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**AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE UTOPIAS**

*The University of Oklahoma*

**PH.D. 1983**

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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE UTOPIAS

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

THOMAS H. CLAPPER

1983

AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE UTOPIAS

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conservative utopias, provided an empathy that was greater than he realized.

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## PREFACE

Since the inception of this dissertation, a number of events have taken place that might have affected the outcome of the study had they occurred prior to its beginning.

On the political scene, Ronald Reagan was not only nominated by the Republican party but elected President, carrying a Republican Senate into power with him. This placed conservatives in power, making their utopian works less relevant as predictors of the future but still valuable as they track the roots of their programs.

In a second development, the study of conservatism and capitalism has accelerated with the publication of a number of volumes too numerous to mention. The reader will note that the bibliography has no citation of any work published during the 1980's. This new attention toward the right does not alter the importance of this study but it does blunt its impact.

Finally, on a personal level, both Ayn Rand and Felix Morley died within a few weeks of each other in March of 1982. H. L. Hunt had already passed away when this study began. The reaction of these constructive conservatives to the thesis of this dissertation would have been of interest but their numbers are now down to one survivor.

## AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE UTOPIAS

### CHAPTER I

#### INTRODUCTION

To aim for utopia is to end  
in disaster.

Russell Kirk, "The Conservative  
Cast of American Society"

#### Question

"What would be the characteristics of a contemporary American conservative utopia?" This study seeks to answer that question by investigating the conservative vision of a better world. For all the activity of the American political right in obtaining political power, there is little to indicate what its members might do should it prevail. One does not hear of many conservative utopias.

Most conservatives would recoil in shock at the concept of their having a utopia. Some would even deny the existence of a conservative ideology. Traditionally, they have been bitter enemies toward the temptation of a perfect society. There are those who even argue that the reason the

right can have no ideology is that an ideology might lead to utopian speculation. Many a conservative author and scores of scholars have presented arguments against such conjectures. These objections are the armor the conservative uses to fend off the lure of utopia.<sup>1</sup>

### Objections

1. The conservatives' primary objection to utopian thought is based on theology -- the belief in original sin or its secular counterpart, man's inherent weakness and depravity. Given man's imperfect and immutable nature, utopias are doomed to failure. One cannot build a perfect society with imperfect people, nor can a utopian environment alter the nature of the corrupt. Human nature, the conservative holds, contradicts any utopian world. Since man is not suited for perfection and cannot be changed by his environment, utopias and utopian thought are excluded from the realm of conservative ideology. The conservative thus views utopia as an impossible dream if based on the perfectible or benevolent nature of man.<sup>2</sup>

2. The belief that man knows more than the Creator and should plan his own destiny ranks as a second theological objection from the right. Utopia is seen as a sin; it would seek to replace God as the Divine Architect. In nonreligious terms, either the Unseen Hand of capitalism or forces of natural selection play the same role. Let God/Nature/Fate take its course. To plan for the future is foolish and

dangerous, and attempts to improve upon the designs of the Almighty or other powers are doomed. Such transgression led Adam to be expelled from Eden; Prometheus suffered the same kind of fate in Greek mythology. Utopia, unless of the religious variety, makes God unnecessary because in the perfect state created by man, man is God.<sup>3</sup>

3. In a more worldly aspect, conservatives believe that to speculate on a better life is to imply the present is in need of reform. A utopia takes the form of social criticism, an attack upon the status quo. As an erstwhile defender of the present as well as the past, the conservative resists efforts to disgrace either one in favor of an imaginary improved condition. Historically, a fictional utopia has acted as a vehicle by which an author can criticize the present regime under the guise of discovering a better world. Other fictional utopias demonstrate the need for reform by calling attention to the inadequacies of the present time and place. Inherent in utopian thought, or so the conservative thinks, is the concept that to build the next world, the present one must first be discredited.<sup>4</sup>

4. The conservative also sees such plans for 'progress' liable to result in foolish and impractical experimentation replacing methods proven by time and tradition or sanctioned by legitimate authorities. Blinded by the utopian vision, those who would improve the life of mankind, instead, worsen his condition by neglecting common sense and

the lessons of history. A connotation of the term 'utopia' is the impracticality of an idea or scheme.

pian' is almost synonymous with being crackpot, psychotic, fanatic, or generally quixotic in nature. Plans for utopia do not work, and rather than alleviating a situation, impractical schemes cause conditions to deteriorate. In other words, utopian plans trigger a decline, and what is achieved is the opposite of what was intended. The conservative prides himself in being practical, and utopia is to him the antithesis of practicality.<sup>5</sup>

5. The conservative seeks to promote harmony between man and the present reality, but the utopian appears to encourage alienation between man and his world. With application of the utopian's impractical plans, a gap between the ideal and real becomes more apparent, and dissatisfaction will become rampant. The conservative contends that since utopian plans for reforms will not work, those who have high expectations will become even more frustrated. If the status quo is revealed to be wanting and measures of reform prove to be no panacea, the stage is set for the step the conservative most fears.<sup>6</sup>

6. The tide of unrealistic expectations culminates in revolution. According to the conservative, revolution is an inevitable result of utopian thought when the utopian story is taken to its logical conclusion. The most glorious dreams end in the most inglorious manner. The seeds



of revolution are in the form of utopian dreams, the conservative asserts. Indeed, it was the French Revolution that gave us the ideological terms 'left' and 'right' as well as set the tone for conservative thought as articulated by its best-known ideologue, Edmund Burke. The conservative views revolution as the ultimate evil.<sup>7</sup>

7. The conservative sees such a revolution resulting in a dictatorship. Unable to deliver the promised fruits of the revolution, its leaders establish themselves in power to protect their own interests. Utopian goals are still utilized to justify the continuance of an authoritarian rule. In an attempt to reach these goals, the state proceeds to enforce collectivity, to encourage universality of customs and to destroy individualism. Control is easier when men are like minded. Dictators declare themselves protectors of the revolution and guardians of the soon-to-come utopia. The revolution of the past and the utopia of the future thus justify the dictatorship of the present.<sup>8</sup>

8. One reason for the failure of the revolution to obtain utopia, besides its unrealistic goals, is the nature of revolutionary leadership. No matter how idealistic the leaders, they will be corrupted by power. The leadership of any utopian revolution will fall into the hands of those blinded by the utopian vision, resulting in a dictatorship. Such a dictatorship will take upon itself the attributes of the Creator. Justifying any action in terms of

utopian goals, the leaders will place themselves above the law and, like God, become a law unto themselves.<sup>9</sup> Corruption and bureaucratic entanglements set in and the dictatorship becomes static, never progressing, only defending its own position.

9. One would think the conservative would cherish such a static society since change is discouraged; yet, such is not the case. The conservative is left with no conservative values to preserve. He becomes, out of necessity, a revolutionary doing great damage to his political attitudes. His theory becomes a contradiction in terms, both reactionary and radical. This kind of society would be the end of history, and not a good end at that.<sup>10</sup>

10. If the conservative's first argument against utopian thought is that mankind is not good enough for utopia, his final objection is that utopia is not good enough for mankind. The conservative believes that man needs to struggle to develop, that man needs the fear of failure to spur him on to success, that he is basically competitive by character. The conservative would be bored and unhappy in most utopias. Individuality would not be prized, nor would initiative be rewarded. A utopian environment would thereby cheapen life and render man unable to function in the real world. Even worse, because of the absence of competition, separation of the natural aristocrats from the rest of the masses would be impossible. Finally, without the

stress of external forces, there would be no progress. The conservative, besides being poor material for founding a utopia, would prove an unwilling resident of an 'improved' world.<sup>11</sup>

### Definitions

At this point, operational definitions of major terms used in this study will be examined. Intent must be made clear if the reader is to make the proper inferences of the terms utilized. Without understanding the meaning of the vocabulary used in this study, comprehension is impossible and meaning blurred.<sup>12</sup>

### Ideology

As there is no one commonly accepted definition for ideology, this author is forced to explain his own interpretation to avoid confusing or misleading the reader.<sup>13</sup> Ideology is a political philosophy that can be extrapolated into a utopian vision.<sup>14</sup> In this study, the terms 'ideology' and 'utopia' are not being used in the most commonly accepted context, that designed by Karl Mannheim, nor is the explanation by Lasswell and Kaplan accepted.<sup>15</sup>

The conservative is usually seen as a defender of the status quo. Yet in America, from the New Deal until the election of Richard Nixon as President, those who were viewed as conservatives were not the defenders of the powers that were. Therefore, another method had to be employed to

determine one's political belief system. Ideology, as used in this study, is no respecter of who holds power.

Simply speaking, an ideology is an outlook that explains political circumstances and dictates political action. An ideology is able to explain past forces that have shaped the present; it also makes certain decisions about how the future should look and how it is to be realized.

Ideology is often confused with philosophy; some think ideology is a distorted and thus unreliable version of the truth, while philosophies seek truth. Theories interpret politics, conventional wisdom says, while ideologies can be both dangerous and unreliable as they do not reflect the truth.<sup>16</sup>

Philosophy is, indeed, the search for the truth. An ideology is an explanation of certain universal truths regarding human nature. It is concerned with interpreting the 'real' world the way it 'is'. Utopia is, likewise, an explanation of ultimate truth, but in the 'ought' context, as an ideal.

Theory is the bridge between the 'is/real' presentness of ideology and the 'ought/ideal' potential of utopia. The 'truths' of philosophy concerning human nature stay constant throughout. When an individual seeks the truth about politics, accepts an ideology, and constructs a utopia, one can trace the program of the utopia to discern the theory

by which the bridge was built. Political philosophy, as used by this author, means a reconstruction of the theoretical bridge built between the given ideology and the formulated utopia, but starting with the search for political truth and from it the acceptance of an ideology to be the basis of a theory ending in a utopia.

Considering the universal question of truth and distortion, an ideology is always distorted by its context. An absolute truth is always distorted when applied to a specific situation. As observed later in this chapter, the existence of relative utopias which accept the distortion of ideology applies to a particular situation, resolves the question of truth. Whether the conservatives examined are seekers of the truth or not will be discussed in the final chapter after an examination of their utopias.

### Utopia

Utopia is also not easily defined. Since there is more than one approach to the topic, a comprehensive, generally accepted definition cannot be found.<sup>17</sup> However, the terms that do describe and define utopia tend to fall into one of two groups. One group envisions utopia as an absolute ideal, while the other sees it as a relative goal.<sup>18</sup>

Absolute--The absolute utopia calls for perfection. Often in the religious sense it is the Eden of the past or the future millennial kingdom. For the liberal, it is usually a world of absolute equality, complete

democracy and universal rationality. Such a utopia has about it a sense of completeness, a feeling of finality. It is the point from which there can be no further movement.<sup>19</sup>

Relative--The relative utopia simply envisions a better world. Any planner who would improve the human condition is a utopian under this definition. This 'better world' definition broadens the scope of utopian study and at the same time removes some of the mystical quality of the absolute utopia.<sup>20</sup>

### Conservatism

As with the previous terms, defining conservatism is not a simple task. Although a number of definitions can be found in various dictionaries and encyclopedias, no agreed upon, single explanation will satisfy all essays of identification. A survey of the literature reveals that conservatism is viewed in two ways: as the basis of a political ideology centered on human nature and as an institutional attitude towards change.<sup>21</sup>

Ideology--Under the definition of 'ideology', it was observed how ideology and utopia are intimately linked. As a system of thought, an ideology can play a descriptive role, which is to explain the present world and make sense and order out of contemporary events--or, in a prescriptive role, it enables the individual to decide upon a course of political action, formulating a political theory. The

vision of the future as the ideologue would like to see it and as he sees it as his goal and model can be called a utopia. Thus, an ideology is a complete political philosophy which, if entirely adopted according to a political theory, would result in a utopia.

As an ideology, conservatism explains the present reality in terms of human nature. It answers the classical questions of life--Why is there war?--suffering?--starvation?--human misery? The conservative accounts for the human condition in terms of man's natural inclinations.

Ideological conservatism is based on three suppositions toward human nature: Man is evil, irrational and unequal.<sup>22</sup>

1. As stated in the conservative's first objection to utopia, the right sees man as imperfect. Those of a religious persuasion define this condition as original sin while those of a secular viewpoint consider this attitude as 'realistic'. In its most severe form, conservative ideology views mankind as totally depraved and evil, while its more moderate variety sees human nature as merely imperfect. Both the extreme and moderate varieties agree that man's nature cannot be altered by his environment.<sup>23</sup>

2. The second point that forms the basis of conservative ideology is man's basic irrationality. The conservative usually does not trust the reasoning power of the human mind, but will, instead, listen to the voice of

authority and/or rely on precedent and tradition. Whether following one's selfish interests constitutes rationality is a matter of debate within the conservative camp.<sup>24</sup>

3. Although conservatives do not always agree on the extent of man's imperfection and nonrationality, there is no debate in the ranks as to man's inequality. Even though all are born to die, all may be equal before the law and, some may claim, all are equal before God, the conservative firmly asserts that, compared one with another, men are not equal. While the right will defend equal opportunity to compete, he recognizes that some compete more successfully than others. The religious right refers to this concept of chosen people as 'the elect'. God knows who His people are and rewards them accordingly in this world as preparation for the next. It follows then that the best should rule. The nonreligious right believe in a natural aristocracy, but whether it be a God-chosen elect or an elite selected by nature, both secular and nonsecular conservatives affirm that the righteous should rule, that the just should be rewarded, and that the superior should be recognized.<sup>25</sup>

Liberal ideology sees men as essentially good, equal and rational. The leftist explains the woes of the world in terms of man's environment. Because of the greater emphasis on alteration of external surroundings, utopian thought has become closely identified with the liberal/left.



Man can be changed or his actions controlled if his environment is controlled. Yet, the liberal would argue that man need not change his nature, only be true to it.<sup>26</sup>

Attitude--The conservative's attitude is usually seen as defensive of the status quo and tradition. The conservative is viewed as opposing change and skeptical about the future. He can be counted upon to support society's institutions and is cautious regarding any idea or action that might disturb the stability of the present or upset the social mechanisms established in the past.<sup>27</sup> Or can he?

Many contemporary American conservatives are not known for sharing these attributes because the traditions, institutions, and social values of this nation are perceived as liberal or left-leaning. These the conservative will not defend. Thus, the American conservative has a much more complex attitude than has his European counterpart who simply supports the preservation of the past.

Within the conservative ranks, attitudes about the need for change and what changes should be made vary. The question of what traditions to defend are not answered the same by all. The attitudinal conservative can be classified in one of three categories:

1. The reactionary, or radical right, which is considered the 'old' right or social conservatism, reacts against the industrial revolution and mass society. It calls for a return to the arcadian small town, rural America, and

a reintroduction of its values. If this conservatism has a utopia, it is in the past, whether real or imagined.<sup>28</sup>

2. The respectable, or 'new' right, accepts the industrial revolution and the values it represents. Those values are found in free enterprise economics and in social Darwinism. However, this type of conservative opposed what he considers to be 'governmental interference' begun by the federal government during the New Deal and continued by the program's successors. Although he will defend current economic interests, he will not support the state which he sees as struggling against a capitalist economy. His utopia is in the present, but with a reduction in power of what he believes to be liberal institutions.<sup>29</sup>

3. The neoconservative, or progressive or responsible conservative, accepts the coordination of government and industry. He knows that change is inevitable and seeks to control it rather than resist. He does this to insure two goals. Like the Tory democracy of Disraeli, he wants to protect the worthwhile traditions of the past and to give the nation the leadership of conservatives. A future controlled by a technocratic meritocracy would be an acceptable utopia.<sup>30</sup>

Rationality is a key point of dissension among the various attitudes of conservatism. The old right, or social conservatives, believe man to be completely unable to function on a rational level. The attempt to reason is

the original sin of pride. They would rather accept tradition and duly constituted authority as a guide for action. As a result, the old right is anti-capitalistic. The free enterprise system not only means an unstable economic system which cannot help but disrupt the social system, but is it also against the nature of man. It encourages the dark side of man's selfish essence and assumes that he is rational enough to make the choices necessary in a free economy. Finally, there is no assurance that the real elite will be those with economic power.

The new right, or economic right, believe that man does have the intelligence to operate and make the choices necessary in a free market environment. They prefer to harness the selfish side of man's nature over suppressing it. Finally, they see no reason for not accepting economic success as qualification for being the elite. It is an earned rather than ascribed status, to be constantly proven and defended. Any shift in political, social, or economic power is only part of the social Darwinistic evolution toward progress and is worth any of the sacrifices that must be made.

The neoconservative, or political rightist, not only believes in rationality, he also is of the opinion that some of the elite are wise enough to rule. As a result, those of the responsible right favor a mixed economy or one which is regulated by government. It is assumed that those

regulating the economy will be of the elect or elite, who will make proper decisions. The progressive conservative of this train of thought is under no delusion that democracy will work or that the people in the marketplace will make responsible decisions. Proper guidance and leadership are needed to save the populace from itself.

### American

Since the topic of this study is limited to the American scene, a point of clarification is necessary. The American context is unique for conservative and utopian thought alike, so gauging its effect on both is important. In this study, a conservative utopia will be considered American if the novel is written by an American author, the setting is in the United States, or the utopia is populated by Americans. A utopia in the distant past or far future will be classified as American if it can be identified with America rather than another nation.

The American context is important to this project for two reasons. The first is that American conservatism is unlike its cousins in other Western nations. According to some experts, the American variety has no other tradition to defend and, as a result, must support a liberal heritage or be completely negative.<sup>31</sup>

The second reason the American context is important relates to utopian thought. America has often been regarded as a utopia, and the history of this nation records

a vast experiment resulting in both success and failure. As the focal point of utopian thought and home of utopian practice, America has a tradition of utopianism.<sup>32</sup>

### Contemporary

For the purpose of this study, the terms 'contemporary', 'modern', 'current', or 'present' refer to the time period 1945-1968.

### Conservative Utopias

After examining two varieties of conservative thought, attitudinal and ideological, as well as two ways of viewing utopia, relative and absolute, one might better visualize the four types of conservative utopias by using the following table:

	Absolute	Relative
Attitude	I	II
Ideology	III	IV

I = Attitudinal Absolute  
 II = Attitudinal Relative  
 III = Ideological Absolute  
 IV = Ideological Relative

These four categories are ideal types and are meant for clarification rather than for rigid classifications into which American conservative utopias might fall. The categories are broad enough, however, that placing conservative

utopias into one of the four positions should not be difficult.

### I. Attitudinal Absolute

The absolute utopia of the attitudinal conservative is a reactionary utopia and belongs to the conservative, who longs for the past. In America, this view of life takes the form of nostalgia for a nearly nonexistent past in either rural New England, the antebellum South, or the idealized life of the Midwest, as well as for the security of small-town America.<sup>33</sup>

### II. Attitudinal Relative

The attitudinal-relative utopian wishes to conserve the world in its present state. Even though the world is not perfect, it is the best that can be expected, and this utopian is content with no more than a minimum of change. Major 'improvements' threaten his utopia.<sup>34</sup>

### III. Ideological Absolute

The ideological conservative in an absolute utopia looks forward to the future with a vengeance rather than to the tranquil past with wistfulness or to the present with acceptance. It is a millennial apocalypse. The wrath of God comes down upon the multitude of sinners and disbelievers while the faithful elect are elevated to celestial status. The world ends with a turn to the right. Man is perfected by God, not by his own efforts. The guilty are punished and the righteous rule.<sup>35</sup>

#### IV. Ideological Relative

The ideological conservative in a relative utopia will accept a world ideologically based on man's imperfection, nonrationality, and inequality. He would implement laissez-faire economics and social Darwinism, neither of which promises utopia but does promise adjustment and change. The world needs to be altered to fit the realities of the right-wing ideology. The result will be progress but not perfection. Man may not find happiness, but he will be attuned to reality and be in harmony. Utopia cannot make man perfect, but man can design utopia to conform to his basic nature and needs.<sup>36</sup>

#### Selection

The process of selecting worthwhile utopias to study was two tiered. The first consideration was to choose which of the four types of conservative utopias would be studied. The second decision was the choice of specific utopias to be thoroughly examined.

Of the four types of utopias discussed, the attitudinal-absolute was eliminated because three studies of such utopias have been conducted.<sup>37</sup> The second utopian category was eliminated not only because the utopia of the attitudinal-relative conservative is difficult to recognize as such, but also because American conservatives were not in power at the time of this study. The ideological-absolute utopia as a category for study was more promising.

However, the problems of political theory are so neatly answered that, while it would have been enlightening, such a study would not have been philosophically satisfying.

The final possibility for study--the ideological-relative utopia--offered the most challenge. Through the centuries, the conservative relied on tradition and the authority of his position in power. Assuming he is no longer in power, the conservative then must conjure up a utopia that fits his ideology. Since it is a relative utopia, it must be practical and still face problems of political philosophy.

Five aspects were considered in selecting the works to be studied: (1) the category, (2) the author's nationality, (3) the form of the utopia, (4) the author's political philosophy, and (5) the time frame.

1. Since the chosen category, the ideological-relative conservative utopia, is characterized by laissez faire economics and social Darwinism, these served as a basis for selection. To be eligible for this classification, the work had to be either listed by Sargent as a capitalist utopia, recognized by Negley as a utopian work, or otherwise labeled as a utopia of the right that does not postulate a perfect society or perfect people (see fn. 36).

2. The author had to be American. The operational definition of the term gives the specifics of this designation.



3. The utopia had to be fictional and included in a single volume. Fiction is more apt to have a wider readership and it better describes a utopia than non-fiction.

4. The author should be recognized by the public and his or her peers as conservative. This in no way proves the work to be conservative but does qualify it for study.

5. The utopia should have been written and originally published between 1945 and 1968. This period was selected because of its significance to both the conservative and utopian movement. During this time, American conservatism appeared to be recognizing their ideology. Also, fewer left-wing utopian novels were being written.

The four authors and their utopian novels selected are Ayn Rand and her Atlas Shrugged, H. L. Hunt and his Alpaca, Felix Morley with Gumption Island, and Henry Hazlitt and his The Great Idea. All four authors are well known American conservatives. Each has authored a single volume, fictional utopia. All four utopias advocate change, but none envisions a perfect world. All four were published after 1945 but before 1968. Although proving the utopian and conservative status of each novel would be impossible without a careful review of the novels, one can look at the life of each author to establish his or her credentials as a contemporary American conservative.

#### Ayn Rand

Ayn Rand (her American name) was born on February 2, 1905, in St. Petersburg, Russia. A daughter of a

prosperous Jewish merchant, she was able to witness the Russian revolution as one with something to lose. Her father lost their wealth and social standing. Still, she attended the University of Leningrad and graduated in 1924. When she had an opportunity to leave the Soviet Union, she did not hesitate, nor did she ever return. Arriving in the United States in 1936, she became a naturalized citizen.<sup>38</sup>

She became a highly paid screen writer but gained recognition as a novelist and political philosopher.<sup>39</sup> In her nonfiction works, Rand elaborates on the political philosophy she created in her novels.<sup>40</sup> For the New Intellectual is a collection of the highlights of her fictional work along with interpretation.

The philosophy Rand developed is known as objectivism and has been taught at the Nathaniel Branden Institute and at various centers throughout the country. In the middle sixties, objectivism was taught in more than fifty U.S. cities, with some 25,000 graduates of the course.<sup>41</sup> Objectivist philosophy is found not only in books written by Rand and by her followers but also in their periodicals--The Objectivist Newsletter (1961-1964), The Objectivist magazine (1964-1971), and The Ayn Rand Newsletter (1971-1976).<sup>42</sup>

The history of the objectivist movement, complete with intragroup rivalries and purges, is every bit as complicated and complex as that of any doctrinaire Marxist movement.<sup>43</sup>

Rand's nationality was more doubtful than that of any other author chosen for this study. One of her earlier works, We the Living, is set in her native Russia, but the remainder of her works encompass an American environment. Categorization as an American author was long ago resolved by her citizenship and Americanization of her name.

To justify selection of a novel as conservative, the criteria insisted the author be recognized as a conservative. The politics of Ayn Rand is more difficult to place than her nationality since the debate still rages as to the extent of her conservatism.

At a glance, Rand's right-wing placement seems beyond question. She is recognized as being anti-communist, anti-socialist, anti-liberal, and anti-welfare state. In a time when conservative ideology is defined in terms of what it opposes rather than the principles espoused, Rand is without doubt on the political right. Like many conservatives, she opposes strong government--indeed, all government, with the exception of the military, police, and court system.<sup>44</sup> This fact alone would seem to be enough for classification as a conservative.

Rand is also a fervent promoter of capitalism, free enterprise, and laissez faire economics. As American conservatism is associated with the defense of American industry and business, she again earns a place in the conservative camp. She goes even farther than most with a cry

to repeal anti-monopoly laws, a position even the bravest of today's defenders of American industry would hesitate to take.

Finally, Rand's belief in individual responsibility is a characteristic of most of the published calls for action from the American right. The themes of all her fictional works glorify the individual and rail against the power of the state infringing upon the individual's life.

Thus, at first glance, Ayn Rand would seem the perfect conservative. However, many conservatives have taken a second glance and are not at all happy with what they see. As American conservatives examine her politics, they cannot help but discover that her ideology does not necessarily call for a right-wing dictatorship to counter the Communist menace. She does not denounce 'good' government to defeat a strong 'bad' one. To Rand, strong government is bad government.

Her support of the free market also discomfits the American right. Rand is sincere in being a genuine capitalist. Much of American conservatism's defense of laissez faire is limited to combating government regulation and taxation of business; government subsidies and regulation of competition are supported. While no self-respecting business man would denounce Rand's economic theories, if they were put into practice, businesses and industries would be more competitive. Rand calls for a genuine neutrality of

government, not the favoring of business interests. She considers mixed economy as an evil; she advocates the separation of government and the economy.

Finally, like her capitalism, her individualism is too pure for most conservatives.<sup>45</sup> Much of the American right views individualism in economic terms only. Many American conservatives favor censorship to fight pornography, governmental banning of certain drugs, and state enforcement of morality in the field of sexual relations. In other words, individualism for most conservatives does not cover society or social relations. The American conservative will allow the elite leeway with moral traditions and social mores, but they expect the state to protect the public from various social and moral evils. Rand can no more be a supporter of economic individualism sans social individualism than she can support anti-Communist dictatorships or government aid to industry.

The right wing has, for the most part, ignored these differing aspects of Rand's policies as they are merely expansions of her major ideas and are more theoretical than practical. What the American conservative movement cannot ignore and has not chosen to side-step are Rand's positions on other issues. It is her stand in these fields that has caused controversy in the conservative fold.<sup>46</sup>

The first area of major contention is her atheism. Many American conservatives are anti-communist because communism

is atheistic, are nationalistic because this nation has been chosen by God, and are proponents of capitalism because earned wealth is the surest method of differentiating between the elect and the damned. Their individualism is one of personal salvation; their economics is an indication of their devoutness; their social standing is divinely ordained. Rand's lack of belief in the traditional God of the Old Testament and the Reformation often alienates many on the religious right, a force not to be underestimated in America.<sup>47</sup>

A second sphere of dissent is Rand's attitude towards the nature of man. Where the ideological conservative contends that men are evil, irrational, and unequal, Rand condemns the concept of original sin and glorifies rationality as the highest virtue. While she can never be accused of egalitarianism, neither does she use inequality as an excuse to save the soul and morality of the common man.<sup>48</sup>

The third area of dispute with the American right is Rand's attitudes towards the past, the present, the future, and change. She shows contempt rather than reverence for the past, and she attacks the use of tradition as a guidepost for action. She welcomes progress resulting from individual rationality and sees it more in terms of salvation than damnation.<sup>49</sup>

In view of the above facts, Rand would appear to be classified as other than conservative. However, most

categorize Rand as conservative, and most conservatives consider her on their side.<sup>50</sup> Rand has supported those candidates for political office who are identified as being on the right, including Wilkie, Goldwater, Nixon, and Ford.<sup>51</sup> In addition, the combination of Rand's economic theories and the frustrations of a two-dimensional measurement of ideology would certainly place her in the conservative camp.

Rand herself rejects the notion that she is a conservative, preferring instead to be called a 'radical capitalist'.<sup>52</sup> Rand's major criticism of conservatives is that they are too negative--e.g., although the John Birch Society opposes Communism, it takes no positive stance. To resist evil is not enough, she asserts; one must provide a positive alternative. Because she is not tied by tradition to the past, she is free to develop an alternate future in which the conservative cause prevails. Atlas Shrugged is such a utopia.<sup>53</sup>

#### H. L. Hunt

The life of Haroldson Lafayette Hunt was certainly of more interest than his utopia. Like Ayn Rand, he was unusually intelligent, learning to read at the age of three. Unlike Ms. Rand, his formal education was limited. He quit attending school during the fifth grade so he could concentrate on his work. The work Hunt chose was one that would make him rich. After making and losing a fortune as a cotton plantation owner, Hunt turned to oil.<sup>54</sup>

In 1948 when Fortune magazine decided to rank the richest men in the world, they discovered that the richest man in America was H. L. Hunt, of Dallas, Texas. Fortune's sister magazine, Life, sent a reporter who photographed the obscure oil magnate as he walked the streets of Dallas, unrecognized by the general public. From that time until the day he died, Friday, November 29, 1974, Hunt was never out of the public eye.<sup>55</sup>

The press and the public were more interested in his eccentric personal habits and fabled penny pinching than they were in his politics. Hunt, however, was interested in the politics of the American people and, insofar as it did not cost him money to do so, tried to influence their politics.<sup>56</sup>

From the period 1948 to 1951, Hunt was convinced that the greatest threat to the world was hunger. He responded with literature and educational programs. Either the world refused to be saved or Hunt found a greater threat to the world. In 1951 he decided that dictatorship, especially Communism, was really the outstanding menace to mankind. He shifted his efforts and literature from agriculture to politics.

On July 21, 1951, H. L. Hunt launched "Facts Forum, Inc." to supply the public a nonpolitical and educational program. In the opinion of many, it did not achieve its program. Hunt was also dissatisfied, and in



1956 reorganized his propaganda empire with "Life Lines" as the leading program. Like "Facts Forum," it was primarily a radio program, but unlike its predecessor, it made less of a pretense of being objective. Throughout the nineteen-fifties, sixties, and seventies, Hunt made a reputation as a propagandist for the fringe of the American right wing. Although the press preferred to focus on his personal eccentricities, Hunt also was known for his far right wing views.<sup>57</sup>

The press was partially correct in treating Hunt's politics as more of a joke than as serious ideology. While Hunt may have been the richest man in the world or the United States, he believed patriotism should be profitable and operated his propaganda machine with an eye more to the balance sheet than to its effect on the American public. He found every tax loophole available for religious and educational organizations and exploited the loopholes there as much as he did in his oil business. If H. L. Hunt paid large amounts of money to change American political thought, it was, like his business dealings, a well-kept secret.

As the decades passed, so did Hunt's stature and influence on the American right. His time of glory was the late fifties and early sixties. By the time of his death, it was only his enormous wealth rather than his unusual political viewpoints that made him newsworthy.<sup>58</sup>

There is no difficulty in establishing H. L. Hunt as an American. Both born and reared in this country, his

reputation as a patriot as well as a money-maker puts Hunt almost into the category of an American legend. Future generations may indeed regard him as such, as, along with Howard Hughes, he was the last of the individual industrial titans.

As with the other authors of American conservative utopias, Hunt disliked the term 'conservative'. He preferred to be known as 'constructive'. He would remark that one could be too conservative but not too constructive. Besides, with his usual economy, Hunt observed that 'constructive' had fewer syllables than 'conservative'. Yet, although he signed his correspondence "Constructively yours," Hunt must be considered an American conservative.

Of the four authors considered, Hunt had the most connections with various elements of the American right wing. Although contributing to the John Birch Society, he was never an active member, leaving such a role to his son, Bunker. H. L. Hunt, with his typical individual brand of lonerism, believed that he, not Robert Welch, should have been the leader of the anti-Communist right in America.<sup>59</sup> In many ways he tried but seldom with any public success. While he may not have been the financial angel many wanted, Hunt was involved in the politics of the American right. However, he always preferred to push his own brand of patriotism, whether it was "Facts Forum" or "Life Lines." Even though his voice was heard, his strength was seldom felt.

Hunt did, however, at various times during his life unwind his bankroll for conservative political figures. According to various sources, three American political figures managed to capture his imagination and financial support. Hunt was an enthusiastic backer of General Douglas MacArthur as a presidential candidate in both 1948 and 1952. He was a personal friend with the junior senator from Wisconsin, Joseph McCarthy, and frequently played cards with him. Finally, Governor George Wallace of Alabama was able to convince Hunt to support the Governor's 1968 presidential campaign.<sup>60</sup>

It is easy to place Hunt on the conservative side of any left-right political scale. Of all the utopian authors, he is the most conventional in his conservatism. In many ways he demonstrated a longing for a return to simpler times, when wealth was respected more than it is today. As was once mentioned about Hunt in regard to his conservatism, "He has a lot to conserve."<sup>61</sup>

Where Hunt did part ways with many of his compatriots on the far right was in his insistence on being positive and his dismay over their negativism. It may be simplistic to think of Hunt as a rich, secular Norman Vincent Peale, but it is not totally inaccurate. His 'constructive' approach makes his utopianism evident. On three separate occasions he used his influence in an attempt to amend the United States Constitution. Hunt wanted to share his ideas

on the proper role of government with the world, and to present his vision of an ideal society to the world he wrote Alpaca.

### Felix Morley

Felix Morley was a Rhodes Scholar, a well-known author and journalist, a winner of the Pulitzer Prize for his editorial writing in the Washington Post, and president of Haverford College when he entered the world of conservative politics.<sup>62</sup> In October 1940, he denounced his former favorite editorial reader, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and gave an endorsement to Wendall Wilkie. Morley proclaimed he had supported every Democratic candidate for President since 1916 but was unable to support the incumbent. He voiced unhappiness over Roosevelt's plan to pack the Supreme Court, he bitterly condemned the President's try for a third term, and he vehemently objected to the haphazard, 'debonnaire' manner in which F.D.R. made policy.<sup>63</sup>

Felix Morley, who had in 1938 praised democracy and political moderation at Duke's commencement, had begun an ideological odyssey that would bring him to a position where he would condemn moderation and denounce democracy.<sup>64</sup> Morley, previously an internationalist, became Morley the isolationist. Morley, the liberal who had written for Nation and New Republic, became Morley the conservative who wrote for National Review and Modern Age. Morley, the Democrat, became an Independent and eventually found his way into the Republican fold.

In 1945, he resigned as president of Haverford College to become president, editor, and co-founder of the right-wing periodical, Human Events.<sup>65</sup> A year earlier he was chairman of Independent Citizens for Dewey and Bricker. By 1948, he was on the right wing of the Republican Party, calling for the nomination of Senator Taft for President.<sup>66</sup>

Morley's influence on the American right grew with the publication in 1949 of The Power in the People but was cut short when he was ousted as president and editor of Human Events. Morley, growing ever more afraid of the state, refused to encourage an aggressive, anti-Communist foreign policy.<sup>67</sup> In 1957, he amplified this position in an article in Modern Age, accusing the United States of imperialism and warning that an empire abroad was incompatible with a federal republic at home.<sup>68</sup> In 1958, he edited Essays on Individuality, a well-known work on individualism still being advertised. A year later another well-known work of his, Freedom and Federalism, was published. During the sixties, Morley was an officer of many conservative groups, but he was best known to the public as an editorial writer for Nation's Business. He retired from Nation's Business in 1970 after giving the Chamber of Commerce twenty-four years of faithful service. Since that time he has lived in retirement, although some of his books are being republished.

Felix Morley was born on the Haverford Campus on January 6, 1894, and was reared in Baltimore, Maryland. He

was a world traveler and an expert on international affairs, especially the League of Nations. His citizenship and membership in a number of 'patriotic' organizations qualify him as an American, as do his leading nonfiction books, The Power in the People and Freedom and Federalism, which are concerned with American traditions, culture, and character.<sup>69</sup>

Like the other conservative utopians, Morley rejected the term 'conservative' as applying to his political theory, preferring to be known as a 'liberal', 'old fashioned liberal', 'classical liberal', or 'true liberal'. He believes himself to be an ideological kinsman of the nineteenth century liberal who opposed the power of government. Since he, too, opposes the power of the state, he perceives himself to be in the classical liberal tradition.<sup>70</sup>

Yet, for the same reasons the other authors were classified as conservative, so was Morley. Since 1940, he has been aligned with the political right in America. Contemporary critics such as Nash, Newman, Raywid, Forster, and Epstein classify Morley as an American conservative or member of the American right wing.<sup>71</sup> If one is to be judged so by his associates and associations, he clearly falls within the ken of conservatism. Like Ayn Rand, Morley frequently supported Republican candidates for high office. Like H. L. Hunt, he was a backer of conservative candidates for office. He was also an unabashed apologist for capitalism and the free enterprise system. On a two-dimensional ideological scale, where else could he be placed except on the right?

Morley is harder to justify as a utopian. His political behavior since 1940 has been dedicated to resisting change. His reputation is one of opposition to the left rather than of offering right-wing alternatives, and he has called for a return to the values of the past. Both positions differ from those of Hunt and Rand. Yet, Morley, in Gumption Island, does present a utopian, capitalistic economy in a traditional social system and demonstrates how the two are not only compatible but necessary for the existence of each other.

#### Henry Hazlitt

Henry Hazlitt is probably the least known of the four authors of conservative utopias.<sup>72</sup> However, he has had a distinguished career as both a literary critic and financial writer. His first major political contribution was the book, A New Constitution Now, published in 1942, but his most famous work was Economics in One Lesson.<sup>73</sup>

In the late 1940s, Hazlitt joined the Mount Pelerin Society. The Society, founded by Friedrich Hayek, was an international organization composed of leading American and European classical economists.<sup>74</sup>

In 1950, he became a founder, co-editor, and part owner of The Freeman.<sup>75</sup> Hazlitt was ousted in a policy dispute when he disagreed with the pro-McCarthy, pro-Taft, and pro-MacArthur stance the periodical took in the 1950 elections. He returned in January, 1953, as editor-in-chief,

but in 1954 Leonard Reed of the Foundation of Economic Enterprise bought The Freeman and replaced Hazlitt with Frank Chodorov. Hazlitt eventually joined the staff of the periodical, launched in 1955 to take the place of The Freeman, which had started to promote anarchy. The new voice of the intellectual American conservative was The National Review.<sup>76</sup>

The next year saw Hazlitt publishing a bibliographic essay, The Free Man's Library. A compilation of a list of books and quotations from reviews of the leading individualistic tomes of the day, its listing included Hazlitt's own utopian novel, The Great Idea. The bibliography was populated not only with volumes praising free enterprise but also with monographs exposing and condemning communism, socialism, liberalism, the progressive spirit and all politics of the left. For Hazlitt, to be pro-individualistic was synonymous with being anti-Communist.

During the late 1960s and 1970s, Hazlitt became identified with the 'Austrian' school of economic thought as differentiated from the 'Chicago' school.<sup>77</sup> The Austrians were pure classical economists and would brook no interference from the state in the economy. The Chicago contingent, although conservative capitalists, accepted limited governmental intervention.

While he continued to author books critical of the welfare state and praising free enterprise, his most



controversial position, recorded in Intercollegiate Review, was taken in 1970. "In Defense of Conformity" defended social conformity as necessary for the survival of society. Disturbed by the student unrest of the sixties, the self-proclaimed libertarian and individualist seemingly changed his position in regard to individual liberty and freedom. He called for what can be considered a traditional view towards both society and change. He favored preserving the former and restraining the latter.<sup>78</sup>

Born in Philadelphia on November 23, 1894, Hazlitt has been a life-long resident of this country, a fact which justifies his classification as an American.<sup>79</sup> While no nationalist, he is a confirmed capitalist, and in his opinion this nation values free enterprise economy and private ownership of property more than any other nation on earth.

Like the other authors considered, Hazlitt declines to classify himself as a conservative. Instead, he prefers to call himself an 'individualist' or 'libertarian', although he will not object to his ideology being described 'true liberal' or 'real liberal'.<sup>80</sup> In recent years he has conceded that he might be a conservative and has admitted that there is no conflict between 'real liberalism' and 'intellectual conservatism'. He considers true liberalism as opposition to governmental power, especially in the market place. He also argues for social stability, a position which places him in the ranks of the traditional conservatives.

Most commentators place Hazlitt on the political right, although they usually qualify that classification. Rossiter, Nash, and Toy all mention Hazlitt in their studies of the American right. If one wishes to use association to indicate political preference, his literary ties with The Freeman and National Review would certainly qualify him as conservative, as would his membership in the Mount Pelerin Society.

A second reason for his classification as a conservative is his defense of capitalistic economics. Given the limitations of a two-dimensional left-right scale, a defender of the free enterprise system certainly belongs on the right in today's world.

Hazlitt has supported conservative candidates but to a lesser extent than have the other utopians thus far studied. His volume, The Free Man's Library, reads like a who's who of the right: William F. Buckley, Jr.; Edmund Burke; John C. Calhoun; William Henry Chamberlain; Whitaker Chambers; Frank Chodorov; Max Eastman; John T. Flynn; Friedrich Hayek; Sidney Hook; Herbert Hoover; Walter Lippman; Eugene Lyons; Ludwig von Mises; Felix Morley; Roscoe Pound; Ayn Rand; Leonard Read; Peter Vierech; and so on. In a 1959 article, he praised the works of such conservatives as John Chamberlain; William Henry Chamberlain; William F. Buckley, Jr.; Allen Drury; James Burnham; Frank Chodorov; and Robert Strausz-Hupé.<sup>81</sup>

Nor were the endorsements all one sided. Hazlitt was endorsed by the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, Ayn Rand, Nathaniel Branden, libertarians Jerome Tuccille and John Hospers, and the John Birch Society.<sup>82</sup>

Hazlitt is more easily viewed as a utopian than as a conservative. His penchant for offering alternatives led to his first edited book, A Practical Program for America. The same characteristic is shown in the title of his reform-minded volume, A New Constitution Now. A Free Man's Library was designed to provide positive material for the reader rather than just to defend the capitalistic system from criticism from the left. The Foundations of Morality not only defends free enterprise from a moral viewpoint but takes the offensive, attempting to demonstrate not only that socialism is immoral but that capitalism is the most moral of systems. The same is true of The Great Idea. It was designed not merely to oppose socialism but to also demonstrate the rationality and superiority of the free enterprise system.

Hazlitt's background is both rich and varied. Some of his earliest work was as literary editor of Nation. He edited American Mercury after H. L. Menchen but before it became a far right-wing rag. Yet, he was best known for his column, "Business Tides" which ran in Newsweek for twenty years. Where he fits with the other conservative authors mentioned is his refusal to remain completely negative. Like Rand, Hunt, and Morley, he was not satisfied being just a critic; he preferred also to be a proponent.

The four conservative authors and their utopias were selected for study because each of the right-wing visions of a better world asks--and answers--an important question in regard to the conservative ideology. The question Rand addresses in her utopia is, "What is the role of the superior individual in society?" Hunt poses a question that would appeal to those with great wealth: "How may the wealthy defend their possessions in a democracy without resorting to dictatorship?" The basic question asked by Morley can be stated as: "What is the proper relationship between state and society?" Hazlitt addresses economics. "How," he asks, "does the economy affect the form of government and well-being of the populace?" From the answers to these four questions, we learn much about the current conservative ideology.

### Hypotheses

To indicate what is expected to be found in this study, the following six hypotheses are proposed:

1. Conservatism has an ideology based on the nature of man, and based on that ideology, utopias can be formulated. Such a utopia need not promise absolute perfection but must offer at least a limited vision of a better world. This better world need not be Eden, Heaven on earth, nor the past, but involves the values of conservatism as applied in an imaginary setting. The application of these values will aid in understanding the programs, goals, and plans of the

American conservative. What the conservative utopias do promise is harmony between man and his economic, political, and social environment.

2. American conservative utopias will not presume that men are perfect, good, equal, or completely rational, nor will they postulate that man can be altered by his environment. Man's nature will, instead, be harnessed. The American conservative utopia will accept man as he is but not his present economic, social, or political environment.

3. Like most utopias, those of the American conservative variety will be ruled by a natural elite. However, unlike other utopias, the rule of the elite will not necessarily be in the formal name or for the expressed benefit of all the people. This better world will be offered only to the natural aristocracy, which will be based on personal worth as determined by earned wealth. Any benefit that may accrue to the masses will do so as a by-product of rewarding the elite or through the individual efforts of the populace.

4. The focus of action in these utopias will be on the individual rather than on the state or government. Individual initiative, not government action, will be the dominant force. The state will be limited in both size and scope. Public policy is not as important as personal preference in such a utopia.

5. American conservative utopias will emphasize economic freedom rather than a planned affluent economy. The

goal will not be to feed, clothe, and shelter all its citizens but to give an opportunity to care for themselves. Likewise, social justice will be secondary to economic opportunity. There are no provisions for economic security or stability. There is no trade of liberty for pottage. Economic affluence, instead of being a bribe for surrendering personal freedom, is a reward for intelligent work. One can starve in this utopia.

6. American conservative utopias will emphasize a strong government only in the areas of defense and other protective services. In all other areas the individual will be held responsible for satisfying his own wants and needs. The government, if it does act, will do so only as a referee unless the military or police are required to preserve order within society or to provide protection from an outside hostile force.

### Conclusion

Conservatives often say they know who is a conservative but not what conservatism may be.<sup>83</sup> One purpose of this study is to identify known conservatives who have authored utopias and, by examining their utopias, reach a better understanding of American conservatism.<sup>84</sup> 'By their utopias you shall know them' is a suitable motto for this study. The concept concerning the utopias of the left is not new, but it is a revolutionary idea when applied to the American right.<sup>85</sup>

By knowing the basic ideological beliefs of a conservative, we can identify his utopias to learn more than just the basics. While starting with the essential conservative ideology as the basic of building his utopias, his construction process and final results reveals much elaboration not found otherwise. The basic nature of man forms the skeleton of the conservative ideology. Placed into a utopian context, the flesh and blood of this ideology is formed, making understanding of conservatism more complete. In one more analogous step, the American context of the conservative utopias adds the clothing and accouterments to our final creation. The result: a far more complete picture to analyze and study.

Our authors, although arriving at ideological conclusions, seek to demonstrate that such truths are found through a philosophical process. The utopias they construct not only are based on what they believed to be truths demonstrated to the reader, but are bolstered by extrapolations of the conservative ideology.

This study, therefore, fulfills a number of purposes. It is relevant to political thought in that it will reconcile what seems to be a contradiction in terms--conservatism and utopia. This study will fill a gap in the literature of both conservatism and utopianism to make a significant contribution to an unexplored area of political thought. This study will aid in the conceptualization of the conservative

ideology in terms of potential political programs. This study will also expand the horizons of utopian thought and reveal aspects not previously considered.

A major accomplishment will be achieved if this study can interpret American conservatism as positive in nature and can give examples of alternative visions. An understanding of American conservatism as a positive political philosophy which can be debated on its merits will strengthen the ideological market place. American conservative utopias could be compared with those models, program experiments, predictions, and utopias of the left. Competition with other visions of a good life would allow for constructive criticism or conservative alternatives.

Finally, if it can be demonstrated that American conservative utopias do exist, then an analysis of their thought opens new avenues for meaningful research. With examples of such utopias provided, the scope of utopian thought can be broadened and conservative values more clearly understood. Instead of endeavoring to prove that conservatives have an ideology, this study demonstrates that conservatives have utopias. Thus, the ideology of the right is given more respectability within political philosophy and is better able to be compared to the ideologies of the left.

It is becoming difficult to  
separate the utopian dreams  
from contemporary reality.  
Chad Walsh, From Utopia to  
Nightmare



### Chapter I Notes

<sup>1</sup>The most well known work that attacks utopianism as incompatible with conservatism is Thomas Molnar, Utopia: The Perennial Heresy (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1967). Other studies with this as a theme include Clarence B. Carson, The Flight from Reality (Irving-on-Hudson: Foundation for Economic Education, 1969); Brainard Chenesy, "Christianity and the Tragic Vision: Utopianism USA," Sewanee Review 69 (Fall 1961): 515-533; and John T. Flynn, "Why Utopias Always Fail," American Mercury 82 (January 1956): 149-155.

Conservatives in their writings have condemned utopias or denied the existence of conservative utopias. Examples include Frank S. Meyer, The Conservative Mainstream (New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1969), pp. 15 and 463; Clinton Rossiter, Conservatism in America (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), pp. 20 and 45; and Paul A. Sexson and Stephen B. Miles, Jr., The Challenge of Conservatism (New York: Exposition Press, 1964), p. 33.

Writers on utopian thought have also noted the hostility of conservatives. See E. H. Carr, "Utopian and Realist," in The Nature of Politics, ed. Michael Curtis (New York: Avon Books, 1962), pp. 52-56;; and Francois Block-Laine, "The Utility of Utopias for Reformers," in Utopias and Utopian Thought, ed. Frank E. Manuel (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966), p. 420.

Authors analyzing conservative thought have made similar observations. See William Ray Harbour, "The Foundations of Conservative Thought" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Indiana, 1976), p. 34; J. C. Reese, "Conservatism," in Dictionary of Social Sciences, pp. 129-130 (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964); and Jay A. Sigler, ed., The Conservative Tradition in America (New York: Capricorn Books, 1969), p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>Two conservatives giving such warnings are Thomas Molnar, "A Critique of Utopian Catholics," Modern Age 7 (Spring 1963): 163-175; and J. L. Talmon, "Utopian and Politics: A Conservative View," Commentary 28 (August 1959): 149-154.

Other conservatives making the same observation include Russell Kirk, "The Conservative Cast of American Society," in Conservatism: Waxing or Waning?, ed. Dwyndal B. Pettengill, (Williamsburg, VA: Marshall-Wayne, 1965), p. 31; Ronald Reagan, The Creative Society (New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1968), p. 122; and Richard Weaver, Life Without Prejudice and Other Essays (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1965), pp. 145-147.

Those engaged in writing about utopias and dystopias have frequently commented on this conservative objection to utopian thought. See Andrew Hacker, "In Defense of Utopias,"

Ethics 1 (January 1955): 136; George Kateb, Utopia and Its Enemies (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), pp. 190 and 197-198; David Lodge, "Utopias and Criticism--The Radical Longing for Paradise," Encounter 32 (April 1969): 71; Judith Shklar, "The Political Theory of Utopia," Daedalus 94 (Spring 1965): 370; Paul Tillich, "Critique and Justification of Utopias," in Utopias and Utopian Thought, ed. Manuel, p. 299; and Chad Walsh, From Utopia to Nightmare (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972), p. 22.

<sup>3</sup>This theme has been extensively developed by Molnar, Utopia, pp. 21, 59, 74, 82, 160-162, 171, 219, 223, 227, 237, and 238. The concept is also woven into the fabric of Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of Millennium (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

The idea of man replacing God in utopia has also been mentioned by Harold J. Berger, "Anti-Utopian Science Fiction of Mid 20th Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Tennessee, 1970), p. 93; S. L. Frank, "The Utopian Heresy," Hibbert Journal 52 (April 1954): 440-447; and Frederick L. Polak, "Utopia and Cultural Renewal," in Utopias and Utopian Thought, ed. Manuel, p. 286; as well as Frederick L. Polak, The Image of the Future, vol. II (New York: Oceana Publications, 1961), p. 108.

<sup>4</sup>That utopian writing is based on discontent and social criticism is noted by Crane Brinton, "Utopias and Democracy," Daedalus 94 (Spring 1965): 348; Northrop Frye, "Varieties of Literary Utopias," Daedalus 94 (Spring 1965): 325; Joyce Oramel Hertzler, The History of Utopian Thought (New York: Macmillan, 1965), p. 257; and Frederick L. Polak, The Image of the Future, vol. I (New York: Oceana Publications, 1961), p. 426.

Those writing about social criticism have found the same thing as evidenced by Everet E. Dennis, "Utopian Values in Journalistic Content and Organizational Structure," Journal of Popular Culture 8 (April 1975): 724-734; C. M. Kornbluth, "The Failure of the Science Fiction Novel as Social Criticism," in The Science Fiction Novel, ed. Basic Davenport (Chicago: Advent, 1959), pp. 64-102; and Charles Allen Madison, Critics and Crusaders (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947), chapter two.

The same comment has also been found in a description of a utopia as reported by Ralph B. Fagin, "Test of a Perceived Utopian Characteristic at a Secular College" (Ph.D. dissertation, Oklahoma State University, 1974), p. 56; and in B. F. Skinner's utopian novel, Walden Two (New York: Macmillan Company, 1969), p. 76.

