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# insight and outlook

## in this issue . . .

### ***In Defense of Orthodoxy***

Richard S. Wheeler

### ***The Wasteland Revisited***

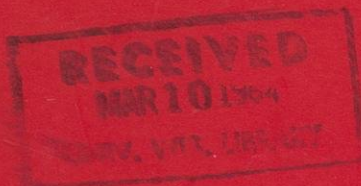
James M. O'Connell

### ***Competition, Countervailence and a 'Modern' Economist***

James E. Blair

### ***The De-Populator***

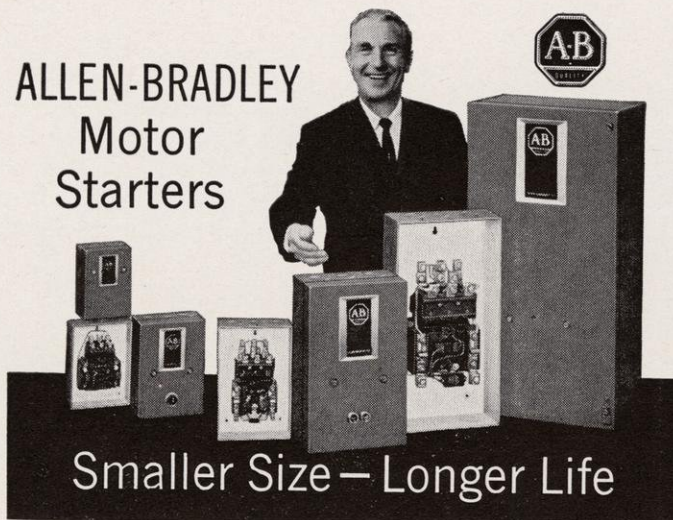
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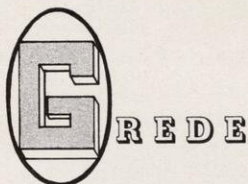
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The proposed LIBERTY AMENDMENT to the Constitution, already approved by the state legislatures of Wyoming, Texas, Nevada, Louisiana, Georgia, and South Carolina, will restore solvency, sanity, and freedom to America. Full details are available upon request from the Wisconsin Economic Freedom Committee, 520 Eagle St., Oshkosh, Wisconsin.

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# insight and outlook

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## CONTENTS:

Aetius .....	4
The De-Populator .....	9
Cy Butt	
In Memoriam .....	10
Jared Lobdell	
The Report That Shook Britain .....	11
Scott W. Lake	
The Wasteland Revisited .....	13
James M. O'Connell	
Competition, Countervailance and a 'Modern' Economist .....	14
James E. Blair	
In Defense of Orthodoxy .....	17
Richard S. Wheeler	
Stompin' at the Savoy Yards .....	20
Petronius	

## REVIEWS:

Castro No! .....	21
James E. Blair	
A Kirkian Masterpiece .....	21
Richard S. Wheeler	
How to Burn Straw Men .....	22
James M. O'Connell	

Insight and Outlook is published three times a semester by students at the University of Wisconsin. Editorial offices are located at 150 Langdon St., Madison, Wis. Application to mail at controlled circulation rates is pending at Madison, Wisconsin.

## Our Own Hate Group

One of our editors likes to think of himself as sort of a one-man hate group. He claims he's got more loathing and venom in him than any ten genuine right wing extremists. For some time he was considering peddling HATE buttons, but he gave up the idea because of classroom pressures.

In any case, our man is not one of those cranky people with undirected hate oozing out in all directions. No sirree! He has a target for his loathing. He simply despises poor, old Nelson Rockefeller, who is really a very decent sort of chap, we think when we're in our cups.

Mention poor Rockefeller's name and our editor's eyes narrow to black slits; his teeth become bared, his fists clench, and a slight hissing sound percolates upward from somewhere deep down within his trembling vitals. We've tried to restrain him, but nonetheless he gallops around saying abominable things about the prospective Rockefeller baby ("He's no love child — he's a political convention child.") and even about the poor Guv himself.

The other day our man spotted a Rockefeller pronouncement in a newspaper: "We have a long uphill fight," said Rocky, "but with your help, and with the help of your friends and neighbors who share your commitment to soundly progressive Republican principles, I know we can be successful."

Now to us that statement sounded like the typical, bland, innocuous sentiment of a Modern Republican. But it certainly set our editor snarling and snapping at poor Rocky. It turned out that he objected to Rocky's use of the word "progressive." (Our man, you see, is a Reactionary who wants to turn back the clock to 1490 or so, and would be damned frontwards and sideways, so he said, if he would tolerate a progressive in the Republican Party.)

We forcibly restrained our editor from flying to Albany and giving Nelson a hotfoot. But there's no telling what he'll do if Rocky comes campaigning in Wisconsin. Grrrrr!

But we got the issue out anyway. Richard S. Wheeler concludes, after some thoughtful discussion, that liberalism is intent on tearing down the remaining remnants of orthodoxy vital to the survival of this country, and, in so doing, is boring away at the heart of Western civilization. Have you ever read *American Capitalism* all the way through without severe pains developing in your stomach? James Blair has (we're not sure about the pains), and finds that its clever little author doesn't know how to analyze his own useful data. Scott W. Lake finds an interesting report coming out of welfare country. James M. O'Connell saw too much TV for the networks' own good, and Fremont is at it again.



# The Burgeoning Leviathan

**The Federal Government** under the present Administration is, indeed, a curious thing. Today to the ordinary layman, many government programs and projects appear at first glance to be working in direct opposition to others, as if co-ordination were completely lacking and, in the confusion, the government were working against itself. For example, consider the following cases:

Our Department of Agriculture maintains a vast price support program designed to keep the price of food at a level higher than it would bring on the free market. At the same time the government is working on a vast food stamp program to provide "free" food to the increasing number of people who cannot afford to buy food at its high, supported prices.

Each year the Federal Government spends many millions of dollars on huge irrigation projects designed to convert vast desert lands into arable farmland. At the same time we see it spending many more millions on various soil bank projects with the purpose of taking productive, arable, existing farm land **out** of production.

The complicated tax structure of this country, especially the capital gains setup, has the effect of reducing the mobility of capital in the economy. The minimum wage laws are designed to lower the wage differential between regions of high unemployment and other areas. All of these tend to retard movement of new industries into these otherwise uninviting, economically depressed areas and to make it relatively unprofitable to move to regions of high unemployment, thereby actually aggravating the unemployment problem. To try to offset the effects of these laws, the government then introduces "area redevelopment" and "depressed areas" bills to pump money into these regions.

**The same kind of contradiction** is evident in the government's urban renewal programs and the FHA's mortgages. First FHA makes cheap mortgage money available to apartment owners to buy new houses and apartments that they can't afford. Their old apartments, meanwhile, hit by lack of demand, are neglected and fall into disrepair, i.e. slums. Urban renewal, then, feasting on the tax dollars of the new FHA-created sub-

urbia, rebuilds the old broken down apartments. After the new-home owners lose their new, expensive suburban homes, they move back to the slums.

Another instance of the Federal Government's money-go-round deals with the tariff. To protect the U.S. textile industry from foreign competition, the Federal Government has set up a system of tariffs and import quotas; while at the same time it forces U.S. textile companies to pay a bonus price for U.S. grown cotton. Because of this weird setup foreign concerns can buy U.S.-grown cotton for less than can domestic firms.

In addition we have high taxes on corporations so that they can't compete in foreign markets, coupled with subsidies so that they can; talk of federal aid to middle income housing, to be paid for by taxes, most of which fall on middle income families; federal aid to provide baby sitters for working mothers, most of whom, by working, provide about as much income to the family as the taxes cost, and on and on.

**Notice that these policies appear** to be contradictory. But if you look through them again you will see that there is a pattern; that these policies do work toward a common objective. The net effect, in each pair of programs, is not to cancel the other out, but rather to reinforce each other. In each instance the net effect is to make the individual citizen and the economy less independent, more dependent upon the good graces of the men in Washington. The poor citizen cannot afford price-supported food so Uncle Sam gives it to him free. The foreign merchant can't make a living by selling goods to American citizens, and becomes more dependent upon handouts from his government — which, in turn becomes more dependent upon Washington. Private concerns are discouraged from moving into depressed areas, so Area Redevelopment pours money in. The money is often spent foolishly on hotels in regions which are overbuilt with hotels, and on plywood plants in places where existing plywood plants are closing down for lack of demand. But in each case the objective is obtained. The Federal Government has gained a tighter grip on its subjects.

**Aetius**



## Will There Be Law?

Lyndon B. Johnson uttered some words of great significance in his speech before the United Nations a while back. Amidst a lengthy string of cliches he solemnly announced that the United States is "more than ever committed to the rule of law — in our own land and around the world." That "around the world" clause is an interesting one, especially if it gets applied to the United Nations itself. For, presently, one of those laws is coming up for a test that LBJ might have something to say about. That law is Article 19 of the UN Charter, which specifies that any member nation over two years behind in paying its assessments must be denied its right to vote in the General Assembly. Last year it applied to Haiti. A special session was called to consider applying the punishment; the Hon. Adlai Stevenson declared that "rigid adherence to the law, to the Charter, is essential to the Charter's preservation." Haiti paid.

Currently the Soviet Union is over two years in arrears and the Russian delegation again proudly announced it would not pay to support either the Middle East force or the Congo action, despite an International Court of Justice ruling to the contrary. The USSR is behind almost \$37 million for the Congo operation (directed against the pro-West element down there, no less), and \$15.5 million for the Gaza strip troops.

This will be an ideal time for President Johnson to commit the total strength of the United States to the preservation of the rule of law around the world; not only to powerless island nations, but to military giants; not only to a despotic petty dictator, but to the most powerful and dangerous destroyer of liberty the world has ever seen. If President Johnson fails to demand that Russia either pay up or relinquish its right to vote *we* will not be surprised (it is well known in liberal circles that tough words and alternatives are not the way to "ease tensions" and get signatures on test ban pacts), but both the rule of law and world liberty will have been dealt a terrible blow.

