MIDDLE CLASS

We Are All Under Siege

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■ THE American middle class is the marvel of the world. No other nation has anything like it. Representing attitudes and character as much as bank accounts, it has traditionally been as broad as it is deep, spanning the gap between menial laborers and millionaires. Only the nonworking poor and the very wealthy were outside the amorphous walls of the middle class. Today the middle-class American may be a dentist, a doctor, a truck driver, an insurance salesman, a farmer, a machine operator, a retired mechanic, or a clerk in a store. He may be a white Anglo-Saxon Protestant, a Catholic, a Jew, a black, a Ukrainian, an Irishman or a Pole, a Democrat or a Republican. The statisticians of sociology say his theoretical home is in Peoria, but there is a lot of Peoria in the Bronx, Houston, Los Angeles, and Seattle.

Historically the term "middle class" has carried a connotation in America of being thrifty, hard-working, reverent, ambitious, and patriotic. Whether at the top of the social strata or the bottom, most

of us have been proud to consider ourselves members of "the great American middle class." But, as the hippie poet has said, the times they are a-changin'!

Never before have we of the middle class been under all-out assault from so many different directions. Among radical youth, the disaffected intellectuals, and elitist elements of the super-rich, the term "middle class" has become one of derision and opprobrium. They utter the words "middle class" with a sneer on their lips and a note of disgust in their voices. To them "middle class" means inferior culture, reactionary politics, and a selfish social outlook.

The middle class has always been a critical target of revolutionaries. Most leaders of the Left have been either bitter intellectuals like Marx and Lenin, or sons of the extremely wealthy like Friedrich Engels and Corliss Lamont. While Communism is in theory a movement to divest the immensely wealthy of their capital, its thrust is inevitably directed at the middle class. For you see the one thing that distinguishes a society with a middle class is the right to earn and own property. In Communist parlance the middle class is the bourgeoisie. Lenin wrote:

Bourgeois means an owner of property. The bourgeoisie are all the owners of property taken together. A big bourgeois is the owner of big property. A petty bourgeois is the owner of small property.

Lenin recognized that the strength of Private Enterprise lies in the middle class. He proclaimed: The strength of capitalism lies in the strength of small production for unfortunately small production still survives in a very, very large degree, and small production gives birth to capitalism and to bourgeoisie, constantly, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale.

Of the necessity for eliminating the middle class, Lenin said, "whoever conceives of the transition to Socialism without the suppression of the bourgeoisie is not a Socialist [It] is essential to suppress the bourgeoisie as a class "

One should remember that while Lenin and his successors were suppressing the bourgeoisic (often with firing squads or, as in the case of the farming kulaks, by starving them to death) the Soviets were doing big business with the Rockefellers, Harrimans, Vanderlips, Fords, and such vast corporations as Westinghouse and General Electric. The super-rich and the Communists have long found one another useful in their mutual war on the middle class.

Remember that Russia possessed only a small middle class, and it was quickly overcome and destroyed after the Revolution. But the enormous middle class in the United States is another matter. The Communists realize that we must be destroyed before a revolutionary coup d'état is possible. The war of the Left on the American middle class is therefore all-out war, taking a diversity of shapes and forms. We are under siege. Yet while middle-class Americans are troubled and frustrated over high taxes, inflation, the interminable war in Southeast Asia, crime in the streets, runaway welfare, an exploding drug problem, the alienation of youth, and many darkly complementary trends, few realize that these upsetting developments are not only related but are fronts in a coordinated assault.

One of the most obvious and consequential attacks on Mr. Middle American is aimed at his pocketbook. The middle

class is simply being taxed into oblivion. In 1900, the cost of running the federal government amounted to a bargain \$6.90 per head. At that time the government did little more for the people than protect them from foreign and domestic predators and provide a court system. Naturally the nation prospered, and the middle class mushroomed. As the decades passed, Uncle Sam was gradually transformed into Big Daddy. By 1950, the cost of the federal government was \$303 per capita. In 1970, as Big Daddy more and more evolved into Big Brother, the expense of operating the federal government was \$956 for every man, woman, and child in America.

There's more. A decade ago, according to the tally keepers at U.S. News & World Report, state and local taxes totalled \$39 billion. Today they cost us \$97 billion which figures out to approximately \$475 for each individual assessed by your friendly state and local politicians. The grand total for taxes is approximately \$1,430 per year for every living, breathing, human in America. And it must be kept in mind that a large number of those are primarily tax absorbers, not taxpayers. According to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, an average jobholder in the private sector not only cares for his family but must support through his taxes almost one-fourth of a government employee, one-fourth of a welfare recipient, and one-half of a person on Social Security.

It is extremely important to the elitists whose aim is to destroy the middle class that most of us do not recognize how much we really are paying in taxes. Expropriation is concealed to keep it as painless as possible. Withholding from our paychecks, for example, is done on the theory that what is never seen is seldom missed. Many even get some of their money back from the government, and look upon it as a windfall.

Most taxes are disguised or hidden. There is a minimum of 151 separate taxes, amounting to thirteen cents, hidden in the cost of a single loaf of bread. The tax man is into your pocket for a hundred dollars when you buy a \$2,000 automobile, and \$288 in hidden taxes had already been collected on that car before it left the factory. Every business, of necessity, must pass its tax costs along to the consumer in higher prices.

