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A JOURNAL OF CONSERVATIVE STUDENT OPINION

insight and outlook

in this issue . . .

**INTRODUCING INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK: THE CHALLENGE
OF CONSTRUCTIVE THOUGHT**

The Editors

CONFRONTATION POLITICS IN CHICAGO

David A. Keene

THE POSITIVE APPROACH TO DEFEAT

Richard O. Wright

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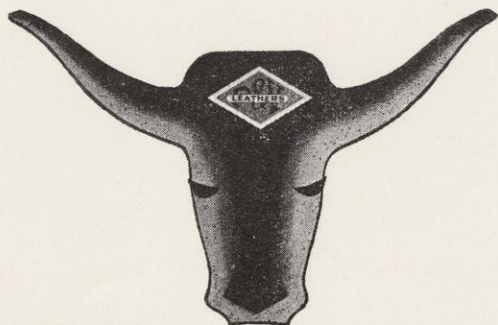
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CONTENTS:

Introducing Insight and Outlook.....	4
The Editors	
Aetius	6
The Second Wave.....	7
Richard O. Wright	
Confrontation Politics in Chicago.....	9
David A. Keene	
October Musings	11
Joyce Junior	
Reviews.....	13
Hindsights.....	16

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In this issue, Insight and Outlook reaches Volume X — although the celebration will be deferred to Volume X, No. 3, in order to coincide with the February 1959 publication date of Volume I, No. 1.

Our offerings this issue are political and academic; the one to discuss the upcoming elections, the other to consider the growing threat of student revolution in this country.

... AETIUS leads off, as usual, with a discussion of the Establishment, as it is, and as it seems to be.

... The Editor, in *The Second Wave*, dissects John Kenneth Galbraith's attempt to influence the Vietnam policy, and as if it were actually possible, finds that the ADA chief doesn't know what he is talking about.

... JOYCE JUNIOR, a new contributor, offers some thoughts on last year's student rebellions and suggests a few remedies.

... DAVID KEENE offers a personal view of the Chicago fracas between the good guys and the bad guys, but he seems to disagree with the idea about campus as to who is who.

... JOHN CARAVAN discusses Lyndon Johnson's "cop-out" in cheerfully uncomplimentary terms.

... The Editor appears again, reviewing another work by one of Insight and Outlook's favorite people, Doctor Russell Kirk.

Try Your Hand and Lend Us One

A memo to would-be contributors: Students, non-students, conservatives and even interesting liberals disgusted with the present order of things — this magazine exists to provide you with an outlet for your ideas. However, an outlet cannot function until the ideas get to us. Send your contributions — typed and double-spaced, please — to the editor, and we will offer you the opportunity to be heard.

Nor are we opposed to those who wish to argue with us, if the arguments are presented in a rational manner; however, we should warn you that such writings are usually turned over to our staff sadists for vivisection. In any case, write — otherwise your ideas may never reach daylight.

At any rate, it gives you the opportunity to see your name in print — although that, unfortunately, must be your only reward.

Introducing Insight and Outlook: The Challenge of Constructive Thought

A presumption would seem to exist, that since the reader has turned a front cover of rather stark appearance he is interested in the intellectual content beyond. The cover is, indeed, stubbornly designed to quickly lose the interest of those whom we have decided we have no capability of reaching.

The Editors refuse to jazz up the cover with psychedelic patterns, (or pictures of Jacqueline Kennedy for those attracted to that sort of thing), just as we refuse in our immediate pages to appeal to the idiots of the generation whose interests lie only in the sensual things, going no deeper than the "hippie" philosophies - and that, seemingly, only for the purpose of hurling well structured insults at authoritties.

On the contrary, the Editors seek to appeal to those who are aware of their capabilities of reason, and of the delights which accompany intellectual endeavors. The tools of logic and reason are our mainstay. We know that an appeal to the sensual may make a magazine a financial success; but we make our livings by other means, and would rather contend for more serious consideration of the world about us.

The magazine accepts the proud label of conservatism, although without limiting the word to the present-day context it is not fully descriptive of the thought present herein. The further classification of our philosophy finds a number of labels being applied. Some of our writings are properly libertarian. Others tend to traditionalism. One editor terms himself utilitarian, another a fusionist. One editor terms himself utilitarian, another a fusionist. And these variations are quite representative of the conglomeration of philosophies which have been relied upon by the intellectual conservative movement in America today. The way they work under the label "conservative" is a subject often discussed in these pages.

Yet, more often, the writings published in this journal present a challenge to the predominate orthodoxy of the day, American liberalism. If it were not for the background of the orthodoxy, which derives from a movement once legitimately termed liberal, we would begin by arguing that the term was a total misnomer as applied; for in many respects the orthodoxy denies legitimate liberalism. Prevailing opinion within the Establishment is both authoritarian and dogmatically egalitarian. In only one instance do we find its statist views yielding, name-

ly in favor of absolute political rights for those who agitate for the more radical versions of their Establishment's own view of things.

In all other respects, the liberty, which was once the American dream for the world, is stultified by the Liberal Establishment. The economic freedoms, in particular, seem to bear the brunt of the liberal wrath. Variants of collectivism, predicated on the economic determinism of Marxism, is their program.

Worse, the orthodoxy feeds upon itself, to promulgate more of the same among new adherents. Their pronounced Marxian interpretation of events appeals to the cynicism and nihilism of today's students, which attitudes the establishment is in large part responsible for fostering in the first place.

This we challenge in its entirety. Both the cynicism-nihilism and the Marxian sentiments are alien to our characters - as we feel they are alien to America and most of civilization.

There are others who challenge the establishment. You can see their pictures in *Life* magazine; and you will find curt references to them here. But their struggle is like fighting fire with gasoline. They are but the embodiment of everything the orthodoxy teaches, the logical conclusion of every wrong concept perpetrated by the Establishment itself. They shout down the authorities with super-doses of the same radicalism which those authorities had adopted 30 years back.

