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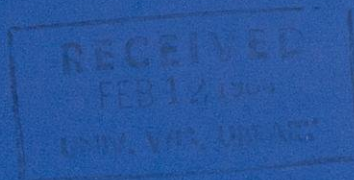
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insight and outlook



in this issue . . .

**The Case For Victory
In the Cold War**

Edmund Zawacki

**The Death-Knell
Of Welfarism**

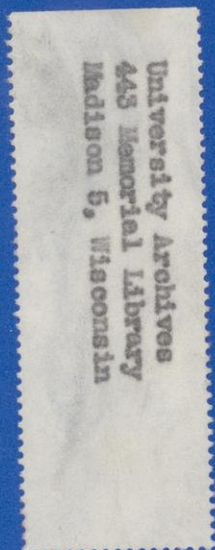
James Blair

**Tide Me Death,
Tide Me Life**

Jared Lobdell

**Notes in Defense of
The West**

John Caravan

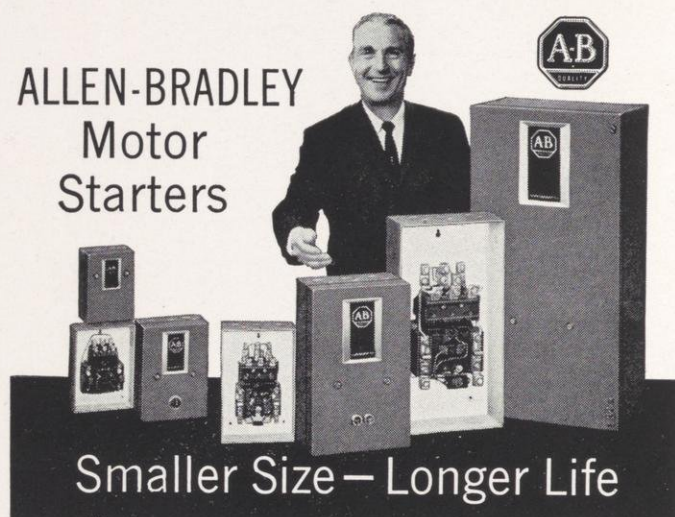


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insight and outlook

A CONSERVATIVE STUDENT JOURNAL

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University of Wisconsin

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In the Right Direction

For the longest time *INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK* has bemoaned the fact that conservatism, as a political philosophy, and conservative principles especially in the fields of economics, religion, education and ethics have never received an adequate airing at the University of Wisconsin. Liberalism, collectivism, relativism and a pseudo-pacifism have had a virtual monopoly in a) the biases of the administrative and academic staffs (especially in the social sciences), and b) the resultant thinking of an unusually large number of students. Thus conservatism in general, and *INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK* in particular has had to literally fight its way into a respectable place amid the hostile cries for free expression and the touching sentiments of fair play for the harmless, optimistic young radicals in Cuba.

But as of 1963, whereas a) endures, b) seems to have drastically changed. Who would have thought, five years ago, that at the initial stuffy, organizational meeting of Collegians for Goldwater, here on campus, there would have been such a large turnout (well over 100) that it would become necessary to get permission to exchange rooms with the Students for Peace and Disarmament. But that's exactly what happened, and the second room was full too. We loudly applaud the trend hoping, eventually, that free enterprise and constitutional government regain their rightful places in university thought.

In this issue we're at it again. Dr. Edmund Zawacki examines Senator Barry Goldwater's plea for victory and finds that the Arizona Senator knows a lot more about what "victory" and "peace" mean in the present conflict than does his no-win counterpart from Arkansas. Dr. Robert Needles continues his exploration into the phenomenon called man. Probing and searching, he tackles the problem of what it is within him that makes him a rascal, and how that knowledge ought to be applied to mankind's greatest enemy. No subject, perhaps, is as touchy as race relations, especially who should live, and work, and eat with whom in this United States. James O'Connell, in an admirable accomplishment, sweeps irrational sentimentality aside and shows, to the liberals' disdain, that nothing would insure fair treatment for the Negro so much as free enterprise. Jared Lobdell, philosophically speaking, talks about poetry, government, mankind . . . A former associate editor, James Blair, returns to our pages to say that the New Deal poor-laws are in need of reform — Quick! Is Argentina the beneficiary of President Illia's great oil robbery? Nobody is, says Dick Wheeler, and aptly shows why. J.C.L. poetically describes peacekeeping operations in the jungles, raising some questions.

Prayers and Pogroms

When it came time to give thanks this year, no one of President Kennedy's critics sought to add God's blessing to the assassination in Dallas. We mention this, and our profession to know little of tragedy beyond that we may not raise our voices, because among our own critics these things are not believed.

Some must have prayed on Thanksgiving, "God help us all if a right-winger had done it" or "Thank God it wasn't a Negro." But these are on a different plane, decently parallel to the prayers, in some form, we all breathed: "God, let him live!" and then "God, in Thy grace, grant peace to John Kennedy."

We believe that had the President's murderer been other than a communist — an enemy of all that America stands for — we would have been turned brother against brother in a disastrous political bloodbath. JFK, who fought for brotherhood, would have understood.

We believe, too — that is, we once assumed that sorrow is mute, and we still believe it should be. But there is an unholy clamor outside, from whose intrusion we see that either we were wrong or it's not sorrow at all, out there. One thing is certain, much of the din is an ideological parade marching on John Kennedy's corpse. It is a sick and vicious procession.

The parade which began even before the body was cold, is the ideologues, the Liberals, on the march, off to exterminate "hate." Their cadence is brisk, for the pogrom must be completed while the nation still lies stunned — lest the assassination lose its effectiveness as a political bludgeon.

There's only this: their assault on "hate" is directed, not against the communist wells of hatred that bred Lee Oswald, but against the political Right! Never mind that a communist pulled the trigger, the true murderers are those who hatefully tried to warn us against the dangers of communism.

The ideologues' inventive reasoning, since the facts afford them nothing better, is that the Right "hates" things: Jews, Negroes, communists, the world — it doesn't matter what — and thus created the "atmosphere of hate" that struck down the President. Moreover (the line goes), we are all guilty of having let "hate" exist in our midst, and must all (except Liberal ideologists) be ashamed. Expiation of our guilt — too late, alas, but still a good thing — obviously lies in stamping out "hate."

On this note, the campaign proceeds furiously. Commentators, congressmen, columnists, academicians of any standing in the Liberal Establishment have taken to spreading variations on the "hate" theme. It is, after all, the only conceivable way to shift the onus for a communist murder to the anti-communist! One well known Liberal professor, an historian, made just that point: the real blame for the shooting, he said, lies with those who have stirred up anti-Soviet feeling (making pro-Soviets psychopathic?).

The ultimate in irony was managed by the Chief Justice of the United States, eulogizing beside the President's coffin. He was quite equal to the occasion: "What moved some misguided wretch to do this horrible deed may never be known to us, but we do know that such acts are commonly stimulated by forces of hatred and malevolence such as today are eating their way into the bloodstream of American life." Let us only recall that the Warren Court has been instrumental in junking much of our anti-subversive legislation, with the interpretation that communist advocacy of violence was merely an abstraction and therefore could not constitutionally be proscribed. Through Earl Warren's efforts the likes of Lee Oswald have been free to run around and practice a little abstract assassination.

Of all this desperate Liberal wrath, we can only say, let us try to understand. It was clear from the beginning that Oswald's bullets struck more than our President; they struck, and grievously wounded, a series of the deepest Liberal prejudices, such as militant opposition to the Right and jovial coexistence with the Left; the divinization of The Leader; and the rapacious identification with "new," "progress," and "tomorrow" which Mr. Kennedy was felt to represent. No political psyche can withstand damage to such depth without a wild reaction. The Liberal reaction naturally is taking the form of a facts-be-damned attack on the only known enemy, the Right.

So it goes among those emancipated from "hate." But consider this: that fateful Friday the President died, some thoughtful opponent of "hate" sprayed a volley of bullets into a Bircher's home in Phoenix; another threatened the life of conservative Senator John Tower; another threatened Rep. Bruce Alger, also a conservative, from Dallas; and yet another threatened the conservative organ **National Review**. These are the positive fruits of the ideological pogrom against the Right — hate running amuck.

Aetius

John Fitzgerald Kennedy R.I.P.

When an assassin's bullet felled the President of the United States November 22, the nation suffered a tragic loss. John Fitzgerald Kennedy, throughout the few years of his Presidency, endeared himself to the hearts and souls of countless Americans in every State of the Union. Certainly the act was heinous; certainly the day in which a Marxist lunatic can take the life of the President of the United States is nothing short of public disgrace.

But John F. Kennedy was not, as many now claim, a paradigm of all America stands for. The fact that he was so unfortunately assassinated does not somehow alter his public record. Conservatives across the country have, on many occasions, taken issue with the President's stands. Fears have been voiced, not infrequently, that President Kennedy's foreign policy was incapable of confronting the heavy demands placed upon it by our enemies. He certainly shared the typical liberal naiveté regarding the "softening" of the Communist designs upon the free world. It is hard to escape the conclusion that he made expediency, rather than principle, the guiding lines on domestic matters. The President was not an exceptionally able chief executive, nor a great world leader. In many respects, he failed in even what he thought his mission to be.