<sup>5</sup>Willmoore Kendall [Willmoore Kendall Contra Mundum (New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1971), p. 588] views utopianism in terms of the improbability of a program being adopted and if adopted, working.

Rene Dubos [The Dreams of Reason (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), p. 46] states that the term has come to denote an impossible or unreasonable dream as well as an ideal one. Bruce H. Franklin [ed., Future Perfect (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 393] explains that the development of the position that utopias don't work came after Hawthorne's The Blithedale Romance, which chronicled the demise of Brooks Farms. Franklin also mentions that the Communist Manifesto and the abortive revolutions of 1848 both played a role in tagging utopia with an impractical tinge.

Karl R. Popper, "Utopia and Violence," The Hibbert Journal 46 (1947-1948): 115, sees utopias as 'unrealistic'.

Martin Buber [Paths in Utopia (New York: Macmillan, 1950), p. 5], and Albert Fried and Ronald Sanders [eds., Socialist Thought (New York: Anchor Books, 1964), p. 73] agree that the negative use of the term as impractical was begun by Marxists to describe non-doctrinaire socialists.

For a sense of frustration at the failure of reform to produce the desired results, consult Eric F. Goldman, Rendezvous with Destiny (New York: Vintage Books, 1955); and Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (New York: Vintage Books, 1955).

<sup>6</sup>The sense of alienation arising from utopian hopes being dashed has been the topic of the studies by Halin Barakat, "Alienation: A Process of Encounter Between Utopia and Reality," British Journal of Sociology 20 (March 1969): 1-10; C. West Churchman, "Ethics, Idealism and Dissatisfaction," Ethics 64 (October 1952): 64-65; and Kenneth Kenison, "Alienation and the Decline of Utopias," American Scholar 29 (September 1960): 161-200.

Alienation is apparently widespread if one is to give cognizance to Ned E. Hoppes, ed., Who Am I? Essays on the Alienated (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1973); and Eric and Mary Josephson, eds., Man Alone: Alienation and Modern Society (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1966).

The American right seems particularly alienated. See Robert A. Rosenstone, ed., Protests from the Right (Beverly Hills: The Glencoe Press, 1968). For the ultimate alienation, read A. M. Rosenthal and Arthur Gelb, One More Victim: The Life and Death of an American-Jewish Nazi (New York: Signet Books, 1967).

<sup>7</sup>The leading conservative attack on revolution can be found in Edmund Burke, Reflections on the Revolution in France (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1955). Other useful commentaries include Crane Brinton, The Anatomy of Revolution (New York: Vintage Books, 1965); and Peter Amann, ed., The Eighteenth-Century Revolution (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1963).

The linking of utopian thought and revolutionary activity can be found in J. Ortega J. y Gasset, "Traditional and Rational," in Curtis, ed., The Nature of Politics, p. 63; Melvin J. Lasky, "Birth of a Metaphore: On The Origins of Utopia and Revolution," Encounter 34 (March 1970): 30-42; and J. L. Talmon, Political Messianism (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1964), p. 281.

Probably the most insightful treatise on rebellion and the rebel is Albert Camus, The Rebel (New York: Vintage Books, 1956).

<sup>8</sup>Lewis Mumford ["Utopia, the City and the Machine," Daedalus 94 (Spring 1965): 285] stated that the price of utopia is "total submission to a central authority, forced labor, lifetime specialization, inflexible regimentation, one-way communications, and readiness for war."

In the utopian framework, a dictatorship would be totalitarian rather than just authoritarian. See Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1967); and Carl J. Friedrich, ed., Totalitarianism (New York: Grossett and Dunlap, 1964) for an exposition on the subject.

Stanley Milgram [Obedience to Authority (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1975)] has demonstrated that the average American is indeed willing, able, and ready to obey orders and, by implication, live under dictatorship.

Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium, in the last chapters of his book has described how a utopian order degenerated into dictatorship partly as a necessity to survive against the threat of outside forces.

The best summary of dictatorship can be found in George W. F. Hallgarten, Why Dictators? (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954).

<sup>9</sup>Leadership has always been an important question posed in utopia. Graham S. Gibbard and John J. Hartman in "Significance of Utopian Fanaticism in Small Groups," International Journal of Group Psycho-therapy 23 (April 1973): 140, have demonstrated the problem of leadership in a utopian setting.

One suspects that conservative rejection of utopian leadership is also based on the selection process as well as the result. See David Spitz, Patterns of Anti-Democratic Thought (New York: The Free Press, 1965); and section one of Joseph L. Blau, ed., Social Theories of Jacksonian Democracy (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1954).

In The Pursuit of the Millennium, Cohn's account of John of Leyden confirms the worst of conservative fears. At one time the conservative believed that power ennobled but apparently not in leaders selected by a democratic process. The attacks on John F. Kennedy, both when he was alive and

after his death, by the right-wing muckraker Victor Lasky is an indication of the conservative's fear of a liberal leader.

<sup>10</sup>The idea of utopia as a static society has been suggested by John J. Bunzel, Anti-Politics in America (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), chapter 6, "The Elimination of Politics: The Utopian Distortion of Freedom," pp. 225-263; Ralf Dahrendorf, "Out of Utopia," American Journal of Sociology 64 (September 1958), p. 115; Frank E. Manuel, "Toward a Psychological History of Utopias," Daedalus 94 (Spring 1965), p. 300; and Francis G. Wilson, The Case for Conservatism (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1951), p. 2.

Frank S. Meyer [The Conservative Mainstream (New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1969), p. 84] states, "Conservatives are by definition defenders of that civilization and in a revolutionary age this means that they are, and must be, counter-revolutionaries." He further states on page 124 that American conservatism in its contemporary form is a reaction to the liberal revolution of past years.

<sup>11</sup>Joseph Wood Krutch, "Danger" Utopia Ahead, "Saturday Review" 49, August 20, 1966, p. 46, argues that no one would want to live in utopia.

Brian W. Aldiss, The Billion Year Spree (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Doubleday, 1973), gives three instances where the plot line involves the protagonist trying to escape from utopia rather than enter: Samuel Johnson's Rasselas Prince of Abyssinia, p. 76; Bulwer-Lytton's The Coming Race, pp. 83-84; and John Jacob Astor's A Journey in Other Worlds, p. 142.

Russell Kirk, "Conservatism and Religious Faith," in Anthology of Conservative Writing in the United States 1932-1960, ed. A. H. Heinsohn, Jr. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1962), p. 345, claims that man will never get to utopia, but if he did, he would hate it.

<sup>12</sup>The importance of operational definitions has been stressed by James L. Payne in Foundations of Empirical Political Analysis (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1973). The research design for this study is based on Paul D. Leedy, Practical Research (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc., 1974). The author also found research guidance in Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff, The Modern Researcher (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1957).

<sup>13</sup>See Harry M. Johnson, "Ideology and the Social System," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 7 (U.S.A.: Macmillan and the Free Press, 1968), pp. 76-85; Williard A. Mullins, "On the Concept of Ideology in

Political Science," American Political Science Review 66 (June 1972): 498-510; Edward Shills, "The Concept and Function of Ideology," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 7 (New York: Macmillan and the Free Press, 1968), pp. 86-97; and David Schuman, The Ideology of Form (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1978).

<sup>14</sup>The relationship between ideology and utopia has been the subject of a number of books and articles. See Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology (New York: Collier Books, 1960), pp. 399-401; Harry M. Johnson, "Ideology and the Social System," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 7 (U.S.A.: Macmillan and the Free Press, 1968), pp. 76-85; Harold Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, Power and Society (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), pp. 116-133; Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia (New York: Harvest Books, 1936); Thomas Molnar, "Myth and Utopia," Modern Age 17 (Winter 1973): 71-77; Willard A. Mullins, "On the Concept of Ideology in Political Science," American Political Science Review 66 (June 1972): 498-511; and Edward Shills, "The Concept and Function of Ideology," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 7 (New York: Macmillan and the Free Press, 1968), pp. 86-97.

<sup>15</sup>See Lasswell and Kaplan, Power and Society, p. 123, for a succinct discussion of Mannheim's attitude towards ideology and utopia. For a fuller view, see Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia.

<sup>16</sup>For discussions of ideology in relationship to philosophy and theory, refer to Nannerl O. Keohane, "Philosophy, Theory, Ideology: An Attempt at Clarification," Political Theory 4 (February 1976): 80-100; and Preston King, "An Ideological Fallacy," in Political and Experience: Essays Presented to Michael Oakeshott, ed. Preston King and B. C. Parekh (Cambridge: University Press, 1968), pp. 341-94. Thomas A. Spragens, Jr., in Understanding Political Theory (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976), approaches the question from the point of theory where Keohane starts with philosophy and King with ideology.

<sup>17</sup>Among the more comprehensible and complete definitions of utopia are those by John F. Fried, "Utopia," Encyclopedia Americana, International Edition, vol. 27 (New York: Americana, 1976), pp. 841-842; Roger L. Emerson, "Utopia," Dictionary of the History of Ideas, vol. 4 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), pp. 458-465; George Kateb, "Utopias and Utopianism," Encyclopedia of Philosophy, vol. 8 (New York: Macmillan Company, 1967), pp. 213-215, and International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 16 (U.S.A.: Macmillan Company and the Free Press, 1968), pp. 267-271; Fred Krinsky, "Utopianism," Encyclopedia

International, vol. 18 (New York: Grolier, 1970), pp. 577-578; Karl Mannheim, "Utopia," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 15 (New York: Macmillan, 1934), pp. 200-203; Chad Walsh, "Utopian Literature," New Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 14 (New York: McGraw-Hill, pp. 504-505; and Patrick Maurice Yarker, "Utopia," Encyclopedia Britannica, vol. 23 (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1970), p. 821.

Besides encyclopedia articles, other works giving background and definitions on utopias include Harold V. Rhodes, "The Methodology of Utopian Political Theory" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona, 1964); Martin G. Plattel, Utopian and Critical Thinking (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1972); Robert C. Elliot, The Shape of Utopia (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); and Ann Kasten Nelson, "An Analysis of Some Twentieth Century Utopias" (M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1956).

<sup>18</sup>For examples of absolute and relative utopias see Francis Golfing, "Notes Toward a Utopia," Partisan Review 27 (Summer 1960): 514-525; Robert Hamilton, "More's Utopia," Hibbert Journal 44 (April 1946): 242-247; and John Herman Randall, Jr., "Plato's Treatment of the Theme of the Good Life and His Criticism of the Spartan Ideal," Journal of the History of Ideas 28 (July-September 1967): 307-324.

<sup>19</sup>The absolute utopia is usually postulated either by the religious right who try to prove that man must be changed in order to enter the Promised Land or the Marxists who attempt to demonstrate that utopia is impractical since it is unrealistic.

<sup>20</sup>The leading advocate of what this author calls a 'relative' utopia is Lyman Tower Sargent who prefers to use the term 'eutopia'.

<sup>21</sup>The two-prong definition has been forwarded by a number of authors. Robert Michels ["Conservatism," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 4 (New York: Macmillan, 1931), pp. 230-232] gives one of the earliest dual definitions. A more contemporary version can be found in Andrew M. Greeley, "What Is a Liberal--Who is a Conservative?" Commentary 62 (September 1976): 65-67. The Commentary article is one in a special issue devoted to answering the question. Sixty-four well-known public figures of both the political left and right answered the question.

Similar observations have been made in Ronald Lora, Conservative Minds in America (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1971), pp. 4-5; Charles O. Lerche, Jr., "The Politics of Conservatism," in Pettengill, ed., Conservatism, p. 76; and Peter Clecak, Crooked Paths (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), p. 102.

Lloyd E. Eastman, "Political Conservatism in a Revolutionary Society," in Varieties of Political Conservatism, ed. Matthew Holden, Jr. (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1974), p. 136, differentiates between Western conservatism, which he sees as ideological, and oriental conservatism, which he believes holds more towards the attitudinal approach. The conservatives in China, he observes, were conservative in terms of resisting change but not in ideology, as they did not profess to believe in the wicked, irrational, and unequal nature of mankind.

<sup>22</sup>The conservative ideology of men being imperfect, non-rational, and unequal is mentioned by Edward McNail Burns, Ideas in Conflict (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1960), p. 345; and Clinton Rossiter, "Conservatism," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 3 (U.S.A.: Macmillan Company and the Free Press, 1968), pp. 290-295.

<sup>23</sup>The conservative view of man as evil, imperfect, and inheritor of original sin and generally not to be trusted can be found in Russell Kirk, A Program for Conservatives (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1954), p. 80; and Mark Chesler and Richard Schmuck, "Social Psychological Characteristics of Super Patriots," in The American Right Wing, ed. Robert A. Schoenberg (New York: Rinehart and Winston, 1969), p. 177.

<sup>24</sup>The conservative has very often stated that man is non-rational and has done so in the most rational manner. Russel Kirk [The Conservative Mind (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1953), p. 82] is one of the most rational exponents of the non-rationality of man.

The writings of Eric Hoffer [The True Believer] and Gustave Le Bon [The Crowd (New York: Ballantine Books, 1969)] would indicate that mass society is responsible for non-rational actions as it encourages man's irrationality instead of discouraging it. Both see man as irrational but blame mass society for cultivating this aspect of his nature.

It should be noted that the conservative distrusts the reasoning power of the common man, especially in a democratic setting. The thoughts of the uncommon man is another story.

<sup>25</sup>The inequality of man as a basis for the conservative ideology is not limited to the United States. Ian MacLeod, "Conservatism--A British View," in Pettengill, ed., Conservatism, p. 69, seems to sum it up as well as any: "I would simply state in the phrase that a conservative does not believe in equality. He does believe in equality of opportunity but this is a very different thing. It is ideal to pretend that men and women are equal. . . . It is ideal to pretend that every man has ten talents or five talents or



three talents or one talent. He has not. He has a varying number of talents. What matters is that he be given equal opportunity so that he can make the maximum use of however many talents he has been given. A conservative believes therefore in a phrase which I first used in Parliament, in the House of Commons; he believes in an equal opportunity for men to prove themselves unequal."

<sup>26</sup>For a reaction against this environmental determinism and assumption that man is completely malleable see Barbara Leitenberg, "The New Utopians" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Indiana, 1975); and Walsh, From Utopia to Nightmare.

<sup>27</sup>Conservatism as an attitude is the most widely accepted definition of the term and is often the one given in a dictionary or encyclopedia. See Kenneth Mingue, "Conservatism," Encyclopedia of Philosophy, vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan and Free Press, 1967), pp. 195-198; W. C. Pickles, "Left and Right," Dictionary of the Social Sciences (New York: Free Press, 1964), pp. 381-384; William Safire, "Conservatism," The New Language of Politics (New York: Random House, 1968), pp. 89-90; K. W. Thompson, "Liberal and Conservative," in Curtis, ed., The Nature of Politics, pp. 56-61; and Frederick M. Watkins, "Conservatism," Encyclopedia Americana, vol. 7 (New York: Americana Corporation, 1976), pp. 638-640.

Probably the most well-known article on conservatism is Samuel P. Huntington, "Conservatism as an Ideology," American Political Science Review 52 (March 1957): 454-473. Although Huntington uses the term 'ideology', his description fits the attitudinal mode.

David G. Abshire, "Conservatism and American Foreign Policy," in Pettingill, ed., Conservatism, p. 51; Crane Brinton, A History of Western Morals (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1959), p. 422; Russell I. Thackrey, "American Education: Who Are The Conservatives?," in Pettingill, ed., p. 4; and Peter Viereck, Conservatism Revisited (New York: Charles Scribner Sons, 1950), p. 51, all give an attitudinal definition.

Andrzej Walicki, The Slavophile Controversy: History of a Conservative Utopia in Nineteenth Century Russian Thought (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), p. 7, gives a particularly significant definition in that Walicki later applies it to utopian thought.

<sup>28</sup>The 'social' conservatives who would be radicals or reactionaries by turning back the clock have American Opinion and American Mercury as their most representative publications. Their views are well summed up in the collection of essays by A. G. Heinsohn, Jr., ed., Anthology of Conservative Writings in the United States 1932-1960 (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1962). Not surprisingly, since they are indeed 'radial', the term 'radial right' has become part of the vocabulary to describe this group.

Machinations of the social conservatives have been reviewed in Daniel Bell, ed., The Radical Right (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1964); Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, The Politics of Un-Reason (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1970), and Richard Hofstadter, The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays (New York: Vintage Books, 1967). See also Bunzell, Anti-Politics in America, chapter two, "Politics and Conspiracy: The Moral Crusade of the American Right Wing," pp. 32-90. This typology is also analyzed by Eric Hoffer in The True Believer.

Popular studies include James Graham Cook, The Segregationists (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962); Ralph Ellsworth and Sarah M. Harris, The American Right Wing (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1962); Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, Danger on the Right (New York: Random House, 1964), section I, "The Radical Right," pp. 3-171; Donald Janson and Bernard Eismann, The Far Right (New York: McGraw Hill, 1963); Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, The Strange Tactics of Extremism (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1964).

See also John H. George, "American Political Extremism in the 1960s" (M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1967), pp. 27-28. George prefers to call these people 'rightists' rather than 'conservatives'.

<sup>29</sup>The proponents of the 'economic' right have as their major publications National Review and Human Events. Representative readers include Frank S. Meyers, ed., What Is Conservatism?, and William F. Buckley, Jr., ed., Did You Ever See a Dream Walking? (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1970).

Favorable accounts of this branch of American conservatism are presented by Jeffrey Hart, The American Dissent (Garden City: Doubleday and Doubleday, 1966); and George H. Nash, The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945 (New York: Basic Books, 1976).

A less favorable version can be found in Forster and Epstein, Danger on the Right, section II, "The Extreme Conservatives," pp. 175-264.

See also Barry Goldwater, The Conscience of a Conservative (Kentucky: Victory Publishing Company, Inc., 1960); John T. Tower, A Program for Conservatives (New York: McFadden Books, 1962); and Ronald Reagan, The Creative Society (New York: Devin-Adair, 1968) for a view from the leading political leaders of the 'new' or 'economic' right.

<sup>30</sup>In the United States the 'neo-conservative' is represented by the periodicals The Public Interest and Commentary. Melvin Laird, ed., The Conservative Papers (Chicago: Quadrangel Press, 1964) gives a representative sample of their views while Lewis A. Coser and Irving Howe, eds., The New Conservatives (New York: A Meridian Book,

1976) gives a critical view from the left. Nathan Glazer and Irving Kristol, The American Commonwealth 1976 (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976) present the view of the neo-conservatives on the American Bicentennial and reflects upon two hundred years of American independence.

The best definition and description of this group is given by one of their foremost leaders, Irving Kristol, in "What is a Neo-Conservative?" Newsweek, January 19, 1976, p. 17. An outside view is given by Sheldon S. Wolin, "The New Conservatives," New York Review of Books 23, February 5, 1976, pp. 6-11.

<sup>31</sup>Louis Hartz [The Liberal Tradition in America (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1955), p. 51] states that there is no conservative tradition in America. Allen Guttman in The Conservative Tradition in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 11, suggests that conservatism in America is essentially literary rather than political so can be found in literature rather than political works.

John Charles Cooper [The Turn Right (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1970), p. 14] and Ira S. Rohter ["Social and Psychological Determinants of Radical Rightism," in The American Right Wing, ed. Robert A. Schoenberger (New York: Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969), p. 228] observe that the American right is exclusively negative. Judith Shklar [After Utopia (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 221] contends that conservatism has been negative since the Enlightenment.

However, Leonard Woods Labaree in Conservatism in Early American History (New York: Washington Square, 1948) offers convincing testimony that this nation was at one time to the political right.

Peter Witoniski [ed., The Wisdom of Conservatism (New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1971), p. 35] claims that while European conservatives had the monarchy to defend, the American right defends the tradition of private property and capitalism. However, on page 21 he does admit, "Conservatism, true conservatism, is really only possible in a happy society. . . ." Are American conservatives happy? Indications are that they are not. Would not an attempt to create a 'happy society' be utopian even if it would mean that conservatism would have an opportunity to flourish?

On the other hand, Daniel J. Boorstin, in The Genius of American Politics (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964) seems to say that there is no political philosophy in America and it is a conservative one.

<sup>32</sup>A number of works suggest America is utopia. Mircea Eliade "Paradise and Utopia," in Manuel, ed., Utopias and Utopian Thought, pp. 260-280; Marian Lockwood, in "The Experimental Utopia in America," Daedalus 94 (Spring 1965): 401-418; and Ernest Lee Tuveson, in Redeemer Nation (Chicago:

University of Chicago Press, 1968) all see America as a place for utopia, as a home for utopian practices, or as having a role in spreading utopia to the world.

Vernon Louis Parrington [Main Currents in American Thought (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1930), p. vii] sees American thought as a debate over how utopia is to be built, while Daniel J. Boorstin [The Americans: The Colonial Experience (New York: Vintage Books, 1958), Book One, "The Vision and the Reality"] observes that the reality killed the vision (pp. 1-143).

David Lodge, "Utopia and Criticism," Encounter 32 (April 1969): 74, cites the United States and the Soviet Union as places of two attempts to create utopia.

Yet, Rush Welter ["The Idea of Progress in America," Journal of the History of Ideas 16 (June 1955): 401-415] gives the most fascinating account of America as a utopia. Welter theorizes that while European ideas of progress were based on the work of J. B. Bury, Americans looked to Arthur A. Ekirch for philosophical guidance. The Bury/European concept of progress is millennial, while the Ekirch/American version is a continuum; forward, not upward. The American concept of progress is thus more limited as a continuum of the present. Welter notes that it is a conservative doctrine as it seeks to conserve the present rather than seeking a better future. In short, Americans saw America as utopia and sought to preserve its conditions while the Europeans were discontent with their present and sought a better future. The difference in attitude is important as it could be argued that the European utopian sought a better world in the future while the American was convinced that he had already arrived in utopia. Thus, the American utopia was basically conservative, conserving the present, while his European counterpart tended to be progressive, rejecting the status quo.

<sup>33</sup> Robert C. Elliott ["Saturalis, Satire and Utopias," Yale Review 55 (June 1966), pp. 421-526] recognizes utopias' connection to the myth of a Golden Age.

For examples of New England small town life see Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968). The old South is portrayed by W. J. Cash, The Mind of the South (New York: Vintage Books, 1941); and C. Vann Woodward, The Burden of Southern History (New York: Mentor Books, 1968). The conservative quest for rural simplicity and social stability is well represented by Robert A. Nisbet, The Quest for Community (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953).

Such stability has been deemed dangerous by Morton Auerbach, The Conservative Illusion (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), chapter 1; and Karl Popper, The Open Society and Its Enemies, vol. I (London: George Routledge, 1954).

There is debate as to whether More's utopia was designed to fit this category. See H. W. Donner, Introduction to Utopia (London: Sidgewick and Jackson 44 (April 1946): 242-247; Richard G. Stevens, "The New Republic in More's Utopia," Political Science Quarterly 84 (September 1969): 287-411; and John Traugott, "A Voyage to Nowhere with Thomas More and Johnathan Swift," Sewanee Review 69 (Fall 1961): 534-565.

<sup>34</sup>Conservative programs usually focus on a single issue or call for conservatives returning to political power. An example of the former is the repeal of the income tax as presented by Willis E. Stone, Where the Money Went (Los Angeles: Fact Sheet, 1971); or by the recently passed Proposition 13 in California. Examples of the latter would be manuals for electing conservatives such as Kevin P. Phillips, The Emerging Republican Majority (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1970).

For basic background on the issues, organizations and publications that are issue oriented, refer to Robert H. Muller, From Radical Left to Extreme Right (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1967); Ferdinand V. Solaro, 58 Key Influences in the American Right (Denver: Polifax Press, 1971); and Laird M. Wilcox, Guide to the American Right (Kansas City: U.S. Directory, 1970).

<sup>35</sup>For a vision of an Edenic past, millennial future, or present-day theocracy to bridge the gap, see Lewis Mumford, The Story of Utopia (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1922).

The present-day use of the future is covered by Erling Jorstad, The Politics of Doomsday (Nashville: Abington Press, 1970). For a description of the kind of religious leader tempted to engage in millennial politics, refer to Brooks E. Walker, The Christian Fright Peddlers (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964).

For an examination of the millennial concept, see Ernest L. Tuveson, Millennium and Utopia (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949); Michael Barkum, Disaster and the Millennium (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974); and Sylvia L. Thrupp, ed., Millennial Dreams in America (New York: Schocken Books, 1962). See also Kurt Glasser, "Nineteenth Century Messianism and Twentieth Century Interventionism," Modern Age 17 (Winter 1973): 16-32; Frederick Mark, Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History (New York: Vintage Books, 1966); and John Pratt Whitman, Utopian Dawns (Boston: Utopian Publishing Company, 1934).

An example of the religious right promising a utopia tomorrow in return for righteous politics today can be found in the book by Herbert W. Armstrong, The Wonderful World Tomorrow: What It Will Be Like (New York: Everest House, 1979). An earlier edition was a pamphlet, "The Wonderful World Tomorrow," by Herbert and Garner Ted

Armstrong, which was published by Ambassador College in 1964. An even earlier edition was published by the Worldwide Church of God and entitled, "Utopia!"

<sup>36</sup>See Lyman Tower Sargent, "Capitalist Eutopias in America," in Kenneth M. Roemer's America Utopia (forthcoming). Glenn Negley in his Utopian Literature: A Bibliography (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1977) lists a number of utopias authored by well-known conservatives. Included are Henry Hazlitt's The Great Idea (#544, p. 67); H. L. Hunt's Alpaca (#600, p. 74); and Felix Morley's Gumpton Island (#818, p. 100).

<sup>37</sup>Three studies that have already been accomplished in this area include Virginia Jean Rock, "The Making and Meaning of I'll Take My Stand: A Study of Utopian Conservatism 1925-1936" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1961); Andrzej Walicki, The Slavophile Controversy: History of a Conservative Utopia in Nineteenth Century Russian Thought (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975); and Paul Gottfried, Conservative Millenarians: The Romantic Experience in Bavaria (Bronx, NY: Forham University Press, 1979).

<sup>38</sup>Biographical material on Ayn Rand is from Barbara Branden, "A Biographical Essay," in Who Is Ayn Rand, ed. Nathaniel Branden (New York: Random House, 1979). See also John Kobler, "The Curious Cult of Ayn Rand," Saturday Evening Post 234, November 11, 1971, pp. 981-191, for a more 'unofficial view'. See also Who's Who in America 1976-1977 (Chicago: A. N. Marquis Co., 1978), p. 2576; "Down with Altruism," Time 75, February 29, 1960, pp. 94-95; and Leslie Hanscom, "Born Eccentric," Newsweek 57, March 27, 1961.

<sup>39</sup>See Ayn Rand, "The Night of January 16th: A Play" (New York: Signet, 1971), especially the "Introduction," pp. 1-16.

Ayn Rand, We the Living (New York: Signet Books, 1959), especially the "Foreward," pp. v-ix. For more information on this volume, see Ayn Rand, For the New Intellectual (New York: Signet, 1961) (hereafter referred to as FNI), p. 60; and Branden, p. 107.

Ayn Rand, Anthem (New York: Signet, 1956), especially "Author's Foreward," pp. v-ix. See also Mark R. Hillegas, The Future as Nightmare (New York: Oxford Press, 1967), p. 146; as well as FNI, p. 64; and Branden, p. 107.

For comments on the movie version, see Paul S. Nathan, "Books into Films," Publisher's Weekly 155, June 11, 1949, p. 2405; and Richard Mealand, "Books into Films," Publisher's Weekly 146, September 30, 1944, p. 1418.

Ayn Rand, Atlas Shrugged (New York: Signet, 1957) (hereafter referred to as AS). See also FNI, p. 88; and

Branden, pp. 107, 127, 140, 220, and 231. See also William F. O'Neill, *With Charity Toward None* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1971).

<sup>40</sup> See "The Chairman's Favorite Author," *Time* 104, September 30, 1974, pp. 87-88, for publication figures on Rand's nonfictional works. For comments about her nonfiction works being a footnote to her fiction see Ayn Rand, *Capitalism: The Unknown Ideal* (New York: Signet Books, 1966) (hereafter referred to as CUI), p. ix.

FNI, "Preface," pp. vii-viii. See also James Collins, "Ayn Rand's Talent for Getting Headlines," *America* 105, July 29, 1961, p. 569; Bruce Goldberg, "Ayn Rand's For the New Intellectual," *New Individualist Review* 1 (November 1961): 17-24; Sidney Hook, "Each Man for Himself," *New York Times*, April 9, 1961, pp. 3 and 28; Joel Rosenbloom, "The Endorsement of Ayn Rand," *New Republic* 144, April 24, 1961, pp. 28-29; Charles Frederick Schroeder, "Ayn Rand: Far Right Prophetess," *Christian Century* 78, February 13, 1961, pp. 1493-1495; and Gore Vidal, "Comment," *Esquire* 56, July 1961, pp. 24-27.

Ayn Rand with Nathaniel Branden, *The Virtues of Selfishness: A New Concept of Egoism* (New York: A Signet Book, 1964) (hereafter referred to as VOS).

CUI, "Introduction," pp. vii-ix. See also Jeffrey St. John, "Are American Students Flunking Capitalism," *Nation's Business* 55 (July 19-7): 90; and Honor Tracy, "Here We Go Gathering Nuts," *New Republic* 155, December 10, 1966, pp. 27-28.

Ayn Rand, *Introduction to the Objectivist Epistemology* (U.S.A.: The Objectivist, 1970). See also Edwin A. Lock, "Critical Analysis of Concepts of Causality in Behavioristic Psychology," *Psychological Reports* 31 (August 1972): 178; and "Is Behavior Therapy Behavioristic?," *Psychological Bulletin* 5 (July 1971): 325. See also Perry M. Nellis, "Has Neurophysiology Resurrected Platonic Soul?" *Psychological Reports* 35 (August 1974): 611-619.

Ayn Rand, *The Romantic Manifesto* (New York: Signet, 1971) (hereafter referred to as RM). See "Introduction," pp. vi-ix.

Ayn Rand, *The New Left* (New York: Signet, 1971) (hereafter referred to as NL). See "Foreward," pp. vii-ix.

<sup>41</sup> "Goldwater People," *Look* 28, November 3, 1963, p. 53; and Jane Hamblin, "The Cult of Angry Ayn Rand," *Life* 62, April 7, 1967, pp. 92-102.

<sup>42</sup> *The Ayn Rand Letter* IV (January-February 1976). See also Edward Cain, *They'd Rather Be Right* (New York: Macmillan, 1963), p. 193; and Mary Sohngen, "The Writer as an Old Woman," *The Gerontologist* 15 (December 1975): 493. See also O'Neill, p. 5; and Hamblin, p. 92; as well as Robert

H. Muller, ed., From Radical Left to Extreme Right (Ann Arbor, MI: Campus Publishers, 1967), pp. 136-137; and Spahn et al., From Radical Left to Extreme Right, 2nd ed. (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1972), p. 634.

<sup>43</sup>For Rand's positions that are reflected in the Objectivist movement see "Notes on a Best Seller," Commonweal 67, January 3, 1958, p. 349, for excerpts from a Mike Wallace interview with Ayn Rand that originally appeared in the New York Post. See also "Disturber of the Peace," Mademoiselle 55 (May 1962): 172-173 and 194-196; "Ayn Rand: A Candid Conversation with the Fountainhead of Objectivism," Playboy 11 (March 1964): 35-40, 42-43, and 64; "If I Were President," McCalls 95 (January 1968): 112; and "Faith and Force, The Destroyer of the Modern World: The Age of Guilt," Vital Speeches 26, August 1, 1960, pp. 630-636.

The Objectivist movement is explored by Albert Ellis, Is Objectivism a Religion? (New York: Lyle Stuart, 1968); and two books by Jerome Tuccille, It Usually Begins with Ayn Rand (New York: Stein and Day, 1971); and Radical Libertarianism (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970).

<sup>44</sup>Eckard Vance Toy, "Ideology and Conflict in American Ultra Conservatism, 1945-1960" (Ph.D. dissertation University of Oregon, 1965), p. 50; also the Playboy interview, "Ayn Rand: A Candid Conversation. . . , p. 47; and the McCalls interview, "If I Were President," p. 112.

<sup>45</sup>Clinton Rossiter, Conservatism in America (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), p. 169. See also Toy, p. 49.

<sup>46</sup>John W. Robbins, "Conservatism versus Objectivism," Inter-Collegiate Review 6 (Winter 1969-70): 41; and Garry Wills, "But Is Ayn Rand Conservative?" National Review 8, February 27, 1960, p. 139. See also Toy, pp. 76-77; and Tuccille, p. 5.

<sup>47</sup>Bruce Cook, "Ayn Rand: Voice in the Wilderness," Catholic World 201 (May 1965): 119-124; and M. Stanton Evans, "The Gospel According to Ayn Rand," National Review 19, October 3, 1967, pp. 1059-1963; as well as George H. Smith, "Atheism and Objectivism," Reason 5 (November 1973): 18-24; and John H. George, "American Political Extremism in the 1960s" (M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1967). See also Hamblin, pp. 98-100; Nash, p. 937; Rosenbloom, pl 29; and Toy, p. 81, as well as Cain, p. 67.

<sup>48</sup>O'Neill, pp. 36-40.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 158.



<sup>50</sup> Jean Worrall Ward, "Value Contradictions in Contemporary Conservatism" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1967), pp. 79-80, 82-83, 87-88, and 201.

For Rand's being considered as a conservative see George Thayer, The Farther Shores of Politics (New York: Clarion Books, 1968), p. 169; Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, Danger on the Right (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1963), p. 148; and Roger Burlingame, The Sixth Column (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1962), pp. 123-124. Note that none of the authors mentioned are conservatives who are competing with Rand for a right-wing audience.

<sup>51</sup> Rand's support of Wilkie is documented by Branden, pp. 199-200; and by Ward, p. 80.

Her backing of Goldwater has been noted by Hamblin, p. 102; and by the Look article appropriately entitled, "Goldwater People," November 3, 1964, p. 53, as well as by Nash, p. 291. See also Murray Seegar, "Hope Still Found for Conservatism," New York Times, November 5, 1964, p. 20.

Rand opposed Senator McGovern in 1972 in her article, "McGovern is the First to Offer Fullfledged Statism to the American People," Saturday Review 55, October 21, 1972, p. 50.

Her enthusiasm for Ford can be noted in The Ayn Rand Letter IV (November-December 1975): 2-3; TRB, "The Ayn Rand Factor," New Republic 173, July 19, 1975, p. 2; and Andrew Weiner, "Hymn to Selfishness," New Society 33 July 31, 1975, pp. 257-258.

<sup>52</sup> See Rand's "Conservatism: An Obituary, chapter 16, pp. 192-201 in CUI, as well as the notice in the "Introduction," p. vii. See also McCalls' interview, p. 192. Others agree that Rand is not conservative. See Russell Kirk, Confessions of a Bohemian Tory (New York: Fleet Publishing Corporation, 1963), p. 284; as well as Cain, p. 36; Cook, p. 124; Hamblin, p. 100; Letwin, p. 62; O'Neill, p. 16; and Wills, p. 134.

The National Review tried to read Rand out of the conservative movement a number of times. The conflict between NR and objectivism has been noted by Nash, p. 157; Rossiter, p. 288; and Tuccille, p. 5.

After the ensuing foray over Atlas Shrugged, E. Merrill Root ventured to pen some nice words about Miss Rand in "What About Ayn Rand?," National Review 8, January 30, 1960, pp. 76-77. The debate was immediately renewed in the letters to the editor column, "To the Editor, 'What About Ayn Rand?'," National Review 8, January 30, 1960, pp. 116-117. Gary Wills inquired "But Is Ayn Rand Conservative" and answered his own question in the negative.

Years later Frank S. Meyer, "Why Freedom," National Review 13, September 25, 1962, pp. 223-225, warned Brent

Bozell to avoid pure ideology or risk being in the same company as Ayn Rand.

Finally, in a cover story, M. Stanton Evans revealed "The Gospel According to Ayn Rand." No quarter was given. There was the usual follow-up "Letters to St. Ayn," National Review 19, October 17, 1967, p. 1150.

If one takes a market view of the situation, the picture has a different interpretation. One does not compete with those offering a different product and Rand was a definite competitor to the boys at NR. The similarities, not the differences, made Rand a target. See "Student Tastes . . . A Candy Culture," Newsweek 65, March 22, 1965, pp. 58-60. See also David Westby and Richard Braungart, "Activists and the History of the Future," in Julian Foster and Durward Long, eds., Protest (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1970), pp. 158-183.

<sup>53</sup> Barbara Leitenberg, "The New Utopians" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1975), pp. 3-5; Douglas D. Uyl, "The New Republic," Reason 5 (November 1973): 6-11; Peter Crosby, "The Utopia of Competition," The Personalist 52 (Spring 1971): 379-385; Don Franzen, "Reply to Peter Crosby's 'Utopia of Competition'," The Personalist 52 (Spring 1971): 385-393.

<sup>54</sup> Factual information on Hunt's life from John Bainbridge, The Super Americans (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972); Stanley J. Brown, H. L. Hunt (Chicago: Playboy Press, 1976); Tom Buckley, "Just Plain H. L. Hunt," Esquire 67 (January 1967): 64-69; and 140-154; Fred J. Eckert, "The Richest Man in the World," Cornet (April 1966): 122-128; "Hunt, H(arold) L(afayette)," Current Biography Yearbook (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1970), pp. 191-194; Group Research Inc., "Life Line Foundation, Inc.," sec. 4-special #6, March 25, 1963; David R. Jones, "H. L. Hunt: Magnate with a Mission," New York Times, August 17, 1964, pp. 1 and 16; Ferdinand Lundberg, The Rich and the Super Rich (New York: Bantam, 1968); Robert G. Sherrill, "H. L. Hunt: Portrait of a Super Patriot," Nation 198, February 24, 1964, pp. 182-195; and Theodore H. White, "Texas: Land of Wealth and Fear," Reporter 10, June 8, 1954, pp. 30-37.

<sup>55</sup> "The Land of the Big Rich," Fortune 37 (April 1948): 90-103 and 182-188, listed Hunt as the richest man in America, and "Southwest Has a New Crop of Super-Rich," Life 24, April 5, 1948, p. 23, gave the first public picture of Hunt. Hunt's first public interview was with Francis X. Tolbert of the Dallas Morning News on April 4, 1948, according to John William Rogers, The Lusty Texans of Dallas (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1960), p. 281.

<sup>56</sup>For an account of Hunt's political activities in the early and mid-1950s see "Where One Texan's Money Goes," U.S. News and World Report 38, January 28, 1955, pp. 32-37.

<sup>57</sup>Background on Hunt's "Facts Forum" and other activities during this period have been gleaned from "Causes that Were Lost," Newsweek 48, November 26, 1956, p. 68; "Facts Forum Facts," Time 63, January 11, 1954, pp. 50-52; Frank Goodwyn, Lone-Star Land (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1955), p. 322; "Lost Causes," Time 68, November 26, 1956, p. 80; and "McCarthy, Hunt and Facts Forum," Reporter 10, February 16, 1954, pp. 19-27.

<sup>58</sup>See Robert Engler, The Politics of Oil (Chicago: Phoenix, 1967), p. 445; Richard Dudman, Men of the Far Right (New York: Pyramid Books, 1962), pp. 108-109; Benjamin R. Epstein and Arnold Forster, The Radical Right (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), p. 7; Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, Danger on the Right (New York: Random House, 1964), pp. 135-137; Morris Kominsky, The Hoaxers (Boston: Branden Press, 1970), pp. 30, 306, and 677; Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, The Strange Tactics of Extremism (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964), p. 128; George Thayer, The Farther Shores of Politics (New York: A Clarion Book, 1968), p. 150; and William W. Turner, Power on the Right (Berkeley, CA: Ramparts Press, 1971), p. 43.

Life Lines has been analyzed by Robert H. Muller, ed., From Radical Left to Extreme Right (Ann Arbor, MI: Campus Publishers, 1967), p. 128; and later in Muller et al., From Radical Left to Extreme Right (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1972), pp. 365-366--second ed., vol. one.

<sup>59</sup>"A Hunt Is Added to Birch Council," Homefront 10, June 5, 1976, p. 28; and "Organization Notes," Group Research Report 17, January 31, 1978, p. 3.

<sup>60</sup>For reports of Hunt's support for MacArthur consult "American Oil Men Worry-and Annoy-British in Iran," Newsweek 37, May 21, 1951, p. 36; and Robert E. Bedingfield, "The World's Richest Man," New York Times Magazine 107, October 20, 1957, p. 38.

Hunt's support of Wisconsin's junior senator, Joseph McCarthy, has been reported by Cleveland Amory, "The Oil Folks at Home," Holiday 21 (February 1957): 55; Richard M. Fried, Men Against McCarthy (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), p. 277; Charles V. Murphy, "McCarthy and Texas Business," Fortune 49 (May 1954): 212-214; and David M. Oshinsky, Senator Joseph McCarthy and the American Labor Movement (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1976), p. 168.

Hunt's connection with Alabama's Governor George Wallace have been noted in "George Wallace's DREAM Cabinet?" Homefront 2 (October 1968): 69; and Samuel Lubell, The Hidden Crises in American Politics (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970), p. 85.

<sup>61</sup>The quote about Hunt having a lot to conserve was an editorial comment in "Playboy Interview: H. L. Hunt," Playboy 13 (August 1966): 47. For evidence of this statement see David R. Jones, "H. L. Hunt Turned \$50 Loan into an Empire," New York Times, August 23, 1964, section III, pp. 1 and 10.

<sup>62</sup>Background on Morley can be found in "Morley, Felix Muskett," Who's Who in America, 39th ed., 1977, vol. 2, pp. 2239-2240; "Morley, Felix Muskett," Group Research Report, sec. 2, dated 8/27/62; New York Times biography dated May 5, 1936, p. 18; and the notes in the author section of "Humanity Tries Again," Human Affairs Pamphlet, no. 3, dated 1946, and authored by Felix Morley.

Although no biography has been written on the life of Felix Morley, his brother, Christopher, has been more fortunate. Three Hours for Lunch: The Life and Times of Christopher Morley (New York: Watermill Publishers, 1976), by Helen Oakley, gives many interesting insights into the Morley family. William H. Newman in The Futilitarian Society (New York: Braziller, 1961), contains a section, pp. 67-85, on Felix Morley's political beliefs.

<sup>63</sup>"Felix Morley Backs Wilkie," New York Times, October 31, 1940, p. 18.

<sup>64</sup>"Stadium Exercises End Duke Year," New York Times, June 7, 1938, p. 14.

<sup>65</sup>See George H. Nash, The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945 (New York: Basic Books, 1976), p. 14, for a report of the founding of Human Events. See also "Morley Quits Post as Haverford Head," New York Times, August 25, 1945, p. 9.

<sup>66</sup>"Morley Hits President," New York Times, November 5, 1944, p. 38, gives an account of Morley backing Dewey. Felix Morley, "The Case for Taft," Life 25, February 9, 1948, pp. 50-66, gives Morley's reasons for backing the conservative Republican for President.

<sup>67</sup>Felix Morley, The Power in the People (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1949). Nash, p. 20, compares the book with John T. Flynn's The Road Ahead, also published the same year, and concludes that these two volumes sparked the beginning of libertarian resistance to statism and socialism in America.

Morley's departure from Human Events is reported by Nash, pp. 124-125. Morley, growing ever more afraid of the power of the state, refused to encourage an aggressive anti-Communist foreign policy.

Morley's opponents in both the paper and in the conservative movement felt he was soft on Communism. Morley, in turn, believed that his foes, some of them former Marxists, really did not understand the American character. Besides, Morley's quarrel was not so much with Communism as it was with the state. He saw no logic in strengthening the American state so that it would become a mirror image of the Soviet structure. He saw a danger in a foreign policy that was so anti-Communist it resulted in enormous state power on the domestic scene. For an example of his views see Russell Porter, "Kirk Cautions U.S. on Policy Making," New York Times, May 23, 1951, p. 8.

<sup>68</sup>Felix Morley, "American Republic or American Empire," Modern Age 1 (December 1957). For a rebuttal see "A Gust from Mr. Morley," Fortune 56 (August 1957): 56.

<sup>69</sup>Felix Morley, Freedom and Federalism (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1959). [Nash pp. 202, 208, 211, and 399] postulates that the volume reinforced the arguments made by James J. Kilpatrick in The Sovereign States and helped lay the foundations and framework for Barry Goldwater's Conscience of a Conservative.

Another well-known volume, Necessary Conditions for a Free Society (New York: Van Nostrand, 1963), gives the expected conditions from a free-enterprise moralist.

<sup>70</sup>Clinton Rossiter [Conservatism in America (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), pp. 172 and 195] discusses the difficulty in categorizing Morley, although he is certainly on the right. Newman [pp. 50-111] prefers to call his politics "Old Conservatism."

<sup>71</sup>Forster and Epstein [Danger on the Right, pp. 178-179] and ["Edgar Eisenhower Fights Spending," New York Times, November 11, 1959, p. 26] indicate that Morley was one of the founders and officers of the right-wing Americans for Constitutional Action as well as its predecessor, the Campaign for 48 States.

Morley was a vocal critic of public education and joined several right-wing groups advocating conservatism in education. Such activities have been noted by Mary Anne Raywid in The Axe-Grinders (New York: Macmillan, 1962), pp. 145-146, 128, as well as pp. 104-105 and 111.

<sup>72</sup>Glenn Negley, Utopian Literature: A Bibliography (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1977), p. 67. See also Lyman Tower Sargent, "Capitalist Eutopias in America," in America as Utopia, ed. Kenneth Roemer, forthcoming.

<sup>73</sup>The importance of this volume is noted in "For Your Information: Henry Hazlitt," Newsweek, July 12, 1954, p. 9. The same point is also made by Eckard Vance Toy, "Ideology and Conflict in American Ultra Conservatism 1945-1966" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 1965), p. 193, and George H. Nash, The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945 (New York: Basic Books, 1976), pp. 18, 24, 31, and 354.

<sup>74</sup>Nash, pp. 26-27 and 354.

<sup>75</sup>"To Edit Freeman," New York Times, January 22, 1953, p. 21. See also Nash, pp. 27 and 148.

<sup>76</sup>"Battle for the Freeman," Time 61, January 26, 1953, pp. 74-75. See also Nash, pp. 146-148.

<sup>77</sup>The first dispute is mentioned by Clinton Rossiter, Conservatism in America (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), p. 288, and Nash, p. 419. The second clash is reported by Nash, pp. 418-419, who also reports the third skirmish on pp. 289 and 420.

<sup>78</sup>Henry Hazlitt, "In Defense of Conformity," Intercollegiate Review 7 (Fall 1970): 25-30, and Nash, p. 34.

<sup>79</sup>Who's Who in America, 39th ed., p. 1384.

<sup>80</sup>Henry Hazlitt, The Free Man's Library (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1956), p. 12. Rossiter [pp. 172 and 288] calls Hazlitt an 'economic liberal' and 'unreconstructed classical economist'. See also Hazlitt "In Defense of Conformity," p. 23, and "Parting Words," Newsweek 68, September 12, 1966, p. 90.

<sup>81</sup>Henry Hazlitt, "Conservative Revival," Newsweek 54, October 12, 1959, p. 109.

<sup>82</sup>Intercollegiate Society of Individualist support is reported by Richard Dudman, Men of the Far Right (New York: Basic Books, 1962), p. 153.

<sup>83</sup>See William F. Buckley, Jr., The Jeweler's Eye (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1968), pp. 15-16; Jeffrey Hart, The American Dissent (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1966), p. 15; Nash, pp. xi-xv; Richard V. Pierard, The Unequal Yoke (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1970), p. 22; and Jean Warrall Ward, "Value Contradictions in Contemporary Conservatism" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1967), p. 212.

<sup>84</sup> Alex Gottfried and Sue Davidson ["Utopia's Children," Western Political Quarterly 15 (March 1972): 18-19] state that we understand man by understanding his utopia.

Robert Block ["Imagination and Modern Social Criticism," in The Science Fiction Novel, ed. Davenport, p. 155], Paul Bloomfield [Imaginary Worlds or the Evolution of Utopias (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1932), p. 270], and Alfred Diamant, "Anti-Bureaucratic Utopias in Highly Industrialized Societies," Journal of Comparative Administration 4 (May 1972): 4] are all in agreement that utopian thought reflects the present situation.

Joyce Oramel Hertzler [The History of Utopian Thought (New York: Macmillan, 1965), p. 268] suggests that utopias reflect the future as well as the present.

<sup>85</sup> Probably the most famous American utopia of the left is Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward (New York: Magnum Books, 1968). George Kateb's article, "Utopias and Utopianism," in the Encyclopedia of Philosophy, vol. 16 (U.S.A.: Macmillan Co. and the Free Press, 1968), pp. 267-271, contains in its bibliography Alexander Gray's The Socialist Tradition, Moses to Lenin, and John Humphrey Noyes' History of American Socialism. Patrick Yarker in "Utopia," Encyclopedia Britannica, vol. 23 (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1971), p. 281, refers his readers to D. D. Egbert and Stow Persons, eds., Socialism in American Life, while Robert L. Emperson ["Utopia," Dictionary of the History of Ideas, vol. 4 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), pp. 458-465] suggests that the reader, "See also . . . Socialism."

Egbert and Persons, mentioned above in their Socialism and American Life, vol. II, pp. 107-140, review seven American utopias, while in part I, section 6, pp. 63-66, they include an essay, "Literary Utopias and Socialist Utopianism."

See also William Henry Chamberlain, Collectivism: A False Utopia (New York: Macmillan, 1937); Dennis J. Clark, "Utopia in the Sixties," Catholic World 196 (March 1963): 357-363; Manya Gordon, How to Tell Progress from Reaction (New York: E. P. Dutton Co., 1944); Kaul Kautsky, Thomas More and His Utopia (New York: Russell and Russell, 1959); Gerhart Niemeyr, Between Nothingness and Paradise (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971); Adam Ulam, "Socialism and Utopia," Daedalus 94 (Spring 1965): 382-400; and Arthur and Ilia Weinberg, Passport to Utopia (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968), p. 7.

## CHAPTER II

### AYN RAND'S ATLAS SHRUGGED

"It is not for capitalism but  
merely against communism."  
(Comments by Ayn Rand about  
the John Birch Society.)

Of all the conservative utopias to be studied, Atlas Shrugged is the most well known. It was the last fictional foray of Ayn Rand, and it established her philosophy of objectivism as a viable splinter of the ideological right. Atlas Shrugged has been the bible of a generation of conservatives, and its ideology is at the basis of the present libertarian movement in America. Its enormous sales and readership made Atlas Shrugged the leading novel of the American right between 1945 and 1965.

#### The Plot

"Who is John Galt?" asks Ayn Rand in the first sentence of her thousand-page plus tome. The question sets the tone, but neither the reader nor the heroine discovers the answer until the novel is nearly two-thirds completed.



Dagny Taggart was the operational vice president of her family's railroad. In trying to keep the company operational and profitable, she sought ways to maintain high standards. Her incompetent, weak-willed brother, the company's president, believed friendship rather than good service won customers. Instead of using private industrial sources, James used his political power to involve the government to solve the line's problems, thus contributing to the company's ultimate destruction.

Old time family friend and retainer, Eddie Willers, recognized the danger to the company's survival but could not solve the problem. Dagny's solution was to purchase Rearden Metal for the Taggart Transcontinental tracks. Rearden Metal was a revolutionary new technological development invented by Hank Rearden, a self-made industrialist, who owned his companies outright.

James Taggart rejected his sister's plans and employed his own methods. He convinced the National Alliance of Railroads, a trade organization, to outlaw competition with the Taggart line. In return, he influenced the National Council of Metal Industries to obstruct Rearden Metal as a favor to Orren Boyle, an important member of the alliance and a competitor of Rearden's. Boyle and Taggart shared the same business philosophy--substitute political influence for better business methods.

(Ironically, government intervention subsequently caused Taggart and Boyle to lose considerable investments in the Mexican San Sebastian copper mines. Francisco Domingo Carlos Andrew Sebastian d'Anconia, the world's richest metal magnate and well-known playboy, had owned and operated the mines, and the fortune built by generations of d'Anconias was lost when the Mexican government nationalized the copper mines. As he later confessed to old friend and lover, Dagny, 'Frisco' then purposely ruined his own copper mining business to bring down the socialist investors. He hated the altruists and do-gooders and wanted to punish the socialists and their centralized government.)

Continuing her efforts to save Taggart Transcontinental, Dagny planned a rail line to Colorado, but the contractor she hired quit and vanished for no apparent reason. Compounding the mystery was the earlier disappearance of the famous composer, Richard Halley. (Even though he had not reappeared, Dagny had since heard some new music she recognized as Halley's.)