The New Left is hardly representative, but constitutes a vivid case in point. While their hot blood is shared by the youthful conservatives; these conservatives offer something beyond Marcuse, violent emotions and ripping at the establishment. The new left activists on the other hand find themselves, almost invariably, becoming the pawns of the S. D. S. organizers, who supply the program, and leave the action to the kids.

We suggest that even some of those have been drawn toward the New left would find the more basic challenge of conservatism giving better direction. We think that they should find the development of a free society - toward which the world had once made a start - the better dream for humanity. To this must be contrasted the alternative of a dictatorship of the proletariat, the means which has proven itself to promise *no end*. These are the points intellectual conservatism makes, and this is what *Insight and Outlook* will offer. If you are a *real* rebel, you will read on.

The Editors

Convention Hoopla

After the conventions the usual outcries about the hoopla and tomfoolery resounded from the commentators. We tend to agree, but might we offer one objection? Why is it "hoopla" when done by politicians (especially Republican politicians) but "legitimate forms of protest and dissent" when engaged in by the myrmidons of the New Left? We think perhaps, that the convention method provides the more serious approach to politics.

... And Then Some

While we're on the subject of conventions, we wonder if the Young Turks of the New Left caught former Senator Barry Goldwater's declaration of libertarian principle at the Republican convention? Senator Goldwater also opposed the draft. Could be that those pushing so violently for freedom ought to take another look at conservative ideas. The idea that every individual in society ought to live as he chooses as long as he doesn't interfere with the rights of others to do likewise is not something that was dreamed up by Timothy Leary or even Jack Kerouac; it goes back much further — to John Stewart Mill, to James Madison, perhaps even to the ancient source of rights — the common law. We recommend the comments of our long retired general, Aetius, on this matter for those interested in further study.

Rethinking the African "Democracies"

Zounds! Somebody besides the conservatives has recognized the error of our ways in Africa (Time, August 1958). Seems that the Nigerian-Biafran brutalities have occasioned some rethinking of past platitudes on the part of those who saw the "wave of the future" in Africa. Nigeria was heralded as *the* hope of Africa, as leading the way to adequate home rule for black Africans. But Nigeria, and much of the rest of Africa, is reverting to its very undemocratic way, and seems to prefer the intertribal warfare, formerly suppressed by the colonial governments, to the Western ideal of tranquil equality.

Instead of presenting a well deserved "we told you so," we shall, rather, urge the policy makers to carry their newfound knowledge to its logical conclusion. Africa is not ready for a one-man, one-vote idea, and the notion that all else should fall in favor of majority rule can not be permitted to be our policy guide there. It is too late

to delay the colonial departure from Africa. But, if we recognize that the failure to replace the stabilizing influence of the colonialists is irreversible, we should, at least, attempt to develop a more reasonable approach.

We could start, for instance, by treating Rhodesia and South Africa with the respect they deserve for their level-headedness.

A Suprise for the Nixon Cabinet?

Commenting on his possible appointments to cabinet positions, Richard Nixon stated that to qualify as his Secretary of State, a man would have to be capable of conducting a thorough "house cleaning" of the Department of State. The media were too busy playing their "lets pick his cabinet now" game to make much notice; but to anti-Communists everywhere, the comment must be the most heartening word since Alger Hiss tumbled from his policy making position.

Unfortunately, conservatives have been accepting at face value the contentions of Nixon's Eastern staff that Scranton was in as Secretary of State and Rockefeller had the defense department spot. It would appear, however, that everyone but Messrs. Scranton, Rockefeller and Nixon have accepted this, since the first two are still gathering public support in an attempt to sell themselves to Nixon, and Nixon is setting forth the terms upon which he will choose.

The media have early recognized a Nixon victory, and in their usual manner, are convincing themselves that the new president will adhere to their "reasonable" approach to communism (e. g. "lets not succumb to this right-wing hysteria about the Reds!") What a great idea! They say, "Scranton would be wonderful!" So he is all of a sudden Nixon's choice, because a source (presumably a Scranton-Rockefeller type) mentioned it.

It doesn't figure, and in any case, if either do receive the positions, it will be on Nixon's terms. For, if there has been one thing which Nixon has never compromised, it is his long standing, hard-nosed position on Communist sympathizers and the like among the State Department personnel. Remember the dump Nixon drive before 1956? Wasn't this due in part to the Sherman Adams-liberals displeasure over the partial house cleaning of the State Department back in 1952 and 1953, which they thought was as much Nixon's doing as John Foster Dulles?

We think Nixon hasn't forgotten the problem, and we think there will be a house cleaning; and if the Eastern Establishment thinks that Richard Nixon has grown out of his intolerance toward pinks, then the joke is on them.

Whose Establishment Is It?

Our Sainted Flower Children, in between their continuing protests against elementary hygiene and their pious addictions to more unsavory contents of the *Materia Medica*, berate, with great force and vigor, a fierce and loathsome creature known as the **Establishment**. This beast, we are led to believe from their street-corner scribbings, is guilty of all the wrongs which beset humanity, from the war and bigotry to the depredations of the famed little old ladies in tennis shoes.

But, let us ask, what is the Establishment? Surely not the conservatives--only Ronald Reagan holds any power, and that seems limited to the State of California. Surely not the racists of the South, who seem universally despised by decent people of all camps.

Let us suggest that the establishment be located where a few authors--William F. Buckley and M. Stanton Evans, to name the most noted--have always declared it to lie: in that heartland of American politics known as the Liberal Center. Consider: is it the few Conservative-Libertarian publications or is it the Liberal Centrist press which offers the loudest strictures upon the "hippies"? Of course, we lose no love upon the latest of the holy barbarians lurking on the fringes of society, but we maintain a tolerance toward them as long as they do not become public charges and are past the age of consent--beyond that, they may practice their gaucheries at will--hopefully, in private. But the establishment press--yes, by now I am ready to equate the Liberal Center with that demonic image--is aghast: the hippies have withdrawn; they do not wish to contribute; they are blatantly apolitical--until the poor children of the wild jackass had to throw away their flowers in self-defense and pervert themselves into "Yippies"--a species of creature dominated by the New Left.

