



LIBRARIES

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

Insight and outlook: a student journal of conservative opinion. Volume 2, Number 2 February 26, 1960

Madison, Wisconsin: [publisher not identified], February 26, 1960

<https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/QF5G2TEDCKMKK8I>

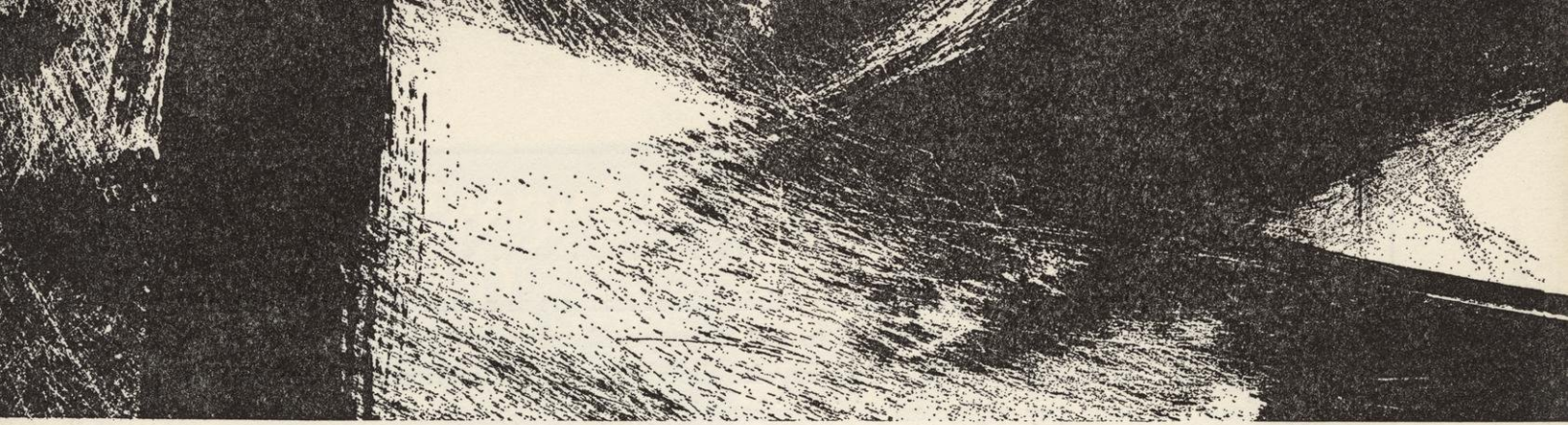
This material may be protected by copyright law (e.g., Title 17, US Code).

For information on re-use, see

<http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Copyright>

The libraries provide public access to a wide range of material, including online exhibits, digitized collections, archival finding aids, our catalog, online articles, and a growing range of materials in many media.

When possible, we provide rights information in catalog records, finding aids, and other metadata that accompanies collections or items. However, it is always the user's obligation to evaluate copyright and rights issues in light of their own use.



INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK

A Student Journal of Conservative Opinion

Volume 2 No. 2

February 26, 1960

In Defense of the Affidavit in the
National Defense Education Act.


By Prof. Edmund Zawacki

The Chinese - Indian Dispute:
An Evaluation

By George G. Newman

Values, Rhetoric, and
The Metaphysic of Progress

Robert C. Adams



INSPIRATION FOR WISCONSIN YOUTH?

Recently a group of 577 professional public school teachers in a metropolitan Wisconsin community rejected by a vote of 466 to 111 a proposed merit pay plan. Instead they adopted a program whereby all teachers with the same length of service in a classification received the same pay regardless of individual ability.

This group of "professionals" are charged with the responsibility of helping teach and inspire thousands of Wisconsin youths toward excellence — yet they denied the rewarding of excellence among themselves by more than a 4 to 1 vote!

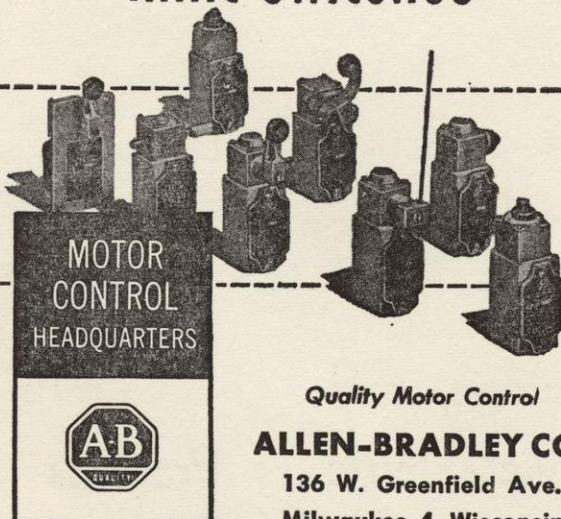
The Racine Journal-Times had this to say of the shameful incident:

"It appears to express a passion for mediocrity, a fear to compete in the field of technical excellence, a rejection of individuality. It could even be construed as a repudiation of professionalism. A professional is paid for his ability, it is others who seek the protection of a labor union type pay scale.

Would you want your child taught by someone who did not believe in high standards of individual performance, in extra rewards for extra initiative and ability, in self reliance and individual dignity?

CATERPILLAR TRACTOR CO.
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

...a complete stock of
ALLEN-BRADLEY
limit switches



The Freedom School

is a unique institution dedicated to the libertarian philosophy of individualism. It offers the untrammelled mind a course of study designed to reexamine the basic concepts of liberty, morality, and free enterprise upon which our republic was founded and from which it has since drifted on its road to welfare statism.

- ★ twelve 2-week summer courses offered
- ★ outstanding guest lecturers

For Prospectus and Scholarship Information, write to:

Box 165 • Colorado Springs, Colorado

INSIGHT and OUTLOOK MAGAZINE

a student journal of conservative opinion

Vol. II Number 2

February 26, 1960

Editorial office 209¼ N. Randall Avenue
University of Wisconsin — Madison, Wisconsin
AL 6-5979 CE 3-7361

EDITOR	Gale Pfund
BUSINESS MANAGER	J. C. Holman
ASSOCIATE EDITOR	Robert C. Adams
MANAGING EDITOR	William Hellerman
LITERARY EDITOR	Millard W. Johnson
COPY EDITOR	Joann Toedtman
DISTRIBUTION MANAGER	Robert Burmeister

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

IN DEFENSE OF THE AFFIDAVIT IN THE NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT by Prof. Edmund Zawacki	4
THE CHINESE-INDIAN DISPUTE: AN EVALUATION by George G. Newman	6
VALUES, RHETORIC AND THE METAPHYSIC OF PROGRESS — by Robert C. Adams	8
THE SPIRIT OF CHARITY — by Gale Pfund	10

DEPARTMENTS

CAMPUS OUTLOOK	3
BOOK INSIGHT	12

CAMPUS OUTLOOK

The *Cardinal* said it. 'Twas in its foray against us "young fogies": "Something is basically wrong."

Even more wrong we suspect than the editorial writer's inelegant prose style, more wrong in fact than the *Cardinal's* vulgarly superficial treatment of issues the fine points of which are beyond its grasp. These faults, though obvious enough in this editorial, will not explain entirely the writer's disregard of information of which he should have been aware and which, had it been acknowledged, should have altered considerably the writer's bias.