The unhappy truth is that only people pay taxes. Uncle Sam is a middleman in every product you buy at the grocery store, lumber yard, or merchandise mart. So you see, if you want to reduce the tax burden, you can't increase taxes on corporations or "the rich," but must insist that government spend less. For every \$1 billion cut in government spending, \$25 is put back in the pockets of each of those who earned it. Conversely, every \$1 billion increase ups your tax bill by a like amount.

If we are accurately to figure the tax attack on Mr. Middle American, we must also calculate the inflation tax, which President Nixon once called "the cruelest tax of all." A loss in purchasing power as a result of the increase in the cost of living, the inflation tax, last year cost American families earning \$10,000 about \$700 cash. If we assume that Mr. Middle American has \$10,000 in savings accounts, pension funds, life insurance policies, annuities, and bonds, the inflation tax bites off another \$700. This brings the grand total for Mr. American and his family of four - including direct, hidden, and inflation taxes - to a fat \$7,120.

Mr. Middle American has no idea that his taxes have been driven that high. He notes that he is in a twenty-five percent income-tax bracket and dismisses it at that. He forgets about the sales taxes, the property taxes, and the fact that a high percentage of everything for which he spends money represents hidden or indirect taxes. He has probably never even thought of inflation as a tax on his income and savings. No wonder he is perennially in debt and forced to run

faster and faster on the financial treadmill. Which is exactly the point of the scheme by which he is being victimized.

A key feature of this scheme is the graduated income tax. One of the most monumental frauds in our history, it has been so effectively sold that the ordinary American believes the income tax to be a device to soak the rich. The fact is that it is the Middle American who pays the great bulk of the income taxes, with the overwhelming preponderance of federal income coming from the earnings of citizens in the lower tax brackets. In the 1969 fiscal year, for example, individual income taxes were estimated to be \$81 billion. Yet the tax rates in excess of fifty percent have been bringing in less than \$400 million per year - an amount equal to less than one percent of total incometax revenues, and not enough to run the government for a full day. As economist Henry Hazlitt observes:

If these rates above 50 percent were raised further, it is more probable that they would raise less revenue than more. Therefore, it is the income tax rates on the lower and middle incomes that would have to be raised most, for the simple reason that 80 percent of the personal income of the country is earned by people with less than \$20,000 gross income.

Mr. Hazlitt concludes that the "progressive" feature of the income tax is not to raise money, but to satisfy vindictiveness and envy. More important, it makes it very difficult for the petty bourgeoise to accumulate enough capital to compete with the big bourgeoise. In short, it serves to keep the upstart middle class in its place. Karl Marx and his wealthy companion, Friedrich Engels, were well aware that the graduated income-tax would destroy the property-owning middle class.

As we made clear in The Bankers And

The Federal Reserve,* many of those who were responsible for fastening the income tax on the American middle class were, like Marx's chum Engels, representatives of the super-rich. Men like John D. Rockefeller, J.P. Morgan, Andrew Carnegie, and Paul Warburg were preparing to use foundations and trusts to avoid taxes at the very time they were delivering the rest of America, rich and poor, into virtual tax slavery. Middle America was propagandized to believe that the "rich" - meaning the people in the brackets above them - would pay for most of the benefits received from the government by the majority. This illusion led us to accept complacently a burden of government spending and taxation that we would not otherwise have tolerated.

Meanwhile, 301 Americans who made more than \$200,000 during 1969 paid no income tax at all, and twenty-three individuals in 1967 each earned over \$1 million (grand total \$95 million) without paying income taxes. The truth is that most hard-working and successful people of wealth are paying through the nose, while a few of the super-rich, including members of those wealthy families which sold the progressive income-tax in the U.S. Senate, pay virtually nothing. We are being victimized by a clique, not a class.

The Treasury Department estimates that preferential tax treatment - ranging from oil depletion allowances to homemortgage interest deductions - cost the government nearly \$44 billion, or the equivalent of twenty percent of its income in potential revenue in 1970. Tax deductions for mortgage interest are probably as helpful to the middle class as to the very wealthy, but tax-free foundations which annually divert billions from the tax system are strictly the plaything of the super-rich. As more and more Americans are coming to realize, the giant foundations like Ford, Rockefeller, Kennedy, and Carnegie have regularly chamDuring Mr. Nixon's first year in office the loopholes which protect the superrich were reported to have been closed by "tax reform" legislation. But, as the National Taxpayers Union pointed out, the new legislation "actually raised taxes by 3 billion dollars." A token tax was placed on the foundations, and the matter was dropped by the mass media faster than the arrest of Walter Jenkins.

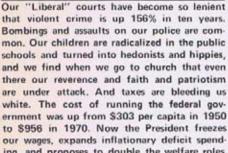
So the super-rich continue to disguise themselves as "humanitarians" while using the tax system to gain capital advantages over would-be competitors. As they work to make tax paupers of the middle class, they pose as champions of the "downtrodden." If these men were really concerned about the poor, instead of using socialism to secure their own political and economic power, they would divest themselves of their own fortunes. There is no law which forbids the Rockefellers, Fords, and Kennedys from giving away their own fortunes instead of our hard-earned taxes. Let them practice what they preach. They claim to want to share the wealth, let them start with their own. Can you imagine Teddy Kennedy giving away his mansions, his Miami beach "cottage," his airplane and yacht, and moving into a \$25,000 home with a \$20,000 mortgage?

