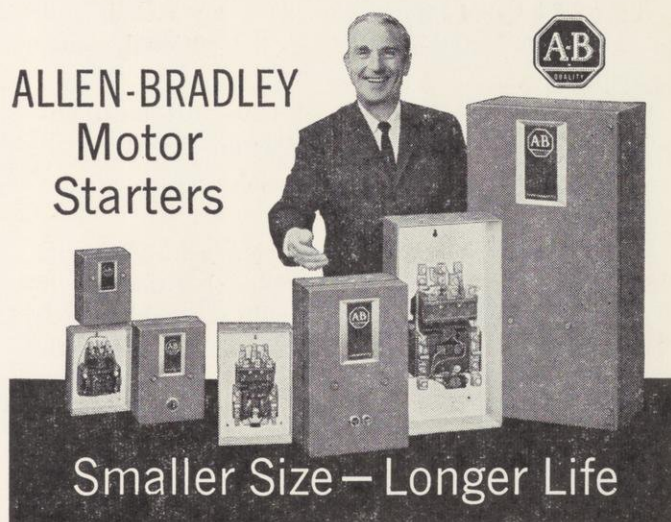
If there is any one statement by Western man on his civilization, it is Beethoven's Ninth. Ludwig von Mises notes: "The noble self-reliance of Western man found triumphant expression in such dithyrambs as . . . Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. Nothing of the kind has ever been heard in the Orient." The Chinese Communists would have no use for music such as this, music which exalts the very idea of the West: liberty under law, individual enterprise, equal justice. It has no use for any philosophy except that which preaches fatalism, blind submission to authority and the surrender of the individual personality to the State.

In this, then, the Communists are more logical than the spokesmen for the West. The Communists have identified *their* enemy: Western civilization and the corresponding ideals of the West. We have not. Those who defend our actions in various parts of the world grope toward half-truths: "matter of strategy," "freedom for South Viet Nam," and the like. They are either ignorant of the idea that the continued existence of Western civilization is reason enough for a struggle with Communists, or worse, they are afraid of what world opinion might think of them if they did say it.

But what has the non-Western world to offer in place of Western civilization? Fear, ignorance, and tyranny are, for the most part, its legacies to the future.

As for those who oppose our stand, who send pulsing love letters to the leaders of the Viet Cong and who demonstrate noisily against involvement, we wonder, ladies and gentlemen, if you really know the nature of your action. Most of you speak fondly of your rights. But the very thing you attack is the only guarantor of your rights. Would the "brave people of North Viet Nam" take kindly to your demonstrations and teach-ins? Or, and this is more likely, would they march you over to the nearest wall and dispose of you as "bourgeois sentimentalists," for whom there is no room in the Communist state? They would.

Our Chinese functionary knew well what he was doing; he knew well his enemy. It is the West which has not realized the nature of the struggle, a struggle of ideas; ideas have consequences. We stand for Western civilization proudly, and we state our hope that someday the mighty music of the Ninth will be heard in the concert halls of Peking and Moscow with the same pleasure that it is now heard in the free world. We ask this in the name of freedom, of justice, of law equally given—in short, we ask this in the name of Western civilization.

An advertisement for Allen-Bradley Motor Starters. It features a man in a suit standing behind a row of five motor starters of increasing size. The starters are labeled with the Allen-Bradley (AB) logo. The text "ALLEN-BRADLEY Motor Starters" is at the top left, and "Smaller Size — Longer Life" is at the bottom. The AB logo is also in the top right corner.

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Marching on to War

Cy Butt

In the War on Poverty, the Strategy Is Developing

Between the dark and the daylight, when the night is beginning to lower, comes a pause in the day's occupation that is known as Martini Hour. In Joe Troia's Steak House, anyway. During this witching period the popular stimulants can be purchased for 60¢, or five for \$3.00. The same price obtains the same at all other times, but Mr. Troia says that those other times don't have the atmosphere that the five to six o'clock spot does. At any rate, on this day of which I speak who should come in, mere seconds after five, but Fremont Guilfoyle and Mr. Bob Hinds who, some say, is in the insurance racket. With Fremont was his lubricious secretary, Fifi, and with Mr. Hinds was his spouse, Joyce, 37-23-36, and cute as a basket of kittens. The foursome seated themselves at a table and when a waitress approached, the foresighted Mr. Hinds, who wasn't born yesterday, took off for the phone booth. He was thwarted there as the booth was filled with some party in the same fix he was, but he pivoted neatly and soon was safe in the john. Mr. Troia, who is always careful to see that everything is satisfactory for the cash customers, drew near and, being asked to join the group, drew up a chair and spoke thusly: "Anything new on the national scene, Fremont?"

"Well yes," said Fremont. "I have just been appointed Field Marshall in the War on Poverty."

"Elucidate," said Mr. Troia, whose grasp of the vernacular is second to none.

"It's another giveaway, of course," said Fremont. "It started as a local deal but Elbie Jay decided it would brace his posture if he made it world wide." "That's a great idea," said Mr. Troia, "What with Bobby Baker, and Jenkins and our snafu in Viet Nam, his posture could stand a guy wire or two."

"Precisely," said Fremont. "And we have already had incomparable success."

"You don't say," exclaimed Mr. Troia.

"But I do," retorted Fremont. "I shall call your attention to Sarit Thanarat of Thailand, lately deceased. Sarit drew \$500 a month salary but after only six years in Project Cornucopia, which is what everyone called it, amassed \$140 million and 100 concubines."

"One hundred concubines!" groaned Mr. Troia, and he rolled his black eyes heavenward and focused his memory on his lost youth. "And one hundred million bucks," he continued. "That's ten times the score that Elbie can post. He had a TV monopoly, I presume."

"Not at all," said Fremont. "He was distributor of Foreign Aid, a much sought after appointment."

Distributor, hey," said Mr. Troia, "He didn't work at it a whole lot, did he?"

"I understand that the weather there is inclement much of the time," explained Fremont.

At this point two bar customers walked over to Joyce and eyed the 37 and 36 areas with obvious approval. Mr. Hinds uttered a low growl and arched his neck and the observers hastened away like the cads they were. This over, the tete-a-tete was again interrupted, this time by a Salvation Army lassie who presented her tambourine to the table. Fremont got out a ten-spot, waved it overhead for some moments, dropped it into the receptacle and withdrew \$9.85 in change. Mr. Hinds added his best wishes and then, deciding that they might be thought inadequate, gave the girl three cheers on her return trip. It had been a bad day for him; he stared glassily at the wall and fiddled with a bit of paper.

"To get back to the War on Poverty," resumed Fremont, "we are launching a new salient on the Congo front. A meat packing installation is almost ready to roll."

"You'll process antelope, I assume," said Mr. Troia.

"No, no," said Fremont. "It's 'Long Pig', as the Africans so humorously call it. You see, with the high temperatures prevalent and the total lack of refrigeration, much meat, chock full of protein, is wasted after battles and the situation fairly cries out for some efficient method of conservation. It was thought best to can it, with frozen TV trays to come along later in the program. We are going to feature prime ribs of Belgian, au jus, barbecued Mercenary cutlets, and chops Italienne."