But the President was a warm and friendly man. He loved his family and those near them. He was faithful to those around him. John F. Kennedy was well known for a kind and sympathetic heart — a quality sorely needed in such a powerful office. The nation has much cause to mourn the violent death of the President of the United States. We all certainly hope and pray for the family and the nation, confident that, through His Grace, John F. Kennedy's soul will be justly placed in eternity.

R. F.

Dumping the Doctors

The Left is cranking up its annual outburst on the medicare issue once again. Pressure for the enactment of the bill seems to be coming from three sources: rapacious oldsters who want to hop on the gravy train even though they made no contributions toward medical insurance during their long lifetimes; professional liberals, who are wedded to the proposition that the American people are too shortsighted and imprudent and stupid to save for rainy days or insure themselves voluntarily against disease; and the politicians, who see in compulsory medical care yet another means to tax the people and distribute the largess to a favored few.

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— Dr. William H. Peterson

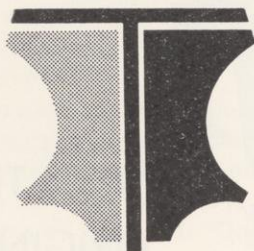


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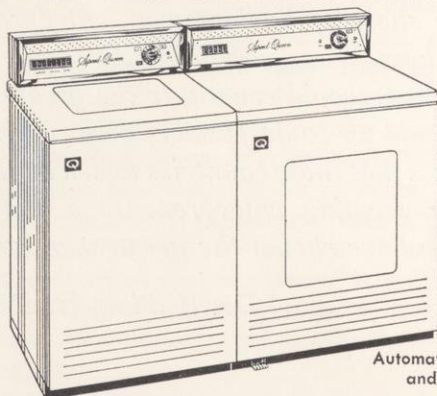


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not been happy. It turned out to be vastly more expensive than anticipated. Not only were additional amounts ploughed into the system, but a whole variety of fees were introduced which had the effect of placing medicare right back on an out-of-the-pocket basis. A recent survey indicated that a large number of Britons — probably a majority — would be happy to contract out of the system, if they could.

We prefer voluntary private medicine, and private insurance to go with it. The famed "65" plans have brought the costs of medical insurance to a level which even poor oldsters can manage. The Kerr-Mills legislation provides aid for the indigent. And doctors provide millions worth of charity. That is the best, the only way for a people to remain free.

Just For The Record

The average voter will be shocked if he ever learns that Conservatives aren't members of a journalistic hydra called the Far Right. His present confusion is understandable, however, for in the face of growing Conservative success, frightened Liberals have done their best to distort the true situation.

Thus, Conservative Phillip Kuehn, Republican candidate for governor of Wisconsin in '62, was obliged to hack his way out of a Birch forest hysterically planted by his opponent. Delegates to the national YGOP convention in San Francisco last summer are maligned as helpless tools of Right Wing Extremism because of their enthusiasm for Barry Goldwater, and Goldwater, himself, is desperately caricatured as the captive Presidential candidate of the Far Right.

Now the very term "Far Right" in reference to the Birch Society or similar right wing organizations is one of the biggest red herrings ever swallowed by a gullible public. To our knowledge, the only genuine "far right" organization in America is Rockwell's Fascist Society. Any objective comparison between it and the Birch Society, *et. al.*, reveals no similarities in either respective objectives or *modus operandi*. This impression is intensified by the fact that the Birch Society's counterpart, the ADA, would violently object to being called a representative of the "Far Left."

Ironically enough, while John Birchers support Conservative goals, most Conservatives are not Birchers. Self righteous Liberal efforts to equate the two smack not only of political expediency, but blatant intellectual dishonesty. The truth is that most Conservatives regard the Birchers' Conspiracy Theory of history as confused, though they applaud the patriotic motives which inspired it.

Self-seeking Liberal politicians have tried to create similar miasmas over other Conservative positions. But, just for the record, most Conservatives do not favor abolishment of the income tax, particularly in

view of the needs of national defense. What Conservatives are concerned about are efforts to use the income tax as a weapon with which to equalize wealth.

Nor, for that matter, do most Conservatives favor a State of the Union Court to override the legalistic Liberalism of the present Supreme Court majority, or even efforts to impeach its short-sighted Chief Justice. But, Conservatives do advocate that constitutional questions be settled by strict adherence to constitutional principle, instead of by recitation of unproven sociological formulae.

Vocal conservative minorities have clamored for these "extremes," which most Conservatives reject. But the sliver of glass does not reflect the same image as the mirror from which it was chipped. So while Conservatives share the distrust of a political monolith which underlies these "extremist" proposals, they do not believe these remedies are the panaceas their adherents profess them to be. Nor, incidentally, do they believe them to be as extreme as the socialistic nonsense dreamed up by the Liberal "Far Left."

Birchism is Birchism; Conservatism is Conservatism; extremism is extremism. But Liberals being Liberals will probably continue their deliberate attempts to muddy the waters.

Curses, Disillusioned Again

It will no doubt disappoint some immensely to learn that Communism, yes even Communist Russia, is still our deadly enemy. And things were going so good, they said. This was to be the beginning of a new era; an era of peace, good will among men, cultural exchanges, an ending of suspicions on both sides of the Iron Curtain, etc., etc.

A number of weeks ago a U.S. convoy was stopped at the Berlin wall. A demand was made that U.S. troops get out and be counted. They refused, and the liberal press reported a victory. (We think a determined clinging to the status quo is an odd misuse of the term "victory," but that's how it came out.) Peaceful America was shocked for the umpteenth time that the Soviets might just not be sincere in their recent "peace offensive." Khrushchev announced that if any more of those kinds of incidents happen we'll get through only over their dead bodies . . .

And then Yale Professor Barghoorn, a noted expert on Russian government, diplomacy, *et al*, got thrown in the brig on a trumped up spying charge. The U.S. charged the Russians with a violation of the Spirit of Moscow and put up such a fuss that the Kremlin didn't think he'd bring peanuts in a trade. So they left him go. The press chalks up another victory for the West.

But yet the country does not understand. The Administration, the intelligentsia, and most of the nation as well are blinded by an irrational fear of facing a deadly enemy — an enemy militarily powerful enough to destroy our nation, ready and willing to destroy our way of life. To be sure, any sane man would want to be free of such horrible alternatives. But only a coward and a fool would look the other way.

A Paid Political Announcement

Although often doubtful about the intellectual soundness of the typical leftist "protest" folk song, we have always felt that at least the writers of such songs are motivated by an idealistic urge to express their feelings, to call for justice, as they see it. Madison Avenue advertising techniques and professional propaganda experts may shape the formation of opinion in other areas, but surely the humble folk song represents the spontaneous expression of the emotions of the people who write and sing them.

But, alas, it isn't so. Our naive view of the protest folk song has now, much to our disappointment, been corrected; we have learned the bitter truth. Such emotionally moving tales of the '30's as "Roll On Columbia," "Grand Coulee Dam," "Electricity for All" and some twenty-three other folk songs of this type were *not* a spontaneous expression of gratitude on the part of "the people" for their government subsidized electric power. Rather, they were written by Woody Guthrie under contract by the Bonneville Power Administration as part of a Madison Avenue type advertising campaign to "sell" the idea that the Federal Government should control electrical power. For the twenty-six songs Guthrie was paid \$266.66 in a cash and carry deal.

Much as we hate to spoil your virgin innocence, it is better for you to know the truth. Next time you hear a moving song of protest, remember that you may well be listening to a paid political announcement.

The Source of Public Corruption

Recently another of the continually recurring public scandals that affect our government came to light, as one Bobby Baker, a factotum of the United States Senate, was revealed as an influence peddler. The extent of Mr. Baker's peccadilloes is large, reaching even the Wisconsin congressional delegation.

Conservatives hold, as a great truth, that man is a creature capable of much evil. Thus, the conservative insists that society is impossible without a system of law. But, just as man is corruptible without law, too much law and restrictions make him equally corruptible. Those whose activities are unreasonably restricted by useless laws will seek ways to corrupt the administrators of such laws. The people who sought "favors"

from Billy Sol Estes, from Bobby Baker, from Harry Vaughan all desired a relation of government stringency in certain areas.

To be sure, in some cases, as in those involving government contracts, the law involved is justifiable. Corruption arises because the law is foolish, and men, being human, seek ways around it.

It is ironic, however, that many who complain loudly of public corruption and influence peddling favor the very laws which bring it about. Thus, William T. Evjue, editor of the Madison *Capital Times*, complains about the activities of the "Beer Lobby"; yet, he is the one who calls for the laws which give this organization its need for existence. Mr. Evjue, and others like him, should consider the causes before they lash out at "corruption" in high places.

Monroe Doctrine: 1963 Edition

Published in a newspaper not long ago was a most unusual map of the Caribbean Sea, showing the various spas where affluent Americans could warm their bones in the tropical sun. There was only one thing wrong with the map; in the upper left corner, where Cuba should have been, there was an elegantly drawn unrolled scroll, upon which was printed the word, "Caribbean."