Remember that the Communists refer to themselves as socialists, as in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. They operate with a tiny oligarchical clique at the top, usually numbering no more than three percent of the total population, controlling the total wealth, production, and day-to-day lives of the other ninety-

pioned socialist spending programs from which their tax-sheltered benefactors are spared the fiscal consequences. A feature story by the North American Newspaper Alliance, carried by the Santa Ana Register of August 20, 1967, reports that one of the Rockefellers, with a net worth estimated at nearly a billion dollars, paid only \$685 in income taxes in 1966. Taxes are for the peons of the middle class.

^{*}American Opinion, 32 pages, fifty cents.

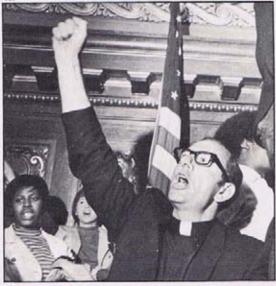












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seven percent of the people. There is no middle class in the U.S.S.R. It is obvious that such socialism is not a program to share the wealth, but a method to consolidate and control the wealth. So, you see, the seeming paradox of the super-rich promoting socialism is no paradox at all. It is the logical, even the perfect, tool of the super-rich who seek total power. Communism, or more accurately socialism, is not a movement of the downtrodden masses, but of the economic elite. The plan of the Establishment Insiders is to socialize the United States and thereby eliminate the middle class, consolidating control of all capital wealth in their own hands.

To create a socialist state you must increase the size and power of the government. As Woodrow Wilson declared: "The history of liberty is the history of limitations of government power, not the increase of it." But the size, scope, and power of our government is, and has been, increasing at a phenomenal rate. It can be measured in terms of dollars spent, bureaucrats employed, and spheres of activity controlled.

In December 1968, departing White House aide Joseph A. Califano, described by the New York Times as "President Johnson's man Friday in nurturing the Great Society," told an interviewer that President-elect Nixon would find that a tenfold growth had occurred in government activities since he left Washington in January of 1961. "There were about 45 domestic social programs when the Eisenhower Administration ended," said Califano. "Now there are no less than 435." Mr. Califano was apparently too modest. Democratic Congressman William V. Roth and his staff were able to identify 1,571 programs, including 478 in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare alone. And, as Congressman Roth concluded, "no one, anywhere, knows exactly how many federal programs there are."

During his campaign Mr. Nixon made the dangerous expansion of government a key issue. Yet we have been unable to find a single example of any one of the 1,571 programs which he has eliminated. All of these require armies of bureaucrats and bushels of money. As always, the funds must be supplied by the middle class.

Now the Nixon Administration has hit out at the middle class by grabbing control of the prices we pay and the wages we receive. The recent price-wage freeze is one of the greatest power grabs in our nation's history. Such controls force the middle class to bear the brunt of the federally created inflation. If the government were really serious about controlling the "wage-price spiral" it would stop deficit spending, which is responsible for our inflated currency, instead of applying wage and price controls. But the Nixon Administration makes no bones about the fact that it plans to continue to spend deficit dollars in whopping amounts. This means that printing-press money will continue to distort the economy as it buys the nation deeper into socialism and pushes the middle class deeper into debt.

What is really needed is wage and price controls on the government and its wasteful spending. But the controls have been applied to the private sector of the economy only, and Mr. Nixon and the state and local governments can still raise taxes to finance their increased spending. Welfare recipients have specifically been exempted from wage and price controls on their relief checks. The controls are aimed at you.

It is now obvious that the "temporary" ninety-day freeze is meant to last forever. To hold down inflation after his November expiration date, the President has outlined a comprehensive program of mandatory controls in which major unions and businesses must ask the government for permission to raise prices; middle-sized businesses or unions must report any wage or price variation; and, small shop-keepers and the like, according to the Wall Street Journal, "will be asked to abide by some sort of wage and price

standards...under the ever-present risk of an Internal Revenue Service agent dropping by on a spot check or in response to consumer complaints."

Big Brother is going to have all his little brothers busy watching all of us. "We will concentrate," announced the President, "on those major portions of the economy that are the primary causes of inflation [sic], but we will not hesitate to take action against any part of the economy that fails to comply."

Elitists like John Kenneth Galbraith were ecstatic over Mr. Nixon's announcement that for all practical purposes we are going to have permanent wage and price controls. "There was a pleasant absence," remarked Galbraith approvingly, "of the old talk about getting back to the free market." The point is that free markets mean free people and a prosperous middle class. Controls over wages and prices mean controls over people. As Alexander Hamilton put it: "Power over a man's subsistence is power over his will."

Having shackled the private sector, the Nixon Administration intends to spend merrily away as the hard-working middle class is milked to provide a life of ease for the indolent, and ever more power for the Insiders of the Establishment. Men like Galbraith have long drawn fervid pictures of the "private sector" wallowing in opulence while the "public sector" starves. What Galbraith calls the "private sector" is, in fact, the voluntary sector; and what he calls the "public sector" is the coercive sector. The Planners want to transfer ever more funds from the voluntary sector, from you and me, to the coercive sector.

Among the major tax increases now brewing is an increase in the payroll tax. As David Broder of the Washington Post observed in that newspaper for May 27, 1971:

Among the many publicly unexplored issues buried in H.R. 1, the welfare reform and social security bill devised by Chairman Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.) and the House Ways and Means Committee, is a tax increase on middle-income families that will almost double the size of the second-biggest bite on their paychecks....