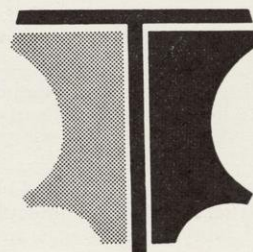
## Determinism on the Run

We dig Marya Mannes. In the January *McCall's* she buried her literary switchblade right in the guts of the sentimental liberals and pompous sociologists who proliferate in the humanities. In particular, Miss Mannes knifed the exponents of environmental determinism, who have popularized the notion that the whole social order must be blamed for the actions of individual men.

You can get away with almost anything in the United States because "nobody is really to blame for

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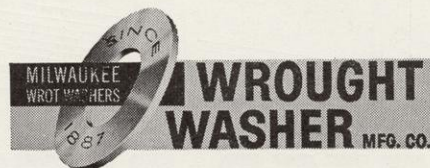
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*"They that would give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety."* BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Historical Review of Pennsylvania.



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## HOW TO "SUCCEED" WITHOUT REALLY TRYING

Suppose that one day a professor asked two students to stay after class. He explained that he had reached a decision on their grades.

"Jack," he began, "you've done a good job all semester. There's no question but what you've earned an 'A'."

He looked at the other. "I'm sorry I can't say the same for you, Tom. You know, as well as I do, your performance has been poor. Because you've done so badly, you deserve to fail."

Then he gave his decision. "But you both want to earn credits, and you know that takes at least a 'C'. So, Jack, I'll lower your grade to 'C' . . . and use your extra credits to raise Tom's 'F' to the same 'C' level."

Ridiculous? Of course! Yet this kind of thinking is not too far removed from the Marxist philosophy: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his need."

But that isn't the way Americans do things. We believe in rewarding — not penalizing — initiative and effort. Under free enterprise, we're measured by what we do; not by what someone else does for us.

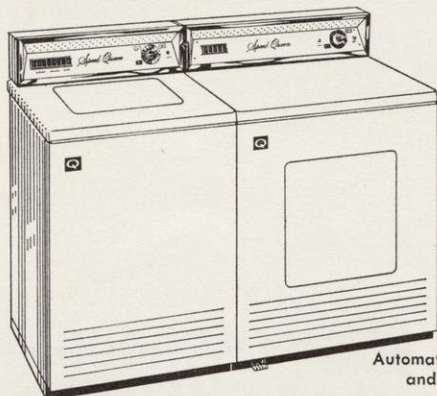


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what he does," she said. "It's Society. It's Environment. It's a Broken Home. But it's hardly ever You."

"Today no one has to take any responsibility," she charged. "The psychiatrists, the sociologists, the playwrights have gone a long way to see to that."

"A fellow commits a crime," she jeered, "because he's basically insecure, because he hated his stepmother at nine, or because his sister needs an operation. A boy takes a bride because his mother didn't love him (or overprotected him) or his sister bullied him."

"A policeman loots a store because his salary is too low. A city official accepts a payoff because it was offered to him. Members of minority groups, racial or otherwise, commit crimes because they are economically handicapped or socially estranged."

Miss Mannes is a person with sufficient common sense to recognize that men have a free will and free volition. They are capable of recognizing wrong and avoiding it; they are capable of recognizing virtue and striving toward it.

We abhor the liberalistic philosophies which reduce man to a bit of flotsam swirling along on the tide of environmental pressures. We deplore the mean concept of man as a passive, helpless, timid creature which is subject to the pressures of "Society." It's an easy enough thing these days to steal a car, without being sociologically justified on the basis that otherwise you'd have to walk in the snow.

We hope Miss Mannes keeps that blade sharp. There are lots of targets in the social sciences.

## Fighting the Soviets' War

An amendment to the recently passed foreign aid bill offered by Senator Karl Mundt would have injected some sense in the Administration's drive to bolster the Russian economy. It would have made the sale of wheat to the Soviet Union a purely private matter and placed any risks involved in dealing with the Soviets squarely on the wheat dealers themselves.

But this was too much for President Johnson and his liberal coterie who were eager to make the frosting as sweet as politically possible for the Soviets in the hope of "easing tensions" and wishing away the Cold War. Invoking the name of his deceased predecessor, the President delivered an emotional appeal to Congress to guarantee commercial credit to the wheat sellers through the Treasury Department's Export-Import Bank in case the Soviets should decide not to pay. The result was the defeat of Senator Mundt's amendment.

The significance of that defeat has been played down by the President and the press. If the Soviets should welsh on their payments, after accepting the wheat, the U. S. government would be forced to pay off the American wheat dealers, turning the wheat sale into



a wheat giveaway.

An interesting aspect of this whole thing is that the Johnson Act specifically *forbids* the extension of credit to any country that hasn't kept up its payments on loans made by the U. S. government. The Soviet Union still owes this country \$10.8 billion for World War II lend-lease aid.

The Agriculture Act of 1961 forbids the sale of subsidized wheat to any country behind the Iron Curtain. Both of these laws were conveniently sidestepped by the Administration. The first was the work of Attorney General Robert Kennedy, who hinged his case on a controversial technicality. The second was evaded by arguing that the government subsidy for Soviet-bound wheat would not benefit the buyer, but only the farmers and wheat dealers. Both evasions are, to say the least, of questionable legality and raise the question of whether law is really still above the political desires of men. The eagerness with which men in high places are now twisting the law will enable the Communists to divert more of their agricultural manpower to the making of guns and barbed wire.

### **Who's Being Brutal?**

Accusations of "police brutality" have ripped back and forth across the Republic with such frequency in recent months that no one has been able to ascertain the truth. Freedom marchers in Birmingham, sit-ins in Chicago, anti-HUAC demonstrators in Washington, blockers of construction work in New York all echo the gripe — police brutality.

There are a number of questions relating to "police brutality" which deserve thoughtful, honest consideration. For instance, what about the amount of "citizen brutality" directed at the police, especially on the streets of America's big cities? Another is whether the police are being compelled to enforce unreasonable and irritating laws, often with little or no public support.

There are still other questions relating to proper methods of law enforcement and the preservation of due process. When police are faced with the onerous task of quelling an incipient riot, for example, shall they use relatively harmless techniques such as firehoses, tear gas and electric cattle prods, or shall they resort to truly brutal and dangerous methods, such as truncheons, discharging fire arms, or mass assault?

Obviously, there is much need for communication between police forces and the public if there is to be any semblance of order and common ground. We think it high time law officers took to the forums to inject some rationality into the rampaging controversy about police methodology.

We are happy to note that Michael N. Canliss, sheriff-coroner of San Joaquin County, California, has spoken up in behalf of his fellows.

"Never have we policemen been so maligned and substituted for the issues, or the causes, or the social injury," he said. "Never, in the history of our society, has the principle purpose of our existence been so lost.

"Law enforcement has a right to expect, and will insist, that the people themselves will act within the framework of the laws (or ordinances) they enact, or suffer the consequences and penalties that they themselves have prescribed for such behavior."

To which we add, Well said!

### **In the Shadow of the Wall**

To celebrate the holidays, the East German SS allowed a couple hundred thousand West Berliners to pass through the Wall to visit relatives and friends, and shot a couple of East Berliners who tried to go the other way. The shootings may be a way of life, but the Wall, we venture to predict, will be down within the year. Neither the DDR nor the Kremlin is insensitive to the propaganda clobbering they've taken about the Wall; so this Christmas past they weighed the propaganda possibilities of opening the Wall, and no doubt found them encouraging. They're presently negotiating with Bonn to keep it partly open throughout the year and, say, about next Christmas will dramatically tear it down.

### **Under the Omnipotent Eye**

It seems there is some sort of competition among government agencies to dream up the most diabolical scheme to snoop on private industry. Undoubtedly, top honors in this dubious field go to the Federal Power Commission, which has put together a questionnaire to top them all.

Recently the commission sent to each of the nation's producers of natural gas a questionnaire which weighs nearly ten pounds. It has 428 data sheets, each measuring twenty-four by fourteen inches. Producers must supply precise cost figures, area by area, for oil and gas operations; breakdowns of their investments and expenditures; details on the number of wells they drill at various depths; the total number of feet they drilled; the number of dry holes, and so forth, clear back to 1955 in some instances. And, of course, they must fill out the whole thing in quadruplicate.

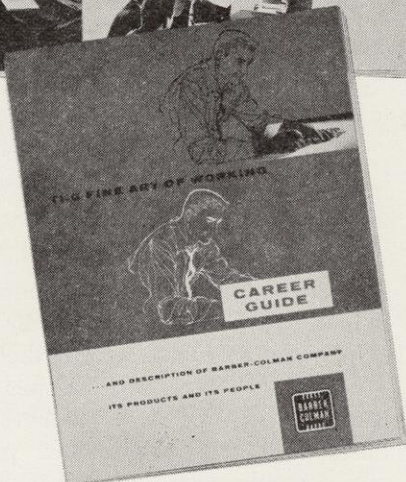
According to the American Petroleum Institute, each company will need to devote about 17,000 man-hours by skilled accountants and specialists to complete the





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questionnaires. The cost per company will run about \$85,000.

The Federal Power Commission blandly claims it needs the data to fix the prices of natural gas. However, it should be obvious that a fraction of the material in the questionnaires would suffice to do *that* job. Much of the rest of that information is the sort that would enable government to begin making managerial decisions for the companies it regulates.

This kind of senseless snooping by government is becoming a wasteful burden upon industry. If each of the 114 domestic natural gas producers expends \$85,000 for filling out that questionnaire, the FPC's snooping will cost the natural gas industry in excess of \$9 million. Other regulatory agencies are forcing other industries to fill out similar questionnaires at similar expense, which means that the dead hand of bureaucracy is needlessly hampering the efficiency of American industry.