The *Cardinal's* concept of freedom, always more Rosseauistic than Burkean, has led it into great difficulty in properly defining and recognizing freedom's requirements. Thus the introduction of such mercurial and inappropriate concepts as freedom of conscience to issues which will only be obscured by the entranced approach of the liberal idealogue.

We do not wish to dissect the *Cardinal's* philosophical problems but rather to demonstrate the more disturbing instances of journalistic irresponsibility and liberal inconsistency such as the writers uncharitableness to those who disagree with him, a tendency the liberal

never fails to deplore in others.

In order of their appearance, the first note which has a rather hollow ring is the editorial's lamenting the unwillingness of today's youth to risk life and limb for freedom's cause. We share this agony but wonder at the *Cardinal's* views toward such organizations as the Student Peace Center which seemingly, if it were faced with the dilemma, would choose slavery rather than destruction.

The writer is also dismayed that the faculty is farther to the left than the students and worries that "perhaps the faculty aren't passing along enough in their classes." (sic) Consider the implication of that one. Either the *Cardinal* holds (as it so often has led us to believe) that all instruction at a university must be scrupulously syncretistic, must accomodate all philosophies lest it be indoctrination. Or the editors hold that professors should consciously promote a single doctrine. If the latter is the case, it would seem the editors are being a bit presumptuous in having decided for us what we shall have given us as the Truth.

Student leaders who "attempted to lead the senate away from its extreme conservatism" are described as being "bright lights" and "hardworking." But the writer simply cannot understand how the faculty could possibly be more to the left than "some students who are, supposedly, 'leaders.'"

Now what have we here? Does it follow that if a student is not farther to the left than the faculty any claims that student makes to campus leadership are fraudulent? How often the liberal virtue of tolerance fails to make itself apparent when the problem is conservatism rather than totalitarian socialism.

Conservatives are traduced as those who are "willing to let some things (freedom) go to avoid controversy." But, as everyone should know, conservatives, especially the libertarians among us, are passionately jealous of any infringement upon their rights, and are hard-hearted enough to insist upon those rights even if, in the absence of any restriction upon them, it were impossible to guarantee to every baby in Lower Slobovia his daily milk and diaper change.

The writer goes on to fret that not enough students are radically left and forsees great dangers to our freedom. Yet, in his own newspaper, not three weeks earlier, was this report of a meeting of the Wisconsin Socialist Club (which is, God knows, about as far to the left as one can go):

Matt Chaperon, a member of that organization, is quoted as saying, "If you are going to have socialism, certain freedoms will have to be eliminated, such as those of setting up your own business and hiring people. When it comes to eliminating personal freedom, a lot of arguments will be raised . . ." but ". . . most people feel that this is necessary in order to accomplish something greater."

Well, perhaps the editors of the *Cardinal* don't read their own newspaper, not that we really blame them. The only remaining conclusion is that they don't know right from left.

IN DEFENSE OF THE AFFIDAVIT IN THE NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT

By PROF. EDMUND ZAWACKI (Chairman, Department of Slavic Languages)

It is, of course, common in our American political tradition to challenge the motives and, frequently, the moral sensitivity of elected officials in Washington — and I myself would be the last to forego the sport, particularly in an election year — but it is only fair to remind ourselves from time to time that elected officials are, as a rule, just as deeply devoted to ideals of freedom and human dignity (including student dignity) as college professors and college presidents. With this little reminder let us look at the salient facts of the National Defense Education Act of 1959.

On September 5, 1958, with the enactment of the NDEA by Congress, some \$36,300,000 in Federal funds became available for use over a period of 6 years in Fellowship grants, and \$295,000,000 for use as loans to students already in college or about to enter. In addition, financial support is given for programs in science, mathematics, foreign languages, and guidance. All the programs depend completely on voluntary participation by colleges and students alike; not a single institution nor student is under any pressure from the Federal government to participate. But any student who desires to enlist, that is, desires to participate in the new, non-military, long-range defense of his country's peace and in the Federal financial aid toward his own higher education now available to him for that purpose, must execute: (1) a solemn Oath — "I, (*name*), do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America and will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States of America against all its

enemies, foreign and domestic"; and (2) an Affidavit — "I, (*name*), do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I do not believe in, and am not a member of and do not support any organization that believes in or teaches, the overthrow of the United States Government by force or violence or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods". Participating colleges and universities are expected to administer the Oath and Affidavit or, at least, supply the student applicant with the proper printed form.

In less than a year after enactment of the National Defense Education Act, Senators Kennedy (Mass.) and Clark (Penna.) introduced a bill to repeal both the Oath and Affidavit provisions in the law, but after debate in Congress the Kennedy-Clark bill was sent back to committee amended so as to limit the repeal action only to the Affidavit. It is this Affidavit-repealer bill, co-sponsored now by Senators Javits (N.Y.) and Keating (N.Y.) in addition to Senators Kennedy and Clark, that is to be acted on by Congress in the current session.

Such are the bare facts.

* * * *

A second look at both the Affidavit and the Oath will reveal that the primary function of the Affidavit in this law is to define in objective terms of civic responsibility what is meant in the basic citizen's Oath by the designation, "enemies, foreign and domestic of the Constitution and laws of the United States". It can be sincerely argued, of course, as Dr. Pusey of Harvard among others has done, that the Affidavit is objectionable and should be repealed because it

"singles out students as objects of special distrust". But in that case one should in good conscience also argue that Article II, Section 4, and Article III, Section 3 of the Constitution of the United States are objectionable and should be abrogated because they single out the President for special distrust. After all, both these items in the Constitution quite broadly define violations of the Presidential oath as "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors". Nor does the Constitution go into further detail about what is meant by "other high crimes and misdemeanors". Unlike "treason" in Article III, Section 3, they are not defined. It is not recorded in American history, however, that any President aspirant has ever refused to seek election to the highest public trust in the land because of his revulsion at being the object, apparently, of special distrust in the rigorous Constitutional definition of treason, or because of the jeopardy lurking in the undefined "High crimes and misdemeanors". Students seeking selection to the public trust of NDEA fellowships and loans have no real reason for revulsion, either.

The point I am making here is that in the American tradition all ceremonial oaths are equally solemn and binding under the law, and their meaning in objective terms of civic responsibility should be made reasonably clear to students no less than to Presidents. With regard to the Affidavit provision of the National Defense Education Act, the common argument is that it is intended to "catch Communists", and that it is ineffectual for this purpose because of the complete absence of moral scruple in people who are

Communists. Their moral turpitude may or may not be complete, but any serious definition of "enemies, foreign and domestic . . . of the Constitution and laws of the United States" must embrace more than Communists. The terms of definition in the Affidavit are, therefore, general ones, but they are readily translatable into objective concepts of civic responsibility, for example:

I do not believe in planting time bombs in school buildings whatever my private beliefs may be about racial equality before the law;

I do not believe in smearing swastikas on synagogues whatever my private beliefs may be about religious equality before the law.

Nor do I believe in, belong to, or support any organization that does believe in or teach such activities.

Consequently, it would seem that Senators sponsoring repeal of the Affidavit provision should regard themselves as morally obliged either to supply in its place a better definition of "enemies, foreign and domestic . . . of the Constitution and laws of the United States", or to demonstrate that such enemies, if they exist at all, are not dangerous to our free American institutions or to the public peace.