Dagny's desire to use Rearden Metal was temporarily thwarted when the State Science Institute, headed by Dr. Robert Stadler, publicly opposed the use of the metal. Using the bad publicity as an excuse, James Taggart refused to allow the company to use the metal. In reality, he was paying his debt to Orren Boyle. Dagny retaliated by

founding her own rail line to Denver. The tracks, which she mischievously named for the mythical John Galt, were made of Rearden Metal.

"The John Galt Line" was successful, but Rearden's problems continued. His Washington lobbyist, Wesley Mouch, betrayed Rearden resulting in the passage of the Equalization of Opportunity Bill. Rearden was thus forced to divest himself of many industrial holdings. Marital difficulties also plagued him. Dagny's top personnel continued to resign, and the two turned to each other for comfort and love.

Rearden and Dagny took a vacation to celebrate the John Galt Line's good fortune and to get away from their personal problems. While riding in a barren wasteland (no billboards), they saw the wreckage of an abandoned auto factory. Investigating, they discovered a unique, unlimited energy motor, no longer operational. To track down its inventor, the pair checked into the history of the company and learned the ungrateful heirs of the founder had destroyed the company. They had communalized the factory and had run it in an altruistic fashion. The company was ruined, leaving only a tale of good intentions, betrayed dreams and an unlimited energy motor, which had once drawn static electricity from the atmosphere and converted it to energy.

Continuing the search after Rearden returned to his business, Dagny discovered Hugh Akston, the world's greatest philosopher, cooking in obscurity in a Western restaurant. Years earlier he had been an academic rival of Dr. Robert Stadler. Three of Stadler's top students had defected to Akston when Stadler supported the State Science Institute. Dagny learned that two of the former students were Frisco and the notorious pirate, Ragnar Danneskjold. Akston would not identify the third student.

Giving up on her search, Dagny returned to bad news. The owner of the Colorado oil wells which were to have supplied freight for the John Galt Line had disappeared after destroying his wells. The list of productive people who suddenly could not be found continued to grow.

Rather than seek the identity of the inventor of the unlimited energy motor, Dagny decided to find a scientist who could understand the motor. She turned to Dr. Stadler. Stadler was fascinated by the motor and recommended that Dagny contact a Utah scientist--one who wouldn't work for the government--who was capable of recreating the machine. Stadler had sold out to the government. Dr. Floyd Ferris, true head of the institute, and others were using Stadler's name and ideas for their own ends. In return, Stadler could continue his scientific research.

Rearden, meanwhile, faced more personal and business difficulties. His wife Lillian discovered his

extra-marital activities, and his marriage neared collapse. The "Fair Share Bill" made legal operations of his company impossible. The State Science Institute demanded Rearden Metal for a top secret project, and the government, by threatening to make public his affair with Dagny, blackmailed Rearden to gain access to his metal.

Frisco seemed to constantly appear at crucial moments to discuss philosophy with Rearden. Frisco was happy to learn his copper-filled ships had been sunk by the pirate Ragner. At the same time, Dagny was dismayed at the disappearance of hosts of people. She was convinced that a "destroyer" was somehow removing the nation's most talented individuals.

The nation, already suffering from the effects of the Equal Opportunity Bill and the Fair Share Bill, was suddenly faced with Directive 10-289. A brainchild of the bureaucrats, the directive placed control of the government in the hands of Wesley Mouch. The President continued as a faceless figure who did the bidding of the bureaucracy.

Although Dagny quit her job in disgust, Rearden continued to work. Ragnar Danneskjold confronted Rearden and gave him a gold bar, explaining that he was righting the wrongs of Robin Hood by robbing from the poor and giving to the rich. The pirate robbed ships carrying foreign aid to other countries, sold the goods on the black market and turned the profits over to the rich who had paid for foreign

aid with their taxes. Ragner did not think of himself as a pirate but as a policeman who was returning stolen property.

With Dagny gone, incompetence and favoritism ran rife in Taggart Transcontinental, leading to an enormous train wreck in the Taggart Tunnel. Dagny, on the verge of "disappearing" at the request of Frisco, returned to save the railroad. She decided to confer with the scientist in Utah, taking with her the newly learned name of the motor's inventor--John Galt.

Dagny arrived in Utah too late; the scientist had just flown off with a mysterious stranger. Following the pair in a rented plane, she crashed in the Rocky Mountains. When she regained consciousness she found herself in the hidden valley utopia of John Galt. The valley was populated exclusively by those of talent, like the composer Richard Halley, who had left a world that did not appreciate their skills for a world that did. They would no longer be of service to the general populace.

The valley operated in a free enterprise-anarchistic fashion. The only rule was against the use of the word "give"; the password to enter the sanctuary was the phrase, "I swear by my life and my love of it that I will never live for the sake of another man, nor ask another man to live for mine."

Galt had recruited those of talent and ability. Dagny discovered that Frisco and Ragnar were also residents

of Galt's Gulch and that she and Rearden were the only two of consequence who had not yet been recruited. Frisco had been working on recruiting both.

During Dagny's stay in Galt's Gulch, Dr. Stadler discovered the secret project of his institute was a sound ray designed to be used as a weapon. It had been developed under Dr. Ferris' direction using the principles of Dr. Stadler. Stadler had no way of knowing he was the one man of the mind who had not been recruited by Galt, Ragnar and Frisco, his former students. To be isolated with incompetents and thieves was his punishment for supporting the government. Together, the three former students were in the process of destroying the country. Frisco, by ruining his business, destroyed the economy. Ragnar, by stealing from the government, threatened its credibility as a protective force. Galt had recruited all the top minds in America, save Rearden's (and Stadler's), leaving the country without competent, honest leadership.

At the end of a month in this capitalist utopia, Dagny returned to the outside world for Hank Rearden. She discovered that Taggart Transcontinental was controlled by a bureaucrat from the Unification Board. She was requested to give an address to the nation on radio to assure them all was well; if she should refuse, her affair with Rearden would be made public. However, Dagny brazenly informed the nation of her affair. Lillian Rearden sought consolation

in the arms of James Taggart, and upon discovering them, James' new wife committed suicide.

The government also had plans for Rearden. After he was lured away to a meeting, union goons started a riot and wrecked Rearden's industry. The disturbance was planned to justify governmental intervention and control of Rearden's business. Frisco, present at the disturbance, saved Rearden's life when the owner returned. Rearden and those of his top people who survived the riot joined Frisco in Galt's Gulch.

In the face of nationwide unrest, the President planned to give a radio address to reassure the public. However, he was preempted by John Galt. In an entire chapter, Galt outlined his philosophy and explained the purpose of his general strike of men of the mind--the strike of the elite.

Seeking Galt's location, the government finally found him by following Dagny. Held captive, Galt refused to become the economic dictator of the country and to save it from collapse. The bureaucrats finally decided on torture. James Taggart enjoyed watching the electronic torture device at work until it malfunctioned. Galt instructed the incompetent technician how to repair it. Meanwhile, Dagny had contacted Frisco, Rearden and Ragnar, and the four set out to rescue their leader. They did so amidst bloodshed as Dagny coldly killed an uncooperative guard.



As the five heroes were escaping to Galt's Gulch, the lights of New York City went out. At the State Science Institute, Dr. Stadler had been confronted by a bureaucrat who sought control of the sound wave machine to enable him to become dictator. As Stadler struggled with him, the would-be dictator touched the wrong dials, sending the sound ray, all near it and most of the country into oblivion.

Eddie Willers had left New York to try to save a portion of the railroad. When the sound ray destroyed the famous Taggart bridge, Willers was left alone, stranded in the dark and in the wilderness.

With the rest of the country reverting to barbarism and civilization safe only in the utopia of Galt's Gulch, the novel concludes with a famous jurist and occupant of the mountain retreat amending the United States Constitution to read: "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of production and trade."

### The Critics

The literary world did not like Atlas Shrugged. Despite the book's bestselling stature, some comments of the critics were justified. The book is inordinately long, and in many places political diatribe replaces action. The characters are one dimensional and are named descriptively. Yet, if regarded as a political, economic, social or moral tract instead of a novel, Atlas Shrugged may be examined

from a different perspective. As a novel, it is, despite its length, lightweight. As an exposition of political philosophy, it is the culmination of Ayn Rand's career. She has produced no fictional works since its publication, although she has written many articles to explain the general principles behind the novel. At the time of her death, it was believed she was laboring on a fifth novel, perhaps related to Atlas Shrugged.<sup>1</sup>

The impact of Atlas Shrugged was bigger than that of all her previous works combined. Publishing houses competed in true free enterprise fashion for the right to print the massive volume. Rand received unprecedented advances and control over the manuscript. The book not only sold well but continues to sell approximately 100,000 copies a year. It is quoted in journals and scholarly publications ranging from law journals to psychological abstracts and economic lectures.

### The Politics of Ayn Rand

Despite the contemporary terms as objectivist, libertarian or radical capitalist, Rand's political philosophy can be viewed as reactionary--a call to return to the ideal past of industrial America, to what Robert Green McCloskey calls The Age of Free Enterprise.<sup>2</sup> The reader glimpses this philosophy through John Galt's speech to the nation in the following excerpt:

Observe the persistence, in mankind's mythologies, of the legend about a paradise that men had once possessed, the city of Atlantis or the Garden of Eden or some kingdom of perfection, always behind us. The root of that legend exists, not in the past of the race, but in the past of every man. You still retain a sense--not as firm as a memory, but diffused like the pain of hopeless longing--that somewhere in the starting years of your childhood, before you had learned to submit, to absorb the terror of unreason and to doubt the value of your mind, you had known a radiant state of existence, you had known the independence of a rational consciousness facing an open universe. That is the paradise which you have lost, which you seek--which is yours for the taking.<sup>3</sup>

Rand's model was an America during the time of social Darwinism, when the free market rewarded the fittest with survival and prosperity and government's only function was to guard against violence and to settle disputes in court. Galt's Gulch called for a return to laissez-faire economics but accepted technological development and social mobility. Rand considers American conservatism false and her own brand of political philosophy--radical capitalism--as true American Conservatism.

For Rand, to oppose evil is not a sufficient ideology; a positive alternative must be given. Thus, in her utopia she provides a capitalist alternative to the socialism of Marx. Marx and Rand both begin with the premise that man is alienated from the product of his labor, and they both seek justice in distribution of goods. However, Marx postulates the proletariat is alienated from his goods by the capitalist, and Rand argues the capitalist is alienated from

his goods by the government, via taxes and welfare. Where Marxism proclaims labor is the vital ingredient in production that gives the goods value, Rand counters that capital and management skill are the prime factors. Rand agrees with Marx that to reform society, the economy must be the prime target, but she tries to demonstrate that disintegrating society is caused by governmental interference in a free economy; Marx blamed capitalism.

Both ideologies are based on reason, science, and atheism, and both Rand and Marx are essentially moralists who believe the economic system is the key factor in determining moral or immoral results, as man is a moral creature of his economic environment. While both seek economic justice, Rand disagrees with Marx' conception of what it is and how to obtain it. 'From each according to his ability and to each according to his needs' is Marx' theory; Rand demands 'to each according to his ability and from each according to his needs, or growth.'<sup>4</sup>

A close examination of her works reveals that Rand uses the free enterprise system more as a means than as an end. Rand does not view the market place as economic democracy where the people can choose--rather she sees it as the best structure for allowing the superior to rise and be rewarded. Free enterprise assures the best products and recognition of the elite. As Galt pointed out, he and his followers were frustrated because:

The man at the top of the intellectual pyramid contributes the most to all those below him, but gets nothing except his material payment, receiving no intellectual bonus from others to add to the value of his time. The man at the bottom who, left to himself, would starve in his hopeless ineptitude, contributes nothing to those above him, but receives the bonus of all their brains. Such is the nature of the 'competition' between the strong and the weak of intellect. Such is the pattern of 'exploitation' for which you have damned the strong.<sup>5</sup>

In Rand's brave new world the talented would get what they deserved--the fruits of their labor. Those at the foot of the table would get the scraps.

If one can best understand political ideology by examining utopias, one can best understand Ayn Rand's by careful attention in Atlas Shrugged to John Galt's one-chapter speech in which she condenses her entire political philosophy. Galt set the tone for his reading and listening audience:

This is John Galt speaking. I am the man who loves his life. I am the man who does not sacrifice his love or his values. I am the man who has deprived you of victims and thus has destroyed your world. . . . We are on strike, we the men of the mind. . . . We are on strike against the doctrine that life is guilt.<sup>6</sup>

Galt claimed reality would prove that rationality, independence, integrity and productivity were rewarded with happiness. He praised selfishness:

The purpose of morality is to teach you, not to suffer and die, but to enjoy yourself and live . . . . The only man who desires to be moral is the man who desires to live.<sup>7</sup>

Galt viewed the "creed of sacrifice" as the morality of death. The creed's essence was:

If you wish it, it's evil; if others wish it, it's good; if the motive of your action is your welfare, don't do it; if the motive is the welfare of others, then anything goes.<sup>8</sup>

Galt condemned the immoral because:

You have sacrificed justice to mercy. You have sacrificed independence to unity. You have sacrificed reason to faith. You have sacrificed self-esteem to self-denial. You have sacrificed happiness to duty.<sup>9</sup>

Galt also denounced the false utopia:

Their non-material, non-profit worlds are realms where rivers run with milk and coffee, where wine spurts from rocks at their command, where pastry drops on them from the clouds at the price of opening their mouth.<sup>10</sup>

Morality would determine the Second Coming:

Neither (Rearden) nor the rest of us will return until the road is clear to rebuild this country--until the wreckage of the morality of sacrifice has been wiped out of our way. A country's political system is based on its code of morality. We will rebuild America's system on the moral premise which had been its foundation, but which you treated as a guilty underground, in your frantic evasion of the conflict between that premise and your mystic morality: the premise that man is an end in himself, not the means to the ends of others, that man's life, his freedom, his happiness are his by inalienable right.<sup>11</sup>

Rand seeks justice, which demands that each is rewarded according to his merits. She sees justice in capitalism, perceived as the most moral of systems. The equality embraced by Marx is not just.

#### Comments

There is no doubt that Atlas Shrugged applauds inequality. The entire novel is centered around the strike

of the superior. When Atlas, the elite, shrugged or went on strike, the world trembled.<sup>12</sup> Without the elite the nation would perish. Democracy, in which the majority rule and everyone has an equal voice, is not suited for the superior.<sup>13</sup>

Rand emphasizes rule by the superior for which she defines and provides her conservative utopia: Galt's Gulch, where the elite are free from the restrictions of a democratic government. John Galt addressed the nation as a latter-day Moses, reporting that his people, the talented, had set themselves free.

Although the masses are portrayed as cruel and easily led, Rand does show some concern for the common man. She admits he is the first to suffer the incompetence of unfit leadership. The elite can survive, but the common man must bear the brunt. Atlas Shrugged suggests that the average man, if given an opportunity, can achieve great heights if he desires to act in a rational manner.<sup>14</sup>

Marx promised anarchy in his utopia of supposed equality. Instead, there is the dictatorship of the 'proletariat', which is, in fact, the Communist Party. While Rand rails against the Communist state, she fails to recognize that the party, composed of the elite, and not the state, has power in the Communist system. She also fails to mention that in her utopia a similar rule of the elite would ensue.

Although Rand's elitist rule would not be through the government as in most dictatorships, it would be a dictatorship nonetheless. Economic control would be lodged with a small group--industrial leaders. They would decide who would eat and who would not. Eventual consolidation of business would seem inevitable. It is difficult to envision any other logical result than the elite controlling industry and industry controlling society through economic pressures. The country would become one large company town. That the dictators are businessmen and not bureaucrats does not change the fact that they are dictators.<sup>15</sup>

Rand admires much of Friedrich Nietzsche's philosophy, but she denies her ideology is based on his. The super-heroes of Nietzsche imposed their will on others; in Galt's Gulch such imposition was not necessary. Rand's men of ability, in order to survive and prosper, changed reality to suit their own needs. The selection for admission process eliminated the incompetent, and because of the utopia's design, other individuals had to choose either to accept and adjust to the new reality or to perish. The better one adjusted, the more prosperous and successful one would be.<sup>16</sup>

Rand insists reality, not man, ruled in her utopia. Her protagonists tended to be in the hard sciences or technology, in which people deal with facts. Yet, for rational people, her heroes insisted on ignoring social and political reality. Rand's pride in reality-oriented rationality is



not justified when one examines how her characters reacted in the 'real' world. They may have been technological, scientific and managerial geniuses, but they were unable to grasp the simplest of social realities: how things really operate. Those whom Rand cast as villains were in touch with the real world of political and social life and reacted rationally. Rand condemns Dr. Robert Stadler because he worked for the government, which provided more opportunities for his research, rather than for private industry. Railroad president James Taggart spent his time with a Washington lobbyist rather than with inventors. When Rearden Metal did prove marvelous, other steel companies managed to get a government injunction allowing them to purchase and sell it. Rearden, the man who could invent almost any technological device, ignored reality and was defeated in the political arena. He even funded, through his brother, an interest group dedicated to destroy him. Who was out of touch with reality?<sup>17</sup>

Thus, Galt's Gulch served as a refuge for those who were unwilling to take any social responsibility or were unable to mount a political defense. Dagny Taggart and Hank Rearden stumbled through the entire novel like babes in the woods, not having the faintest understanding of the social and political reality around them. All of Rand's characters were in touch with either the world of science and technology or that of political and social reality.

Only one was competent in both, Dr. Robert Stadler, and he draws the bulk of Rand's wrath. Rand, who claims to be reality oriented, has nothing but contempt for those who live in the world as it is rather than as she would have it.<sup>18</sup>

In addition, Rand's protagonists were totally incompetent in the use of reason and in explaining their actions. John Galt, when an engineer in an automobile factory, was unable to dissuade those involved from carrying out their plans of communalism. Rather than staying and resisting, he departed. The next time he tried persuasion, the country was on the verge of collapse. Galt went on the air to repeat his ideology. The "voice of reason" was unable to present his position unless he held power. He was unwilling to allow his ideas to circulate in the free marketplace of democratic public policies. Instead, he sulked in seclusion and planned his revenge. When he spoke, it was not as one attempting to set forth new ideas to be considered on a rational basis but as a proclamation of faith to be accepted, else the listener be damned.

We will open the gates of our city to those who deserve to enter, a city of smokestacks, pipe lines, orchards, markets and inviolate homes. We will act as the rallying center for such hidden outposts as you'll build. With the sign of the dollar as our symbol--the sign of free trade and free minds--we will move to reclaim this country once more from the impotent savages who never discovered its nature, its meaning, its splendor. Those who choose to join us, will join us; those who don't, will not have the power to stop us; wild hordes of savages have never been an obstacle to men who carried the banner of the mind.<sup>19</sup>

Galt had no intention of converting the world. He was a seeker of revenge who wanted to inform the victim why it was to suffer and die. Galt had his converts so his message was one of spite, not recruitment.<sup>20</sup>

Again the question of competency is raised. Why had men and women of talent been exploited by the less able? Why had they allowed themselves to be enslaved? Did they not receive their just desserts if they were stupid enough to accede? Why was it that in the entire nation, only one person, John Galt, was able to independently understand? Others of the elite followed him only after being informed of the world's predicament. If Rand wanted to reward mental effort, should not the prizes go to the looters who were intelligent enough to correctly analyze the situation and exploit it rather than to the so-called geniuses who had no sense of social and political reality and were unable to present their position on an intellectual level? Rand's producers seem incredibly feeble-minded and inefficient.<sup>21</sup>

Instead of destroying the nation, why didn't the heroes save it by wresting control away from the looters? Why should they revolt and not reform? Why is the superior individual always defeated by the demagogue when facing the masses? Are those of talent unable to successfully compete with bureaucracy?

Rand observed that conditions had reached the point where there was no logical choice but destruction. It was too late for reform; revolution was the only answer.

Rand's heroes were incapable of competing with bureaucrats, not because they were of the government, but because the government was democratic. Because the masses are the real enemy, a true hero would inform them they are unfit to rule and force them to face their own inferiority. This action is hardly designed to build popular support. The hero must speak the truth and the mob does not want to hear of its own mediocrity. It is the demagogue who rises in a democracy because he panders to the emotions of the mediocre majority. To combat the looters on their own ground he adopts their methods and is compromised. Dr. Stadler was the malefactor because he compromised his talent by working for the democratic state.

Unlike most others, Stadler realized he had a choice; he selected democracy with its mediocrity rather than the aristocracy of talent. Thus Rand and Galt showed him no mercy despite the fact other characters made far less intelligent decisions: Dagny led the government to John Galt; Rearden bought Frisco's copper stock against expert advice and contributed money to an organization plotting his downfall. Rearden also trusted his political fortune with the obviously corrupt Wesley Mouch. A false sense of honor made him susceptible to blackmail. When he divested his companies, he turned them over to the obviously incompetent. No wonder he was recruited last.<sup>22</sup>

The seeming irrationality of the elite poses a problem. Rand stresses the elite are successful because they think. They recognize an objective reality and use their intelligence to cope with it. Rand preaches rationality. She indicates in her novel that humans should use their greatest facility, the mind, but few do. Those who think and those who do not fall into the two camps of the elite and the non-elite, and the number of the rational is small. If thinkers were in the majority, events in the novel would never have occurred. The men of the mind would never have needed to go on a strike. If Rand thought the average man rational, she would not have written Atlas Shrugged.<sup>23</sup>

Rand condemned the looters and moochers, yet even the second line of 'good guys' were not very smart. They had to depend on the heroic elite. Eddie Willers was a prime example. He could not survive without Dagny Taggart to harness and direct his energy. For one without a great deal of talent who did not want to be a moocher, the only alternative was to become a literal slave of a hero. The heroes could do without their supporters so the second line, no matter how good their intentions or how hard they tried, were left to the looters. Those without understanding talent but with a sense of justice, such as Eddie Willers, were abandoned. Eddie was left outside Galt's Gulch.

Natural inequality demands that only a few reach the top. What should the average man do? Rand's only

direction was to show how the best of the semi-competent could contribute in their own way by serving the elite. Such service was the only way to justify their own miserable existence since they owed their lives to those who made life possible.<sup>24</sup> The pirate Ragnar robbed the looters to give to the producers and became an example for others without talent. The elite took an oath to live for no man other than themselves. The non-elite took no such oath and were expected to dedicate their efforts to someone worthwhile. James Taggart's wife committed suicide not only because her husband was unfaithful but also because she discovered it was Dagny, not James, who was the power behind the company. She had followed the wrong master.

Rand does not write for everyone, nor is her utopia for everyone. Yet, her novel is simple enough for almost anyone to understand. Also, who would not identify with the intelligent elite rather than the sheep-like masses? One can read Rand and immediately feel like a member of a persecuted, superior minority. Of course, the reader has sense, can see the stupidity of the bureaucrats and probably believe, as do some of the characters of Rand's novel, that he too could be a leader or be successful if given the opportunity. Thus the average reader can feel superior.

Yet, consider the average character in the novel. If one is incapable of surviving on one's own, rationality dictates dependency on others even if it means mooching.

Who is Rand to say the average people are incompetent? Are they not successful in surviving? Maybe they are better off being irrational and not facing their own mediocrity. The less talented justify living off others in the name of altruism. Why lose self-esteem by admission of one's incompetence when one can prosper by not doing so?<sup>25</sup>

Even so, Rand illustrates that the mediocre, given the opportunity, will kill the goose laying the golden egg, rather than accept the egg. James Taggart had one desire--to destroy the competent because he could not face his own incompetence. Rand saves her heroes by withdrawing them from society to let the incompetent destroy themselves. As she illustrates in describing the victims of a train wreck, there are no bystanders in the war between the talented and their outnumbering opposition.<sup>26</sup>

Although Rand denounces the concept of original sin, her novel indicates otherwise. As portrayed in Atlas Shrugged a fallen state is a state of nonintellectual activity. Living in sin and living in ignorance are synonymous.

The ideological conservative sees man in his fallen state, thus the function of government becomes that of restraint of his evil nature, to protect man from his own imperfections and those of his neighbors. If Rand did not believe the same there would be no need for police, military or courts--governmental institutions which she supports. According to the fundamentalist Christian, man is born with

the strain of original sin that can be removed only through the acceptance of God's grace. According to the Randian objectivist, man is born tabula rosa and not thinking. This state of nonthought is the nonsectarian equivalent of original sin. Man is saved not by the grace of God but by the use of his own intellect. Those who do not use their intellect reap the rewards of a sinner: a confused life, aimlessness, control by external forces, etc. The thinkers are the saints of the objectivists.<sup>27</sup>

Rand likes to remind her readers she favors producers over destroyers, or looters. When Eddie Willers and Dagny Taggard discovered that those with talent were disappearing, they coined the nickname "the destroyer" for the mysterious kidnapper. This was meant as an ironic joke on Dagny as Galt considered her to be aiding in the destruction of the country by cooperating with the looters. Since a parasite cannot live without a host, Rand simply removed the hosts to Galt's Gulch and left the parasites to die. Dagny was thus aiding the destroyers by continuing to donate her abilities to their welfare.

Yet the twist of having Dagny refer to Galt as "the destroyer" is accurate. By means of the strike Galt destroyed the economic, political and social structure of the country. Frisco saw as his familial duty the dissipation of family holdings that took generations to compile. Ragnar attacked relief ships at sea. Other heroes were



equally destructive, one setting his oil field aflame to avoid governmental regulations.

Who are the producers and who are the destroyers? Perhaps those who destroy their works rather than let others benefit from them are more moral than those who live only to serve the parasites. To produce encourages the moochers. Even so, the destruction of a nation, the annihilation of the world's greatest fortune and other acts of vengeance make one question Rand in regard to what appears to be nihilism. It is a Leninistic interpretation of capitalism; a few eggs must be broken to make a capitalistic revolutionary omelet. Atlas does not shrug; he dashes to the ground the world he once bore.<sup>28</sup>

Where the objectivists of Rand differ from the anarchists is in the role of government. Rand sees the proper role of government as protecting the individual from physical violence, whether from a neighbor or a foreign power. The United States government has in the past used troops to break strikes on the grounds of protecting private property. Would not a police force or army with an objectivist ideology function in the same manner?<sup>29</sup>

In one portion of her novel Rand implied, with approval, that one of Dagny's ancestors had murdered an uncooperative politician. This is one way to deal with the politicians--kill them when they get too close. Ragnar acted as an aquatic vigilante as, in his own words, he

played the role of a 'policeman.' Justice could thus be a private affair as Ragnar had no official sanction for his actions. He was satisfying an adolescent urge to play pirate/policeman and had the force to back his play.

Rand does not rule out the possibility of a warfare state, only a welfare state. She is no anarchist. In Atlas Shrugged when the military and police were unable to perform their duties because of political interference, violence became a private affair rather than the legal monopoly of the state. No unearned wealth was safe as the vigilante force of Ragnar went into action. If the purpose of government is to protect the belongings of the wealthy against the envy of the poor, what would happen if the poor do not like the plutocratic order? One can envision not the social class war as predicted by Marx but a war of economics, the rich against the poor, the haves pitted against the have-nots.<sup>30</sup>

Rand suffers from the same type of blindness that affected Marx. Neither saw a situation in which the sheer size of the bureaucracy is the source of public unhappiness. Whether socialist or capitalist, public or private, large organizations suffer the same difficulties. For Rand to assume such problems will not exist under pure capitalism shows a surprising naivete.

Have business groups become corrupted by their association with government, and if there were complete

separation between the two, would the business world glorify the individual instead of the organization man? The good businessmen of Rand's utopia owned their own businesses which were named after them. An industry named "General" or "Amalgamated," rather than after the founder or chief executive officer, was suspect. In today's business world, companies are owned by stockholders and run by organizations. Once a business reaches a certain size, individual control and ownership become technically unfeasible. Marx did not have the opportunity to read Michels and Weber; Rand has.<sup>31</sup> Even the Soviets with the ideological guidance of both Marx and Lenin have the problem of an unresponsive bureaucracy. What will stop a capitalistic system from facing the same difficulties?<sup>32</sup>

The answer may lie in Rand's concept of individualism. Individualism does not entail doing as one pleases; it consists of the recognition that each individual is unique and that talents of that individual must be developed to suit his own goals rather than developed en masse. Rand does not believe in movements without thought, existence without a goal or life without a purpose. She is no existentialist. Individualism is justified only when supported by rationality and done with deliberate forethought. Rand is a firm opponent of subjectivism; subjectivity is action based on emotion. Rand's individualism is based on rationality. However, as presented in the novel, rationality did

not seem very individualistic. All the elite followed John Galt without question. In the "real world" individualism means accepting the reality of Ayn Rand with no hopes for one who does not accept the objectivist creed.<sup>33</sup>

Rand considers freedom in a different form than that commonly accepted. Her heroes are among the most constricted of people--they conform to reality at all times. Rand's freedom is a situation where there are no barriers to the development of one's individual production potential. One's goals correspond to one's ability and potential for development.<sup>34</sup>

In her writings Rand personalizes the world and all its problems. Accidents don't happen, they are caused by people with no responsibility. Her characters are stereotyped to give credence as to who is a producer and who is a looter. What can one expect from people named "Wesley Mouch," "Claude Slagenhop," "Bertram Scudder," or "Balph Eubank" (that's not Ralph, but Balph, the character's own choice of name)? Heroes bear short, crisp names such as John Galt, Ellis Wyatt or Dan Conway. There are, of course, exceptions made for foreign names such as Francisco Domingo Carlos Andrew Sebastian d'Anconia (Frisco), who has to be heroic with a name so long.

In her writings on romantic realism as an art form, Rand defends the concept of characterization in black and white terms. People are either good or bad; there are no

grays; there is no moderation. One must choose one side or the other, and the greatest scorn is saved for he who would straddle the fence as does Dr. Stadler. Rand cries out against depersonalization, such as when the Unification Board abolished trademarks. Commercials and billboards were seen as the highest art forms. Above all, life was personal. Neither Taggard Transcontinental or Rearden Metal was the result of a committee. All works had personal names attached. People did not ask, "What is objectivism?" Instead they inquired, "Who is John Galt?" John Galt was the personalization of the perfect human being. As observed earlier, Rand is a moralist and her novel a morality play with each character a personification of a particular vice or virtue.<sup>35</sup>

Rand leaves epistemology open to question. For Rand, one must make the decision to think in order to be rational, but that decision must itself be a rational thought --a paradox. Babies and young children are not capable of deciding to think. At some time they have to make this decision if they are to be rational. According to her biographer, Rand reached this stage at an early age, as do her major characters. From whence does this decision originate? The question is not answered in the utopia. The message of rationality comes from an external force in the person of John Galt. On their own, the elite seem unable to formulate the proper plan of action or know their own ideology until it is explained by Galt or one of his followers. While the

spark may be burning inside it needs an external force for it to consume the soul and recognize an ideology.<sup>36</sup>

How did Ayn Rand and John Galt receive the truth of their ideology? The only available answer is that Rand is infallible. She is a secular God and John Galt a non-religious messiah carrying the message of objectivism.<sup>37</sup> [If objectivism is so rational, why have not other rational humans discovered it?] Yet Rand is as antireligious as the communists she opposes. Although this has alienated many a potential conservative supporter, she has also been accused of founding objectivism as a religion. Her faith is in reason, and she worships the rational man as god. As with the early economic interpretation of Protestantism, money is seen as a sign of grace. The holder has demonstrated he is in touch with reality; money depicts a rational life. Heaven or hell is in the here and now, and the choice of where to reside is made by each individual. The rational choose not to suffer; the irrational do not know enough to choose or are so self-destructive they live in a hell of their own noncreation--the world of others. The Christian sacrifices for others; the objectivist is passive about the sufferings of others. An objectivist sins against himself when he does not use his reasoning facilities. Since he is his own god, to sin against himself is the gravest of evils. Salvation is found in rationality.<sup>38</sup>

John Galt did not use physical force to resist his tormentors; he allowed them --through their refusal to think--to destroy themselves. The Christian messiah came to save the world; the objectivist savior destroyed it. The message of Christ was for all of the world; John Galt was an envoy to the elect. The Christ of the Bible was feared by the secular authorities because they suspected he wanted political power; Galt was feared because he would not accept it. Each had a band of disciples willing to follow him, but the Christian leader selected from among the people and Galt recruited from among the talented. The followers of Galt rescued him, but those of Christ failed to do so. The New Testament does not promise a reward of material wealth, but such was the promise made by Galt. The salvation of each is the abyss of the other.<sup>39</sup>

Aristotle was the first source of wisdom in objectivism, the Moses of the movement handing down the commandment to be rational. The founding fathers of the United States are saints and the Constitution serves as the covenant. The free market of Adam Smith is the promised land. Yet, objectivism is more than a religion; it is an ideology. In combating both communism and Christianity, it takes the form of each but the values of neither. Rand offers an ideology which will be operationalized in her utopia. She is not content to criticize Christianity and/or Marxism. She offers her own alternative, her own vision of

a better world. Whether or not the vision is utopian depends upon one's acceptance or rejection of the objectivist philosophy.<sup>40</sup>

### Conclusion

Despite this author's praise of Rand's positive approach, it must be noted that only two chapters out of thirty are taken to describe the utopia. The rest are dedicated to demonstrating why such a utopia is necessary and to justifying its existence.

One must ask just how Rand's utopia is to be achieved. Rand's answer is that the talented should go on strike. With no Atlas to sustain it, society would crash under its own weight, and the righteous could then have the world on their own terms.

Even so, Rand admits governmental control has not yet reached the stage that would justify a strike of the talented. In fact, Rand is harsh with those of her followers who would disobey the law, no matter how unjust the law might be. She has also discouraged the establishment of a "Galt's Gulch" type commune dedicated to a capitalistic economy. She insists the time is not yet ripe for such a utopia.<sup>41</sup>

However, some of Rand's "prophecies" have come to fruition. She predicted an energy shortage and postulated that those who controlled oil would have the greatest



political power. She also foresaw a speed limit to conserve fuel, although she set it (60 mph) for trains, not cars. Rand also predicted the New York City blackouts. One true believer in Chicago apparently waited for Galt's speech on the airwaves following news of the event.<sup>42</sup>

In one of Rand's later volumes of essays, she reviewed her novel in terms of its prophesy and decided she was alarmingly accurate. She noted she was successful in predicting the strike of the men of the mind as a method of resisting an unjust system. She explained the brain drain in England as an example following the pattern of Atlas Shrugged since professional people flee to other countries to escape high taxation. She also observed that the Berlin Wall was built to prevent such a "strike with one's feet."<sup>43</sup>

A separate study of 'corporate-dropouts' has tended to vindicate Rand. The dropouts are not at all like their youthful counterparts. Instead of embracing the counter-culture, businessmen who left corporations were even greater believers in the system than those they left behind. Most of them did not depart the corporate jungle because it was too competitive. They left to have more independence or to start their own businesses.<sup>44</sup>

In summation, Rand's utopia is achieved by a strike of the talented. Its theme is the active role of the superior individual in society. 'The individual comes

first' is Rand's philosophy. If society and its handmaiden, the state, will not allow the superior person to develop his capabilities, Atlas drops out, leaving society unsupported.

The role of society and the state, in an ideal situation or utopia is to give the maximum amount of freedom to the outstanding inhabitants. Thus, the state need function only to protect the individual from domestic or foreign violence and to settle disputes that might lead to violence via the courts. Rand offers such a world. It is her utopia.

Ideas cannot be fought except by means of better ideas. The battle consists not of opposing, but of exposing; not of denouncing, but of disapproving; not of evading, but of boldly proclaiming a full, consistent and radical alternative.

(From The New Left, p. 54.)

## Chapter II Notes

<sup>1</sup>Albert Ellis, Is Objectivism a Religion? (New York: Lyle Stuart, 1968), p. 256; and George H. Nash, The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945 (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976), p. 157, have commented on the controversy over Atlas Shrugged. Jerome Tuccille, Radical Libertarianism (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970), p. 4, stresses the importance of the novel while William F. O'Neil in With Charity Toward None (New York: Philosophical Library, 1971), p. 197, gives objections.

For reviews see Book List, October 15, 1957, p. 106; Time, October 14, 1957, pp. 130-32; Kirkus 25 (September 1, 1957): p. 649; Ruth Chapman Blackman, Christian Science Monitor, October 10, 1957, p. 13; John Chamberlain, "A Reviewer's Notebook," The Freeman 7 (December 1957): 53-56; Patricia Donegan, "A Point of View," Commonweal, November 8, 1957, pp. 155-56; Granville Hicks, "A Parable for Buried," New York Times, October 13, 1957, pp. 4-5; Riley Hughes, "Novels Reviewed," Catholic World, January 1958, p. 309; Donald Malcolm, "The New Rand Atlas," New Yorker, October 26, 1957, pp. 194-96; Richard McLaughlin, "The Lady Has a Message," American Mercury, January 1958, p. 144-46; Charles Rolo, "Come the Revolution," Atlantic, November 1957, pp. 249-50; Helen Bean Woodward, "Non-Stop Daydreams," Saturday Review, October 12, 1957, p. 25; and the famous Whittaker Chambers, "Big Sister Is Watching You," National Review, December 28, 1957, pp. 594-96. See also Macel D. Ezell, Unequivocal Americanism (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1977), pp. 42-43.

There was a near civil war fought in the pages of National Review. After a savage review by Whittaker Chambers, Rand adherents led by Peitoff suggested that National Review readers would be better served by reading the Daily Worker. (National Review, January 18, 1958, p. 71). This was followed by another sally from the Objectivists, this time led by Murray Rothbard, "To the Editor," National Review, January 25, 1958, p. 95. National Review countered in their February 1, 1958 issue (p. 118) with a comment that of all the letters supporting Rand and assailing Chambers, only one was written by a subscriber. Russell Kirk, "In Support of Mr. Chambers," National Review, February 1, 1958, p. 118, led the allies of Chambers while in the same issue and on the same page, John Chamberlain in "An Open Letter to Ayn Rand" attempted to be conciliatory. The feud between Rand's followers and the editors of National Review was rekindled later.

Yet, even her critics would recommend that her works be read. O'Neil (1971), pp. 13-15, has given six reasons for reading her works (paraphrased by the author of this study):

1. Her answers may be wrong but her questions are frequently right.
2. She is provocative and has provoked many into thinking about the most basic assumptions and the nature of reality.
3. She is often right for the wrong reasons.
4. She has intellectual and moral courage.
5. Objectivism is not designed to attract popular approval.
6. She has completed a systematic defense for capitalism, a theoretical rationale for the free enterprise system, she has presented a philosophy which is simple, original, and clearly defined. It is clearly comprehensive, coherent and addresses itself to the solution of significant problems with a practical plan of action.

<sup>2</sup>See Robert Green McCloskey, American Conservatism in the age of Free Enterprise (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1951). For the intellectual background of the era consult Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954).

See also M. Stanton Evans, "The Gospel According to Ayn Rand," National Review, October 3, 1967, pp. 1059-63, and Nathaniel Branden, Who Is Ayn Rand? (New York: Random House, 1969), p. 37. (Hereafter referred to as WIAR).

<sup>3</sup>Ayn Rand, Atlas Shrugged (New York: Signet Books, 1957), p. 982. (Hereafter referred to as AS).

<sup>4</sup>For comments on Rand's capitalism refuting Marx and on objectivism being a mirror image of Marxism, sharing many of the same structures, see Lawrence S. Stepelevich, "Individualism and Self-Love," Intercollegiate Review 4 (January-March 1968): 90-96. See also Ayn Rand, The Virtue of Selfishness (New York: Signet Books, 1964), p. 92. (Hereafter referred to as VOS).

<sup>5</sup>AS, p. 989.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 936-37.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 941.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 956.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 936.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 960.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 985.

<sup>12</sup>The revolt or strike by those of talent, although rare, is neither unique nor original, particularly in science fiction. Robert Heinhein's short story, "The Roads Must Roll" (n.p., Street & Smith Publications, Inc., 1940) tells the tale of a technological elite who control the nation's transportation system and paralyze it by striking.

"And Then There Were None," a short story by Eric Frank Russell (n.p., Street & Smith Publications, Inc., 1951) gives a more realistic portrait of what might be considered a Randian utopia. The capitalist utopia of rugged individuals has the ultimate weapon: F-IW (Freedom--I Won't).

See also Arthur P. Mendel, "Robots and Rebels," in Utopia, ed. George Kateb (New York: Atherton Press, 1971), pp. 151-55; and David McReynold's "The Hipster General Strike," in We Have Been Invaded by the 21st Century (New York: Grove Press, 1970).

<sup>13</sup>Rand argues against equality and for inequality in We the Living (New York: Signet Books, 1959), p. 80. (Hereafter referred to as WTL).

<sup>14</sup>See Jean Worrall Ward, "Value Contradiction in Contemporary Conservatism," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1967, pp. 113-14.

<sup>15</sup>AS, p. 936, and Ellis, Is Objectivism a Religion?, p. 128.

<sup>16</sup>Rand's nearness to Nietzsche has been noted by many including Rand herself. See Ayn Rand, For the New Intellectual (New York: Random House, 1961), p. 36. (Hereafter referred to as FNI). See also Time's book review (1957), pp. 128 and 130, as well as Bruce Cook, "Ayn Rand," Catholic World 201 (May 1962): 123.

For Rand and her followers on Max Stirner see Jerome Tuccille, It Usually Begins with Ayn Rand (New York: Stein and Day, 1971), p. 107.

<sup>17</sup>FNI, p. 22. See also Edward Cain, They'd Rather Be Right (New York: Macmillan, 1963), p. 44.

<sup>18</sup>See Ellis, Is Objectivism a Religion?, pp. 70 and 126, as well as the Blackman newspaper article in the Christian Science Monitor, 1957, p. 13.

<sup>19</sup>AS, p. 991.

<sup>20</sup>It would seem that Rand has alienated her protagonists from the rest of the world. For Branden's comments on alienation see Nathaniel Branden, The Dis-owned Self (New York: Bantam Books, 1972), chapter 4, "The Psychotherapy of Alienation," pp. 107-39.

<sup>21</sup>WIAR, pp. 88, 94, 97-98, and 105. See also Cain, They'd Rather Be Right, p. 40.

<sup>22</sup>AS, pp. 47, 465, and 1012, as well as FNI, pp. 37 and 39. See also WIAR, p. 48, and Ellis, Is Objectivism a Religion?, p. 110.

<sup>23</sup>See Nathaniel Branden, The Psychology of Self-Esteem (New York: Bantam Books, 1969), pp. 32-33, and 105; as well as AS, pp. 938, 944, 945, 948, 955, 989, and 992.

<sup>24</sup>AS, p. 426; and Branden, The Psychology of Self-Esteem, p. 121. See also O'Neill, With Charity Toward None, p. 175; and Ward, "Value Contradiction . . .," p. 99.

<sup>25</sup>O'Neill, p. 174.

<sup>26</sup>See Ellis, p. 257; O'Neill, p. 217; and Branden, p. 79.

<sup>27</sup>AS, p. 981. See also Branden, pp. 119 and 150; Ellis, p. 158; and O'Neill, p. 141.

<sup>28</sup>AS, pp. 63, 319, 626, and 936. See also David Westby and Richard Braungart, "Activists and the History of the Future," in Protest, ed. Julian Foster and Durward Long (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1970), pp. 161 and 178-79.

<sup>29</sup>The debate between Libertarians and conservatives is described by Russell Kirk in Confessions of a Tory (New York: Fleet Publishing Corporation, 1963), pp. 181-82--"An Encounter with Ayn Rand." Rand's influence on John Hospers is evidenced in Libertarianism (Los Angeles: Nash Publishing, 1971), p. 418.

<sup>30</sup>AS, pp. 541-42. See also Roger Bissell, "Resolving the Government Issues," Reason 5 (November 1973): 26-29.

<sup>31</sup>Robert Michels' Political Parties and the works of Marx Weber illustrate how organization can equal bureaucracy if not oligarchy. The works of Sorel, Pareto, Mosca, LeBon and Mannheim are also to be recommended in this context.

<sup>32</sup>See "Anti-Trust" by Alan Greenspan and "Common Fallacies about Capitalism," by Nathaniel Branden, both in Ayn Rand, ed., Capitalism: The Unknown Ideal (New York: New American Library, 1966) (Hereafter cited as CUI).

<sup>33</sup>Ayn Rand, The Romantic Manifesto (New York: Signet Books, 1971), p. 78. (Hereafter referred to as RM.) See also VOS, pp. 34-35.

<sup>34</sup>See Ellis, pp. 125 and 242, as well as O'Neill, p. 3.

<sup>35</sup>AS, p. 194; and RM, p. 162. See also John Cody, "Ayn Rand's Promethean Heroes," Reason 5 (November 1973): 30-35.

<sup>36</sup>AS, p. 982; and VOS, p. 21.

<sup>37</sup>Rand does not disbelieve in God, rather she raises the perfect man to that status. Her war is not with organized religion but against irrational faith based on emotion, fear, guilt, and tradition. She offers a new religion based on intelligence, a religion that holds man as its acme and does not so much seek to perfect him but to allow the perfect to exist untroubled by the imperfect. See both Ellis and O'Neill.

<sup>38</sup>See Cain, p. 50.

<sup>39</sup>RM, p. 30; VOS, p. 25; and CUI, p. 222.

<sup>40</sup>See Jerome Tuccille, It Usually Starts with Ayn Rand (New York: Stein and Day, 1971), p. 106.

<sup>41</sup>See the Ayn Rand Letter IV (January-February 1976).

<sup>42</sup>For Rand as a prophet see Hinden, p. 33; Malcolm, p. 194; and McLaughlin, p. 144. See Rand's own reaction in "Is Atlas Shrugging?", chapter 15, in CUI. See AS, p. 260, for oil shortage; and p. 317 for speed limit.

<sup>43</sup>CUI, pp. 143 and 153-58. In Introduction to Objectivist Epistemology, p. 69, she reports "an enormous 'brain drain' from the humanities with the best minds seeking escape and objective knowledge in the physical sciences."

<sup>44</sup>See L. E. Thomas, et al., "Corporate Dropouts," Vocational Guidance Quarterly 24 (March 1976): 220-28,

as well as F. C. Thorne, "The Essential Man in Society,"  
Journal of Clinical Psychology 32 (April 1976): 507-8.



## CHAPTER III

### H. L. HUNT'S ALPACA

How much is that book in the window? The one that says all the smart things? How much is that book in the window? I hope to learn all that it brings. How much is that book in the window? You can buy it without signing a note. The one that my Popsy wrote Alpaca! Fifty cents!

(Sung by two of H. L. Hunt's daughters at a Dallas autograph party, to the tune of "Doggie in the Window.")

One of the supporting characters in Ayn Rand's Atlas Shrugged is a banker named Midas Mulligan. Midas joined John Galt when the courts decided the banker must lend money to those with good intentions, even if they had no collateral. Mulligan's money purchased Galt's Gulch, though the fact of ownership by one of the world's wealthiest men was rarely mentioned. Although the mountain valley utopia was designed for the protection of the productive, and by definition Midas was the most prolific, the utopia was designed by Galt, not Mulligan. Obviously Midas was satisfied

to couple his wealth and money-making abilities with the technology and ideology of Galt. In Rand's utopia John Galt, not Midas Mulligan, was the protagonist.

Yet, one wonders, why not examine a utopia designed by the very rich? What would a real-life billionaire see as a utopia? How would he shape it? Who would his leading Characters resemble?

The question is answered in Alpaca by the late H. L. Hunt. At one time reputed to be the world's richest man, Hunt's fortune was based on fuels and agriculture, not banking, but he comes close to being a model for Midas Mulligan. Like the industrialist heroes of Rand's novel, Hunt kept his companies as his personal property. There were no outside boards of directors and no quarterly reports for stockholders. The companies bore the name of their founder. He is qualified to speak for those in America who have much to conserve.<sup>1</sup>

### The Plot

At the beginning of the novel, the hero, Juan Achala, left his Latin American home of Alpaca to seek salvation for his country. The small, isolated land was ruled by a dictator and Juan sought relief from governmental tyranny. Rather than replace the present power holder with another strong man, Juan desired a method to bring lasting peace without a strong state.

In this aspect Alpaca is unlike many utopian novels. A protagonist was not taken to a strange land, another world or even a different time zone or dimension. The young hero did not come from Eden nor was he searching for one. Instead, he planned visits to the cultural centers of Europe to seek political truth that would give his nation freedom, peace and stability without a violent revolution. To remove the dictator was not enough for Achala. His plan was to make a dictatorship forever impossible.

Achala was convinced evil men were not causing the woes of his country, nor would good rulers remove those woes. Bad government, he postulated, was caused by imperfect laws. Hence, the purpose of his journey was to discover the eternal truth about government--how it could be both efficient and free. God provided the country with natural resources, but it was the duty of intelligent men to provide good government, he reflected.

Once on the European continent, Juan consulted a noted Italian lawyer. The two agreed the individual is the basis of society and thus must be protected from totalitarian government. A threefold plan of action was adopted. They would formulate a comprehensive constitution, adopt it without bloodshed and make it work for the benefit of the nation rather than for those holding political power.

Juan continued his travels throughout Europe, seeking more political wisdom. His path frequently crossed

that of the beautiful and wealthy Alpacan singer, Mari Hani, whom he had briefly met on the ocean voyage, and the two eventually became close companions. They discussed politics, love of country, individual responsibility and the politics of Aristotle. Together they studied the "Plan" which was to be the new Alpacan constitution. Finally, in patriotic fervor, they planned to be married so as to work together for the delivery of Alpaca.

Juan and Mara established a "Team" composed of representatives from different countries. Each team member drew upon his or her own personal experience in devising solutions for various problems to assist in the composition of the ideal constitution. On the surface it seemed to be a Hegelian dialectic with each side being presented until it became clear where the truth lay. However, the result was not a synthesis of ideas but the survival of the fittest. (The same format was utilized in "Facts Forum" with 'both sides' of the question being discussed but with the outcome obvious to all.<sup>2</sup> The facade of objectivity and reasonableness was to impress upon the reader or listener that all sides had been considered, to pretend a scientific and value-free approach.)

While team members offered no ideological differences, they did not disagree about technical details. For example, much of Chapter Six is devoted to the question of giving the vote to those restrained in mental institutions.

All agreed that healthy minds could be warped by bookish theories and concluded that few lunatics would vote, so the mentally ill were not stripped of the franchise. Chapter Seven concludes with kind words spoken in favor of "Committees of Correspondence" and the superiority of the written over the spoken word. (With a resemblance to earlier Hunt letter-writing projects, the point demonstrates his distrust of oratory and fear of rabble rousing speakers.) The body of the chapter is reserved for selection of delegates who would guard against dictatorship by making government as indirect as possible. To reach this end, no campaigning or political promises were allowed. The Browns, an average American couple from Kansas, noted with great disapproval the general ignorance of the American public about the officials they elect. As a result, provisions were made for the uninformed to delegate his or her ballot to those more knowledgeable about the candidates.

Because of the marriage of Mara and Juan, the influential Hani clan supported the proposed constitution. Hunt had harsh words for the Hani's lack of patriotism as they supported the status quo to keep their favored commercial position with whoever was in power. Hunt's provisions for taxation would also provide motivation for the Hanis to satisfy self-interests. Taxes were limited as deflation was preferable to inflation. There were no tax exemptions for education or charitable donations unless they were for

medical science, care of the sick or public enlightenment to promote personal initiative and individual liberty. (The last qualification would seem to make a program like Hunt's "Life Lines" eligible for a tax exemption in Alpaca.<sup>3</sup> In fact, the entire constitution and the political system reflect Hunt's political beliefs. In Alpaca, Hunt's personal interests are protected, but those of other millionaires who might be so foolish as to waste their fortune on left-wing, intellectual foundations or the like, are restrained by the government from committing such self-destructive acts.)

Organized religion would be allowed tax deductible status only if it met certain qualifications. There were to be no income tax withholdings. (Hunt said collection is so easy it "destroyed" human liberty.) Taxes were not to be spent or collected for unauthorized purposes. To keep politicians from using their offices to stay in power, there would be no reelection. Likewise, legislators could be elected from outside their districts. This would prevent them from attempting to get governmental favors for their constituency at taxpayers' expense. Finally, to keep these and other provisions of the constitution safe, a two-thirds vote would be required to change the document, but the original form could be reinstated by a simple majority vote.<sup>4</sup>

The remainder of the book is devoted to consideration of the various branches of government and problems of

political philosophy. In one chapter Juan and Mara sat at Maxim's in Paris, France, and discussed the postal system. Postal routes, they decided, should be contracted out to private industry. They then moved to the adequate funding of the military, the use of commodities rather than the gold standard as security for monetary policy, the danger of illegal aliens, compulsory education of the youth, the need to give high pay to public school teachers to ensure their loyalty, and the intricacies of municipal finance.