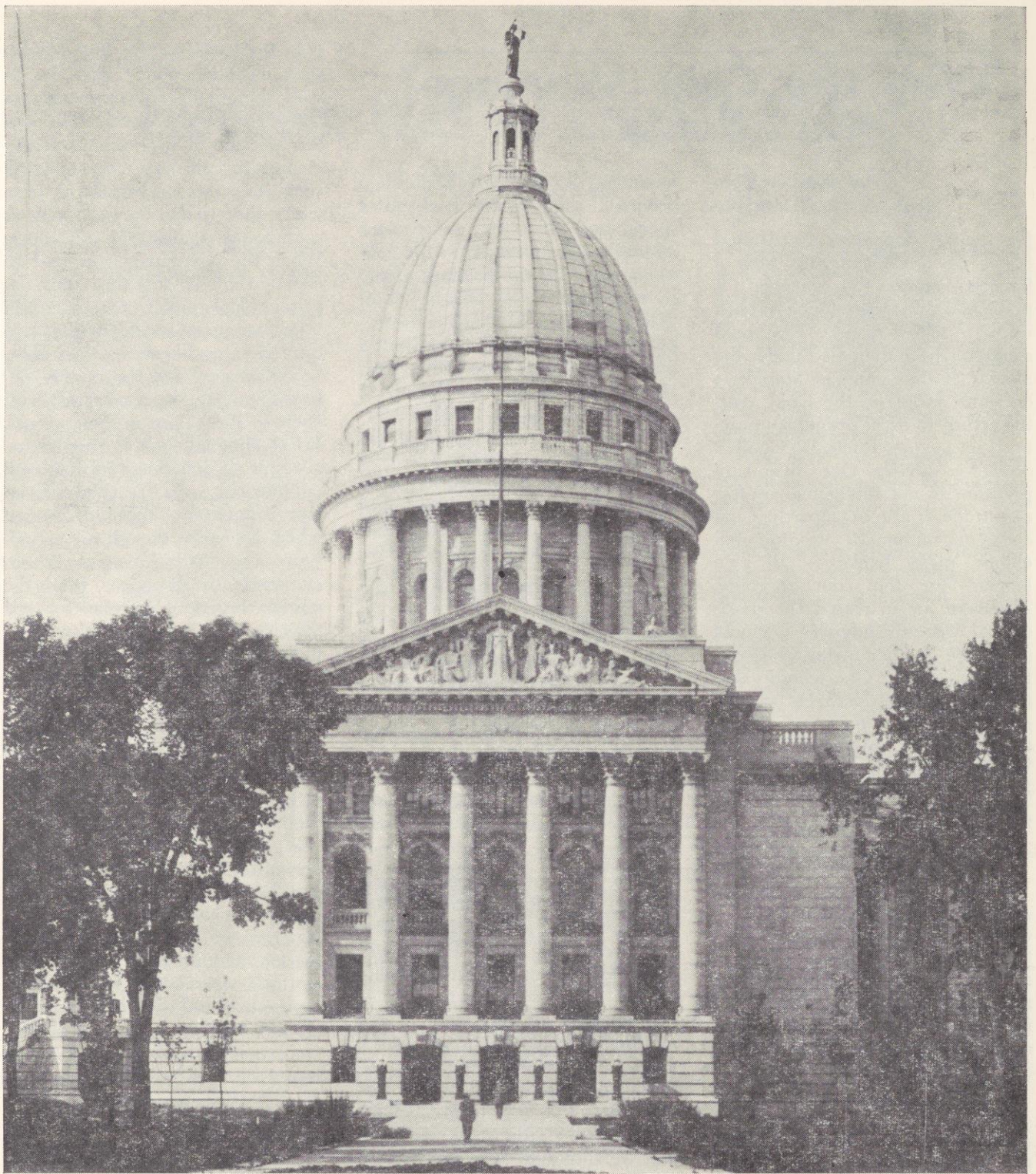
Will there be any difference in price between entrees from the exploiters and those from the exploited?" asked Mr. Troia.

"Of course not," said Fremont. "We despise discrimination in whatever guise it may show its head. One man, we believe, is just as good as another."

"Deftly said," commented Mr. Troia.

"However," Fremont went on, "sedentary workers such as missionaries and hospital employees will command premium prices, and the hard-muscled miners and hewers of wood will be popular with members of the laboring class with large families. But, I must emphasize that variances in epidermal pigmentation will make no difference. Isn't that a great leap forward?"

"It's peachy," said Mr. Troia. "Just peachy."



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INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK 9

Why the Coin Shortage?

John Caravan

The Coin Problem Requires Fiscal Integrity

For the past few years, the United States has been suffering from a financial crisis: the shortage of precious metals with which to back up our paper money. Our gold standards have dwindled under the attacks of the Common Market — or, more properly, the Gold War, the return to fiscal orthodoxy practiced by Jacques Rueff, De Gaulle's economic adviser. Our silver supply, though not threatened by foreign trade, is also in jeopardy. Coin collectors, automatic vending machines, piggy banks — all are blamed for the coin shortage. Therefore, or so reason the presidential economic advisers, we must substitute another metal for silver. But what metal? One whose value is at par with silver? Or are we going to devalue our coinage and trigger another round of inflation? What is really happening to our money? Let us examine our shortage and see.

Reject Easy Solutions

First of all, let us reject the idea of a shortage caused by coin collectors. Most of them concentrate on scarcer older coins. Even the large number of people who saved Kennedy half-dollars for sentimental reasons has not prevented these coins from circulating.

Nor can we honestly blame the shortage on the coin-operated vending machines. The cause must be sought elsewhere.

The suggestion that piggy banks might have something to do with the shortage is not as unrealistic as it seems. What we are asking here, of course, is not whether child thrift is causing a coin shortage, but whether there is actual hoarding of hard money by individuals. Is Gresham's Law in operation? Bad money drives out good. The

beginning of the silver shortage occurred some years back after speculation that the government might devalue coins. After the government ended the printing of the silver certificates, which state: "This certifies that there is on deposit in the Treasury of the United States of America one dollar payable to the bearer on demand," it replaced certificates with Federal Reserve notes, which promise nothing. Many people felt that their money had no "hard" backing. Even though they still could get silver coins in change, they had a vague distrust of the new notes.

Along with this distrust of the new paper currency went an increase in the free market price of silver. The coins were now worth more than their face value, making the hoarding of hard money profitable. Individuals who feared inflationary policies held their savings, more and more, in silver or in stocks and hard goods. The silver shortage has become more acute.

Now, the government proposes devaluation — for that is the exact consequence of substituting copper for silver in the coins. Where will this lead? Let us look at economic history to see some of the earlier consequences of such action. The minting of coins has long been a privilege of government. Now, under a free market economy, all this meant was that the government set up fixed standards as to coin sizes and weights and as to the quality of the metal contained therein. Furthermore, the government coined metal in such a way as to make the detection of clipping and counterfeiting easy. Finally, citizens had the right to bring bullion to the government to be coined, either for free or for a small charge, traditionally called *seignorage*.

However, when economic policy

is in the hands of the government, then currency policy must be as well. Originally, governments resorted to furtive devaluation: the introduction of base metals or the change in coin size or weight. As soon as the citizens learned of these tricks, they traded the new coins at a discount against the old ones. When the government resorted to coercion by having the coins declared legal tender, that is, when the government made it illegal to discriminate between the older "good" money and the newer "debased" money, the market adjusted itself to the values in new money. Prices climbed, just as they do as a result of inflation, until a new equilibrium was reached. Even more important, the old money, which is legally, though not actually, on a par with the newer currency, tends to disappear from the market. Individuals prefer to hoard their hard savings, and dispose of their paper money and debased coinage for hard commodity goods.

Self-Resolution

We now state that this is what is happening in America today. Our total silver supply — that held by the government *and* that held by private citizens is enough to meet our needs. The shortage is brought about by hoarding, triggered by government debasement and repudiation. Left to itself, it will end; as the newer, debased coins circulate, prices will rise, and the paper savings — bank money and government bonds — of many will be reduced drastically. Those who own hard goods or stocks keyed to the market will suffer little loss; those who have held silver will probably make a profit. The only sufferers will be those who trusted the good word of the government and who set aside money in the banks for their old age. They are the victims of this latest inflationary action. But, then, even the Great Society has its victims: it is a quality of modern liberalism that, like the omelet, cannot reach its end without breaking a few eggs.