* * * *

Why do Americans of civic integrity argue that the Oath and Affidavit have no place in the National Defense Education Act? Both provisions were certainly under attack in the original Kennedy-Clark bill. To be sure, the attack is being concentrated now only on the Affidavit, but knowing the important relationship of the Affidavit to the Oath, it should be clear that repeal of the Affidavit will strip the Oath of concrete objective meaning and of most of its solmenity and value as a civic pledge, every student having a different subjective notion of what he is pledging.

The answer must be that there is a difference of opinion about the nature and intent of the National Defense Education Act itself —

which raises still another question.

Is it actually true, as foes of the Affidavit presume, that no more is intended by this law than just "aid to education" in the form of a massive financial transaction between the Federal government, our various universities and our student population?

Yale University's President A. W. Griswold, for one, quite clearly starts from this presumption in his *NYTimes Magazine* article (Dec. 20, 1959) when he argues that "universities do not see why their students and faculties should be treated differently from any other individuals, groups, professions or occupations that receive Federal subsidies or loans." Given the title itself of the legislation: *National Defense Education Act*, it is perhaps Dr. Griswold's zeal for education that has blinded him here to the first two words: National Defense, and, in consequence, blinded him also to the excessive self-assurance of his presumption — not to mention the inadequacy of his notion of what constitutes ideological war.

The perplexity of the universities referred to would perhaps resolve itself if they took a less egocentric and more statesmanlike view of the nature and purpose of the NDEA; the following view expressed by Senator Mundt in a letter dated December 30, 1959, has the quite considerable authority of an active participant in the Congressional debates attending the enactment of the National Defense Education bill back in 1958: "It was never intended by Congress that this Act should be looked upon as a general educational assistance program. This is a national defense program and those who participate in it are in a very real sense non-military combatants in the present 'cold war' between the free world and the totalitarian world."

Dr. Griswold's concept of the nature of ideological war — which is the frame of reference for his argument in his *NYTimes Magazine* article — seems to be limited pretty much to the problem of in-

tellectual curiosity *versus* subversion among students on one hand, and anti-intellectualism among the general public on the other: "A people that cannot trust its intellectuals cannot trust itself. A people that is afraid to expose its political and social institutions to the curiosity and criticism of the rising generation is not free; by whatever method it whispers this fear to itself, it shouts its insecurity to the whole world."

Ideological war is bigger than this.

No one in his right mind will question the intellectual or civic integrity of Dr. Griswold. But if he, like many other notable Americans, has accepted ideas like "containment", "coexistence", "neutral zone", "prevention of surprise attack", "massive retaliation", "thermonuclear deterrence" without intellectual curiosity about the Marxist-Leninist quality of them, then he should objectively recognize now how thoroughly his mentality has been invaded in the war of ideas by the Communist world-outlook. No suspicion of any individual's private trustworthiness is imputed, nor is any one being called a Communist, but every one of these ideas does actually sustain in the minds of men everywhere the fundamental Communist doctrine that world society is divided by "Nature's dialectical law" into two hostile camps. If these ideas are not overcome in the American mentality, the obvious drift in them toward the first hostile thermonuclear explosion and its compulsive sequel of general thermonuclear annihilation, will inevitably present greater dangers to our body-politic than drift toward the religious and political test-oaths and bills of attainder in 17th and 18th century England against which Dr. Griswold directed his most eloquent arguments. Also, compared to the effect on American policy at home and abroad of a Communist ideological inroad of this magnitude in the American mentality, the effect of whatever anti-intellectualism there

(Continued on Page 7)

THE CHINESE-INDIAN DISPUTE: AN EVALUATION

By George G. Newman

The Chinese-Indian border dispute would be dismissed by no one as a situation lacking in importance. However, a detailed look will reveal that the ramifications are far greater than one might at first suspect.

The crux of the border dispute centers about China's refusal to recognize the Mac Mahon line established in 1913-14 at a Tripartite Conference between China, Tibet, and British India. The Chinese retort is that the line was never discussed at the parley, and was established without the signature of the Chinese Central Government. The Mac Mahon line runs along the crest of the high Himalayas and would seem to be in all respects a reasonable point of demarcation. Obviously displeased though, on August 25, 1959, the Red Chinese sent 200-300 troops from Tibet who overran Indian outposts.

To try to understand more clearly what this means to India herself and to free governments everywhere, we will consider two significant phases of past relations between Red China and India: The Tibetan Revolt and the Bandung Conference of 1955.

India and China have long experienced so many common characteristics that one would be led to believe Sino-Indian relations should be an outstanding example of mutual understanding. Both have felt long periods of exploitation by foreign powers, and the prolonged pangs of internal problems such as over-population and unemployment. The parallel is extended even further in light of the establishment of the Republic of India on January 26, 1950, and the formation of the Central People's Government in Peking, October 1, 1949. The existence of Tibet as a buffer zone also simplified Sino-Indian relations. However, almost

from the conception of the two governments, there has existed a degree of apprehension regarding the northern frontier.

Red China, in an effort to bring the "blessings" of Communism closer to the Tibetans, then decided to reverse the previous light hand on that mountain territory. To facilitate the take-over, the Reds signed the Sino-Tibetan agreement of May 23, 1951, which embodied a guarantee of religious freedom to the Tibetans; but the events that followed give the Red agreement a rather shallow tone now.

With the acceleration of "reform movements", the oppression of the Tibetans rose to the point of the mass-murdering of Buddhist monks and the desecration of shrines, and the almost inevitable rebellion arose. In April, 1959, the "People's Liberation Army" swept en masse into the mountain area, crushing all Tibetan resistance. The existence now of great numbers of Red Chinese troops along India's northern perimeter could not help but create a definite uneasiness to many Indians, already startled by the smashing of Tibet. It could be said that a definite new point in Sino-Indian relations had been reached.

The mere juxtaposition of the two countries should not bring any sweeping changes in their relationship, especially if Tibet was "merely an internal affair executed by terrorists", as the Communists claimed. But the extension of aggression into India undoubtedly is not a separate entity from the aggression in Tibet.

A short glance backward to Bandung, 1955, will offer an interesting view concerning the relationship at that time between the leaders of the countries involved, and also a candid glimpse of the Red Chinese opportunist mannerisms. Our eval-

uation will be further enhanced if it is noted here that a scare of unpublicized border issues developed as early as July, 1954.

The conference held at Bandung, Indonesia in 1955 was a definite high point in Asian-African affairs. The twenty-nine nations that attended comprise the great majority of the underdeveloped areas of the world. It was there that Jawaharlal Nehru, the neutralist Indian Prime Minister and great exponent of Gandhian non-violence ideals, and Premier Chou En-Lai of Red China sought a previously unmatched degree of cooperation, as if both suddenly felt a necessity for cajoling one-another. Mr. Nehru, as policy maker of the most populous democracy in the world, presented the disturbing picture of extending his neutralism to its utmost in an embarrassing appeal to Chou En-Lai. Chou En-Lai himself was sublimely two-faced both as a communist and as an element attending a conference held for the purpose of mapping out the peaceful social and economic rise of African and Asian countries. General Carlos P. Romulo in his recent book, *The Meaning of Bandung*, gives some valuable observations in regard to Chou's performance.