Another chapter, devoted to the executive branch of government, contains a debate over the right to work guaranteed to all citizens--a protection of their 'natural right to quit their jobs.' The evils of the welfare state were reviewed. A commitment was made to never nationalize the medical profession and to keep the profit motive operational. The team made provisions for state care of orphans and noninterference in private industry. Bureaucracy was attacked with a policy that all bureaus were to be terminated after eighteen months of operations. To keep the ambitious demagogue from taking control of the government and to guard against a single ineffective or sick executive, the office would be divided to form a triumvirate.

Other areas of government were scrutinized in following chapters. The drawbacks of civil service were revealed. The constitution prevented the executive branch from negotiating treaties. Juries, recognized as being

both slow and expensive, would be abolished, but the people would be permitted to elect judges. A special legislative committee, established to uncover subversion in the government, would consider government workers guilty until proven innocent. The military would be recognized as a fourth branch of government and, while volunteer service would be encouraged, conscription would be allowed if deemed necessary. Finally, the constitution stated the military should be kept small but effective through the use of the most advanced technology. A garrison state would thus be established.

Hunt's fear of direct democracy is emphasized by his taking an entire chapter to consider the suffrage question. The team agreed that the one man, one vote concept results in demagoguery. The disaster of one vote per nation in the General Assembly of the United Nations was shown as an example of the chaos such a system inherently has. If uniform equal suffrage leads to dictatorship, as the team believed, and selective suffrage results in discontent among the disenfranchised, the only alternative the team saw was graduated suffrage. Government would be based on the corporate model: those who 'buy the most shares' have the most votes. In Alpaca those who contributed most to the well being of the nation would be entitled to extra votes. Bonus votes would be awarded for payment of taxes, scholastic achievement, waiver of government benefits and payment of a poll tax.



Having settled the most pressing issue, the team designed a two-party system based on ideological differences. "Liberal" and "Constructive" parties, complete with a clear ideological outline for each, were included in the constitution. No compromise was permitted, no moderation encouraged, no political give and take offered. Politics were to be ideologically pure, yet public affairs could be discussed only in print (each party would receive free newspaper space). Public debate on television, radio or in public meetings of more than 700 people would be outlawed. Likewise, there would be strict censorship to ensure that no class, religious or racial slurs divided the population. Only along ideological lines could differentiation be made, and even then there was a hidden catch. The constitution was so designed that the liberals, even were they to win power, would be unable to achieve any of their constitutionally mandated goals.

Other provisions were discussed and adopted. Under the proposed constitution, members of the military could not be tried in foreign courts. The government would pay tuition for those students planning to enter the civil service, although they would have to compete in a merit system. The civil servant, soldier and teacher, although they have special status in terms of investigations and assumed guilt, were taken care of in a paternalistic pattern.

The team thus jointly authored a near perfect constitution. Although no real reason is given as to why the

events occurred, the "Plan" was popularly received in Alpaca, the unnamed dictator lost power and Juan was offered the leadership of the nation. True to his conviction, Juan declined. The population recognized the wisdom and rationality of the "Plan," and the new constitution was overwhelmingly accepted. A provisional government composed of leading citizens, who promised not to serve again in public office, was established. The constitution was formally adopted November 13, 1959 and the first election scheduled for February 1, 1960. The people were thus allowed to rule themselves without the danger of giving away their liberties to a dictator. Juan, the now pregnant Mara Hani Achala and the people of Alpaca end the novel by looking forward to a glorious future of peace, prosperity and limited but effective government.

### The Book

The constitution, having been the object of most of the verbal interplay of the book, is contained in the back of the volume. It is composed of a preamble and nine articles. The careful reader can note the similarity between the plot outline and the presentation of the constitution. One suspects the constitution was written first and the plot weaved around it to provide an explanation for each article and section--a literary shawl, so to speak. The story line is little more than a discussion of the proposed constitution.

Hunt showed economy in his literary endeavors as well as in his financial affairs. There are only two major characters, Juan and Mara, with a small supporting cast. There are no portraits of fictional people to distract the reader from the ideology. The minor characters who do exist tend to be ethnic stereotypes such as Robert and Betty Brown, an average American family from Abilene, Kansas. Other minor characters include a Scottish labor leader, a classical economist from Austria, a tax expert from France and an Italian lawyer.

Hunt always presented his opinions in a pseudo-objective manner, believing that if read with an open mind, they would be so full of common sense the ideas would be accepted. Alpaca was written in this manner. The hero sought the solution to the ills of his country by careful study and discussion with those who were also patriots for a country that was not theirs. Each team member had a role to play to represent a certain point of view in the dialogue, to make the constitution seem like an international document based on eternal truths rather than a document that would actually affect the lives of the self-serving authors. Together, they formed a "team" similar to those in Hunt's activities with youth; and, like Hunt's blueprint to influence congressional elections, the team had a plan.<sup>5</sup> The plot and constitution are in fiction what Hunt would have liked in America's political reality.

Between the first publication of Alpaca in 1960 and the second version, Alpaca Revisited, in 1967, a number of changes were made. Alpaca Revisited is identical to the original in plot, but some portions of the constitution were altered. The original contained an introductory chapter, omitted from the second edition, explaining the system of graduated suffrage. The first edition devoted the last chapter to an analysis of the U. S. Constitution. The revised version has in its place an overview of world events after the publication of the original utopian novel in 1960, supposedly demonstrating that despite some minor technical details, the passage of time had proved the ideas of H. L. Hunt worth adoption. The second edition also includes the transcript of "Life Line" Broadcast 66-D, which proposes a "Peace League" to be a conservative counterpart of the United Nations. Finally, perhaps in response to criticism of his call for a plutocracy, Hunt scaled down his graduated suffrage in Revisited so that each individual was limited to a maximum of five votes rather than the seven proposed in the original version. The 1960 novel removed the provision for an extra vote for those between twenty-two and sixty-five years of age, life's most productive years. One can speculate that Hunt was responding to the Twenty-sixth Amendment to the American Constitution, which was to be ratified four years hence (1971), and to his own senior citizen status.

At the time of his death, Hunt was reputed to be working on another utopian novel, to be entitled, Yourtopia.

Whether it was to be another revision of Alpaca, a world model based upon his "Peace League," or something entirely different may never be known outside the group of writers who ghosted his materials.<sup>6</sup>

### The Politics of H. L. Hunt

To both the casual and more serious reader it would seem that Hunt created a utopia which was close to a plutocracy. Government was necessary to keep the peace and protect the prosperous, but still the suppressed might take over the structure and use it to impoverish the wealthy. The obvious solution was to create a plutocracy where the monied and those with political power would be the same. Although Hunt bordered on plutocracy, he ultimately rejected this solution. Instead, he structured the government so the nonaffluent masses were unable to gain political control. The structure was likewise designed to restrict it from infringing upon the privileges of the wealthy. Unlike many utopians, Hunt saw the necessity of making provisions for the nonelite in his utopia. However, he took proper precautions to prevent their rise to political power. In fact, limiting the power of the people in an apparent democracy is the major accomplishment of his utopia. The fact that he has done so makes it a utopia for the rich. Their economic status is protected but they have none of the obligations or responsibilities that would have fallen on them in a plutocracy. The constitution acts

as a barrier between the assumed masses of the poor and the few who control the economy while still upholding the facade of a democracy.

Without doubt Hunt would like to have seen such a constitution adopted in the United States, but more likely his was to be a model for any country seeking to combat dictatorship (Communism). Hunt did not believe in making fine distinctions between various shades of red or pink on the political left-of-center spectrum. Strong government meant governmental control, which was socialism to Hunt.

Hunt was well known as an American anti-Communist, and like many of his ilk, his opposition to Marxism was based more on disagreement with its goals than with the methods employed to realize them. Where the non-Communist left opposes Communist regimes for their brutal methods and betrayal of their state goals, Hunt and others on the American right based their opposition on the unlikely premise that the Communists were telling the truth and, once in power, would actually create the utopia that had been promised. It is not unrealistic to suspect that many American anti-Communists would actually prefer the type of rule the communist state provides to that of the nondictatorial democracies. There is an abundance of law and order, respect for authority and indoctrination of social values in the real life communist state. It is not a worker's

paradise, and the American right does not want one. Although the economic values are not the same as those cherished by the American right, a conservative still might favor the censorship and patriotism of the Soviet state than some of the more liberal or democratic societies of the West. After all, although supposedly representing the workers, the Communist Party is an elite group ruling in the name of the people; it is a Marxist elite who are the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is interesting to observe the many similarities between the Soviet constitution of 1936 and the Alpacan constitution. However, the similarities do not necessarily indicate H. L. Hunt generally supported communistic government as it existed and condemned them only as an ideal. Neither is there any indication Hunt was aware of the Soviet constitution. The document has since been altered, but for purposes of comparison the version in use when Hunt authored Alpaca will be examined for parallel passages.<sup>7</sup>

The Soviet Union is controlled at the top by whoever hold positions in the ruling troika, although one individual may fill two of the top spots. The Chairman of the Presidium is head of state and is known as the President of the Soviet Union. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers is head of the government and is considered the Premier of the country. The General Secretary of the Secretariat

is head of the Communist Party. Article VII, Section 1 of the Alpacan constitution also provides for a troika to control the country. Employment and the right to work are guaranteed by Alpaca's Article II, Section 13 which finds its counterpart in Article 118 of the Soviet framework. Old-age insurance is also mentioned in both: Article VIII, Section 1 of the Alpacan constitution and Article 120 of the Soviet Constitution. Both systems promote public education as seen in Article II, Section 11 of Alpaca's constitution and Article 121 of the Soviet document. An investigating committee is given broad powers in Article 51 of the Soviet constitution and Article VII, Section 1 of Hunt's version. The senior citizen is guaranteed care in the Soviet Article 120 and the Alpaca Article VII, Section 1. Other subjects covered by both constitutions are treason, freedom of worship and privacy.

In some areas the Soviet constitution seems more conservative than the Hunt document. Private property, not mentioned by Hunt, is guaranteed in Section 10 of the Soviet constitution. Republics may secede from the Soviet Union according to their Article 17 but no such provision is made for the provinces of Alpaca. Finally, Article 12 of the Soviet constitution observes that he who does not work, neither shall he eat. No such reference can be found in either Hunt's Alpacan constitution or in the United States Constitution.



The object of these observations is not to indicate the Soviet Union has achieved utopia or that H. L. Hunt was a Communist. Rather it demonstrates that reality is often at variance with the written framework, as in the Soviet case. Hunt and many of his fellow conservatives were not so much anti-Communist as they were anti-liberal, anti-democratic, and anti-social welfare. It is also an indication that the Communist reality and the Hunt utopia are not so far removed. Even though classifying Alpaca as an American conservative utopia is justified, its anti-Communism is to be doubted. In view of the foregoing observations, then, is the Soviet Union in reality a conservative regime? Except for the economic system, the answer would seem to be positive.

That the American conservative would feel more comfortable in the reality of the Communist world than in the utopia of the liberal democrat assumes Hunt's utopia is indeed capitalistic and his values are those of economic free enterprise. A careful analysis of Alpaca would indicate otherwise. Hunt soundly condemned the Hani clan because they were willing to put commercial interests before political liberty. As wealthy and successful merchants they dealt with whoever was in power regardless of ideology. While Hunt refrained from calling them opportunistic and emphasized that by nature they were not pro-dictatorship, he did stress he did not approve of businessmen who dealt with dictators or who failed to oppose repressive regimes.

Yet, the reader of Alpaca is justified in asking for a definition of a capitalist if it is not one who takes advantage of economic opportunities. Hunt, in other of his publications, has called for the end of trade and diplomatic recognition with Communist nations--hardly the hallmark of a free trader. In theory, a true capitalist will trade with anyone to make a profit. Finally, in a San Francisco news conference Hunt blamed Communist gains on the materialism of the American people, condemning such points of view with the statement, "America doesn't want to do anything else except make a profit."<sup>8</sup>

While Hunt was hardly the model of the self-sacrificing citizen, and although he did sponsor right wing propaganda with a view toward padding his own pocket, the point is clear. For Hunt capitalism was a means to an end, not an end unto itself, and moral considerations must be made before economic ones. What profit did Juan Achala make by leaving Alpaca and formulating a constitution? He didn't make a dollar, or pack--the commodity backed Alpacan monetary unit. Supposedly Juan Achala valued individual freedom more than economic wealth. In a pure free enterprise system the Hani family, not the Achalas, would be viewed as heroes; the Hanis managed to make a profit even while under the rule of a dictator.

One defense of Hunt's lack of capitalism in the novel is that the system would not be meaningful in an

agrarian rather than industrialized nation. The commodity-based rather than metal-backed monetary unit is the most obvious clue. Alpaca was an agrarian nation, thus capitalism had less value as an economic system. It may be said that Hunt designed the country to fit the third world mold to encourage developing countries to adopt such a constitution. However, he did not design the utopia to show capitalism at its fullest capacity or to demonstrate that free enterprise would naturally evolve if only government would refrain from pandering to the demands of the ever supplicating populace. The reader must conclude that while without a doubt a conservative utopia, Alpaca is not necessarily first and foremost anti-Communist, pro-capitalist or industrialist.

#### Comments

Hunt's system of government was based on inequality. This is made evident by the multiple votes given to citizens for superior behavior (evidenced by wealth) and loss of votes for transgressions (accepting welfare). Those earning the most were considered the greatest contributors to society and were recognized as such. The possession of riches made one eligible for government protection to be exercised through an increased say in public matters. In Alpaca one could gain up to three extra votes for the amount of taxes paid (although tax levels were limited), gain an

extra vote for payment of a voluntary poll tax and gain up to four more votes for various refusals to accept government aid. The nonelite were encouraged to let the elite cast their ballots for them. In theory an employer could demand to cast the ballots of his employees since the right to work provision allowed them to 'leave their employment' at any time.

The entire tenor of the constitution was the protection and promotion of the elite over the possible claims of the masses. The elite were not rewarded with political power but were protected from it. The possibility the people might use democratic methods to seize control of the government and, through taxation, rob the rich, was prevented. It is assumed the real power would reside with men like H. L. Hunt, an individual who never sought political office but did his utmost to influence the policies of the entire nation and the selection of leadership.

The Alpacan elite were expected to be of the Hunt-Achala variety--patriots who would not accept public offices but rather would decide political questions, and businessmen who had proven their status by their success in the financial world. They would operate much like Hunt in real life and his protagonist Achala in Alpaca: provide advice, counsel and ideology. The model was not only presented in Alpaca but also followed by Hunt during his lifetime. Hunt constantly supplied American Presidents and Cabinet members

with unsolicited advice.<sup>9</sup> Hunt demanded only that his voice be heard. So sure was he of his reasoning power and logic, he believed that once his position was presented, any rational being would accept it.

The same tactics are shown in his utopia. The Alpacan constitution was adopted after its presentation to the nation; it became evident to the populace it would work. Such beliefs were reflected in his dealings with the general public as well as with powerful political figures. His public relations were based on educating the public to the dangers of dictatorship. Besides getting tax benefits for 'educational' programs, he sincerely believed that if the public was exposed to his way of thinking, they would automatically see the falsehoods proposed by the MISTAKEN. The very term 'MISTAKEN' (Hunt's capitalization) implies irrationality and misinformation. As a fast learner Hunt had difficulty relating to those who did not immediately comprehend the proper ideology. For him the correct way was clear and self-evident, and if one had the proper mental framework, one need only to be exposed to the truth. Therefore, the material on Hunt's propaganda networks, like Alpaca, was always presented in a pseudo-intellectual manner in a calm and reasonable tone.<sup>10</sup>

It should be noted the rights guaranteed to Americans under the First Amendment are not wholly included in the Alpacan version. There was heavy censorship and a

restriction of political debate, as if Hunt feared that the populace, if exposed to the virus of mistaken thoughts, would automatically succumb to the disease of socialism. Thus, the constitution emphasized free education, scholarships for future government workers and higher pay for teachers, but teachers and other government employees had fewer civil rights.

Although he may have had faith in the business elite, Hunt did not trust the common man, despite protestations that he did trust man's common sense. The entire tone of the constitution was to protect the above-average from those of lesser abilities, as if the nonelite were not only inferior, but evil as well. Why else would an elite require protection? Coupled with the most indirect of voting systems, which was not only a vote of confidence in the elite but also one of distrust in the people, Hunt's provisions also focused his distrust of governmental servants and leaders alike. Government workers were considered guilty until proven innocent. Leaders were kept from retaining political power by rotation in office, limited time in office, a four-way division of powers, an executive branch split in three directions, a veto board overseeing the legislature and constitutional provision that repealed laws and abolished government agencies after a set period of time. Treason was broadly defined. Court cases were not tried by a jury. Overlooking all was the investigating

committee with near absolute powers to seek out and destroy any threat to the state, any hint of public immorality, any whiff of unbecoming behavior.

Alpaca is a monument to a lack of faith in mankind. Even the welfare program can be viewed with skepticism--it was Hunt's way of bribing the poor and buying off any who demanded economic and social reform. Hunt was simply reaffirming the old maxim, at its most cynical attitude, that one does not bite the hand that feeds him. Hunt assumed both that the masses would bite and that they could be bribed, both attitudes reflecting a negative aura on man's nature. Hunt feared revolution so he headed it off by giving bread. He provided no circuses unless one wants to consider his pseudo-rationalistic presentation of propaganda as entertainment.

In this vein, public education was used to spread propaganda supporting the status quo while teachers, like the poor, were bribed. Educators were given high salaries and education was rewarded, not because Hunt respected intelligence but because he feared it. He thus sought to control education by controlling the media and educational process to insure they remained loyal and did not stir discontentment.

The need for such indirect control is evident when one realizes Hunt sought to proclaim a democracy without its inherent (to Hunt) evils. The populace was led to

believe their voice was important and the state was theirs. Yet, there were restrictions to prevent either social or economic reform by governmental entities. The state was safe even though the way to power was strewn with barriers. Besides fearing that direct popular democracy might result in the people coming to power, Hunt likewise distrusted political power. Although he nowhere claimed it corrupted the elite, the elite were kept from its influence. The government was to be run by middle management--educated but faithful civil servants. Politicians seeking power would be continually thwarted and not rewarded for their successes. A division of power was carried to its absurd absolute. Besides such devices as limited terms in office, rotation of office holders and a veto board, the ever present investigatory committee (a full-time 'committee on un-Alpaca activities') could unleash upon the government a fearful and chilling threat of investigation as has happened in America's House Un-American Activities Committee.<sup>11</sup> One wonders if the Soviet counterpart inspires the terror that is built into the potential of such a mechanism.

Ideological purity was important to Hunt. He disliked moderates and preferred ideological polarization. The Alpaca constitution provided for two opposing parties, each hostile to the political philosophy of the other. In this manner free enterprise in the political marketplace was



made available to the voter. Hunt wanted a clear-cut choice between the left and the right, confident that he would win. The greatest threat, according to Hunt, came not from the far left but from the moderate middle who would not stand firm in their convictions but would rather bargain away the rights (wealth) of the people. Unlike the American Constitution, which makes no mention of political parties, the Alpacan document not only furnished the structure but also defined the political theory of each of the country's two parties.

The official constitutional ideology of the Constructive Party was:

Stressing inviolate property rights, individual initiative, the profit motive, free markets, protection against government monopoly and associated and similar objectives.<sup>12</sup>

Hunt preferred the term 'constructive' to 'conservative' and regarded himself a 'constructive.' He signed his correspondence, "Constructively yours." The constructive political theory as described in the Alpacan constitution can be considered conservative by American standards. Thus the utopia can be considered conservative, as the constructive political philosophy was designed to be victorious whether the party won or not. The constitution was rigged against the Liberal Party carrying out their stated ideological goals.

The Liberal Party stood for:

Stressing privileges for the masses; progress unhampered by tradition, humanitarianism,

regardless of property rights, paternalistic government, social gains and associated and similar objectives.<sup>13</sup>

Hunt thus divided the world of politics into a two-dimensional scale defining not only his own position but the one he opposed. His constitution preached that "principles should not be sacrificed in order to attain a middle-of-the-road policy." Needless to say, Hunt had confidence that given the choice to select between "the two world-wide opposing philosophies of government," the people would choose the conservative/constructive side.<sup>14</sup> Even if they didn't, no harm could be done by the 'liberals,' thanks to constitutional restraints.

Hunt had a unique vocabulary. His understanding of words and phrases was different from most inferences. For example, Hunt made no distinction between communism, socialism, liberalism and other ideologies left of center. To Hunt they were all the MISTAKEN. In a 1969 interview he was asked if he had ever visited a socialist country. Hunt replied in the affirmative and named the nations: France, Spain, Italy and Austria. In a related news article it was reported that Hunt firmly believed the Central Intelligence Agency and the rest of the American government was dominated by Communists. During the Bay of Pigs invasion Hunt commented that it was no great loss--only one group of Communists trying to take over from another group. To Hunt there was not much difference between Fidel Castro

and the C.I.A. After all, along with Spain and France they represented a strong centralized government, and if that isn't socialism and Communism, what is?<sup>15</sup>

Obviously, many terms that connote a particular economic system were devoid of economic meaning to Hunt. Strong government was left-of-center government which was socialism/communism. Any action that threatened his wealth outraged his sense of what was right. Any action that promised more democracy was dictatorship. In a 1971 news conference in San Francisco Hunt proclaimed the United States had only a few years before becoming a Communist nation. The statement was made in reaction to a loss of the oil depletion allowance (which was provided in the Alpacan constitution). Any loss of Hunt's influence, wealth or political power was a blow against Americanism while any action that bolstered Hunt was one that was obviously anti-Communist and pro-capitalist as well as 'constructive.'<sup>16</sup>

Such an attitude was sensible to Hunt and Hunt prided himself on having common sense and a well developed sense of self-interest. It comes, then, as no surprise that Aristotle was the only political philosopher mentioned by Hunt. The citation of Aristotle forewarns the reader to expect a rationalistic utopia and, indeed, Hunt relied more on the reason of the elite than on the tradition of society as a proper guide for action. Juan Achala, with the exception of romantic interludes with Mara Hani, spent almost

the entire volume debating the pros and cons of various constitutional proposals. Hunt proposed to use his brand of reasoning rather than brute force to obtain his goals. Once confronted with the truth, properly presented, people would need no force to agree. Violence was to Hunt an admission of lack of intelligence as well as a waste of resources.

The primary goal of the Alpacan constitution was to assure a peaceful and stable government without resorting to violence. Yet, Hunt favored a strong, though small, military. Hunt even gave the military its own branch of government, and the constitution provided that Alpacan citizens or soldiers who were detained abroad should be released within thirty days or be rescued. The foreign policy of Hunt was always isolationist, but an isolationism protected by a strong military. Since the legitimate function of government is to assure peace and stability both at home and abroad, Hunt felt free to promote a strong military.<sup>17</sup>

While interested in such practical matters as the military, Hunt also had time for the arts. The Alpacan hero fell in love with an opera singer and followed her across Europe while searching for the secret of successful government. Although in some utopias, notably The Republic, music and the other arts were either banned or regulated by the state, the individual artist played a role in Hunt's utopia. Censorship was never assumed to be applied as much

to art as to politics. One implication is that only in a free state such as the one offered can the arts flourish and the artist realize his or her highest potential. A more likely observation is that Hunt simply wanted to demonstrate to the reader that the arts were important to the author. He did this when he included an Alpacan waltz and a national anthem in his utopia.

Throughout the volume are other little hints that the utopia was really harmless and it would not hurt to try such an experiment. No one was threatened except the obviously ambitious or dishonest. Everyone was taken care of. A good example is Hunt's self-interest-oriented paternalism. Hunt recognized that an individual unable or unwilling to accept responsibility is a potential threat to the tranquility of society. In Alpaca such citizens were aided but relegated to a second class status having no political power or influence. The poor, sick and orphaned had provisions made for them in Alpaca, although by accepting governmental aid they stripped themselves of their voting franchise.

Hunt's citizens were not displaced by a booming technology that alters society. Hunt seemed only vaguely aware of the possibility of technology controlling society. The only places where he did emphasize the role of technology were in Section 4 of Article V, which observed that the military could be kept small if the most modern

equipment is utilized, and in his insistence of censorship of the mass media in Section 4b of Article VIII. A small military force offers no threat of a military coup or dictatorship, but the electronic media could possibly infect the populace with the ideas of the MISTAKEN. The only real concession made for a technologically industrialized nation was the mineral depletion allowance to pay for the efforts of those who supplied the country with energy. Otherwise, it would remain an agrarian country with none of the hurry or bustle of a developing industrial nation. Security was given to both the wealthy and the poor, that the former should not risk a loss of status and that the latter would not be ground too fine.

The citizenry was even allowed the comfort of religion. Hunt provided for indirect state support in form of a tax break to contributors to religious institutions. Naturally, the religious organizations must devote their efforts to either medical care to the sick or to "promoting personal initiative and individual liberty." There were no tax-free dollars for the social gospel. He wanted no theocracy or other overlap between church and state.

Although Achala personally designed the utopia, there was no special place even for him. Achala was both leader and guide to the team that formed the utopia, but even when offered political power, he spurned it. At the beginning of the novel he refused to explore the possibility

of leading an armed insurrection against the dictatorial regime. Throughout the volume he consulted with experts or with common folk who had had experiences pertinent to creating the constitution. At the end of the novel he had no political power. Unlike other utopias, Alpaca did not offer a deified human who would lead his people to the promised land. Juan Achala, his wife and child weren't gods.<sup>18</sup>

### Conclusion

There are points made by Hunt in his utopian novel worth consideration. Hunt was vehement against direct democracy. The Brown family of Kansas offered their experiences as evidence for a less direct electoral system. They told the tale of an uninformed public not knowing the names or qualifications of elected office holders and voting in accordance with popular prejudices and for well known names. Hunt saw every alteration made in the United States way of life practiced in the 1950's and 1960's as a criticism of the system. He saw elected officials becoming corrupted by political power. They paid off the masses to ensure election to higher office by promising more paid governmental services for those who had not been industrious enough to earn their own way. To do this, the politician would centralize the government and increase the tax load on the productive citizens. No wonder Hunt equated

democracy with dictatorship and dictatorship with a loss of power by the affluent. He took steps in his utopia to remedy the situation.

Hunt has outdone all other conservative utopians in offering a model constitution that is thirty pages in length. The formulation of the document and the reasoning behind each article is extensively reviewed in the pages of the novel. Few utopians have taken such pains to spell out technical details as did Hunt, and few have used such an incremental approach to hide their real intentions. Few reading the utopia will discover that the long line of details leads to what Hunt would deny it is: an indirect plutocracy and repressive populist regime based on a Joe McCarthy view of government.

As a forecaster of the future, Hunt does deserve some high marks. Long before it became popular with either state or federal government, Hunt proposed what is now known as 'sunset' legislation. According to Section 20 of Article II, every governmental bureaucracy had an eighteen-month limit and, following a review by an Agency Review Committee, would be abolished unless the committee was satisfied the agency or bureau was efficient and effective. The Agency Review Committee could also curtail the activities of a governmental agency or reduce personnel of that agency. While it could recommend the continued existence of the governmental body, it had no power to recommend its expansion.



Alpaca also had what is known in governmental circles as 'oversight,' provided for in Article II, Section 3, of the constitution. The governmental entity that exercised oversight was called the Legislative Veto Board. Oversight is becoming a popular mechanism in contemporary governmental circles. While it cannot be proven that Hunt originated the concepts of either sunset or oversight, he does deserve credit for proposing them as conservative alternatives to a bludgeoning bureaucracy. They were constructive methods for resolving real problems of government.

Another area where Hunt has proven prophetic was his concern for illegal aliens. Perhaps his Texas background was more responsible than any uncanny foresight. Whatever his motivation, he mentioned it as a topic of concern in Alpaca before it was widely recognized as a serious problem in the United States. Though probably a coincidence, Hunt also was prepared for hostages being held by foreign powers (Article III, Section 5).

On the negative side, the volume was met with either silence or ridicule from the press and media.<sup>19</sup> There was good reason for such a reaction. It was rumored that Hunt did not even write the book but that it was the product of his politics and the literary talent (?) of one of his staffers. The book was awkwardly written, no matter who the author. It was a political tirade [disguised as fiction], the longings of a lonely, suspicious if not

paranoid, billionaire. It was Hunt's feeble attempt to be 'constructive.' Whether Hunt was personally responsible for Alpaca is not as important as the fact that it did vividly explain his ideology.

For all its detail, the volume is long on tactics and short on strategy. The minute complexities of the constitution indicate how Hunt would like government organized, not what it would be like when operational. A look at Hunt's political heroes helps clarify its potential operation. The investigating committee was his salute to Senator Joseph McCarthy. The separate branch of government reserved for the military was his recognition of General Douglas MacArthur. The paternalistic populist government showed his admiration for Alabama's former governor, George Wallace. He formed a government where he and his political idols could rule. An internal police state, a warfare state and an agrarian Southern ambience have been blended to create Alpaca.<sup>20</sup>

Hunt's solution of having a strong, nondictatorial government was not original. John Adams originally postulated one could have a strong state that was safe through a division of powers. Some of the same arguments were made in the Federalist papers. Some of the specific proposals made by Hunt may have been original but the major aspects of political theory were not necessarily new except for the utopian setting.<sup>21</sup>

The question Hunt faced was how the wealthy could keep their possessions from the masses without relying on a dictatorship. His solution was an indirect democracy with built-in safeguards to protect the property of the rich. To many his is a near perfect plutocracy and this evaluation, although not strictly true, is not too misleading. Both political and constitutional methods were involved to insure that those who wanted the riches of the wealthy either would not come to power or would be unable to take the riches should they gain political prominence. The act of encouraging the uneducated to delegate their votes to the more informed may have been the theory behind our electoral college, but Hunt's re-creation was with a vengeance.

At the death of H. L. Hunt, one columnist bemoaned the fact that there was no monument built by or for Hunt, no one great philanthropic program by which he would be remembered. The columnist was wrong. Even if there are no buildings named in his honor, there is a Dallas subdivision developed by one of his sons who sentimentally named the main street "Alpaca Pass."<sup>22</sup>

### Chapter III Notes

<sup>1</sup>The statement about Hunt having a lot to conserve can be found in an editorial comment in "Playboy Interview: H. L. Hunt," Playboy 13 (August 1966), p. 47. For evidence of this statement see David R. Jones, "H. L. Hunt Turned \$50 Loan into an Empire," New York Times (August 23, 1964), section III, pages 1 and 10.

<sup>2</sup>Background on Hunt's "Facts Forum" can be found in "Causes That Were Lost," Newsweek, November 26, 1956, p. 68; "Facts Forum Facts," Time, January 11, 1954, pp. 50-52; Frank Goodwyn, Lone-Star Land (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1955), p. 322; "Lost Causes," Time, November 25, 1956, p. 80; and "McCarthy, Hunt and Facts Forum," Reporter, February 16, 1954, pp. 19-27.

<sup>3</sup>Life Lines has been analyzed in Robert H. Muller, ed., From Radical Left to Extreme Right (Ann Arbor, MI: Campus Publications, 1967), p. 128; and later again in the revised version, Muller et al., From Radical Left to Extreme Right, 2nd ed., vol. I (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1972), pp. 365-66.

For more background information see Robert Engler, The Politics of Oil (Chicago: Phoenix, 1967), p. 445; Richard Dudman, Men of the Far Right (New York: Pyramid Books, 1962), pp. 108-9; Benjamin R. Epstein and Arnold Forster, The Radical Right (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), p. 7; Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, Danger of the Right (New York: Random House, 1964), pp. 135-37; Morris Kominsky, The Hoaxers (Boston: Branden Press, 1970), pp. 30, 306, and 677; Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, The Strange Tactics of Extremism (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964), p. 128; George Thayer, The Farther Shores of Politics (New York: A Clarion Book, 1968), p. 150; and William W. Turner, Power on the Right (Berkeley, CA: Ramparts Press, 1971), p. 43.

<sup>4</sup>Hunt has been involved with three constitutional amendments. He has taken credit for the passage of the 22nd amendment. He cites himself as the prime mover for ratification both in the Playboy interview (August 1966), p. 51, and in his own book, Hunt for Truth (Dallas: H. L. Hunt Press, 1965), p. 163.

Hunt also supported the Mundt Amendment which provided that the electoral vote from each state will not go to the candidate who wins a plurality or majority in that state but that the winner would receive only two of the state's electoral votes symbolizing the state's two U.S. Senators. The other electoral votes would be

decided in each congressional district with the winner in each district receiving its one electoral vote. T. R. B. from Washington, "Success Story," New Republic, May 27, 1967, p. 2, reports Hunt's testifying before Congress in favor of the amendment.

Finally, Hunt supported the Bricker Amendment which would have limited the treaty-making powers of the President. Theodore H. White, "Texas: Land of Wealth and Fear," Reporter, June 8, 1954, pp. 30-37, describes Hunt's attempts on behalf of the amendment, as does Engler, p. 359.

<sup>5</sup>Hunt's "Team," as described in Alpaca, is similar to the "Youth Freedom Speakers" and "District Speakers Inc." In 1965 he launched the District Speakers who were to promote patriotic speeches in every congressional district in the United States. For more information on this subject see "New Organizations Illustrate Right Wing Variety," Group Research Report, September 27, 1965, p. 13, and Wesley McCune, "The American Right Wing During 1965," an address delivered at the annual Conference on the Critics and the Schools, sponsored by the National Education Association, at Washington, D.C., January 17, 1966.

Along the same lines, the "Youth Freedom Speakers" program was inaugurated in 1966. Teen-aged Americans were organized into "Teen Teams" to learn the forensic arts and help pass on the patriotic message of the founder. For further information see Wesley McCune, "The American Right Wing During 1966" speech given at the annual Conference on the Critics and the Schools, sponsored by the National Education Association, delivered at Washington, D.C., on January 16, 1967.

The District Speakers and Youth Speakers can be better understood if one is familiar with what Hunt called the PLAN (capitalization is Hunt's). The PLAN called for the careful recruitment of congressional candidates and those interested in other elective offices. Organized on both the state and congressional district level, the PLAN was to be a secret selection process consisting of the training of acceptable candidates for public office. Criteria for potential PROSPECTS (Hunt's capitalization) called for an age range of 20 through 60; if a male, married with a family of one to four children; a nonsmoker, a last name that was easy to remember unless of an ethnic origin well represented in the electoral district; and, finally, proper ideological orientation. One can suspect that the two Hunt organizations would not only provide propaganda for Hunt's candidates but also potential candidates who had already been indoctrinated. Details of the PLAN can be found in Epstein and Forster, The Radical Right, pp. 52-55.

<sup>6</sup>The story about the ghost writer or writers is from Tom Buckley, "Just Plain H. L. Hunt," Esquire, January 1967, p. 146; and Dixon Gayer, "H. L. Hunt. Billionnaire Rightist, Dead at 85," The Dixon Line November-December, 1974, p. 5.

Hunt published two books, Alpaca (Dallas: H. L. Hunt, 1960); and Alpaca Revisited (Dallas: H. L. Hunt, 1967). The changes between the two editions are reviewed in the body of this chapter. Unless otherwise indicated, all references will be made to the more recent and durable Alpaca Revisited. The original Alpaca was published in paperback and copies did not hold up well under the stress of time. The second edition was in hardback.

<sup>7</sup>Information on the Soviet Constitution from "Constitutions (Fundamental Law) of the Soviet Socialist Republics," in Constitutions of Nations 3, ed. Amos J. Peasloe (Concord, NH: The Rumford Press, 1950), pp. 267-285. See appendix of dissertation for Alpaca constitution.

<sup>8</sup>Quoted in "H. L. Hunt: U.S. Has 2-3 Years Left Before Commie Takeover," The Dixon Line, November 1971, p. 4. See also "H. L. Hunt has low opinion of Nixon, may vote Democrat in November," The Dixon Line, November 1972, p. 13, where Hunt blames the coming takeover of America on materialism. The irony of the situation was not evident to Hunt but was to Dixon Gayer, editor of the Dixon Line.

<sup>9</sup>Dixon Gayer in his 1974 obituary for Hunt reports that, although Hunt had not approved of any U.S. President since Calvin Coolidge, he wrote regularly to American presidents, giving them advice. He was unhappy that Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson all ignored his messages.

<sup>10</sup>See Seymour Martin Lipset, "The Sources of the 'Radical Right'"; and David Riesman and Nathan Glazer, "The Intellectuals and the Discontented Classes," both in Daniel Bell, ed., The Radical Right (New York: Anchor Books, 1964). The Lipset article is chapter 13, with pages 341 and 364 referring to Hunt, while Riesman and Glazer author chapter 5 and discuss Hunt on page 117.

See also Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, The Politics of Unreason (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1970), p. 240; and Ferdinand Lundberg, The Rich and the Super Rich (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), pp. 56-57.

<sup>11</sup>For a good review of HUAC see Walter Goodman, The Committee (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969).

<sup>12</sup>All quotations on the political parties and their constitutional ideology are from Article VIII, section 4(a) of the Alpacan Constitution.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>For Hunt's use of the term 'constructive' and his dislike for moderates see Donald Janson and Bernard Eisemann, The Far Right (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963), p. 134. See also Hunt for Truth, pages 2 and 151.

<sup>15</sup>Hunt identified the Central Intelligence Agency with Communism in "H. L. Hunt and the Vatican," Christian Century, April 2, 1969, p. 437. Jon Pepper, "With God on Our Side," Manchester Guardian, February 27, 1969, p. 7, reports that Hunt identified France, Spain, Italy, and Austria as socialist countries. Both articles deal with the incredible story that Hunt offered Pope Paul VI the use of his Youth Freedom Speakers to rid Latin America of Communist influence. Hunt was to charge eleven million dollars for this service. The story was that the Vatican accepted the offer and 20,000 non-Spanish speaking Southern Baptists were being trained in Italy for the expedition against the Communists under the leadership of the sometime (1960) anti-Catholic H. L. Hunt.

<sup>16</sup>See the story on H. L. Hunt in The Dixon Line, November 1971. Hunt often said that everything he did, he did for a profit. Through various 'educational' and 'religious' organizations, he effectively ran his political propaganda network as a 'charity' with the appropriate tax benefits. Taxes are necessary to support a government that protects the affluent, rich and superior person.

<sup>17</sup>The trend towards militarism in America was first noted by Harold Lasswell, "The Garrison State," American Journal of Sociology (January 1941): 455-66. A number of monographs have been written on the subject of the military-industrial complex. A representative book would be Adam Yarmolinsky, The Military Establishment (New York: Perennial Library, 1973).

<sup>18</sup>Starting over was a continuing theme for Hunt. After failure as a cotton plantation owner, he began again in oil. Hunt often asked the rhetorical question--Would he be able to amass his fortune a second time if he were to start anew? He was often quoted as saying that he wished he were poor again so he could repeat his rise to riches. For citations of this story, see John Bainbridge, The Super Americans (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), p. 347; and the Playboy interview, p. 60.

At the end of the novel, Juan and his family of Mara and the expected child are starting over. Juan has rejected plans that he take over the government but will, like the other citizens, enter the new era as a private citizen. In fact, under Alpaca's new constitution, it can be expected that the Hani family will have to find new business endeavors or go broke since the government will not be supporting them by favored treatment.

<sup>19</sup> Alpaca was generally ignored by those in literary and political circles. The only attention it received was in relationship to Hunt himself.

Bainbridge, The Super Americans, pp. 302-3, in his review of super rich Americans gives Alpaca a three-page summary. He claims the constitution would be popular in Texas with such provisions as no jury trial, the delegation of voting powers to the elite, income tax limited to 25 percent of income, depletion allowance for natural resources, and more votes for more money.

Bainbridge also speculates the child of Mara and Juan might be christened, "Marajuana."

Hunt's biographer, Stanley J. Brown, in H. L. Hunt (Chicago: Playboy Press, 1972), pp. 202-3, is content to barely mention the novel but emphasizes the autograph party where Hunt's daughters sang about the merits of the utopia to the tune of "How Much Is That Doggie in the Window?" Brown was impressed enough with only one aspect of the constitution to mention it: the banning of political discussions from radio, television, and large public meetings.

Tom Buckley, "Just Plain H. L. Hunt," pp. 146-48, also gave a brief review of the book, observing that between Alpaca and Alpaca Revisited, the rich lost two votes, the maximum being lowered from seven to five votes. He also reports Hunt's efforts to have the constitution adopted by South Vietnam.

Richard Dudman in Men of the Far Right (New York: Pyramid Books, 1962), pp. 104-5, gives a quick examination of the volume observing that the government selected the leaders of the opposing party and that political meetings are banned. He is intrigued by multiple voting and the loss of the franchise as the cost of taking government aid. Dudman shrewdly observes that the tax system justifies Hunt's own wealth both by a depletion allowance and a tax exemption for educational foundations which promote 'individual liberty.'

Dixon Gayer in his 1974 obituary of Hunt concentrates not on the 'perfect' constitution but on Hunt's rendition of the Alpaca Waltz, which Hunt once sang at a news conference.

In "Hunt Strikes Ink," Newsweek, January 18, 1965, p. 49, attention is given to the graduated voting



power of those who pay more taxes. The same point is made in Hunt's obituary, "Just a Country Boy," Time, December 9, 1974, p. 44.

Robert G. Sherrill, in "H. L. Hunt: Portrait of a Super Patriot," Nation, February 24, 1964, p. 188, notes the hero, Juan Achala, resembles Hunt and that Hunt approved of the description 'Fascist democracy' in describing the utopia.

Edwin Shrake, "The Big Daddy of Sports," reports the Alpaca constitution was popular in Dallas.

Thayer, The Farther Shores of Politics, p. 151, emphasizes that Hunt inisited the Alpaca constitution was a model for the emerging countries, not the United States.

William F. Buckley, Jr., in writing Hunt's obituary, "H. L. Hunt RIP," National Review, December 20, 1970, p. 1450, remarks that no one outside the employees of H. L. Hunt took his utopia seriously. Buckley is mistaken. Besides this study, Alpaca has been analyzed in Macel D. Ezell's Unequivocal Americanism (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1977), pp. 70-71. It is listed in Glenn Negley's Utopian Literature: A Bibliography (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1977), on p. 74 as utopia number 600 as well as in Lyman Tower Sargent's "Capitalist Eutopias in America," forthcoming in Kenneth Roemer's America as Utopia.

<sup>20</sup>For reports of Hunt's support for General MacArthur, consult "American Oil Men Worry and Annoy British in Iran," Newsweek, May 21, 1951, p. 36; and Robert E. Bedingfield, "The World's Richest Man," New York Times Magazine, October 20, 1957, p. 3. See also William Manchester, American Caesar: Douglas MacArthur 1880-1964 (New York: Dell Books, 1978), p. 815.

Hunt's support of Wisconsin's former junior U.S. Senator has been reported by Cleveland Amory, "The Oil Folks at Home," Holiday, February 1957, p. 55; Richard M. Fried, Men Against McCarthy (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), p. 277; Charles V. Murphy, "McCarthy and Texas Business," Fortune, May 1954, pp. 212-14; and David M. Oshinsky, Senator Joseph McCarthy and the American Labor Movement (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1976), p. 168.

The connection between Hunt and Alabama's former Governor George Wallace has been noted in "George Wallace's DREAM Cabinet?", Homefront, October 1968, p. 69; and Samuel Lubell, The Hidden Crises in American Politics (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970), p. 85.

<sup>21</sup>See George A. Peek, Jr., ed., The Political Writings of John Adams (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1954), and any version of the Federalist

Papers, especially nos. 10 and 51. The idea that men are by nature selfish but a strong government can be kept from falling into dictatorship by a division of powers certainly is not original with Hunt, although he has gone to absurd lengths in his utopia to provide mechanisms for such a political philosophy.

<sup>22</sup>Tom Buckley, "Just Plain H. L. Hunt," p. 146.

## CHAPTER IV

### FELIX MORLEY'S GUMPTION ISLAND

For evil under planned economy;  
for good under free enterprise.

(Felix Morley, Gumption Island.)

Thus far two utopias have been examined. The first was composed of a small group of specially selected individuals and was formed as a voluntary association. The second utopia was an entire nation that freely accepted the utopia offered it. The next two utopias will also be concerned respectively with a small community and a nation, but the difference will be in the nonvoluntary aspect of the transition. Whereas the inhabitants freely chose their destiny in both Galt's Gulch and in Alpaca, the small community of Gumption Island and those inhabiting the world of Henry Hazlitt had no such options. This chapter will review the political philosophy of Felix Morley and his utopian tale of a small community isolated and thrown upon its own resources. Morley's island was a victim of war. The trapped inhabitants were literally forced to adapt to survive.

### The Plot

The stage was set in a short, four-page preface. Labor Day on Gibson Island a young Naval Reserve Officer was bidding farewell to his sweetheart. They discussed the new "Q" bomb possessed by the Russians and decried that the United States did not take a firm Christian stand against the materialism of the Communists. They decided that "in trying to reform the world we've unformed ourselves."<sup>1</sup>

After the naval officer departed, the Russians launched a sneak air attack on the U. S. and dropped a "Q" bomb on Gibson Island. Morley described the inhabitants' recovery from the attack, the social interplay among the inhabitants and the role each played. Ten days after the attack, the survivors assembled to hear a report on what had occurred. After a census was taken, a visiting priest, who had questioned a captured Russian flier, revealed the "Q" bomb had distorted the fourth dimension, time, and sent the island fifty million years into the past, into the Mesozoic era.<sup>2</sup>

The island was organized under the direction of an emergency committee composed of six directors, each with an area of responsibility. The directors reported to a mainly titular and ceremonial leader. There were no rules or regulations, and the result was chaos and disorder.

The inhabitants sought a new form of government to replace the temporary committee, but no one could agree

on what kind to adopt. A retired military man advocated a military government. A banker wanted to form a plutocracy. A building contractor preferred a government based on labor with money to be founded on work certificates. The black population feared they would again be returned to slavery. The captured Russian flier saw no reason why Communism could not be established.

By bribing the black community, the banker and his allies almost had enough support to impose their plutocracy scheme on the island residents, but the plan was narrowly defeated. However, the difficulties of running the Emergency Committee swiftly mounted and multiplied. As one of the more capitalistic-minded inhabitants observed:

What I don't like is that we're already drifting into a sort of primitive socialism here. Everything is regimented by the Emergency Committee and often in a contradictory way.<sup>3</sup>

The problems of bureaucracy facing the Emergency Committee bogged down the process of survival. The other proposed forms of government were all unacceptable to the populace. Finally a new group formed to seek an alternative. Composed of a Jewish scholar, a Catholic priest and a newspaper editor, the group also included a member of the black community whose purpose was not to be a participant but to be a witness who would convince the blacks to accept the plan. The group discussed various forms of government. The cabal decided to base its government on principles found in The Critias by Plato and the

Federalist papers. It is clear to the reader that the Catholic priest would personally prefer a theocracy based on the Bible as was finally adopted on Pitcairn Island, but it seemed unlikely his ideas would be acceptable to others. The group created a constitution to prevent the establishment of a dictatorship.

The three authors, aided by the token black, presented and defended their finished plan and urged its adoption. They began by declaring that "the one unquestionable function of government is to keep the peace, so that people may go about their lawful occasions within a framework of order."<sup>4</sup> They furthermore claimed mankind was always destroyed by strong government, thus there was a need to replace the Emergency Committee with a less dictatorial government. It was asked why the U. S. Constitution could not serve as a model. The proponents replied that the American Constitution was perverted, and:

It was never anticipated that the formula used would be so twisted as to destroy local self-government. We can prevent usurpation of power here because our problem is the promising one of creating an ideal governmental entity from scratch. . . .<sup>5</sup>

God, it was declared, must be seen as the highest authority, and:

We have severely limited the province of government here on Gumption Island--so that there can be no Caesar to usurp the higher authority of God.<sup>6</sup>

The general principle of the constitution was the fewer laws and less government, the better. A combined

legislative and executive branch similar to the British Parliament would be elected as a council consisting of five individuals. However, the most important power would be in the hands of the Bank of Gumption Island, whose two managers would be nominated by the council and elected by the people. The constitution gave police powers to a sheriff and judicial power to a justice of the peace. Both these officials would also be nominated by the council and elected by the people.

The authors explained the constitution was a social contract and those not wanting to live under its provisions could go into exile and live on an islet. The constitution was defended as having the best features of both democracy and technocracy. Since the council members would nominate the most important officials, they would be responsible for nominating only those technically competent. In this way, the population was assured a competent officeholder no matter how they voted. Council districts were formed by alphabetical groupings of surnames to prevent geographical and interest groups from forming power blocs on the council.

Monetary powers were vested in the two bank managers, both of whom had to agree before funds were expended. The purpose of having two bankers concur on expenditures was to check the spending power of government. The Jewish scholar contributed gold dollars on which the currency of the new government would be based.

According to the document's authors, the object of the new constitution was:

. . . to establish a classless society, in which government would be reduced to an absolute minimum, in which private property should be protected, not as an end in itself, but as a means for individual and collective betterment.<sup>7</sup>

The group decided the government should not control prices and wages. Such control, the authors explained, would mean self-government had broken down and the state would be replacing God and individual conscience--"the calculated elimination of Christian love and charity by a ruthless dictatorship."<sup>8</sup>

The contractor, still wishing an economy based on labor rather than on property, wanted to use Progress and Poverty by Henry George as an economic guide.<sup>9</sup> The Jewish scholar attacked George's economics by observing that the power to tax was the power to destroy; the state would become the only landlord. The Russians, he continued, had tried the theories of Henry George after their revolution. A final comment on the matter was, "hard money encourages hard work."<sup>10</sup>

The constitution was accepted. After the meeting, the newspaper editor discussed the constitution with his wife. He believed theirs was superior to the U. S. Constitution for the following reasons:

Most Americans have come to regard government as a service agency. The only question in politics is whether people are getting enough free service.



The successful politician doesn't waste time on principles. He simply persuades the voters that he'll give them more, for free, than the other guy.

That's precisely why I like what we're doing here. This constitution of ours isn't tailored for demagogues. I see two ways in which it meets the problems for which the Constitution of the United States proved inadequate. It takes the money power away from the Administration, so that no official can promise the people something for nothing. And it practically prevents the building of localized political machines, simply by dividing the voters into alphabetical, rather than geographical constituencies.<sup>11</sup>

In the time that followed there was economic prosperity, but social problems also occurred. The bank was so profitable the question of how to dispose of its surplus arose. Could the profits be taxed? Could the managers spend the profits as they pleased? All wanted to share in the profits of the bank.

Other problems, including social difficulties in the black community, were also caused by prosperity. Hard-working, industrious blacks, having obtained economic well-being, wanted social equality. A group of whites, jealous of the economic prosperity of the black community and afraid of that same social equality, planned a coup to restore the old pre-"Q" bomb order. Aided by the plutocratic banker they planned to seize the island's arsenal, shoot those who resisted and set up rule for their own benefit.

Meanwhile, the Russian flier slowly learned to appreciate the capitalistic system and turned to production. He produced crude but effective homemade bombs which were

put to good use when hostile reptiles appeared. The coup disbanded when the plotters realized they would have to face the bomb-throwing Russian.

Although the island was temporarily saved from domestic turmoil, it was not safe from external forces. The Catholic priest decided from the changes in the weather and the appearance of a new orb in the sky that the end was near, that the earth was about to collide with another heavenly body and be destroyed. In the face of the oncoming emergency, some islanders called for a return of the Emergency Committee and suspension of the constitution. The motion failed but other difficulties appeared. The black community decided to leave the island to begin their own society. Volcanoes and an increasingly rising tide threatened to destroy the island before any celestial collision did. Some still objected to a planned economy and strong government, but with the exception of some of the early supporters of the constitution, the people wanted a strong government in times of crises.

The black community departed from the island in boats to seek a new land where they could form their own society. They were unaware the white community had a plan to save the island. During the Russian flier's year on the island, he had been converted from the Communist doctrines of socialism and atheism, and he was ready to be a martyr for capitalism and religion. The Russian bomb had sent the

island back in time; by exploding a second bomb with equal and opposite force at the same place the first bomb exploded, he hoped to return the island to its original place in time. In a suicidal act, he detonated a second bomb.

In the Epilogue the island returned to its original time frame--three days after the Russian attack. The large urban centers of both the Soviet Union and the United States had been destroyed. The Pope had mediated a cease-fire and an armistice was in effect. Both nations were trying to recover, with no more thoughts of war. However, for the inhabitants of the island, a year had passed, and they were eager to tell their story.

### The Constitution

Compared to other fictional constitutions, the basic document of Gumption Island is short: four articles that cover eight pages. Being a small, isolated island with a limited number of people and no industrial development or urban center, the island would not require the intricate detail presented in other constitutions. A short constitution with few laws, as the fictional framers decided, is indeed a conservative version of what a constitution should be.