Turn To The Political Arena: Who as soon as Mr. Johnson announced his departure, was shoved to the fore? The late Senator Robert Kennedy? No, he had flirted with the New Left. Gene McCarthy! Definitely not--the White Knight had offended with his "Children's Crusade". No, out of the entire Democratic Party, none was found with more talent than that

ci-devant druggist, Hubert Horatio Humphrey, charter member of the Liberal Center and, with the passing of Adlai Stevenson, its chief "statesman" in residence. It is neither the racist Wallace nor the Republican candidates who have supposedly thwarted the will of the will of the young Turks of SDS and other groups, but rather the very Liberals in power. But, perhaps I belabor the point. Many young people now realize that the Establishment is the Liberal Center; that its permissive range of opinion may run no further left than, say, Walter Reuther, and no further right than, say, Nelson Rockefeller; that its economic ideas may be neither laissez-faire nor communistic, but tepidly Keynesian; its political philosophy neither libertarian nor Marxist but consensual and dedicated to the subtle tyranny of the public opinion poll.

Under The Circumstances, then, the American conservative must ask the rootless individuals now roaming our streets: in what philosophy do you hope to find a way of existence. Your present butterfly existence, your search for meaning in the twisted corridors of *Psychodelia*, cannot provide a permanent answer; no trip, except the Final One, is endless and reality must come crowding back. You seek "freedom" in the political vagaries of the New Left but you find a discipline as fiercely enforced as in any cantonment of Red Guards, and far beyond what you imagined was the worst the Establishment, itself, could offer.

We On The Right offer you nothing in the way of personal fulfilment except freedom. As we pointed out above, it is our belief that you may be free to do your thing, as you see it, as long as you do not damage others or invade their rights. We do not expect you to become profoundly conservative or to appreciate the writings of Burke or de Tocqueville; we do hope that, if you must insist on fighting the Establishment, that you know who and what it is, and what it stands for, and where your best defenses against it lie. Even better, it doesn't require any picketing or demonstration--just an understanding that every man's freedom to do his thing depends on every other man's freedom to do the same.

Aetius

The Positive Approach To Defeat

In what may be recorded as a moment of political truth, the Republican Party had sense enough to reject what may have been one of Governor Rockefeller's dying political gasps — his unabashed advocacy of the Vietnam program of the Americans for Democratic Action. A worthy rejection it was, indeed, for the Rockefeller maneuver was noteworthy only for either shocking ignorance of the Vietnam situation or its political expediency.

The Rockefeller program, offered as a "solution" to the war and the Paris stalemate, would have involved both the guarantee of political legitimacy for the NLF (which is what the Viet Cong call "victory") and the withdrawal of American troops to populated enclaves of South Vietnam. This, of course, is what John Kenneth Galbraith proclaimed as the ADA position in July of 1967.

Fortunately, Nixon's nomination now makes the Governor's thoughts on Vietnam a rather moot point. It is not a moot point, however, to fear that Rockefeller may have unwittingly revealed the hand of the team now actually negotiating in Paris. That scares me! Nor is it reassuring to note that not unexpectedly has Hubert Humphrey shown all the signs of being pervaded by the Galbraith-ADA influence.

Further, I cannot help thinking that the North Vietnamese strategists are not also taking their cue from the ADA position, hoping to create an actual situation in Vietnam which would merit our adopting the

enclave plan. Aside from their pressing need for military recruitment in the countryside of South Vietnam, this could be the main hope of the Communists in their continued attacks on the population centers of Saigon. These can only have the effect of drawing our forces closer to the cities, thus leaving the countryside to the V. C. — precisely what the ADA and impressionable political opportunists have suggested we do.

Having some experience in the Vietnamese struggle, I tried to analyze Galbraith's thoughts soon after his announcement in 1967. Comments drafted then are even more pertinent now.

Galbraith suggested that the Americans should assume an even more defensive position in the countryside of South Vietnam, withdrawing to (fortified?) enclaves — and restricting ourselves to defenses of these areas, which are, at least, designated as the more populated regions. By this strategy Galbraith maintained that we can avoid the aggressive persuasion of the many peasants who he said have been under V. C. control for up to ten years anyway. This is his, and presumably the ADA's main concern. It is no matter that such an enclave strategem was proved unworkable by the French (who have proved so many things unworkable) against the same General Gaip and Ho Chi Minh. It is of no consequence that the Communists in South Vietnam would by this strategy receive a tremendous lever at the negotiating table, that they would be granted a measure of politi-

cal and military control never conceded to them even while the French were being uprooted from Vietnamese soil.

And here, the enclave theory reveals its most tragic error. It assumes that some areas are filled with people who are committed to the Communists in the Western sense. It assumes that the NLF is akin to a nationalist group; and by so doing the theory falsely identifies the whole of the former anti-French movement with the NLF organization. The nationalist forces did, indeed, control large areas of South Vietnam, but the Communists, as such, never held control of any appreciable area of South Vietnam until 1963 after the fall of Ngo Dinh Diem, and even then often found stiff resistance to V. C. advances coming from former Nationalist allies against the French. But even disregarding these facts, what seems important to the ADA thinkers, is that we don't squash the already ripened fruits of the revolution lead by the Communists.

Galbraith is quite willing to live with the V. C. He said so, in those words. We lived with the Communists in Laos successfully he said. Indeed! So successfully that the Laotian territory now affords a convenient superhighway to supply the forces of the NLF and Peoples Army of North Vietnam (PAVN) and an even better PAVN staging ground for attacks against our marines near the D. M. Z., not to mention what is in store for Thailand to the south partly because of the open Laotian frontier.