"Although Chou succeeded in delaying adjournment by putting up a last ditch fight against denunciation by the conference of colonialism in all its manifestations 'as an evil which should be speedily brought to an end,' his action proved anti-climactic and unavailing. The standard communist positions on these matters are antithetical to such pronouncements. They are opposed to an all-inclusive disarmament formula because the communist orbit enjoys decided superiority in manpower. Red China's emergence as a vast power

is primarily due to its vast armies. The Communists contend that the sin of colonialism is peculiar to the West and that they are above it. And when they pay lip-service to the God-given right of all nations to choose their own political and economic systems, they do so in the context of the classic Communist doctrine of world empire forged by revolution, which necessarily proscribes conformity with the principles and purposes of the United States."

The situation became almost annoying, though sinister, when Chou added to the concept of the Red Chinese as unmitigated liars by his pleas concerning the cold war.

"It was strange indeed that Premier Chou En-Lai should ask the conference not to take sides in the cold war, for Red China then, as now, was one of the principal antagonists in the cold war — and in fact had only recently been a belligerent in the Korean War. Chou was saying to the conference, in effect: 'If you cannot join us, stay out of the fight.' That Chou was joined in his plea by the foremost articulate champions of neutralism compounded the irony."

That Prime Minister Nehru should have so completely missed the point makes the Bandung conference also a low point in the functioning of his well-reputed intellect and statesmanship.

As was said earlier, the implications of the border dispute extend well beyond the context of Sino-Indian relations. The incident offers to the world a vivid example of what can result from the extension of trust and friendship to the Peking regime. The dangerous, new concept of imperialism as displayed by the Reds cannot be ignored or even minimized. "To be more specific, Red China's actions in Korea, Vietnam, Tibet, Nepal, Bhettan, Sikkim, Ladhak, and Laos are not mere incidents, but form well-ordered links in a chain of events which aim at a step-by-step restoration of the Chinese Empire in modern form." That Red China should, with so little

compunction and without just cause, attack along the borders of India, whom many would have considered to have previously been a close friend, is surely a startling exposition of the nature of the Red government and its aggressive ideology. It is also strange how timely the crushing of Tibet was with the decision to declare the Mac Mahon line as "unrecognized." As a gesture, the Reds have since proposed that all elements withdraw 12½ miles so the situation may be "negotiated." They forget to add that such a withdrawal would leave the People's Liberation Army in command of important positions regarded now as Indian Territory.

At first reluctant, Prime Minister Nehru has been prompted by pressure from the Indian Parliament to abandon his over-conciliatory tone in dealing with the Communists. Strange new words from Nehru reveal new lessons learned, and it is hoped that what has long been apparent to many observers concerning Peking is now clear to him and to free minds everywhere.

(In Defense of The Affidavit con't.)

may be in this country is insignificant.

Regarding the Affidavit in the NDEA, Dr. Griswold neglected to acknowledge — among other important truths — that not a single student in the United States is being compelled by the Federal government to enlist in the new, long-range, non-military, security, defense and education program, or to pursue anything but learning for its own sake after he has chosen to enlist. Consequently, his argument, with all due respect for its sincerity and erudition, was only against a straw man of his own making and had little if any relevance to the most important function of the Affidavit.

Apart from the attitude toward the Affidavit expressed by President Eisenhower in his budget message to Congress, the President's concept of national defense in the war of ideas is far bigger and more resolute.

In a telegram on January 4, 1960, to the National Defense Resources Conference at the University of Wisconsin, he warned: "The defense of our nation and the advance of justice and freedom around the world require the commitment of all our resources: material, human, and spiritual." Behind these unpretentious words there is, it seems, an awareness as simple as it is tremendous that the American people are engaged in a fight to the finish of the Communist totalitarian idea in the minds of men around the world, and that the total resources of men, material, and *faith* are fully engaged on both sides.

It would seem, therefore, that the positive attitude instinctively taken by our student population toward the Oath and Affidavit in the National Defense Education Act speaks well for their common sense. Their freely given pledges of faith and of *undivided* allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States serves the national welfare far better than the kind of intellection whereby "unalterable opposition" to the Affidavit transforms itself in the name of safeguarding American freedom into a condescending toleration of the citizen's basic oath of allegiance. Freedom of person and conscience under law in this country certainly does not come from this kind of toleration.

To be sure, the very fact that this country can permit itself the political luxury of a nation-wide controversy on an issue like this does have a certain amount of propaganda value in the propaganda contest between the USA and the USSR. And men of principle and conviction arguing against the Affidavit in our various universities may indeed have contributed to an American propaganda victory of sorts by their stands. But if the same stand is taken by Congress, the rest of the world, which is looking to an ideologically resolute United States rather than to the Soviet Union for world leadership in the hydrogen age, will probably be even more dismayed and confused than John Q. Public here.

VALUES, RHETORIC, AND THE METAPHYSIC OF PROGRESS

By Robert C. Adams

Shopping for a sportcoat in Madison can be revelatory of more than a current dearth of tasteful or even sensible patterns. From MacNeil & Moore which caters to Langdon Street to the small shops on the square which trade mostly with the local yokels, I irritated salespeople by rejecting everything they beamingly brought forth for my approval. Most interesting, however, was the approach these good souls used in their efforts to wring a sale from me. Never once did a salesman defend his wares on grounds of aesthetic appeal; always I was told the eyesore which hung on my back was the latest thing, it was what all young men were wearing or, better yet, were beginning to wear as I surely must know.

I think I startled these people by saying, quite unbelligerently, that I did not know nor did I give a damm what other young men were wearing.

A few of the more politic salespeople explained that their stock was not of their choosing but was decided for them by the current preferences of the consumer (What von Mises calls the democracy of the market place). I understood.

But most insisted that what they held before me, if not now high on the charts, anticipated the coming vogue. There was always the implicit assumption that whatever was in fashion was worthwhile; indeed it did not even seem to require explanation. One rather nasty fellow suggested that I had poor taste and maintained in as defiant a manner as his job would permit that he had a majority of customers to prove it. If we had been discussing politics rather than clothes he no

doubt would have called me an enemy of progress.

All this, I mused, was characteristic of a general tendency among Americans to reject, however unreflectively, most universal or traditional standards of judgment and to look, instead, to popular consensus and to hold a wetted finger to the wind as if direction were itself a measure of value, perhaps the only barometer by which to evaluate either ethically or pragmatically, the desirability of a condition, whether of dress, literature or politico-philosophical environment.

The idea of the ineluctability of progress, a relatively recent phenomenon, is manifest in the attitudes of a very large segment of our people who have become content to ride the wave of the future, satisfied that they are being carried ever closer to the shores of paradise.

Some will say I strain my analogy. I do not think so. Of course, fashions of dress change markedly over the years as do manners of speech, writing, and etiquette. Not only do these change from year to year (vertically, as the saying goes) but horizontally, from place to place, nation to nation.

All this is obvious. Yet, that from this phenomoea can be quarried the argument that values are relative, that because some things which were in vogue fifty years ago are no longer fashionable we are deprived of a standard with which to make moral, political, or aesthetic judgments other than the origin and chronology of what is being judged is so vulgar a rendition that we should only expect to hear it sung by the *Octy*, the *Cardinal*, or the YDEMS. (It would

be amusing but superfluous to examine the rhetorical excesses with which these agencies orchestrate their theme.)