Freedom Was an English Thing

Richard O. Wright

Freedom Was An Issue With this Philosopher of Old

The convention, election, rally and demonstration season, its welcome outworn, now slips into a midsummer calm, one which only the most obnoxious crickets dare disturb. The halls and the streets witness only the most diffused remains of the echoes lingering after the tremendous chorus of voices which had been raised on behalf of the various causes. I fear, however, that the newly established world record in volume did not relate to any corresponding hi-fi thinking. And we conservatives sang most loudly the verse, we chanted most ferociously the song, "Freedom." Looking back, it was easy to engage our considerable vocal powers; it proved more difficult to philosophize at the top of our lungs.

Freedom was at issue; of that we were certain. We proudly declared ourselves Freedom's Defenders, at whatever exacting price its enemies should require. However, we did not quit at that point. Freedom meant free choice, and we seemed to request that all restrictions on that entity be removed. Is this what we meant? It is natural that, in the heat of such unreasoned debate, we as well as they should overstate our cases. Being defenders of freedom, it served well the purposes of consistent argument to become the champions of extreme individualism, as we did. The question is, however, whether that step is logical, whether unrestrained freedom is or should be at the base of the conservative philosophy, or whether we were herded into the anarchist's corral by the liberal, authoritarian cowboy debaters.

This writer during the past debate unleashed whatever weapons

were at his command upon the enemies of individualism. The more he talked, the more he convinced himself that freedom of choice was something sacred in nature, and the more convinced he became the more rigidly consistent he became — anarchism, being the state of things in which, by its definition at least, maximum individualism existed, became the ideal, never realizable, but nevertheless the ideal. This writer went so far as to agree with the enemies of freedom that equal and vast freedoms should be allowed, even of those who seek to destroy his own. Admittedly, he had to concede the point through gritted teeth; something seemed wrong about it; but freedom was freedom, and it should belong to all — and it should be absolutely realized — shouldn't it?

This writer was not the only conservative to dive into that trap. Various of our colleagues have at various times voluntarily bared their preoccupation with the virtues of individualism. Many conservatives lay claim to libertarian thoughts, to Jon Jacques Rousseau's "Sensibility" ideas, even to the anarchist's truths, and to combinations of these. Each has its attraction for the conservative, each being faithful to individualism. And besides twirling the emotions with the sonorous harmonics of its terminology, freedom, in actual experience, is enchanting. But whether it has attributes entitling it to be crowned the sole object of the conservative movement must, by the very exclusiveness of the idea, be suspect.

Let us now, while our throats recuperate from the recent shouting match, delve into more intellectual endeavors. This idea, freedom, must be explored; its place in the conservative ideology must

be discussed. It's not that it has not been done before.¹ I should like to make extensive use of the letters of Edmund Burke, *Reflections On The Revolution In France*, in particular. Burke often dealt specifically with this question, and his work serves well as the base for an analysis as the one here.

Freedom's lure consists in large part of the entrancing fragrance of man's self esteem, and the beckoning gestures of his inner desire to control his own situation. However, a more profound justification exists: human dignity is involved; an individual is not the mere physical tool of any corporate body or any individual. Indeed, any measure of control exercised by one human over another, in the absence of consent, is in some degree objectionable by reason of that control. The human being, then, is recognized — in some corners immortalized — by his freedom, by that power of free choice he possesses. And man is to be recognized, to be differentiated, by reason of the essential difference between his existence and that of those beings in the universe whose natural component materials are exclusively physical.

That is the basic premise of the justification for freedom. Of course, the total concept could not even be introduced in but one paragraph. For, as it is a philosophic axiom, the dignity of an individual could hardly reveal the finished theory of which it is a high derivative. Other assumptions must be made concerning the nature of man and the universe before we may fill in the constants which arise in the integrating process upward from the basic formula. It is true, that if we

1. A recent book, *What Is Conservatism* (Holt, N. Y. 1964), Edited by Frank S. Meyer is an excellent collection of prominent and contemporary thought in the matter.

peer at freedom in the abstract, no need arises to fill in such other assumptions, and no obstacle rises to bar the logical conclusion *in extremis* that man should in no instance bear the brunt of restrictions upon his free choice. It is only when we place the concept, freedom, into its natural surroundings, that such a conclusion does not so logically follow. And, indeed, it does not follow.

To look at freedom in the abstract is an enhancing intellectual exercise, and a constructive one. However, the converse channel must be navigated before a meaningful philosophy can be developed. Continuing the analogy to calculus, those constants must be determined.

Toward that purpose, a simple practical observation is essential: it is that man's actions affect the well-being and the freedom of choice of other men — indeed, of whole generations in the future. Were it otherwise freedom could be absolutely realized, each man could live according to his own standards. But to insist upon an actual contemporaneous absolute freedom is to ignore the wilted appearance and the repugnant odor of the fruit, once so beautiful in the seed catalog, but in fact bearing only slight resemblance after exposure to the realities of its environment. Since often each man's judgment acts to restrict the same freedom of judgment of his fellows, it is natural that rules of behavior should be developed. These can only sum to a negative value for the constants we aim to determine, thereby reducing the magnitude of freedom.

Basic disagreement among the philosophers centers upon the degree, nature of, and the rigidity of these rules, these restrictions upon free choice. Their argument, all agree, is the product of basic dissimilarities in their views of human nature. Some assumed that man is naturally good; that he is highly capable of reason; that, further, he will voluntarily conduct himself, because of his natural goodness

and capability for reason, in a manner compatible with the interests of his fellows. Therefore, they contended, restrictions upon free choice have no practical value. By their calculations the negative constant in our formula is minute indeed; and freedom would nearly equal its high value as viewed in the abstract.

Others as Edmund Burke, also deeply interested in freedom, dispute these observations upon human nature — or perhaps they only wish to deface the high pedestal upon which some would place the human. In any case, had he thought in terms of this writer's mathematical analogy, Burke would have assumed a large value for the negative constant. Man, he contends, is not capable of such super reason and goodness. He must, therefore, account for his fallibility with a corresponding adherence to estab-



lished rules of right and wrong, thus reducing his freedom of choice.

This is to only give due credit to an inescapable historical observation. Further, as Burke's philosophical base logically demands freedom, his restrictions upon that entity are in its own interest. For, should we disregard the frailties of human nature, we would commit a criminal waste upon the just inheritance of future generations. Freedom for ourselves is certainly a proper demand; why then is not that same demand by future generations equally proper? This consideration must always cloud a conservative's beautiful dream of absolute freedom. It was a considera-

tion clearly visible in the philosophy of Edmund Burke. It was one not seriously pondered by philosophers of the more extreme ideologies.

In the case of the latter, it seems they were — and remain today — engulfed in their own self esteem; they reeked with the unmistakable odor of their arrogance; they were bewitched with some immense power of reason in man, which they thought themselves to have discovered. But who that enjoys the full possession of his five senses would deny that the human race is yet imperfect? No, they ignored that fact. They mashed this philosophical blemish with an over-application of concentrated natural goodness and reason. But no amount of either ingredient can guarantee the future of freedom — and we cannot afford ourselves the extravagance of gambling upon them.

Now, Edmund Burke gave due credence to the ingenuity of mankind. But he seasoned it with the gentle spice of humility. This is implicit in the following passage from *Reflections on The Revolution In France*, "We know that *we* have made no discoveries, and we think that no discoveries are to be made, in morality; nor many in the great principles of government, nor in the ideas of liberty, which were understood long before we were born . . ."

He Feared Self-Destruction

It was his fear, as it ought to be ours, that an unrestrained, unrespecting citizenry, confident of its own capability of reason, would abruptly and without cause overturn the product of many centuries of compiled wisdom. He warned against brashly destroying the whole fabric of society. He argued that the future generations ought not be compelled to inherit only that which the present generation should choose to bequeath. Edmund Burke stood in awe of the slow process by which the English system developed. Liberty, he reasoned, was best protected by such an evolutionary process and he recognized that men, full of a spirit

of benevolence, should desire basic changes in the structure of their society. But then, he cautioned, we must recognize that drastic reforms often act to destroy the framework of society disproportionately to the good effect of the intended alteration.