Thus was Cuba pushed out of mind by artful travel agents. We suggest that the map was symptomatic of one of the saddest flights from reality undertaken by our elected representatives in Washington as well as a good share of the American people.

We have been noticing in recent months the startling decline in news about Cuba or the anti-Castro freedom fighters. The fog of silence that has enveloped that tragic island is so thick one can cut it. A giant hand has rolled up and down the hemisphere, snuffing the torchfires of anti-Castro resistance, drawing an iron veil around the activities of the malicious men who rule there.

It would never do, under the circumstances, to antagonize the men in the Kremlin by destroying the Castro regime. And so, the Feds threaten to clap into prison any refugee or citizen who wants to tweak Castro's beard. And U.S. Coast Guard vessels stalk through the Caribbean, protecting Fidel Castro from his enemies.

But it would be a grievous error to presume that just because all is quiet on the Cuban front, the menace of Castro's revolution has ceased to exist. Castro's expanded "fishing fleet" is exporting arms, subversives and propaganda to all South America. If anything, the menace has increased, because somewhere someone managed to squelch most of the effective anti-Castro resistance. Behind that barricade of silence, fanatical men are swiftly preparing a continent for revolution.

We're Moving

Within the past few weeks Insight and Outlook has changed the location of its editorial offices. Although presently in the moving process, Insight and Outlook is setting up shop at 150 Langdon Street. We would appreciate it if, in the future, you would address all correspondence, encouragement, criticism (maybe even contributions?), to:

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Overlooking the Issue

It was inevitable that the professional propagandists of the Establishment would go to work on the Goldwater "image." And what they came up with, by way of an anti-Goldwater weapon is both clever and insidious.

Undoubtedly you've heard the gimmick already. In the forthcoming months you'll hear it a great deal more. In one form or another, just about every liberal or "moderate" commentator, writer or politician will suggest that Senator Goldwater has not made his views explicit; that he has confined himself to broad generalizations which are oversimplified and impractical.

Now, to assert that Barry has failed to be explicit is nothing short of breathtaking. He is the author of two books; he published syndicated columns for years; he has expressed explicit opinions in a host of articles and interviews; he has detailed his programs and ideals in countless speeches across the country, and he has frequently spoken before the Senate on a variety of subjects, and in the most minute detail.

Suffice it to say that there are detailed Goldwater opinions available on a variety of subjects. Leftwing assertions that he has failed to be explicit are being heard these days not because the Left wants to hear the Goldwater views in detail, but because the Left wants to convince a forgetful public that Senator Goldwater has nothing to say.

It is, in other words, the Left's Big Lie.

Welcome Aboard

It is part of the conservative insight to recognize that the individual human is the highest and most important unit within society. The collectivist, on the other hand, subordinates the importance of individuals to that of the group, or the state, or the international organization.

Thus, it was something of a surprise to discover Abraham Ribicoff, former New Frontiersman, and now

a liberal senator from Connecticut, uttering these profoundly conservative sentiments:

"Denying a man his job because he is a Negro is indefensible. Granting a man a job if he is not qualified just because he is a Negro cannot be justified either.

"Those who claim that X number of jobs or Y per cent of jobs must be set aside for Negroes are not favoring equality of opportunity. They are saying that opportunity does not matter, that merit does not matter, that only arbitrary numbers and percentages matter. . . . Discrimination is wrong whether it works against a man or for him. Unless the test is ability, someone will always be the victim of discrimination."

Here is a statement which militantly defends the sacredness of the individual, and subordinates the claims of organized groups to the higher claim of personal rights. What Senator Ribicoff is saying is that, ideally, each human should be allowed to go as far as his integrity, ability and character will carry him — but no further. He also suggests that it is sheer immorality to give some people jobs merely because they belong to some minority. We hope the NAACP takes note, and raises its sights.

A Tale of Two Cities

November, All-Saints' Day, 1963. Scene: Saigon. It seemed like a routine day for Ngo Dinh Diem, president of South Viet Nam. But it wasn't. He was murdered . . . and all hell broke loose. The National Assembly was sacked, the presidential palace looted, 100 persons lost their lives. There was chaos.

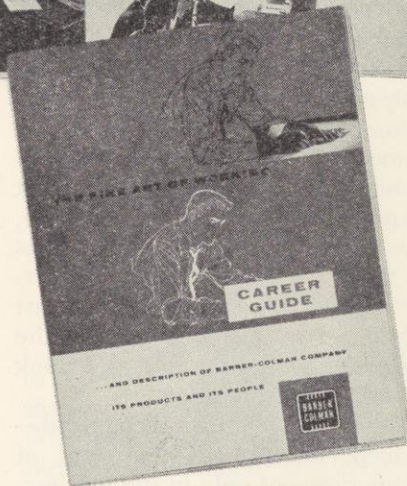
Enter new boss — General Minh, by force. He wasted little time. Martial law was declared, a curfew and press censorship were enforced, the National Assembly was dissolved, and the constitution was suspended. There was a new kind of chaos . . . but such is the way of government of men.

November 22, 1963. Scene: Dallas. The day began normally enough for John F. Kennedy, President of the United States. It ended abruptly — with murder. The President had been slain, and there was revulsion and grief. A few spoke of violence, retaliation against the Right . . . and then the Left. But these sentiments were met largely with icy stares, incomprehension, or plain disgust. The memories of past national leaders, fallen in battle, were revived . . . and revered. A few people got drunk . . . but the nation remained sober.

Enter new chief — Vice President Johnson, by legal succession. Troops stayed in their barracks, citizens came and went at will, press coverage increased, Congress stayed in session, and the Constitution remained supreme. There was order . . . but such is the way of government by law.



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*He either fears his fate too much
Or his deserts are small
Who dares not put it to the touch
To win or lose it all.*

I wish to discuss an attitude which may perhaps be more common with present-day conservatives than with present-day liberals, but which is not, according to any usual definition, a conservative attitude at all. I mean the willingness to decide the fate of the world by the cast of a die, (or, perhaps, of a bomb), the desire to fit desperate remedies to what are believed to be desperate sicknesses. It is not, one must admit a very common view in the world today, but for all that, I think it merits consideration.

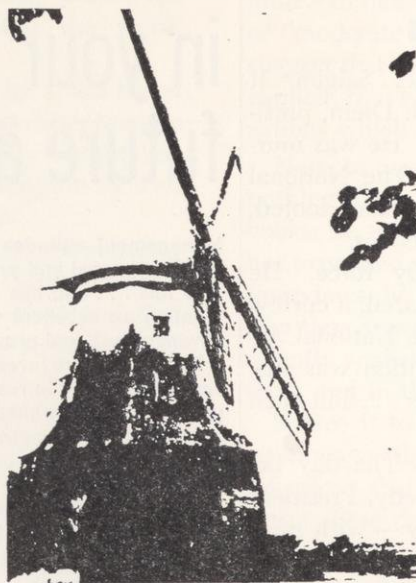
Of course Jefferson recognized—indeed, established—the right of revolution, not only in the Declaration of Independence, but also in his famous letter to William Smith, familiarly misquoted as “the tree of liberty must be watered with the blood of tyrants.” But despite his views—or perhaps because of the qualifications and diminutions with which he habitually hedged them about—we have never for high stakes, not even the high stakes of liberty, been a nation of gamblers. The American way of life is not, and has not been, particularly happy with irrevocable decisions.

In a way, that is good. I would venture to say it has helped to safeguard democratic process, has increased toleration, and has (by keeping things free and easy) immeasurably contributed to our health and well-being. Men who wish to decide things on the toss of a coin will set the world awry for sure.

Which would be too bad, if the world were not awry already. To be sure, it almost certainly cannot be put right, the times cannot be put back in joint, by dice, or coins (foreign aid to the contrary), or the

turn of a card—Communist party or otherwise. But there is a beautiful simplicity in the reaction, like that of King Arthur on the Day of destiny. “Now tide me death, tide me life,” said the King, “now I see him yonder alone, he shall never escape mine hands. For at a better avail shall I never have him.”

It is not a modern way of looking at things, as I said, but a medieval one. It makes for wretched foreign policy, uncomfortable relations with one’s neighbours, but perfectly beautiful wars. And the desire for battle may not be so foreign to our spirit after all—remember Phil Kearny at Chantilly,



“You’ll find lovely fighting along the whole line.” Probably it is an adolescent attitude—which is pejorative only if one has decided that an adolescent attitude is necessarily wrong. Certainly it has nothing in common with the portly overstuffed views of our middle-class, middle-of-the-road, middle-(for that matter) of Main Street, America.

But what has happened that those who park their cars on Main Street now wish to park their

bombs on Moscow? There is a passage in Froissart that describes the eve of the battle of Navaret, which (medieval as it is) I think a-propos.

So that night the Spaniards took their ease and rest, for they had well wherewith so to do, as plenty of victuals and other things, and the Englishmen had great default, therefore they had great desire to fight, either to win or to lose all.