The *Octy*, ironically now itself a thing of the past, was both amazed and disturbed ("corked off") by the appearance of this journal. "From out of the land of LaFollette, believe it or not, comes this reactionary magazine (Hindsight and Outhouse). It had always seemed to us that the college campus was just not the place for reactionaries. We had looked to the schools for the new ideas . . ." The *Octy* was generous enough to this "rag" to "lay the foolish garbage its editors spout to youth and ignorance." Had not the authors of this sober comment on the decay of the academy been possessed of the wisdom, understanding and mellowed spirit of maturity, they surely would have been unable to exercise such tolerance.

The *Cardinal* frequently reminds us of the need for "new ideas" and for "change." A recent editorial entitled "Here Come the Young Fogies" voiced dismay at the failure of modern students to demonstrate their familiar radicalism, their "impatience with their elders' conservatism."

Dave Obey, speaking for YDEMS in a letter to the *Cardinal*, reiterated his earlier made claim that the conservative philosophy of the Republican Party was "so much bilge" and stated further that I was "far behind the times." (In an earlier letter to the *Cardinal*, I advised Mr. Obey that he ought to . . . well . . . scream more softly, but, after all, Mr. Obey is a Democrat and speaks with a mind to arousing the masses.)

I wish to examine briefly the source of the faith that assures people that change will always be for the better.

Such a disposition derives from our failure to distinguish spiritual, cultural, and political progress from technological advances. Hypnotized by the material benefits which have given us an increasingly higher standard of living, we assume that because we are making progress in the fields of technology, we are making similar strides in our quest for a more humane civilization. Aided by twentieth century commercialism which seeks to instill within the individual the tastes of the collective and their insatiable desire for modernity, the "mass-man" has, in Alan Valentine's apt phrase, developed a "machine mind" which assumes that our social institutions, like our modes of transportation, improve with each new model.

Thus is explained Mr. Obey's horrifying analogy: "True to form, the GOP has chosen to enter the philosophical race with a 19th century horse and buggy rather than with a modern internal combustion automobile, all the while strilling at the top of its proud little lungs 'What's good enough for my great grandfather is good enough for me.'"

The idea that philosophical systems should be judged, like cars, by vintage is a vulgarism characteristic of the mass-mind.

Let us consider the merits of such an accusation. Time marches on and leading the parade, we are told, is our friend the modern liberal. I notice that Mr. Obey and his ideological compatriots employ the charge that "conservatives live in the past" or that they are "trying to turn the clock back" as an exorcism to send reactionaries scurrying out of the way lest they be trampled by destiny (represented by Mr. Obey and his friends).

The role is a bit presumptuous. Either these people, like Marx and Hegel, view history as an inevitable

and irresistible course toward an ultimate, the nature of both the course and the ultimate toward which it is working being revealed only to them, or their view of history is merely subjective, a dream which they intend to make reality, frightening dissenters by pronouncement of the futility of resistance.

Mr. Obey is a politician and uses words for their emotive power rather than their rational meaning. However, a YDEM organization at a university should be more than a propaganda mechanism for a political party. If the University's posture as a marketplace of ideas is to be seriously respected, reflective analysis, not slogans must be the medium of exchange. To denounce something merely because it is old (or, for that matter, new) lifts from us the burden of any further reflection.

To return to my original analogy, we all recognize that styles and conventions change with the passing of time. We ought not to educe from this that time, per se, is our only evaluative instrument.

Dress, art, and decorum are designed to serve functions which have their foundation in universal and traditional values against which we can judge their merit.

Philologically and chronologically, Shakespeare's speech is anachronistic. Jack Kerouac, on the other hand, writes in what might be thought of as our contemporary idiom. Yet, Shakespeare's greatness must be acknowledged while Kerouac, as an artist, simply does not exist.

Philosophical and political values must no less be weighed against deeper, more time-tested standards. The individual man has not chang-

ed much through the ages. To erect our value systems on the ratiocinations of each new generation would be to deprive ourselves of the benefits of the accumulated wisdom and experience of the ages.

An anecdote of the Civil War relates how the wife of a plantation owner sent one of the field hands to the front lines to determine the course of the battle. Upon returning, he had these consoling words for the anxious woman. "Well, ma'm," he drawled, "due to de lay of de land we is advancin' backwards and dey is retreatin' forwards."

At this point in our history, it might be well if we paused to re-examine the lay of the land, to analyze our current operations in the perspective of the social and political ethos upon which this nation was founded in order to determine if perhaps we, too, are advancing backwards.

The substitution of modernity or majority vote for a standard that requires a more perceptive wisdom than can be culled from a calender or a ballot-box is the high price of mass democracy. We must, if you will, react against the proclamations of the hucksters and the soap-box orators who would encourage our intellectual flabbiness with formulas to be swallowed like sugar-coated pills.

We are entrusted with a heritage which it is our duty to protect. If, to spare ourselves the effort of mental digestion we are derelict in our duty, the result will be deserved.

If the verbal pyrotechnics of the politicians and the ad men are to be our only intellectual fare, we may expect to remain a nation of ideological illiterates.

THE SPIRIT OF CHARITY

By Gale Pfund

The spirit of charity is, indeed, one of the finest aspects of the human personality. A man giving freely of his own for the aid and comfort of those in need is an act of love exceeded only by the sacrifice of one's own life. Consequently, charity has been practiced and advocated by the truly great men of the world since the beginning of civilization. To quote a biblical interpretation, 1 Timothy 1. 5. has this to say: "Now the end of the commandments is charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned."

Americans have followed the practice in one form or another since the days of the first settlements. Then charity existed almost of necessity. Food and shelter were scarce and could be obtained only through much labor and sacrifice. With all their hopes resting on the continuing productivity of the wilderness, any catastrophe could mean virtual destruction to the settlers. People had to be charitable to save those of the community who had no second chance, no recourse when disaster struck.

With increased production and subsequent abundance, charity was no longer practiced in response to the call of dire necessity. But its practice flourished nonetheless, perhaps as evidence that all in man is not evil. Today we see its manifestations everywhere. The frequent office and shop collections, the Salvation Army, the March of Dimes, the Red Cross, and others too numerous and familiar to mention typify the extent to which charity pervades and manifests itself in our society. But further, the spirit of charity is itself a manifestation of the makeup of our moral

fiber. It exemplifies what truly remains of the Judao-Christian ethic upon which our country found its moral base.

Even more important, perhaps, are the indicators which point the direction America has moved from its moral foundation. The charity described above was viewed by many as a good and beautiful thing. With the apparent need for charity still pressing, government leaders sought to integrate it in our government policies both foreign and domestic. Not only was it good to help people but it also was politically expedient to do so, both to get votes and to win friends abroad. Although the effects of the latter are doubtful, the attempts to transform our government into a universal benefactor have persisted, so that now hundreds of millions of dollars are set aside in the annual budget for that cause. The concept of welfare statism so pervades our mentality that it has become institutionalized and now serves as a rational for government and the base upon which our society rests. We now view taxes as our debt to society, a first claim which must be paid.

Many would equate the charity described above with the "charity" practiced by our federal government in its social welfare programs. The similarity, however, is not basic, and if it exists at all, resides only on the surface. True, the effects of charity and government handouts are somewhat the same. Both serve to minimize the destitution of the needy. But there the similarity ends. True charity, whether it be given personally by the donor to the recipient or given by the donor and administered by

an agency, has two very important and definitive features. Charity is giving freely, without threat, of one's own possessions, or, "out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience."