As expected, power was limited and democracy was indirect. The most interesting portions are in Article II, which gives fiscal and financial powers to the bank. The budget must be balanced but all unauthorized deficits must

be "made up within three months by the council members personally, by self-assessment."<sup>12</sup> Taxes were not allowed to exceed ten percent of net income or twenty-five percent of estate valuation. No other taxes besides those on income and estates were permitted, although the council could license the production or importation of goods deemed necessary for the public welfare, a fact which encouraged government participation in the marketplace.<sup>13</sup>

### The Critics

Gumption Island was not so much attacked by literary critics as it was ignored. With the exception of a book review in the libertarian-oriented The Freeman, the volume seemed to have little or no impact on the literary world or American conservatism. It has generally gone unrecognized outside conservative circles and is unknown except by scholars of utopias.<sup>14</sup>

### Political Philosophy

The political philosophy of Felix Morley is contained in his utopia, a fact corroborated by a comparison of views in his novel with those in his two major non-fiction books, The Power in the People and Freedom and Federalism. The nonfictional works do bolster his political positions taken in Gumption Island.<sup>15</sup>

Morley separates the state, society and economy. He sees the state as the mortal enemy of society and

believes society should prevail and the state should be vanquished. He also distinguishes between freedom and liberty. Liberty exists in society where men are able to act under God's law. Freedom under the state allows man to unloose his baser nature, and government replaces God as the ultimate authority. Thus society gives man the opportunity to be good or evil while the state tries to deny him this choice. The economic system must reflect either the society (capitalism) or the state (socialism). State planning and socialism take away the moral choices man should be able to make under liberty in society. Capitalism is not an end unto itself as it must be tempered by morality and Christianity to be justified.

Morley has condemned big business for not making capitalism more spiritual, claiming that socialism has monopolized morality while free enterprise, a morally and religiously based economic system, has no adherents.<sup>16</sup>

Although capitalism does make use of the baser nature of man, it also offers the only opportunities for him to rise above materialism, he argues. Only through capitalism can man reach a nonmaterialistic spiritual state; socialism denies him the prerequisite moral choices, Morley asserts.

The real struggle for Morley is not between Communism and capitalism but between society and the state. At one time the state buttressed the claims of society and enforced its values. With the advent of political democracy,

the liberal had the potential to gain control of the state and use it to protect the individual from society rather than enforcing its dictates on the individual. It was at this juncture the first anti-statist conservative, Edmund Burke, realized the state could be a tool for the opposition and thus sought to free society from dependence on the state before the democratic liberals gained power and used the state to destroy society.<sup>17</sup> Likewise, Burke realized society might be more powerful without the backing of government, tradition lost some of its authority when transformed into law, customs seemed less awesome coming from a human bureaucrat rather than from divine authority, and the social order was freer if it did not have to depend on the support of an often corrupt and inefficient state.

Morley, like Burke, opposes democracy, but he does believe in social equality. In society and before the eyes of God, no person should be considered inherently better or worse than another. However, if men wish to do themselves a disservice and treat others in a superior or inferior manner, God does not interfere and neither should the state. By the same token he is unequivocally opposed to egalitarianism. Morley believes the people control the government and the government, by law, makes men equal. In Power in the People Morley celebrates the fact that ours is not a democratic nation in the political sense, and he warns that it should not be. In Freedom and Federalism he opposes

the power of the national government in the hopes that if delegated to the states, the states would not be as likely to use their powers against society.

It is not in praise of local government but rather in opposition to the central government, that Morley stands. He is opposed to all government beyond the minimum necessary to survive and, given a choice between increasing the role of a democratic state and not surviving, he would choose to perish. This is a similar morality to that offered by Ayn Rand: that there are things worse than death, among them, living with no meaning, purpose or goal other than physical survival.

Morley makes this argument against the anti-Communism of conservatives who would increase the power of the state to combat Communism. It was such a position that led to the loss of his job as president and editor of Human Events.<sup>18</sup> To Morley, Marxism is just another form of democratic statism and for us to adopt its tactics to defeat it is to transform ourselves into the evil we seek to avoid. It is a defeat, not a victory. At the end of the novel, when the island was scheduled to undergo a disaster, a number of residents asked for the temporary suspension of the constitution. Speaking through the mouth of his favorite character, Walter Travis, Morley said:

. . . we've had enough tampering with the Constitution. I'd rather go down with my flag flying than strike the flag to save the ship.<sup>19</sup>

Earlier in the book, after a small child was killed by a flying reptile and a military government is proposed to protect the islanders, one inhabitant commented:

Sure it was terrible . . . but don't weaken our case by sentimentality. Children get killed by automobiles every day and we don't think that's any reason for going communist.<sup>20</sup>

For Morley, strong government has the same bad features as Communism. His opposition to Communism is not just because it is atheistic. In Morley's mind the state seeks to replace the Almighty as the ultimate authority, as the source of all goodness, as the entity to receive the highest homage. The state is thus a false God, and Morley will not worship it alone or serve two masters. God works in society where men have the liberty to act in accordance with the Deity's design; the state frees them from that obligation, putting its values and morals before man. Morley's course is not just an ideological difference with the liberal and defender of government but a religious crusade for conservative values: liberty under God in society without state control, a free enterprise economy where the Unseen Hand balances the scales and God rewards the just.

According to Morley's concept of individualism, the individual cannot exist in a political democracy or a socialistic economy. In a situation of majority rules, what is good for the majority may not be the best for all. As one character reflected before leaving the island:



. . . relativity is what makes the creed of democracy so questionable. What is good for me isn't necessarily good for someone else. And it isn't necessarily good for me because of what the majority want.<sup>21</sup>

The individual must be at liberty to seek his or her own position in society without the interference of the state, especially a state controlled by the majority. Social democracy implies equal status before God rather than statutory equality in the eyes of the state. The role of God is to regain the function now taken by government. That function is providing authority, principles, ethics and morals. The state takes money in taxation to spend for welfare. It does not allow the populace the choice of whether or not to give, or where to give--to the needy or to the works of organized religion. Charity is admirable when given freely in society but is evil when forced contributions via taxes are administered by the state. The battle is between Christ and Caesar, and Morley opposes Caesar.<sup>22</sup>

The fact that his political philosophy may result in racial discrimination, social injustice and economic suffering is not deemed important. The function of government "is to keep the peace, so that people may go about their lawful occasions within a framework of order." "Justice is not secured by laws, but rather by individual observance of the principle that every man should receive his due."<sup>23</sup> Justice is in God's jurisdiction, not the state's.

Man cannot be forced to be good; he must be given the opportunity but no more. For the state to attempt more than its function not only strengthens its own powers to compete with God but denies to the individual an opportunity to develop his own individual Christian practice.

Morley's idea of a better world is best understood not only in terms of his strong religious views as a devout Anglican but also in light of his Quaker heritage. He has always favored international organizations to settle disputes and opposed massive military buildups to counter Communism. Part of the Quaker religion holds that God speaks to man from within rather than by external means. For Morley, the external force of the state is a competitor of God. Man might not be able to be moved by God's grace to perform a good action if the state has already decided to perform such functions. The basic issues to be addressed should include not only the formation of a government to correspond to man's nature, but also salvation. In attempting to save man's body, the state endangers his soul.<sup>24</sup>

Morley traces this trend back to his arch-enemy, Jean Jacques Rousseau.<sup>25</sup> The General Will for Morley is nothing less than the dictatorship of the proletariat, the usurpation of God's powers, and the destruction of the human spirit. Morley favors a different kind of social contract, the kind presented as the constitution in Gumption Island. Not only is salvation endangered by the General Will as

formed into a dictatorial democratic government, but so is society. Where once man acted in a manner that spoke well of his human nature because it was required by God, the mores of society also expected chivalry from the knight and noblesse oblige from the powerful with a traditional behavior expected from each role in society. With the weakening of society, the power of society's roles and mores to guide man on the right path is also lessened. If man cannot look to God or society for guidance, where does he look? --to the State? The State would steal this function, and as a democratic state is governed by the General Will, man would come full circle and look to his own imperfect nature for guidance rather than seek the guidance of God or the time tested beacon of social tradition.

### Comments

While Morley may, in theory, espouse equality before God and equal opportunity, he does not betray the conservative ideology of inequality. At the end of the novel, Jill Clendenning, a visitor to the island at its shift in time, reflected on the experience of living a year on a prehistoric island. Jill was important to the novel. She did not play a critical role in plot development, but as an outsider she saw the people of the island through the eyes of a stranger, and the reader is allowed to share her perspective. She thought of the parable of the sower and the seed, how different people have different fates.

Yet, she objected to the parable because of its emphasis on environmental factors:

It is assumed that all seed is of equally good quality.

Here on Gumption Island the soil had been the same for all, black or white, Jew or Gentile, Russian or American. Yet how differently, in a single year, the seeds had developed.<sup>26</sup>

She thought of various examples of some people prospering and others failing and concluded, "Certainly the original seed varies enormously."<sup>27</sup> She remembered an editorial entitled "All Men are Created Equal" that appeared in the island newspaper. The editorial stated that while all were equal before God, man could repudiate his rights and alienate himself from both God and other men.

Placing the elite in roles of leadership is not the major thrust of Gumption Island. Rather than elevating the mighty, Morley prefers to keep down the masses. Human nature is not to be let free from the restraints of tradition and society. This topic is discussed at the beginning of the novel by the Catholic priest and the Jewish intellectual. The priest compared Gumption Island to the lost island of Atlantis as reported by Plato in The Critias. Its inhabitants were punished because their "human nature got the upper hand; they then, being unable to bear their fortune, behaved unseemly, and to him who had an eye to see grew visibly debased."<sup>28</sup> Yet, it is emphasized that one cannot stamp out the selfish nature of man without stunting his talents. The priest observed:

In a free society . . . you can't penalize that selfish instinct without also paralyzing the God-given ability that so often goes with it. What you can do is to establish conditions which make the acquisitive instinct serve the general welfare.<sup>29</sup>

Such conditions are provided by the free enterprise economic system. Capitalism is based on the belief that man is not a generous person who will cheerfully work for the general good. It presupposes that man's instinctive nature is a selfish one. The economic system is designed to harness rather than to suppress this nature.

Examples of man's selfish nature were shown in the various plans presented to the islanders as alternate systems of government. If any of the proposals had been adopted, the result would have been an increase in power of its author. The banker called for plutocracy. The military government was the idea of the retired soldier. Even the priest dreamed of but did not seriously suggest a theocracy, and those who planned a coup did so for no other reason than to seize power for themselves at the expense of others.

Morley sees the masses also as corruptible. The black community was bribed by the banker to support plutocracy. Obviously such a move would not ultimately benefit the blacks. Morley seems to say that man's instinctive self-interest is efficient only in the economic sphere. If a capitalistic economy is to be successful, man must be able to follow his self-interest and do so in a rational

manner. Morley manages this feat by limiting rationality to economics. Society is kept static, thus keeping alive respect for traditions and obedience to authority.

Morley, as other conservatives have done, relies on the concept of inequality to provide enough intelligence in the elite to balance the lack of reason in the masses. Only three men designed the constitution of Gumption Island. Although the document is accepted, not all saw the rationality of the plan. Many allowed their emotions and prejudices to warp their reason. Few were able to keep their minds unclouded by personal animosity and blind self-seeking. The natural elite were marked by their ability to reason, although even the lowest of the fallen were able to understand self-interest and, thus, the capitalistic system. A universal reign of generosity is beyond the comprehension of the masses who see it only as an opportunity to increase their economic well-being at the expense of others. Capitalism assumes the few who are highly intelligent will provide economic leadership, and the masses, who do not use their rationality, are able to comprehend and function in a system that demands they be selfish.

If capitalism fits the nature of man, according to Morley, democracy does not. Democracy provides a means for the masses to legally steal from the rich through taxes, for debasement of money through government spending and

for replacement of social, religious and moral standards of society with a strong, centralized government. The priest denounced governmental spending of tax dollars.<sup>30</sup> The politicians, he asserted, use the money to ingratiate themselves to the people in order to be reelected or elected to higher office. The people are thus bribed into turning more and more of their freedoms and liberties to the state in return for pottage. Seeing the potential for government aid, special interest groups organize public opinion and voting power, thus providing the politicians a group to bribe. Such groups demand more and more of the government. By providing the services demanded, the state grows both in power and authority, ultimately destroying the importance of the individual and taking the place of society and God.

The constitution of Gumption Island sought to avoid such errors by keeping the power of the purse out of the political system. By establishing voting groups alphabetically rather than geographically, the constitution hampered the rise of interest groups within the government because constituencies would be difficult to identify. The public would recognize attempts to organize such constituencies and would block them.

A stable currency could also offset some of the aforementioned problems. If, as Morley believes, the state debases the money to provide more bribes for the people, the people are the real victims of the self-imposed

devaluation and inflation. If, instead, the money supply is limited, politicians will have fewer resources with which to bribe the public into giving up their liberties and freedoms. Thus, provisions for hard currency and no deficits spending were written into the constitution.<sup>31</sup>

Morley's constitution made democracy indirect. The government was technocratic in that the council nominated the candidates for executive office thus limiting the choice of the voters. Likewise, the council itself was selected along alphabetical lines rather than by geography or other means by which any one group would elect a politician to serve its interest. The council thus acts as the original American electoral college was designed to function.

The constitution was also capitalistic in its economic system but not by any formal declaration of intent. By limitation of governmental power in the economic sphere, individual initiative was thus generated in the resulting vacuum. Yet, the constitution also provided aid and assistance for the needy but only after all other obligations had been met. Welfare was the frosting on the cake, not the staff of life to be provided by the state. The individual still had the ultimate responsibility for his economic well-being.

The goals Morley set for the island population were liberty, freedom from governmental control, liberty to follow one's own talents in the economic sphere and a



willingness to suffer social injustice. Economy, state and society were divorced from one another. Although each was independent of the others, each had an effect on the others. One could have wealth, as did some of the blacks, without having social acceptability. One could have social acceptability and wealth, as did the banker, but fail to gain political power. One could have social acceptability and political influence but no riches, as did the priest. The individual could function independently within the state, society or economy.

The constitution limited the government by cutting off its source of growth, taxes. Government was kept out of the economic sector by Article I, Section 3, which stated: ". . . there shall be no regulation of the hours, wages or other conditions of employment."

The government's powers over individuals and society were also limited. Section 2 of Article IV stated: "All rights and powers not specifically delegated to official agencies by this Constitution remain in the people and may not be transgressed, usurped, or limited by government." There was no doctrine of implied powers. It was as if Morley was calling for the return of the Tenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution and the repeal of the first eight amendments.

Whatever Morley does seek, it is not compromise. He believes in polarization, a fact demonstrated in the

prologue of the novel where the Communists are commended because they completely support their system while the United States offers only a half-hearted attempt to justify its system. Toward the end of the novel, one of the major characters opted for probable destruction rather than compromise and possibly survive. In the formation of the constitution it is made clear there is to be no 'mixed' economy. The economy is to be capitalistic, and interference by the state is seen as socialism. One must choose between good and evil, society and state, capitalism and socialism, God and Caesar, liberty and freedom, equality of opportunity and egalitarianism, social democracy and political democracy, a gold based currency and one that is debased, individualism and dictatorship. For Morley, one cannot compromise on these issues nor choose the first in one instance and the second in another. Consistency is necessary, and not to be on the side of righteousness is to give aid and comfort to the opposition.

Morley makes the simple decisions of his characters become matters of morality and positions of principle. Because the Russian flier was a confirmed Communist, Morley admires him more than he does the American banker, whose failure of nerve was partially responsible for the failure of the planned coup. The polarization of the community at the conclusion of the novel shows Morley's penchant for division. The majority of the white community and the

leading black citizens remained on the island. The children of Cain exiled themselves from the brood of Abel. For Morley, no compromise is permitted, especially on matters of morality.

In this context Morley can be recognized more as a moralist than a capitalist. Capitalism is advocated because it is morally just. The scheme for establishing a plutocracy is viewed as evil. The Jewish intellectual donated his gold to the island's treasury as the monetary basis for the island currency. In a real capitalistic utopia, the plutocracy would have been favored, and he who had the wealth would keep it for his own benefit. On numerous occasions Morley condemned the capitalist system for not exhibiting a greater morality. Morality is supplied on Gumption Island.

Capitalism is the economic portion of the individual's life in a society; in contrast is the state and socialism in which man lives en masse. Although he stated, ". . . for evil under planned economy; for good under free enterprise," free enterprise is merely a means to an end and not an end in itself.<sup>32</sup> Capitalism is only a part of a system of life that is first and foremost religious.

If free enterprise has only a materialistic meaning, then it is doomed. For the murder of free enterprise, however, two antecedent preparations are necessary. The State must be exalted at the expense of the individual and there must be an increase in religious indifference.<sup>33</sup>

Thus, free economy only mirrors the more important social and religious life and is dependent on society and religion for its existence. The individual thrives and has the opportunity to be truly religious.

How Morley's moralistic utopia differs from others of the right is that it is actually shown in action. How the characters develop and act during their year on the tropical island is essential to the functioning of the utopia. They demonstrate the truths Morley wishes to instill in the reader: the fallen nature of man, the different qualities of different people the rationality of the few against the emotions of the many. The baser nature of man was portrayed in premarital and interracial sex, racial discrimination, greed, poverty and envy. The obvious perfect utopia would be the Bible-based vision of the Catholic priest, but he was realistic enough to correctly evaluate the material with which he worked. He concluded the best that could be offered was a system that allowed each individual to find his or her own level without external interference. While the utopia is not the city of man, neither is it the City of God. It rests neither in the valley of human depravity nor on the hill as a beacon. It is between the two worlds, a bridge through which the elite may pass.

Another aspect of Morley's utopia that differentiates it from others, either left or right, is the failure to provide strong leadership by a few of the elite. A strong

leader implies an eventual dictatorship, a situation Morley plans to avoid. This is not to say there were no leaders nor plans to seize power. The contractor held such power during the traumatic times following the blast. The black community had various leaders. Even the Russian pilot had a heroic role as he eventually saved the island.

The model for Gumption Island, Plato's fictional Atlantis, was not saved. Morley suggested that God punished the United States--just as Zeus struck down Atlantis--for moral degeneracy. After reading Plato, the Gumption Island elite focused their discussion on the survivors of the Atlantis catastrophe. They decided that how they were to be governed was as important as how they were to be fed.

One disturbing element present throughout the novel is Morley's apparent racism. Blacks and other groups were pointedly stereotyped. The question that presents itself is whether Morley is advocating racism or merely reflecting the accepted ethnic and racial stereotypes of his time and background. The blacks provide humor and the story's comic relief. They are not portrayed as evil so much as they are shown as stupid--as an example, calling a dinosaur a "Dinah Shore."<sup>34</sup>

The race and mores of the speaker are easily identified as typified in the following excerpt:

We've likker now and we'se getting terbacca.  
That fust crop is mos' ready for cuttin'.  
But you kaint make dames and yo' kaint grow  
'em neither.<sup>35</sup>

When real leadership came to the black community it was from a mulatto. The implication was the white ancestry of the mulatto gave him his leadership qualities. Although a black was elected to the island council from the "H to L" constituency, he was content to follow the lead of the white community. The mulatto was condemned because of his apparent desertion of the black world and intrusion into that of the whites. Both communities interpreted the action as evidence that he wanted to be white.

Although the black community was generally prosperous, they discovered that economic well-being did not lead to high social status. Despite any economic gains that might be made, their social status remained the same. Even their economic success was threatened by jealous whites who plotted a coup which, if it had succeeded, would have placed the black population in virtual slavery.

There were two cases of premarital sex leading to pregnancies. In the first case, the Russian pilot married his American girlfriend and all were happy. In the other case, the mulatto was encouraged not to marry the white girl he had impregnated and the girl's family considered an abortion. There can be no doubt that the same acts received different responses and the response was based on race.

Both the Russian and the mulatto die before the close of the novel. While one might interpret this as the

author making them pay the ultimate price for their sins, one of the males receives much more respect than the other. Despite his Communist ideology, the Russian was accepted by the white community. Despite his obvious leadership abilities, the mulatto was not.

Morley's stance is one of social separation. In the end, the majority of the black community voluntarily separated themselves from the whites. For Morley, it is important that social life remain free from governmental force; and if human nature allows for social injustice, there should be no governmental interference. That Morley is a racist is doubtful. That the results of noninterference make little difference for the minorities is more evident. Morley established his island government in an effort to satisfy God, not to satisfy minorities or even the majority.

God and religion are the very basis of Gumption Island. The Catholic priest, the ideological architect of the island's constitution, would have preferred, if given the opportunity, to found a theocracy. The reader suspects that so would Morley. However, the group who wrote the constitution realized man was not yet good enough to live under the rule of the Lord. The governmental structure had to take into consideration the fact that while in society all were equal before the sight of God, all did not have equal potential. The quality of seed varied. As the

priest said when he addressed the constitutional convention of Gumption Island, "Let us improve on the pagan polis. Rome is fallen; Christ is risen! It is our opportunity to build the City of God!"<sup>35</sup> His constitution, though not necessarily his theocratic views, was adopted.

The priest saw the bombing of the United States as a possible sign of divine displeasure and viewed the pending second destruction of the island in terms of the Book of Revelations. It is the priest (and through him, Morley) and the Lord who provide the political guidance as well as moral and spiritual leadership for the island. The role of god on the island is revealed at the end of the novel when Jill, waiting for the end, embarked on a long monologue aimed toward the dog, Mugsy. This reflection catches the mood of the novel and gives Morley's solution to the problems, not only on Gumption Island but also for the world it had left behind:

If we could see the whole of time as God sees it, we would understand that natural law is constantly directing life towards a goal of perfection. Thus it must have a moral component, without which there can be no concept of perfection.<sup>36</sup>

### Conclusion

In asking about the proper relationship between the state and society, one must remember both the nationality of the novel and the time frame in which the novel is posed. To the traditional conservative of Western Civilization, the reply would have been that the state has the



obligation to uphold and defend social convention and mores. With the rise of democracy, the conservative attitude toward the state changed. The conservative's goal became to protect society from the state instead of to use the state to enforce social status. Likewise, the American context of the novel omits the traditional status of certain classes which would have existed in a European setting. Thus, Morley offers a utopia in which society, the state and the economy operate independently from each other. Each of the three systems constantly compensates for the flaws of the others and acts to counterbalance any major deficiency existing in either one of the others. Redress may be found in the other two. It is then up to the individual to rise or fall as he or she deserves in each of the three systems, to find his or her natural resting place in each system.

Morley should be praised for the novel he did not write in this utopia. Throughout the volume he presented his characters with opportunities to establish the kind of utopias that might be expected from the American right. Morley resisted the creation of a military dictatorship, a fundamentalist theocracy, a plutocracy or a racist community with black slavery.

Even if he did not write what one expects from an author of the American right, there are some expected omissions. Women were not given any roles of importance or positions of leadership. None of the characters managed to

break out of the caricature of ethnic, religious, racial or occupational stereotypes drawn around each one. While blacks are sure to be offended by the portraits drawn of their race, Morley equally stereotyped Catholics, Jews, Italians, retired military personnel, doctors and bankers. In doing so, he established the basis for his society.

Government is cloaked in the same way. Morley's state is a technocracy disguised as a democracy. The primary purpose of the government is to keep order. The constitution is designed to ensure that the majority does not interfere with the island's economy. Even the protection aspect of the state is reduced. The Russian pilot killed a black but was not brought to trial because the death occurred on the islet that constitutes a 'no-man's land.' In establishing such a refuge wholly outside the law, Morley reverted to one of the oldest, thus traditional and conservative, methods of handling dissent and social nonconformity: exile. The only law on the islet was that of the jungle: survival.

Yet, in this near libertarian utopia, Morley traced the values of contemporary conservatism upon his world. Today's right wing has found other ways to keep the people from the public's purse; e. g., California's Proposition 13 restricts taxing and has a budget-balancing amendment. The methods are different but the goals are the same.

Gumption Island accurately reflects many of the values of contemporary conservatism, but one gets the

impression that at least the role of the state in the utopia would find support from some figures now on the left-wing fringes of American politics.

Man is born in chains, yet under a government of limited and divided powers he may still be free.

(Felix Morley, "Individuality and the General Will.")

Chapter IV Notes

<sup>1</sup>Felix Morley, Gumpton Island (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Press, 1956), p. 3. (Hereafter referred to as GI.)

<sup>2</sup>The following is the result of the population breakdown and census. There were 81 males and 89 females. Morley displayed the population by age and sex in the chart shown below:

<u>Age</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Under 1 yr.	1	2
1-10	7	8
10-20	8	10
20-30	6	10
30-40	16	15
40-50	16	12
50-60	17	16
60-70	8	13
Over 70	2	4
Total	<u>81</u>	<u>89</u>

Morley did not give a division by sex and race but working from his figures it is possible to do so as illustrated below:

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
White	62	82	144
Black	19	7	26
Total	<u>81</u>	<u>89</u>	<u>170</u>

Note there were twenty fewer white males than white females, almost the same number as the black male population. Also note there was fewer than one black female for each two black males. The result is a surplus of white women and scarcity of black ones in relationship to the black male population. Such demographic arrangements seem certain to bring about racial unrest based on sex.

Of the seven colored females (Morley's terminology), five were domestic servants. Of the nineteen colored males (also his description) two were caddies, two were privately employed as butler-chauffeurs, and nine were employees of the golf club--waiters, chef, barman, etc. The other six were employees of the corporation--the grounds and maintenance crew.

Professional occupations of the fifty white males aged twenty and over were as follows: Two were students, seven were retired, sixteen of the fifty white males aged twenty and over were business executives. There were four army officers, three lawyers, three teachers, two navy men, two clergy, two engineers, two physicians, two salesmen, and one each of the following occupations: architect,

broker, chemist, dentist, golf professional, boat builder, editor, judge, contractor, brewer, promoter, banker, club manager and foreman. The remaining were two students, seven retirees and one prisoner of war, the Russian pilot.

There were seventy-eight islanders with college degrees and five of the total had been brought up on farms.

Gumpton Island has an area of 939 square acres of which some 100 acres were fresh water and salt marshes. There were fifty acres more on an islet. The island averaged five acres per person.

Livestock included three cows, a bull, sixteen sheep, fifty chickens, twenty-four ducks, four goats, two ponies, one horse, forty dogs and twelve cats.

The arsenal consisted of four .22 rifles and six shotguns with a thousand rounds of ammunition, also twenty historic sabers.

There was enough canned food to last two months, and the tank at the yacht basin contained two hundred gallons of gasoline.

<sup>3</sup>GI, p. 91.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 117.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 119.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 127.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>9</sup>Robert L. Heilbroner, in The Worldly Philosophers (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1961), pp. 156-62, gives a concise description of the economic theory behind Progress and Poverty which is simply a call for a single tax and that on land. Morley seems to have either misunderstood Henry George or is demonstrating that his contractor, who calls for labor credits, really didn't understand George, although labor rather than land as a basis for wealth can be considered a natural outgrowth of Progress and Poverty.

<sup>10</sup>GI, p. 135.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 164-65.

<sup>12</sup>Article II, section 3, in the Constitution.

<sup>13</sup>George H. Nash in The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945 (New York: Basic Books, 1977), p. 212, observes that Morley's greatest ire is against the income tax. (Nash's volume is hereafter referred to

as Nash.) Clinton Rossiter, Conservatism in America (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), p. 287, describes Gumpton Island as, "a utopian fantasy guaranteed to delight all enemies of the Sixteenth Amendment." Perhaps Morley was opposed to the income tax in contemporary America, but Nash and Rossiter mislead their readers as Morley in his utopia makes it one of the two accepted taxes.

<sup>14</sup>The only review as such to appear in public was "Gumpton Island," by Samuel R. Pettengill, in The Freeman (May 1957): 61-62.

<sup>15</sup>Nash on page 20 compares The Power in the People with John T. Flynn's The Road Ahead, also published the same year, and concludes that these two volumes sparked the beginning of libertarian resistance to statism and socialism in America.

Nash also postulates (pp. 202, 208, 211, and 399) that Freedom and Federalism, also by Morley, reenforced the arguments made by James J. Kilpatrick in The Sovereign States and helped lay the foundations and framework for Barry Goldwater's Conscience of a Conservative.

Also included with Morley's nonfictional works are his edited Essays on Individuality and Aspects of the Depression, as well as his wholly authored Necessary Conditions for a Free Society. An autobiography has also recently been published. Refer to the bibliography of the dissertation for other citations including articles and speeches.

<sup>16</sup>See Felix Morley, "The Constitutional Design for Freedom: On Voluntary Displacement of Religious Faith by Statism," Vital Speeches, vol. 28, June 15, 1962, p. 206-9. See also Peter Kihss, "Kennedy Bids U.S. Industry Back Bold Tariff Policy Geared to European Block," New York Times, December 7, 1961, pp. 1 and 7. This article reports that Morley, after President Kennedy addressed a business convention, called for more religious fervor in industry.

<sup>17</sup>A careful reading of Burke, especially, Reflections on the Revolution in France, when taken with the social atmosphere of his time, reveals this interpretation to be a simplified but accurate statement of his position.

<sup>18</sup>Morley's departure from Human Events is reported by Nash (pp. 124-25). Morley, growing ever more afraid of the power of the state, refused to encourage an aggressive anti-Communist foreign policy.

Morley's opponents in both the paper and in the conservative movement felt he was soft on Communism. Morley, in turn, believed that his foes, some of them former

Marxists, really did not understand the American character. Besides, Morley's quarrel was not so much with Communists as it was with the state. He saw no logic in strengthening the American state so that it would become a mirror image of the Soviet structure.

He saw danger in a foreign policy so anti-Communist it resulted in an enormous state power on the domestic scene. For an example of his views see Russell Porter, "Kirk Cautions U.S. on Policy Making," New York Times, May 23, 1951, p. 8.

Morley's most famous blast was "American Republic or American Empire," Modern Age, December 1957. For a rebuttal see the editorial, "A Gust from Mr. Morley," Fortune, August 1957, p. 56.

<sup>19</sup>GI, p. 272.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 62-63.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 386.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., pp. 131 and 244.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 117.

<sup>24</sup>John Bunzel, Anti-Politics in America (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), chapter 4, "Politics and Religion: The Quaker Commitment to Eternal Truth," ppl 130-89, gives an excellent overview of the Quaker dislike of politics and the political process, seeking the state and democratic politics as a force that will divert from their real purpose of leading a Godly life.

<sup>25</sup>Morley specifically attacks Rousseau in the essay "Individuality and the General Will," which appears in Morley's own edited book, Essays in Individualism. The arguments seen in the essay can be found in the plot of the utopia.

<sup>26</sup>GI, p. 283.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 284.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 93.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 91.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 276.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., pp. 174-75.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 112.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 146.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 118.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 287.



## CHAPTER V

### HENRY HAZLITT'S THE GREAT IDEA

If capitalism did not exist it would be necessary to invent it.

(Henry Hazlitt, preface to Time Will Run Back.)

The Great Idea, by Henry Hazlitt, presents a conservative utopia on a world level. More succinctly, it tells the tale of a worldwide dystopia transformed into an earth-encompassing utopia as the result of a conservative regime in one nation, formerly the United States.

#### The Plot

The world Hazlitt first presented was a worldwide dictatorship called Wonworld, controlled by the Communist Party in Moscow. The year was 282 A. M. (After Marx) or 2100 A. D. The universal language, Marxano, incorporated the philosophical basis of Marxism. Instead of cocktails there were Marxhattans or Stalinis. The carbonated beverage was Marxi-Cola. Days of the week were Marxday, Leninsday, Prolesday, Engelsday, Stalinisday, etc. "Son of a Trotsky!"

was the phrase used for swearing, and the more devout made the sign of the "S" for their leader, Stalenin. Students of mathematics spoke in awe of the past great Russian scientist, Bertravitch Russelevsky.

The population was divided into four groups; the Protectors, the Deputies, the Proletariat and the Social Unreliables. The Protectors composed one percent of the population and could be identified by their black uniforms. They provided the leadership for Wonworld. The Deputies could claim ten percent of the population. Dressed in navy blue uniforms, they supplied the professionals to aid the Protectors in their task. The combination of the Protectors and Deputies, known as the 'steel frame,' ruled in the name of the Proletariat. The Proletariat were in the majority with seventy-five percent of the population in their ranks. They wore gray uniforms and performed manual labor. The Social Unreliables comprised fourteen percent of the population and were uniformed in brown. As criminals, they were residents of forced labor camps.

Personal control of the world lay in the hands of the dictator with a titular name of Stalenin. Stalenin, in turn, received his power from the twelve-member Politburo. Salenin was Number One. The second in command was Number Two, and so forth. While the Protectors were identified by simple numbers, each of the Deputies had an alphabetical prefix indicating his or her profession.

All economic planning was closely controlled centrally by the state, whose bureaucrats decided what should be produced and by whom. Ration cards were issued for lodging, food, entertainment, clothes and any kind of goods or services. Each individual was authorized only so many of each kind, according to his or her class, and to insure there was no waste, there were always fewer products available than authorized cards. Exchange of ration cards was strictly prohibited and punishable by death.

The official newspaper, The New Truth, was identical worldwide with names and localities in stories changed to correspond to local conditions. The stories remained the same--fabricated lies and ill-disguised propaganda. The Proletariat, who could not read, looked at The Evening Revolution, a paper devoted to cartoons and comics.

Technically, Wonworld was equivalent to the United States during the period 1918-1938, only it was steadily, technologically deteriorating. Rumors of such marvels as jet planes and atom bombs were disregarded. There was no longer such a device as television, although radio still existed.

Into this world came Peter Uldanov, the son of Stalenin. Peter's mother accused her husband of betraying the revolution. Determined to prove her in error, Stalenin sent her and their son into exile and isolation in Bermuda rather than have her executed. The son was trained in music,

art and the hard sciences but was taught no social sciences or dialectics. The book begins with a seriously ill Stalenin sending for his ignorant son. Despite the state's efforts to destroy the family unit, Stalenin wanted to give his son an inheritance: the title of Stalenin II, and with it, dictatorial control over the entire world.

The role of Peter was important not only as the major character but also as a naive outsider. The reader and Peter are thus educated at the same time. Peter is an ideal hero--one man pitted against the world. Eventually, when he gained power, he functioned as a philosopher king; not being of the world, he could not be corrupted by it. While he may have been ignorant of the basic facts of life in Wonworld, Peter did have the power to reason. He engaged in long philosophical questions, ultimately discovering the truth, which those living in the world were blind to see.

The reader's introduction to Peter is during Peter's visit in Moscow to see his father. Having been isolated in the Caribbean for his entire life, Peter experienced his first exposure to the proletarian paradise of Wonworld. Stalenin was not pleased that his son knew the music of Mozart but knew nothing of Marx, and he began proceedings to educate Peter as a Proletariat, a member of the working class.

After a few learning experiences, Peter was promoted to the ranks of the Deputies and placed in the care

of the Politburo's number two member, Bolshekov. Peter was put into the situation for two reasons. The first was to act as a spy, as Bolshekov was suspected of plotting to assassinate Stalin and seize the dictatorship for himself. Ironically, the second reason was to guarantee Peter's safety. Being responsible for Peter's well-being would restrain Bolshekov from any action he might otherwise take against his rival's son.

Peter's education expanded under Bolshekov's direction. Most of the time the two conversed with Peter asking questions and Bolshekov supplying the appropriate answer. Peter also went with Number Two on inspection tours to discover how the system really worked. It didn't. Bureaucrats faked reports; and when an error too obvious to be covered up was detected, a scapegoat was found. When Bolshekov went to what was once America to help end a famine in Kansas, Peter was relegated to the care of Number Three, Thomas Jefferson Adams.

As an American, Adams had progressed as far as he could in the Politburo. He became Peter's natural ally since Adams correctly believed himself scheduled for extermination should Bolshekov ever attain power.

After forming his alliance with Adams, Peter was promoted to the rank of Protector and sent to Wichita, Kansas to assist Bolshekov in ending the famine. In theory the famine was being caused by drought, but Peter discovered

that in reality it was the result of a shortage of machine parts needed to repair and maintain essential farm equipment. He suggested an incentive program be established to reward competency, thus promoting efficiency in maintaining machinery. Number Two, instead, followed traditional party behavior and did nothing.

After Peter returned to Moscow, his father gave him two phonograph records. One was to be played on the radio if Stalenin was incapacitated by illness. The second was to be played should Stalenin die. Stalenin also arranged to have Peter promoted to the Politburo as Number Thirteen. In the meantime, Bolshekov continued to educate Peter in socialist economics. When Stalenin did become too ill to function, Peter, with the aid of Adams, rushed to the radio station and broadcast the designated record. In the pre-recorded message Stalenin proclaimed Peter his chief deputy and turned the powers of Wonworld over to his son.

Peter immediately took control of the state. He stripped Bolshekov of all economic powers but gave him, against the advice of Adams, control of the military. Adams prevailed in one respect; he successfully insisted that Peter retain authority over the air force. Adams favored the assassination of Bolshekov before Bolshekov could liquidate them. Peter vetoed such actions but did act upon Adams' advice in other matters.

As his first important policy decision, Peter declared freedom of speech. People would be permitted to

criticize the state. The ensuing disaster Adams predicted did not occur--nor did Peter's expectations. The populace remained silent. Since the government controlled all employment, people felt threatened and refused to take advantage of their new freedom lest they lose their jobs. Peter concluded from his experiment there could be no freedom of speech under socialism. No one would be critical of an employer who had the monopoly on employment.

For his second major policy initiative, Peter decided to introduce democracy. This time he experimented on a limited scale. France was selected to be democratic. Again, the warnings of Adams came to nought as did Peter's dreams. Peter made provisions for opposition office seekers, but because the government controlled employment, workers were afraid to support other than governmental candidates. Peter decided democracy was not possible under socialism. If there was only one employer, no worker would dare vote against him.

Despite an assassination attempt against Adams, Peter continued his experiments. The third was permitting the free exchange of ration tickets. All penalties and punishments for such exchanges were abolished. Unlike the first two trials, the economic reform was a tremendous success. A crude 'stock market' was established and prices for the exchange rate of ration cards were posted. Cigarette ration cards served as currency against which the

value of all other cards was measured. The plan nearly collapsed when people tried to redeem their cigarette ration cards and discovered there were not enough cigarettes available to meet the demand. Peter saved his plan by increasing cigarette production and limiting the allocation of the nicotine ration cards until the two were in balance.

Peter's enemies retaliated. Although they dared not revolt against the now popular Peter, they attempted to assassinate him. As in the case of their try against Adams, they failed. Yet even this danger to his personal safety did not deter Peter from more economic experiments and reforms.

The next plan was called 'corporatism.' Making Peru the testing ground, Peter allowed corporations to do their own planning as he decentralized the state's economic control. The experiment met with failure. Even though each sector of the economy was free to plan its own future, the state still owned the corporation. There was no initiative for successful planning, no reward for efficiency, no penalty for incompetency.

In ruminating about his economic failure, Peter suddenly hit upon " . . . the answer to all our problems! I've found the key that unlocks everything: Private ownership of the means of production!"<sup>1</sup> Peter immediately made plans to implement a policy of private property.

At this juncture, Bolshekov reacted. A worldwide plan of private ownership of property was too much



for him to accept. Having failed to assassinate either Adams or Peter, he turned to a less protected prey, Stalenin, and was this time successful. Bolshekov planned to control the government before Peter and Adams could react, but the two reached the radio station only minutes before Bolshekov, and they broadcast the second record, which proclaimed Peter as heir--Stalenin II. However, with the army arrayed against them, Peter and Adams had no choice but to flee. The faithful air force flew them to America where they were safe from Bolshekov's forces and where the native Adams was personally popular.

In Washington, D.C. Peter and Adams established their nation, "Freeworld." They controlled the American continent and continued with the economic schemes Peter had originally planned for Wonworld. He not only introduced private ownership of property but also, through the workings of the free enterprise system, selected gold as a medium of exchange. The profit motive was introduced, and the state refused to protect inefficient industries from competition. Productivity was increased, wages were high and general economic prosperity followed. People learned to save and invest their money. A new class sprang into being: entrepreneurs.

A year passed and Freeworld continued to prosper under the private property/profit incentive system. During this time Wonworld conducted a cold war against Freeworld.

Many of the technical innovations discovered in Freeworld were stolen for use in Wonworld, but Peter refused to impose censorship or hinder free exchange of information. Freedom of communication expanded even into advertising.

Bolshekov accused Peter of reintroducing capitalism into the world. Since the works of Marx describing capitalism had been destroyed to avoid corrupting the reading public, Peter and Adams were unsure as how to refute the charge. No one knew anything about capitalism except that in Marxano it had terrible connotations. Peter, not knowing what else to call his system, admitted it was capitalistic; instead of apologizing for it, he defended and promoted it.

He was most pleased with the result his economic system brought: individual freedom. Those liberties and freedoms which he found impossible to give successfully to the public under socialism naturally flourished under capitalism. Peter discovered that only when the economy was free could political liberty and individual freedom have any real meaning.

Four more years passed, and Peter planned a giant celebration to commemorate not only five years of his rule but also five years of economic prosperity and political liberty. During the five years in Wonworld there had been no economic prosperity or individual freedoms. However, Bolshekov had not been idle; he had spent the time building an air force. On the fifth anniversary of Peter's arrival

in America, the forces of Wonworld struck. The sneak attack from Russia was successful. The White House was bombed and Peter was wounded. As Peter lay unconscious in a hospital, Adams took command of the military and repulsed the Wonworld assault.

When Peter was strong enough to return to his position of leadership, he made two discoveries: Adams was a military genius but had caused disaster to the economy. While conducting the war in a brilliant manner, he had all but destroyed the economic system. To finance the war Adams had confiscated all the gold and issued worthless currency in its place. He had also frozen prices and wages to stop inflation and prevent profiteering. Peter allowed Adams to continue directing the war effort but personally took charge of economic matters. He gave the nation an honest currency by making gold legal again, and he fought inflation by imposing a special war tax.

The division of labor proved fortuitous. Adams achieved military victory over the forces of Wonworld and Peter kept the economy sound. Wonworld surrendered. Instead of taking control of the world, Peter wrote a provisional constitution (not included in the book) and against the advice of Adams, initiated worldwide democracy, proclaiming elections. Since no one would oppose so popular a leader as Peter, he did not run, leaving Adams as captain of their newly formed Freedom Party. Competition came from

the Chinese Wang Ching-li, who formed the rival United Party.

Adams argued that people would vote for the party led by someone of their own ethnic or racial group rather than along ideological grounds. Since Wang represented the majority of the world's population as a nonwhite, he was sure to win. Peter insisted that the voting public would cast their ballots according to ideology. Wang opposed monopolies, large industries and enormous urban areas. He campaigned against the 'Cult of the Colossal' and for educating the children of the poor as well as those of the rich. Besides public education, he advocated a large inheritance tax.

Adams, again, was an excellent political prognosticator--Wang and the non-ideological Unity Party won. Peter, disappointed that his principles did not prevail, was consoled by Adams:

The result had very little to do with principles, chief. I told you that would happen from the start. You had the solid Chinese vote against you--and the solid Indian vote, and the solid African vote. All these people are tired of being ruled by the West. It was you who gave the East the chance to throw us out.<sup>2</sup>

As Adams became leader of the now opposition Freedom party, the twenty-eight-year-old, one-time dictator of the world decided to retire from politics, return to playing Mozart on the piano, marry the nurse who tended him when he was wounded, and live by the sea in Nantucket:

. . . to try to play with perfection, and never succeed, but always to feel one's self getting better; to help to enlarge, if I can, that great man-made world of harmony that seems to be beyond the vicissitudes of nature itself; to walk along the beach, to look out on the sea--to love and be loved--to raise a family. Isn't that enough to fill out the rest of my life?<sup>3</sup>

The Great Idea ends with this soliloquy, but in the revised edition, Time Will Run Back, Hazlitt altered the ending. Last minute returns kept the Freedom Party in power. In the preface of the revised edition the author explained that in his first edition he had wanted to demonstrate that even in the life of a hero there are inevitable disappointments and defeats. Instead, critics and readers alike interpreted the ending as an endorsement of Wang's moderation in favor of the unbending ideological purity offered by Peter and his Freedom Party; thus Hazlitt changed the ending in the revised edition.<sup>4</sup>

### The Critics

The Great Idea received widespread reviews and criticism. Although there was no hostility, it did not meet with critical acclaim outside the pages of the conservative press. Many critics made the mistake of considering it another dystopia demonstrating the evils of totalitarianism rather than a utopian novel testifying to the inevitable triumph of capitalism. The attitude of the reviewer was often a reflection of his or her own personal political philosophy, but there were several areas in which all agreed.

The critics faulted Hazlitt on his style--long dialogues punctuated by reports of action at the beginning and end of each chapter.<sup>5</sup> Although it received an ecstatic review from John Chamberlain in the pages of The Freeman, even Chamberlain questioned whether it was a novel.<sup>6</sup> James Burnham, who reviewed the book for The New York Times, was pleased with the politics of the volume but was less than happy with it as a work of literature.<sup>7</sup> The only other positive recognition was from John Hospers, who gave a brief plot synopsis in a volume explaining the means of libertarianism.<sup>8</sup>

Even the friendlier critics agreed it wasn't great literature. The plot is superficial, the use of names to symbolize characters is obviously contrived, and the book is clearly as propagandistic as any of the Communist news organs it describes. It can, however, be best understood as a fable or morality play rather than a novel or strict literature. While both simplistic and juvenile, it is not amateurly accomplished.

#### The Politics of Henry Hazlitt

Not unexpectedly, Hazlitt is a believer in limited government. He defends himself as an individualist and gives a definition. An individualist:

expresses the view of those who would confine the functions of the state and various public authorities to a relatively small province; maintaining law and order, the army, the navy and other means

of national defense, the enforcement of contracts, maintenance of public services which cannot conveniently be entrusted to private enterprise and in general the provision of a fair field for the play of individual energy. It is opposed to Collectivism, Socialism, Communism. . . .<sup>9</sup>

Every utopian author seems to have a favorite ideological foe whose works fall under attack. Hazlitt focuses on John Maynard Keynes as his chief target. Hazlitt opposes unbalanced budgets, an extension of the government into the economic sphere, deficit spending and governmental tinkering with the monetary supply. He views Keynes as promoting all these evil practices and as such, a promulgator of dangerous ideas. Hazlitt thus concentrates his search for truth in the field of economics. If the economy is in harmony with reality, social and political problems will be resolved. Hazlitt's man is an economic one.

From the economic free choice of capitalism, Hazlitt stays consistent when entering the political realm. He views the democratic form of government as the result of a free economic system. Freedom to choose in the marketplace of politics is a natural consequence of freedom in economics. Peter painfully learned there could be no personal liberty or political democracy under socialism because the state, as sole employer, controlled the economic, thus the political and social lives of its citizens.

It could be argued that Peter imposed his democracy upon the people, that he wrote the constitution and called for the election. In the same context, he forced

capitalism on the people, forcing them to be free. A more accurate interpretation would be that he freed the populace of the constraints of the state, permitting--but not forcing--a capitalistic free enterprise system. The public responded by 'choosing' the capitalistic method. Peter merely made the selection possible. The reader is never shown the constitution, nor does he learn the ground rules for the election except to know there are two major parties.

While Hazlitt has attacked the economics of Keynes, his works show admiration for two trioka' of economic theorists. It can be correctly assumed that their ideas are illustrated in the utopia just as the concepts of Keynes are rejected. The classical (intellectual) triumvirate of economic theorists who have earned Hazlitt's respect are the French economist, Frederick Bastiast, and two English social scientists, John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer.<sup>10</sup>

Hazlitt also greatly admires a trio of contemporary authors. The first of these is Friedrich A. Hayek. Hazlitt reviewed Hayek's The Road to Serfdom on the front page of The New York Times and claims considerable credit for making the book a best seller. Hazlitt also enthusiastically endorsed Human Action by Ludwig von Mises, and helped bring von Mises to America. Hazlitt found him a teaching position at New York University and arranged for the private funding of the position. The third luminary is the one-time objectivist, Murry Rothbard, whose two-volume, Man, Economy and



the State, greatly impressed Hazlitt. Hazlitt once referred to the two Austrians, Hayek and von Mises, as the most eminent defenders of English liberty and the free enterprise system, yet it is in the works of Rothbard that Hazlitt believes the study of the free enterprise system reached its highest development.<sup>11</sup>

This high regard for defenders of capitalism and his reputation as a libertarian seem at variance with some of Hazlitt's previous positions. He suggested an emergency committee to run the government during the depression. He also called for a parliamentary style of government rather than the present presidential/congressional division of powers. He advocated a strong government to win the Second World War. During the period spanning the Depression until the end of World War II, Hazlitt approved of the concept of censorship and suggested that governmental power be centralized in the executive branch.<sup>12</sup>

Perhaps the governmental action that Hazlitt approves is necessary for his version of capitalism. He defines capitalism as having five characteristics: private property, free market, competition, division of labor and social cooperation. All are self-explanatory except social cooperation, which is defined as social classes brought together in social harmony. To assure that society remain stable and harmoniously operated, the government is allowed certain powers. The Henry Hazlitt who defends

social conformity as a necessary backdrop to civilization favors the free market and individualism in economics, yet also approves of governmental powers to defend the stability of society.<sup>13</sup>

Hazlitt has no illusions about the reality of man's nature, a subject Peter and Adams debated innumerable times. Adams took the position that the state should encourage morality and prevent man from acting selfishly. Peter countered that one must accept the nature of man and adapt the external system to fit it rather than use the state to try to make man better. At one point Peter mused:

Envy and jealousy, and the tendency of the unsuccessful to attribute all success to favoritism or luck . . . (are) simply a permanent element in human nature.<sup>14</sup>

When Adams objected to the fact that Peter's system rewarded selfishness and acquisitiveness, Peter replied, "Of course it does, and so does any other system." When Adams replied that socialism was based on everyone's love for others, Peter answered, "But the simple fact is, Adams, that he doesn't love everybody, and you can't force him to love everybody."<sup>15</sup> The debate continued:

P. And if you try to force him to love and support everybody, you merely kill his incentives and impoverish everybody. Of course under a regime of freedom you can persuade or exhort a man to widen voluntarily the circles of his love or at least his good will. And if a man here or there under our free system does love everybody, and does want to produce for everybody and give to everybody, there is nothing to prevent him from doing so to the limit of his capability.

- A. Then your point . . . is that while we may regret that more people are not more charitable than they are, the fault is not that of the free market or of the private enterprise system, but of human nature?
- P. Precisely . . . My point is that the nature of human beings primarily determines the nature and working of the economic and social system under which they live--and not, as Karl Marx supposed, the other way around.<sup>16</sup>

Thus Peter acceded to the reality of man's inherent selfishness and employed the economic system that recognizes, in fact, needs, this characteristic--capitalism. As Hazlitt said elsewhere, "the forces of self interest . . . are more persistently powerful than those of altruism."<sup>17</sup>

Besides taking a conservative view of man's nature as a selfish creature, Hazlitt agrees with the conservative concept of inequality vs. equality. Throughout the novel equality enforced by the state comes under attack. When Peter said the population of Wonworld was divided into classes, he was corrected and told it was divided by function. Naturally those performing the most important functions needed to have priority on goods and services. What Hazlitt is saying is that, like selfishness, inequality is not abolished in the socialist state; rather, it is disguised and misused. There is no misuse or disguise in Freeworld; the elite is open and recognized as such.

The new elite in Peter's world were the entrepreneurs, who took risks in business, in contrast to governmental bureaucrats who ruled Wonworld. That everyone had a

different place in society was seen in Peter's sense of competition:

Competition, it seems to me, can be made to perform two main functions. One . . . is to stimulate everyone to make the most of his innate abilities. The other is to assign each individual to that place in the social system where he can perform the greatest service for his fellows.<sup>18</sup>

Hazlitt's hero was completely altruistic. He was also completely rational. However, the fact that Peter Uldanov was intelligent enough to independently develop an economic system was evidence not of man's rationality but of Peter's superiority. In a worldwide population base, only one person was able to develop the capitalistic system. Hazlitt asserted the limited rationality of the few, not the universal rationality of the many.