You will perceive the same antithesis as before. It is, in short, the thin cats who fight, the fat cats who sleep on soft pillows and lap rich milk. But the attitude I have noted is an attitude held by those who by rights and riches should be lapping milk, not fighting for it. Why on earth would a businessman want to drop a bomb (doubtless he may want to make one)—and if you think you can answer that one, why would he or anyone else be willing to risk a bomb dropped on them?

Why would a man rather be dead than Red, unless he had come to see things in the black and white and brilliant colours of the Middle Ages, or of our own adolescent certainty? Why would he accept the prospect of nuclear war, unless he had fled from the phantasmagoria of bureaucracy and the unutterable and involuted complexities of modern indecision, lacking the gift of laughter perhaps, but with a profound and unalterable certainty that the world is mad? Why would he turn his back on what Progress hath wrought, unless he had taken refuge from the things he cannot understand and does not want to understand, refuge in the obstinate conviction that there is no middle-ground between right and wrong—a conviction the world put away with the coming of toleration, and we put away with childish things? But if truth is a childish thing, or an adolescent bauble, God help our adult world.

You say, though, that we are afraid. Touching some things, you may be right. And to be afraid would be wrong of course, if one could say truly we have nothing to fear.

But that, you see, is a lie.

Notes in Defense of the West

John Caravan

Tracing the Winding Trail of the Pacifist Into the Abyss

The various pacifist groups, such as the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, Women Strike for Peace, and Fellowship of Reconciliation are all probably earnest in their pursuit of peace. But by no means do they have a monopoly upon the *desire* for peace in our time, as some would have us believe. There is scarcely anyone who doesn't earnestly desire peace or dread a nuclear armageddon.

Unlike the pacifists, however, most citizens want a peace that is worthy of the name. As anyone knows, peace is easy enough to accomplish merely by groveling before those who have designs upon us. But there are values such as liberty, justice, equality before the law, mercy, and the sacredness of the individual which are as important as peace itself to men who love life and goodness. Peace may be the great milieu in which these values flourish, but without these values peace — and life itself — loses its meaning, and beauty.

Thus, the quarrel between the pacifist and the "defender of the West" does not center upon whether there should be peace or war — but rather, what kind of peace would be tolerable to honorable men.

So obsessed are they with the necessity for peace of any sort that the pacifists embark upon a curious and tragic intellectual voyage to achieve it. By moving far to the left of the American political spectrum — even into the no-man's land between Communism and liberty — they attempt to drain the meaning out of the Cold War. "What are you squabbling about?" they ask

from their neutral perch. "One system is as good as another, and certainly not worth a nuclear war about."

Briefly, they have adopted a policy of non-alignment in the Cold War. They hold both sides culpable for perpetuating the Cold War and the arms race. They explain Soviet aggressiveness as a reaction to alleged American bellicosity. They believe that neither side has the preponderance of virtue, and that neither Communism nor capitalism is markedly superior.

The pacifists' mission is to persuade us that our institutions and ideals lack the nobility we ascribe to them, and that Communism is a great deal better than it is commonly made out to be. By blurring the distinction between East and West they hope to destroy our sense of moral superiority, upon which rests our willingness to fight, if need be, to defend our values.

This blurring can be achieved only by doing great violence to truth. It requires a relentless effort to degenerate the West. It requires an equally diligent effort to unearth apparent virtues in Soviet society. It requires, moreover, a calculated naiveté by which both Western and Communist literature can be accepted at face value. It requires a belief that Premier Khrushchev is a well-intentioned man who seeks a way out of the nuclear stalemate just like his counterparts in the West. The net effect of this pacifist view is to greatly strengthen the hand of the Communists in the Cold War, forcing the free world deeper and deeper into a corner.

Crippling the Will

For most Americans, the pacifist neutralism evokes a sense of outrage and disgust. It seems incredible that the pacifists would simply

abandon the West, with its high moral concepts, prosperity and liberty, and strike out into the miasma of non-commitment for a distant chance at an elusive peace. Nonetheless, they have a strange hold upon the American mind. When they begin to rattle off the shortcomings of the West, from racism to unemployment and from cynicism to greed, they set people to wondering if our culture is *really* worth fighting for.

The Tragic Fallacy

It is indeed tragic for Americans to submit to the kind of facile, shallow comparisons of East and West that delve no deeper than a surface examination of a few social flaws. The essence of a culture is to be found in its transcendental values and aspirations, not in its sociological phenomena. However inadequately the West meets them, it nonetheless has high goals — the Ten Commandments, the moral precepts of the New Testament, the ideals of limited government, the sacredness of the individual. Against these the transcendent values of a Marxist state — materialism, atheism, a rigid system of physical equality, and a concept of class war — are dismal indeed.

The defense of the West is not merely the defense of a civilization; it is the defense of goodness itself. The depredations of Communism are not merely those of a hostile culture; rather, they are manifestations of evil itself. The two cultures at odds in the Cold War may be various shades of gray, but their value systems are virtually black and white.

That is why the conciliatory pacifist is, ultimately, among the most evil of men. From a fear of death, he would forsake the good.

Enter the Rebel

Dr. Robert J. Needles

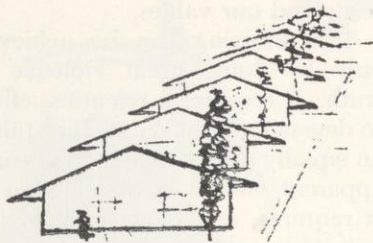
Always at Work Substituting Chaos For Boredom

In this country today we neglect a more ominous threat than those so nervously considered in high places and low. The greatest danger to America does not rest in the communists, nor yet in our profligacy or ineptitudes in the National capital, where even the Potomac participates, thinking itself the seven seas. There is a principle in our natures which has not been previously described, as I conceive it to be, a single characteristic with omnivalent potentials for good or evil. It has no name, so we can give it one: it is a catalyst, it is a coefficient, and it is frequently contentious, so let it be called the Rebel. Lindner used the term in describing the more grotesque extremes of which this element is capable: he called such unfortunates "Rebels without a cause," one of the most accurate accomplishments in nomenclature. But our position is that the overt Rebels are but one level of action for the catalyst which is common to other perplexities. So universal is the presence of the Rebel catalyst that its limits cannot accurately be described.

Resting firmly and ineradicably in our natures is a dynamic characteristic. It is that which lends energy to ambition and courage to honor. Devoted to the good it can lift ordinary talents beyond gifted competition, by the sheer power of its determination and by its outrageous jeering at its human carrier if he fails to move as the Rebel suggests. It is not only catalyst; it is stimulant, censor, monitor, rear guard and seems able to communi-

cate, bat-like, with its cousin-Rebels in other men. It is restless, demands change, and is driven wild by monotony. If it is not coupled with conscience and a sense of guilt it will be pure outlaw, carrying its unfortunate owner into a lifetime of senseless conflict with society. It is the antagonist of discontent, when in proper balance. It is the agent which moves to correct insults and degradation. It is fully equal, in normal proportion, to the necessities which life presents to all men. Those normal men, then, who feel unequal, and nourish hopelessness, are rather certain to be well armed, by the Rebel within which is part of Nature.

It is not necessary to dwell on the overt Rebel, the unfortunate affliction called variously Constitutional



Psychopathic Personality, Constitutional Psychopathic Inferior, sociopath, or, more vividly, Rebel without a cause. These are the truly abnormal and exaggerated varieties. Nothing said here should be taken to mean that a child with his little whims, misdeeds, explorations into his parents' tolerance—all those experiments in living which children must indulge, mean that the child is abnormal. Quite the contrary, they are normal. Only when the behavior is so consistently unfragrant as to be unbearable may suspicion be justified. The genuine

adult Rebel, engaged in continuous warfare with the rest of the race, is nearly the image of the small boy kept indoors. He grows wild when restrained, but his kind of behavior is not overlooked. Here are a few descriptive phrases which Harold Palmer uses to outline the problem: loud, bombastic, overbearing, utterly feckless, disruptive element, lazy, a bore, wild, does not learn from experience, has no guilt, no conscience, cannot stand monotony, demands excitement, petulant, bad loser, loves to dominate, exerts himself without stopping when excited by prospects. Wants what he wants, now. The future means nothing, nor the past: even though he knows he will be apprehended he will do ridiculous things, forge small checks, smash furniture, insult friends and strangers alike. He is easily addicted to drugs, alcohol, sexual oddities and crime. When this gross overabundance of Rebel is combined with high intelligence society has a real problem. They do not frequently so combine, because there is no connection between the Rebel and the I.Q. Most overt Rebels are simply chronic no-goods, tramps, nomads, derelicts and confounded nuisances. With high intelligence the Rebel is the Leader of revolt, a Hitler, or other and more current types. He is a danger, in particular to nations where the people are sovereign, for he also communicates and senses the tensions before others.