Under the bill, the Social Security tax rate will rise in three steps from the present 5.2 percent to 7.4 percent in 1977. The wage base for Social Security taxes will increase from the present \$7,800 to \$10,200 next year, with the result that the payroll tax for a man making a bit less than \$200 a week will rise from \$405 to \$755 a year....

Unbeknownst to most Americans, payroll taxes now constitute the second largest source of federal funds — and the fastest-growing. Payroll taxes provide more income to the treasury than corporate income taxes or any other Federal taxes except the individual income tax....

What this means is that we are becoming increasingly dependent for federal finances on the payroll tax, a tax that is not progressive, that has little relationship to ability to pay, and whose burden hits hardest on low-and-middle-income wage-earners.

That this can happen without a murmur of debate or political controversy indicates just how insensitive to real pocketbook issues the Washington politicians have become, particularly those Democrats who control Congress and parade as the champions of the average man....

... But it is almost as if there were a conspiracy of silence by the politicians to keep the taxpayers and the voters unaware of these issues . . .

Broder next examines the fraudulent aspects of the Social Security system which is supported by the payroll tax:

... the social security tax system has been protected from debate by two carefully cultivated myths. One is the notion that it is a "social insurance" system, in which an individual's contributions (taxes) are held in trust for him and returned, with interest, as retirement benefits. In fact, it is not. It is, rather, a system of transfer payments to currently retired people, financed almost entirely by taxes on the working generation. There is nothing wrong with this, in principle, but it is not what people think it is.

The second myth is that the employer pays half the social security tax. In a literal sense, he does, but, as the Brookings studies demonstrate, the whole tax really falls on wages and the wage-earner, because the amount the employer pays in social security taxes he would otherwise be putting into the paycheck.

This is worth emphasizing. When the Social Security system began 35 years ago, the tax rate was one percent each on employee and employer on the first \$3,000 of annual earnings. With the new bill, the combined rate rises to almost 15 percent of the payroll of wages up to the \$10,000 level.

That tax is levied regardless of the number of dependents or legitimate deductions the earner has. It gives no real consideration to his ability to pay.

There is no absence of indicators as to which way taxes are going, and who will pay them. Once more the middle class is to be the victim. As the Los Angeles Times reported on June 7, 1971:

It has remained for Andrew F. Brimmer, an appointive official with a 14-year term on the board of governors of the Federal Reserve System, to let slip the "dirty little secret" that every politician in elective office in Washington has tried to keep hidden.

Taxes are going up, Brimmer told an audience in a widely reported commencement speech last weekend, Taxes have to go up in this decade if we are going to meet the demands on this society.

Already there has been what Brimmer called "a serious deterioration" in the quality of the basic services the public relies on government to provide, as witness the condition of education, transportation and law enforcement systems in almost any of our major metropolitan areas.

Meantime, the backlog of demands for new governmental services – from universal health insurance to child-care centers to pollution abatement – is growing steadily....

The answer, the obvious answer, the only honest answer, is that someone is going to have to pay higher taxes if the widely accepted social goals of this decade are going to be met. The politicians prefer to play hide-and-seek with the voters on the tax issue, because the folklore of politics is that any candidate who talks about tax hikes is doomed to defeat. Unless such discussion and debate begin, it is clear enough who is going to pay: the low-and middle-income families who have been socked with most of the tax rise in the last two decades.

An examination of the costs of new non-defense programs proposed in just the first two months of the current Congress — a study made for Senator Carl Curtis of Nebraska — shows eighty-five major proposals with a first-year cost of \$130 billion. This figure amounts to nearly sixty percent of the U.S. Budget estimate for fiscal 1972. The Senator pointed out that the total of the new proposals, including the cost in later years as well, was estimated in the study at \$246 billion. Even as the wages of the American middle class have been frozen, the squeeze is being applied with exorbitant new taxes.

Eleven major pieces of new legislation, several of them for new health programs, accounted for \$211 billion of the estimated total. The proposed Health Security Act, alone, carried an estimated tab, when fully implemented, of \$77 billion. All told, Senator Curtis said, the proposals submitted between the opening of Congress and March fifteenth would, if passed, "triple the level of health and welfare spending, more than double the level for environmental programs, and nearly double [spending] for education."

The major attack on Mr. Middle American's pocketbook is led by welfare. In their issue for February 8, 1971, the editors of U.S. News & World Report observed:

Government spending on the "welfare state" in America has finally reached a point where it is threatening to bankrupt the States and cities, and to drain the U.S. Treasury with chronic federal deficits for as far ahead as the budget planners can see

Add up all the various programs of welfare, social security, health and medical programs, veterans' benefits, education and housing, and an analysis by the Economic Unit of "U.S. News & World Report" indicates this: Social-welfare spending of all kinds by all levels of government this year is likely to top 160 billion dollars — and by 1972 more than half of all the

money American taxpayers contribute will be going for such purposes,

Most Americans would gladly shoulder the welfare costs if it were temporary aid to people trying to get on their feet. Instead, the demands have been from an ever-growing number of obnoxious parasites. U.S. News continues:

Yet there is little evidence that heavy spending of the past has served to raise the educational level of the poor people in the central cities or to lift the under-privileged out of a dependency status and bring them into the mainstream of the economic system where they can contribute to the productivity and wealth of the nation.

On the contrary, experience of the recent past indicates that there is a stampede to get on a government dole and to demand even more government aid as a matter of "legal right." Second, third, and even fourth generations of welfare families in this country are living on relief as a permanent way of life.