One of Hazlitt's theses is that, although each individual is intelligent enough to plan his own life and provide for his own needs, man is not rational enough to plan for others. As Hazlitt stated, "Each person knows his own needs best."<sup>19</sup> Peter relied on an 'invisible hand' to make adjustments in the economic system because he was unable to do so rationally himself. There is an objective reality, Hazlitt is saying, but we are not intelligent enough to control it. Although capitalism is presented as a rational system, Hazlitt calls for 'faith' in that system as he attempts to demonstrate that no one has the intelligence to plan for others. Peter was merely rational enough to realize the limits of his own rationality.<sup>20</sup>

With such subjects, where even the leader is not intelligent enough to rule, one cannot expect a perfect paradise. A perfect paradise was not offered. Hazlitt offered an environment in which each individual could pursue personal perfection. Man was not led into utopia; he was given the opportunity to reach it himself. Hazlitt, speaking as Peter, observed:

We can't tell whether man, now that he is free, will turn out to be wholly admirable. No system, I suppose, can be any better than the men and women who operate it. If they are selfish, stupid, unjust, hungry for power at the expense of their fellow, I don't suppose our new system or any conceivable system, can wipe out such vices or save people from themselves. But under a free system, man has the opportunity, at least, to do his best and to show the moral and intellectual nature to which he is capable of growing.<sup>21</sup>

The Great Idea is a utopia in terms of material wealth. Hazlitt acted as an altruist saying that to gain unselfish ends, selfish means must be utilized. He would claim to have idealistic ends, but he used pragmatic means. He asserted:

That is precisely the great miracle. Each of these (entrepreneurs) is 'selfishly' seeking merely his own private profit. And yet, under this new system we have invented, under this private ownership of the means of production, each of these men acts as if he were being led by an invisible hand to produce the things that the whole community most wants, to produce them in the right proportions, and to produce them by the most economical methods.<sup>22</sup>

Hazlitt's utopia provides clear clues to his ideology. That it does so is indicated by his explanation of the book. The Great Idea, in the preface to the reissued novel, Time Will Run Back:

. . . but a central theme of my book is that under complete world totalitarianism (in which there was no area left from which the totalitarian area could appropriate the fruits of previous or current discovery and invention, or in which its own plans could no longer be parasitic on knowledge or prices and costs as determined by capitalistic free markets) the world would in the long run not only stop progressing but actually go backward technically as well as economically and morally--as the world went backward and remained backward for centuries after the collapse of Roman civilization.

Thus my book points out that a centrally directed economy cannot solve the problems of economic calculation, and that without private property, free markets, and freedom of consumer choice, no organizational solution of this problem is possible. If all economic life is directed from a single center, solution of the problems of the exact amount of capital goods, raw materials, transport, etc., needed to produce the optimum volume of goods in the proper proportion, and the solution of the problem of coordination and synchronization of all this diverse production, becomes impossible. It cannot know what real costs are. It has no way of measuring the extent of waste. It has no real way of knowing how inefficient any particular plant is, or how inefficient the whole system is. It has no way of knowing just what goods consumers would want if they were produced and made available at their real cost.<sup>23</sup>

As Hazlitt stated in a personal letter to this author:

What I tried to do was to present a portrait of a completely communist society, in which the very memory of what capitalism had been like was wiped out, and to show how such a society might step by step rediscover and readopt capitalism.<sup>24</sup>

#### Comments

As one would expect, Hazlitt is an enemy of compromise. The fall of capitalism was explained to Peter

in the simplest terms: the capitalists had compromised. The communists had not. The more often the capitalists compromised, the more they lost. Competitiveness emerged as a contest of wills. Hazlitt observed in another volume.

Many people today who complacently think of themselves as 'middle of the roaders' have no conception of the extent to which they have already taken over statist, socialist and collectivist assumptions.<sup>25</sup>

Hazlitt reiterates the same point in this novel. During the period of war between Wonworld and Freeworld, Peter stood on principle and refused to impose governmental controls on the economy. He took the same position preceding the elections: he would not compromise the principles of the Freedom Party. Hazlitt observed in the preface of the revised edition:

. . . my ending unfortunately gave at least one or two reviewers the quite mistaken impression that I personally favored Wang's middle-of-the-road notions over Peter Uldanov's forthright libertarianism. I have changed the fictional ending in the new version to obviate any such impressions.<sup>26</sup>

According to Hazlitt, capitalism failed because the capitalists accepted the premises of communism instead of debating them, and instead of resisting the communists, the capitalists tried to bribe others to be their allies. Hazlitt would prefer standing up to the communists, not accepting their premise. He would debate them.

Hazlitt is vitally aware of the importance of vocabulary. He explained the invention of Marxano at length, demonstrating that by control of the vocabulary, the ultimate

outcome of the thinking process is determined. In the words of Boleshev:

The language we think in determines the very way we think. The words we use come already loaded with the meaning that decides our conclusions . . . whoever uses these terms accepts along with them the concepts that must inevitably lead him to the Marxist conclusions . . . .<sup>27</sup>

Rather than create a new language, Peter re-created the old one. He countered the Marxian 'from each according to his ability and to each according to his need' with 'to each what he creates.' (The latter phrase is actually a saying of Joseph Bates Clark.)<sup>28</sup> Peter also invented the term 'the invisible hand' to describe the function of the free market.<sup>29</sup> After mulling over his opponents' accusation that he was capitalistic, Peter decided that capitalism was, indeed, what his system was. What is never explained is how Peter, who speaks and thinks in Marxano, can create capitalism. Although not yet reaching the 1984 stage, The Great Idea is set in a totalitarian atmosphere in which the ideas Peter had would be impossible to state. In one way this demonstrates Hazlitt's point. Peter, because he had been isolated since early childhood, was able to rationally discover the capitalistic system as the only logical system. He made mistakes in his scientific experiments but he ultimately reached the 'correct' conclusions, thus proving that free enterprise is both rational and inevitable.

However, another fallacy is posed. If man is captive to his vocabulary and his thought processes determine



his conclusions, then capitalism would have been impossible to conceive in the Wonworld atmosphere in Marxano vocabulary.

Methodology plays a big role. The method Peter used to discover the truth was the Socratic dialogue. This methodology, as reported by Plato, was made into a dialectic by Hegel and into an ideology of 'scientific' socialism by Marx and his ideological descendents in the communist world. Has Hazlitt defeated the communists with their own methodology, or is he demonstrating how it can be utilized by those who are not wedded to socialism? Not only did Peter engage in Socratic dialogue throughout the novel, he also fit the description of a Platonic philosopher king. He was above politics and had no worldly ambitions. Hazlitt doesn't mean to imply that a dictatorship of a philosopher king is necessary to defeat communism; he is using a literary device to keep his hero from using the wiles and practices of his opponents.

Hazlitt believes in objective rather than subjective reality. He rejects what he believes to be the Marxist concept that "the truth is whatever belief works successfully; it is whatever statement has the results; The truth is whatever is good for communism."<sup>30</sup> Hazlitt believes in real knowledge in a real world and judges ideologies by how closely they adhere to reality, a reality that looks at the nature of man and concludes that the capitalistic

free enterprise system is the only one that corresponds to man's nature. In fact, capitalism is lauded as the only system in which one can know the truth of such questions as the price or cost of a manufactured item. He all but accuses the socialists of violating truth in labeling laws, as they do not use realistic measures in their counting of costs and benefits. Hazlitt's objection is that such methodology is certainly not scientific or based on fact. Only capitalism will give the true answers to economic questions.

Violence was another area where Hazlitt refused to allow his hero to use the weapons of his opponents. Time after time Adams counseled Peter to resort to violence and assassination, but Peter always refused. The only weapons Peter would employ were rationality and economics. His was no garrison state. Rather than stay and battle for control of Wonworld, Peter fled. In the war between Wonworld and Freeworld, Adams, not Peter, led the troops and masterminded the military side of the conflict. Peter limited his role to the economic sphere, but Adams played both tempter and protector, tempting Peter to use force, then keeping him alive when he did not.

It was Adams who said, "But fear is the only thing that keeps people in line! If people didn't fear the government, if they didn't fear our police, how would we be able to keep them from committing every sort of crime?"<sup>31</sup>

Peter's answer was morality. Although Hazlitt sees defense as one of the few legitimate concerns of the state, military might is not needed, he believes, if one's system is attuned to objective reality. Those systems which are not so attuned required secret police and military might to keep them from being destroyed by the natural forces of reality which they deny and defy. Since capitalism is in synchronization with reality, it is a moral system. Those systems that are not must suffer the results.

While not advocating a strict survival of the fittest philosophy, neither does Hazlitt advocate paternalism. One would almost imagine that in a world where capitalism is the economic system there will be no sickness, no disease, no old age, no disabling accidents. Since the role of the state is to defend the nation and act as impartial judge in disputes, personal problems must be faced by the individual, family or society. Hazlitt observed in another volume, "capitalism wiped out whole areas of poverty, reduced human suffering . . . in a free economy everyone is free to practice generosity toward others."<sup>32</sup> In other words, in a capitalistic system people will be moral, and morality will cause them to personally deal with the problems which are handled by the state in a socialist society. Under socialism, the populace is too busy trying to survive to be moral; morality threatens their survival and well-being. Under capitalism, prosperity and morality are

complements, rather than hindrances to survival and the good life.

The good life in a capitalistic system comes from technical innovations that usher in a materialistic paradise which the socialists are incapable of even imagining. Under socialism Wonworld was running history in reverse. By having those in Wonworld steal the innovations of Free-world, Hazlitt is saying the socialist world must steal such innovations because they are incapable of creating the same in their environment.

Obviously, the great invention of The Great Idea--in fact, The Great Idea--is that of private property, and with it, capitalism. As Hazlitt observes, "Capitalistic competition is the great spur to improvement and innovation, the chief stimulant to research."<sup>33</sup> Research results in economic prosperity. With such prosperity, man can be moral and there is no need for an all encompassing state filling social needs. With the limitation of the state, man's abilities are released allowing him to be creative and innovative. The circle is complete; the system is infinite.

There is no doubt as to who and what is the hero of The Great Idea. The 'what' is capitalism; the 'who' is Peter Uldanov, also known as Stalenin II. Like the protagonists of other utopian novels, Peter led the world to freedom and his cause to victory. Also, like the other heroes, Peter eventually lost his political power. Peter, after the

victorious war with Wonworld, called for elections, and when no one would oppose him, he announced he would not be a candidate. He was neither driven by political power nor corrupted by it. He was the perfect leader who proved his excellence by refusing to lead when his presence was no longer needed.

The other hero of the novel, capitalism, was more a means than an end. Despite his allegiance to the free enterprise system, Hazlitt is more a moralist than a capitalist. At one point Peter spoke of a whole range of controls that must be placed on the economic system to keep it moral:

We must forbid him . . . to do anything that injures the public welfare. Therefore we must forbid theft, fraud, deceit and all misrepresentation of goods. We must illegalize every form of force, violent extortion, intimidation, coercion. We must compel men to keep their contractual promises, to pay their just obligations and to fulfill their contracts. The corollary to private property is private responsibility. We must not allow a private industry to thrive at the cost of killing or maiming its workers, or injuring consumers of its products, or menacing the public health or polluting the air, or smudging whole communities with the residue of smoke. We must force every industry to pay the cost of the injury it inflicts on the person and property of others.<sup>34</sup>

Hazlitt takes the debate one step further. A moral code is necessary and it must be based on something besides utilitarianism. Morality must have an awesome strength or power behind it. In short, Hazlitt, through Peter, advocates that morality be supported by religion:

I'm not sure that men will accept and abide by a moral code, however rational, based on purely utilitarian grounds. Perhaps the masses of mankind will never abide by a moral code unless they feel a deep sense of reverence for something . . . a recognition of their own littleness in the universe, a profound sense of their own bottomless ignorance before the mystery and miracle of existence . . . Perhaps we need at least a conviction, a faith that beyond the seemingly blind forces of nature there may be, there must be, some Great Purpose, forever, inscrutable to our little minds.<sup>35</sup>

Religion is needed because government alone cannot keep the system moral. A moral system must be imbued in the individual; there must be a code of moral justice that will keep the individual honest, not out of fear or governmental sanctions but in recognition of the immorality of his actions. According to Peter:

. . . the majority of individuals must be moral. The society must live by a moral code. The individual enterpriser or trader or workman must not only fear the police or private retaliation; he must himself believe in honest dealing, in fairness, in justice, in truthfulness, in honor . . . . Perhaps the greatest vice of the communist system, worse than its failures to produce goods, what that it destroyed all sense of justice and truth, and made its only 'morality' consist in absolute obedience to the commands of a dictator . . . .<sup>36</sup>

The 'morality' of survival under a dictatorship cannot compare with the capitalist morality which is that of truth and justice, Hazlitt says.

Hazlitt traces the final force behind the success of his system to morality and ultimately to religious feelings. Religion and morality are, in turn, supported by society and the family. The family, along with the church,

teaches morality and performs the social services that in Wonworld had been taken over by the state. Hazlitt limits the state and allows the family and religion to teach and preach the moral virtues necessary for the survival of the capitalistic system.

In the novel the destruction of the family as a unit is highlighted as part of the communist attack on capitalism. Bolshekov said:

This so called family life you speak of is merely a relic of an ancient capitalistic institution called marriage. Such relics, unfortunately, still exist because our communist ancestors lacked the courage to follow their new vision to its logical end. I'm making it my business to rectify this. Marx and Engels unequivocally demanded the abolition of the bourgeois family. They pointed out that it was based on capital, on private gain.<sup>37</sup>

Bolshekov hit the essence of the matter when he admitted: ". . . we can't afford to tolerate any 'family' loyalties in danger of being put ahead of loyalty to the communist state."<sup>38</sup> Bolshekov's plans included assigning each child a number which could not be traced by the child's parents. Instead, a child was taken to a public nursery and brought up in public schools. The party was opposed likewise to marriage. Couples were permitted a license to live together for no more than a month. The party feared that if couples remained together too long their basic loyalties might be to each other rather than to the state. Thus the communists try to destroy the social fabric which would resist socialism.

Economics are thus but a means to an end, important means without which the goal cannot be obtained, but economics is not the final result nor the only means employed. 'The Great Idea' may not be capitalism, private property, or the free enterprise system but something else:

The secret to our new system, if it has any secret, is freedom. You set men free and each turns to doing what he thinks will bring him the greatest means to happiness. The secret is freedom of each man making a living in his own way . . . Private ownership of the means of production is certainly a great idea. But that is part of the great idea, which is individual freedom.<sup>39</sup>

The freedom may be mostly economic, but that is how Hazlitt envisions freedom to be most effective. Set the economy free and the political system will follow, providing individual moral and religious restraints form the proper background and are supported and promoted by a society composed of church and family.

In listing the characteristics of capitalism, Hazlitt mentions the division of labor, which colors his perspective of the world. Each institution is most effective when performing its proper function. On the other hand, to give the function to another institution warps the entire system and leads to the individual being similarly twisted.

The state's function is to defend the individual from foreign and domestic violence and to act as judge in disputes. The state has no business interfering with the economy, which is self-regulating under free enterprise, or



with morality, which should belong to the social order of family and church.

### Conclusion

In the light of current conservatism, there is in Hazlitt both much to praise and much to question. Hazlitt was proven accurate in his description of the third world wanting independence from the European and American powers. Adams had predicted Wang's victory and had given reasons for his predictions. In the post World War II era, in which the utopia was written, a number of colonies were seeking independence. Had the planners who were waging war in third world areas read of the fictional Wang and his objectives, they would have had a much better understanding of their own war. They might have understood why the fictional Wang won control and why they, as colonial powers, lost.

A second area where Hazlitt has proven to be a seer is also related to the ideology of Wang. Wang opposed bigness; he named it 'The Cult of the Colossal.' He also called for a 'Third Way,' which was neither capitalism nor socialism. This general philosophy is being adopted not only in the third world but in the United States as well. The 'Cult of the Colossal,' including big government as well as big business, no longer has the allegiance of the American people. Although Hazlitt certainly did not mean to endorse the positions articulated by Wang and the Unity Party, as proven by his rewritten edition, it is in this area that he

is the most successful as a speculator about the future.

An area of Hazlitt's utopia where the contemporary right might feel uncomfortable is his hard-nosed, no compromising advocacy of capitalism. Hazlitt's idea of balancing budgets by raising taxes to pay for a war is at odds with current, conservative plans of cutting government funding. The "Proposition 13" syndrome, which postulates that if fiscal faucets are turned off the governmental waterfall of services will stop, is not in accordance with Hazlitt's way of thinking. He favors cutting services first rather than cutting off their funding. To do otherwise is deceitful. Thus, where the American right calls for tax cuts in the face of an unbalanced budget, Hazlitt's ideology as contained in his utopia does not fit.

Another area where the American right might be with Hazlitt in theory but not practice is in his stand on industrial pollution, safety and damage to the environment. Hazlitt, through Peter, has made his position clear. Business must be held responsible for its mistakes, for its damage to the environment, for its unfair practices, for harm done to its workers and consumers of its products. The American right is silent when it comes to addressing such obligations other than to say that the government has no role in restraining the forces of industry.

In a related area, Hazlitt calls for an end of governmental protection of inefficient industries.

In realistic terms this would mean the end of protective tariffs, the deregulation of industries which for all practical purposes regulate themselves and thus outlaw competition. It would be the final curtain to government defense contracts made more for their economic rather than military impact. This concept clashes with the conservative practice of protecting the interests of the corporates 'haves.' In philosophy and sheer speculation the current crop of conservative leaders in America may agree with Hazlitt's position. In practical politics, only the fringe groups of libertarians or objectivists take Hazlitt's position to heart.

Another criticism of Hazlitt is that his utopia is too mechanistic. Behind the facade of Hazlitt's brand of freedom lurks a technocrat. Hazlitt stresses that coordination and synchronization of capitalism are the real reasons it is superior to socialism. Free enterprise is more efficient in its mechanical techniques. Capitalism is more elegant a tool in reaching the real price of an item. Factors needed to crank into the invisible hand computer that gives the price, results such as personal freedom are bonus benefits. The entire system is designed to give the professional economist a more realistic view of his subject.

Hazlitt fails in another technical area. He theorizes that without capitalism, the socialist system will rapidly deteriorate in the innovative and technical fields.

When the Russians exploded their first nuclear bomb, many presumed they had stolen the secrets of the atom from the United States. When the Russians launched the first Sputnik, only the John Birch Society was sure the Russians had stolen the technical know-how. What history has proven since the publication of Hazlitt's utopia is that communist countries, far from being technically incompetent, tend to emphasize creativity in the realm of armed forces rather than consumer products. Thus, during the kitchen debates with Khrushchev, Richard Nixon, then Vice President of the United States, could boast the U.S. had superior washing machines and television sets while the Soviets were limited to better weaponry. Since then the People's Republic of China has demonstrated nuclear capability. While no communist can truthfully claim his country's consumer products are superior to those of the Western democracies, the idea that communist dominated countries are incapable of producing technical talent is a myth.

Though Hazlitt has provided a theoretically attractive utopia for conservatives, contemporary American right-wingers seem to disclaim it when it comes to practical application. Some of his analyses of socialism seem likewise weak. Yet, who is to say that utopias must successfully analyze the opposition in order to be adopted, or that they must be completely adopted in order to be influential?

Human nature is such that unless each is paid and rewarded according to his ability and effort and contribution he will not exert himself to apply and develop his full potential ability, to put forth his maximum effort, or make his maximum contribution.

(Henry Hazlitt, The Foundations of Morality).

## Chapter V Notes

<sup>1</sup>Henry Hazlitt, The Great Idea (New York: Appleton Century Crofts, 1951), p. 240. (Hereafter referred to as TGI.)

<sup>2</sup>TGI, p. 370.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 372.

<sup>4</sup>Henry Hazlitt, Time Will Run Back (New Rochelle, New York: Arlington House Publishers, 1966), pp. v-xiv. (Hereafter referred to as TWRB.)

<sup>5</sup>Reviews include C. E. Ayers, "Wonworld-282 A.M.," Saturday Review 34, April 14, 1951, pp. 31 and 52; "Briefly Noted Fiction," New Yorker, April 7, 1951, pp. 118-19; "Books," Commonweal, April 20, 1951, p. 311; and Harold Roth, "Hazlitt, Henry, The Great Idea," Library Journal, April 15, 1951, p. 705.

<sup>6</sup>John Chamberlain, "Farewell to Utopia," The Freeman, March 26, 1951, pp. 409-10.

<sup>7</sup>James Burnham, "The Long Road Back," New York Times, March 25, 1951, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup>John Hospers, Libertarianism (Los Angeles: Nash Publishing, 1971), p. 256, as well as p. 18.

<sup>9</sup>Henry Hazlitt, The Free Man's Liberty (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1956), p. 21. (Hereafter referred to as FML.)

<sup>10</sup>George H. Nash, The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945 (New York: Basic Books, 1976), p. 341. (Hereafter referred to as CIMIA.) See also FML, pp. 28 and 39, as well as Henry Hazlitt, Economics in One Lesson (New York: Pocket Books, 1946), p. 192. (Hereafter referred to as EIOL.)

<sup>11</sup>CIMIA, pp. 8, 12-13, 250-351, and 420 (fn. 209).

<sup>12</sup>William Leuchtenburg, Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal 1932-1940 (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1963), p. 30, reports that Hazlitt wanted to abolish Congress and replace it with a directorate of twelve men who would act as 'an economic supercabinet'. Arthur A. Ekrich, Jr., Ideologies and Utopias (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1969), pp. 87-88, indicates that in 1932 Hazlitt supported a strong government.

<sup>13</sup>Henry Hazlitt, "In Defense of Conformity," Intercollegiate Review 7 (Fall 1970): 25-30. See also CIMIA, p. 34.

- <sup>14</sup>TGI, p. 271.
- <sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 326.
- <sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 332.
- <sup>17</sup>EIOL, p. 187.
- <sup>18</sup>TGI, p. 330.
- <sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 185.
- <sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 42.
- <sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 371.
- <sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 279.
- <sup>23</sup>TWRB, pp. vii-viii.
- <sup>24</sup>Personal letter dated September 18, 1978.
- <sup>25</sup>FML, p. 1.
- <sup>26</sup>TWRB, p. v.
- <sup>27</sup>TGI, p. 50.
- <sup>28</sup>Henry Hazlitt, The Foundations of Morality (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1964), p. 315. (Hereafter referred to as FOM.)
- <sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 310.
- <sup>30</sup>TGI, p. 70.
- <sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 118.
- <sup>32</sup>FOM, pp. 322-23.
- <sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 306.
- <sup>34</sup>TGI, p. 281.
- <sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 283.
- <sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 329.
- <sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 50.
- <sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 59.
- <sup>39</sup>Ibid., pp. 339-40.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

One task of human thought is  
to try to perceive what the  
range of the possibilities  
may be in a future that always  
carries on its back the burden  
of the present and the past.  
(Barrington Moore, Jr.,  
Reflections on the Causes  
of Human Misery.)

#### Overview

The selection of the 1945-1968 period for study of American conservative utopias was not haphazardous. It was during this period that Judith Shklar asserted there were no more utopias and Daniel Bell announced the end of ideology.<sup>1</sup> It is the same period chronicled by Nash in his study of American conservative thought that demonstrates an almost blind opposition to the establishment and status quo as well as a negativism that pervaded the conservative movement.<sup>2</sup>

After twenty years of Democratic administrations, after the worst depression in the history of this nation and its most recent world war, times had changed. In the



past the American conservative could automatically support the powers that were and rest assured that the establishment defended his interests in economics, social mores and politics. In the period studied the conservative viewed his relationship with the state as having undergone a drastic transformation. Not only had the power of the state grown to meet the crises of depression and war, it also had expanded into social and economic sectors, but not with the intention of supporting conservative values.

Political power appeared to be in the hands of nonconservative groups who, for the first time, could identify their values with the prestige of centralized government. Nonconservatives found in such an identification the courage to seek redress for long-held social and economic injustices. The instrument that had once been the greatest defense of conservatism had not only fallen into the hands of the opposition but was vigorously being applied by the nonright against its former wielders. Espousing capitalism and social Darwinism, the conservative viewed the government as a foe and took refuge in opposition to its might.

It was in this climate that the political philosophy of Edmund Burke took root and grew. Burke never had much sway in America until this period, and his rise as the primary political ideologue of American conservatism has been reported by Nash.<sup>3</sup> In adopting the political philosophy of Burke, leading American conservatives not only

rejected their former leading ideologue, James Harrington, but they disarmed themselves, standing naked in an ideological sense, without a positive political philosophy.<sup>4</sup> Harrington stressed how conservatives could control the state; Burke preached that the state was the enemy and control was not enough. Thus the goal of the American conservative was not to regain the power of the state but to destroy the state's power. There was no constructive alternative program; there was no vision of a better world in which the conservatives would rule. There was only that dream of destruction, as if destroying the power of the state would make the world right.

Before this transformation it was the liberal who proposed utopias and had a clear ideology. His utopia was the model which he pursued, and his ideology aided in forming programs that would bring the model to fruition and reality. The left was successful in grasping the reigns of political power. Liberals controlled the state and attempted to enact their ideology to bring their utopia to reality. As a result, no reason existed for them to write more utopias and ideologies.

After the initial glow of electoral victory of the Eisenhower administration, the right realized the power of the state did not decline but continued to be utilized for liberal purposes. Conservatives discovered their enemy was not the left-wing ideologue or the liberal

politician but the democratic state. Shortly after the end of the Eisenhower administration the far right burst forth in a once repressed fury against the evils of government. The John Birch Society was the most well known of several organizations that justified the equation of the American right with opposition to the state. Where once the American left, out of power and with no hopes of gaining it, waged a war of individual and states rights against a centralized government under the sway of conservative politicians, in recent years it is the contemporary American right that has aligned itself with the libertarians and anarchists.

This study challenges the viewpoint that utopia and ideology died in this period. The ideology that came to an end was a liberal ideology that had no function once liberals gained political power. Daniel Bell did not write about the end of ideology; he wrote of the end of ideology on the left. The chorus who cried that no more utopias were being produced was wrong. A few independent souls, such as Rand, Hunt, Hazlitt and Morley, not following the rush to the right to embrace blind negativism, offered their own positive alternatives and presented their utopias.

In what appeared to be a revolt against the liberal state, the dystopia, or anti-utopia, gained prominence. This negative view of the centralized democratic state challenged the innate basis of liberal/left political theory in that it questioned the goodness, equality and

rationality of men. To some the dystopia was the conservative answer to the centralized democratic state. Like a utopia it generated an antithesis to reality. However, much like those of conservative ideology of the period, dystopian views were limited to opposing reality rather than presenting an alternative.<sup>5</sup>

Although there is disagreement as to the meaning of utopia, most agree that utopias abound in times of transition.<sup>6</sup> As Lasky said so well:

Utopias are written out of both hope and despair. They are models of stability conceived in the spirit of contradiction. They are actions--a kind of 'action dreaming'--in the name of ideal values; neglected or betrayed in the present, once enjoyed in the past, or yet to be fulfilled in the future.<sup>7</sup>

The transition of American conservatism at the dawning of 1945 was that of leaving power. No longer could the right rely on the power of government to enforce social norms or uphold the special privileges of the elite. Out of power, some conservatives became radical, seeking change, reactionary, demanding a return to the past. The positive way in which a few conservatives faced the reality of no longer being the ruling elite is the focus of this study. Through their utopias the ideology of the American right is more clearly discerned.<sup>8</sup>

#### Comparison

Comparing and contrasting the four utopians reveals the uniqueness of each as an individual as well as

where the conservative creed, if it can be called such, is strongest. If all four utopians agreed on a particular subject, this author considered the viewpoint a vital part of conservative ideology. Differences of opinion demonstrate various schools of thought within the American right. Each author has his or her own individual style, goal and program, but considered together they reflect conservative ideology in America.

Basically, all four conservative utopias are more moralistic than capitalistic. While the role of the economy in the utopia may vary from author to author, all four espouse capitalism and for moral rather than economic reasons. This is not to imply they do not have faith in the system as an economic vehicle for prosperity. Indeed, capitalism plays the role that socialism played in many a left-wing utopia in the nineteenth century; it provided the means by which prosperity would be brought to all. Yet, the justice of the system is what appeals most to the four. Capitalism establishes the true value of a product and, by implication, the worthiness of the producer. That each should be rewarded according to his or her talents is the goal of the system and capitalism provides the most just system. In a free economy, man is able to develop his talents to the fullest capacity, thus happiness is in terms of fulfillment.

All four authors are ardent enemies of compromise. In Hazlitt's novel the dystopian Wonworld was a result of

the capitalists' compromising. Likewise, Freeworld nearly lost its war with Wonworld for the same reason. Hazlitt's protagonist would not compromise to win an election. Morley did not allow compromise to save his Gumption Island. At the beginning of that novel the point is made that compromise brought the United States to the position where the Soviets do not fear to attack. Hunt makes compromise unconstitutional. His two political parties must offer pure ideology. Rand condemns compromise throughout her tome. Dr. Stadler compromises with the established powers and was thus held in disrepute. John Galt and his compatriots refused to compromise, a quality which made them heroes. Most issues are seen as ones of morality, and no one will compromise when it comes to morality.

Attention to the arts is another like aspect of the four utopias. Atlas Shrugged begins with a mystery melody and a missing composer. A major role in Alpaca is an opera singer, and the book's index includes the music for the national waltz. Culture exists in Gumption Island in the form of music lessons--an indication that civilization has been established. Hazlitt outdoes the others by making music the career of his protagonist. Peter, the pianist, knew Mozart, not Marx. Harmony is a focal point of the novel, and Peter is successful in bringing harmony between man's nature and the system in which he operates. All four utopias are saying the arts are legitimate forms

of self-expression that can be most free under capitalism--no Philistines, they. The arts are truly recognized and appreciated in their utopias.

One could consider each of the four authors as philosophers rather than ideologues because instead of starting with a given ideology and constructing a utopia, each first attempted to ascertain the truth and base the utopia upon it.

Rand devotes a great portion of her novel to discussion of what was real, what was true and what was right. A conservative ideology is seen throughout the novel but it was not as a given but rather as a truth demonstrated by the actions of the characters. Hunt employs Hegelian dialect with his Team to discover the truth. Juan Achala seeks eternal truth in Europe rather than simple expedient political strategies at home. His constitution is meant to have universal truths that could be applied everywhere, not just within the cultural context of a single nation or as an answer to one specific situation. Morley has a similar configuration as the architects of his constitution used political classics as well as personal experience in their design of the document. His constitution is designed for use in a particular time and place but the basis was still what he believes to be certain unchanging truths that can be applied anywhere and at any time. Finally, Hazlitt has an on-going Socratic dialogue between Adam and Peter for much

of the novel. The discussions seek to discover truth and apply it in particular circumstances. When it doesn't work, more discussion brings other decisions to be tested. The formula of trial and error continues until experiments prove successful.

While all four stay within the context of a conservative ideology, none start at that point to construct the utopias. A search for truth comes first as they proceed to build their utopias based on the non-articulated ideological foundations of conservatism, a conservatism rationally demonstrated to be true.

Where the four authors differ is in the perception of the family role. In Rand's utopia, although the pirate Ragner was married, he spent his time playing seaborne reverse Robin Hood. The only exhibit of a family as a positive unit is a two-paragraph example of a baker's wife who revealed her career to be a parent. None of the leading characters had a family portrayed in a constructive role. Family obligations and impositions eroded the lives of Dagny and Hank. Hunt does not cherish the family unit, but he does recognize it as an important factor in any utopia. Juan and Mara dropped out of politics to have a family, yet they had married to facilitate the drafting and acceptance of the constitution. The Hani family was derided because they sacrificed principles to keep the family prosperous.

In contrast, both Morley and Hazlitt make the family indispensable. The family is the basis for Morley's



society, which is weakened by the government. It is society that must be strengthened instead of the state. The family is the cornerstone of Hazlitt's self-care system. He shows the communists trying to destroy the family in order to replace it with the state's infrastructure. In times of trouble one turns to the family, not to the state. Thus, a split occurs on the right: the values of the individual espoused by Rand and Hunt versus those of a family-based society as proposed by Morley and Hazlitt.

A different pairing occurs in the use of semantics. Rand and Hazlitt pay particular attention to language. Rand carefully defines and refines terminology. John Galt's single chapter of strict speech-making is essentially semantics. Hazlitt emphasizes that whoever controls the vocabulary controls the debate or discussion, e. g., Orwellian Newspeak makes nonapproved thoughts impossible. It is worth noting that the two who do not stress vocabulary do provide constitutions while the two lacking constitutions instead emphasize philosophical points. The discord is one of practical alternatives spelled out versus the foundations of ideology. The difference is in style rather than belief, of presentation rather than ideology.

The same division is found and perhaps reflects the difference between constitutional government and ideological rule. Both Atlas Shrugged and The Great Idea had theories imposed from the top. Galt presented his philosophy

on a take it or leave it basis. Peter unilaterally imposed his will on a captive populace, but he did have to struggle with a party reluctant to lose power. The other two utopias allowed for debate and adoption of a constitution. In Alpaca the constitution is debated throughout the novel, concept by concept, and the populace did overwhelmingly approve it. In Morley's Gumption Island various constitutional concepts are discussed, and Morley's choice replaced an emergency government only to have some of the more faint-hearted demand that it be discontinued during times of terror.

Each of the four directly or indirectly relies on the thought of an ancient Greek philosopher. Aristotle, as Rand interprets him, forms the basis of her objectivist philosophy. Aristotle is the only philosopher mentioned by Hunt in Alpaca, although the debate over the constitution is Platonic in terms of a dialectic or Socratic dialogue. Plato is the guide in Gumption Island. Critias and Timaeus are the cornerstones of the island's constitution. One of the black inhabitants, more happy with the sounds than the ideas, named two of his children in honor of the Platonic books. Hazlitt's hero acts as a philosopher king true to Plato's Republic and devotes most of his chapters to dialogue possibly based on the same volume. Yet his search for objective reality can be taken as evidence of an Aristotle as viewed by Rand. As conservatives are supposed

to respect the past and build on tradition, all four authors have fulfilled their responsibility and can trace their utopias back to the leading philosophers of ancient Greece.

Despite the divided influence of Greek philosophers, the four are solidly united on the adoption of nonviolence as part of their ideology. Dagny killed an uncooperative guard, and the pirate Ragnar attacked ships with foreign aid in their holds, but John Galt would not resort to violence. Although a coup was planned on Gumption Island, peaceful settlement of disputes was preferred despite racial murder and class hatred. Peter Uldanov let his companion, Adams, fight the wars. He would not be involved, and he vetoed the assassination of his opponents even though they attempted to remove him with prejudice. None of the four utopias was either attained or preserved by military might. Violence by the private citizen and leadership based on physical force were both discouraged.

According to all four authors, the government is in charge of keeping the peace, providing for defense against an aggressor and providing domestic tranquility. Despite their libertarian bent, none are anarchist. The protective function is seen as one of the few legitimate functions of the state. The pirate Ragnar would not fight the U. S. Navy because defense is a proper governmental function; foreign aid is not. Hunt provides for a strong defense establishment. The military is the fourth branch

of government. Even on Gumption Island, protection was sometimes necessary although the warfare state was not accepted. U. S. military weakness led to the Soviet attack. While Hazlitt has strongly denounced the warfare state, his Freeworld was defended by force of arms.

The four are in concert in at least tacitly recognizing defense as a legitimate function of the state, but they are not in accord against service and welfare as governmental functions. Rand and Hazlitt provide no social services while Hunt and Morley do. In Alpaca one assumed the posture of a second class citizen as the price of governmental aid but earned extra voting power by not accepting it. On Gumption Island such services as public health, and general welfare were permitted by the constitution if such could be accomplished without unbalancing the budget. Again, Rand and Hazlitt are more concerned with the philosophical aspects of their utopia while Hunt and Morley tend to be more practical. Yet the division remains between the paternalistic Hunt and Morley on one side and the fiercely individualistic Rand and Hazlitt on the other. The latter two recognize that social problems exist but prefer nongovernmental means to correct them.

In contrast to Hunt and Morley, Rand and Hazlitt relied heavily on technical innovations in their utopias. Freed by capitalism, the populace could bend their creative efforts toward inventions. The result was no poverty.

Granted, Hunt observed in his constitution that use of the most modern weapons would allow the military to remain small, and the Russian pilot on Gumption Island fashioned bombs to defend the island, but these were defense-related measures. For Rand and Hazlitt inventions are vital ingredients essential to the economy. They provide for the utopian setting in terms of material prosperity and individual recognition of talent. This stance reinforces the division between Rand and Hazlitt, who emphasize the economic side of utopia on one side, against the concern of Hunt and Morley for social stability on the other. Inventions and innovations don't always support social stability, so they do not play an important role in Alpaca or Gumption Island.

Even though there are social and economic divisions between the utopians, they are all united on the subject of politics. There are no power hungry dictators in the utopians of the right. John Galt accepted torture rather than assume political power. Juan Achala refused the plea of the Alpacans that he be their leader. On Gumption Island political power was divided so that no one individual or group was in command or could make decisions binding on all. Peter Uldanov denounced his job as world leader and turned the political party over to others. None of the utopias had political messiahs wielding the power of the state or being supported by the legal force of the government. The cult of the individual dictator did not exist.

Possibly one reason for no political dictators in the utopias is that the position would be worthless. The state has limited power, and democratic politics, if it exists, is designed to prevent bribing the public with governmental services. Rand has the U. S. Constitution amended to keep government out of private business. Without such control, how will the public be tempted? Hunt's constitution makes the parties ideological in nature and rigs the document so that one cannot even indirectly pay for votes with public money. Morley's system is the most complex. It keeps the public from forming interest groups and politicians from currying the public favor. Finally, Hazlitt's political parties are, like Hunt's, ideologically divided. The vote is to be an instrument of expressing political philosophy rather than individual self-interest. All four authors are agreed that pure democracy leads to socialism, so they alter democratic methods (Hunt, Morley and Hazlitt) and/or make socialism impossible even if democracy demands it (Rand, Hunt and Morley).

Perhaps the most unusual discord centers around religion. In the lineup there is one who gives religion token support--Hunt gives organized religion tax-exempt status in Alpaca but no other advantages; another plans a prominent role for religion--Hazlitt makes it the ultimate sanction in his moral system; a third, Morley, bases his utopia on religious premises; and the fourth, as a rational

atheist, opposes organized religion. Rand bases her morality on rationality, as does Hunt to a lesser extent. Morley and Hazlitt have more faith in faith than they do in reason. Again, there is division among the utopians based on the form of conservatism that each promotes and the individualistic ideology to which each adheres.

In summation, the four conservative utopians prefer capitalism more for its moral than economic value, but the economic aspect is not ignored. All oppose compromise on matters of principle and show themselves not base materialists. They favor creativity by giving encouragement to the arts, especially music with its emphasis on harmony. While all oppose violence and all forms of dictatorship, all favor the protective function of government. In these areas one can safely assume that those forming the ideology of American conservatism agree.

An interesting observation is that when it came to choosing sides in areas of disagreement, all three possible pairings occurred: Rand and Hazlitt versus Morley and Hunt, Rand and Hunt versus Morley and Hazlitt, and Rand and Morley versus Hunt and Hazlitt. This circumstance indicates three major areas of disagreement in the ideology and utopias of contemporary American conservatism.

The most common division is Rand and Hazlitt versus Morley and Hunt. While Rand and Hazlitt couch their utopias in terms of defining philosophy, Hunt and Morley

prefer to spell out their positions in written constitutions. Morley and Hunt provide for public welfare while Rand and Hazlitt do not. The latter do not do so because such is taken care of by increasing productivity caused by technical innovations, something missing from the utopias of Morley and Hunt. This split is one of practical and realistic Morley and Hunt versus idealistic and philosophical Rand and Hazlitt. The difference is more of presentation than of principle.

Rand and Hunt disagree with Hazlitt and Morley on two fundamental issues. While Rand and, to a lesser degree, Hunt have little use for either families or religion, both institutions are vital to Hazlitt and Morley. The conflict is between the sheer economic viewpoint of Rand and Hunt and the social concerns of Hazlitt and Morley, who place religion at the heart of morality and families at an integral part of the social structure.

Finally, Hunt and Hazlitt disagree with Rand and Morley on political issues. Hunt and Hazlitt are convinced there must be a choice between ideologies in any political system, so they provide for political parties with opposite ideological orientation. On the other hand, Morley does his best to thwart the growth of political parties and Rand's utopia operates completely outside any political system. Hunt and Hazlitt propose that given a choice between absolutes the average voter will vote right. Even if he



doesn't, he demands the opportunity to choose. Rand and Morley differ from this viewpoint. Neither has much trust in democracy or the choice of the people in the political sphere, although they are willing to allow freedom in the area of economics.

The disagreements illustrate the potential for ideological conflict in the conservative camp. Shall the conservative movement stay idealistic or should it attempt to be specific and practical? Should man have his morals guided by only economics and reason or should the family and religion add their traditional roles in preserving values in a conservative utopia? Finally, can a conservative utopia be democratic?--dare the people be allowed to select from among clearly defined policy choices or not?

### Objections to Utopia

Another way to compare the four utopias is to evaluate them against common conservative objections as put forth in the introduction. Such an assessment will not only verify the utopias are indeed conservative but will also indicate in what areas certain of the authors may advocate a more conservative ideology than do the others. For example, the conservative believes that man is by nature neither perfect nor perfectible and questions the utopian for assuming he is either.<sup>9</sup> Rand is partially guilty of this criticism. John Galt is a near god-like figure; however, he is not the result of a utopian environment, nor

does he have to be in a perfect state before he can enter utopia. Others--the talented, the producers, the elite--did enter Galt's Gulch. Alpaca's author, Hunt, assumes the worst of mankind and so designed his constitution to take into consideration the baser nature of man. This point is illustrated by the facts that all government employees are considered guilty of crimes and the public citizen is not trusted to hear the political rhetoric of campaigns. Above all is the investigatory board that functions as a modern Inquisition. Morley's utopia is full of human frailty: murder, attempted rape, planned military coups, class hatred, racial intolerance, illicit sex and greed. Gumption Island is a catalogue of human failings. Lastly, like Rand's Galt and Hunt's Achala, Hazlitt's Peter Uldanov may have been perfect but those around him were not. Even his closest advisor, Adams, counseled assassination and opposed every political reform designed to increase liberty and freedom. Although model heroes led the way, man did not need to be perfect to enter any of the four utopias, nor was there any assumption he would be.

A second conservative criticism of utopias is that utopias deny God.<sup>10</sup> Morley is the greatest supporter of religion and does include God in his utopia. Hazlitt makes certain the reader knows that the Almighty is a necessary element of his better world. Hunt's only positive stance is to make constitutional provisions for organized religion.

Rand, by her own philosophy, would not impose her atheism on others nor does she in her utopian novel. Some would say that she sees man as a god in Galt's Gulch. The fact remains that God is not exiled from the conservative utopias. By recognizing man's frailties, the conservative, by implication, recognizes the need for guidance from above.

Social criticism, one of the functions of a utopia, would seem to preclude conservative support and therefore becomes a third objection from conservatives. However, the conservative's assumption is that the establishment being criticized is of a conservative stripe.<sup>11</sup> The social criticism contained in the four conservative utopias is directed toward the liberal ideology of the welfare state. Descriptively, the conservative movement fulfilled this function during the out-of-power interim. Conservatives had a negative attitude toward the institutions and policies accepted in this country. The four utopias examined are different from others of their genre as they aimed their criticism against the apparently triumphant left rather than against an establishment composed of reactionaries. Rand is devastating in her comments of 1950's America. Hunt presents an entire book containing nothing but criticism of the social, political and economic practices of this country. Morley, in the prelude section of his novel, shows the shallowness of American life, demonstrating the pettiness on Gumption Island before it was thrown back in time. Finally, Hazlitt

rebuilt this country after giving the reader a preview of what might come if we don't move to the right.

It is ironic that conservatives consider utopias impractical and unworkable because they steal this argument from Engels and the Marxists.<sup>12</sup> Nonetheless, conservatives insist that utopias are unattainable for two reasons. First, the conservatives look upon utopia as an absolute rather than a relative vision. They conclude that outside the religious framework of the Millennium or a return to Eden, obtaining such perfection is impossible; therefore, all efforts toward that end will be unworkable. Their second reason supposes that utopias require perfect people, and since people are not perfect, any plan that makes that assumption will naturally be impractical. The four utopias are exonerated as they are all of the relative rather than the absolute variety. They also accept man's imperfection into the scheme of things, especially Morley and Hunt, who provide constitutions. Hunt's in particular offers more details than are contained in many statutes, let alone other constitutions. Rand and Hazlitt provide only an ideological basis, leaving the utopia free to handle its own problems. The conservative utopia is neither impractical nor unworkable.<sup>13</sup>

Alienation is also a conservative complaint against utopias. The conservative holds that by comparing the real with the ideal, the reader who is exposed to

utopian thought becomes dissatisfied with reality. Confronted with a leftist ideal of the perfect and a conservative establishment against which this ideal is measured, the reader will be alienated. This problem thus becomes a variation of the objection to utopias as social criticism and can be answered in the same way. The American conservative was already alienated and had been since the end of World War II. This alienation can be measured by the strength with which the American conservative of this era attacked the welfare state and the liberal establishment. The American conservative, like Ivanhoe, carried a figurative shield emblazoned with the motto "Disinherited." He needed no utopia to alienate him. The conservative utopia did not seek so much to alienate the reader from reality as to reach the alienated as an audience; not to further his alienation but to end it by offering a practical alternative rather than an unreachable ideal.<sup>14</sup>

Rand's heroes in Atlas Shrugged were without doubt alienated from the society in which they lived. They finally escaped to a society in which alienation did not exist. The world Rand portrays as evil alienates the individual from his identity and talent. Rand seeks to end the alienation by her philosophy of objectivism as practiced in her utopia. Hunt's Achala was also alienated from his country. He departed to return only when he had the solution that would end his alienation to Alpaca. Morley's island showed a

society of alienated individuals before their attack, but afterwards the society drew together to form a utopia.

Hazlitt's utopia, like Rand's, pictures a society in which the individual is alienated in order to survive. Freeworld presented a utopia where there was no alienation.

Conservatives have always held that utopian thought was but the initial step in revolution. Once the ideal is seen and the real discovered lacking, it is incumbent upon the alienated utopian to usher in a better world.<sup>15</sup> The four utopias examined do not wholly justify the objections. They do not advocate armed revolution and they eschew violence and the use of force. However, it would be untruthful to consider them as counterrevolutionary. They react to the social, economic and political revolution that took place during the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. The conservative sees the twenty years of Democratic administration as a period during which a revolution was successfully implemented. The social, economic and political structure of the nation was altered. Conservatives consider ensuing administrations as either continuing this revolution through the New Frontier and Great Society, or as a sorry stopgap effort to hold back the tide as characterized by Republican administrations. If the four conservative utopians are revolutionary, they advocate the same type of revolution that brought them to their present state. It is to be peaceful. The conservatives did not turn to bloodshed to

prevent the establishment of the left nor will they use such tactics to overturn and replace it.

The peaceful nature of the four has been previously mentioned in this chapter. They are revolutionary as conservatives out of power must be. It is the idealists of the left, they seem to say, who make force a part of the state.

All four of the utopias considered resist dictatorship, giving lie to the fear conservatives have that utopias will eventually end in dictatorship to protect the fruits of the revolution. Atlas Shrugged is a tale about an America falling into dictatorship through various directives from the government and of the lone hero who would rather be tortured than accept the position of dictator. Juan Achala fled Alpaca to seek relief from his country's dictatorship and refused the position when offered to him. On Gumption Island the residents resisted various attempts by various factions to establish a dictatorship and at the end chose to gamble their lives rather than to suspend their constitution and accept a dictatorship. The dictator Stalenin II (Peter) worked ceaselessly to destroy the power of the state and establish freedom and liberty. He, too, voluntarily renounced his political power to become a private citizen.

Conservatives remain convinced that once a dictatorship is established, those who are given the absolute power to defend the revolution and rule over utopia will

inevitably be corrupted by power or lose touch with reality.<sup>16</sup> The conservatives' bias toward seeing man as imperfect is not tempered by their belief in an elite. The conservative believes that men, including the elite, are corruptible and are not completely rational creatures. Thus, even if an absolute dictator was not corrupted by power, he would not likely have wisdom enough to rule a utopia.

The four utopians see the possibility of corruption in a dictatorship, so they guard against tyranny rather than try to ensure that it will remain rational and pure once in power. One of Hazlitt's contentions is that no man or group of men are knowledgeable enough to plan the lives of everyone. Rand pictures her dictators in America as complete madmen who would change reality to fit their delusions. The lust of power destroys the ambitious in Gumption Island. Hunt, as the reader discovers at the beginning of Alpaca, realizes that utopia will not come just by placing the right person in power; thus Juan Achala seeks a different form of government rather than search for another dictator to hold power.

Although the conservatives strive to obtain stability, they are not enamoured with a static society. The very dynamics of capitalism and social Darwinism, traditions that the conservative is quick to defend, demand a fluid economic and social situation. Unless the utopia is an absolute type residing in the hereafter, the conservative



opposes what he believes to be the end of history and the stagnation of society as characterized by constrained economics and a fossilized political system.<sup>17</sup>

Again, the conservative viewpoint coincided with a characteristic common to the four utopias studied--they are 'open ended.' None of the authors postulates an end of history; they all predict a beginning. With the exception of Gumption Island and an occasional glimpse at Galt's Gulch, the reader has no idea of what everyday life in utopia will be like. Each is free to develop its own destiny. The conservative utopians are not interested in finalizing the leadership of the productive and talented--they rather create a situation in which the talented and productive will be duly rewarded for their efforts as will be the non-talented, nonproductive and those who make no efforts. Justice, not security, is the goal of the conservative utopias.

A believer in social Darwinism and progress, the American conservative believes that utopia is not good enough for man; man should be constantly challenged else his development will cease. As a believer in original sin or its secular counterpart, the conservative does not favor an environment where man is rewarded for being himself and life is made to be comfortable and effortless. As a believer in justice, the conservative demands that rewards be earned, and utopia appears to be a place where all are

rewarded regardless of their merits. In addition, without some sort of challenge to measure man's ability, the elite will go unrecognized and unrewarded. In short, for the conservative, the easy life is not the good life.<sup>18</sup>

The four authors examined stand innocent of such charges against their utopias. Life doesn't appear appealing on Gumption Island. Galt's Gulch is the highest level of the survival of the fittest; only the fittest are allowed access to compete. Both Hunt and Hazlitt create worlds where one must compete to survive and earn prosperity as well as success. The utopias challenge man more than does the present world in which the authors live. They offer man a challenge rather than security. They are conservative in that they do provide for the elite to be recognized and rewarded, yet the elite must constantly prove their worth. Life will not be easy for the untalented or lazy.

#### Value of the Study

The major assumption of this study is that 'by their utopias you shall know them.' A utopia should reflect the ideology of its author so the ideology can be not only identified and categorized but also examined outside the context of political rhetoric. Thus, as previously stated, the major value of this endeavor is to inform the reader about American conservatism as presented through its utopias. Since utopias are not the normal vehicle of presenting conservative ideology these should provide a unique opportunity to discover new insights.<sup>19</sup>

Utopias have long been identified with the ideology of the left. With a presentation of right-wing utopias it is possible to explore the viability of utopias in terms of an unfamiliar message. If utopias can tell us about conservative thought, then conservative thought can reveal much about utopias. Although the coupling of right-wing ideology and utopian thinking is unusual, it allows the scholar to use each as a dependent or independent variable to study the other.

The study also indicates the importance of the American context. Both American conservatism and American utopianism are different from counterparts in other areas of the Western world and tradition. The study indicates the effect of the American context on both utopian and conservative thought and, by doing so, reveals the unique aspects of American traditions that differentiate us from our European brethren.

The significance of the study is that through the unusual combination of American context, conservative ideology and utopian mode, it tells us much about each component by how it affects and is affected by the other two.

### Conservatism

In the 1945-1968 time frame American conservatism had about it the odor of negativism. The sense of a lost past hung on the conservative movement. Its actions are all in opposition to what is considered the liberal establishment

and welfare state. Requests for positive programs or questions inquiring what conservatives support were met with either noncomprehension or a vague reference to the past.<sup>20</sup> There were good reasons for this. If the conservative were to spell out his goals too explicitly, he would risk disunity in his camp. During the era of this study, the conservative was united with his fellows against a common foe, and he preferred to await victory to decide what policies to enact. In addition, being positive carries with it a burden. One has to defend programs against criticism and hostile attacks from opponents. The conservative program was safe from criticism because it did not exist. The worst that can be said about it was that it was entirely negative. The American conservative thus did not have the burden of formulating and defending his policy and could concentrate on keeping his forces united in opposing the left.

By studying the overlooked conservative utopias, the student can conclude a number of points about the conservative mind:

1. Contemporary American conservatism is not libertarian, despite the appearance to the contrary. A close relationship between the conservative movement and the libertarian does exist; but where the libertarian calls for the total abolition of government, the conservative wishes to abolish only the welfare and service roles and to invigorate the protective and defense aspects of the state,

a fact supported by the study of the four conservative utopias. Ayn Rand condoned the military; Hunt gave it recognition as a fourth branch of government. It saved Free-world and its function was recognized on Gumption Island.