As this interest for preservation conflicts with the interest for immediate freedom, a balancing is needed. The wisdom of the past must prevail, yet the men of the present ought to have the freedom to change; and man is entitled to freedom of choice, but his fellow men are entitled to be free from the adverse effects of his judgment. The manner of balancing these considerations is a question not yet fully solved by centuries of debate.

It was the English, according to Burke, who have performed the trick best. Considerable freedom of choice was enjoyed by the British, but no one Englishman — nor no one generation — could drastically alter the course of British development. Thus, neither interest negated the other. Perhaps this was because they did not, in reconciling these interests, simply place restrictions upon the free choice of their citizens — that was not their purpose. No law required an Englishman to respect and continue the ideals of his ancestors; he was free to ignore their wisdom, and he was free to work for his own ideal. Without such restrictions, without denying much freedom of choice, guarantees were given the freedom of future generations. This was true simply because liberty was established. The English framework, which protected freedom, rested upon too deep a foundation to be uprooted by a mere generation of Englishmen. The traditions, the social order, and the norms of society were all too established and protected to be destroyed by its unrestrained citizens within any short time — or without serious thought. Although freedom of choice was maximal, its effect upon that same freedom of others was, by the sluggishness of the system, minimal.

Thought was not required to be conformed by law — it's just that new thought had no way of prevailing over the older, established, and protected ideas. The English were free to bring Britain to its knees — free as a baseball is free to demolish the stadium.

Because of this, the English changed only in the most gradual manner. And proudly so as witnessed by Burke in *Reflections*. "Thanks to our sullen resistance to innovation, thanks to the cold sluggishness of our national character, we still bear the stamp of our forefathers." Those who would forsake the wisdom of their forefathers could not force their alteration upon the Empire — and only when the wisdom of the new could match that of the old would a dent appear upon its structure.

Theirs' was a system of sluggishness; this resistance to unreasoning change was not by design (although it was quite consciously defended). The time-tested ideas were locked into protective security by the sheriffs of the Establishment. That Establishment contained inherent resistance to change, and thus resistance to its own destruction; the interests of the landed checked those of commerce, and those of commerce checked the landed; the evenly accepted normative standards checked violations of one's rights by another, and the established church preserved the norms; a loose class division checked the adverse effects of any sudden unbalance within the nation, and their balance checked any attacks upon that division; and, the government, as the rest of the system, served well the function of preserving the system, then, again, each interest having its proper representation in government, the system preserved its government. Such an establishment while it did not appreciably reduce freedom of choice, did reduce the effect of freedom's abuse.

Liberty Preserved

Edmund Burke knew and loved the way this Establishment preserved the Englishman's liberty.

For instance, in *Reflections* Burke defended the propertied interest against the onslaught of the commercial interests, which France experienced during the Revolution. "... it is to the property of the citizen, and not to the demands of the creditor of the state, that the first and original faith of civil society is pledged."

Further, in *Reflections*, Burke contested the idea of Jacques Rousseau that each man, through his own reason, should form his own standard of conduct; and he decried the spectacle of such ideas being instituted by those following Rousseau after the Revolution. The English, said Burke feel it infinitely important that individuals should not imagine their own will as the standard of right and wrong. However, as they loved liberty, no conformity of thought was required of their citizens; it was when an individual wronged another that divergences from the norm were penalized. It is when no norms exist that no protection of the individual exists, and thus, that freedom of choice would fall.

The other characteristics of the protective Establishment were also adamantly defended by Edmund Burke. His interest, we must remember, was the preservation of liberty. Of course he also recognized that any resistance to change of an Establishment also protected the injustices of the past. But is that a reason to level the Establishment — and the guardposts of freedom? One quote from *Reflections* demolishes that idea. "A man full of warm, speculative benevolence may wish his society otherwise constituted than he finds it; but a good patriot and a true politician always considers how he shall make the most of the existing materials of his country." His warnings ought to be heeded.

If freedom is our dream, then we must also consider the preservation of freedom; we must recognize its self destructive tendencies; and we must, as did the English, develop the means to check the known frailties of mankind.

With Friends Like These

Jared Lobdell

If I must needs glory, I will glory of the things which concern mine infirmities.

—ST. PAUL

It is a perennial problem, what to do—not about one's enemies, but about one's embarrassing associates. In my case, of course, the particular problem which is germane here, is what to do about those self-proclaimed "conservatives" between whose opinions and mine there can at best be an uneasy truce, but who represent in the public mind (by a sort of diabolical metonymy) the entirety of American conservatism. It strikes me that I, and indeed anyone confronted with this sort of thing, can choose either of two alternatives, and that neither is any good.

The two alternatives are, first, to defend the essential truth of the position taken by the lunatic fringe, by explaining their special use of words, by expanding their elliptical expressions, by pointing out how, if one accepts the more-than-dubious hypothesis that men can gauge the force of their acts before doing them, the conclusions (that Eisenhower favored the Communists, for example) can be made to follow—and, second, to present, as rapidly and completely as possible, a bill of divorcement between one's own views and those of the fringe. The first produces, for the most part, a weariness of the flesh in one's listeners, and probably a conviction in their minds that the speaker is tarred with the same brush, and feathered with the same lunatic right-wing feathers, as the Ike-was-a-commie flock. The second is about as useful as any other "Don't listen to him, listen to me, my patient medicine contains more certified truth than his" argument—it too, wearies the flesh.

A friend of mine, whom I will call Courtney, came up against a member of the far-far-Right his first day in a new job recently, and

came home, predictably enough, breathing liberal fire. I take Courtney to be roughly representative of a large portion of the American public—with no raging interest in politics, instinctively distrusting the John Birch Society, more interested in going his own way on the golf course than going out to die on the barricades. In one day, he was told, either implicitly or explicitly, that

(1) Eisenhower was working for the Communists in 1945

(2) George Wallace is not a racist, but Eleanor Roosevelt was

(3) the Ecumenical movement is Communist-inspired

(4) Hubert Humphrey's views are the same as Mussolini's

(5) the civil rights movement is controlled by the Communists

(6) the government is out to destroy the medical profession

(7) the government has been working for a hundred years to kill the railroads, and for fifty years to kill the oil industry

(8) anyone who disagrees with any of these statements is either overtly or covertly a Communist, and that, therefore,

(9) all conservatives believe these as articles of faith.

Of these, to be sure, there are two that are capable of being defended (Mussolini was, after all, a member of the Second International, and some of the civil rights groups are subject to Communist infiltration), but the defense is rather a mountainous labor, and the result mouselike at best. It can be claimed that any attempt to dissociate oneself from this sort of hogwash will only lend dignity to the hogs, and destroy one's own, and that what one really ought to do is present a reasoned conserva-

tive position whereupon this kind of thing will die out. Yes, indeed, and I have also been told that once Goldwater had his chance and lost, the Republican Party would automatically return to the control of the "moderates." I think that I and all those who profess themselves conservatives and reasonable men, have a kind of duty in this matter, to those like Courtney who are shocked and bewildered by the hatred and paranoia of the lunatic fringe, to ourselves (because this fringe obscures not only our own vision, but others' vision of us), and finally, to the Republic, whose salvation is dependent upon a reasonable balance between liberal and conservative forces. I cannot claim that others will agree with all the theses I am about to put forth—I should, in fact, be very surprised if they do—nor do I find the political *credo* a particularly entrancing art-form. Still, I am not sure there is any other way to go about this business of presenting a reasonable conservatism to the world at (not very) large.

(1) Regardless of the merits of the claim for States' Rights, which are considerable, the claim, when introduced in connection with the denial of rights and privileges to the Negro, is at best suspect, and should be off bounds.

(2) Arguments about the war (and that is certainly what it is) in Viet Nam are essentially futile, however exciting, until the facts are agreed upon, which they will not be until our government turns honest in its news releases, which will be when Hell and the China Sea both freeze over. Meanwhile, one of the few things we know for sure is that we either connived at murdering Diem or were too weak

and foolish to prevent it.