These are the prerequisites which the "charity" of the welfare state fails to meet. The tax money used to support welfare policies is certainly not given freely, but is, quite to the contrary, collected at the point of a gun. Furthermore, the government, which in this case serves as the giver by determining the amounts and the recipients of federal handouts, does not give of its own but rather only distributes that plundered from the populace.

Social welfare policies, as administered by the government, here lack both the morality and the warmth of true charity. They are only a hard, cold, systematic way of perpetuating political power by capitalizing on the economic hardships of the citizens. For what moral worth or even dignity or honor is there in merely existing off the productivity of another? Charity finds its value in the fact that it is a free act in response to a personally felt need. It has worth primarily only in itself as an act of love, as an expression of man's humanity to man in a brotherhood.

Governmental charity finds its shortcomings in yet another manner. For seldom are its beneficiaries truly grateful for what has been bestowed upon them. And for good reason. The subsidized farmer or the social security pensioner have no one in particular to thank except a rather incomprehensible group called the American taxpayer, of which they are oftentimes a member. Also, when hand-

outs are systematized and become a matter of course, the recipient, rather than being thankful, often complains that his monthly check is not greater. For after all, there is so much wealth in the federal storehouse that an extra hundred dollars would surely never be missed. Soon what is regular and expected becomes the recipient's right. To deprive him of it would not only be cruel but also immoral. Here we see the beginnings of economic decline. The something for nothing myth or the frequently heard notion that the world owes me a living are all too easy to adopt and come as the logical conclusion to this practice. Rather than incentive to produce we develop incentive to idleness.

These considerations bring to fore the economic aspect of charity. Someone said that the greatest charity one can render is to make charity unnecessary. If one is motivated in his charitable endeavors by a sincere desire to better the lot of his fellow man, it would seem that this consideration would be foremost. For charity, rather than making men economically secure, renders them dependents to their benefactor. Instead of solving the basic problem such charity serves only to prolong it. When the donor's store of gifts has diminished, the recipient's income is cut off and his condition is the same as before. Only now, having developed habits of dependence and laziness, he is less able to fend for himself until another benefactor comes along.

It would seem, then, that the aim of the true benefactor to society would be to provide productive jobs for those needy able to work. True enough, not all charity cases are able to perform even the simplest tasks. The truly destitute, sick and aged, are certainly unable to support themselves. Yet how much misdirected "charity" do we not see going to the subsidized farmer or businessman, the robust social security pensioner, or the child of

a veteran, all of whom receive funds which private charity could channel to where it was really needed.

The money used to support federal welfare programs is the same money which could, through wise investment, be used to provide the jobs necessary for material abundance, to remove the need for charity. Increased investment provides possibly the only real cure which even the humble donor can help realize.

Several advantages this method has over Christian charity are readily apparent. The recipient, rather than being dependent upon a given stock of funds, can now lay claim to an endless flow of capital from his labors. His needs are provided for while he maintains the honor and dignity of independence and self-support. From his income, the wise worker will be able to save enough for further investment.

If our economics teaches us correctly, investment has a multiplying effect on national income, thereby creating greater abundance for all. Charity, on the other hand, is merely given and spent only to its depletion. Furthermore, the investor, while serving mankind by helping to remove economic hardship, more often than not sees a return on his investment which pure charity fails to provide.

These then are the alternatives to current governmental welfare policies. The trend, though, is away from them. This is true because of one axiom concerning the nature of government which is universally the case. Very seldom do we see a reduction in the government tax budget. Any alterations are usually to increase spending. Whether government policy indicates a changing moral fiber of the people or only a lack of courage to oppose it, only time will tell. In the meantime its effects may be devastating.

THE WISCONSIN CONSERVATIVE CLUB

— presents —

- a debate on the N.D.E.A
LOYALTY OATH and
AFFIDAVIT.

AGAINST:

Professor C. A. Auerbach
U. W. Law School

FOR:

L. Brent Bozell
Associate Editor, "National
Review" Magazine

SUNDAY, FEB. 28th

3:00 P.M.—B-10 COMMERCE

- M. Stanton Evans
Speaking on
"THE MEANING OF
McCARTHYISM"

SUNDAY, MARCH 27th

With the recent appearance of Mr. William F. Buckley, Jr., at the University, the Wisconsin Conservative Club initiated a program of receptions for conservative visitors to this campus, held at the Edgewater Hotel following the public program.

These parties allow interested persons to discuss with conservative speakers issues which were not introduced at the public lecture.

The atmosphere is cordial and intellectually stimulating. University of Wisconsin Conservative Club Members and their guests are invited to attend.

BOOK INSIGHT

CAPITAL AND THE

COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

The Modern Library

This book is edited by Max Eastman who states in his preface that, "it is urgently necessary that everyone, and not merely the intellectuals, should become familiar with the fundamental teachings of Socialism."

On two counts, Eastman's point is well taken. Socialism, in one form or another, as well as under its many semantic disguises, is an ideology that is deeply entrenched in American economic thought. For many years, opponents of Socialism have buried their heads in the sand and pretended that here in America it didn't exist. Secondly, intellectual honesty demands that, whether attacked from Right, or defended by Left, the doctrine be clearly understood. One source for that understanding is available in *Capital*, Marx's critique of the capitalist system.

In its original form (three volumes), the work requires much hard study to understand thoroughly. There are various reasons for this. Marx died after the first book was published; Engels went on to publish the second and third. This marred the continuity badly, causing much repetition and disorder. In some parts, the ideas are so intimately interwoven and interdependent that no single part can be correctly understood without a knowledge of the others. For example, a good portion of the third book must be digested intellectually before certain ideas in the first book can be grasped.

In a concise, edited, (and I might add, interpreted) edition, Modern Library presents extracts from *Capital*, the *Manifesto*, and assorted essays and articles by Marx and Lenin. It is this edition that I recommend to those who would attack or defend Marx without first having understood what he advocated. Here we have most of Marx's ideas in the broad academic daylight — before they can be coated with the emotional varnish of the do-gooder.

The publishing of *Capital* established Marx as the founder of Scientific Socialism. This work is, without question, one of the harshest economic critiques ever to reach print. It raised questions which have troubled defenders of Free Market Capitalism for nearly a hundred years. (i.e. technological unemployment, centralization of credit, and Government power and intervention.)

The essential doctrines of Marx appear to resolve themselves into these theories: the materialistic approach to history; the theory of the class struggle; the theory of value and wages; the theory of state; his approach to Scientific Socialism; and his theory of surplus value. The latter is the keystone of Marxist economics. The surplus value theory states that a worker devotes one part of his day working for sustenance (wages); the other part he spends working for nothing — creating for the capitalist surplus value, the source of profits, the source of the wealth of the class of capitalists. Of course, this is a corollary of the Labor Theory of Value which Marx borrowed from Ricardo, who in turn borrowed it from Adam Smith. Smith stated that the true value of an object is equal to the amount of labor that went into its manufacture.