Of course, Galbraith and the ADA's only moderate distaste for Communist revolutions is tempered even more by their hostile attitudes toward the "political generals" in Saigon. While they ignore the numerous atrocities committed by the Viet Cong, they attribute the most vile of motives to the South Vietnamese government personnel; they castigate this government for the least infringement upon the ADA's rosy democratic idea of things, and they quite falsely place the whole of the anti-Communist leadership in the colonialist camp. With this tinged view of the facts, it is easy for them to make the simple conclusion that the people of South Vietnam think similarly and that the peasants have risen against their government - under Communist leadership naturally, but carrying "nationalist banners." By subscribing to such ideas, without bothering to test them against anything more objective than the old Marxist mysticism of the irreversible revolution, and by then attempting to pressure President Johnson into altering the course of events in Vietnam, Galbraith severely strains whatever remaining faith responsible intellectuals held in his statesmanship.

Why should the ADA cling to its dreamy thoughts of a popular Communist led uprising against the government in Saigon when not even the Communists in Vietnam continue to operate on that theory? To be sure, the NLF once held hopes of what they called a mass uprising. Later captured NLF documents trace their failures in that drive and the offensive proved it a total myth once again. While it is true that the earlier movement against the French had many outward aspects of a nationalistic and popular uprising, the Viet Cong were quick to recognize that much more prodding, much shrewder manipulation, and much harsher methods of recruiting were needed to build

a revolution under their control subsequent to the French withdrawal.

Further, it was clear to this reporter, in touring congested areas in South Vietnam, that the V. C. had by 1966 severely alienated whatever portion of the population still had the capability of making a choice. Whatever grievances the peasants had against the established order, they recognized the Communist organization as a more material threat to their well-being. Too many examples of ill treatment by the Viet Cong were known; too often the peasants had been forced to feed and shelter rebel soldiers; too often their young sons had been drafted into the Viet Cong army, too often they had been forced to porter supplies to North Vietnamese units. These peasants, the refugees, the defectors and the recently freed farmers, literally sought out this writer to tell their tragic stories of hardship under Viet Cong rule, and to plead for American protection.

Moreover, the numerous political functionaries, all being members of the proliferating nationalist parties in South Vietnam, including many who have now been elected to the National Assembly, each requested that their appreciation for American help against the Viet Cong be conveyed to the American people. It was obvious that these Vietnamese nationalists, who have legitimate claims to representing large segments of the Vietnamese population, have, in addition to their obvious distrust for government from Saigon, an abiding hate for the Communists. Isn't it possible that a revolutionary could be an anti-Communist? The ADA doesn't view it that way. But these nationals are anti-Communist and they are incorrigibly revolutionary.

In deference to any Galbraith disciples whose view of the world may be challenged by these observed facts, it should be pointed out that the anti-

Communist nationalists in the countryside are not so, generally, because they reject communism, but rather because of fear and distrust for the Communist organization with which they have been dealing for forty years. So, Galbraith and company might still make socialists or Marxists out of them, although the pragmatic and reasonable mind of the Oriental argues against this occurring.

In any case, the people of South Vietnam have not risen to the call of the Communists. Whatever numbers of them have joined the NLF forces have been subjected to a skillful campaign of localized social and military pressures; they have been manipulated too often into activity which they had no desire to enter, and in more recent years have been forced to cooperate with a group of insurgents for which they have only fear and hate. In fact, as the Vietnamese population rose to fight the French, and even in the face of political bickering amongst themselves, they are bravely trying to fight the Viet Cong.

It is tragic that one such as John Kenneth Galbraith, who is well recognized for his interest in oppressed peoples, should so misread the real revolution in South Vietnam. Indeed, there are revolutionaries in that country - there is a revolution, one which would be dear to his heart if only he knew it. But his pocket book theory of popular uprisings cannot find room for such complications as anti-Communist movements. He simplifies, and thus strikes from consideration the cause of the nationalist - revolutionary groups - and in a strange twist identifies their interests with those of their sworn enemies, the Communists. In so doing he worsens the plight of people who should be his friends.

One can only hope that Galbraith and the ADA get no further in their attempts to impress this tragic view on America's political leaders.

Confrontation Politics in Chicago

*Our Most Traveled Editor is not
one to back down from a fight, however . . .*

David A. Keene

They came to Chicago looking for trouble and they got it. They go it primarily because they wanted it—or at least their leaders did. The hippies, Yippies and protest organizers who began drifting into Chicago two and three weeks before John Bailey officially opened the 1968 Democratic convention bragged that they had come to protest, to demonstrate and, most important, to disrupt.

They expected trouble and prepared for it. They knew that Daley's 11,000 man police force would team up with National Guard units and federal troops to oppose them, but they weren't worried. They weren't worried because this was precisely what they wanted.

Perhaps it is overstatement to say that all of those who demonstrated at Grant Park and on Michigan Avenue got what they wanted. Certainly, many of those who took to the streets of Chicago were honestly and sincerely trying to demonstrate their opposition to a war they hate. But I'm not referring to this group except to note how others used them. My reference is to those who lead the way—the professional and the quasi-professional revolutionaries who planned the demonstrations and knew they would result in violence.

The demonstrators accepted as leaders people who wanted a confrontation and got one. The organizers wanted the police to over-react. They wanted blood to flow on the streets of Chicago. They wanted the demonstrators to be gassed, beaten and injured. They wanted all of these things and they got them. They wanted these things because they are devoted to disruption and what they have come to call "confrontation politics."