(3) The mess in Santo Domingo is a predictable result in general of having no consistent Caribbean policy, and in particular of picking an assassin to run the Dominican government on no better grounds than his ability at assassination.

(4) At the present time, the only Republican hopeful for 1968 whose basic doctrines are not absolutely inimical to conservatism and who has a chance to win (?) is George Romney, though one can hope the situation will change. Nevertheless, the ideal of citizen-government could be made a vessel for conservative reform of the American political system.

(5) Civil disobedience and non-violent resistance, though justifiable, are dangerous to the state because of their facile descent into uncivil and violent mob action. This neither excuses nor condones police brutality, but, on the other hand, it is not reasonable to mourn for martyrs who desired martyrdom, or who courted it.

(6) Regrettably, the world, possibly unlike the United States, can endure half slave and half free. Triumph of one political system over another is not our primary purpose in life. However, the end of the world through nuclear holocaust is not to be viewed as an unqualified disaster. If I seem to be coming down hard on both sides of the fence here, it is because the fence is, to my way of thinking, essentially imaginary: the real divide is between temporal and eternal things, and so far as the better-Red-than-dead argument goes, we have no more (though no less) right to decide that for the Russians than the Crusaders had to decide a similar question for the inhabitants of the Holy Land, or the Spanish Inquisition for the Indians of Latin America.

These theses serve to open a discussion of what constitutes reasonable conservatism —and, if by chance I have a selfish motive, if perhaps I am hoping Courtney's right-wing nut will now decisively divorce himself from me, then perhaps I may be forgiven that selfishness.

Paranoia on the Left

Ross G. Parisi

American Politics Faces One Of Its Most Insolent Foes

It seems that the radical portion of the Left Wing has momentarily succeeded in capturing the imaginations of many well-meaning student liberals. And as a result of this, the paranoid tendency which characterizes the radical Left Wing has become prevalent on campuses throughout the country. Many paranoid trends, dormant since the 1930s, have emerged in several socio-political movements.

The reason for this development can be traced to the left-wing paranoid himself. Normally introverted and covert, this paranoid has come above ground to take a more active role in socio-political affairs. In so doing, he has succeeded in fabricating an artificial air of respectability which is rather alarming to many serious observers. And this comes at a time when liberals and conservatives alike should seek out rational answers to the pressing issues facing our nation.

Granted, the radical Left Wing has a right to advocate any cause in (almost) any manner they choose. However, one cannot help but be repulsed by the paranoia which permeates and destroys their movement.

To the left-wing paranoid, the entire world is his foe. Consequently, he is insecure, hostile, and suspicious. The only way he can defend himself from the unbearable agony of rejection and repudiation is to project his problems beyond himself. He must find and fight enemies. But since enemies are difficult to work with, the paranoid usually creates imaginary ones. Thus, he occupies his time fighting nebulous adversaries which, in his jargon include "Fascists" (anyone to the political right of Norman

Thomas), "racists" (doubtful whites), "McCarthyites" (critics of their movement), or "the machine" (any impartial authority such as the University of California).

Because of the paranoid's ingrained suspicions, he has lost confidence in most legal channels of authority, including the police, the FBI, courts at all levels, and Congress. He is, thus, distrustful of the normal process of law and anyone who administers it. If he is threatened by the legal process, he immediately lashes out at its administrator, e.g., J. Edgar Hoover, Sheriff Jim Clark, President Clark Kerr. For this reason the left-wing paranoid weaves an intricate web of opponents, and that web becomes more vast each day.

All opponents of the left-wing paranoid are evil and wrong, not just slightly or partially, but absolutely. For this reason he often rejects rational debate. Instead, the paranoid prefers pickets, protests, sit-downs, laydowns, shout-downs, and other confrontations with his adversaries. The effect of these demonstrations serves to attract more support from his neoparanoid student following. And the more violent his demonstrations become, the more support he wins to his cause. As one paranoid put it, "When they see those big cops clubbing us they rush on down here in busloads." Thus, leftist demonstrators sprawl in the streets of San Francisco, tie up traffic in Chicago, and "crash the gates" at the White House.

In some instances their demonstrations surpass even the wildest of imaginations. Consider, for example, the plot to demolish the Statue of Liberty (Black Liberation Front), the plan to leave all water taps on in the New York metropolitan area (CORE), the program to send medical supplies to the Viet Cong (Committee to End the War

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in Viet Nam), and the idea to pub-
licize four-letter words (Free
Speech Movement). The effect of
these demonstrations is dubious;
yet to the paranoid, they are im-
mensely satisfying.

The paranoid is not at all frus-
trated by jail, fines, or public ridi-
cule. He sees himself and his elite
group of student followers who
share his delusions as martyrs,
heros, and grandiose saviors of ev-
eryone and everything. Leaders in
this movement are Messiahs and
their followers are crusaders. You
are either with or against a para-
noid. There is no middle ground.
Thus, if you question him you are
his enemy.

Another paranoid tendency is
that of immediacy. Solutions to
all problems, answers to every di-
lemma, termination of each crisis
must be done immediately. For this
reason, then, little, if any, emphasis
is given to the desirability or ac-
ceptability of their demands. Con-
sider two of the most recent left-
wing demands: freedom NOW,
and get out of Viet Nam NOW.
The paranoid wants freedom for
the American Negro even if we
must live in a socialist-servile state.
He also wants our government to
shun all involvement in Viet Nam,
even if it means abandoning mil-
lions of innocent persons to the ty-
ranny of Communism. In both in-
stances, the desirability of logically
proposed solutions are dismissed.
Immediacy is all-important.

One could conclude that para-
noia is objectionable to most Amer-
icans, and he would be correct.
But it is not as simple as that.

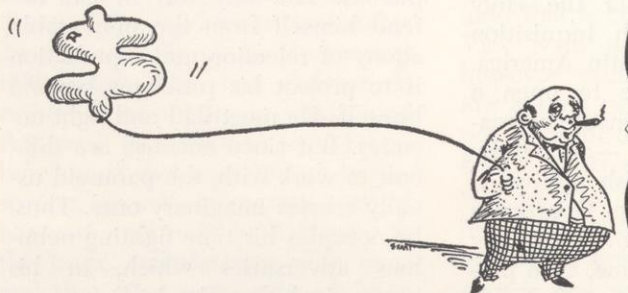
While still a minor trend, it seems
that the paranoid tendency is be-
coming increasingly prevelant on
college campuses. And since stu-
dents are our future leaders, this
constitutes a present danger to our
socio-political well-being.

It is not difficult to envision the
danger, should American politics
fall into the hands of the paranoid
Left: rational debate would suc-
cumb to false logic; opposition
would be silenced or intimidated
and any social values which hin-
dered the course of their revolu-
tionary movements would be cast
aside. In short, politics would be-
come a sham.

It would seem that if a cure for
radical left-wing paranoia is to be
had, it must come from the leftists
themselves. If they are to emerge
as responsible socio-political con-
tributors they must abandon their
delusions and face their "enemies."
The same is equally true of those
liberal students who sleep in the
same bed with their radical cohorts.

All we can do is make intelligent
assertations of fact and law and
try not to be drawn into a situation
where faulty reasoning evokes
faulty reasoning and where delu-
sions evoke delusions. It is impor-
tant that we accept the radical left-
wing paranoid as a person.

In playing this role, we can ex-
pect to be called Fascists, racists,
and Birchers, for we will have com-
mitted a most unforgivable sin: a
refusal to accept paranoid delusions
in their entirety. We will combat
the very illness that threatens the
radical Left Wing itself.