The welfare recipients are multiplying faster than rabbits. Welfare has turned into subsidized bastardy. If this continues those on welfare will eventually outnumber the middle class, just as in the latter days of Rome. Aid to Families with Dependent Children has mushroomed into a monster that accounts for more than two-thirds of all people receiving public assistance. In mid-1960 there were 3 million A.F.D.C. recipients. Today there are more than 9 million. And costs have skyrocketed from 621 million dollars in 1955 to 4.1 billion in 1970. Here is more, again from U.S. News & World Report:

The proportion of children in fatherless homes – where the father has deserted or the children were born out of wedlock — had jumped from 60 to 80 percent of all AFDC children in the last few years. Few States make much of an effort to trace missing fathers or to hold them legally responsible for child support. Critics claim this amounts to a "baby bonus," which encourages illegitimacy among those who are least equipped to bring up children . . . A recent study showed that 60 percent of all out-of-wedlock births in New York are taking place among women on welfare.

"Desertion" and illegitimacy together account for 7 out of every 10 applicants for relief in New York. Social workers call this "fiscal abandonment," for the purpose of getting more welfare money.

The Nixon Administration's answer to the incredible welfare dilemma is not to quit subsidizing bastardy or stop paying those who do not wish to work. Rather, the President is proposing to more than double the 14 million who are now drawing welfare. Mr. Nixon has been forced to delay temporarily his Family Assistance Plan, but Congressional authorities believe that he will make an all-out attempt to have the plan passed during the 1972 election year.

The Nixon Administration, after initially denying it, now admits that its Family Assistance Plan is in fact a guaranteed annual income. During the 1968 campaign, Mr. Nixon vociferously denounced this type of program. That man has more curves than a snake.

Robert Theobald, one of the chief promoters of the guaranteed annual income, says it "breaks the link between jobs and income." The concept that there should be some sort of relationship between working and receiving pay is held by "Liberals" to be an anachronistic remnant of an antiquated ethic. The "modern" theory is that one man is entitled to live off the sweat of his neighbor's brow so long as he votes his thanks to Big Brother.

This raises the question of who will be the lucky ones to loaf for the rest of their lives, and who will be forced to toil to support the drones in the style to which Mr. Nixon would have them become accustomed. One guess is that it will probably help if you happen to be a member of a voting bloc. Why should people whose talents allow them to do only menial work keep their jobs if they can make as much or more by not working? Why, for instance, should you collect garbage for \$5,500 a year if you can get that much in cash, goods, and services from welfare? You would be working more than two thousand hours a year for nothing. You don't even have to be terribly bright to figure out that zero is a very low wage.

In 1965, authorities estimated that in order to equal the value of cash, food, and medical and recreational services available without charge and tax-free to those who find it convenient to live idly on "welfare" at the expense of their working fellows, the average taxpayer would have to earn in excess of \$7,000 per year. The difference is the two thousand hours of toil which the middle class taxpayers must spend to earn a living while the "welfare" people sit on their government checks.

"Liberals" assure us that almost everybody really loves to work and that a guaranteed annual income would not lead to people abandoning their jobs to live off the life of Riley. As economist William Vogt has remarked: "Those who believe that men will want to work whether they have to or not seem to have lived sheltered lives." Mr. Vogt obviously has a capacity for understatement.

The result of President Nixon's Family Assistance Program would be to drop approximately 14 million people out of the lower middle class and put them in the parasite class — thereby throwing an even larger tax burden on those of us in the working middle class who pay the bills. Of course, there are many marginal income earners whose pride is too great to quit work and loaf for a living. But, as the ante is raised higher and higher, more and more of our people will succumb, just as they did in Rome. With welfare, demand always rises to meet supply. As higher and higher taxes squeeze the income-frozen middle class to support everrising welfare costs, more and more marginal businesses will be bankrupted and people who despise the dole will be forced onto it.

The whole guaranteed income proposal is a perfect example of the shrewd observation by the French economist. Frederick Bastiat, more than a century ago. "The State," wrote Bastiat, "is the great fiction by which everybody tries to live at the expense of everybody else." President Nixon's proposal is to start off with an income guarantee of \$2,400 cash from the federal government, supplemented by free food and services from federal, state, and local governments. Quite naturally the ante would be raised every two years at election time. Economist Henry Hazlitt reveals that what the Bureau of Labor Statistics even now calls a "modestbut-adequate" income of \$5,000 per year would cost the taxpaying middle class an additional \$38 billion per year. Already the National Welfare Rights Organization is demanding that the figure be raised.

Meanwhile, keeping pace with the ever-larger welfare rolls is the exploding crime rate. Here is a recent dispatch from United Press International:

The chances of the average American becoming a victim of serious crime went up 2½ times over the last decade, the FBI reported....

The report noted that the crime rate increased 176 percent in the 1960s while the population grew only 13 percent.

Much of Richard Nixon's appeal to "the silent majority" in 1968 was based upon his promise to carry out a war on crime. The promise has been carried out. Carried out and buried. Attorney General John Mitchell has proclaimed that "fear is being swept from the streets of some though not all - American cities." You are apparently supposed to think that your town is just one of the unlucky exceptions not yet reached by the crime warriors. Actually, crime in America jumped 12 percent in 1969 and an additional 11.3 percent in 1970.* The latest available statistics show that crime was rising at the rate of 11 percent during the first half of 1971. After three years of the Nixon war on crime, criminal activity will be up 34.3 percent. There were, for example, 566,700 more crimes committed in 1970 than in 1969, and approximately 570,000 more crimes in 1969 than in 1968. Unless criminals go on vacation during the second half of 1971, there will have been a 1.5 million increase in the level of crime since the election of Richard Nixon.