"The Theory of History" is a great help in forming the big picture of what Marx was proposing. In the words of Engels, "Marx discovered the simple fact that human beings must have food, drink, clothing, and shelter first of all, before they can interest themselves in politics, science, art, religion and the like." In other words, the political and cultural institutions of a society are merely a superstructure resting on an economic foundation. Alter the material economy, and everything else has no recourse but to follow. Add to this the dialectic of Hegel, and we find Marx's entire scheme being propelled by a "historic necessity". Inherent in the Capitalist system, as Marx saw it, is an iron inevitability causing overproduction, imperialist wars, perpetual class warfare, eventual revolt of the working class, and the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

The Hegelian dialectic led Marx to believe that progress occurred because of the struggle of antagonistic elements and the eventual resolution of these elements into a synthesis. Marx's application of the Hegelian dialectic to his already standing theories on economics and class struggle results in a Materialistic Interpretation of History. History viewed through this prism can be seen as a series of events following a set and repetitious pattern. Important also, is the fact that Marx held these changes to be definitely revolutionary in nature.

Now the question: is this interpretation of history valid? Throughout the book, amidst the constant mention and discussion of "classes", the reader occasion-

ally comes across the "state". Marx looked upon the state as a device of the bourgeoisie to advance its own interests. Engels put it bluntly when he said, "the state can be nothing else than a dictatorship—a dictatorship of one class over one or more other classes." Both Marx and Engels believed that after the "dictatorship of the proletariat" were achieved, the excess of power wielded by the state would wither away, but neither of them had a clear notion of just how. This not only smacks of Anarchism, but leaves the potential Marxist without a vehicle with which to enforce equality. Bearing Engels in mind on this point, let us consider the attempted application of Marxism—Soviet Russia in the last forty years.

Here was the worker before Marx, exploited by the landlord, working half of his day for the landlord's profit, being paid a bare subsistence wage, at the same time being the only *real* source of value and having only to lose his chains. How did the revolution change things for the worker? How did the "from each according to his abilities—to each according to his needs" work out? Well, somewhere along the line, each worker must have discovered that he would be a fool to work hard, when by doing so he would be supporting his shiftless co-worker, whereas, if he loafed, his co-worker would have to support him. Consequently, Marx's ability-need postulate was changed in order to introduce incentive—a crushing defeat for Marx brought on by the reaction of, not vested landed interest, but basic human nature.

Perhaps more remarkable was the discrediting of Marx's revolutionary concepts. The "iron inevitability" and the "historic necessity" were dropped in favor of a Fabian "one step backward—two steps forward" policy. This would indicate that Marx's respected ideas on historic necessity were judged to be not valid by those who had believed them enough to give them a try. In addition, certainly no one can deny the existence of a "state" in Russia today. As Engels asserted, the state *is* a dictatorship; the only difference is that the ruling class is now the party. Welfare-wise, does the worker now receive the surplus value? Before the state pays ANY wages at all it deducts from the aggregate national income amounts to cover depreciation, expansion, insurance, losses, community improvement, and the cost of administration. All that remains is a total lack of individual liberty and shoes for sale costing a month's wages. Communism developed a ruling elite of its own, and the gap between it and the masses far exceeds anything to be found under Western capitalism whether measured in social or economic aspects. The Iron Curtain is there for a reason. It hides from the world the sad state of the Russian worker, and it also allows the intellectuals of the free world to go on kidding themselves that Marxism enhances the welfare of the worker.

In conclusion, let us turn to the United States, which is the end goal of the Marxists. I ask you to read Marx;

I also ask you to pick up a typical "liberal" newspaper or magazine and note the hue and cry *against* private privilege, profits, inequalities, anti-unionism plus the fervent appeals *for* progressive taxation, government intervention, government ownership of utilities, and the sundry state-sponsored welfare schemes. Note the similiarity.

We now have the whole picture: a critique, *Capital*; a program, the *Manifesto*; an application, Russia; and an end goal, the U.S.A. The first two are found in this book. The not-so-proud achievements of number three are obscured by the Iron Curtain leaving room for doubt. The last? That depends on how many people bother to read what the founder of Scientific Socialism had to say—as opposed to ignoring the ideology altogether or subsisting on a diet of inflammatory pamphlets. That depends on how many people go to the source—and decide if that is what they really want for America.

—Roger W. Claus

The House of Intellect

By Jacques Barzun - Harper & Brothers \$5

A great deal of criticism has been leveled at our schools, mass media, business, and government in recent years. Much of it has been warranted even if it hasn't been acted upon. But it has remained for Jacques Barzun to make a deep inquiry into that difficult and most misunderstood of subjects, the intellect.

For the purposes of *The House of Intellect*, some definitions are in order. Intellect is defined as the communal form of live intelligence; it is intelligence stored up and made into habits of discipline, signs and symbols of meaning, chains of reasoning, by which the mind communicates truth. Intellect is not to be confused with intelligence, which is the native ability of a creature. A dog may be intelligent, but not intellectual; a professor may be intellectual, but not intelligent.

The House of Intellect embraces at least three groups of subjects: the persons who consciously and methodically employ the mind; the forms and habits governing the activities in which the mind is so employed; and the conditions under which these people and activities exist.

Intellect, contends author Barzun, is slowly being undermined and destroyed by our culture in the name of art, science, and philanthropy.

Art has become an escape for people who fear the exact, the precise. Experimental art becomes recognized almost immediately if it is ambiguous enough. The responsibilities and exactitude of intellect are abandoned in favor of the symbolic and mystical. The law, the state, commerce, are thought to be vulgar frauds and that only art endures.

This attitude toward art permeates society today. Although the beat generation is the most publicized

manifestation of this trend, reference to beatism is conspicuously absent from this book. The explanation lies in a short preface where Barzun promises that, since it's a waste of time to belabor shady schools, stupid government officials, and the unlettered, he would confine his remarks only to institutions of high intellectual regard. (For more of Barzun on art, he has written *The Energies of Art*, 1956).

Science becomes anti-intellectual when it separates into cells of authority which demand recognition. This is evident in other areas, too. The universal formula is: 'You cannot understand or appreciate my science (art) (trade) unless you yourself practice it.' Conversely, such authorities as Einstein and Niels Bohr are revered by rote, lacking even a partial understanding. Barzun points out that every shrinking of the common ground of intellect lessens the authority of each fragment.

By philanthropy, Barzun means the liberal doctrine of free and equal opportunity as applied to things of the mind. Education is promoted for as many people as possible and its gauge is eagerness and intention rather than performance. Struggling incompetence is held to be a fine object of philanthropy. Any other course would be cruel.

The philanthropic doctrine of pity and help has been extended from church, settlement house, and clinic to the educational system. It seems that the life-adjusted man is preferable to the educated man.

The effect of art, science, and philanthropy on intellect is traced through the book in chapters dealing with the state of the language, the school system, journalism and publishing supplies of money for thought and learning, and the state of person-to-person communication. Mr. Barzun, Dean of Faculties and Provost of Columbia University, is well qualified to make this investigation, interlacing his commentary with many first-hand experiences.

Of particular interest is a chapter entitled "The Case Against Intellect." Intellect has the power to destroy as well as to create. Thus it becomes an enemy of sound political structure: material interests can be compromised to soothe a dispute; principals cannot, and it is intellect which formulates these principals.

Anyone who is interested in the prospects of intellect will surely be influenced by this book. Intellect is in peril, its house is divided, but an awareness of what intellect is and what it requires in order to thrive and produce will keep it from mortal danger.