To interpret the Chicago af-

fair it is necessary to understand that these devotees to confrontation, the "New Left," are radical in thought as well as deed. Further, to understand these radicals' taste for violent clashes, we must first understand their views of themselves. The leadership of the New Left daydreams of being a revolutionary elite dedicated to the destruction of American society. The important point here is that they are dedicated, not to change, but to destruction. They see Vietnam, the crisis of the urban ghetto and other problems facing us not just as evidence of the evils of the American way of life, but as opportunities to be exploited.

They differ from honest critics, however, in that they are more interested in exploiting than solving the problems they see. They are primarily interested in the war in Vietnam, for example, as a vehicle by which they can increase their power, strengthen the movement, and weaken the fabric of American society. I don't think it is an understatement to say that if there were no Vietnam they would have to invent one.

With this as background the events that took place in front of the Conrad-Hilton during the convention are more easily explainable. The radical organizers that backed the National Mobilization Committee are devoted to confrontation politics. They came to Chicago to provoke a confrontation with the police that would result in police violence or brutality. Anyone who doubts the existence of this intent is out of touch with what's been going on in this country for the last three years.

It was with this intent that Dave Dellinger, Jerry Rubin and their cohorts began calling their willing "troops" to Chicago.

The troops heard the call and they came—by the thousands. They came to disrupt or to simply protest. Many of them were sincere pacifists, concerned young people and supporters of Senator Eugene McCarthy. But a significant number were, like their leaders, dedicated to engineering a bloody confrontation, or at least willing to participate in the action.

As a first challenge to the city, the majority planned to sleep or camp in Grant Park and along the route from convention headquarters at the Hilton to the Amphitheater. But Richard J. Daley had other ideas. The city refused to give them the permits they needed to occupy the parks. Then the city turned down their request to hold a massive protest rally at Soldier Field. Finally, somebody was standing up to kids in the streets. Gladly seizing the opportunity, the protest leadership said they would use the park anyway and demonstrate in the streets if need be. They of course, claimed their rights were being violated and that the mayor was acting in conspiracy with the Democratic Party to deny them their civil liberties. Already they had an issue with which to whip up the troops. Their grievances, justified or not, would unite the demonstrators as their leaders led them into the confrontation.

Still, the police managed to contain the crowds without precipitating an explosion until Wednesday, August 28, although by the previous Tuesday afternoon the situation was steadily deteriorating. The Hilton had already become the focal point of the protest for a variety of reasons. It was close to Grant Park where the demonstrators were meeting and rallying during the day. It was convention headquarters and therefore a

natural target; besides Daley's security measures made a serious march on the Amphitheater almost impossible.

On Tuesday evening the demonstrators managed to get into the target hotel and smear the walls and air conditioner ducts with Limburger cheese. They also messed up the Humphrey Hospitality Suite and made themselves generally obnoxious—their specialty, it seems.

The odor (mostly from the Limburger) that permeated the hotel that night lingered on into Wednesday and resulted in a decision somewhere to guard the Hilton at all costs. The stage was set for the confrontation.

Wednesday began with the stoning of several police cars by more-eager demonstrators, thus building toward the real climax of the weeks activities. During the day police were forced to use tear gas at least twice to break up demonstrating mobs that were threatening to stop traffic on several major thoroughfares in the Hilton area.

Anyone there, however, could see that things were building up to an almost inevitable explosion. That explosion came at about 7:30 pm in front of the Hilton on Michigan Avenue. Thousands of demonstrators gathered in Grant Park, intending, it would seem, to storm the Conrad Hilton. The lines of police that stood between them and their objective were tired and edgy. Their leaves had been cancelled and many of them were working twelve and even sixteen hours a day. In addition, they had been taking more abuse than most men can endure. They had been cursed, spit at and kicked for nearly three days.

Some of the police must have looked forward to the coming battle. They were eagerly waiting for the order to move against the mob. The situation was perfect for the design of the confrontation operatives.

But the order didn't come immediately. The authorities waited for the demonstrators

to move first. The tauntings continued and tear gas was used on groupings several blocks away, but nothing had happened in front of the Hilton.

Then as the stinging gas began to drift down the street, the protestors moved into Michigan Avenue. They occupied the street and effectively stopped all traffic. The next move was up to the police, or at least seemed to be.

Police loudspeakers beamed at the crowd ordering them to disperse. Reinforcements were called in and the police line facing the increasingly hostile crowd was soon three deep—ready for action. Finally the order came and the police waded into the mob, trying to drive it off the street, but it was too big and too determined. Besides, many of the demonstrators were ready with weapons of their own. Some of them even wore gas masks and crash helmets. Others carried rocks or cans of oven cleaner to be sprayed into the eyes of the on-rushing police. The result was, of course, predictable, a melee which would do any mob proud.

The rocks and cans flew, the screaming and cursing filled the street, and the clubs fell. Dozens were injured; no doubt some were probably relatively innocent bystanders. Police and protestors fell onto each other and before each other. By the time it was over hundreds were arrested and scores injured. Senator McCarthy offered his 15th floor suite as a makeshift infirmary and Senator Ribicoff accused Mayor Daley of Gestapo tactics. The cops, not having such heralded Florence Nightingales looking after them, nursed their own wounds in their accustomed manner, and returned home to more appreciative families and inviting rest.

I was in that mob, although assuredly not one with it, since I was an accredited reporter covering the confrontation at first hand. For my trouble, I was nearly slugged by an eager police weapon. Being some

what more sane than various other reporters who weren't so lucky, I quickly developed a repentant attitude and instead of curling my lips at the police line I showed my press badge and begged my way to its rear.

Although I am grateful for this one instance of reason prevailing, I should say first of all that I did see individual policemen "over-react." I saw at least two instances in which police officers clubbed people who were down and obviously helpless. I can't condone this, but neither can I attribute their actions to the entire Chicago Police Department. These men over-reacted for easily explainable reasons. They are human with the same weaknesses and foibles as the rest of us. They were hitting back, more as individuals than cops, at the abuse they had been forced to take.