The government has no more business snooping into the records of private business than it has snooping into the records of private citizens. That such agencies should be demanding such exhaustive information reveals both a bureaucratic arrogance and an unwarranted lack of trust. Federal snooping is ugly, disgusting and contrary to the American tradition. We hate it.

## An Avenue For Minorities

The problem of job discrimination has been tackled anew by the state advisory committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. The committees recently released a report which asserted that minority groups continue to be excluded altogether from many apprenticeship programs, or are limited to token participation.

The report cited a number of factors which prohibit trained members of minority groups from getting positions in skilled trades. One of the most important factors, according to the report, was the segregation policies of certain trade unions. The report could envision no solution to the problem except more government control.

What the authors of the report apparently overlooked in their obsessive drive toward pure egalitarianism is that only a fullblown police state has the power to ensure that everyone has a precisely equal crack at life — and then only by reducing all opportunity to the lowest common denominator.

One non-authoritarian way to solve job discrimination would be the universal application of right to work laws, which would permit minority group members to find jobs or begin apprenticeships without having to join a union.



---

# The De-Populator

Cy Butt

**Through ingenuous means, Fremont Guilfoyle  
With the noble assistance of Fifi  
Resolves to solve  
A corker**

Into Mr. Joseph Troia's steak and martini emporium this Monday morning came Fremont Guilfoyle, consultant to the new Royal Family, and alongside, as usual, was his secretary, Fifi, her silken shafts shimmering in the subdued light of the juke box and her twin Fujiyamas rising from the plain below in a manner that filled the minds of Mr. Troia's clients with what I think was awe.

"Buenos dias," said Mr. Troia, who is a linguist of no mean ability.

"It isn't," said Fremont, "I have enough fur on my tongue to demand protection from the Department of Game Conservation. Give me a couple of those cock-tails I thought so highly of last night."

"I don't remember just what they were," said Mr. Troia. "Do you recall the name?"

"I don't remember anything," said Fremont, "except that they began with a base of a pint of gin and then seven or eight other ingredients were poured or sifted in. They were delicious and, I imagine, nutritious, for I don't feel the least bit hungry this morning."

"Ah, yes," said Mr. Troia, "that is our Jupiter Pluvius. Several of them taken rapidly will produce all the effects of intoxication. But what are you and your pretty bird doing for the nonce?"

"Fifi and I are here," said Fremont, "to take a short course in genetics. The Boss is worried about the population explosion and he delegated me to do something about it."

"Have you found a solution to the problem?" asked Mr. Troia, placing a tankard in front of Fremont.

"Not yet," said Fremont. "The Administration put out a few releases urging continence, but the staff lives in a glass house in this regard and such suggestions were cut by the press secretary. This continence thing is for the birds, anyway. Don't buy any stock in it. The only thing left is my lemming project."

"I'm listening," said Mr. Troia.

"The lemming," said Fremont, tasting his Pluvius, "is a small animal allied to the marmot that favors the colder parts of the world for its habitat. It has a most

affectionate nature and because of this, I suppose, it is the fastest reproducer excepting, of course, the fifteen or twenty newly emergent, underprivileged, underdeveloped, oversexed nations that the Administration has agreed to support in perpetuity in a manner to which they would like to become accustomed."

"Please continue," said Mr. Troia.

"If you start with a hundred lemmings in any given area, the next year you will have a thousand, and the next year ten thousand, and so on. In a few years there just isn't anything around for them to eat, and they become retarded even more than the nations mentioned supra in that they haven't yet thought of writing the Director of the Agency for International Development for a grant in aid of a magnitude consonant with the dignity of lemmings." Fremont caught his breath. "Well, the shortage of food gets worse and worse, and finally one of them says, 'To hell with it,' and takes off. The rest all follow him and away they go over the hill and dale as if pursued by demons. They finally reach the sea but this doesn't faze them a bit and they jump right in and hit out for the farther shore, which they think is right over the horizon. Bye and bye they drown and that is the end of them except for a few that were playing cards in some saloon when the trek started. There is food enough for these few and they get fat and happy and loving and the whole thing goes around again in another big circle."

"Very interesting," said Mr. Troia, shifting his eyes.

"I am going to get a few of these lemmings, Mr. Troia, and knock them off by some humane method and remove the genes and hormones and chromosomes and gonads and grind them up to synthesize the juice for quantity production. This extract will halt the population explosion in short order, and we won't have to grow our food on the tops of our heads as has been freely predicted if people go on doing what comes naturally."

"What does the Administration think of your plan?" asked Mr. Troia.

"Oh, it is delighted," said Fremont. "I was given AAAA-1 priorities and told to go ahead and never mind the cost. There is, however, one restriction."

"And what is that?" queried Mr. Troia.

"They insist," said Fremont, "that the serum be given only to Republicans."



## In Memoriam

Jared Lobdell

*"A, Launcelot!" he sayd, "thou were hede of all Crysten knyghtes! And now I dare say," sayd syr Ector, "thou sir Launcelot, there thou lvest, that thou were never matched of erthely knyghtes hande."*

—Malory

I wish to say a few words about John Fitzgerald Kennedy. I have quoted the opening lines of Sir Ector's lament for Sir Launcelot because I consider it perfect of its kind, and one of the noblest things — if not the noblest — I have ever read. I do not mean to draw the comparison between our late President and the head of all Christian knights (others, I am sure, have done that), but to suggest a proper form of mourning before I consider the form we have actually used. So that no one may be misled, I should say, before going any farther, that I opposed John Kennedy, and many of his works, while he was alive, and now that he is dead, I will oppose those same works none the less. But he was my President as well as yours, and I wish to honor him as much, though not for the same reasons, as those who supported him.

I honor him because he was my countryman. I honor him because he fought for America and freedom in the War in the Pacific. I honor him because he believed he could set things right in the world through the process of democracy and in accordance with the ideals of civilized life. I would like to have known him and argued with him, for though he was not of my generation, he was close to it, and I think he understood some of its problems. I honor him for the Peace Corps, which may be a success, and the Alliance for Progress, which may very probably not. I wished him well when he was alive, I prayed for him when he was shot, and now

that he is dead, I have a vision and a memory of him.

That vision is not helped, nor is he honored, by the frantic rush of grubby towns and grubbier politicians to cash in on his mortality. By God, I do not want to suspect men of trying to profit from his murder, nor investing with an aura of bloody glamour the sleaziness of their own ambitions, nor seeking to forget the man while remembering the politician, and by God, let us hope none has. If Idlewild has been changed from New York International Airport — Anderson Field to John F. Kennedy International Airport, perhaps that is fitting and proper, for he enjoyed flying, and he was very much a man of the technological age. I suspect other (more or less equally) suitable measures have been taken to preserve his name. This is not what I am speaking of. I am speaking of the indiscriminate naming of towns and capes, the singing of popular songs — though a case might be made even for that — and above all, the assumption that, because he died a brave man's death, he was therefore a martyr, murdered in hate, if not by, then at least as a result of the malice borne him by his domestic enemies.

I do not deny that men hated him, smeared him, uttered imprecations against him, to the danger of their own souls and the peril of the republic, and that many of these men were members of the radical Right. But they did not kill him, nor did they incite the assassin to kill him, nor was the assassin in any way connected with them, so far as we know. The man who killed John Kennedy was the man who shot him, and the man who shot him was a pro-Castro Marxist who came back to America apparently (though not necessarily) because Russia would

not have him. He did not kill him because of the tenets, practices, delusions, or ambition of Senator McCarthy, or of General Walker, or of Robert Welch, or of the American people. We do not, nor do they, share the blood-guiltiness. It is not our fault.

But there is a guilt we do share if we demean his memory by presenting to it our own imprecations of those who disagreed with him while he was alive. If his death is used, as it was immediately used, for a McCarthyite attack on his opponents, a guilt by association where even the association had to be invented, and thereafter an expiation of our imagined sin through calling things by his name, then not only do we demean his memory but we debase ourselves. Are we heathen to slay men thus on our dead leader's grave, or to invoke the magic of his name against our misdoings?

Please understand, I am not attacking the nation's grief at his death, nor the honest and wonderful love that many Americans, and many others, bore him. But I am attacking the frantic search, however sincere it may have been, and may be, to make capital out of his murder. If he rests with the ages, let him rest in peace.

When Tom Taylor wrote his elegy on Lincoln, it gained force because he had so often caricatured him and attacked him in the pages of *Punch*. If the same sort of thing were to happen now, if the world were to be turned upside down, and the radical Right were to praise John Kennedy, and make him for certain things a model, then neither I nor any should say them nay. But it is not fitting that those who supported him in life should support him now, when he has no need of it, and it is far worse if they use him as their support. Go, lay a wreath upon his grave, but make sure you do not confuse that wreath with a crown of thorns. Honor him, remember him in your prayers, know that you also are diminished by his death, but that is all.

Others have also died.



# The Report That Shook Britain

Scott W. Lake

Lord Denning's sober treatise on the Profumo affair is not the only report that has rocked British politics in recent months. The other, entitled "Choice in Welfare," may not be nearly as well known, but its ultimate impact on British political affairs is likely to be much greater.

"Choice in Welfare" is the product of the respected Institute of Economic Affairs Ltd., in London. It deals with the question of just how popular the socialized welfare services are in the United Kingdom. The conclusions it draws, after a meticulous and exhaustive study of British attitudes, are downright amazing and may produce a social revolution in the end.

The report itself sets the stage for its enquiry and conclusions. It points out that throughout the 20th century, British governments have consistently allocated an ever-increasing portion of the national income to "social services." In 1910 such governmental welfarism accounted for 4 per cent of the national income; in 1961 it took fully 18 per cent, or nearly one fifth. During that period the cost of welfarism increased 50-fold, from 80 million pounds in 1910 to 4,230 million pounds in 1961. Welfarism now accounts for about half of all government expenditure in Great Britain.