2. Contemporary American conservatism is not individualistic if individualism is defined as a 'do as you please' affair. Granted, greater freedoms are given to leaders like John Galt, Juan Achala and Peter Uldanov, but none of the three operated his personal life on the basis of whim, personal desires or gratification of human impulses. Each believed in a society that rewards just behavior and punishes undesirable actions. The state need not impose or enforce reality. It need only set the rules and allow reality, usually in the form of the capitalistic system, be the vehicle of punishment and reward. Both the production and distribution end of the economic system serve this function. Individualism in conservative utopias means no special government favors or handicaps; it implies that each will receive from the system what he or she puts into it.

Where individualism is essentially economic, it does promise special social sanctions for those who are on the top of the economic ladder. Those of talent like Rand's refugees need not worry about social conformity. On the other hand, the average individual residing on Gumption Island is not forgiven the breaking of social mores.

3. A third conclusion is that contemporary American conservatives are capitalistic more for moral than economic reasons. The free enterprise system is seen as a vehicle for obtaining certain ends. The goals, besides prosperity, are justice and freedom. Capitalism is seen as the most efficient way to reward the deserving and to punish those guilty of not taking care of themselves. It is also viewed as creating an economic environment where each individual is free to pursue his or her own destiny. Thus, contemporary American conservatives are strict moralists who envision capitalism primarily as a moral system that will make moral judgments and distribute both punishments and rewards based on economic production. This type system judges the worth of each. Capitalism is favored as an economic system but not because the conservatives are either materialistic or worldly. The opposite is true. The free enterprise system is selected because it is the most just in the distribution of goods.

4. It appears that the utopias are all anti-democratic. Morley blames democracy for the nation's social ills and devises a system to thwart it. Rand indicates no favor for equal votes for all. Hunt provides a nondemocracy behind a democratic facade. Only Hazlitt stays ideologically consistent with the transfer of the free market choice of economics into the political arena. Part of the conservative's problem with democracy is he believes that

man is not necessarily completely rational even though he is selfish. Where the poor outnumber the rich, man cannot be trusted with his own political destiny. One plan to protect the elite minority from mass majority is a cumbersome constitution as in the case of the utopias created by Hunt and Morley. Another ploy is to assume the capitalistic system will make all rich so the benefits of the system will be seen by all. Rand and Hazlitt use this approach. Finally, where there is democracy, the conservatives insist that a clear choice between the offered alternatives be made evident. Examples can be found in both Hunt and Hazlitt, whose competing political parties are divided along ideological lines rather than simple status politics and aggregations of interest groups.

Thus the conservatives, distrustful of the masses and preferring an aristocracy, opt for a republic where the few, if not ruling the many, represent them. The conservative of today is not the liberal of centuries past. The right believe that governmental power should be inversely proportionate to the extent that the governing process is democratic. Not only does the contemporary right oppose the state because it emphasizes liberal functions, but also because it is democratic.

5. The final aspect to be recognized in the conservative utopias is the class aspect of the conservative world. The utopias do not bring equality except in opportunity. They discourage equality as being abhorrent to

justice and reality. Galt's Gulch was separated from the remainder of the world and peopled by the elite. The elite were protected in Alpaca. Social Darwinism operated on Gumption Island and in Freeworld. Protected from the demagogues of democracy, the elite were recognized and rewarded in all four utopias. A class society may be a cheerful vision of the Marxist nightmare, but it is essential to both the conservative ideology and their contemporary utopias. Utopia is not just the rewarding of the talented individual but a creation of a separate class of the worthy who reside in Galt's Gulch and who compose the entrepreneurial classes in Alpaca, Gumption Island and Freeworld.

### Utopia

The history of utopias can be taken as either a sign of man's progress throughout the ages or as resistance to change and dissolution. The vision of a better world may be either a guiding light into the future, implying a progressive spirit and a belief in the future, or it may be a protest of a dying civilization to enshrine the glorious past in legend against the day when the civilization will crumble from either internal or external forces. The debate continues between scholars of utopia who argue for or against either position. The purpose of this study is not necessarily to defend or attack either position. As previously mentioned, the purpose is to examine two seldom overlapping



entities: conservative ideology and the utopian mode of presentation. By using utopian thought, various aspects of contemporary American conservatism have either been verified, confirmed or clarified. We know more about the American conservative after reading his utopias than we did before. His position and ideology are in clearer focus. The same mode of analysis can be used to evaluate utopian thought as a means of transmitting an ideological message. Not only do we know more about conservative thought, we also more fully realize the capability of the utopian means of presenting a message.

1. Utopian thought need not be leftist/liberal. Granted, there are some utopias that seek to create a lost world glorifying the past that would qualify as simple reactionary yearnings for a return to a golden yesterday, but by applying the conservative ideology to utopian thought, utopias can be created. For too long the study of utopian thought has been synonymous with the study of socialism or its ideological bedfellows. This study demonstrates that this need not be the case nor has it been always this way. Certainly, conservative utopias are rare and do not form the mainstream of utopian thought, but their existence can no longer be ignored.

2. A second aspect that has been part of the operational definition has also found justification. Utopias need not imply perfection nor even the best of all

possible worlds. This has been a contention of Sargent, but his arguments were based on theoretical definitions more than concrete examples as offered in this study. A utopia can be a better world and need not be twisted into unrealistic configurations by the demand for perfection. This is not to deny that utopias that assume perfection do not exist or that they are not valid utopias. Instead, as suggested in the introduction, perfection need not be an ingredient. At the beginning of this study, the concept was an assumption that justified the endeavor. At this point, the study justifies the assumption by demonstrating the existence of such utopias. Since conservatives likewise do not believe in perfection of man, this makes the theoretical existence of conservative utopias possible. This study has proven their existence.

3. Another assumption is that belief in the equality of men has often been considered a characteristic of utopias. The conservative utopias studied are not necessarily better worlds for everyone. Indeed, a utopia for some may form a dystopia for others. Not all need be happy in utopia. While many a utopia postulates the rule by the elite, few advocate that the utopia be for the benefit of that class. Conservative utopias do. Again, taken with the conservative ideology of inequality, conservative utopias can be seen as possible. The utopias take on a 'Final Judgment' aspect. The righteous are rewarded and

the guilty are punished. 'We need not wait for the Millennium for such justice' is the message of the utopia. If the utopia is adopted, justice will be the result and not all will welcome it. The freedom to fail and the force feeding of the fruits of irresponsibility are guaranteed in all four utopias. Utopia, therefore, need not be limited to a land of milk and honey.

That poverty, disgrace and humiliation can be present in utopia is a shock to the casual reader until he comes to the realization that those who suffer deserve such a fate. Justice, not prosperity, is promised in these utopias. Examination of the basic definitions of this study make any other conclusion impossible. The utopias selected were of the relative variety, not the absolute. A better world, not the best, is sought. Likewise, ideological conservatism was defined in terms of a belief in man's basic inequality. The four novels examined fulfill their promise. A better world is created, especially for the talented, hard-working and elite. Implied is a better life for all, provided by the prosperity brought by capitalism, yet the equal enjoyment by all is not the aim of the system.

As has been observed, those on the right shy away from physical violence; they do not shirk from hard times, discomfort and disappointment. Man, not being perfect, has hard times, discomfort and disappointment as his destiny. In a way, the hardship of the nonelite parallels the bloody

revolution justified by Lenin in order to bring the Marxist paradise. Hardship is the price of prosperity. Nothing comes free, especially in a conservative utopia.

Observing the conventional utopia, one can find the irony in comparing it with the conservative version. In the familiar utopia, everyone is declared to be equal to each other but is ruled by a dictatorship much as in the satire Animal Farm, where some are "more equal" than others. In conservative utopias there is no government-enforced equality, but neither is there a dictatorship of the masses. All have equal opportunity but it is the impersonal system, not corruptible humans, that rewards the righteous and punishes the unrighteous. With no strong government, there can be no dictatorship. Justice prevails without the state. The masses are better off as unequals in a conservative utopia than as equals in a worker's paradise.

4. The major assumption of this study was that utopias reflect the ideology of those who formulate them. As with the second point in this justification, the assumption that justified the study is now justified by that study. With the close connection between left-wing politics and utopian thought, it appears no one had considered the possibility that other ideologies might be also presented in this mode. This study has taken four conservative utopias and examined them for the reader to better understand contemporary conservatism in America. This possibility

justified the study, but its success--and it has been successful--demonstrates the viability of that assumption. The implication is that utopian thought can be utilized to better understand and analyze various groups or groupings of political, social, economic or cultural thought. The usage of a tool of analysis is therefore greatly expanded. No longer tied to one ideology, utopian thought is a vehicle which can reflect the viewpoints of any who would use it.

5. It was stated that a debate rages in the community of utopian scholars whether utopias are the result of a civilization reaching forward to a better tomorrow or reaching back to capture a lost yesterday. What all agree upon, and what this study verifies, is that utopias are written in times of intellectual instability and by those who are not at the time holders of power. The years 1945-1968 were years in which the conservative in America was frustrated, out of power and bitter towards the welfare state and liberal establishment. It was during these years that conservative thought developed and conservative utopias penned. This study confirms that those out of power write utopias. American conservatives authored utopias during this period.

#### America

The American context has had an effect on both utopian and conservative thought. The cultural heritage is but another aspect or variable that is affected by and

affects utopian thought and conservative ideology. Where conservatism in the Western world has tended to be based on tradition and a resistance to change, in America it has relied on the dynamics of social Darwinism and the unseen hand of the free market. While in the European context utopias were, more likely than not, idealistic versions of an ideal world, America was seen as the ideal world, not just from abroad but also from within its own borders. The American context, therefore, has a special influence on utopian thought and the conservative ideology. Likewise, utopian thought and conservative ideology in America tells the reader much about the American heritage.

1. Various authors on social life have commented that the American conservative movement is different from conservatism in other countries. Within the European context and even some Eastern areas, conservatism has consisted of a respect for tradition, a reverence for the status quo and a stubborn resistance toward change. These aspects are not found in American conservatism. Capitalism, the economic system of the four utopias studied, rejects tradition, attacks the status quo and advocates change. The implications are that in America the conservative has lost his position of authority, which is still held by his brethren in other lands, and that in America conservatism is defined by ideology rather than by position. The conclusion is that America is a land of changing elites; it is possible for those in power to lose it.

2. Because America does have a liberal tradition is no reason to assume that it also does not have a conservative one as well. Capitalistic utopias are not new to American life nor is the conservative ideology. Political ideology in America is flexible enough to either resist change or to adapt to it. Between 1945 and 1968 the followers of Edmund Burke were in the forefront of American conservatism, but it was not always so. Before the New Deal there was no hint of the Burkean tradition. At one time conservatives were disciples of James Harrington, himself a conservative utopian whose political thought was adopted into the American constitution. The implications to American political culture are that the conservative tradition exists along with the liberal one, ideologies are capable of adaptation, and utopias vary according to who is in power.

3. The fact that conservatives were once in power implies that there is not one but a variety of patterns of conservative thought in the American context. The four utopias were written from the viewpoint of those who have lost power, and once out of power, mistrust it. For this reason the utopias seem neo-anarchistic. Therefore, one can postulate a variety of conservatisms including the conservatism of those who seek to restore the previous status quo to power, those who would weaken the government which was then identified with leftist ideology, and those who would utilize governmental power to preserve conservative traditions and

ensure that conservatives continue to rule. The insight into American thought from this observation is that attitudes do not tend to be monolithic and that various versions can and do abound. There is no one true faith in the United States.

4. Implied but not spelled out in these heretofore observations is the fact that the four conservative utopians studied are all radicals. They all want change and desire it rapidly. Perhaps it would be an exaggeration to say that only in America could a conservative also be a radical, but it is true that in this country one brand of liberals is in favor of preserving traditions, supporting the status quo and accepting the establishment while one grouping of conservatives is for radical change by booting the 'powers that be' out, dismantling the current institutions and abolishing prevailing traditions. One could ask in what other country would the forces of the right be aligned against the establishment, institutions and traditions of their own country? The four volumes studied are evidence of just that. This dimension of social thought in America is an aspect clearly evident in the study. If utopias are authored only by those out of power, then the conservative utopias of contemporary America indicate that position for the American right.

5. Finally, in studying the conservative utopias one cannot ignore the insistence of realism and promise



of pragmatism. No one insists on perfection. Morley and Hunt provide more 'nuts and bolts' of how government should be arranged than can be found in many a left-wing utopia. The authors not only insist their ideology is practical but also argue that it should be adopted for that very reason. Capitalism is seen as the most realistic and practical form of economics. The four mistrust the theoretical planners who envision a Heaven on earth. Hunt, a self-made billionaire, insisted on practicality. Gumption Island was patterned after the contours and geography of a real island. American ideology, despite the protests of those who would see it pure, is pragmatic. Conservatives in America are not so much nonideologues as they are advocates of an ideology which is seen as both realistic and practical.

#### HYPOTHESES

At this juncture it is appropriate to determine if the study of the utopias has substantiated the six hypotheses proposed in the introduction.

##### 1. American Conservative Utopias Exist.

This study has examined four works, all of which met the criteria established in the introductory chapter to be considered contemporary, American, conservative, and utopian. The utopias examined were of the relative and 'present' variety, defending the current conservative values of laissez-faire capitalism, social Darwinism and limited state action. The study could have, under a different format,

inspected a great many more. Because only utopias of well-known conservatives were considered, only these four were chosen. This author has demonstrated that conservatives do not object to utopias per se, only to those that are liberal.<sup>21</sup>

2. American Conservative Utopias do not Presume that Men are Perfect, Perfectible, Wholly Rational or Equal.

If such assumptions were made, the utopia could not be ideologically conservative. Naturally, if utopias are absolute and perfect, they require perfect inhabitants or perfectible citizens who will be positively affected by their environment. Obviously a perfect utopia cannot be created by imperfect man; but no perfect utopia is being proposed. Since the utopias examined were the relative kind, they require a vision of only a better world, not necessarily the best. They do not promise to make men perfect.

As demonstrated in each of the four utopias, a relative utopia does not presuppose man's complete rationality, nor does it postulate that men are equal. Justice, not equality, is the goal. Each individual in the utopias investigated would receive justice from the system, would be rewarded according to his input. There was equality of opportunity but not egalitarianism based on numbers or need. The purpose of the utopias was not to create perfection but to formulate an environment in which each individual could pursue his own version of a better world, a world that would take advantage of and harness man's selfish motives.<sup>22</sup>

3. The American Conservative Utopias are Led by a Natural Aristocracy, a Meritocracy of the Elite.

In this, the utopias are not different from many liberal or leftist utopias or utopias in general. Since the conservative believes in inequality, it follows that they also believe that those who are more talented, or in nonsecular terms, the Elect, should hold positions of power and responsibility in both the present and the future better world.<sup>23</sup>

Under normal circumstances this aspect of the utopia would not be worth mentioning except that there are some unusual conditions. The positions of power the natural elite will be expected to hold are not political, not in the government, and not as leaders of state. Since the conservative utopias are essentially oriented towards economics in the capitalistic, free enterprise, laissez-faire mold, the leadership that counts will be in the business community. The government has been limited and its powers shorn with a few exceptions which will be mentioned in Hypothesis 6. As believers in economic determinism, the conservative utopias have designed a world in which the real power will be in the hands of business and industry.

4. In American Conservative Utopias, the Focus will be on the Individual rather than the State.

When the conservative weakens the state he will also defuse its power, localizing its influence and making society a series of independent communities that will

cooperate with, but not necessarily answer to, a centralized government. Although this point is clearly presented only in Morley's politics, it is a logical extrapolation from conservative values presented in all the utopias. While not proposing anarchy, neither do the conservative utopians see the state as the major factor of either improvement or progress. Rather, they would say that state interference with the individual has hampered the efforts of industry and business toward improvement. Any progress--great inventions, wondrous discoveries or innovations--will happen because of the individual not the collective. The economic system rewards the individual for his efforts, and should one individual fail to produce, no provisions are made for him. The community, quite naturally, benefits from such actions. While many utopias of the left are designed to enforce conformity on the community, the conservative utopias take the opposite track. The state will not take responsibility or action in the economic sphere. There will be no welfare state nor will the government be a direct democracy.

In the section justifying this study, it was stated that the conservative is not really individualistic. This is true in terms of an atomistic individual residing in a random universe. The conservative is most individualistic in terms of economics but does not preach social anarchy.<sup>24</sup> Individualism means nonreliance on the state

for economic support. It does not imply social conventions should be ignored. Each person is free to follow his own conscience; he is also free to feel the consequences.

5. American Conservative Utopias Emphasize Economic Freedom rather than a Planned Affluent Economy.

This is a major difference between utopias of left and right since Marxists as well as the conservative authors are economic determinists. Whereas the ideological followers of Marx, Engels, etc., are of the opinion that a socialist economy will lead to utopia, the conservative utopians offer the opposite viewpoint. While agreeing that the social and political characteristics of any system are a reflection of its economic structure, they also propose free enterprise: laissez-faire capitalism. As a corollary to this, they also advocate social Darwinism. It is only under capitalism, the conservatives hold, that man can be free and the individual rather than the collective is the center of focus. The economy, which is self-regulating, acts as judge of the individual and his efforts, rewarding or punishing him appropriately.<sup>25</sup>

It should be mentioned that the utopians who write conservative versions of a better world are not necessarily base materialists. Although all four are the strongest supporters of capitalism, they do so for moral reasons. Like many on the right, they are essentially moralists. Capitalism is espoused because it is the system which the conservative believes will best promote morality and justice.

Under free enterprise the individual is rewarded or punished according to his own efforts and ability. The economic system automatically rewards by natural consequences. It does not rely on artificial means such as men of the state who are capable of corruption and misuse.

Prosperity in utopia results, but not because the state distributes the produce to all. The system of capitalism permits so much to be produced there is prosperity for those who will work for it. Economic opportunity is guaranteed, not economic prosperity or automatic affluence. Stability is eschewed in favor of freedom.

6. American Conservative Utopias Emphasize a Strong Government only in the Areas of Defense and other Protective Services.

Welfare and the service state are not in the conservative ideology. Since the nature of man has its flaws, the function of government should be to guard against the loosening of the bonds of civilization that forms only a thin veneer between man and his bestial nature. Thus, the government should provide a military to protect the citizen from foreign aggression and a local police for protection against domestic violence. The government also needs to provide a court system so disputes can be settled before the law rather than by resorting to private violence. Therefore, all the functions of government which the conservative believes to be legitimate are based on his first premise on the nature of man. The state has both the duty and the

obligation to provide law, order and domestic tranquility so there will be no need for the citizen to resort to violence to protect his life and property. The conservative is of the opinion that if property is protected other rights will be indirectly, but no less effectively, preserved.<sup>26</sup>

#### COMMENTS

As established in the introductory chapter, the focus of this study is on the utopia of the ideological rather than of the attitudinal conservative. The attitudinal conservative would quite naturally place importance on the historical quality of any utopia. Tradition, not reason, would be a primary guide. The past would be recaptured and kept frozen for eternity.

The ideological utopias differ from this vision. First, they are open ended. No effort is made to ensure a static society. The utopias are dynamic; their future is open to them to develop according to the efforts of the inhabitants. They are the birth of a new world.

They are also different from most radical utopias, as well as the traditional. The ideological right does not steep its utopias in the past. Instead, it begins anew. It does not try to take present conditions and alter them to suit philosophical goals. The conservative does not seek to capture government but to form a new one. Ayn Rand destroys the present world in most of her tome; Galt's Gulch is a

new beginning. There is no historical background on Alpaca; it begins its life with its new constitution, devoid of any and all tradition. Morley, like Rand, destroys the United States and starts society from scratch. Hazlitt has the communists remove all traces of democracy and capitalism. Freeworld begins with only rationality as a guide. Beginning anew is the key to the ideological utopia and the major difference between it and the traditional conservative utopia. Yet, the utopias considered are not so much ahistorical as prehistorical. Gumption Island goes back in time before civilization and the present social contract with which conservatives disagree -- a social contract based on equality, democracy, socialism, uniformity and centralized government.

Whether one does or does not accept the social contract theory as being relevant to contemporary social science, the four utopians can be interpreted in terms of behavior modification. To them the system in 1945-1968 rewarded nonproductive behavior and penalized productive actions. The authors would reverse the results. Instead of making it difficult to be productive, they would reward such behavior. Rather than encourage nonproductive behavior, they would instead provide negative rewards. They looked at the world of 1945-1968 and saw insanity. The elite were being handicapped and the nonproductive elements of society and the economy reaped rewards. Self-interest demanded playing the game by the new rules.



The American conservative who believes in capitalism and the free enterprise economic system would not define man so much as irrational as being enlightened in terms of self-interest. Man has wants and needs which only he knows how best to fulfill. No man knows enough to plan to meet the wants and needs of others. Self-interest is both the floor and ceiling on reason.

The question is one of choice. Man is not asked to define truth but to make very specific economic choices. Economic man can make these choices in a rational manner not because he is inherently rational but because he is selfish. In micro-economics this is known as utility theory as the consumer places a value on goods and services by the amount of money he is willing to spend to purchase them. Even though the value keeps changing because of fluctuations in both demand and supply, the choice basically remains a limited one within the system. In political science this is what V. O. Key has called the "Echo Chamber Theory of Democracy." The voters are not fools, the theory goes, but their actions in the polling booth are limited by the choices presented to them on the ballot.<sup>27</sup>

The question of rationality becomes a problem when the conservative discusses democracy. The capitalist believes in the economic free market but hesitates when confronted with a free market place of ideas or politics. If people are selfish and capable of following self-interest

and if there are a few elite who are more wealthy than the masses, what is to prevent the selfish majority from voting to take away the riches of the minority rich?

This is what has happened according to the utopians of conservative hue. The power of the state they oppose is really the economic power of the democratic state. Both Hunt and Morley did everything possible in their constitutions to thwart any possibility of a direct democracy. Only Hazlitt followed through with the logical progression from an economic free market to a democratic political system. But even in the first version of his novel the forces of self-interest were victorious and were on the verge of undoing the work of Peter Stalenin, turning philosophical truths into a blind pursuit of self-interest.

A division of power is the answer supplied by both Morley and Hunt to keep any one group or interest from seizing the power of the state for their own narrow purposes. The two authors have weakened service areas of the state so votes cannot be bartered for welfare, a criticism that all the authors have of the democratic system. Thus, the enlightened self-interest that makes capitalism feasible is also the very reason a direct democracy is impossible. All but Hazlitt have recognized this and taken precautions to assure that it will not occur, and even Hazlitt tried to limit political choices to ideologies rather than selecting which interest groups will prevail.

The importance of this observation is to distinguish between the conservative and the libertarian. The conservative is not opposed to strong government but to a strong democratic government with functions in the service area. The conservative recognizes that domestic tranquility and international peace is a basic necessity for the individual to pursue his own interests.

A secondary problem is that of the protective function of government. If man is selfish then only the force of the state or a strong moral background will keep him from robbery or murder to obtain what he wants. The first requires a police state. The second demands a strong sense of social stability and moral absolutism. Hazlitt and Morley both rely on establishing moral sanctions and the use of religion and social standards to enforce moral behavior. The capitalist conservative therefore must choose between either a strong protective function of the state so that citizens will have their property protected or a closed social and moral system that will impose its values upon all and discourage any individualistic behavior as well as crimes of force and theft. In the latter instance the tyranny of majority politics is replaced by the tyranny of the majority in the social sphere. It would seem that Rand and Hunt prefer their social individualism and the dangers of a police state to the enforced conformity of the moral state in social as well as economic spheres.

Whether interpreted as a restatement of the social contract or a simple lesson in behavior modification, the fictional utopias offer what was later put in nonfictional terms by Robert Nozick in Anarchy, State, and Utopia. The foundations of contemporary libertarian and conservative political theory was previewed in four conservative utopias.

The case for economic freedom rests primarily on the consistency of the free market with man's essential nature, on the basic morality of its system of rewards and punishment, on the protection it gives to the integrity of the individual.

The free market may not produce the perfect world, but it can create an environment in which man may conduct his lifelong search for purpose in his own way; according to his own vision of his destiny, suffering both the agony of his errors and the pleasures of his successes.

Total economic freedom would exist if the government's only function were to prevent the initiation of force or fraud against its people by any individual, group, or government.

(Brown, et al., The Incredible Bread Machine, p. 152.)

Chapter VI Notes

<sup>1</sup>Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology (New York: Collier Books, 1960); and Judith Shklar, After Utopia (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957). See also Judith Shklar, "The Political Theory of Utopia," Daedalus 94 (Spring 1965), pp. 367-81, where she asks, "Why are there no utopias today? (p. 367). Fred L. Polak in The Image of the Future, vol. I (New York: Oceana Publications, 1961), p. 456, speaks of "the present decline of utopia." Leslie C. Tihany, "Utopias in Modern Western Thought," in Richard Herr and Harold T. Parker, eds., Ideas in History (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1965), p. 20, declares, "Few Western literary forms are as irrevocably dead and distinct as the political utopia." Northrop Frye, The Stubborn Structure (New York: Cornell Press, 1970), p. 114, mentions "a paralysis of utopian thought and imagination." Martin G. Plattel, Utopian and Critical Thinking (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1972), pp. 36-37, describes the decline of utopia in America during the period 1940-1960. Finally, Adam Ulam, "Socialism and Utopia," Daedalus 94 (Spring, 1965): 400, finds we have reached a "moritorium" if not the "end of utopias" and adds, "perhaps this is not altogether a bad thing."

<sup>2</sup>George H. Nash, The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945 (New York: Basic Books, 1976); and Ronald Lora, Conservative Minds in America (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1971), p. 115.

<sup>3</sup>Nash, The Conservative Intellectual, p. 68, admits that Burke was not well thought of or known in America before the 1940s when the Burke Society was founded at Fordham in 1945 and started the slow process of re-introducing Burke to America. Much credit, according to Nash (p. 69), goes to Russell Kirk who all but enshrined Burke in his 1953 The Conservative Mind. See also Nash, p. 76, where Kirk is identified as the leading disciple of Burke.

William G. Carleton, Technology and Humanism (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1970), p. 182, correctly observes that Burke has no history of influence in American society. I would add the notation, "until after 1945."

<sup>4</sup>Hardy W. Wickwar, "Foundations of American Conservatism," American Political Science Review 41 (December 1947): 1115 and 1117, states that American conservatism was based upon the works of James Harrington before Burke became popular in this country.

J. W. Gough, "Harrington and Contemporary Thought," Political Science Quarterly 45 (September 1930): 404, credits

Harrington with many theories that are today the foundations of American conservative thought.

Theodore W. Dwight, "Harrington," Political Science Quarterly 2 (March 1887): 1-44, emphasizes Harrington's contributions to American thought.

One of the leading scholars on utopias, Glenn Negley, in "Utopias and Dystopia," in Utopias/Dystopia, ed. Peyton E. Richeter (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1975), p. 24, credits Harrington as "the single most influential source in the establishment of the constitution of the United States."

Judith N. Shklar, "Ideology Hunting," American Political Science Review 53 (September 1959): 662-92, notes that Harrington influenced Burke (p. 665), but his greatest contribution was in affecting the ideology of what she calls "the American Whigs," especially John Adams and Daniel Webster (p. 668).

The best short study of Harrington's political thought is H. F. Russell Smith, Harrington and His Oceana (Cambridge: University Press, 1914); the best short biography is Michael Downs, James Harrington (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1977); and the best short edition of Harrington's works is Charles Blitzer, ed., The Political Writings of James Harrington (New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1955).

J. G. A. Peacock, ed., The Political Works of James Harrington (Cambridge: University Press, 1977), presents a more complete edition of Harrington's works, while Charles Blitzer, An Immortal Commonwealth (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960) gives a more detailed examination of his life and political theory.

The theorist who links Harrington of a past England to present capitalism is C. F. Macpherson, The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism (Oxford: University Press, 1962); and "Harrington's Opportunity State," Past and Present 17 (April 1960): 45-70.

Not all scholars agree with Macpherson's interpretation of Harrington. For a review of various schools of thought on the matter see Felix Raab, The English Face of Machiavelli (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), chapter 6, "Harrington, Hobbes, God and Machiavelli," pp. 185-217.

<sup>5</sup>Chad Walsh, From Utopia to Nightmare (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1972), p. 14, observes that dystopias now outnumber utopias.

<sup>6</sup>Polak, The Image of the Future, vol. 1, pp. 390-93, reviews Toynbee's position and refutes it with his own concepts. In The Image of the Future, vol. II (New York: Oceana Publications, 1961), p. 340, Polak postulates that utopias indicate a healthy culture and a decline in utopian thinking forebodes doom for the society. Patricia Warrick,

"Images of the Man-Machine Intelligence Relationship in Science Fiction," in Many Futures, Many Worlds, ed. Thomas D. Claeson (USA: Kent University Press, 1977), p. 211, agrees with Polak and warns Western civilization that it places itself in danger with the nondevelopment of utopias.

Harold V. Rhodes, Utopia in American Political Thought (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1966), p. 9, speaks of a 'crisis in utopia.' Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia (New York: A Harvest Book, 1936), pp. 262-63, gives dire predictions should utopias disappear.

James P. Young, The Politics of Influence (San Francisco, Calif.: Chandler Publishing Company, 1968), p. 213, claims that American politics are in a state of transition thus confirming the observation of those who equate such events with the decline of ideologies and utopias.

John R. May, Toward a New Earth (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1972), pp. 8, 19, and 213, indicates that apocalypse, which is in some instances connected with the coming of utopia and is always an indication, of change, is with us in literary form.

A. N. Kaul, The American Vision (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), p. 7, comments: "What imaginative men will say in critical times is often revelatory of certain aspects of the national sensibility which in a more normal time remain hidden from common view."

Charles M. Andrews, ed., Ideal Empires and Republics (New York: Aladin Book Company, 1901), p. xvii, asserts that although utopias may be fantastic, "each is nevertheless a mirror of the prevailing thought of the period in which it is written and a key to the ideal of the best men."

Young, The Politics of Influence, p. 203. Chester S. Eisinger, Fiction of the Forties (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 146-48, 229, and 230, indicates an ideological vacuum in liberalism led to the use of American fiction based on what Eisinger calls a "neo-conservative philosophy." See also Chaim I. Waxman, ed., The End of Ideology Debate (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1968).

<sup>7</sup>Melvin J. Lasky, Utopia and Revolution (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), p. 9.

<sup>8</sup>Albert Jay Nock, "Isaiah's Job," in Did You Ever See a Dream Walking?, in William F. Buckley, Jr., ed., (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970), chapter 23, pp. 509-22. Warrick, p. 184, speaks of a "creative minority" who "construct positive and idealistic images of the future."

<sup>9</sup>Lyman Tower Sargent, "A Note on the Other Side of Human Nature in the Utopian Novel," Political Theory 3 (February 1975): 88-97, makes a lengthy presentation demonstrating that human nature is not always assured to be perfect

or perfectible in many utopias including More's Utopia. Arthur A. Ekirch, The Idea of Progress in America (New York: Columbia Press, 1944), p. 133, implies that the faith in human nature by the eighteenth century utopians, who supposed that utopia was a simple matter of manipulating the environment, was at the base of the failure of their experiments.

J. Norman King, "Theology, Science Fiction and Man's Future Orientation," in Claeson, ed., Many Futures, Many Worlds, p. 243, observes that it is the awareness of man's imperfect condition and recognition of evil that spurs him to seek utopia.

<sup>10</sup>Eugene Ionesco, "Of Utopianism and Intellectuals," Encounter 5 (February 1978): 36, declares that all utopias are directed against God and designed to sacrifice the individual. Yet, Lasky in Utopia and Revolution, pp. 60-61, traces the utopian impulse back to Jeremiah in the Old Testament. Frye, The Stubborn Structure, p. 120, resolves the seemingly contradiction to say the Christian utopia is impossible in this life but were it possible it would be the chief goal of man. Ellene Ransom, Utopus Discovers America (Nashville, Tenn.: The Joint Universities Libraries, 1947), p. 39, describes American utopias believing that man is capable of such goals, while Robert Scholes and Eric S. Rabkin, SF Science Fiction (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 174, describe the dream of the Christian humanists to change human nature. Erick Voegelin, The New Science of Politics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), p. 174, speaks of the concept that heaven can be built on earth and that man can accomplish his own salvation as 'the tragedy of gnosticism.' Ekirch, The Idea of Progress in America, pp. 24 and 166, speaks of the resistance of conservative churchmen to the idea of progress unless inspired by God. Finally, Mary S. Weinkauff, "Five Spokesmen for Dystopia," The Midwest Quarterly 17 (Winter 1975): 176, notes that in the dystopian view of utopia, such a state is impossible without dictatorship and "the dictator becomes God and assumes the right to make decisions for all men and all times."

<sup>11</sup>Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, p. 40, leaves no doubt that utopian thought is an attack on the status quo, while Gordon Harrison, Road to the Right (New York: William Morrow, 1954), p. 8, claims that conservatives resist testing the present against the future.

<sup>12</sup>The connection between utopia and foolishness was established by Marx and Engels. Thomas H. Clapper, "Typologies of Conservative Utopias," presented at the Fourth Annual Conference on Utopian Studies, at Denver, Colorado, October 14, 1979, quoted the Manifesto of the



Communist Party and "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific," indicating that it was the Communists who used the term to ridicule the rival socialists.

<sup>13</sup>J. B. Bury, The Idea of Progress (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1960), p. 22, states that the doctrine of original sin precludes any attempt for improvement since man is made to endure suffering. If this is so, any utopian scheme is doomed as it will go counter to nature and will fail.

Martin C. Kalin, The Utopian Flight from Unhappiness (New York: Nelson-Hall, 1974), p. 194, describes the position of some anti-utopians, specifically Freud, as holding that unhappiness is necessary for survival, that were we happy we would lose our survival instincts, that to put man in utopia would destroy him and he has survived because he is unhappy and hasn't reached utopia. Man cannot have both pleasure and survival, that we purchase pleasure at the price of our lives.

Robert M. Philmus, Into the Unknown (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), p. 84, indicates that to reach utopia will result in the loss of our ideals.

Thomas A. Spragens, Jr., Understanding Political Theory (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976), pp. 54 and 87, states that since the conservative sees the cause of human unhappiness in his nature, it is futile to manipulate the external environment.

Peyton E. Richeter, "Threats of Hell and Hopes of Paradise," in Richeter, ed., Utopias/Dystopia, pp. 7-9, reviewed not only the Marx-Engels objections to utopia but also lists objections given by Dostoyevsky, Joseph Wood Krutch, Herbert Spencer, Friedrich Hayek, Ralf Dahrendorf, Karl Popper, Margaret Mead and Thomas Molnar who all give reasons why utopia is impractical.

<sup>14</sup>Francis G. Wilson, "A Theory of Conservatism," American Political Science Review 35 (February 1941): 35, sees conservatives as realistically viewing mankind through tradition and history, while utopians are "disconnected from reality," in trying to envision the future.

Yet, Ransom, Utopus Discovers America, p. 40, declares that the function of the writers of American utopias was to show the discrepancy between the real and the ideal. Lasky, Utopia and Revolution, pp. 592 and 594, claims that the desirability of utopia will drive men to revolution against the present.

Ionesco, "Of Utopianism and Intellectuals," p. 36, speaks of utopia in terms of alienation of the self, while Tihany, "Utopias in Modern Western Thought," p. 37, sees utopia as originally passive escapism until the French Revolution showed the possibility of bringing the future to the present. For psychological aspects of alienation

as a result of the utopian vision see "Marx and the Utopian Finale of Social Conflict," chapter 3, pp. 51-101, in Kalin, The Utopian Flight from Unhappiness.

<sup>15</sup>Tihany, "Utopias in Modern Western Thought," p. 37, postulates that after the French Revolution utopian thought was coupled with the concept that revolutionary violence can bring utopia to reality, a concept that was eventually incorporated into Marxist-Leninism. Joseph Blotner, The Modern American Political Novel 1900-1960 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), p. 140, holds that the utopian novel tends to show violent change as the initial phase of reaching the ideal state.

Kalin, The Utopian Flight from Unhappiness, theorizes that with such an ideal possible, the utopian either must report to violent revolution or consider himself a betrayer of his own moral values, thus the revolution is not only justified but required of the true utopian.

Harold L. Berger, Science Fiction and the New Dark Age (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1976), pp. 82-83, in reviewing Michael Young's The Rise of Meritocracy observes that revolution can be the inevitable result of utopia. Before utopia, people rationalized their failures by blaming an imperfect system. In a perfect system, those who are not perfect must face the fact of their own mediocrity. As a result, they revolt against the system that forces them to admit their own inferiority. Being the majority the revolt of the mediocre succeeds. The same theme is also presented in Equality: In the Year 2000, by Frank Reynolds (New York: Ace Books, 1977). In this version the small percentage of the elite are saved by the efforts of a twentieth century man named Julian West who refuses to aid the majority of the imperfect, although West himself is less perfect than any of the inhabitants. The Young book is even discussed (p. 210) as part of the plot.

The whole thesis of Lasky, Utopia and Revolution, is that utopian thought results in revolution. He unequivocally states (p. 79), "all utopians are revolutionary." Even when the revolution establishes utopia, the cycle of violence continues as those who opposed the revolution now become revolutionaries themselves in order to restore the old order (p. 225). Utopians, who believe the present must be destroyed before the new order can be created, rejoice at any disaster that harms the present (p. 310). Despite an earlier claim (p. 74) that not all revolutionaries are utopian, Lasky later (p. 322) states that the revolutionary mind can only be really understood in the utopian context.

<sup>16</sup>Gorman Beauchamp, "Utopia and Its Discontents," The Midest Quarterly 16 (Winter 1975): 166, defines utopia

in terms that require a dictatorship. Weinkauff, "Five Spokesmen for Utopia," p. 175, has a similar description of utopias. Lasky, Utopia and Revolution, p. 10, sees dictatorship in utopia as an effort to compensate for the imperfection of mankind. Scholes and Rabkin, SF Science Fiction, p. 27, view utopias as sacrificing liberty for stability. Philmus, Into the Unknown, p. 158, agrees and states the current popularity of dystopian fiction is a reaction to the proposition that freedom and conformity are the price of utopia. Finally, Walter Lippmann, An Inquiry into the Principles of the Good Society (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1943), p. 97, states that the problem is controlling people and the answer is a strong state. He continues (p. 105) by remarking that the irony of seeking security in a dictatorship is that an absolute dictatorship free from all restraint will cause the greatest insecurity and instability. Lasky, Utopia and Revolution, p. 12, cynically comments that few revolutionary utopians ever propose a future in which they will not be the rulers. The implication is that the would-be leaders are corrupted by a lust for power before they obtain it or it is that lust that makes them successful.

Lippmann, An Inquiry . . ., p. 355, observes, "the supreme architect, who begins as a visionary, becomes a fanatic, and ends as a despot." He continues: "Real dictators raised to power by their fanatics who adore them are only too likely to adopt their fantasy to justify their lust for power."

The possibility both Lasky and Lippman present is that only those utopians with a lust for power will have the fortitude and daring to obtain it; thus the method that implements utopia by its very nature insures that the rulers of utopia will be those with just such a lust for power.

<sup>17</sup>J. O. Bailey, Pilgrims through Space and Time (New York: Argus, 1947), p. 293, agrees with the definition of utopia as a 'static society.' On the other hand, Barrington Moore, Jr., Reflections on the Causes of Human Misery (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972), p. 78, disagrees by saying that a static society is impossible. Author David Ketterer, New World for Old (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1974), p. 122, and Berger, Science Fiction and the New Dark Age, pp. 72-77, discuss various science fiction novels that face the question of utopia as a final unchanging state frozen in time.

Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, p. 262, believes that without utopia we are condemned to a stasis present since there is no vision of the future.

<sup>18</sup>Eisinger, Fiction of the Forties, p. 154, defines the conservative position towards man as one in which he must continually overcome obstacles to get a sense of meaning

from life. He also (p. 159) observes that "once a man gets what he thinks he wants he is unhappy in possession of it." Kalin, The Utopian Flight from Unhappiness, p. 195, interprets Freud as holding that "life cannot support absolute happiness."

Moore, Reflections on the Causes of Human Misery, p. 1, also holds conservatives view mankind and are convinced that man will be saved from utopia by his own perversity since, "as soon as human beings manage to free themselves from the necessities of toil they often display a subtle inventiveness in finding ways to make each other miserable." Berger, Science Fiction and the Dark Age, p. 74, examines science fiction novels in which people prefer to dwell in dystopia and commit suicide in utopia since "to be perfect is to be finalized which is to be dead." Those in dystopia have a reason to survive, those in utopia do not. For a fictional account of the problem of man in utopia having no reason for a meaningful life see After Utopia by Mack Reynolds (New York: Ace Books, 1977).

<sup>19</sup>Lasky, Utopia and Revolution, p. 11, declares that "utopias are a looking glass; and a mirror, no matter how creatively it distorts, can reflect only shapes and shadows that are there." Rhodes, Utopia in American Political Thought, pp. 6-7, asserts that utopias are a result of trying to decide "what ought to be" and to solve the problems of the present. He contends (p. 15) that "Every political thinker is, in his heart of hearts, a utopian." Richeter, "Threats of Hell . . .," p. 3, says defenders of utopia value it as a means of evaluating the present.

<sup>20</sup>Bruce Mazlish, "Burke, Bonald and DeMaistre: A Study in Conservatism" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia, 1955), pp. 1-2, views modern conservatism as a response to the Enlightenment, French Revolution, etc. In the American context, Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr., Ideologies and Utopias (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1969), pp. 264-65, holds a similar position in regard to the New Deal.

<sup>21</sup>Frye, The Stubborn Structure, p. 127, asserts that conservatives, although not necessarily utopian in their defense of the status quo, are not necessarily anti-utopian.

<sup>22</sup>For example, Bury in The Idea of Progress sees Locke as wanting to preserve order and defend life and property not to directly improve society but to secure the conditions in which men may pursue their own legitimate needs.

<sup>23</sup>Frye, The Stubborn Structure, p. 119, reports that most utopias are controlled by a small group of elites. Tihany, "Utopias in Modern Western Thought," p. 37, concurs as he says that until the French Revolution utopias were aristocratic. Wilson, "A Theory of Conservatism," p. 38, observes that conservatives believe in 'government of the best.' Moore, Reflections on the Causes of Human Misery, p. 61, notes that both de Tocqueville and Mosca agree that with civilization comes oligarchy as a natural state. Lippmann, An Inquiry. . . ., p. 358, asserts that only tyranny can enforce equality and a free society is the one in which inequality is recognized. Eisinger, Fiction of the Forties, p. 153, describes the conservative philosophy of James Gould Cozzens as one of faith in the elite.

James A. Nuechterlein, "Neo Conservatism and Its Critics," The Virginia Quarterly Review 53 (Autumn 1977): 607-27, reports that neo-conservatives believe in economic inequality.

<sup>24</sup>Donald A. Zoll, The Twentieth Century Mind (Kingsport, Tenn.: Kingsport Press, Inc., 1967), p. 34, credits Senator Goldwater for raising the issue of the relationship of the individual to the government. Frye, The Stubborn Structure, p. 122, mentions that in most utopias the individual is subjected to the state. He continues (p. 126) to observe that pastoral utopias have man at peace with himself and his own nature. According to Frye (p. 132) Thoreau in Walden stresses the development of the individual over the reform of society.

Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr., The Decline of American Liberalism (New York: Longmans, 1955), p. 180, states that today's liberals look to the future in which the state rules the individual. He categorically declares that individualism conflicts with both majority rule and the concept of equality. In The Idea of Progress in America, he observes that while the transcendentalists defend the individual, the utopians attack him.

Moore, Reflections on the causes of Human Misery, p. 5, wants "society to allow and indeed encourage human beings to find their own forms of happiness in their own ways so long as the search does not cause others to suffer." Bury, The Idea of Progress, p. 236, observes, "individual liberty is the motive force." In short, as Voegelin in The New Science of Politics (p. 150) states, "social evils cannot be reformed by legislation." Bailey, Pilgrims through Space and Time, p. 235, describes Kipling's "With the Night Mail" as an individualistic utopia, although he does not use this terminology.

<sup>25</sup>Brown, et al., The Incredible Bread Machine (Pasadena, Calif.: Ward Richie Press, 1974), p. 129, define 'freedom' in terms of economics and judge political and social systems by their economy.

James P. Young, The Politics of Affluence (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1968), p. 4, sees the conservative tradition in America as consisting of a capitalistic economy, competition, individualism, and wealth. As a result, he reports (p. 95) American conservatism was characterized not by defense of static social structures but by the dynamic changes in the economy initiated by businessmen. He therefore views (p. 123) conservatism in America as being composed of laissez-faire economics coupled with social Darwinism. Thus, American conservatives believe (p. 133) 'a free economy is the pre-requisite of a free society.'

Carleton, Technology and Humanism, pp. 174-85, also views the situation of the American conservative. Like Young, he refuses to define it in the European mold of defending a static society but rather sees it as a dynamic business-oriented theory that welcomes technological change, mass markets and economic promise. The elite are not those who have held the land for time immemorial but those who, given equal economic opportunity, became wealthy. However, he notes that today's wealthy rely on the government to provide their wealth through defense contracts, etc. and even the small businessman owes his prosperity to governmental regulation. During the nineteenth century, government acted to promote business in the belief that if the entrepreneurs were wealthy, the country would prosper. As a result, today's conservative believes that free enterprise means government aid to business, while socialism is government aid to those outside the business community. He regards Lippmann's Good Society as the best defense of American conservatism as a market society.

Ekirch, The Decline of American Liberalism, p. 160, notes the same trend in which business resisted government intervention in the economy only when it threatened their interests but welcomed the tariff and other government action that aided industry.

Allyn B. Forbes, "The Literary Quest for Utopias, 1880-1900," Social Forces 6 (September 1927): 187-88, reports that nineteenth century utopians viewed the problems of society as primarily economic in origins and requiring economic solutions. Claude Reherd Flory, Economic Criticism in American Fiction (New York: Russell and Russell, 1937), p. 194, lists a number of leading utopias of the nineteenth century that rejected socialism and embraced capitalism.

In the twentieth century Eisinger, Fiction of the Forties, p. 161, describes the political philosophy of conservative novelist James Gould Cozzens as a belief that ". . . the pursuit of wealth ought to be the dominant activity in the society, men are to be measured by a monetary standard . . . the poor, whatever their virtues, were not capable of mastering their environment . . . possession of money is equated with worth of character or, negatively, drudgery,

and economic insecurity are the consequences of too little will and intelligence."

Zoll, The Twentieth Century Mind, pp. 34-35, claims that Goldwater in 1964 warned against simplistic theories of economic determinism.

Finally, Lippmann, An Inquiry . . ., p. 190, who was so praised by Carleton, cautions that ultimately laissez-faire depends on the government to defend properly and uphold the validity of contracts. Without government defense, these have no value. The survival of capitalism, therefore, depends on the state to provide "the policeman, the jails, and the hangman."

<sup>26</sup>Bailey, Pilgrims through Space and Time, p. 51, comments that most utopians are strong believers in state control. Yet, Zoll, pp. 34-36, reports that the limits of governmental power was one of the issues raised by Senator Goldwater in his 1964 campaign. Another was the issue of order. Ekirch, The Decline of American Liberalism, p. 166, that there were some individualists who opposed government assistance to the forces of industry, while Young in The Politics of Affluence (p. 137) points out that distrust of government is at its root a distrust of egalitarianism. James McEvoy III, Radicals or Conservatives? (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1971), p. 2, when he lists the characteristics of contemporary conservatism begins with limited government and immediately follows with four other items all requiring a strong state.

Voegelin in The New Science of Politics, p. 149, defines the duty of the government to preserve order, and John Hospers, Libertarianism (Los Angeles: Nash Publishing, 1971), p. 211, asserts that both the left and right favor government but differ as to its amount and area of intervention.

Thus, the conservative wants government but only in the field of defense and protective powers. Brown et al., The Incredible Bread Machine, give their vision as to the proper role of government: "What if government could only use its powers defensively to protect the life, liberty, and property of its citizens against the initiation of force and fraud from others?" The answer would be an American conservative utopia such as the four studied.

<sup>27</sup>Analysis of micro-economic theories of utility can be found in Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen's "Utility," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 5 (U.S.A.: Macmillan & The Free Press, 1968), pp. 236-65.

See also Roger N. Waud, Micro-Economics (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), pp. 103-21; Alexander B. Holmes, Microeconomic Theory Workbook (Norman, private printing, 1979); and Assar Lindbeck, The Political Economy of the New Left (New York: Harper and Row, 1971).

For political aspects of the same phenomenon see V. O. Key, Jr., The Responsible Electorate (New York: Vintage Books, 1966), especially chapter I, "The Voice of the People: An Echo." As Key is quoted (p. vii) in the "Forward," "The perverse and unorthodox argument of this little book is that voters are not fools."

One can logically ask if the masses are not logical in a democratic setting to vote themselves the wealth of the few? In the short term, they are, indeed, following self-interest. But the long term consequence is the destruction of the elite who supplied the wealth. Morley's unprepared America and Hazlitt's Wonworld are both results of the powers of the masses overruling and destroying the minority elite.

For this reason, democracy must be shunned. The self-interest of the majority that is necessary for capitalism to work also makes democracy a self-destroying proposition. Only the elite realize the long-range consequences of the majority taking the resources of the minority. After awhile both the resources and the elite are destroyed.

The conservative thus seeks a balance between the democratic tendencies of the masses and the power of the government. A strong government is desirable while the populace have little control over it, assuming, of course, that it is in the hands of the elite. The more democratic a political system, the more desirable to curtail the scope of governmental power to prevent the masses from engaging in momentarily prosperous but ultimately suicidal policies.

The four authors studied all have concluded that the threat of democracy is too great and government must be permanently weakened to ensure that if it falls into the wrong hands, no major damage is done. The idea of rule by an elite is dismissed by all since inevitably the nonelite will find their way to political power. In a way, all four utopias are a vote of no confidence in the power of the elite, not to gain political power, but to hold it. Another interpretation is that the masses in a capitalistic economy cannot but help transfer their self-interest to the democratic political realm.



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## APPENDIX I

### Directive 10-289 (AS, pp. 505-6)

In the name of general welfare, to protect the people's security, to achieve full equality and total stability, it is decreed for the duration of that national emergency that--

Point One. All workers, wage earners and employees of any kind whatsoever shall henceforth be attached to their jobs and shall not leave nor be dismissed nor change employment under penalty of a term in jail. The penalty shall be determined by the Unification Board, such Board to be appointed by the Bureau of Economic Planning and National Resources. All persons reaching the age of twenty-one shall report to the Unification Board, which shall assign them to where, in its opinion, their service will best serve the interests of the nation.

Point Two. All industrial, commercial, manufacturing and business establishments of any nature whatsoever shall henceforth remain in operation, and the owners of such establishments shall not quit nor leave, nor close, sell or transfer their business, under penalty of the nationalization of their establishment and of any and all of their property.

Point Three. All patents and copyrights, pertaining to any devices, inventions, formulas, processes and works of any nature whatsoever, shall be turned over to the nation as a patriotic emergency gift by means of Gift Certificates to be signed voluntarily by the owners of such patents and copyrights. The Unification Board shall then license the use of such patents and copyrights to all applicants, equally and without discrimination, for the purpose of eliminating monopolistic practices, discarding obsolete products and making the best available to the whole nation. No trademarks, brand names or copyrighted titles shall be used. Every formerly patented produce shall be known by a new name and sold by all manufacturers under the same name, such name to be selected by the Unification Board. All private trademarks and brand names are hereby abolished.

Point Four. No new devices, inventions, products, or goods of any nature whatsoever, not now on the market, shall be produced, invented, manufactured or sold after the date of this directive. The Office of Patents and Copyrights is hereby suspended.

Point Five. Every establishment, concern, corporation or person engaged in production of any nature whatsoever shall henceforth produce the same amount of goods per year as it, they or he produced during the Basic Year, no more and no less. The year to be known as the Basic or Yardstick Year is to be the year ending on the date of this directive. Over or under production shall be fined, such fines to be determined by the Unification Board.

Point Six. Every person of any age, sex, class or income, shall henceforth spend the same amount of money on the purchase of goods per year as he or she spent during the Basic Year, no more and no less. Over and under purchasing shall be fined, such fines to be determined by the Unification Board.

Point Seven. All wages, prices, salaries, dividends, profits, interest rates and forms of income of any nature whatsoever, shall be frozen at their present figures, as of the date of this directive.