But the fact that individual cops acted improperly toward individual protestors cannot mask the fact police had a right to remove the demonstrators from Michigan Avenue. It seems to me that many of the newsmen who covered the scene have dwelled on the improprieties of a few policemen, the sidestepping of the real issue. The fact is that the demonstrators were obstructing Michigan Avenue, that they were destroying private and city property and that were refusing to obey a lawful police order to disperse. The tactics of the police cannot be used to justify their actions, nor can demonstrators who sought violence be pitied when they finally got it.

By the same token, why should we sympathize with the supposedly intelligent youths who quite willingly join with those who send them to these battles? Such sympathy is misplaced. The Chicago fracas must by now demonstrate even to the latecomers to the protest scene that America should finally grant the day-dream of the New Left cadre, recognizing them as a self-proclaimed revolutionary army, and then treat them accordingly.

October Musings

Joyce Junior

. . . wherein the "new academicians" are scrutinized

During the summer, many large department stores set up "college boards" — panels of winsome young ladies who advise freshmen on the expensive art of overdressing. A local wit, noticing one of the sweet young things in her official uniform, contended that the costume was out of place; a flak jacket, riot helmet and gas mask must now be considered *de rigueur* in any well-dressed collegian's wardrobe. The apathetic generation of the nineteen-fifties, noted by Mr. William F. Buckley in his *Up From Liberalism*, has given way to a generation of college students dominated, or so it seems, by a crew of banditti determined to raise both black and red banners from the tops of Old Mains across the country.

The causes of student unrest, both here and in Europe, have been probed by many; critics bewail, and rightly so, the effects of a generation of permissiveness and Spockery. Legislators and trustees demand that administrators "get tough," and bewildered parents often learn that the sweet little Johnnies and Marys they sent off to college have developed into Red Jacks and Marxist Mollies, noted, not for their attendance at proms or football rallies, but for their arrest records and flamboyant publicity stunts.

There is sufficient reason to agree with the permissiveness theory; many young Turks of the campuses spring from the middle class and could rightly be considered as the end product of William H. Whyte's Park Forests and Levittowns — the Organizational Children grown up (Ironically, one of the loudest rebels known to the University of Wisconsin Campus, Robert Cohen, lists his home address as Levittown, Pennsylvania). These Organi-

zational Children, raised in the atmosphere of permissiveness and groupism, lack the intellectual and moral principles to withstand the acid baths of Liberal Dogma. America is imperialist, racist, reactionary — because the sea of opinion in which the youth are submerged declares it to be so, and they have no way to refute the charges. The mentors of their childhood, having failed to warn them of the assault, or, perhaps, not understanding the nature of the Liberal Professoriat, not even expecting that their children would be subject to such an assault, now seem, to these self-same children, hypocrites, and fools.

The Organization Children, bereft of all handholds to reality and order, turn to either hedonism or ideology. From the first disease, even in its most virulent form — "hippiedom" — we can usually expect a recovery. From the more serious distemper of the intellect, there is little recovery short of outright philosophical cynicism. The ideologue, or, as he sees himself, the "concerned Intellectual," declares that the only proper course in life is to aid the poor and oppressed, and, in as much as the society in which he lives is to inhumane and impersonal to grant legal redress, he must use extra-legal means.

The chief proponent of this philosophy, Dr. Herbert Marcuse, an avowed Marxist teaching at the University of California - San Diego, calls for violence as the only available means to change society. His contempt for the institutions of society is apparent when he declares that the more liberty permitted an individual under social institutions, the less free (sic) and fully realized he is —

in short, Orwell's famous "Freedom is Slavery." The effect of Marcuse upon the young ideologue is far-reaching; it is claimed that his ideas have even influenced "Red Rudi" Dutschke, the West German student leader. Thus, students with real or imagined grievances against society or the university no longer seek redress through normal and traditional channels; it becomes easier to picket, to sit-in, to seize and hold certain places, usually for symbolic effect.

Fairness requires that one point be made clear. The fact that a college student does engage in activities involving violence does not automatically brand him as a Marxist. Students often join such affairs out of boredom, just as they joined water fights and panty raids ten or fifteen years ago. I recall an illustration of this in a recent encounter at Marquette University, a Jesuit institution of Milwaukee. Students demanded certain things from the administration, including one hundred black scholarships. I talked to one young protestor, an engineering student, reasonably clean-cut and well dressed, about his reasons for joining the demonstration. His answers were confused and consisted more in childish gripes against the administration and confused ideas about the Roman Catholic doctrines of social justice than in any commitment to Marxism. But the young men like this are not the leaders of the movement; they are its shock troops. The ability of the few to lead the many to violent action is not something new; demagogues everywhere have used it, and with ghastly results.

Nevertheless, parents and legislators argue, such things

ought not to happen. Nor do they have to. Consider the following four cases: at the University of Wisconsin, after the Dow demonstration of last October the bail money of those arrested was paid by an official of the University; at Columbia, President Grayson Kirk hesitated a week before putting down a full scale riot, and even then was censored by a portion of the faculty and has now fully capitulated; at Marquette, the administration stood firm, even though half of the school's basketball team quit (to return later, after a scolding by Coach Al McGuire, reputedly basketball's answer to Vince Lombardi; at, I believe, the University of Denver, twenty students who attempted a sit-in were promptly expelled. These four different responses to student challenges might well indicate the degree of what Doctor Russell Kirk is pleased to call Professorial Intemperance. Doctor Kirk argues that the attitudes and prejudices of the average professor were formed during the heyday of Liberalism, and the professor still sees himself as a romantic crusader for that ideal. Unfortunately, in this day and age, there is little need for the old — except as theoreticians — and there is little, considering the equally Liberal attitudes of administrators, for the professor to crusade against. Nevertheless, or so reasons our academician, he can still help by shielding the young protestors from the law — if only to keep their sympathies. Such methods as reprimands, suspensions he regards as "fascistic" and not in keeping with the ideals of academic freedom.