At Work In America

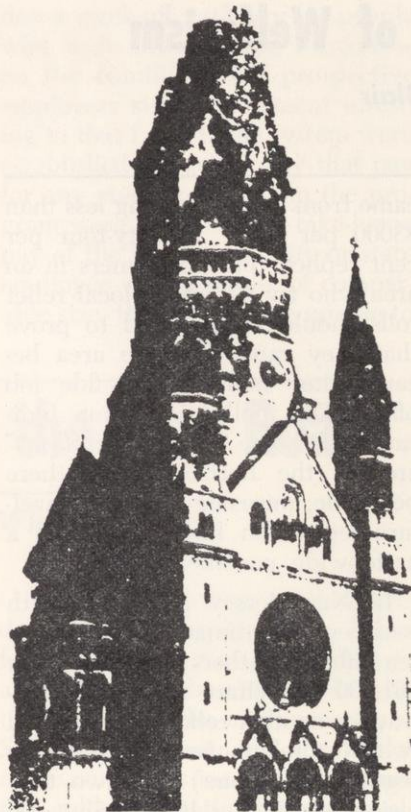
Americans have, quite probably, more of this Rebel catalyst than others. Our ancestors were restless, and they remained restless as they developed that material heritage we presently dispense all over the world, on mortgages. The pioneer

who was nervous when his nearest neighbor was inside ten miles away is an example. The mountain men were, many of them, genuine psychopaths. So were the gunslingers, with sadism thrown in for good measure. The trappers, scouts, hunters, all of them were rich in need for adventure and poor in tolerance for the quiet life of a settled community. Put this possibility together with the small boy, again. Remember, the lad needed to work off his urgencies. And so do adults.

The great error which has been perpetrated in America is in the multiplication of restraints at a time when nothing is needed so much as action, self-chosen action. No wonder the Rebel storms within us! We are covered with a spreading network of rules and restrictions. Hours, wages, pressures from above which sicken us, remembering the rules by which we were required to abide: work, save, do your best, don't be a clock-watcher, give a little extra — these are the natural needs of a nation where men are not immobilized by fear and the general wrong-headedness of adjudicatory sophistries, legislative fumbling and executive thirst for quick elevation to the levels of truly great men. No one seems to be willing to let men work out their problems and their rebellious urgencies, but nothing else will serve the purpose.

Nearing the Breaking Point

I think that Americans are approaching the point of no return in so far as the catalytic flash-point is concerned. We have a talent for mob-action, law-breaking and rowdiness in general. We are near the world's most savage people when aroused. There had best be some attention given us, of the proper kind. What we have suffered has shifted from admonitions to lectures, from threats to suspicion; chowderheaded advice and egg-headed opinions have competed with a rising budget and a rising cost of living to increase our sense of impending doom. Above all, we have been subjected to public hu-



miliation. Inane and vulgar barbarians have been invited to come here and give us the benefit of their opinions. We have been berated because of our "image" overseas. Does any one really give a good hoot in any holler *what* the rest of the world thinks of America? How would it be to tell the rest of the world what we think of their squalid, grasping, avarice and their witless decision that we owe them something, everything? Our rule could be very simple: those who like us are welcome to our friendship; those who do not are welcome to their opinions. We could then go back to thinking of ourselves, which is not criminal, and let the rest of the world earn the kind of living they seem to want only so long as it is given to them. Where were they when the ambition was passed around? The crisis swells by sheer demand for change for this is rooted in human nature. The Rebel is at work, pointing out the injustices, the slights, the hurts, the petty insults and the humiliations, and we listen. And the Rebels within are in contact with each other, while somewhere a charismatic and

psychopathic leader may or may not be aware that he will, one day, leap on a platform and scream his listeners into fanatic and malevolent demands for revenge. The message goes through the air, and all men are suddenly of one mind: *Things must change!*

Producing Destruction

"I wish you to remember," said Lincoln in 1861, "that what is to take place will mean little to a man nearing sixty years of age. It will mean a great deal to those millions of people and their posterity in all coming time. Not with politicians, not with Presidents, not with office-seekers, but with you is the question." Let the President recall his Oath of Office. He may see fit to allow the Constitution bent to suit his convenience, but it is designed to protect the good as well as the merely excited kind of governments, and if it is destroyed by either kind, will be equally useless for the other. Let the President "leave off speculating upon the disposition and wants of the enemy, to ask himself what his *duties* are, and what means he has to discharge them. In what heart is he at home?" Edmund Burke: Third Letter on Peace with the Regicide Directory.

Ours are not the first national officers to develop the moral imperatives of animals at large. They are not the first who thought to earn honor by mendacious appeals for support to buy fare to Utopia. We are not the first people whom God has seen fit to put under the rule of those who disbelieve in unalienable rights. But are not they who would alienate those rights practicing heretics? We are not the first people to play Pinocchio, and suffer ourselves to be led by promises of candy, ice cream and I don't know what all. Must we wait until our tails and ears swell and our voice is the bray of a jackass? This much is probable: if we do play the jackass, we will be the most fatuous, unnecessary and self-inculcating hybrid in the history of the world. That's one world, man's *only* world.

The Death-Knell of Welfarism

James Blair

During the latter part of the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth century utopian ideas were in vogue in England, stamping out poverty was the rage, and the trend was reflected in the growth of the centrally administered English poor-laws. The laws were idealistic, short-sighted and tended to encourage the recipients of relief to do nothing for themselves, but rather to depend upon society to completely provide for all their material wants and needs. As could be expected, this resulted in widespread abuses and misuses of relief practices and, in 1832, led to a Queen's commission to study the problem. And then in 1834 the poor-law reforms decentralized the administration of relief and set up work requirements for those who received relief money.

A repeat of this cycle is underway in the United States today. With the New Deal era we saw the entry of the Federal Government into local relief programs and the initiation of federal unemployment compensation; in short, moves toward a complete centralization of the welfare process. This drift in relief and welfare programs has also generated an increasing list of abuses; abuses too serious and too commonplace to be ignored, even by the most doctrinaire liberal. As a result, welfare reform movements are taking shape in many cities across the nation.

A recent Gallup poll indicates that the public wholeheartedly supports current reforms of the welfare and relief abuses. Gallup found the public two to one in favor of giving local communities more voice concerning who should get relief and how much. Eighty-five per cent of those surveyed said "yes" when asked if able-bodied men on relief should do work for the city. And an even greater percentage of yes's on that question

came from people earning less than \$3000 per year! Seventy-four per cent replied that newcomers in an area who try to get on local relief rolls should be required to prove that they came into the area because they had a bona fide job offer. This poll information indicates that some "poor law reforms" are on the horizon. And there better be; misusing beneficent welfare legislation has grown into a nationwide pastime.

In New Jersey a woman with fourteen illegitimate children by ten different fathers has drawn over \$61,000 in welfare money. In Milwaukee another relief recipient had two blue telephones (as well as a regular black one) and two television sets in her home. She also drove around in a Cadillac registered in a relative's name.

Here in Madison two years ago an eighteen year old boy was jailed for reckless driving on his motorcycle after a wild chase at speeds reaching more than 80 miles per hour through the east side. The cyclist was unemployed and was receiving city relief. When asked how he could afford a motorcycle, he replied, "I can always scrape up the \$50-a-month payments for it."

In another recent Madison case parents on relief were finally located in a bowling alley while their infant children were lying seriously ill at home.

A check of another Madison couple receiving relief payments showed that they were spending a considerable amount of money each month on wine and beer.

And so it goes. Spot checks around the country have indicated that such abuses are not unusual. Now a goodly number of hard-working, taxpaying citizens would probably like to have wine with their meals, go bowling more often, eat butter instead of margarine, or

perhaps even have a motorcycle to ride around on, but they simply can't afford these luxuries. It is not surprising, therefore, that they resent their tax money being used to provide luxuries for others.

Many elderly persons, raised when an attitude of pride in hard work, independence and thrift prevailed in our society, strive to keep off welfare rolls when they probably could qualify for relief payments. But there are, in every city and state, numbers of eighteen to twenty-one year olds raised on more recent why-should-I-sweat attitudes who give every indication of striving to make relief a way of life for themselves.

There may well be a sizeable number of older people, whose skills have been made obsolete by automation, unable to find work and are legitimately drawing relief or unemployment money. But still it is hard to believe that such a large number of the younger generation, presently unemployed, cannot either find a job or learn one. Young people probably have more opportunities for improving themselves today than at any time in history; the community and government has provided them with free education, libraries, social workers and counseling. In addition there is a proliferation of trade schools, vocational schools, correspondence courses, apprenticeships and training courses available. Pick up any newspaper from any city, turn to the help-wanted section and you will see that there are many jobs to be had, simply for the asking. The desire to use these opportunities is the only missing ingredient.

Stricter enforcement of existing guards against chiseling is a needed first step, but perhaps a fundamental change in the current philosophy of relief is needed. One might very well question the entire concept of unemployment compensation, for example. Rather than paying people not to work, wouldn't it make far more sense to pay people to work? The state could eliminate unemployment compensation and, in its place,

adopt a policy of hiring anyone who wanted to work on a temporary basis at a reduced pay (based on the number of dependents), to do whatever jobs the local city needs to have done and using whatever talents the "unemployed" people possess.