Point Eight. All cases arising from and rules not specifically provided for in this directive, shall be settled and determined by the Unification Board, whose decisions will be final.

#### FAIR SHARE LAW

(AS, pp. 341-42)

Apparently the law forbids one from producing more or less than his competitors or no more than a competitor could have produced if he produced the object. The law also apparently provides for an equal share of production to each customer. Rand has made this law intentionally vague to demonstrate the power of government bureaucrats given discretion in such matters. No one knows what the law says or means. (author's comment)

#### EQUALIZATION OF OPPORTUNITY BILL

(AS, p. 127)

"A bill forbidding any person or corporation to own more than one business concern."

## APPENDIX II

Ayn Rand's Values  
(Ward, p. 116)

<u>Intellectual</u>	<u>Social/Political</u>	<u>Personal</u>	<u>Economic</u>
intellectual	individualism	courage	wealth
perception	freedom	self-confidence	freedom
independence	progress	self-esteem	success
coherence	justice	purpose	competition
consistency	action	ego	responsibility
integrity	achievement	initiative	work
logic	competition	independence	money (gold)
objectivity	production	ability	profits
choice	independence	productivity	choice
reason	inter-direction	pride	innovation
knowledge	adventure	selfishness	insecurity
reliability	heroism	decisiveness	abundance
precision	joy	ambition	industriousness
certainty	high living	energy	
realism	standards	competitiveness	
freedom	privacy		
inventiveness	choice		
ideas	insecurity		
	technology		
	happiness		
	responsibility		

## APPENDIX III

### CONSTITUTION OF ALPACA

#### PREAMBLE

We, the people of Alpaca, yearning to achieve a just, stable and lasting form of government and to assure tranquility and peace to ourselves and our posterity, do hereby ordain and establish this the Constitution of Alpaca.

#### ARTICLE I.

**SECTION 1.** An informed and responsible electorate being basic to lasting government, all citizens of Alpaca, male or female, eighteen (18) years of age or older at the time of an election shall without educational, mental or other tests have the right to vote.

Only citizens age twenty-two (22) years or older, except in the Military, shall hold positions, namely offices, posts, or as delegates, in the Government of Alpaca. Members of the military age eighteen (18) years or older may serve as delegates and hold other positions in the Military branch of government, but in no other position. "Term," as used in this Constitution, unless otherwise provided when used and except the initial four (4) and eight (8) year terms required to establish the twelve (12) year term pattern, shall mean a continuous tenure in position of twelve (12) years with ineligibility to serve in the same capacity beyond twelve (12) years until one (1) year shall have elapsed. In initial elections and nominations, those named to the four (4) year, eight (8) year and twelve (12) year terms must be designated. Occupancy of or termination of any position shall not constitute ineligibility for acceptance of service in any other position. Ineligibility to again be chosen for service in the same capacity without the lapse of one (1) year makes rotation a reality. Proper rotation in position stimulates the highest efficiency and provides the most economical administration of government.

Service to fill vacancies and unexpired terms of seven (7) years or less does not invoke ineligibility. Any citizen convicted of participating in any subterfuge or plan to defeat this ineligibility clause shall never thereafter vote or serve in a government position.

**SECTION 2.** The Provinces of Alpaca shall be divided into voting Precincts. Each Precinct shall be formed to comprise as nearly as practicable two thousand (2,000) potential voters. If any Precinct exceeds three thousand (3,000) potential voters a committee chosen by the highest College of legislative delegates representing the legislative district in which said Precinct is located shall in a reasonable time redistrict the Precincts to disturb the former Precinct boundaries as little as possible and yet conform as closely as practicable to the pattern of two thousand (2,000) total of potential voters per Precinct, and a remnant Precinct, if required, may comprise any lesser number of voters.

**SECTION 3.** The voters within a Precinct shall elect a Registration Board for that Precinct which shall consist of three (3) members each to serve one (1) term, one (1) of whom shall be elected every four (4) years. The Registration Board shall select and provide election judges and the clerical help and facilities necessary to hold elections.

Each Registration Board shall maintain a registration office at which every citizen must register prior to December 31 of each year to qualify to vote in the ensuing year. This registration is mandatory. Any citizen failing to register except through circumstances beyond his control shall forfeit the right to vote for a five (5) year period.

Precinct elections shall be held at publicized polling places each four (4) years at the month, day and hours set by the Senate and shall consist of a first election and a second election. In the first election the names appearing on the ballot shall be decided by petitions. The Registration Board, begin-

ning six (6) months prior to each election, shall make available in convenient form petitions for registered voters of the Precinct who wish to nominate citizens for certain positions to be on the Precinct ballot of the first election. Any registered voter can appear during office hours and sign a petition showing the date of signature and their preference for one different citizen to fill each position for as many positions as are to be filled for which he elects to declare. Friends of citizens may circulate petitions of a similar nature to be dated when filed with the Precinct Registration Board on behalf of citizens who are willing to have their names appear on the ballot as candidates for specified positions for submission to the electorate. A Petitioner shall be limited to naming only one citizen for each position and only his nomination to fill a position first filed with the Registration Board shall be counted. The five (5) high named persons in petitions for each position, as well as all other persons named by five per cent (5%) of the Precinct electorate for that position, shall be printed on the ballot. After the results of the first election have been decided the names of the two (2) persons receiving the highest vote for each position shall appear on the ballot for the second election which shall be held two (2) weeks after the first election. The citizen receiving the highest vote for each position in the second election shall be certified by the Registration Board as elected. In case of a tie, the Registration Board shall name the winner. Precinct elections shall be by secret ballot, all higher elections by open ballot. All special, municipal and school elections shall be similarly conducted.

**SECTION 4.** In casting votes to fill offices the voters in each Precinct shall elect separate delegates for each of the three (3) main branches of government, being the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches of government, and also for the Military, a minor branch of government. Each Pre-

cinct shall elect six (6) delegates in each of the three main branches of government, two (2) being elected each four (4) years to serve a term, Place Number 1 delegates to fill necessary local or regional offices, Place Number 2 delegates to vote for higher officials and delegates to form a College to elect even higher officials or delegates to an even higher College. Each Precinct shall also elect three (3) Military branch delegates, who may or may not be in the Military, one (1) to be elected each four (4) years for a term. All Military delegates shall have the same duties and act in the combined capacity of the Place Number 1 and Place Number 2 delegates in the three (3) main branches of government. Delegates shall always cast a vote equal to the value of the total registered voting power of the Precinct or area they represent.

**SECTION 5.** The Precinct delegates for each branch of government shall meet and vote with delegates of their branch of government from other contiguous Precincts authorized by the Senate to comprise a "College." A College shall not exceed three hundred (300) delegates, except the highest College shall contain from one hundred one (101) to four hundred (400) delegates. Elections shall be held in elective Colleges one (1) month after the delegates voting in said elections have been chosen. The College elections shall be held in the same manner and under the same rules as the Precinct elections, except the voting will be by open ballot until the highest Colleges of a pyramidal system have been chosen to fill the highest offices in Alpaca. Each College shall fill the required offices wholly within its College district which have not been filled at a lower level and shall elect from its number or other citizens of the College district six (6) delegates, two (2) to be elected each four (4) years; each to serve a term until the highest College required in each branch of government has been elected. Each delegate may serve in the same

branch of government in any number of such positions to which he may be elected from Precinct or College. He shall not serve as a delegate while holding an elective or appointive office. Should any delegate or official be convicted of participating in any trade or exchange of support with other delegates or officials he shall be guilty of bribery, disqualified from further service in the government of Alpaca and liable for all penalties for bribery.

**SECTION 6.** Should twenty per cent (20%) of the Precinct electorate petition the Precinct Registration Board in a manner similar to the naming of citizens to appear on the ballot by petition asking that the Precinct electorate vote directly for citizens to fill the offices essential within the Precinct, the Registration Board shall call a special election one (1) year prior to the next general election to vote upon petitioners' request. If a two-thirds (2/3ds) majority of the Precinct electorate voting in the special election approves this change in the Precinct elective procedure, thereafter the citizens to fill all positions within the Precinct shall be elected by a direct vote until such time as twenty per cent (20%) of the Precinct electorate petitions the Registration Board for a return to the delegate system originally provided in the Constitution and in a special election called by the Registration Board vote by a majority for restoration of the original delegate system.

**SECTION 7.** Delegates to the highest College in each branch of government shall elect nine (9) members of a Vacancy Committee to serve their branch of government, three (3) members to be elected each four (4) years for a term. Each Vacancy Committee shall by majority vote fill any vacancy occurring in any office within their branch for a vacancy term until the next general election, at which time the office will be filled by balloting for the remainder of the unexpired term, and shall in the same manner fill vacancies occurring in their own committee.

## **ARTICLE II.**

**SECTION 1.** The legislative power of Alpaca shall be vested solely in a Senate and Legislative Veto Board.

**SECTION 2.** Alpaca shall be divided into forty (40) legislative districts, each representing as nearly as practicable one-fortieth (1/40th) of the national population. A legislative district need not be confined within the borders of a province. Each legislative district shall be represented by three (3) Senators, each age twenty-eight (28) years or older, one (1) Senator to be elected every four (4) years for a 12-year term, except that in the first election, one shall be elected to a 4-year term, one to an 8-year term and one to a 12-year term. A Senator need not be a resident of the district which he represents, but during his Senate term shall not represent any other district or area in the Senate or serve in any other position. In voting in the Senate, each Senator shall cast a vote equal to the total registered voting power of his district. The Senate shall elect from its number a Chairman, a First Vice-Chairman and a Second Vice-Chairman, each for a two (2) year period, the Chairman being ineligible to further serve as Chairman until the lapse of one (1) year. The Chairman of the Senate shall appoint Presiding Officers and Parliamentarians, from among experienced persons, age seventy (70) years or less, who are not members of the Senate, and shall appoint other operating personnel. The Senate shall at all times keep the Senate Chairmanship filled; and should a vacancy occur without any Vice-Chairman to succeed to the position, then the Chairman of the Legislative Veto Board shall call the Senate in special session. Redistricting of Legislative districts when needed shall be made by a committee appointed by the Senate.

**SECTION 3.** The highest College of legislative delegates shall elect a Legislative Veto Board of three (3) members,

each age thirty-six (36) or older, one (1) to be elected each four (4) years for a term. The Chairman of the Senate shall appoint one (1) of these three (3) as Chairman and one (1) as First Assistant Chairman, and the chairmanship shall rotate each year. The Legislative Veto Board shall continuously advise with the Senate Budget Staff and other Budget Staffs. By a two-thirds vote, the Legislative Veto Board may veto any law passed by the Senate, in which event, the Senate can by a two-thirds (2/3ds) vote, re-enact the law over their veto.

**SECTION 4.** All legislation expires at the end of twelve (12) years after its enactment unless it be re-enacted by the Senate thirty (30) or more days before its expiration. The re-enactment unchanged of expiring legislation shall not be subject to veto.

**SECTION 5.** The Senate shall establish an equitable and uniform system of taxation. The combined total of all taxes, national, school, municipal or special district, except head tax and occupancy tax provided in Article II, Section 10 and Section 12, to prevent confiscation, shall be contained within the percentage of valuation as follows:

1. **Annual Property Tax** — fixed rate between 3/4 of 1% and 1 1/4 %
2. **Import Tax** — variable rate between 0% and 100%, depending on article
3. **Export Tax** — variable rate between 0% and 50%, depending on article
4. **Severance Tax on Natural Resources** — variable rate between 0% to 30%, depending on article
5. **Gift Tax** — graduated rate from 0% to 15%
6. **Inheritance Tax** — graduated from 0% to 25%
7. **Production or Manufacturing Tax** — a fixed rate on each article



- (1) On luxury items, including alcoholic beverages and tobacco — fixed rate between 0% and 100%
  - (2) On necessity items — fixed rate between 0% and 4%
8. Income Tax — graduated rate from 0% to 25%
9. Sales Tax — a fixed rate on each article
- (1) On luxury items, including alcoholic beverages and tobacco — fixed rate between 0% and 100%
  - (2) On necessity items — fixed rate between 0% and 4%
10. Franchise Tax — fixed rate of 0% to 2% of volume of business

Tax exemption shall not be permitted on any property owned or used by the government, nor on property, resources or income used in philanthropies of any nature, however worthy, except solely for advancing medical science, care of the sick, and public enlightenment to promote personal initiative and individual liberty.

Contributions by individuals to Alpacan religious institutions or contributions made through the religious institutions to programs supported partly or entirely by religious organizations and engaged only in advancing medical science, caring for the sick, or promoting personal initiative or any combination thereof, would be deductible limited to 20 per cent of the taxpayer's income for the year.

Taxpayers in a position to lose bonus votes by being dropped into a lower tax bracket through deductions would be so dropped unless they indicated to the contrary on filing their income reports. An organization professing adherence to a religion would be considered a religious institution by the Alpacan government only if the religion espoused by the

persons comprising the religious organization acknowledges the existence of a Supreme Being. Assessments shall not be made against taxpayers of certain classes during the time the cost of collection from them would exceed fifty per cent (50%) of the revenue to be collected. Only such taxes shall be imposed in the order above recited, in the percentage deemed proper within the percentage limitation, as are essential to finance the government. Taxes shall be assessed to maintain the financial stability of the government; but the power to tax shall never be used as a power to destroy, promote philosophic objectives, or transform society in any manner except to discourage the use or consumption of harmful substances. In computing the tax on the production and sale of irreplaceable natural resources, including timber, and income therefrom, the Senate shall fix an allowance for the depletion of capital value of these resources. There shall be no payroll tax of any character whatever, and no withholding from payrolls shall be made except for voluntary health and life insurance and for income tax when legalized. Taxes shall not be assessed nor tax money spent except for purposes authorized by this Constitution.

**SECTION 6.** The Senate shall enact legislation for the establishment of a postal system, post offices and post roads to be operated by the Government, or if more efficient and economical by contract with privately owned companies; the arrest of persons for crime, rules of criminal procedure and punishment; the Standard of Weights and Measures, and regulating commerce with foreign nations. The Senate shall appropriate adequate funds for maintenance of the Military Branch after advising with the Commander in Chief and the National Policy Committee; and shall maintain a budget staff to recommend the levying of taxes and appropriations constituting national budgets and to confer with any budget staffs maintained by the Executive or Military Branches.

**SECTION 7.** The Senate shall enact legislation providing for the coinage of money, the issuance of currencies and other governmental securities, the unit value Pack, based on and redeemable in ten (10) kilograms of wheat or rice of standard grade, whichever is of lesser value, or quantities equal in value of other available commodities, or redeemable in any subsequent issue of Pack at their comparative commodity values. The Senate may revalue the commodity value of the Pack when necessary, but not more often than three (3) years from the last revaluation, but such revaluation shall not change the commodity values of previously issued Pack. The Government shall make available within Alpaca designated redemption points convenient to the public but may require twenty (20) days' notice for distribution of commodities. The Cent shall be 1/100th of the Pack in its subdivision and the Kilo 1/10th. The Pack and the multiples thereof shall be issued in currency and its 1/100th, 1/20th, 1/10th and 1/4th subdivisions shall be in coin which is redeemable in Pack of any issue but not redeemable in commodities.

**SECTION 8.** The Senate shall enact laws regulating the admission of aliens into Alpaca under such terms, conditions and durations as it may deem proper, together with rules governing the naturalization of self-supporting aliens who lawfully reside in Alpaca. Continued allegiance of any naturalized Alpaca citizen to a foreign country being established by judicial decree shall result in the revocation of Alpaca citizenship and prompt deportation of such person. If such allegiance to a foreign country includes treason, such person shall first be tried for such treason. All persons born or naturalized in Alpaca and maintaining active allegiance and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of Alpaca.

**SECTION 9.** The Senate may enact laws applicable only to certain local areas. Upon receiving a petition of twenty

per cent (20%) of Precinct legislative delegates representing any area seeking a national law applicable to that area or the Senate shall appoint a committee to hold hearings and conduct investigations as to the need for such special legislation; this committee need not include any member of the Senate and shall report to the Senate's general committee on localized laws, and the Senate may enact a national law applicable to any particular area within Alpaca, effective after a majority vote of acceptance by the Precinct legislative delegates representing said area.

**SECTION 10.** School Legislation shall be local laws enacted in the school district or other school divisions conforming to the Constitution. School elections shall be conducted by the Precinct Registration Board of Precincts wholly or partly within the school district with only qualified citizens residing within the area voting. Only school elections held at the same time as national elections shall be conducted at the expense of Alpaca. Taxes necessary to maintain schools shall be assessed on parents or guardians for each of their children age five (5) to seventeen (17) years at a fixed rate of ten (10) to forty (40) Pack per child within the school district; and a head tax assessed on each other adult person residing within the school district at a fixed rate of two (2) to six (6) Pack, and taxes assessed on the same but not fully used sources of tax authorized subject to the limitations set out in the Constitution.

**SECTION 11.** The Government shall require that children from six (6) through fourteen (14) years of age whose health permits attend a qualified school or be otherwise adequately tutored.

Children, three and four years old, who, in kindergarten, pass examinations disclosing that they are qualified to enter grades with children above five years of age, may be accepted

in higher grades for which they qualify if their parents desire.

The Government shall provide boarding and day school facilities, where needed, for the tutelage of the mentally inadequate.

Parents and guardians shall be responsible for each child's attendance or instruction. Those directly concerned shall be in charge of policies, administration, control and the raising of funds, but the Government shall require that the annual minimum salary for all teachers and instructors in the educational field shall be thirty percent (30%) or more greater than the average highest pay for the highest paid ten percent (10%) of unskilled hourly or per diem wage earners in the area.

SECTION 12. Charters, bylaws and laws to govern municipalities may be enacted by voters in the areas affected and shall apply only to the municipality wherein enacted but must conform to the Constitution and laws of Alpaca. Municipal elections shall be conducted by the Precinct Registration Boards of Precincts wholly or partly within the municipality with only those voting who reside within the municipality at times designated by the municipal government. Only municipal elections held at the same time as national elections shall be conducted at the expense of Alpaca. A municipal occupancy tax at a fixed rate of ten (10) to forty (40) Pack shall be assessed on each citizen age eighteen (18) years or older residing within the municipality, a franchise tax assessed at a fixed rate of 0% to 2% of value of volume, and taxes assessed on the same sources of tax authorized but not fully used by Alpaca or schools subject to the limitations set out in the Constitution.

SECTION 13. The Senate shall enact proper legislation providing for the enforcement of legal rights for wage-earning persons providing these rights from employers: disability pay

for injuries; vacation with pay; to accept bonuses from employers when offered; to quit work upon notice to employer who shall honor such termination notices in order of length of service, but shall not be required to honor each day out from more than 8% of his total staff employed at the time receiving such notices, but all notices shall be honored within 14 days; to be paid the Wage and Hour Commission minimum wage and to accept for better workmanship or professional efficiency higher pay than the average wage for the same tasks; to recreational and entertainment facilities; to be afforded healthful working conditions; to freedom from abuse by word or deed; to be free from paying a fee to the employer or any other person or organization as a condition for securing and continuing a job. The Senate shall not enact any legislation attempting to endow a wage-earning person with a property right in employment; unemployment insurance; a right to adverse occupancy of his employer's property; or a guaranteed wage for a future period of time. The Government shall maintain employment placement offices for the free use and convenience of wage-earning persons and employers.

SECTION 14. The Government shall accredit and list all non-governmental hospitals in Alpaca and the Government shall, where needed, construct and equip hospitals, nurseries, dormitories and related facilities which with existing hospitals are adequate for the hospitalization of ten percent (10%) above the average number of sick, and shall for stipulated periods place each and any hospital and its facilities, free of charge, in the custody of either a medical association, some other charitable organization or a highly efficient private profit motive organization; requiring that such hospitals and facilities be maintained and utilized to properly serve the public.

SECTION 15. The Senate shall enact legislation providing

for appropriate facilities for the care of orphans and adoption procedures and agencies for all orphans.

SECTION 16. The Government shall conduct its affairs to compete as little as possible with private industry, and shall keep at a minimum its land and real estate ownership used for national defense, parks, wild life refuges, flood control, reforestation, hospital sites, communication centers and similar ownerships absolutely essential to the function of Government, and shall be subject to suit to account to those suffering financial damage from the Government's failure to conform to these provisions.

SECTION 17. The Chairman of the Senate shall instruct the presiding officer to limit each Senator wishing to participate in the discussion of any subject before the Senate to a total of two hours, which he may use either in debate or in formal speeches.

SECTION 18. The Chairman of the Senate shall schedule action on each subject under consideration in such a way that voting shall be distributed throughout the session to prevent an accumulation of pending measures from being crowded into the closing days of a legislative session for final action, and a final vote on each measure shall be taken within ten (10) days after it is first brought to the Senate floor. A Senator may announce to the public by written word only his stand regarding any legislative measures before the Senate, but should he be found guilty of offering to pledge his support directly or indirectly to any person or any legislative measure he shall be suspended by the Legislative Investigating Committee.

SECTION 19. The Senate at the close of each session shall set a day for its next regular session and in case of emergency may be called into special session by the Chairman of the Senate or by the National Policy Committee.

SECTION 20. Bureaucracy in government makes for waste, inefficiency and a limitation of the freedom of the citizenry; therefore all agencies, bureaus, boards and commissions not specifically provided by the Constitution which may be established on an emergency basis in any branch of government shall be completely liquidated and terminated by the President within eighteen (18) months after having first been started and an annual review by an Agency Review Committee appointed by the National Policy Committee shall be made of all such entities of a permanent nature for the purpose of recommending (1) sustaining of such entity, (2) curtailment of activities, (3) reduction of personnel or (4) the complete liquidation and termination of such entity; and the findings of the Review Committee shall be promptly communicated to the President, the Chairman of the Senate and the head of the branch of government to which the entity is connected.

SECTION 21. All property, real or personal, acquired by either the husband or wife during marriage, except that which is the separate property of either, shall be deemed the community property of the husband and wife, and owned by them in equal shares. All property of a person, both real and personal, owned before marriage, and that acquired after marriage by gift, devise or descent, and the increase therefrom, shall be the separate property of that person. The Senate shall enact necessary legislation to effect and maintain such ownership.

### ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. The highest executive authority of the Nation shall be vested in a Triumvirate of three (3), each age thirty-six (36) years or older, elected by the highest College of Executive Delegates, one (1) member being elected every four (4) years for a 12-year term, except that the initial

election shall be respectively for a 4-year, an 8-year and a 12-year term. The Chief of the Appointment Examining Board shall initially appoint one (1) of the Triumvirs to serve as President of the Triumvirate, one (1) to serve as First Assistant Triumvir and one (1) to serve as Second Assistant Triumvir, each for a one (1) year period, and the Presidency shall thereafter rotate each year. The two Assistant Triumvirs shall serve with full-time duties of the Triumvirate. In the event of a vacancy in the Presidency, other than through rotation, the First Assistant Triumvir shall succeed to the Presidency and the Second Assistant Triumvir shall become the First Assistant Triumvir and the Vacancy Committee shall fill the resulting vacancy. The President of the Triumvirate must be joined by one (1) of the Assistant Triumvirs or by the Chief of the Appointment Examining Board in each act or decision. Should none of these three (3) confirm the proposal of the President, these three (3), acting unanimously, are empowered to act on the subject brought to their attention by the President or on any other imperative matters of state.

SECTION 2. Qualifications of appointive officials in the Executive Branch of the Government will be passed upon by an Appointment Examining Board of nine (9) members, each age thirty (30) years or older, three (3) of whom shall be elected by the highest College of Executive Delegates every four (4) years to serve a 12-year term, except that initially three shall be elected for 4-year, three for 8-year and three for 12-year terms. The Appointment Examining Board shall organize the Board and at all times keep filled the office of Chief of the Appointment Executive Board. The findings of this Board shall be advisory, but the Board may reject any appointment made by an elected executive official. The Appointment Examining Board may establish Sub-Boards where needed, the membership of which shall be elected in the same

manner as the Appointment Examining Board by the Executive Delegates authorized to fill the offices in the area in which the Sub-Board shall function; and the Sub-Board shall function under the rules prescribed for the parent Board.

SECTION 3. The President of the Executive Triumvirate may negotiate treaties with foreign powers within the framework of the Constitution, and a treaty shall become binding when ratified by the majority of a Treaty Committee composed of the Chairman of the Senate, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and Chief of the Appointment Examining Board of the executive department. The treaty shall become the law of the land only so far as the obligation of the Nation to carry out that particular treaty and shall not become a precedent in law.

SECTION 4. The highest College of executive delegates shall elect a Wage and Hour Commission consisting of three (3) members, each age thirty (30) years or older, one (1) of whom shall be elected each four (4) years for a 12-year term, except that the initial election shall be respectively for a 4-year, an 8-year and a 12-year term. The Wage and Hour Commission shall make a continuous study of the man hours of work needed in Alpaca and the work capacity in man hours of the people available to do the work. The purpose of the study shall be to smoothly accomplish the distribution of the volume of work needed to be done when demand for production is great within Alpaca and to prevent abnormal unemployment at all times. Semiannually, the Wage and Hour Commission shall report its findings as to the proper hours per week employment and one (1) month thereafter with the consent of a majority of the National Policy Committee, call for a prescribed number of hours as the work week and for a minimum wage for males and a minimum wage for females applying equally to all who work, with time and a half for overtime and holiday work and one and a half times

the customary pay for overtime piece work. Wage earners shall not accept year, month, week, day, hour, or piece work for pay from anyone other than their regular employer if the week work is forty-four (44) hours or less, but may perform work for themselves.

**SECTION 5.** In the event citizens or members of the armed forces of Alpaca are forcibly and illegally detained in foreign countries, the Executive Triumvirate shall promptly enter into diplomatic negotiations to secure their immediate release. Should such diplomatic negotiations fail within thirty (30) days to secure the release and repatriation of any such persons being illegally detained, the National Policy Committee shall take whatever action is necessary to rescue and repatriate such persons.

#### **ARTICLE IV.**

**SECTION 1.** The judicial power of the Nation shall be vested in a Supreme Court and in such lower courts as the Supreme Court shall from time to time establish, each of which when established shall be abolished whenever there is insufficient docket to justify its continuance.

**SECTION 2.** A Supreme Court of nine (9) Justices each age forty (40) years or older shall be elected by the highest college of judicial delegates, three (3) Justices being elected every four (4) years for a 12-year term, except that initially three shall be elected for a 4-year, three for an 8-year and three for a 12-year term. The Supreme Court Justices shall choose one of their number to serve as Chief Justice for a two (2) year period, ineligible to further serve as Chief Justice until the lapse of one (1) year. The position of Chief Justice shall be kept filled at all times and should a vacancy occur the Court shall immediately convene, and the Justices shall re-organize the court. The Vacancy Committee shall

then select a new member to bring the court up to the prescribed number of members. All members of the Supreme Court other than the original members must have previously served as judges in courts for a period of two (2) or more years.

**SECTION 3.** Judges of the lower national courts, each age thirty-six (36) years or older, elected for a two (2) year term by the judicial delegates representing their jurisdictional district, shall preside over all cases and trials within their jurisdiction, and two (2) commissioners to be associated with each judge shall be similarly elected. The judge and commissioners may render a unanimous verdict or a two-to-one verdict, and in either case their majority decision shall be the judgment of the court and if none agree, the judge alone shall render the verdict. All verdicts shall be subject to appeal.

**SECTION 4.** The Supreme Court shall from time to time establish labor courts to furnish wage earners and employers easy access to a labor judge of age twenty-six (26) or older, who shall be of equal stature to judges of lower national courts and elected by the same delegates electing the judges of the lower national courts. A nominal fee of 10 Pack shall be charged complainant, either employer or employee, for hearings. By appointment complainant with any witnesses he may wish to have heard may appear with or without counsel before the labor judge who, after questioning the complainant, and summoning any other parties who should be heard in the case, shall furnish complainant and defendants with a transcript of the hearing and the judge's verdict. The verdict rendered by the judge shall be subject to appeal by any party to the case to either a lower national court or to the same appellate courts to which verdicts of other lower national court judges are made, paying the usual costs of these courts.

**SECTION 5.** The Supreme Court shall from time to time

establish such appellate courts with such appellate jurisdiction as the Supreme Court deems necessary. The highest College of judicial delegates representing each appellate district shall elect three (3) judges; each age thirty-two (32) or older for each appellate court, one (1) judge being elected every four (4) years for a 12-year term, except that initially respectively one shall be elected for a 4 year, one for an 8-year and one for a 12-year term.

SECTION 16. The Supreme Court shall not declare any act of the Senate unconstitutional with a finding of less than seven (7) affirmative votes nor nullify executive action with less than six (6) affirmative votes. The Supreme Court shall recognize that this Constitution can be amended only as provided in Article VI and shall only construe existing laws which have been enacted by the Senate and shall not attempt to expand the meaning of existing laws in a manner which would create legislation by judicial decree; but if they find uncertainty of the legislative intent in any law, it shall be proper for the Supreme Court to request the Senate for an enactment to clarify the legislation.

## ARTICLE V.

SECTION 1. The Military shall be separate from but responsible in top policy matters to the three other branches of the national government. Three (3) officers each age thirty (30) years or older to head the Military shall be elected, one to be elected each four (4) years for a 12-year term, except that initially respectively one shall be selected for a 4-year, one for an 8-year and one for a 12-year term, by the highest College of Military Delegates. The National Policy Committee shall name one (1) of the three (3) as Commander in Chief, another as First Assistant and the other as Second Assistant to the Commander in Chief, and the position of Commander in Chief shall rotate each two (2) years and the

First and Second Assistant shall at all times serve in the immediate staff of the Commander in Chief. However, the term of any of these officials may be terminated when, in the opinion of the National Policy Committee, the best interests of Alpaca justify the action. The Commander in Chief shall be responsible for the conduct of the armed forces, but as to top policy decisions shall be subordinate to a National Policy Committee composed of the President of the Triumvirate, who shall be Chairman of the National Policy Committee, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the Chairman of the Legislative Veto Board. The Commander in Chief shall report to the President his proposed actions, and a majority of the National Policy Committee may withhold the Committee's sanction and the Committee shall be empowered if acting unanimously to direct the Commander in Chief to carry out any policy they consider imperative. If a decision is not reached in either manner, the issue shall then be promptly decided by the Chairman of the Senate.

SECTION 2. The National Policy Committee and the Commander in Chief acting unanimously may engage the military forces in military action against any foreign power; and acting with the consent of the Chairman of the Senate may instruct the Commander in Chief to use the military forces in suppressing rebellion and policing internal local areas if the civil authorities apply to the Commander in Chief for help in situations beyond their control. Military forces shall not be used against any citizens of Alpaca except as above provided.

SECTION 3. The Commander in Chief shall appoint the highest officer of each division of the military service and the members of his immediate staff other than the two Assistant Chiefs. Personnel for the four (4) lowest posts or ranks in each division of the military service equivalent to Corporal, Sergeant, Lieutenant and Captain will be named by their superiors, and all other military officers intermediate between

these high appointive stations and low appointive ranks provided above shall be elected by the appropriate college of delegates and for the position to be filled as defined by the Senate. Excepting the Commanders in Chief, the military officers shall not be limited in term of service while able to perform their duties or upon reaching a proper uniform retirement age to be set by the Senate. In making all appointments and promotions seniority shall be considered only as one factor of merit and all appointments shall be made by merit. Those occupying elective military positions are eligible for Retirement payments.

SECTION 4. Volunteers shall be accepted into the Armed Services when needed, and in emergencies Alpaca shall have the right to conscript personnel for military service who shall receive equitable pay, and the right to conscript property for military use, the owners of which shall receive just compensation. The success of military action is dependent upon modern equipment and the personnel shall be kept at the minimum.

#### ARTICLE VI.

SECTION 1. Amendments to the Constitution may be submitted to the Delegate Electorate by a two-thirds ( $\frac{2}{3}$ ds) vote of the Senate or proposed by a majority of a Constitutional Convention of thirty-one (31) members elected by the Senate or by a unanimous vote of the National Policy Committee. Any amendment submitted by any of the three will become a part of the Constitution upon a two-thirds ( $\frac{2}{3}$ ds) vote of all delegates voting who have been elected in all branches of government in the Precincts. They shall be called upon to vote on the ratification of the amendment at the first general election or within two (2) years following its submission.

#### ARTICLE VII.

SECTION 1. The highest College of delegates in each branch of government shall elect an Investigating Committee consisting of nine (9) members each age thirty-two (32) or older, three (3) of whom shall be elected each four (4) years for a term. The duties of each of these committees shall be to investigate and hold hearings regarding the conduct of any position in such committee's branch of government. Hearings may be conducted by two (2) or more members of the committee and all information and evidence adduced at a hearing will be reported to the full committee for its action. Hearings may be open or closed. The committee by majority vote shall have the authority to call a new election at the next general election for any elected position and they may also temporarily suspend the occupant of any position. They may consider the health, habits, competency, efficiency, derelictions, temperament and integrity of the occupant who is the subject of their investigation, but in making an adverse finding they shall not publicize their reasons. An investigation by this committee shall not preclude criminal action from being taken against any person. Any investigating committee may establish a similar but inferior committee to function part or all time, if needed, to investigate minor position holders, which cases they are unable to properly investigate, but the final authority will rest in the highest investigating committee which shall be responsible for the subordinate investigating committees which it may establish.

SECTION 2. The penalty for acts of treason against the Government imposed in the Courts of Alpaca shall be imprisonment for three (3) or more years or a sentence of death.

SECTION 3. The Investigating Committee shall not deem any person being paid funds from the Government innocent



until proven innocent, and shall discontinue persons from their Governmental activities upon an accusation of treasonable or illegal activities which the Investigating Committee considers substantial until such time as their innocence of such accusation has been adjudged.

#### ARTICLE VIII.

Section 1. (a) The Government shall pay each citizen upon reaching the age of sixty-six (66) a monthly installment as a Seniority payment amounting to one-half ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) of the highest average monthly earnings attained by him for any three (3) consecutive years between the ages of fifty-one (51) and sixty (60). Such payments are to be limited to an amount equivalent to the value of 400 Pack. Seniority payments to a non-salaried and not self-employed married woman shall be in the amount of one-third ( $\frac{1}{3}$ ) of her husband's monthly earnings limited to 300 Pack. Each citizen not in need and preferring to waive the Seniority payments due him shall be granted two (2) additional votes in recognition of a high degree of patriotic spirit.

(b) Retirement payments will be made to all elective officials who have served to honorably terminate a full term or a vacancy term of eight (8) or more years, in the amount of two thirds ( $\frac{2}{3}$ ) of the monthly salary of the office. If more than one (1) office has been held the retirement payments shall be only for the office of highest pay. The payments shall be due without regard to the status of future employment or occupation, but no seniority payment shall be made to former officials receiving retirement payments. Any elective official, after reaching the age of sixty-five (65) years, may retire, drawing full pay for the remainder of the term to which he was elected and retirement pay thereafter. Each citizen preferring to waive retirement payments when eligible shall be granted two (2) additional votes in recogni-

tion of a high degree of patriotic spirit. Each citizen occupying a salaried government position who prefers to waive payment of fifty per cent (50%) or more of his annual government salary shall be granted one (1) additional vote in recognition of his desire to lessen the cost of government. Each citizen occupying a salaried government position who prefers to waive a previous year's total per diem payments, if amounting to more than ten per cent (10%) of the average national salary for similar work shall be granted one (1) additional vote.

(c) Delegates to represent the electorate in a Precinct or College of delegates shall not be considered officials and their pay shall be considered per diem payments for time actually given to their work and not salaries. This is true of all clerical help in holding elections except the Registration Board and any other part-time and temporary helpers.

(d) Indigent and infirm citizens shall be paid by the Government a monthly sum sufficient only to cover their necessities. The Senate may provide for resident persons a payment during the time such persons are seriously sick, only so long as their sickness lasts.

SECTION 2. Persons offering themselves for office or willing to accept office shall renounce their membership and participation in any and all political parties or thought groups but may announce their opinion regarding policies and truthful and accurate records of their past training and achievements in written form only but shall not make any promises of any nature whatsoever to any person or group except to pledge to take the following oath of office: "I DO SOLEMNLY SWEAR TO UPHOLD THE CONSTITUTION OF ALPACA, EFFICIENTLY DISCHARGE MY DUTIES AND PERFORM MY OFFICIAL ACTIONS TO ACCOMPLISH WHATEVER APPEARS TO ME TO BE IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF ALPACA WHEN THE TIME

## FOR DECISION OR ACTION ARRIVES."

SECTION 3. (a) The holders of offices and other governmental posts or positions shall not participate in any manner in the raising of funds from private sources for any institution or endeavor.

(b) Any citizen, elective or appointive, in any national, municipal, or school position shall not accept but shall return to the donor any individual gift in excess of a nominal value equivalent to 5 Pack, or any gifts from different persons comprising an aggregate value in excess of the equivalent to 100 Pack.

SECTION 4. (a) The Government of Alpaca declares that a continuing presentation of views and information and a constant debate between the two (2) worldwide opposing philosophies of government is a proper and wholesome governmental activity when carried out in a manner to avoid hysteria, prejudice and emotion in an attempt to formulate the best possible policies for orderly government. The printed word is subject to verification, review, analysis and evaluation and reaches the better reasoning power of those who read with understanding, therefore it provides the proper avenue for such debate. The two (2) thought groups of opposing philosophies may be best described as follows:

**LIBERAL**—Stressing privileges for the masses; progress unhampered by tradition, humanitarianism regardless of property rights, paternalistic government, social gains and associated and similar objectives.

**CONSTRUCTIVE**—Stressing inviolate property rights, individual initiative, the profit motive, free markets, protection against governmental monopoly and associated and similar objectives.

Principles should not be sacrificed in order to attain a middle-of-the-road policy but it may be from time to time

the extreme views of either thought group may not provide as salutary or sound governmental policy as a policy tempered by and leaning toward the opposing philosophy. Therefore, Alpaca shall require printed news media published therein to make available free a minimum of two per cent (2%) of space for the use of the authorized writing staff for each of these thought groups. The two (2) authorized writing staffs shall be chosen and comprised as follows:

**LIBERAL**—The Chairman of the Senate shall appoint a committee of five (5) Senators to name the most able, ardent and persuasive advocates of the liberal philosophy. From those named by the committee, the Chairman of the Senate shall appoint directors, who hold no governmental positions and who are willing to serve in that capacity without salary from the government, five (5) in number, one (1) to be appointed each year to serve for five (5) years. Initially, the five shall be appointed for one, two, three, four, and five-year terms. The five (5) directors so chosen shall organize their staff and prepare or cause to be prepared the printed current presentation of their philosophy.

**CONSTRUCTIVE**—The Chairman of the Senate shall appoint a committee of five (5) Senators to name the most able, ardent and persuasive advocates of the constructive philosophy. From those named by the committee, the Chairman of the Senate shall appoint directors, who hold no governmental positions and who are willing to serve in that capacity without salary from the government, five (5) in number, one (1) to be appointed each year to serve for five (5) years. The five (5) directors so chosen shall organize their staff and prepare or cause to be prepared the printed current presentation of their philosophy.

In addition to these officially sponsored opposing columns,

freedom of the press, including all non-libelous statements reminding affairs and policy of government and its personnel is guaranteed citizens of Alpaca. The right to petition the government or either shall never be infringed upon.

(b) Discussions of governmental affairs and persons are confined to printed media, precluded from radio, TV and the cinema and shall not be voiced or pictured in public meetings attended by more than 700 persons. Within these limitations, freedom of speech regarding any matter or person pertaining to government is guaranteed all citizens of Alpaca. Pertaining to non-governmental affairs or persons, freedoms of speech, press, communications, presentation of wholesome entertainment in theater, by radio or television are guaranteed all citizens of Alpaca and the Senate shall enact legislation to implement the maintenance of these freedoms at all times by curtailing any monopoly of ownership, management or policy and curtailing the dissemination of false propaganda, either open or subtle, wherein one race or creed assails other races or creeds or one class assails another class; and curbing all unbalanced programs tending to undermine freedom and government.

(c) Worship shall be encouraged in Alpaca but Alpaca shall never have any government-supported religion, nor shall the Senate make any law regarding the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, nor shall any religious test or qualification be a prerequisite to holding elective or appointive position; nor shall any Bill of Attainder or *Ex Post Facto* law be enacted.

(d) No person shall be held to answer for a crime unless served with a formal court summons nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself nor be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation. A person in the military service of Alpaca

shall be tried only in the military or civil courts of Alpaca, and Alpaca shall never consent to the trial of a member of its armed forces in the military or civil courts of any foreign land.

(e) In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy, public and impartial trial in the district where the crime was committed and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with witnesses against him; to have compulsory service for obtaining witnesses in his favor; to be entitled to bail except in capital offenses and to have the assistance of Counsel for his defense; and not to be twice put in jeopardy for the same offense.

(f) The right of the people to be secure against unreasonable searches and seizures in their persons, houses, papers and effects shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

**SECTION 5.** All bodies and committees shall perfect their own organization in the most practical manner except wherein otherwise provided.

**SECTION 6.** A branch in high schools and colleges, not to exceed 3% of the National attendance any school year, may be maintained at government expense to provide training for governmental service, but the graduates from this branch in high schools and colleges shall have no higher preference of tenure over non-graduates for governmental jobs as the letting of such jobs shall be based on merit.

## **ARTICLE IX.**

**SECTION 1.** Each citizen shall be endowed with a voting power based on his age, experience, active interest and invest-

in the Government, and tax paid to the nation during his previous term, as he may prove to the Registration Board of his Precinct of residence, with the voting power assigned to each citizen to be graduated and cumulatively determined as follows, provided that the maximum voting power for any one citizen shall not exceed five (5) votes.

	Votes
Each citizen age 18 years or older	2
Additional votes awarded to citizens qualifying:	
a. If one of highest 25% of direct National taxpayers	2
b. If one of highest 25% to 50% of direct National taxpayers	1
c. A bonus vote for scholastic achievement, if in the highest ranking 25%, whether in grade school, high school or college graduating class based on the full year of attendance, but only for the next 8 years following the last scholastic achievement	1
d. For waiving payments from Government:	
(1) Retirement or Seniority payments	2
(2) 50% or more of government salary	1
(3) Previous year's total per diem payments if amounting to more than 10% of the average national salary for similar services or work	1
e. If Poll Tax voluntarily paid equal to ½ of 1% of the average annual national salary	1

(Note: All averages arrived at on the basis of the previous year.)

The voting power of a direct national taxpayer, at his request, shall be increased by crediting him with the pro rata

part attributable to his ownership of taxes paid by any company or enterprise in which he owns stock or an interest. The citizen, who must have resided in the Precinct three (3) or more months to qualify to vote, may register each year and may make his proof of any additional votes based on his last fiscal tax year with the Registration Board within ten (10) days to one (1) year prior to each election in which he seeks to vote. A citizen residing in the Precinct for more than two (2) years shall be subject to a penalty to be prescribed by the Senate for failure to register with the Precinct Registration Board. The tax record of each voter shall be held confidential. A wife (primary, if plural) shall exercise equal voting power with her husband.

The Constitution of ALPACA is herein instituted on a basis of graduated suffrage (Art. IX, Sec. 1), but the ALPACA Senate has the power by majority vote to change from the graduated suffrage system and provide for uniform suffrage whereby each qualified voter shall have the same voting power. The ALPACA Senate shall also have the power, by majority vote, to revert to the graduated suffrage system first established in the Constitution; and the Supreme Court shall recognize such changes made in the suffrage stipulations as the law of the land.

## APPENDIX IV

# THE CONSTITUTION OF GUMPTION ISLAND

## PREAMBLE

*We, the people of Gumption Island, in order to form a more perfect Society, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common Defense, promote the general Welfare and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the Republic of Gumption Island.*

## ARTICLE I

- SECTION 1.** All legislative and administrative powers granted by the people shall be vested in a Council of five members. The corporate decisions of the Council shall be made by majority vote of the entire membership, except as otherwise specified in this Constitution.
- SECTION 2.** The members of the Council shall be elected respectively by five groups of citizens divided in accordance with the first letter of their surnames. These groups are defined as A to C; D to G; H to K; L to S; and T to Z, in each case inclusive. Each group shall determine its own

method of nomination, election, and convention, subject to the general provisions here set forth.

Citizens shall be all persons, resident on Gumption Island, who had attained their eighteenth birthday at the time of its forcible separation from the United States and who shall attain that age thereafter. Certification of citizenship shall be given by the Justice of the Peace, as hereafter defined, who may demand satisfactory evidence of age as well as mental and moral qualification.

Any certified citizen, having attained the age of twenty-five, shall be eligible for election to the Council for a term of one year and shall be continuously eligible for re-election. Elections shall be held annually on November 1, Island Style, and the Council shall thereupon choose its presiding officer, who will define and allocate the administrative functions. Meetings of the Council shall be held at stated intervals and the Minutes shall be made public on the day following each meeting. A roll shall be kept and names of absentees posted.

**SECTION 3.** The Council shall have power:

To provide for the common defense and the domestic order of Gumption Island.

To preserve or modify the basis of representation, and to prohibit or promote changes of surnames for those ends.

To define, and prescribe punishment for, offenses against the peace of the Island not covered by the common law, but there shall be no ex post facto law and the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus may not be suspended.

To nominate separate panels of three, during the day following the Council elections, from which the certified citizens, voting without re-

spect to groups, shall annually, on November 4, elect two Bank Managers and one Justice of the Peace. But no individuals nominated on one panel shall be named on the other.

To bring impeachment proceedings against any elected officer. In the case of a member of the Council, these may be instituted by majority vote but shall be ineffective unless approved, after public hearing, by all members other than the accused.

To promote such measures, but only such measures, in the field of public health, individual relief and general welfare as can be paid for currently from the annual budget. But there shall be no regulation of the hours, wages, or other conditions of employment.

To adopt all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, with such additions and under such further limitations as hereinafter specified.

**ARTICLE II**

**SECTION 1.** All fiscal and financial powers granted by the people shall vest in a Bank of Gumption Island, hereafter termed the Bank.

The Bank shall be under the joint direction of two Managers, who shall be selected as provided above. No action shall be taken by the Bank over the protest of either Manager, unless the issue has been submitted to the president of the Council and decided by him.

**SECTION 2.** The Bank shall be custodian of the gold reserve, and shall issue convertible gold currency against that reserve in its discretion. A mora-

torium of not more than two months' duration, renewable once within the same calendar year, may be imposed on specie payments. The Managers may accept the coinage of other sovereignties, or mint new coinage, as they determine. They shall make loans and perform other functions of commercial banking, subject to such regulations as the Council may prescribe.

**SECTION 3.** The Bank shall prepare the annual budget and present it to the Council for administration at least one month prior to the beginning of the fiscal year, which shall be the calendar year. The budget as presented must balance, and no overall deficit shall be incurred without the written approval of both Managers. Any unauthorized deficit, existing at the close of the fiscal year, shall be made up within three months by the Council members personally, by self-assessment.

Together with the annual budget, the Bank shall present the Council with the tax schedule for the ensuing fiscal year. The Recorder, as hereinafter designated, shall collect the taxes, which shall not exceed ten per cent of net income or 25 per cent of fair estate valuation in the case of death duties. The Council may at any time propose the downward revision of tax rates, for consideration by the Managers.

There shall be no taxes of any kind, other than those on incomes and estates. Nor shall there be any control, impost, duty, or levy on the production, transportation, or sale of any commodity produced upon, imported into, or exported from Gumption Island. But the Council, by a four-fifths majority, may prohibit or license the production or importation of any article or commodity of which supervision is deemed necessary for the public welfare.

**SECTION 4.** All assets and income of the Bank shall be held in trust for the people of Gumption Island. No transfer of property by it shall be valid unless countersigned by the Recorder and the presiding officer of the Council. No draft on the Bank by the Council shall be honored without the signature of both Managers, who are entitled to attend all meetings of the Council.

In the conduct of their duties, the Managers shall have no immunity from civil suit. Either or both Managers shall be subject to impeachment by a four-fifths vote of the Council and shall be removed from this post of trust if, after public hearing, the vote of the Council to that effect is unanimous.

### ARTICLE III

**SECTION 1.** All judicial powers herein granted shall be vested in a Justice of the Peace, hereinafter termed the Justice, who shall be selected as provided above.

In any case of constitutional interpretation, the Justice shall decide, after hearing before the Council and by written opinion. His judicial authority may extend to all controversies between citizens of Gumption Island, and to any injury or grievance, of moral or material character, which in his opinion constitutes a breach of, or serious threat to, the peace and harmony of the Island.

Distinction between crimes and misdemeanors shall be made by the Justice in accordance with the Common Law. But in any charge of felony the trial of the accused shall be by Jury of five,

chosen respectively from the citizen groups by lot, and there shall be no conviction without unanimous verdict. In any felony, the accused may have the benefit of counsel and there shall be a prosecutor for the community, both to be appointed *ad hoc* by the presiding officer of the Council.

SECTION 2. Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, and to statutes duly enacted by the Council, the power to sentence, including temporary or permanent revocation of citizenship, shall be at the discretion of the Justice. The right of appeal is reserved to the accused. Appeal shall be made to the Council and shall be acted upon at its first subsequent meeting. Its presiding officer shall dispense the power of pardon, or commutation of sentence, in accordance with the Council's recommendation.

The police power shall ordinarily be exercised by a Sheriff, appointed by and responsible to the presiding officer of the Council. Any and all citizens may be enrolled for emergency police service by the Council in its discretion.

SECTION 3. The Justice shall be subject to impeachment by a four-fifths vote of the Council and shall be removed from office if, after public hearing, the vote of the Council to that effect is unanimous.

#### ARTICLE IV

SECTION 1. The Council, Bank, and Justice of the Peace shall share the services of a Recorder who shall be appointed by and responsible to the presiding officer of the Council. Other than the Recorder and Sheriff, there shall be no full-time salaried

employees of government, but per diem compensation for time spent in its service shall be arranged at the discretion of the Council. All such service shall be voluntary, except in the case of emergency police service. No immunities or exemptions not enjoyed by all citizens shall attach to any public office, excepting only the right of the police to bear arms.

In the event of the death, permanent disability as determined by majority vote of the Council, or dismissal of any elected officer, the vacancy shall be filled by special election, under the procedures above described, as expeditiously as possible.

SECTION 2. The rights of public assembly, of petition, of free expression of impersonal opinion, of private property, and of religious observance shall be inviolable. All rights and powers not specifically delegated to official agencies by this Constitution remain in the people and may not be transgressed, usurped, or limited by government.

SECTION 3. Amendment of this Constitution may be proposed either by a four-fifths vote of the Council, or by a majority vote in any four of the citizen groups in convention assembled. Amendments so proposed shall take effect if and when ratified by a three-fifths majority in each of the group conventions.

SECTION 4. This Constitution shall be effective when ratified by a two-thirds majority of each of the citizen groups in convention assembled. For this purpose, and until the first election of a Justice, all who were listed as eligible to vote for delegates to the Constitutional Convention shall be provisionally deemed certified citizens.

As and when this Constitution is ratified, both the club and the corporation of Gumption



Island shall be dissolved and all their assets, tangible and intangible, shall be transferred to the Bank.

This Constitution, and all Amendments thereof, shall become null and void in the event of the return of this island to the temporal or spatial jurisdiction of the United States.

APPENDIX V

HENRY HAZLITT  
65 DRUM HILL ROAD  
WILTON, CONN. 06897

September 18, 1978

Mr. Thomas H. Clapper  
1111 24th. Ave., S. W. #4  
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

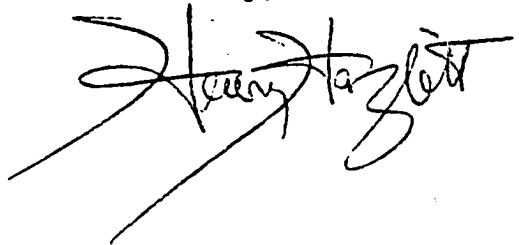
Dear Mr. Clapper:

I don't know that I can write anything to give you "additional insight" on my "utopia" than you will find in my book. You refer to it as the GREAT IDEA. This was the title when the book was first published by Appleton's in 1951, but the British edition was published with the title TIME WILL RUN BACK, and the revised edition published by Arlington House in 1966 also carried the TIME WILL RUN BACK title.

What I tried to do was to present a portrait of a completely communist society, in which the very memory of what capitalism had been like was wiped out, and to show how such a society might step by step rediscover and readopt capitalism. I did not mean to present this necessarily as an <sup>art</sup>economic "utopia" ---that would depend upon a hundred other factors ---but merely as a system that would promote scientific and cultural, as well as economic progress, and would be infinitely superior to the socialist or communist alternative.

I am very happy to learn of your interest in the book in connection with your doctoral dissertation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Henry Hazlitt". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal line extending from the bottom left of the name.