A 1968 Harris poll showed that eightyone percent of the people believed that
law and order had broken down in
America. A Gallup poll showed that half
the women in the United States fear to go
out within one mile of their homes at
night. The response of the "Liberals" is
that law and order is a "code word for
fascism." In other words: "Lady, you're
not really afraid of being raped or
mugged; you're just a bigot."

Such crime victimizes the people of the middle class, who are its primary target. The Number One victims are middleclass blacks in the central cities. But there are also large numbers of middle-class whites who cannot afford to move to the

^{*}It should be remembered that the percentage increase of crime is figured on an ever-larger base each year. After the fantastic spurt over the past decade, one would think that crime would start to level out, if not recede, of its own accord. Obviously it has not.

suburbs, and they too bear the major brunt of criminality. Even suburbia is no longer a bastion against crime, which is now rising more than twice as fast in the suburbs as in the big cities.

The whole approach of the "Liberal" elite toward the problem of crime, its causes and cures, runs contrary to traditional middle-class attitudes. The "newmorality," a polemical rationalization for the old immorality, has obviously contributed to rising crime rates by attacking character and personal responsibility. According to the progressive thinkers to whom the middle class sends its children for "education," there is no such thing as right and wrong so there is no such thing as bad people; there are only bad environments. Personal responsibility has always been the keystone of the middle-class ethic, but if every action is a reflection of environment, one cannot hold an individual responsible for his own crimes. So if someone else has something that you want, and you are sufficiently assured by the permissive behaviorists that you are not responsible for your actions, why shouldn't you hit him over the head and take it away from him? After all, four hundred years ago his ancestors might have been nasty to your ancestors.

So permissive is the Establishment that only one in twenty convicted felons is now sent to the penitentiary. Crime has become a relatively low risk, high reward, business.

For decades "Liberals" have promised us that, if the middle class would provide sufficient welfare, crime would virtually disappear. But crime rates, relatively low during the hard times of the Depression, have consistently accelerated as we have had more and more welfare, ever more permissive judges, and mountains of environmentalist excuses for immorality and crime. Even so, the Establishment still assures us that it is the middle class and not the criminals who are really guilty of growing crime. We are told that we have not yet sufficiently shared our

income with those who will not work at anything honest.

An even more sinister and insidious attack on the middle class is Establishment promotion of the hippie New Left ethic. As Communist Jerry Rubin expresses it: "Our strategy is to steal the children of the bourgeoisie right away from the parents." That's pretty plain. "We are not protesting 'issues,' " says Comrade Rubin, "we are protesting Western civilization." In his book Do It!. published by the Establishment firm of Simon & Schuster, Rubin proclaims: "There is an international commie conspiracy . . . and it's all against you, you dumb mother****ers. You should be paranoid You old mother ** ** ers are pi**ed off because we're stealing your children."

The strategy is to alienate so many of our young people that the middle class cannot reproduce itself. What we are dealing with is old-fashioned class warfare. Instead of being based on Labor vs. Capital, it is predicated on Youth vs. Age and symbolized by the cry, "Don't trust anyone over 30." If young people continue to "drop out" of the middle-class culture at the current rate, in two decades the middle class will have gone from the majority class to a minority class, and the destruction of America as we know it will have been accomplished.

Indicative of what is happening is a U.P.I. report of June 9, 1971, that there are now an estimated one million teenage runaways in the United States. Many more continue to live at home but have run away psychologically and emotionally. As Jerry Rubin admitted in his book. described by Simon & Schuster as "the Communist Manifesto of our era," it was all planned that way. As he puts it: "We've combined youth, music, sex, drugs, and rebellion with treason - and that's a combination hard to beat." Timothy Leary, the former Harvard professor and populizer of L.S.D. who made "turn on, tune in, and drop out" a





household phrase, told an audience in northern California: "The John Bircher who says rock 'n roll music encourages kids to take drugs is absolutely right. It's part of our plot." The "high priest" of L.S.D. continued: "Drugs are the most efficient way to revolution. The key to the future is the pleasure revolution we're experiencing today."

The almost universal contention among "with it" youths is that Middle America has created an "oppressive" and "materialistic" society characterized by hypocrisy.* Speaking of such attitudes of the "now generation," psychologist Dr. Nevitt Sanford observes that in their view "the values of the Industrial Revolution are irrelevant in the postindustrial age. Horatio Alger is dead. Virtues important

to industrialism — productivity, punctuality and so forth — don't pay off "

The hippie ethic is the exact opposite of the Puritan ethic, which stresses hard work and planning for the future, Ruth Bronsteen writes in The Hippy's Handbook that when she polled hippies about what their lives would be like five years hence, there was a universal response: "I don't think about it." The Establishment's Look magazine, in its special edition entitled "Youth Quake," cited as typical the attitude of a nineteen-year-old girl who said: "Success is dirty word; it's all glittery with money and big cars." You see, concluded the late Look, "They want their rewards to be more than the accumulation of goods."