A Critique of Legal Positivism

James M. O'Connell

A Positivist's Approach to Law Will Lead to Contradictions

Two philosophies of law have dominated the legal systems of the world. One, held by the schoolmen and the early utilitarians, held that human law must be judged by some external standard — usually divine or natural law — which indicates whether the law is in accord with reality. The other holds that the will of the legislator, or the will of the people in democratic theory, is the ultimate sanction for legislation. The conservative, with his commitment to reality, usually holds to some variant of the natural law doctrine. The liberal and the radical place their faith in the validity of the Common Will — either of all the people or of a particular class or race in the community.

It is not the purpose of this essay to analyze the virtues of the Natural Law doctrine, but to indicate, by considering particular events, how the positivist approach leads to contradictions and to infringements on ordinary rights.

In Wisconsin, the Legislature has been occupied by an attempt to allow colored oleomargarine in the state. The original prohibition stems from attempts by dairy farmers to protect their interests against competition from synthetic products, oleomargarine, in particular. The law forbids colored oleo and places a fifteen cent tax on uncolored oleo. A group of Wisconsin consumers have been lobbying to have the law changed. The question which faces the positivist is this: who actually represents the Common Will? The consumers, who, no doubt, speak for a majority of the citizens of the state, or the dairy farmers, who, because of representation and apportionment, have

long controlled the Legislature?

The positivist would resolve the question by putting it to a vote. Yet, we must ask: who votes? The Legislature, dominated by rural interests, or the people as a whole, dominated by urban interests?

If we turn to the laws of economics, we see that the artificial barriers against oleomargarine, much as any law in restraint of trade, prove harmful in the long run. Even more important is the idea that the law against colored oleomargarine is class legislation; it favors dairy farmers only, to the disadvantage of other consumers. Law, if it is to be respected, must apply equally to all, be for the general good, and not for the benefit of one particular group. Thus, the law against colored oleomargarine, supposedly representing the will of the people of a dairy state, is unjust and is without regard for the rights of all citizens.

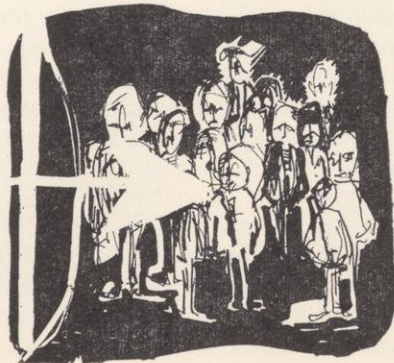
Two other bills that were suggested in the Legislature in this last session dealt with the problem of young people in the eighteen to twenty-one age group. One bill would have placed a state-wide curfew on those under twenty-one. The other would end eighteen year old drinking, now legal in most Wisconsin counties. Both bills make certain invalid assumptions about young people: they general-

ize from the bad conduct of a few in order to blame the many. Again, we have an example of class legislation. This time it is against a minority of the community, being unjustly punished for the activities of a few. Many people, especially the older, are intolerant of the young, and their votes or their influence on their legislators could well be represented as an example of the Common Will.

Along with the injustice of these particular bills is, of course, their unenforceability. The persons between eighteen and twenty-one, faced with a sudden curtailment of their rights, will not accept such a law gracefully; more likely than not, they will react as many Americans did during Prohibition. This widespread evasion of the law results in the disrepute of all law and all morality. But these long run considerations, which are part of the criteria for any law, are ignored. It is the Common Will which is to be courted.

Finally, the Legislature, as of this writing, seems fair to recommend that the voting age be lowered. Many people have already been amused at the thought that eighteen year olds will be able to vote but not to drink. This contradiction is the result of positivism, for, on one hand, the positivist seeks to extend the area of the Common Will; at the same time, he is committed to its operation when it acts to deny rights to a minority. Even more amusing, of course, is the fact that the new voters may possibly rally to upset the original sense of the Common Will and reverse any laws against teen-age drinking.

The positivist approach to law, in these cases, leads to injustice and contradiction. Law cannot be based on the will of the people or



Ludwig von Mises

The champions of socialism call themselves progressives, but they recommend a system which is characterized by rigid observance of routine and by a resistance to every kind of improvement. They call themselves liberals, but they are intent upon abolishing liberty. They call themselves democrats, but they yearn for dictatorship. They call themselves revolutionaries, but they want to make the government omnipotent. They promise the blessings of the Garden of Eden, but they plan to transform the world into a gigantic post office. Every man but one a subordinate clerk in a bureau, what an alluring utopia! What a noble cause to fight for!

It is an illusion to believe that government spending can create jobs for the unemployed, that is, for those who cannot get jobs on account of the labor unions' or the government's policies. If the government spending is financed by noninflationary methods, that is, either by taxing the citizens or borrowing from the public, it abolishes on the one hand as many jobs as it creates on the other. If it is financed by inflation, that is, either by an increase of money and bank notes in circulation or by borrowing from commercial banks, it reduces unemployment only if money wages lag behind the rise of commodity prices, that is, if and so far as real wages drop. There is but one way toward an increase of real wage rates for those eager to earn wages: the progressive accumulation of new capital and the improvement of technical methods of production that new capital brings about. The true interests of labor coincide with those of business.

the power of the legislature; it must meet external standards.

We must ask: what are the criteria for a good law. One obvious rule is that the law must apply to all equally. Class legislation, either for or against any particular minority (subsidies for particular economic groups, or preventive laws against certain citizens, e.g., the teen-age drinking laws or legally required segregation) or laws granting certain privileges must not be used. If we have equality under the law, each particular piece of legislation must apply to all (of course, certain laws can only apply to classes).

The purpose of the law must be limited to either a) preventing crimes, misdemeanors, and torts and establishing penalties for such actions, b) upholding contracts and the obligations attached to them, c) establishing rules of procedure for government agencies, and d) acting to perform certain tasks only when private individuals cannot perform them. Of course, each purpose is itself to be checked by Natural Law. The rights of individuals to life, liberty, and property must be considered in any action. The nature of each separate case must be considered — contracts in restraint of trade, to commit crime, or contracts against public policy are not upheld, for example. And, of course, all the consequences of a law, long-run as well as short run, must be considered.

A Conservative's Criteria

The conservative might oppose Social Security, for example, not because he is opposed to helping people in their old age, but because he feels the system, as constituted, is a poor substitute for private social insurance. The conservative would oppose the indiscriminate use of the anti-trust laws not because he favors monopolistic practices, but because he insists that mere size or control of a large share of the market is not a criterion for a charge of monopoly. And the conservative opposes both legal segregation and integration because he knows these laws are class

The only materials which that early age (early history) afforded for the construction of constitutions, when intelligence was so partially diffused, were applied with consummate wisdom and skill. To their successful application may be fairly traced the subsequent advance of our race in civilization and intelligence, of which we now enjoy the benefits. For without a constitution — something to counteract the strong tendency of government to disorder and abuse and to give stability to political institutions — there can be little progress or permanent improvement.

JOHN C. CALHOUN in
A Disquisition On Government

legislation, violations of the rights of individuals to both liberty and property.

The legal positivist has no criterion for such opposition. To be sure, he opposes Southern laws requiring segregation — even though these laws reflect the attitudes of the white Southerner — or laws restricting the activity of subversives — even though the democratic majority, if given its head, might take away all legal protection from Communists and others. The cherished non-conformity of many of the liberal element in America exists because the orthodoxy of the conservative American heritage can tolerate it. The non-positivist rights, written and unwritten, protect these liberals from a populace which, were it not chained down by the tradition of Natural Law, would soon have them in the dock as disturbers of public order, if not outright heretics. The democratic furor which insists on giving more and more power to the people, which insists, in the face of all reality, that the Common Will is the ultimate sanction of all law, can only lead us into the abyss of a majoritarian tyranny. This is tyranny which, in the hands of an unscrupulous demagogue, can be used to destroy all the variety, all the superiority, all of the “unbought graces of life” dear to the hearts of both liberals and conservatives.