Turning once again to the cases in question, what do we see? At the University of Denver, if the facts I have are true, the commitment to the Frozen Liberalism of the past is almost nil, and a strong prejudice toward order as a pre-condition of freedom exists. At Marquette, Father Raynor held control, even though three members of his faculty threatened to resign. Of the student demands,

one, a modification of a rather stringent speaker's rule for organizations, was settled prior to the sit-ins. The questions of hiring a black administrator and granting one hundred black scholarships were passed over, even in the face of threats and resignations. Marquette later did hire a black administrator, but not under coercion. The leaders of the protest were placed on probation. The tactics here, which blended justice with fairness, seems to be the best approach. The summary justice supposedly dealt out by the University of Denver, seems overharsh. At Columbia, the faculty remains split, because of the high level of Liberalism in the university, and President Grayson Kirk never was able



to hold control. At the University of Wisconsin, the spectacle of a University official, either former Chancellor Fleming or former Chancellor Sewall, paying the bail money of those students arrested during the riot is one which, if it were not true, could only have come from the pen of Ayn Rand. Not even Ellsworth Toohey could have come across that well. But that University's disease is summarized by its blind adherence to its "sifting and winnowing" plaque — even if nothing but chaff remains.

The question this semester is, however: what will happen this year? Already, some pro-

fessors and administrators are beginning to realize that if the protestors have their way in everything, the universities will soon be like those in South America: totally under student control, with professors hired and fired by the whim of the students, and the university serving no function but training grounds for the Red cadre. The silent majority already have questioned the tactics of the protestors, at Columbia, they rallied to prevent food from being delivered to the students occupying campus buildings. There may well be more such confrontations, and even full scale battles between student factions. (This has been threatening between SDS and a conservative group, YAF, for some time, my information has it.) Whether such activity will completely destroy the university or not is still in question, but it could lead to hysteria and vigilante tactics on the campus. Finally, there is a feeling among some of the protestors themselves, that they are being used. The editor of *Kaleidoscope*, Milwaukee's underground newspaper, denounced the "Yippie" gathering which took place in Chicago during the Democratic convention as a "shuck" — a farce, or so I gather from the context — and declared that his philosophy was "— Leaders!" Another Milwaukee Hippie picketed the Marquette pickets demanding one hundred scholarships for flower children — perhaps to highlight the ridiculousness of the situation.

Thus our theme: October Musings. Will we, this year, see repetition of last year's madness, or will the virtue of ordered freedom return to the groves? Will sanity return or must our campuses be continued hotbeds of unrest and violence? If we are to reject the image of the college student as portrayed by the sweet young things on the department store "college boards," let us not replace that image with one of a bearded malcontent out to burn down the university to save it from itself.



The Ills of the Armed Doctrine

Since each generation is usually remembered for those who didn't really belong, ours will probably be known as the screaming generation. Ninety-eight percent of America's youth may be either quietly indifferent, quietly unassuming, quietly inquisitive or even quietly intelligent types, but the mass media, the court historian of our day, write up the other noisy two percent as if they were representative.

For the media, it is an excuse—not an adequate one—that the two percent are a very amazing group. Not so unusual in their barbarous mentalities, or their vehement distaste for things we should love, these human traits have existed occasionally over the centuries. It is the noise they generate that causes one to take notice. Other generations have witnessed similar elements, which probably aspired to disrupt and shout down as successfully as have our modern day rebels. But for them the atmosphere was not so favorable. Today dissent is the ideal—not just tolerated but demanded. And this is the performance of those of us whose more healthy reaction would be to quell the noise.

EDMUND BURKE--A GENIUS RECONSIDERED

Russell Kirk

Arlington House, New Rochells, New York, 1967

So it is that the screaming generation buries all reason, of which they profess to be the sole owners, in the very tumult they produce in shouting their "wisdom". Emotion replaces, for them, the more adorous but less appealing intellectual legitimizations of their protests. Don't mistake the shoddy appearances of these marchers as the mark of some special sort of internationalist intellect, for they have no proper claim to cognizance of world affairs. Indeed, what little explanation they feel is needed is supplied by the *Marxist's Textbook*, and from its abstractions they know what history says,

what is wrong with the world, who the peasants cheer for in Vietnam and what goes on inside the mind of President Johnson. No further explanation needed, they, like the Red Guards of China, waving their *Thoughts of Mao*, charge the Pentagon and Selective Service offices and otherwise disrupt the lives of the unbelievers about them. This is not the way of those with intellectual inclinations.

The irreverent nature of the noisy two percent has only recently been recognized, although they have been that way for years. College administrations have only whimpered when their offices are busted up, and then howled at the Legislators who blame the School for coddling the youngsters. Others react similarly. But now when the characteristics of the protest movement are known to all, the same reactions of this school establishment reveal it to be largely sympathetic to the abstract, doctrinaire frothings of the kids in the street. It is the same doctrinaire ideology that clouds the judgment, that causes one not to recognize the protest for what it is and then to protect rather than suppress the protestors who challenge his authority. It is a variant of the armed doctrines, long known in the world.

It is to such adherents of the armed doctrine that Edmund Burke addressed himself. Burke's arguments against the Jacobians are appealing in themselves, but when viewed in the context of the miserable recent history of France they are compelling. To be sure, Edmund Burke foretold the evils of abstract and doctrinaire ideologies which we witness today in the terror of communism and in the organized terrorists comprising the fifth column at home.

This is Russell Kirk's point in his book *Edmund Burke, A Genius Reconsidered*. The trouble makers of today are but the fruits of the seeds sown by the Jacobian of yesteryear. It is time to look at Burke's thinking one more time.