To insure that these people have time to seek jobs on the outside, provisions could be made for one

day a week off *with* pay for people who were interviewing for jobs—on the condition that prospective employers sign a statement attesting to that fact. If the system were established in such a way that pay for any one family unit in the program were less than the take-home pay of the lowest paid city or state employee with a family of comparable size, then only those unable to

find work elsewhere would apply. Hence, the state would offer work, not just pay, for the unemployed.

At any rate, the current welfare laws are generating a wave of abuses. Charges of chiseling, fraud and subsidized immorality are common and often justified. Reforms are desperately needed; despite the protests from the left, they will be forthcoming.

Argentina Picks the Low Road

Richard S. Wheeler

President Illia of Argentina recently announced his intention to seize \$450 million of American oil properties in his country. He promised full indemnification for the grab, but his government quickly filed tax and damage suits against the concerns which will slash the compensation. Moreover, the bulk of the payment is to be made in inflated, "soft" Argentine currency. It all adds up to another case in which Americans are left holding the bag. President Illia's move was a unilateral nullification of a solemn contract between Argentina and the American oil firms. Whether or not the companies are paid their \$450 million, Illia's swipe amounts to banditry and a breach of faith.

In spite of the gravity of the offense, the State Department has yet to protest, or otherwise indicate its intense displeasure. Under-Secretary of State Averell Harriman even asserted that such confiscations were tolerable to the U.S. Government so long as prompt, full payment was forthcoming.

There seems to be an attitude among liberal planners that America is so rich that it can afford to be bled white by schemers abroad. At any rate, the Administration scarcely batted an eyelash at the possible loss of nearly half a billion dollars. With a swoop of the pen, President Illia copped properties equal to about an eighth of the entire 1963 foreign aid budget.

The Administration's lethargy is damnable on several counts: It has failed to protect American interests abroad, one of the most fundamental reasons for the existence of our State Department and the diplomatic corps. Its inactivity amounts to a golden invitation for other governments to skin the American people, too. Its unwillingness to punish wrongdoings amounts to the acceptance of crime.

It is high time that the U.S. Government began cracking down on such banditry. Any number of recourses are available, ranging from freezing foreign accounts in U.S. banks, to breaking diplomatic relations, to halting foreign aid, to total or partial embargoes aimed at the offending nation. Any or all such actions would teach the world to respect private property, and to honor such contracts.

As for Illia—who has been assiduously built up by the liberals as the *peepul's* friend—I suspect his theft won't gain him much, or Latin America either. Once the oil properties are placed under Argentina's notoriously inefficient petroleum monopoly, they will become a liability instead of a taxpaying, wage-lifting economic asset.

Illia's selfish act will pretty well demolish whatever trust in Latin America still remains among American and European investors. In the mid-1950's, American annual investment in Latin America totaled



about \$430 million. By 1961 it had dropped to \$141 million, and in 1962 American investors actually removed \$24 million more than they invested. It is precisely because of acts like Illia's that South America has been cut off from future economic progress.

Businessmen invest in Latin America, after all, in the hope of earning future profits and enlarging markets for their products. If there is *any probability* that their enterprise will be confiscated as soon as it begins to bear fruit, they won't invest, not even if they are offered compensation for their property, simply because it is the yearly profits that they want and have been denied. Capital isn't timid—it's scarce, and no one who has sweated and saved and sacrificed in order to accumulate it is going to risk it in an area where it is periled by turbulence and subversion.

If the economic growth of Latin America has all but halted, the Latins have only themselves to blame. No amount of Alliance for Progress capital can replace the private funds that heretofore had been raising living standards throughout the continent.

But some of the blame rests with liberal ideologues as well, who have slept during the rapine.

Discrimination and the Law

James M. O'Connell

The events of the spring and summer of 1963, centering around the "civil rights" issue, and riding on a wave of hysterical revivalism and emotional demagoguery, have left the average person in a bemused and mesmerised state. On one hand, the natural feeling of sympathy for the underdog plus the immorality and irrationality of discrimination based on skin color leads him to sympathize with the Negro. On the other hand, the inflammatory speeches and actions of Negro leaders have tended to repel and frighten him. As a result, very few rational discussions of the Negro's position under the system of laws or his legal rights have been attempted; most bog down in trivial attempts to define "Mrs. Murphy's boardinghouse" and "Mr. Murphy's tavern."

What are, actually, the ethics of private discrimination. Granted that it is irrational and, according to most religious interpretations, immoral; what, however, is its legal status? To answer this, we must first differentiate between a "positive harm" and a "negative harm." A positive harm first of all, is the result of some direct action against the life, liberty or property of another individual. Or it may be the omission of an action, or a precaution, which harms or endangers these rights. A negative harm is one which arises out of circumstances or omission and, while it inconveniences, does not infringe on rights. Thus, a person who takes his trade from one storekeeper to another causes the first storekeeper negative harm; similarly, if ten individuals are competing for one scholarship or fellowship, the winner causes negative harm to the other nine. Any deprivation of a person's expectations, though not necessarily his just due, causes such inconvenience; however, such harm

has no legal status and cannot be rectified.

Is an act of private discrimination against a Negro, even when committed in a public place, a just reason for the authorities to interfere? Is it a positive harm. Obviously, such action deprives the Negro of neither his life nor his property. Does his liberty extend to the point where he can force another to make a contract with him—in the economic sense of the word, where every exchange is considered to be a contract—even though the transaction is instantaneous and the agreement is unwritten, as in a restaurant or a tavern? Obviously not. The right to contract freely for the use and disposal of goods and services is part of the right to own and control property; no person's liberty extends to the point where he may use it to deprive others of their legitimate rights.

The defenders of "civil rights" object to this; they argue that such discrimination causes great mental anguish. But what of the mental anguish felt by the nine unfortunate competitors for the scholarship or fellowship, especially of that felt by students to whom the award was an economic necessity? What of the humiliation felt by an individual who is barred from a restaurant because he lacks proper attire? In no sense is the Negro being coerced by a refusal of service; inconvenienced, perhaps, and maybe even humiliated, but not in a way which entitles him to call in the state.

Indeed, the Negro's position with respect to this is much better off than it is painted. It is a fact, both of history and of economics, that the position of minority groups is better under a contract system of society—a capitalist society—than a status society—either feudal or collectivist. The member of the mi-

nority group is protected by a fence of rights from any discriminatory action by the state. Economically, he is, other things being equal, but a customer; the profit motive, condemned by so many, tends to remove discrimination. Of course, this is not always true. Some individuals are prejudiced to the extent that they will forego such profit rather than serve a Negro. In other cases, a refusal of service may be based on a legitimate concern for the owner's business. A business which caters to transients, or to a large number of customers, need not concern itself with the attitudes of its customers. On the other hand, a neighborhood restaurant or tavern, with an established clientele, may find discrimination necessary. If the presence of a Negro tends to set off disorders, or cause the other customers to cease their patronage, the owner may be forced to exclude such people. But the Negro's presence in the majority of places causes *no* concern; his acceptance has reached the point of anonymity.

The second Negro demand centers on the proposed Fair Employment Practices bill. There is much truth in the Negro's bitter characterization of himself as "first to be fired, last to be hired." Much of this is caused by a shortage of Negroes in the skilled trades; more is due to the hypocritical attitudes of labor unions. Yet, in many cases, where there is a shortage of individuals in a field—such as the butcher's or skilled chef's positions—few Negroes (in fact, few individuals of any race) seem to desire the training. Either they remain unskilled, or, if they have any ambition, they direct it toward college or a "clean, white-collar job." Indeed, some Negroes, when informed of the opportunities available to them in these areas, scornfully rejected such positions as "dirty", and even worse, as "Uncle Tom positions"—by which they mean positions of subservience. Economist Milton Friedman, discussing the question of the need for a Fair Employment Practices Committee, noted: "FEPC legisla-

er. They are the reverse of "fair housing" laws and the same strictures that Mr. Friedman employed against FEPC might well be used against them. But many real estate dealers enforce them among themselves and, since an owner usually must dispose of his house through such a dealer, they are, in fact, effective, even though they have no status in law. Negroes, on the other hand, have resorted to equally shady tactics in attempting to purchase houses; the use of white "go betweens" and other "block-busting" tactics can hardly be considered reputable.

The question of public discrimination is much clearer. The idea of the "rule of law" forbids the state from differentiating among its citizens on the basis of race, creed or religion, and demands an equal law and justice for all citizens. Thus, the government hires on the basis of merit examinations, it forbids discrimination on public property and guarantees, through the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, the right of all citizens. While the provisions of the Tenth Amendment guarantee to the individual states the right to set up voting qualifications, the Fifteenth insists that such qualifications be administered impartially and without qualification based on color. The penalty for such attempts—the reduction in representation in proportion to such qualifications—is clear; its application has never been thought of, however, until recently.