On The Agony of the GOP 1964

Martin K. Gordon

This reviewer is accustomed to journalistic distortions of various conservative contentions and programs almost as a matter of course. But Robert Novak, who teams with Rowland Evans, Jr., to write for the *New York Herald Tribune*, has in this book successfully presented an accurate account of the activities of the four years which led to Barry Goldwater's nomination for the Presidency in 1964. The first brief chapter deals with the aftermath of the convention, summing up the campaign from the point of view "as though Goldwater's general staff and the Goldwater Movement generally were more concerned about proving a point than in winning an election." Considering the money and effort Goldwater's grass-roots supporters put into the 1964 campaign, this

THE AGONY OF THE GOP 1964

Robert D. Novak
Mac Millan, 1965

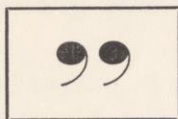
is one of Novak's fallacious conclusions. He tries to perpetuate a myth of the type he so effectively attacks in the last chapter of the book. But, it must be added, at times this conclusion is correct.

Certain themes continually reoccur throughout the book. Governor Rockefeller is caught between the conflicting advice of his top aids. George Hinman, a New York Republican National Committeeman, wanted the Governor to blur liberal-conservative distinctions within the party and to cast himself in the role of a unity candidate sufficiently in the center of the party to appeal to all its members. Jud Morhouse, New York party chairman, wanted Rockefeller to develop an appeal based on issues which would appeal to the liberal urban vote and openly identify the Governor with the liberal wing of the party—a position Morhouse thought would appeal to independents and dissident Demo-

crats. Until July 14, 1963, Rockefeller followed Hinman's advice with noticeable success. But in the preceding months his marriage to Happy Murphy, whose divorce was only a month old, the increasingly segregationist attitude of many of Goldwater's backers, the June meetings of the National Committee and of the Young Republicans all contributed—but especially his remarriage—to his rapid decline in popularity within the Republican Party. Rockefeller came to need, with increasing importance, a major primary victory in order to win the nomination. The most important primary was in California the following June. But, for Rockefeller to win in California, he needed the support of Senator Thomas Kuchel, a popular opponent of the right wing in California. The July 14 attack on the right wing was an attempt to gain the support of Kuchel—support Rockefeller probably would have had without his party-splitting attack on the conservative movement.

The Declaration of July 14 attack on Southern segregationists appeared to attack all Republican conservatives. Rockefeller warned against a rightist coup taking over the party. He then tried to place himself in the position of the true moderate and the true follower of Republican principles. That attack shocked Goldwater who had earlier accepted Hinman's concept of Rockefeller as a unifier of the party. On the surface Goldwater now appeared to be the central leader of the party, for Rockefeller had isolated only himself by his attacks on the senator. However, the true effect of the attacks made it impossible for Goldwater to lead a united party. Ultimately, the attacks also helped to eliminate Rockefeller as a contender for the nomination.

Goldwater, on the other hand, almost had to be talked into competing for the nomination. "Goldwater was one political leader who seldom tried to shape great events. His conduct usually was shaped by them." As Novak explains later, "Goldwater was not really a poli-



STATEMENTS BY PROMINENT PRESIDENTS REGARDING GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

"Government is not reason, it is not eloquent — it is a force. Like fire, it is a dangerous servant and a fearful master." —

GEORGE WASHINGTON

"If we can prevent the government from wasting the labors of the people, under the pretense of caring for them, they will be happy." —

THOMAS JEFFERSON

"I believe there are more instances of the abridgement of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachment of those in power than by violent and sudden usurpations." —

JAMES MADISON

Lincoln stated that "capital is only the fruit of labor", and that "capital is as worthy of protection as any other rights". He warned free men against, "surrendering a political power" which would "close the door of advancement and fix new disabilities and burdens upon them till all of liberty shall be lost."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Vetoed a give-away bill stating "though the people should support the government, the government should not support the people." —

GROVER CLEVELAND

"The history of liberty is the history of limitations of governmental power, not the increase of it". He did not "want a group of experts sitting behind closed doors in Washington, trying to play Providence to the American people." —

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tician at all, but a preacher." He had to sharpen his views to get them across, not moderate them. This view tends to ignore Goldwater's highly successful service as chairman of the Republican Senate Campaign Committee plus his own ability to get himself elected to the Senate. However, the view does have a certain validity. Goldwater later contributed to his own decline from the peak of popularity he reached in the autumn of 1963 by such famous remarks of his, as his willingness to sell the T.V.A. complex. However, Novak does admit that various news media did distort Goldwater's views. For example, CBS filmed an interview with Goldwater as part of a documentary on rightist movements and then only used a few minutes of it between two sequences showing neo-Fascist groups.

Novak studies at great length the various volunteer groups which eventually came together as the National Draft Goldwater Committee under the direction of F. Clifton White. These groups backed Goldwater partly for ideological reasons and partly because he was the Republican with the biggest backing from the rank and file of the party. Novak examines the control Goldwaterites took of the precinct meetings which ultimately elect the majority of delegates to the conventions. By analyzing primary returns on a state-by-state basis, Novak demonstrates his thesis that Goldwater was really the least *unpopular* of the major candidates and noncandidates. The analysis also showed he had the best organization — or maybe more correctly, the least inefficient organization. However, the enthusiasm of Goldwater's supporters tended to obscure his lack of real party support until after the election when the returns were analyzed.

Novak makes his most original contribution in his conclusion, attacking the myths of the 1964 Republican nominee. Goldwater's organization was not superhuman; witness the inappropriate and costly manner in which Goldwater campaigned in the New Hampshire primary. Furthermore, the primaries were not meaningless. They represented a sounding of public opinion, which was not read correctly in 1964. In spite of continually implying that every Goldwaterite wears a crew-cut hair style, Novak does realistically appraise the great source of Goldwater's strength as a rank and file movement of millions of Republicans. He concludes:

In the final analysis, then, Rockefeller and Scranton lost because they had nothing to offer the people but themselves. Goldwater had a moral philosophy that stirred enough people to the heights of enthusiasm so that the nomination was his.

A pragmatic outlook concerned with "electability" and inhibiting moral impulses prevented the liberal or moderate wing, as they called themselves, from offering the majority of the Republican Party a choice which could appeal to their ideals as effectively as did Goldwater.

Spell It With A Small "g"

Kenneth Wright

Does Communism Leave an Indelible Stain on the Mind and Soul?

Cancer is a deceitful disease; it can exist in one's body maintaining complete silence, never hinting its presence. When it finally openly strikes, it is often too late for cure. Only if growth is discovered early can it be stopped. It is questionable how complete a cure can be effected; continual checkups are a necessity.

Such is the case with six well known writers. They proclaim themselves cured of a disease they call Communism in *The God That Failed* — but the seeds of disease still lurk in their writings.

Each of the six retraces the steps that led to his association with the Communist Party and then his "awakening" to its horrible reality. All six accounts are similar: dissatisfaction with society's social and economic structure and the need to do something to change these evil structures were the main motives

The God That Failed

Spender, Koestler, Silone, Wright, Fischer, Gide

for joining the party. Their renunciations of the party were a result of realizing that Russian Communism was not fulfilling their motives; Russian Communism was approaching capitalism in form, neglecting the great Marxist theories.

By their own accounts, Ignazio Silone, Richard Wright, Louis Fischer, Arthur Koestler, Stephen Spender, and André Gide proved they need a check-up. The disease of which they claim to be cured in fact presents itself vividly in their joint book, as seen in Gide's words:

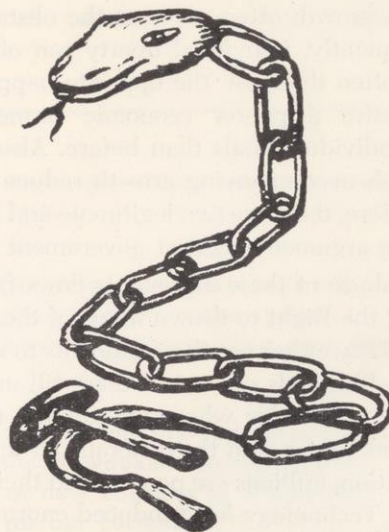
I think that I do more service to the cause the Soviet Union represents by speaking without pretense It is on account of my admiration for the Soviet Union and the marvels she has already accomplished by herself, that my criticism is going to be severe: because of what we expect from her and what she gave us reason to hope from her. I trusted her and so, in Russia, what distressed me most was not what was not yet perfect, but rather to find there everything from which I fled at home [Economic conditions and class struggle] — the privileges which I had hoped abolished forever All the worst and most reprehensible features of capitalist society are being re-established.