—Millard W. Johnson

The Yalta Betrayal

By Felix Wittmer

Writing dynamically yet simply, Felix Wittmer contends that the relationship between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S., from the recognition of the Soviet Government to the Yalta Conference, was a series of betrayals of the free peoples of the world. Striking his most

fierce blows against Roosevelt and his advisors, Wittmer points out that these men were not only blind to the destruction caused by the communists in the East, but also to the infiltration of the communist traitors in our own country.

Wittmer informs his reader that the betrayals began with the recognition of the U.S.S.R., who then promised to step out of U.S. affairs. Soon after this, however, communist-controlled organizations began to appear in this country: the American Youth Congress; the National Negro Congress; the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; etc. Though England had gone to war to save the territorial integrity of Poland, and though Roosevelt pleaded for the preservation of Poland, Stalin broke off diplomatic relations with the Polish Government in London in order that his troops might overrun Poland. Still Joseph E. Davies, former ambassador to Russia, said, "the word of honor of the Soviet Government is as safe as the Bible".

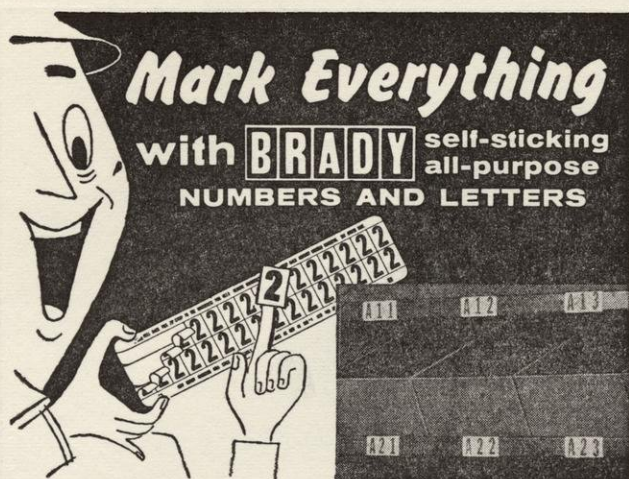
Roosevelt believed that Russia could do no wrong, adds Wittmer. When Berle reported the information concerning the subversive activities of Alger Hiss, given him by Whittaker Chambers, the president completely disregarded the news. He even allowed the War Department to issue an order that disorganized the counter-subversive reporting system in the Armed Forces.

Many times, says Wittmer, Roosevelt let opportunity slip through his fingers. Signing the lend-lease document, he asked no concessions from Stalin, but begged mercifully for his aid in the war against Japan — an assistance we later discovered was not necessary. Operation Anvil, a second invasion of France, was suggested and pushed by the Soviet Dictator, in order to keep our troops out of South Eastern Europe and clear the way for Soviet Democratization in the Balkans.

The author illustrates how an angelic mask covered the conspiracies of the devil. Stalin claimed to be a follower of the Atlantic Charter, but still held the Finnish lands, the Baltic States, and Eastern Poland. He cleverly, but falsely professed a turn toward religion to attract the Orthodox believers in the Middle East to the Soviet Cause. Also while declaring adherence to peace and democracy, Stalin gave the genocidal treatment to millions of Balts, Crimean Tartars, Volga Germans, and many other communist-controlled peoples.

Using commonplace language, Wittmer writes colorfully and vividly, his similes strikingly picturesque. This serves to make the selection interesting not only to the politically-minded person, but even to the man who has no obvious interest in the affairs-of-state. There is no 'beating around the bush' for Wittmer. On the contrary, he comes right to the point, revealing his thoughts directly and precisely. And his references are extensive, showing that he has done thorough research on the subject.

— M. Herrick



On Blue Streak® Dispenser Cards

If it's to be numbered, marked or identified, this is the low cost, simple way to do it. Brady Numbers and Letters stick instantly, permanently — provide quick identification in any combination for areas, columns, aisles, fire stations, pallets, shelves, bins, drawers. Six stock sizes: 1/2", 3/4", 1 1/2", 2 1/4", 3 1/2" or 5" Black legends on yellow super-strength vinyl-cloth. Specials made to order... variety of colors.

WRITE FOR FREE WORKING SAMPLES

W. H. **BRADY** CO.

Manufacturers of Quality Self-Sticking Industrial Products.
727 West Glendale Avenue • Milwaukee 9, Wisconsin • Est. 1914

69

WISCONSIN COLD STORAGE COMPANY

MILWAUKEE - MARSHFIELD

*"The security of the frozen food industry
rests upon the quality of its Refrigeration"*

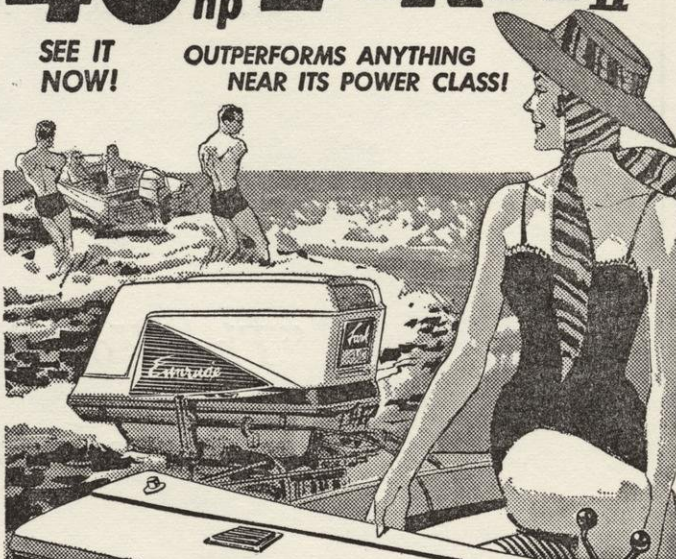
EVINRUDE

PRESENTS THE NEW

40 hp LARK II

SEE IT
NOW!

OUTPERFORMS ANYTHING
NEAR ITS POWER CLASS!

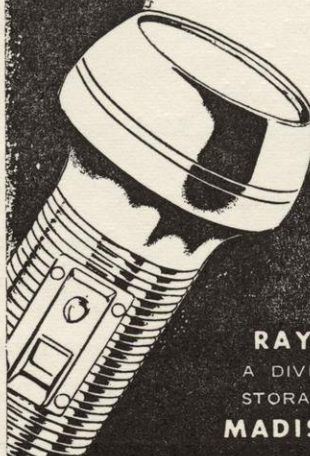


EVINRUDE MOTORS • 4143 N. 27th St. • Milwaukee 16, Wis.

IN THE
DARK
AGES

TRUTH

CAME
THROUGH



RAY-O-VAC COMPANY
A DIVISION OF THE ELECTRIC
STORAGE BATTERY COMPANY
MADISON 10, WISCONSIN

Wrought Washer Mfg. Co.

Milwaukee 7, Wisconsin

*"The World's Largest
Producer of Washers"*

*"I have sworn upon the altar of God
eternal hostility against every form of tyranny
over the mind of man."*

—Thomas Jefferson

GREDE FOUNDRIES, INC.

IRON, STEEL & DUCTILE IRON CASTINGS

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Elkhart Division
Elkhart, Indiana

Iron Mountain Division
Iron Mountain, Michigan

Liberty Division
Wauwatosa, Wisconsin

Milwaukee Steel Division
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Reedsburg Division
Reedsburg, Wisconsin

South Water Division
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Spring City Division
Waukesha, Wisconsin

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

An organization of significant, important individuals who are recognized as such.

"A Good Place to Work"