"With the reduction or removal of the traditional causes of poverty . . .," says the report, "a stimulating and instructive debate has developed among economists and sociologists about the most appropriate scope, shape and direction of public policies for welfare. Where the politician has been principally concerned with the immediate situation . . . the social scientist has usually taken account of the longer period for which current policies must be designed, and over which

rising incomes and standards will continue to enlarge the opportunities and change the preferences of individuals and families."

The report goes on to say that there are two broad avenues for the future of welfarism that are now being advocated in Great Britain. The first, which is essentially the position of the socialists and collectivists, asserts that "increasing national wealth makes possible and justifies the extension of all or most social services, which should therefore increasingly become a permanent and all pervasive feature of economic and social life." As pointed out, the end result of this view is the abolition of private provision and the eventual total or near-total dependency of citizens upon the state for essential services.

The second, and more conservative position, holds that "the continual rise in personal incomes enables individuals increasingly to provide for themselves and that, subject to maintaining prescribed standards, they should be allowed the choice of contracting out of state services and (with the help of a rebate of taxes, rates and contributions) pay for private services in the open market."

The logical development of this approach, according to the report, "is that public provision of welfare was necessary while incomes were generally too low for self-provision but that rising average incomes make it possible to concentrate public welfare on the diminishing number in need." The report might well have added that along this avenue lies personal independence, and a shrinkage of the omnipresent state.

It is widely assumed in Great Britain, as in the United States, that the broad mass of citizens is so eager to receive "free" (meaning tax-supported) governmental serv-

ices that it would be politically impossible or suicidal to dismantle any or all portions of the welfare state. It is further assumed among certain lofty paternalists that such a large part of the populace cannot be trusted to make provision for family needs that the state must impose universal compulsory welfarism, regardless of the fact that another large portion of the populace has no need or desire for it.

In this light, any examination of public attitudes about the welfare state becomes highly significant, for only if there is a substantial number of people opposed to such forced-draft paternalism would it be politically feasible to eliminate it. Such a survey was precisely the intent of the authors of "Choice in Welfare." When they delved into the problem they were amazed to discover that no one had bothered to put such an enquiry together in the past, and Britain's entire knowledge of how its welfare system was accepted was based on virtual guesswork, plus a superficial Gallup Poll.

## Inadequate Information

"We were thus confronted with a striking paradox," wrote the authors of the report. "In consumer goods, where free choice is exercised . . . the suppliers use market research to learn more precisely about changing requirements of customers; but in government-organized goods and services . . . little or no effort is made to seek their views except in the crudest way . . ."

We need not concern ourselves here with the details of the enquiry. Suffice it to say that there was both a pilot and main survey; that 2,005 male heads of households were interviewed; that the respondent quotas were properly weighted by



region, income level, age and political affiliation, and that unusual care was taken in framing the questions and ensuring that the respondents had a precise knowledge of alternatives. In addition, question sequences were varied and interviewers were extensively trained.

The purpose of the questionnaire itself, according to the report, "was to establish the extent of individual willingness and ability to pay for private education, medical services and pensions. Since the costs of private services vary widely, it was not possible to put specific propositions to each individual. Accordingly, the questionnaire used a number of indirect methods to throw light on his knowledge of state and private services, particularly their costs, or how large or small 'welfare' loomed in his scale of preferences, the intensity of his desire for a choice between alternatives, and his attitude toward contracting out of state services on varying assumptions about his payment towards the cost of private services."

### Surprising Outcome

One of the most startling results of the survey was in the field of public versus private education, where one could expect an overwhelming majority to support the expansion of government-run schools. However, 51 per cent thought the state "should take *more* in taxes and rates to pay for better or increased education . . ."

Twenty per cent thought that "the state should take *less* in taxes and rates to provide education *only* for people in need and leave others to pay or insure for it privately." And 27 per cent thought that "the state should continue the present service but allow people to pay *less* in taxes and rates and to use the money saved for private education." Thus, an amazing 47 per cent of the respondents wanted the state to play a lesser role in education.

Equally astounding was the result in the field of public versus private medical care. Only 41 per cent thought the state should take more in taxes to expand or improve

public health services. Some 24 per cent thought the state should take less in taxes and confine medicare to the needy. And 33 per cent thought that present service should be continued, but that people should be allowed to pay less in contributions and use the saved money to pay privately. Thus a total of 57 per cent of the respondents thought that government should be playing a less active role in the provision of medical service.

### Want Less Government

Similar results were obtained in the realm of public versus private pension and retirement plans. A total of 43 per cent of the respondents thought that the state should take more in taxes and provide better or increased pensions for everyone. Some 22 per cent thought the state should take less in taxes and provide pensions only for the needy. And 34 per cent believed that the state should continue present service but allow people to contract out by paying less in taxes and using the money for private plans. Here again, a solid majority (56 per cent) favored a decrease, in varying degrees, of governmental services.

The report is particularly amazing because people tend to be bound by timidity and inertia. Moreover, in Great Britain, where pervasive welfarism has prevailed for decades, there is little knowledge of private alternatives. As the report pointed out, "uncertainty or apprehension about the unknown predispose preference in favor of the familiar."

"For students of social and political phenomena," the report continued, "one of the most unexpected preferences suggested by the survey is that nearly half to approaching three-fifths appeared in favor of allowing individuals to contract out for education, health and pensions, or confining the services to people in need . . . Even more unexpected . . . is the finding that these preferences are not much less common among the lower than the

higher income groups or among the Labour or Conservative sympathizers."

"One conclusion seems inescapable," said the report. "People are apparently more receptive to the idea of radical reform in welfare than is commonly supposed. If this is true, proposals for varying the scope and direction of state provision to allow individuals to indicate preferences should not be prejudged by preference to narrow assumptions about what is 'politically possible' but should be examined on their merits . . ." Translated from the academese, the report is simply saying that now, for the first time in decades, welfare reform is a "political possibility."

### Practical Consequences

If nothing else, the report certainly shatters a great number of illusions and delusions about the popularity of the welfare state. It reveals a hardy, unsuspected streak of libertarianism in the British people which not even a half century of Fabian socialism has been able to eradicate. It is particularly significant that a people which had a great deal of experience with welfarism in all its forms seems to be turning—however timidly—away from it, and toward personal independence and self-sufficiency.

In the United States, where a much higher premium is placed upon individual liberty, self-reliance and minimal government, the welfare state is probably even less popular. The problem here, as in Great Britain, is to convince the politicians (who have a vested interest in controlling the flow of national income as much as possible) that the compulsory welfare state is unpopular, that it is politically dangerous and morally debilitating. That won't be an easy task, particularly since politicians have a rhetorical advantage in their simplistic promises of subsidy for all. And yet the attempt must be made. Freedom lies in the balance.



# The Wasteland Revisited

James M. O'Connell

Conservatives reject, with all the contempt such proposals deserve, attempts to increase the present government censorship of our radio and television networks. Whether the attempt comes in the form of "managed news" or in a more open form — Newton Minow and his "wasteland" speech is a good example — the conscientious civil libertarian, whether on the Right or the Left, must demand that the protection of the First Amendment be extended to cover *all* forms of mass communication.

However, a desire to protect the television networks from government interference and control must not be extended to exempt the networks from criticism of any sort. It is, after all, part of the conservative's duty to criticize the mores and morality of his age; to defend the norms against encroaching slobbism. And, unfortunately, nowhere else is this slobbism more apparent than on our television networks. One need only look at the CBS network which, with the exception of one or two excellent shows such as *The Defenders*, and *The Great Adventure*, and perhaps one or two others, presents an unrelieved diet of pap and pabulum to its viewers. The other networks are no better.

It is argued that the networks are, in effect, a mass medium, and as such, they must reflect the public taste, as determined by the "rating" system. Economically, this is true; the values of the consumer must be met if the product is to sell. The question is: do the ratings accurately reflect the public taste? Consider, for example, the Nielsen ratings: out of some estimated 51,300,000 television families, 979 are taken as a sample base. No amateur statistician, much less one trained in the rigors of statistics, would accept such figures; no other business would base its product line on such a small sample. Yet shows rise and fall on the strength of their ratings.

Critics may damn a show such as the CBS spawned *Beverly Hillbillies*, which portrays a family of gaping primates turned adrift, thanks to a providential oil well, in the upper-class slums of Beverly Hills; its 34.9 Nielsen protects it from the edge of the ax. Yet, good shows are dropped because the chosen 979 weren't watching.

There is a view, held by some, that it is not the fault of the networks, that the advertisers and sponsors make the choices. By and large it is *not* true. But, in the few cases where the advertisers *have* made the choices—as in the old U. S. Steel Hour, the Alcoa show, the Hallmark Hall of Fame, to name a few—the quality of the shows has been high, indeed superb. As many economists have noted, the old line companies, those with established reputations, can afford to ignore the "public taste" (as determined by pollsters). It is, in the end, the affluent who improve the tastes of the public; they can afford the attitude, "The public be damned." But even though a few can control their own programming, by far the majority represent the mass conscious tastes of the networks.

Another way to better television, of course, is to have some independent director run a show to his tastes, rather than to the networks' taste. We have the example of Richard Boone, and, to a lesser extent, Bob Hope, serving as player-directors, and producing decent television. And, of course, the outraged roars of the critics do, at times, penetrate to the executive level in the networks.

The eternal liberal solution, as usual, avoids these methods; a public service should be publicly owned. Even if we dismiss the probable end of free discussion and unmanaged news on the networks, we cannot expect anything better in the way of television. A bureau-

cratic concept of "culture" will be piped over the airwaves; criticism of high authority, common enough among commentators now, will become non-existent; the amount of useless pap the viewer must take along with the cultural programming—try, for example, looking at Wisconsin's own WHA all day, try it!—will increase, what with dull shows on farming, on politics, on government welfare programs thrown in with the good, or at least, the "approved" plays on television.

It is true that liberal literature dealing with the usage of the airwaves almost invariably assaults the idea of censorship. It is also true, however, that the same literature is loaded with wistful dreams of using the "positive" force of government to compel the networks to improve their programming. These two ideals stand in stark contradiction to each other, but the liberals have attempted to resolve the dilemma by resorting to "public interest" programming.