The Negroes' demands for an end to legally required segregation are just, and, in most cases, they can be achieved through the use of the courts. But in the area of private discrimination, attempts to use the law to achieve certain desired ends, miscalled "rights", cannot be condoned, even were the demands couched in a reasonable manner. The long run effects on our structure of law and right, already weakened by two generations of collectivist legislation, can only be pernicious. And, when such demands are couched in terms that can only be described as inflammatory; when, in effect, the Negro seeks an end to discrimination at gunpoint, not only will the law be weakened, but the sympathy of the majority, which has done so much to end discrimination by voluntary means, will be withdrawn and the Negro will be truly alone. This is the real tragedy of "civil rights".

As They Rhythm Along

J. C. L.

In days of old
Conquistadors bold
Went northward in their search for gold,
Left the Indians in the cold
And settled in Durango:
The Portuguese
In their colonies
Sighed beside the ocean seas,
Sniffed the spice in the westward breeze
Or danced a grand fandango:
Ere the British raj
Dissolved in stodge
Or Nehru learned the artful dodge,
They muddled through by hodge and podge
In the land where grows the mango:
One strain is strong
That forms my song,
Be the colonists right and the natives wrong,
Or the colonists stringing the natives along,
It still takes two to tango.

By savage brawn
In ages gone
They fought till the feral blood was drawn,
And so it has gone from the earliest dawn
Of man's civilization:
But that is past
And now at last
Our eyes are most pacifically cast
On all the peaceful powers massed
By each united nation:
For peace has come
And the tribal drum
Of the ancient days has been struck dumb,
But there is one little thing that bothers me some
With all this celebration:
If now therefore
We have no war
And peace has come with concomitant corps,
What was the U. N. fighting for
Amid the pacification?



As of old
Is the story told,
When wars are hot or wars grow cold,
From Elisabethville to the realms of gold,
From the Congo to Durango:
While the Portuguese
By the ocean seas
Are losing all their colonies,
And regardless of the westward breeze
Refusing to fandango:
Each U. N. Pal,
Cyrille et al.,
Who rounded up Moise for the old k'raal,
And the Secretary-General
From the land where grows the mango:
Keep this in sight,
He might have been right;
Consider the matter in this light,
One man doesn't make a fight,
It took two to Katango.

The Case For Victory in the Cold War

Edmund Zawacki

Can We Secure a Lasting Peace Without a Policy of Victory?

When a full-page editorial in *Life* (November 1, 1963) pressed Barry Goldwater to say "how, beyond defeating Communism, he would improve the lot and institutions of mankind," the Senator must have had a moment of puzzled surprise. By all reports Barry Goldwater is the front-runner for the Republican nomination for President of the United States, not the presidency of mankind. It is much too early for anybody to be eyeing the latter office. *Trop d'honneur!*

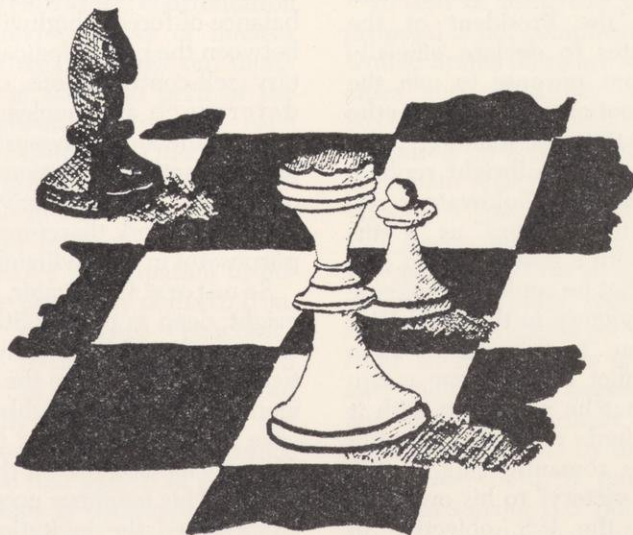
Still, *Life* is enjoyed and its editorials are read in every city and village of this country. Consequently, Barry Goldwater will certainly find himself sooner or later under heavy pressure to say clearly just what moves in U.S. foreign policy he would make if he were to become President. As the concluding paragraph of the *Life* editorial put it: "Barry Goldwater represents a valuable impulse in the American politics of '64. He does not yet represent all that a serious contender for the presidency should. 'Guts without depth' and 'a man of one-sentence solutions' are the epithets of his critics. The time has come for him to rebut them if he can."

Defeating Communism is hardly the small or subordinate matter in the world today that the syntax of the phrase, "beyond defeating Communism," would imply. The cold ideological war between the U.S. and the USSR is the central conflict of our times—and it is in dead earnest, but only an ideological illiterate would equate defeating

Communism in it with military disaster, economic misery and/or national humiliation inflicted on the Russian or any other people. Barry Goldwater does not think in any such philistine terms. The converse argument, which most of his critics raise, that decisive victory over Communism in nuclear times is impossible to conceive and is, therefore, unnecessary and foolish to seek, is merely piling a glaring *non sequitur* upon an unimaginative premise false in the first place. Terms like "defeat" and "victory" in the Cold War need to be defined.

Of course, improvement of the lot and institutions of mankind is within the purview of a great nation's purpose—and it is a consummation greatly to be desired, but just what constitutes improvement and by what procedures it can be achieved, have always been matters of opinion and dispute. Since mankind has a propensity, it seems, for tying itself up in Gordian knots of complicated controversy resolvable in the end only by tremendously

simple means, one-sentence solutions to knotty world problems are not inadequate *per se*. Much depends on the keenness of thought behind the sentence. For example, the single sentence, "Priority in U.S. nuclear-age policy shall be given to measures for victory over Communism on its own home grounds," could, if spoken officially by the President of the United States, conceivably harbor behind it proposals for U.S. action capable not only of defeating Communism peacefully and decisively in a purposefully chosen area but, by the same token, of improving the lot and institutions of a least one-third of the world's population. After all, one-third of mankind is indeed oppressed by the harsh political institutions of Communist regimes and their totalitarian organization of power. Nor should it escape notice that the prime and most painfully oppressive of Communist institutions, the Iron Curtain, is *ideological* in purpose, and that it is upheld at home and abroad as



full of *moral* virtue by Communist regimes not because its morality has been acknowledged by the Russian or any other people, but simply because the longevity of Communism as presently institutionalized depends on it.

An effective strategy for peaceful victory on the key Iron Curtain front *inside* the USSR and the European satellites initially, would in all candor have to be different from anything Senator Goldwater has outlined so far on the score of U.S. policy toward world Communism. Nevertheless, his "A Case for Victory" speech before the Virginia State Bar Association two years ago (August 5, 1961) did convincingly challenge the New Frontier's conduct of the Cold War as too diffuse for success, and set up the ideological launching pad for bold massive moves. At this point a short flashback would be useful.

The Fulbright Affair

In the summer of 1961 Senator Goldwater was engaged in a serious foreign policy debate with Senator Fulbright, who was then, as now, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The debate began on June 29 when Senator Fulbright delivered a major foreign policy address to the Senate, entitled "Some Reflections Upon Recent Events and Continuing Problems." On July 14, Senator Goldwater rose on the Senate floor to challenge the speech as an apologia for a *no-win* policy, and he urged "the President of the United States to declare officially that it is our purpose to *win* the Cold War, not merely wage it in the hope of attaining a stand-off." On July 24, Senator Fulbright replied, ridiculing Senator Goldwater's reference to "total victory" as "a stirring term with a romantic ring"; he confessed that he could not imagine what total victory in the Cold War would mean "in this age of ideological conflict and nuclear weapons," or what he would do with it after we had won it. Adroitly turning the romantic ring of the term "total victory" to his own use, he defined the U.S. objective in

foreign policy as "total victory" for a process—a process "of civilizing international relations and of bringing them gradually under a worldwide regime of law and order and peaceful procedures for the redress of grievances." On August 5, 1961, Senator Goldwater returned to the theme with his "A Case for Victory" speech to the Virginia State Bar Association (subsequently inserted in the *Congressional Record*).

From this flashback, the impression is perhaps gained that Senator Fulbright was deeper and more comprehensive in his grasp of the world situation and of our country's destiny in it than Senator Goldwater. Such an impression would be false. In his "A Case for Victory" argument, Senator Goldwater forcefully pointed out the fatal flaw or, at least, a most damaging oversight in Senator Fulbright's "process of civilizing international relations" as conceived by the latter, *viz.* the time element.

It being two years later now, one may put a sincere question to Senator Fulbright: How long can we,



without courting disaster, continue to balance the world on a nuclear coexistence-with-Communism and balance-of-forces highwire strung between the psychological and military self-contradictions of nuclear deterrence and nuclear disarmament while simultaneously "civilizing international relations?" Moreover, what specific activity is the centermost and, therefore, the most purposeful in the civilizing process?

Senators Goldwater and Fulbright, deep as their political differences are, would probably agree on two axioms: 1) when the first cave-man invited his neighbor to his cave, his *invitation* was the beginning of *civilized* life on this planet; 2) when his neighbor accepted and reciprocated the invitation, his *ac-*

tion was the beginning of *peace* between them. As definitions of terms, these axioms are not trivial, nor are they intended to be jocose; in nuclear times it is necessary to reach bedrock in human relations and define terms in their deepest taproot meanings.