Burke was one who quieted the emotional ideals of his youth, and threw to one side his earlier abstract workings. He was one who forced himself to recognize things as they were, and who bothered to research the advantages and disadvantages of reforms. Most of all he recognized that it was often the case that new things which were the workings of the reason of man resulted in worsened conditions rather than needed reforms; thus, he generally preferred the prejudices and established norms evolving over the centuries, as against the radical programs formulated by the reason of man. It was this capability to put man in his place, to recognize the human power of reasoning to be the unreliable source of good that it is, that is needed today. It was this humbleness that enabled Burke to shape himself practical policies of reform in England, and to recognize the evils of using abstract standards to measure the problems of the world. And it is this evil that the modern day marxists propagate. Burke's concern was to formu-

late things that work; the leftist ideologues of today act according to the marxist bible, and the failures of the "word" as there beheld is blamed on the enemies of the system and not on any fallacy of the marxists. Indeed, they continually prove Burke's contention that human minds are frail.

Russell Kirk sees an awakened awareness of Edmund Burke's ideas. Along the conservative paths he travels, I'm sure it is so. But on the protest trail I can see only a deep slumber and minds whose channels to the real world have been forever closed. Liberals continue to propagate and continue to hold their capabilities of reason in high esteem—and continue to sympathize with the movement that seeks to destroy them.

Further, the young people would who love to know and respect the thought of Edmund Burke are so busy contending with their screaming adversaries in the streets that they do not take the time. It would be well for them to take the time—if only to arm themselves against the armed doctrine of the protesters. Russell Kirk has performed a vast favor by describing Edmund Burke and his ideas and by relating him to the situation today. The book should be read, as then the pertinence of Burke would be realized. But by all means do not stop there. However marvelous a writer Mr. Kirk may be, there is no substitute for reading the works of Edmund Burke, himself. I'm sure Russell Kirk agrees.

ROW

Day After Tomorrow

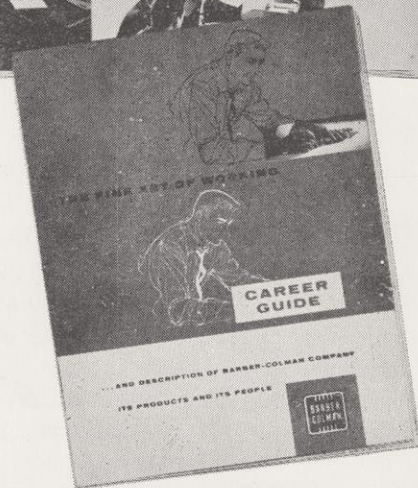
The Hammer and Sickle flew one morn,
Over the White House and over our land,
Once so green, so brave, so true,
Over Washington's monument.

Fuzzled workers paused, then shrugged,
Hurried on their tired way.
And shoppers glanced up and said,
"What do you know?"
"Was it a different color,
Just yesterday?"
And housewives brushed gapers aside,
"Don't get in my way. I've a busy day."
And our government kept still.

Tombstone sign of the beaten-down,
Raised by one of us in the night,
The Hammer and Sickle menaced the sky,
Over Lincoln's tall monument,
At Arlington,
Over the grave of the brave and,
The grave of the free,
An emblem good enough for men,
Traitorous, apathetic,
Diffident, of modeling clay,
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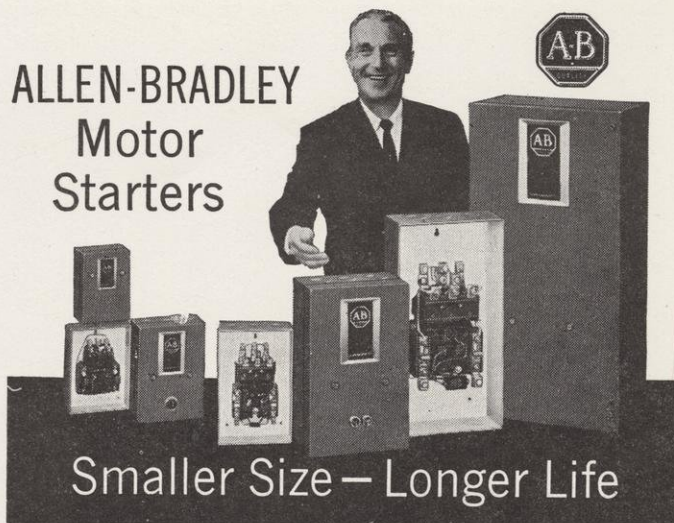
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h i n d s i g h t s

HHH discovered a new American right when he proclaimed at a mailmen's convention that "Every American is at least entitled to have a postal address." We presume that includes a guaranteed annual level of mail.

We freely confess our relief when we learned that the State Department was not about to react to the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia by threatening to bomb Rhodesia.

We did, however, think that perhaps the Ripon Society, a political outpost of Liberal Academe, had finally developed a sense of humor when it suggested (with straight face and all) that the Czech crisis provided America with a perfect chance to extend diplomatic recognition to Red China. The trouble was that nobody said "April Fool!"

George Wallace continues to defend the fact that Alabama receives twice as much in federal handouts as its taxpayers contribute to Washington. After all, isn't that what "states' rights" is all about?

Vice President Humphrey, politician supreme, tells us that his "Marshall Plan" for the cities will work just like it did for Europe. No doubt. But, we ask, who is going to bomb them down first?

The recent Milwaukee draft card burnings have led one local wag to suggest that, for better effects in the future, the New Left should recruit a few chemists -- from Dow, maybe?

"A revolution is taking place which will leave the people dependent on the government . . . finding markets will develop into fixing prices and finding employment will develop into fixing wages. The next step will be to furnish markets and employment, or in default, pay a bounty and dole. Those who look with apprehension on these tendencies do not back humanity, but are influenced by the belief that the result of such measures will be to deprive the people of character and liberty."

President of the United States,
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