The liberal-oriented Federal Communications Commission has simply threatened to withdraw the licenses of those stations which do not broadcast sufficient "public interest" material. Of course, the FCC itself decides what constitutes "public interest" material, which just happens to result in the airing of heavier and heavier doses of Establishmentarian propaganda.

Thus, without censoring or blue-pencilling a word, the FCC—and the liberal establishment—have effectively used the coercive power of government to dominate the airwaves. The net effect is the same as censorship, even though technically the stations remain free.

The networks need to improve, of course. The common libertarian solution, pay television, might be of some help. A little more backbone on the part of the network executives and less reliance on the ratings might also be in order. But let us not, even in reaction to the *Beverly Hillbillies*, run to the government. That solution we can do without.



# Competition, Countervailence and a 'Modern' Economist

James E. Blair

## Untwisting the Conclusions Of the Popular Spokesman for The Big Government Lobby

It is extremely unfortunate that so gifted a writer as the author of *American Capitalism*, John Kenneth Galbraith, should devote his considerable talents to so dubious a task as "selling" liberal economics to the voters of the United States. If his purpose is to logically show the American people why they need a bigger government (as it obviously is) Galbraith is a failure. It is his delightful rhetoric, interspersed with conservative-directed snide barbs, which might lead the reader to such a conclusion. But the economic principles and ideas he points out—many of which are valid and useful, by the way—produce an altogether different picture of what is needed if the American economy is to truly prosper.

*American Capitalism*, subtitled *The Concept of Countervailing Power*, deals with a problem basic to "modern" liberal economics. It is a problem that must be answered in any realistic explanation of what makes the business world tick. It is, in short, why does the American economy function so well even though huge segments of it correspond little, if at all, to the models of competition developed by the classical economists? To understand the problem, and the answer, we must hastily examine the theories of the classics.

In the model of pure competition the economy is composed of large numbers of buyers and sellers of a given commodity, and so many separate producers that each has to adapt to spontaneous changes in price, while none can control them. The classical economists rightly

note that in such a situation the individual producer is *not* in a position to abuse the economic power he possesses. Rather, he is constrained by the impersonal forces of the market—particularly his competitors—and socially desirable consequences result.

Galbraith points out that this classical model of pure competition was a realistic model of the structure of most of the world's economy as it existed through the nineteenth century. A good portion of our present economy—agriculture, most services, and other areas—is approximated to a reasonable degree by this model. However, today, large sectors of the economy clearly deviate from the assumptions of pure competition by a considerable margin. One can hardly insist, for example, that there are so many producers of automobiles or steel that no one producer can affect the market price of the product he makes, or that new firms can readily enter these industries.

Thus, without the restraining influence of competition, the big cor-

poration, backward, not responsive to the public or to changes in demand. But it is equally clear that it is these very industries which *are* efficient, progressive and extremely responsive to changes in demand, that they do in fact serve the public quite well. Far from being backward, it is these industries, characterized by an oligopolistic structure—a few large companies rather than many small ones—which have led the way in technological development and in financing research. There is every indication that industries such as railroads, steel, automobiles, rubber and chemicals serve the public at least as well as those sectors characterized by close conformity to the classical model, and perhaps even better. In short, our economy does work and has worked very well.

In an attempt to develop a theory which will explain the success of American capitalism (or indeed, of post-nineteenth century capitalism) Galbraith delves into the economics of oligopoly and explains why oligopoly will be likely to produce results very different from those produced by a true monopoly. Note that while large sectors of our economy are characterized by oligopoly, there are few true monopolies, and those few are established by law rather than by the market. Galbraith summarizes his conclusions on oligopoly and technical development in the following passage:

Providence . . . has made the modern industry of a few large firms an excellent instrument for inducing technical change. It is admirably equipped for financing technical development. Its organization provides strong incentives for putting it to use. The competition of the competitive model, almost completely precludes technical development. (p. 86)



porations in these non-pure competition sectors of the economy should have nothing to check their arbitrary power, and should be ineffi-



The reasoning behind these conclusions is developed at some length in chapter seven.

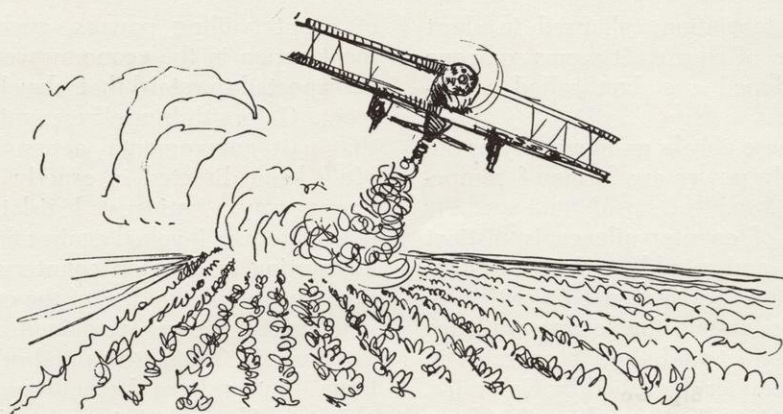
Thus we are brought to the central theme of the monograph: if competition does not serve as a check upon the abuse of power by these giant firms, then what does? Galbraith answers:

[Classical economists] came to look to competition exclusively and in formal theory still do. The notion that there might be another regulatory mechanism in the economy has been almost completely excluded from economic thought. Thus with the widespread disappearance in competition in its classical form [from many sectors of the economy] and its replacement by the small group of firms if not in overt, at least in conventional or tacit collusion, it was easy to suppose that since competition had disappeared, all effective restraint on private power had disappeared. . . . In fact, new restraints on private power did appear to replace competition. They were nurtured by the same process of concentration which impaired or destroyed competition. But they appeared not on the same side of the market but on the opposite side, not with competitors but with customers or suppliers. (p. 110-111)

This counterpart of competition Galbraith calls *countervailing power* or *countervailing*. This is the mechanism whereby the existence of market power creates an incentive to the organization of another position of power that neutralizes it. Hence countervailing is, like competition, a self-generated regulatory force. The fact that a seller enjoys some measure of monopoly-like power and is reaping a measure of monopoly return as a result, means that there is an inducement to those from whom he buys (or those to whom he sells) to develop the power with which they can defend themselves against exploitation. It means also that there is a reward for them, in the form of a share of the gains of their opponent's market power, if they are able thus to organize.

#### Producing a Balance

The most obvious example of the development of countervailing power is to be found in the labor market. As a general though not invariable rule one finds the strongest



unions in the United States where markets are served by strong oligopolistic corporations. It is not an accident that the large automobile, steel, electrical, rubber, farm machinery, and non-ferrous metal-mining and smelting companies all bargain with powerful unions. By contrast, unions tend to be weaker in industries which are more competitive, such as textiles, boot and shoe manufacturers, lumbering and forest products. There is not a single union of consequence in American agriculture, the country's closest approach to the competitive model.

A second example cited by Galbraith is the retail business. Large, powerful buyers have formed in response to powerful manufacturers. The practical manifestation of this has been the rise of the food chains, variety chains, mail order houses, department store chains and the large co-operative buying organizations for the surviving independent department and food stores. The rubber tire industry is a fairly commonplace example of oligopoly. Four large firms are dominant in the market. In the 1930's Sears, Roebuck & Co. was able, by exploiting its role as a large and indispensable customer, to procure tires from the Goodyear company at a price from 29 to 40 per cent lower than the going price. These it resold to its customers at from one-fifth to one-fourth less than the same tires carrying the regular Goodyear brand. A number of similar examples of the exercise of countervailing power by A&P, Woolworth's, big automobile manufacturers

(against big steel companies) and others are given by Galbraith to illustrate the theory.

Implicit in the theories of the classical economists, are a number of checks, other than pure competition, on the exercise of economic power by oligopolies, but Galbraith has either neglected or made only slight reference to these. The existence of many large firms looking for new markets to enter and diversify their position means that existing corporations must take this threat of *potential competition* into account in their pricing policies. High profits serve as a lure for new competition. In addition, there is always *competition from substitute products*. U.S. Steel, for example, faces competition not only from other steel companies in the United States and from abroad, but also from companies which produce aluminum, certain plastics and any other materials which can replace steel in some circumstances, albeit in a less direct way. *Technological innovation* also serves as a check on the exercise of monopoly power.

#### For Example

In *Life on the Mississippi*, Mark Twain tells of the nineteenth century monopoly of an association of river boat pilots. Their power was nearly absolute since non-members could not get the navigation information necessary to operate on the dangerous and ever-changing river which was available to members through the association. The association pilots forced their wages to a very high level, raising transportation costs on the river a great deal. The perfect monopoly position of



the association collapsed in short order, of course. It seems someone developed a gadget called a railroad.

These checks on monopoly or oligopoly power are forms of competition, broadly considered, and the idea of countervailing power is distinct from and would work in addition to them. So let us not be critical—let us assume that countervailing power does exist and that it operates in the manner described by Galbraith. What implications does this have on the direction and scope of government economic policy?

### Enter Washington

Galbraith calls for more governmental action in the economy in the form of legislation to stimulate and aid in the development of countervailing groups. In fact, he suggests that the support of countervailing power should be in modern times perhaps the major domestic peacetime function of the federal government. But is this conclusion sound, or is it perhaps just the Pavlov's dog-like reaction of a liberal to the mouth-watering prospects of increased State power? After all, countervailing power as described by Galbraith is self-generating.

Acceptance of Galbraith's notion gives us a model of the economy in which there is a spectrum of industries and activities. One end of the spectrum is founded on the classical model of pure competition and the other end on oligopoly held in check by countervailing powers as well as by the various broad forms of competition as noted above. The entire system contains its own checks and is self-regulating. Due to less intensive price competition at the oligopoly end of the spectrum profit margins there will be higher; but most of these profits are plowed back into research with the resulting technological advances aiding the entire economy. Thus, the advances by oligopolistic farm machinery and chemical companies have been responsible for the vast productivity advances in the competitive agricultural industry.