The media-created heroes of the "now generation" are the anti-heroes who mock or despise middle-class morality. Drug users, super-swingers, sex deviates, cop killers, and Communist revolutionaries are all "groovy." Jack Armstrong, All American Boy, is a joke today and Wheaties wouldn't touch anyone like him with a ten-foot pole. Patriotism is as passé

^{*}These charges of hypocrisy emanate from young radicals who live off money given them by their hard-working middle-class parents, drive expensive new cars while crying about the plight of the poor, attend school on government scholarships, draw welfare, purchase groceries with food stamps, and eulogize Mao Tse-tung as a great humanitarian.

as capitalism. John Wayne movies are camp. Whatever the middle class thinks is good, the knee-jerk "now generation" ridicules. As Jerry Rubin says, alienation is the name of the game.

Where do young people acquire these attitudes? Many get them from their peers. It's in to be out — way out. But young people are not the great original thinkers they conceive themselves to be. They are emulators, absorbing ideas and attitudes they consider "cool" or "relevant." Most come from the youth-oriented media, and are but parroted by the children of the middle class.*

Many of their ideas come from their professors. A survey conducted in 1969 by Daniel Yankelovich showed a much greater class gap between the attitudes of young people in college and those not in college than there is a generation gap between young people generally and their parents. But more and more those who were influenced to become radicals by their college professors are graduating, becoming secondary teachers, and moving into the public school system. There they are infecting a whole new generation with their radical, anti-middle-class, anti-American attitudes. Their youthful charges, lacking the background, experience, or sophistication to refute teacher's false picture of American society, simply conform.

The public schools were originally organized by middle-class Americans to impart to their children their attitudes of patriotism, thrift, hard work, Christian responsibility, and morality. Today the public schools have largely become institutions to destroy systematically in our youngsters the values of their parents, Educationists openly boast that programs like sensitivity training are being used to "change the attitudes" of the young,

doing away with what are held to be outmoded concepts. If the child dares hold to the middle-class attitudes of his parents, he can be recycled through "attitude changing" programs until he goosesteps like all of the others.

Lest parents apply too much heat to the local schools, the Burger Court has ruled that a student may be dragged miles away to attend a far distant school if it helps to achieve "desegregation," Everyone admits that busing penalizes the child from the middle-class family, but the elite Planners in Washington, almost all of whom send their children to private schools which the middle class cannot afford, deem this to be an acceptable price for others to pay.

In addition, a recent ruling by the California Supreme Court that financing public schools by local property taxes makes for inequality and is therefore unconstitutional, if upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, promises to assure a near-total nationalization of education. Local districts will have strictly administrative duties, and policy responsibilities will reside in Washington. The federal indoctrination system is well on its way.

Bureaucratic Planners have been upset for a long time that so many middle-class values are inculcated in children during their first five years. Now, under the guise of helping the underprivileged, the government is making its first move toward getting its hands on those children under five years of age. The recent passage of the "Child Development Act" caused the normally moderate and restrained James J. Kilpatrick to declare in his nationally syndicated column:

The bill is a monstrosity In the context of a Sovietized society, in which children are regarded as wards of the state and raised in state-controlled communes, the scheme would make beautiful sense. But it is monstrous to concoct any such plan for a society

^{*}You can prove this to yourself by talking to a few hippies or New Leftists. If you've talked to one, you've talked to them all. Their conformity within their sub-culture is ludicrous.

that still cherishes the values (however they may be abused) of home, family, church, and parental control. This bill contains the seeds for destruction of Middle America; and if Richard Nixon signs it, he will have forfeited his last frail claim on Middle America's support.

Good luck to all of us! Mr. Nixon has already declared that "The first five years of a child's life are of special concern to the federal government."

Of course school is not the only medium through which the Left attacks the middle class, Jerry Rubin admits in Do It! that the Establishment glamorizes the revolutionaries. "Walter Cronkite is S.D.S.'s best recruiter," says Rubin, "TV is raising a generation of kids who want to grow up and become demonstrators." This is no accident, The mass media carry out their attack on the middle class through careful selection of what news is to be programmed. They know what they do, and they do it anyway. As David Brinkley arrogantly boasts, "News is what I say it is, It's something worth knowing by my standards."

At a recent banquet in honor of the media, the American Civil Liberties Union gave awards to David Brinkley (N.B.C.), Walter Cronkite (C.B.S.), Harry Reasoner (A.B.C.), and Howard K. Smith (A.B.C.). These men were honored "for the integrity with which they have long exercised their First Amendment freedom." When one cannot listen to a prime-time network news broadcast without having the news selected by someone honored by the Communist-founded A.C.L.U., things are mighty bad. You may be certain that the radicals of the A.C.L.U. do not honor those with whom they have great ideological differences.

Miss Edith Efron was given a grant by The Historical Research Foundation to study news-media bias during the 1968 election. This research has been turned into a startling new book, The News Twisters, in which Miss Efron observes:

On almost every issue, the opinion from all sources was quantitatively loaded on one side of the controversy. Further: It almost invariably supported the Democratic or liberal or left side of every controversy. And further: reportorial opinion itself was virtually unanimous on the Democratic or liberal or left side of every controversy.

The bigotry against the middle class was virtually total on network news, According to Edith Efron:

Opinion on the white middle class or white America — was almost all antagonistic. Not one word of opinion in favor of this symbolic class appeared on CBS and NBC. And ABC carried a few favorable opinions on white middle-class America only within one story, early in the seven-week period.