This passage (much less, the whole book) leaves two apparent flaws in the reasoning of the six.

Their first contention is that they have rejected Communism. This is deceitful, for, to many readers,

the word Communism is equal to Marxism. None of the six rejects Marx's theory; the Communism they have denounced is that of Stalin — a far cry from Marx. The six are even more crafty than is readily apparent; by rejecting Communism, they gain a sympathetic audience and their restatement of the Marxist theories in layman language has a much better chance of finding a mind to infect. I doubt that cancer is so crafty.

The second faulty contention is their belief that a Utopia could exist. The Soviet Union, they contend, is not an example of the impossibility of the true Communist state's existence within a society, but rather an example of bureaucratic failings. All six writers assert that if the Soviet Union were to allow freedom of thought within its citizenry, the Utopia could be achieved. The simple fact the six have mislaid is that



when two free minds meet, one tries to persuade the other to think in his manner. A Utopia denies the fact that it is in the nature of man to be political. The Communist Utopia, in its true form, would try to create a state where political action would be non-existent; thus free thought could not find a home in Communism's Utopia.

The value of this book lies in its insight into the Communist's mind — its lack of open reasoning and its controlled channels. The irony of the book lies in the outcome of the six supposedly open-minded writers: their conclusions are much more far-fetched than those of the Russian Communists they reject. At least the Russians recognize in part the values of capitalism.

The Badge of Lost Innocence

Dale Sievert

It is traditional to associate conservatism with a do-nothing political philosophy. Because of the belief that, "that government is best that governs least," is this lack of direction. Tradition also claims that conservatives fear change. Therefore, can anything but social and economic stagnation follow? Alas, in modern society, conservatism cannot be called upon to serve the Nation if true tradition does not lie.

But it is not all that simple. Numerous groups and philosophies constitute the Right. Some are acceptable and beneficial to the Nation, while others are more harmful. However, all the groups agree that government expansion in certain areas is harmful — and, very often, is not worth a darn. Different groups have different reasons for believing so. They also may disagree on the basic purpose of government.

When a happy and productive society is hindered, government growth often removes the obstacles to it, and, consequently, individual liberty can often grow. But, more often than not, the opposite happens. Such growth creates a poorer economic framework for achieving individual goals than before. Also, cumbersome controls accompanying growth reduce liberty to new lows. Here, then, are two legitimate and honorable conservative arguments against government growth.

Enough abuse of these arguments flows from a few constituting the Right to drown much of the conservative cause. They either use the arguments to rationalize their own selfish ends or contort them till unrecognizable. Who can wonder where we get the racist, the fanatical Red-hunter, and the generally irresponsible?

In the Nation, millions are poor — and their children are hungry. Technology has produced enormous problems in our rapidly growing urban areas. More than a million farmers are tangled in an economic web of tyranny, not of their own weaving. Such problems are not directly attributable to individuals — so do not blame them. What happened is that the framework of government and national economics did not allow for all the factors and conditions. But the system is not all to blame either, for none could hardly have done better.

Those who ignore such problems, who claim that some people must always suffer, because certain "greater principles" must be spared, are traitors. Their "greater principles" are but blasphemous distortions of respectable conservative doctrine, used to fit their own parochial schemes.

There is little dissention on the purpose of govern-

ment. It is instituted to: 1) establish and maintain a favorable political and economic climate whereby individuals can obtain their needs and goals; 2) preserve the most liberty of the individual commensurate with other individuals, national goals, and public safety. Hooker said it so well long ago, on the purpose of government:

... forasmuch as we are not by ourselves sufficient to furnish ourselves with a competent store of things, needful for such a life as our nature doth desire, a life fit for the dignity of man; therefore to supply those defects and imperfections which are in us, as living singly by ourselves, we are naturally induced to seek communion and fellowship with others: this was the cause of men uniting themselves at first in political societies.

Conservatives have a great deal to do. Today's problems must be solved, and the initiative must be taken. We must reject tradition and become dynamic. With the initiative belonging to conservatives, political debate is on their terms, not liberal.

If millions remain unaided in a spiralling vortex of economic chaos, not of their making, surrounded by economic parasites who feed on their plight, then this nation is guilty of self-inflicted malice. Its citizens are guilty of cultivating their own selfish end; they lack charity, justice, and responsibility.

However, I do not propose indiscriminate pampering of anyone. Doling is strongly unacceptable. With people able to utilize their own resources, if only human ones, self-help is possible.

Above all, liberty is to be cherished dearly. Let no government take more than it gives. But, also, beware of rejecting government and, consequently, permitting commercial tyranny, which is ever so pernicious as despotic government.

To achieve our purpose, the principles of conservatism, we have the age-old free market, seldom used properly and, thus, effectively. Also, we must continue to stress a division of power throughout our dual republic system and onto the citizens themselves. Finally, within the central government, constitutional and balanced government must be perpetually preached and practiced. By taking the initiative, such doctrine will in time be accepted.

And for each of us personally, reliance on the market or the government suggests we lack charity for our fellow citizens. As Tom Paine wisely said, "Government, like dress, is the badge of lost innocence." Alas and amen.

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What's happening in Washington? Well, some of the boys want to repeal Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act, which is the Right-To-Work provision, and would mean that you either join a union, or you don't work.

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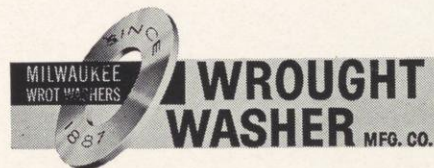
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"America will be destroyed by its own citizens who will not listen, who will not inform themselves, and who will not think."

—Mr. Fred Koch



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hindsights

Give the English an "F" for forgetfulness. Wilson and Government are playing the game of Munich again, this time in Viet Nam. But let's not be too harsh—they may still be suffering from WW II amnesia.

With the rent subsidy bill now law, thanks to Rep. John Lindsay and company, we guess he will next ask for subsidies on their contributions to the Democratic and Liberal Parties.

President Johnson has shown an unhealthy desire to rewrite history. We've had a two-party system in this country for nearly two centuries, but he's doing his darnedest to put a stop to that old nonsense—just as, we may add, such nonsense is disallowed in his home empire back in Texas. Must be part of his upbringing.

There seems to be some general concern amidst the press about the number of movie actors entering politics, and some concern in particular, about one of them, Ronald Reagan. You can't really blame the grumblers. Actors as Reagan have an established public image. Of course, that kind of man we are not allowed to have. Thus, the press has until now enjoyed a monopoly on that business. Well, gentlemen of the press, we're sorry to mar your record, but we're sure you can figure out some way to smash his image. We hear tell you've done it in the past.

The Mother Hens in the Washington chicken yard have devised yet another scheme: they aim to take away our shootin' irons. Now that's just about far enough. We wonder—do they fear us boring each other, or do they figure we've got our sights on fatter targets—like themselves? We choose to think the latter, and we aim to please.



"We as young conservatives believe: That foremost among the transcendent values is the individual's use of his God-given free will, whence derives his 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 ventures beyond these rightful functions, it accumulates power which tends to diminish order and liberty."

"THE SHARON STATEMENT"
of the Young Americans for Freedom
(drafted at the group's 1960
meeting at Sharon, Conn.).

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