Far from aiding the development

of countervailing powers, government action in the economy would be expected to retard their development. Galbraith himself recognizes that past governmental action has often been directed in exactly the wrong way. Anti-trust legislation has often been invoked against firms attempting to develop countervailing power while holders of the original market power remained unchallenged. Chain stores and other large buyers have been frequent objects of Sherman Act prosecution. They are the special target of the Robinson-Patman Act which is especially designed to inhibit their exercise of countervailing power. The A&P company in particular has been the subject of much prosecution for its attempts to use its powerful market position to bargain on the consumer's behalf. Likewise, the various so-called "fair trade" laws serve to block the use of countervailing power, as do laws to eliminate price discrimination. The Interstate Commerce Commission's prohibition of rebates by railroads to large shippers serves to protect the original market power (the railroads) from the exercise of countervailing power by the large shippers.

### Unbalancing Labor

The role of government toward labor unions is perhaps the most striking example of the government's propensity to be out of phase in its actions. When labor unions first made their appearance in this country they were weak and were needed to offset the power of the big corporations. The government sided with business against the infant unions. Today, when it should be clear to most serious students of our economy that the big unions wield too much power, the government sides with the unions and supplies them with additional coercive power (See *INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK*, March 1963). In fact, today we see a sort of inverse countervailing power in action. Companies are forced to merge or to organize into close associations in order to protect themselves from the powerful labor unions.

In addition, a good deal of effort has been misdirected into trying to establish countervailing groups in areas where they cannot survive—attempts to organize farm groups and associations in other competitive sectors of the economy. But as explained above, the conditions for the growth of countervailing power do not exist in these sectors; but neither is it needed here since competition seems to do the job.

### Dragging Their Heels

On reflection, it is clear why the government has so often acted in exactly the wrong way, and why it is likely to continue to do so. Government policy has not been, nor will it likely be, guided by proven economic principles. It is guided for the most part by existing lobbies and pressure groups. By its very nature countervailing power follows after the establishment of the original market power. The original market powers, established and strong, are likely to have much more influence in Congress and in the White House than are the infant countervailing groups. This helps to explain why government action is likely to be in support of the original market powers against the countervailing groups. By the time a group is strong enough to have a lobby as influential as that of the original market power it has no need for governmental help. In fact, as in the case of the labor unions, government assistance after the countervailing power is strong only serves to unbalance the system.

One might be led to suspect from this that perhaps one reason for this country's spectacular economic growth after the Civil War and until the Great Depression was the reluctance with which the government undertook interference in the economy. The government just wouldn't move with sufficient "vigor" to stamp out these countervailing groups as fast as the original market powers desired. The current sluggishness of the American economy may well be the result of our vigorous government.



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# In Defense of Orthodoxy

**Richard S. Wheeler**

## Why Let Them Destroy Such a Valuable Tradition?

A lot of verbiage has been expended glorifying the bold dissenter, the non-conformist, the icon-smasher whose insights and daring contribute to the upward thrust of man's understanding. In liberal circles there has even arisen a hagiology which centers upon the geniuses through the ages whose dissents have provided enlightenment. Throughout America a kind of formula has surrounded the dissenter, which holds that tradition and orthodoxy are the enemies, and the journey upwards depends upon the dissenter's capacity to smash the stranglehold of the past and liberate men to face the future without fetters.

The trouble with such a view is that it ignores the apparent damage done by irresponsible and reckless dissenting, or dissenting for its own sake. Nobody has paid much attention to the gaping holes left in the social fabric by the ignorant, obsessive dissenters whose object was merely to destroy. And even fewer have given consideration to the value and importance of a vital orthodoxy as the *sine qua non* of any healthy social order.

It is safe to say that no civilized society, including our own, has ever managed to survive at great length without a strong orthodoxy. There is an irreducible minimum of transcendental belief which is necessary to achieve community and commonality of purpose. When the orthodoxy begins to crumble under the assaults of dissenters, the result of the onslaught is usually chaos. The rules of life itself begin to dissolve, and then men split into fac-

tions and feud barbarously. If anyone doubts the existence of some orthodoxy in American life today, let him find out how many persons would willingly abandon their right to a jury trial, or due process of law, or protection against theft and bodily harm. Let him find out how many of us are opposed to totalitarianism, or plural marriages. Let him find out how many believe it is wrong to lie. These are elements of orthodoxy itself, and cannot be demolished without crucially wounding society itself.

## The Essence

When we speak of orthodoxy, by no means do we refer to mere conformity, nor do we speak of a rigid set of beliefs which must be imposed upon the masses by brute force. Far from it. Orthodoxy has an element of tradition and history in it. Orthodoxy could be described as those moral, social and political ideas which *come closest* to being settled, or, in other words, closed issues at this time. It is, moreover, that indefinable essence which gives society its unique character and value system. It is what makes Americans American.

An all-inclusive definition of American orthodoxy would be virtually impossible to construct, but at least the basic components can be discerned. What we have here is, of course, an adaptation of European or Western culture. Western orthodoxy is still constructed primarily around Judeo-Christian doctrine and practice. The Decalogue and the Sermon on the Mount comprise the essential basis for a moral and religious orthodoxy here and in Europe, which is manifest in our law, custom and idealism. Even where religion has virtually disap-

peared, such as Great Britain, the moral structure of Christianity still prevails, enjoining men to achieve virtue. With the decline of faith, and the encroachments of moral relativism (the doctrine that circumstances and environmental factors mitigate good and evil) the moral orthodoxy in America has grown pulpy. Its enforcement is now a matter of social strictures and conformity rather than a belief in divine reward or punishment. Recently, in fact, morals have been presumably justified on purely pragmatic grounds, which are the weakest means to enforce any orthodoxy because they reduce transcendental belief to mere expediency or practicality.

Political orthodoxy in America is grounded upon those ideals embodied in the Constitution, the Federalist Papers and to some extent, the Declaration of Independence. The orthodoxy was refined during the pre-Civil War debates on statehood issues. The original political orthodoxy was neither democratic nor egalitarian. It was, however, profoundly libertarian, insofar as it minimized the role of government, decentralized political authority, and maximized personal responsibility. Under the obsessive egalitarianism of the left, the older, more aristocratic orthodoxy crumbled: security, rather than liberty, became the end of politics; universal enfranchisement and democracy replaced republicanism; economic and social egalitarianism replaced the Jeffersonian ideal of a natural aristocracy. Today, of course, the political orthodoxy is further threatened by renewed left-wing dissents aimed at collectivizing and equalizing society still further. Portions of the Bill of Rights persist with vigor, but American



political orthodoxy has probably suffered more erosion than any other element in American tradition.

Another primary element of American orthodoxy is the Anglo-Saxon mercantile and social tradition. Thanks in great measure to our British origins and heritage, we have become a nation of traders and manufacturers, and we have assiduously developed those casts of mind which generate profits, fiscal prudence and marketing ability. Our natural aristocracy, if we have one, is composed primarily of industrial genius. Our national character has been molded extensively by sound English discipline, moderation and tolerance. The English essence of our culture predominates in spite of successive waves of immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe and elsewhere. In recent decades the mercantile orthodoxy has deteriorated under the impact of incessant dissent against profit-taking, business oriented culture, and "organization men," but nonetheless it remains the most intact of any of the elements of American tradition.

And finally, there is the pioneer orthodoxy, which produced a race of hardy, self-reliant, independent and ferocious men who learned to lick anything on the face of the earth. The harsh wilderness molded a character at once prudent and wary; at once sociable and independent. It fostered traditions of cooperation which still persist in American culture. The wilderness, with its lurking dangers, is conquered today but the pioneer orthodoxy persists, in spite of the amassed assaults of the dissenters. Some areas of the country, such as the Southwest, are only half a century removed from the frontier, and their politics and mores reflect a deeper appreciation of the survival values of frontier life, as well as an ingrained suspicion of government and welfarism. With the advancement of urban culture the pioneer orthodoxy is rapidly softening and disappearing. But the dissenters in the academies have accelerated the process by teaching new doctrines



of dependency on government, the evil of individualism, the value of collectivism, and the superiority of bookish men over men of action.

These four elements — Judeo-Christian faith and morals; the political concepts of the Founders; Anglo-Saxon commercial values, and the pioneer tradition — comprise the guiding genius of the American race. They are worthy of honor and respect for molding the superior American character and guiding the Republic toward its manifest destiny of world leadership. Call it the social cement, call it "Americanism" if you will — the fact remains that it molded this nation into the greatest and noblest entity ever conceived by man.

It is the conservative's insight to recognize the priceless quality of American orthodoxy and defend it against the mindless assault of nihilistic critics. In recent decades conservatives have witnessed barbarous attacks upon American ethical and moral codes, charitable concepts, political ideas, religious beliefs, and business mores. Much of the demolition has been produced by ideologues who couldn't adjust to the competitive American culture. Other destruction has been wrought by intellectuals on the make, or plain neoterics who form the scum of any civilized order. Their carping has already dissolved much of the social cement: unless it is rebutted it could destroy America as we know it today.

In the demolition of orthodoxy, conservatives have unwillingly witnessed not merely the destruction of

the old, but also the abandonment of the good. When the orthodox disciplines of the classrooms were abandoned for the fad of life adjustment and progressivism, we witnessed the emergence of a generation of half-educated slobs. When judges and sociologists abandoned the orthodox relation between crime and punishment we witnessed the explosive growth of brutality and crime.

When psychologists abandoned the orthodox Christian concept of free will and proclaimed that "society" is responsible for the acts of individual men, we witnessed the appearance of a rationale for sin and a blurring of right and wrong. When "advanced" theologians — Unitarians in particular — abandoned not only God but also concepts of sin and guilt, we witnessed the growth of a society grown arrogant with narcissism and incapable of comprehending its own meanness. When political scientists abandoned orthodox opposition to large government, they unloosed forces of bureaucratic oppression which produce more misery and constriction than all the ills that were supposed to have been cured by "positive" government.