Only a short time ago one would have thought that the one institution immune to attack by the Left is the American family, cornerstone of the middle-class ethic. Now even the family is under fire from Establishment sources which claim that it has outlived its usefulness. "Famed" anthropologist Margaret Mead has declared that by the year 2000 the family as we know it will have ceased to exist. Big Brother will be both daddy and mommie to everybody! The "eminent" sexologist, Dr. Ashley Montagu, would force everyone to meet government standards before marriage could be licensed. Says Montagu:

We should grant no one a marriage license; at best, couples should get a learner's permit. Then, if they prove they can carry that relationship, they may marry. But they can't have children yet. They would have to take another exam to see if they can discharge their responsibilities to raise humans rather than people

Many other Establishment "intellectuals" are advocating that couples be required to obtain a license from the government to have babies. The ecology movement blames pollution on the high standard of living of the American middle class, and wants tax penalties for those having more than two children. And Women's Lib sees family life as a sinister conspiracy against women, while others of our avant-garde "intellectuals" are actually advocating homosexuality as an answer for our alleged overpopulation problems. Unisex is "in" as homosexual fashion designers promote feminine clothes for men and masculine clothes for women.

One would think that a middle-class family could escape from this world of perversity by taking refuge in the church. But in many cases we can't. Our clergymen have been among the leaders in promoting socialism, welfarism, revolution, and moral decadence. Articles by Clarence W. Hall in the October and November Reader's Digest describe how radicals at the apex of the Council of Churches are funneling funds to Communist and anti-American causes.

The middle class is surrounded. Below is a growing proletarian army of welfarists who demand more and more socialism. Above the middle class are the elite "intellectuals" who are supported by the financial elite. The elite at the top, like those at the bottom, are also pushing socialism, but for a different reason. The Establishment is promoting anything which demoralizes the middle class.

In an article entitled "The Establishment Radicals," Richard Harwood and Laurence Stern of the Washington Post observed recently: ... The whole Eastern Establishment – from the money lenders to the taste-makers – is getting radicalized so fast that it's hard in Manhattan these days to tell Jerry Rubin from an ad man

A prime symptom of the Establishment's revolution against itself [sic] is the fact that its favorite politicians, symbolized by Fun City manager John Lindsay, have themselves become candle-bearing celebrants in the American peace movement. (They need haircuts, too.) Its favorite publications have gone mod, if not mad, and are taking up the great themes and crusades of the underground press. Time magazine which, not so long ago, worshipped the age of Eisenhower, is featuring homosexuals on its cover and celebrating nudity in living color (from the backside, of course), just like Vogue, Glamour and the New York Times Magazine

Time's sister, Life, which has always been big on Popes and the Fourth of July, is writing with empathy about pot-smoking, that popular Establishment misdemeanor. The great book publishers of Manhattan are fighting it out with the backroom boys for the pornography market

... And so, at your breakfast table these days, the New York Times amusement pages offer a kinky rodomontade of flesh flicks for the fashionable voyeur, for the prurient "straights" and for "ultra liberal adult males," meaning the gay crowd

Up and down the Eastern Seaboard university faculties and administrators are staging self-correction seminars to investigate new ways to give power to freshmen and to dissipate their own authority....

It is rather evident from all this

that the Eastern Establishment is co-opting the Now Generation just as it is putting down the ballyhooed Common Man's Revolt against Liberal Establishmentarianism.

Don't bet on the latter. Even some "Liberal" columnists are starting to wake up. Eric Hoffer writes in the Los Angeles Times:

But nowadays as you listen to the talk of some of the rich you get the impression that what they want most is to ally themselves with the poor against those of us in between. In the 1960s persons of great wealth have been a major source of support for radical political activity.

Later, writing in the New York Times, Hoffer observed:

In this country, the coming of the postindustrial age may mean the loss of all that made America new – the only new thing in the world. America will no longer be the common man's continent, ... the elite are finally catching up with us. We can hear the swish of leather as saddles are heaved on our backs. The intellectuals and the young, booted and spurred, feel themselves born to ride us.

The phenomenal increase of the student population is shaping the attitudes and aspirations of the young. There are now more students in America than farmers. For the first time in America, there was a chance that alienated intellectuals, who see our way of life as an instrument of debasement and dehumanization, might shape a new generation in their own image. The young's sympathy for the Negro and the poor goes hand in hand with an elitist conceit that

pits them against the egalitarian masses. They will fight for the Negro and the poor, but they have no use for common folk who work and moonlight to take care of their own . . . They reserve their wrath for the institutions in which common people are most represented: unions, Congress, the police and the Army.

Mr. Hoffer, who once laughed at ideologues and true believers, seems to have become a Rightwing Extremist, possibly without knowing it. And he realizes that the defeat of the middle class is not inevitable. He writes:

Yet one cannot help but wonder how inevitable is the future that seemingly is waiting for us around the corner. Might not the common people, so cowed and silent at this moment, eventually kick up their heels, and trample would-be elitists in the dirt? There is no earthly reason why the common people, who for more than a century have been doing things here that in other countries are reserved for elites, should not be capable of overcoming the present crisis.

But in order to overcome the present crisis we must realize what the crisis is. We must first realize that we, the middle class, are the target of elitist power seekers who wish to saddle and ride us to perdition. In order to saddle the middle class, the *Insiders* must first establish an all-powerful socialist government which the elitists will use to harness a once-free citizenry as plow horses.

Almost without exception, observers of American life describe our middle class as "frustrated." Middle America will be a lot less frustrated when it shuts off the television set and determines to stop being a whipping boy. You may be certain that day will come.