When leftist ideologues undercut orthodox approval of profit-taking, they slowed American economic growth to a crawl, while more progressive nations are rapidly overhauling us. When empire-building politicians substituted compulsory welfarist schemes for orthodox charity, they fostered the growth of an enormous class of parasites who subsist upon the sweat of other men's brows.

### The Disastrous Results

In each case, the disintegration of orthodoxy was followed not by liberation or improvement, but by a reversion to barbarism and evil. The new values which rush so precipitously into the vacuum left by the old are usually inferior, or at least engender a whole new set of problems. Modern man, estranged from orthodox belief, is not more civilized than his forbears, and is



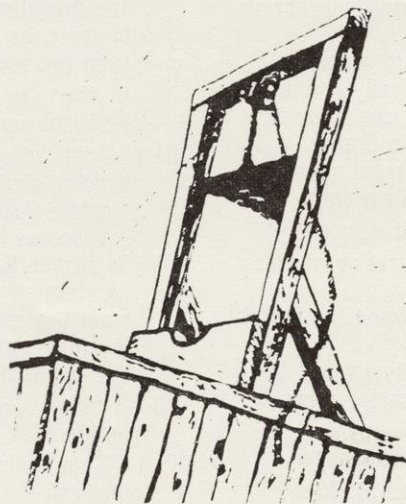
probably more brutal in some regards. He generally has few compunctions about living a life of raw hedonism. His conceit knows no bounds because he's abandoned orthodox gauges of character and virtue. His despair knows no bounds because he has abandoned the guideposts to rational behavior and the transcendental goals of religious faith. In his final disintegration, he is a beatnik, rebelling aimlessly because he loves to rebel; writing incoherent, undisciplined, sybaritic literature because he can't organize his thoughts or direct his intellect; shocking the world because he can't impress it; centering his whole life in his potty little self because he can't commune with others. A beatnik is truly a liberated man — liberated from his culture, his heritage — his orthodoxy.

A number of factors, such as the growth of technology and the pervasive American belief in dynamism and progress, have contributed to the deterioration of orthodoxy. But the lion's share of the blame rests squarely upon the liberal Left. Liberalism developed and popularized a widespread contempt for tradition. Liberalism made a cult of dissent, and eulogized the great dissenters, such as Justice Holmes. Liberalism made a fetish of progress, and promoted utopian social programs upon the presumption that the world would steadily grow better thereby. Liberalism fostered moral and cultural relativism, which dissolved old values. Liberalism glorified the doctrine of pragmatism, which reduced the soaring mysteries of faith to mere practicalities. Liberalism disemboweled Jewish and Christian faith, and turned the church into a lobby for social egalitarianism. Liberalism abandoned the limited state, and developed the notion of "positive" government. In short, liberalism has been, and will continue to be, the arch-enemy of any orthodoxy anywhere.

There is nothing hollower in the 1960s than the liberalistic cries for new, bold and exciting dissent. The reason is simple: there's not enough

solid orthodoxy left to dissent against. Moreover, compared to the armies of self-proclaimed dissenters, there are scarcely any defenders of orthodoxy. With the dissolution of transcendental orthodoxy, a vast egalitarianism has settled over the world of ideas and values. One concept is now supposedly as good as the next, particularly because there are few standards left to weigh one idea against another.

Obsessive dissent seems to be the hallmark of the American intelligentsia. Fame, rewards, honorariums are heaped upon any half-baked academician with a penchant for mockery. The more sacred the target of the dissenter, the louder is the raucous acclaim of the intelligentsia. God is a particularly good plum. An amazing number of dissenters have worked Him over with literary brass knuckles. The American businessmen are always good for a laugh — particularly those who have generously endowed universities, and those who have built a prosperity which enables scholarship to flourish. The medical pro-



fession gets its knocks — perhaps because it gives more than anyone else to charity, or because it works long, irregular hours for the well-being of us all.

Then, of course, some pokes at the Founders are always good for academic frivolity. After all, why not teach students that George

Washington was a wench — that's more important than his Farewell Address.

On the other hand, the scholar who defends Western orthodoxy can expect neither fame nor remuneration. Within the academic community he is a pariah. He can look forward to few, if any, promotions. He can forget all about leap-frogging into a professorship. Even the students will ignore him if they can, because they sense the pecking order in the academy. Not even if the traditionalist is a genius whose scholarship is sublime does he get his just desserts — and so, he must write for future generations rather than the mocking present. He is condemned to the loneliest of vigils. And he quietly despairs.

Just why American scholarship should dissent fetishistically on almost everything is rather a mystery. European scholarship, in general, provides an honored place for the defenders and refiners of orthodoxy. This is not to suggest that European scholarship closes its doors to the dissenter, but rather that scholarship there is better balanced between its radical and conservative elements — to the benefit of truth.

In the process of collecting their gaudy honorariums for "burying" this or that "myth," these liberalistic dissenters are burying the West itself. That passion that once led Europeans to prosythesize their civilized doctrines of Christianity and liberty has all but withered away. Not only has the prosylectizing force of Western civilization diminished to insignificance, but it now appears that an inevitable wave of barbarism is sweeping inward upon us, replacing enlightenment with darker dreams. It is no accident that fanatical anti-Christian sects have blossomed in Japan, Iraq, Africa and elsewhere throughout the non-European world. They are simply rushing into vacuums left by a collapsed European orthodoxy.

It is no accident that the departure of colonial governments coincides with the deterioration of American and European orthodoxy. Nor is it accidental that the Black



Muslims burgeon here in America, hard upon the decline of Christian faith, morals and brotherhood. These are the fruits of the destruction of orthodoxy—the destruction of American belief. Ultimately, if civilization is to prevail against the rude horde, it must arm itself anew with its essential orthodoxy. Moreover, if Western man ever plans to civilize the world once again, he must somehow revitalize and exalt his own transcendental faith and ideals, and convey them to the world's unfortunates.

It is time for American scholarship to look inward; to accept its guilt for destroying the essential faith of our civilization; to accept the responsibility for inculcating Judeo-Christian belief into new generations.

That means, if you will, inculcation or indoctrination in much the positive fashion that was once universal in America's little red schoolhouses not so long ago. It does *not* mean permitting youngsters to select their notions cafeteria style. For orthodoxy is, in truth, the product of indoctrination. It is preserved and enriched and enlightened by positive transmission from generation to generation. It is openly recognized as a transcendent and sacred body of belief, and therefore less subject to dissent. By no means, however, does the indoctrination of orthodoxy preclude the development of dissent. On the contrary, it makes dissent more meaningful by hardening the opposition to it and by forcing it to prove its superiority. Orthodoxy can no more

be preserved from generation to generation without indoctrination than religion can be preserved by parents who ignore religious training, on the ground that their children can accept or reject faith when they become adults. As often happens under that rationale, the faith is abandoned.

If we fail to transmit our orthodoxy to succeeding generations, we will bequeath to our young a society without belief, without the capacity to defend itself from the ominous hordes at our doorsteps; a society brutalized by violence, barbarism and disorder; a society where only despotism can maintain a semblance of civic order. In the end, the demolition of orthodoxy is but the prelude to the suicide of ourselves.

## Stompin' at the Savoy Yards

*Petronius*

Cart—I am the very model of a modern court cartographer  
This means around the *Times* I'm more than draughtsman  
and geographer

In matters Pan American in which I tend to specialize  
What facts I don't command I can dogmatically synthesize  
The intricately balanced base of power I can understand  
In all the politics from Patagonia to the Rio Grande  
I wrote the State Department line on juntas and plutocracy  
And I can tell in dead of night incipient democracy

All—And he can tell in dead of night incipient democracy

Cart—While Communists and Oligarchs are making rumbles  
left and right

I keep the faith that democratic ways will end the feudal  
plight

In short, because a proselyting socio-politographer,  
I am the very model of a modern court cartographer.

All—In short, because a proselyting socio-politographer,  
He is the very model of a modern court cartographer,

Cart—For economic pulchritude I'm unsurpassed at ENPs  
Interpolating foreign aid I reach the highest GNPs  
A greater share of industry and Yanqui gold to try entice  
To nationalization every country turned on my advice  
The thrust of my white papers although faintly proletarian  
Evokes the echo, more and more and **more** reform agrarian  
Production tends to normalize from torrents vast to  
tricklets

It's healthy, though these days I'm having trouble buying  
chicelets

All—It's healthy, though these days he's having trouble buying  
chicelets

Cart—Inflation at my gentle rate renounced debts for Brasilia  
The Argentines got cracking with my secret note to Illia  
In short, as Alianza Del Progreso's lexicographer  
I am the very model of a modern court cartographer.

All—In short, as Alianza Del Progreso's lexicographer,  
He is the very model of a modern court cartographer.

Cart—I did the new translation on the Incan codex cuneiform  
Which stated pictographically Peru needs badly to reform  
I cabled Juan Valdez to get me all the real behind-the-  
scenes

In Bogota, he cabled back, Watch out for speckled coffee  
beans

From Georgetown to Caracas to Habana by banana boat  
Is rather slow, t'was I, you know, who cleared the route  
for Aeroflot.

All—Is rather slow, t'was he, you know, who cleared the route  
for Aeroflot

Cart—T'was I who drew the Sunday map excluding Cuba from  
the rash  
Of nations whose official bank in Switzerland Alliance cash  
Dictatorship in Haiti on it, Rightists in Peru are seen  
With Military Control all over, you'd surmise that Cuba's  
clean

A clearer situation map you probably will never find  
Unless the ones I drew last year with Cuba shaded  
"unaligned"

In short, as recommended by the *Times'* Castro biographer  
I am the very model of a modern court cartographer.

All—In short, as recommended by the *Times'* Castro biographer,  
He is the very model of a modern court cartographer.



## BOOKS:

### Castro No!

Occasionally events in the life of one person can lend a significant insight into the complex process which causes great civilizations to rise and to decay, especially if the individual experiences events which, although minor, are samples of widespread practices. The story of John Martino provides such insight. Martino is a United States citizen who was arrested in Cuba and was sentenced to 40 months in the nightmares of terror and brutality that are Castro's prisons. Martino's tale

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#### I WAS CASTRO'S PRISONER

John Martino as told to Nathaniel Weyl  
Devin-Adair Co., New York, 1963

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of the inhuman conditions in La Cabana and the Isle of Pines relates horrors which might sound unbelievable were they not substantiated independently by a two and one-half year study by the Organization of American States' Commission on Human Rights (a study summarized in *Time* magazine for June 7, 1963). I cannot here attempt to reveal the details of the conditions under which Cuba's 75,000 (OAS estimate) to 150,000 (Martino's estimate) political prisoners live, but will relate instead some of the small but significant asides.

The book contains some interesting notes on "revolutionary justice." For example, one might think some sort of record was set by the trial of four teenage boys who were arrested at 4:00 p.m., were convicted at a "trial" held at 7:00, and were shot by a firing squad at 10:30 the same evening. But even this was beaten by an hour when three leaders of the electrical workers union were arrested at 5:00 p.m. and convicted and shot by 10:30. Even this was too slow for true revolutionaries. Hence the "popular trial" was instituted, whereby a group of militiamen can arrest, try, convict, sentence, and execute an enemy of the State all in a matter of minutes.

Another interesting feature of Martino's story is the large number of Castro's early supporters who, having been unable to keep pace with the twists and turns of policy, found themselves passing through La Cabana on their way to the firing squads.

There is the story of Jose Licaso, a Cuban who had lived in the U. S. for twenty years, having eventually saved enough to own a few apartment houses in New York. When Castro came to this country in April of 1959, Licaso was among the Cubans welcoming him at the airport. He had been one of Castro's most ardent supporters, had given money for the 26th of July fighters and was proud to be backing the man he con-

sidered to be Cuba's savior. Out of patriotism for Cuba and Castro, Licaso sold his property here and moved his family to Cuba. He turned over everything he owned, including all of his cash, to the Banco Nacional in return for pesos. But, alas, while living in the United States Licaso had learned dangerous habits — like speaking his mind. Martino met Licaso while both were inmates of La Cabana Fortress.

Martino describes vividly the workings of the U. S. State Department. The incompetent American Vice Consul, Wayne Gilchrist, who didn't speak Spanish; the American Ambassador Philip W. Bonsal who attended a diplomatic party and watched with approval while his wife danced to the "Cuba Si! Yanqui No!" rhumba. Mention is also made of Castro's extensive program of heroin poppy cultivation.

But perhaps the most disturbing item in Martino's story is the manner in which the State Department was willing to betray a United States citizen in an attempt to gain the good will of the bearded dictator. After his arrest Martino managed to reach the U. S. embassy building in Havana. There State Department personnel convinced him that he should turn himself back over to Castro's police so as not to strain relations with the new government, and they promised to secure his release "the next day." Martino foolishly trusted the Department, and when he was finally released some three years later it was not due to their efforts. The Cuban government let him go after deciding that they had arrested the wrong man. Months after his return, Martino's name was still on the list of Castro's prisoners published by the U. S. Government, along with the assurance that it was doing everything possible to free them.

It is always comforting to know that one is expendable in the interests of "peace."

JAMES E. BLAIR

### A Kirkian Masterpiece

Russell Kirk's newest book is of enormous charm and gentle spirits. Encompassed between its covers is a collection of his writings, long and short, about an infinite variety of people, places, adventures, and social concepts.

Doctor Kirk is an eminent and illustrious exponent of modern conservatism, and yet he is anything but an axe-grinding polemicist. His book scarcely touches

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#### CONFESSIONS OF A BOHEMIAN TORY

Russell Kirk  
Fleet, \$4.50

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upon politics because the things that are dear to him fall within the scope of ideas, values and traditions.



He is a traditionalist at heart, manning the ramparts of orthodoxy; firing a mighty rhetorical cannon at those leftist scoundrels who seek to rip society apart, and rebuild it according to the harsh imperatives of egalitarianism.

Far more than Queen Elizabeth he merits the honorarium, Defender of the Faith. Some of his essays deal with the sad decline of Christianity in the West. These pieces are truly haunting, and draw back the curtain so that we may gaze — horrified — at Western life as it really exists today, in this “post-Christian” era.

A Godless world appalls him, not only for the way it ravages individual men and women, but for the whip-sawing effect it has upon temperance, civility and virtue within the corpus of society. It is typical of Russell Kirk that he proffers no grandiose cures, no instant remedies. He is content merely to let us see what happens to the people who have abandoned their God.

Dr. Kirk is something of an adventurer. He has explored the castles of Scotland, scanned the streets of Italy, and wandered through Spain, communing with its passionate people. He has isolated himself in the vast, lonely reaches of the Great Salt Lake desert, and the surrounding barren mountains. His impressions of his travels are fascinating and unique.

But above all, Russell Kirk loves to expound upon those attitudes and beliefs which together comprise the conservative mystique. Upon the sullen welfare state he heaps magnificent scorn; he snorts deliciously at the architectural concepts and flabby sociology which erupted into Great Britain’s urban renewal slums, the infamous “Council houses.”

He tells an unforgettable tale of a visit to a Borstal — one of the old British mansions that have been converted into dreary juvenile halls to handle punks whose values are truncated by a welfare state which has destroyed the relationship between virtue and reward.

He then sweeps his readers into a fascinating exploration of Senator Goldwater’s mind, and concludes that it is executive in nature, attuned to action rather than books, and uncanny in its assessment of the men around him. He treats us to equally perceptive studies of other friends and acquaintances — T. S. Eliot, Norman Thomas, Herbert Hoover.

He also takes time to loose a marvelous shaft or two at the Birch society and the crackpot Right, whose activities amuse and bemuse him. He would just as soon that the Right wing cleaned its skirts of the more romantic Birchers and assorted Southern demagogues.

Nor does he leave himself out of the picture. An all too brief autobiography commands the first score or so of pages in the book, and reveals the hereditary and environmental events which eventually molded one of this country’s most distinguished scholars. Today

he resides on his ancestral acres at Mecosta, Michigan, where he scribbles sassy essays for *National Review*, hammers out a syndicated newspaper column, and produces innumerable tracts upon innumerable subjects.

“But I am best content,” he says, “when planting little trees at Mecosta. To plant a tree in our age when the expectation of change commonly seems greater than the expectation of continuity, is an act of faith.”

And so it is. Dr. Kirk’s book is a welcome addition to any man’s library.

RICHARD S. WHEELER

## How to Burn Straw Men

The resurgence of conservatism has prompted many authors — usually Establishment campfollowers — to “investigate” the “Right Wing”; the results have been aptly described by a former editor of this magazine as “catchpenny exposés,” presenting extremely distorted pictures of conservative thought. The Janson-Eismann offering is a cut above this level, as it purports to see a difference between the “responsible

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THE FAR RIGHT  
Donald Janson and Bernard Eismann  
McGraw-Hill

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Right” and the “Radical Right,” a difference which arises from differing views toward the opposition.

According to Janson and Eismann, the “Radical Right” contents itself with labelling its opponents as “Communists” and “dupes,” while the “responsible Right” — e.g. Buckley, Kirk, Goldwater — allows intellectual dissent. Otherwise, or so the impression is left, there is little or no difference between the two positions. Nor are the authors careful in their pigeonholing: New York’s Conservative Party, the Americans for Constitutional Action, and even the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists — all non-extremist, or, *a fortiori*, anti-extremist groups — are included with the Radical Right; Fred Schwarz, of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade curiously becomes “extreme” because his approach is geared to mass delivery. Eismann and Janson’s sloppy labeling can’t be justified even by their own criterion.

There is cause to wonder whether the authors have not oversimplified in an attempt to titillate; to shock rather than to investigate and inform. Had some conservative author offered such an indictment of the “Far Left” during the heyday of the McCarthy era the outraged cries of the “smeared” would have rocked the newspapers. It is only fair to demand something more objective — especially since the authors *are* professional journalists — from the Left in turn. Or is objectivity too much to hope for?

JAMES M. O’CONNELL



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# hindsights


Dashing, courageous Col. John Glenn announces that he will run for United States senator in Ohio on the Democratic ticket. There is no question but that Colonel Glenn is eminently qualified to enter public affairs, just as there is no question but that Lyndon B. Johnson is eminently qualified to make that trip to the moon.

One of the Senate's wildest and wooliest incumbents has declared war on representative governments: " . . . I have no hesitation in stating my deep conviction that the legislatures of America—local, state and national—are presently the greatest menace to the successful operation of the democratic process." If the senator's concept of the democratic process is what we think it is, we can only add, "Thank Heaven, and hurrah for the seniority system!"

New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller has called Barry Goldwater "a Southern leader." In the making: Committee to Prepare and Deliver United States Maps to Future Presidential Hopelesses.

Omsville, Orv. Who'd have thought Ag-Sec Freeman would quote the Eastern mystic prophet Kalil Gibran, whose exquisitely slim volumes graced the parlor coffee tables of many a vaporous young lady in the thirties. But in a note he sent to all the members of Congress—at taxpayer expense, so he did—this Sorensenism: "And let today embrace the past with remembrance and the future with longing." What crumps us about it, is Mr. Secretary-o hasn't found a kind word for free trade in years, so whence his prophet motif?

Walter Lippmann, celebrated dean of American cranks, has come to the conclusion that the Republican Party's principal problem in 1964 will not be to whip Lyndon Johnson, but to survive the assault of the Goldwater faction. Our reply is that in 1964 the Republican Party will have two principal problems: One, to win the election, and the other, to survive Walter Lippman's ingenuous advice.



*"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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