Extrapolating to international relations today, Senator Fulbright should not find it really hard to agree with Barry Goldwater that narrowing the field down to the relations between the U.S. and the USSR plus Eastern Europe would quite legitimately localize and isolate the nub of the world problem, which is: swiftly to re-establish among nuclear-armed nations the *primordial law* of civilization and peace—which turns out to be reciprocal hospitality, almost a platitude.

A procedure for such re-establishment, however, was lacking among the six steps recommended by Senator Goldwater at the conclusion of his "A Case for Victory." There is every reason why it should be elaborated now and added as the seventh. Barry Goldwater was not wrong but incomplete when he identified victory in the Cold War with peace, and described coexistence as a "stand-off."

Actually, the idea of coexistence, as practiced by the present Soviet government, is a Communist tactical doctrine considerably worse than a stand-off. Embellished with the adjective "peaceful," it serves as a pseudo-moral camouflage for the Iron Curtain principle which, in turn, is the sufficient condition for *continuing* the frictions and emotions of the Cold War. Obviously, it is thinking as wishful as it is fatuous to believe that the Cold War can be either won or ended by the U.S. by upholding the sufficient condition of its continuation. Barry Goldwater was not wrong, either, in labelling the notion of peaceful-coexistence-with-Communism as a delusion and a drift toward nuclear war.

The Need For Victory

With this in mind, a closer look at the argument in "A Case for

Victory" is worth taking. In the briefest of direct citations it was:

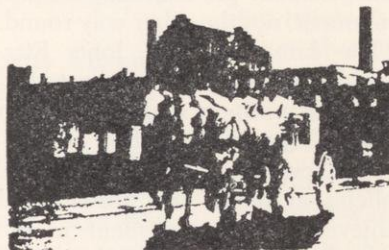
If Senator Fulbright finds difficulty in understanding what victory would mean, perhaps he should spend a little thought on the question of what defeat—the only *alternative to victory*—would mean (Italics here and elsewhere in these citations are Barry Goldwater's) . . . Against the Communist strategy as it is being pushed today, there can be no policy but one aimed at victory or one that would permit defeat. There is no cozy twilight zone such as Senator Fulbright envisions where the status quo is maintained. We know this from what has happened to the world since the end of World War II. We continue to delude ourselves with something called 'peaceful coexistence' . . . If there is any doubt as to what victory in the cold war means, let me say that it means the opposite of defeat . . . And it means peace with honor for men who prize liberty . . . Senator Fulbright would like us to believe that there can be no Cold War victory without the destruction of civilization . . . Just the reverse is true. A shooting war can only be avoided by *winning the Cold War*. . . . Senator Fulbright adroitly tries to make it appear that I am in favor of nuclear war, that I would make war the prime instrument of our policy . . . He challenges, presumably, my capacity to reason rather than my appreciation of life. And I respond: Whether you reason in the light of experience or by scholastic theory, there is no escaping the conclusion that we cannot assure the enemy that under *no* circumstances will we *ever* consider war. If we are not prepared to fight a nuclear war, we might just as well . . . dump our entire nuclear arsenal into the ocean. But Senator Fulbright has proposed no such venture in national suicide. . . . In the final analysis the choice is not yield, or fight a nuclear war. It is: *win, or fight a nuclear war*. For a nuclear war we shall certainly have to fight, from whatever beleaguered outpost we are reduced to occupying, if we continue to yield, piece by piece, all over the world.

In abstract ideological projection, what we have here is (1) a definition of victory as the opposite of defeat and (2) an identification of defeat in the Cold War with the onset of nuclear war. Barry Goldwater's perception of the relation between the Cold War and a nuclear war is direct and keen as the word in a prophet's mouth.

. . . For Nuclear Peace

A corollary follows with compelling logic, namely: Victory (the

opposite of defeat) in the Cold War becomes identical with the onset of nuclear peace only if peace is defined as the *opposite* of war (not its mere absence). The validating condition is a tremendously simple but unaccustomed and mind-stretching definition of peace: Peace is the opposite of war just as hospitality is the opposite of hostility.



In other words, if nuclear war can be defined adequately as total international hostility (and hostility can hardly be more total than mutual annihilation), then nuclear peace can be defined as total international hospitality.

Because Barry Goldwater in his "A Case for Victory" overlooked the validating condition for his identification of victory with peace, his argument, although it pointed in the direction of a major breakthrough, stopped short of it. Not only Barry Goldwater, however, but every potential candidate for the presidency of the United States should be reminded, perhaps, that diplomacy in nuclear times has been pushed by nuclear physics into a *permanent* confrontation with the real prospect of nuclear war, and that from now on, therefore, only at the total peril of the nuclear powers confronting each other in the Cold War (the U.S. and the USSR primarily) may the grass-root people in our respective cities and villages be excluded from direct and active participation in nuclear peace genuinely defined. Iron-Curtained coexistence "peaceful," "hopeful," "wishful" etc. between big blocs of nuclear-armed and ideologically hostile nations is not peace. Nor is nuclear deterrence peace. The real nature of peace in nuclear times is dynamic, cumulative, and powerful—like the atom.

Total international hospitality is, of course, an ultimate concept of peace just as nuclear war is the ultimate in international hostility, but, being an extrapolation of the primordial law of civilized life, it does not in the least suggest an unattainable ideal. On the contrary, what peace turns out to be is a familiar—indeed, primordial—drive in individual and collective human behavior as common as it is universal, capable of being revved up by resolute political initiatives into tremendous momentum in a direction opposed to war, and capable, too, of overwhelming governments that oppose it. If the moral force of hospitality in human relations were not in actual fact cumulatively more powerful than the brute force of violent hostility, mankind would never have developed any civilized institutions at all.

Passing from principal definitions to practical implementation, it is obvious that diplomatic instruments commensurate with the nature and magnitude of nuclear peace (between the U.S. and the USSR initially) can and must be devised. One such instrument is the 'Open cities' idea, which is commended to the attention of all potential candidates for the presidency in 1964 as a foreign policy issue, and to Barry Goldwater in particular, as a means of completing his case for victory.

Cracking the Curtain

In and of itself the 'open cities' proposal is not complicated. In the United States there are some 20,000 cities and villages, with which 20,000 Soviet cities and villages can be paired up according to their approximate size and regional distribution. A specific proposal by the U.S. government to the present Soviet government for an annual swap of a 10-day plain social visit by representative grassroot delegations from all 20,000 pairs of our cities and villages—all expenses, travel and per diem outside the native country, to be paid by the *host governments*—could, if pursued resolutely as a major U.S. policy, reverse the whole direction of the Cold

War. A morally big policy of this kind, pursued over all the means of diplomatic and mass communication at our disposal for however long it takes to the observable result that massive *practice* of reciprocal, American-Russian, grassroot hospitality on a city-to-city and village-to-village basis has superseded the Iron Curtain principle and Communist ideological hostility toward the United States, is the 'open cities' idea. In practice as U.S. policy, it would establish the identity of U.S. victory in the Cold War with peace between the American and Russian peoples by making them our prospective allies in the *definitive activity* of peace, not our prospective co-victims of drift into nuclear violence.

Visionary as the 'open cities' proposal may look at first sight, it is *conservative* in the deepest meaning of the word, for the principle massively activated by it is as old as civilized man. The scale of its activation is massive, of course, but given the nature and size of the objective to be achieved (Senator Fulbright was not wrong in defining the U.S. objective as "total victory for a process of civilizing international relations"), it is a minimum.

Realistic Searching

Barry Goldwater should be the first to perceive that morally forceful implementation among nations of the primordial law of civilized life on this planet (the 'open cities' idea) is in no way a substitute for full and resolute U.S. nuclear capability or American will for victory in the cold war. Full and credible U.S. nuclear capability is the launching pad without which the 'open cities' policy cannot successfully take off. The exertion of moral force, unlike political sentimentality, involves *facing the permanent prospect of nuclear war and controlling it*, not shrinking from it or closing one's eyes to it. If the 'open cities' idea is a substitute for anything, it is the proper substitute for sentimentality and demagoguery alike on the subject of international peace, for it is capable of turning Khrushchev's slogan, "gen-

eral and complete disarmament," which under present conditions is a counterfeit coin, into genuine legal tender. Disarmament in and of itself, as Khrushchev well knows, is not a guarantee of peace but of national weakness and demoralization. Peace genuinely defined and *massively practiced* in a reciprocal 'open cities' movement between the U.S. and the USSR initially, is the indispensable pre-condition of disarmament, not the other way round.

The late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy now belongs to history. His untimely and tragic death from an assassin's bullet on November 22 cut him down before his policies at home and abroad had achieved the improvement in the lot and institutions of mankind that was his sincere purpose. It is too early to measure how much he had, as President of the United States, advanced the process of civilizing



international relations, but this much can certainly be said: His courage in time of crisis was resolute, and it tempered his idealism with discretion; all three qualities are integral to the civilizing process. Of his Presidential statements on foreign policy, one speech little noticed by commentators in our country, was published in full in *Pravda*; this was the commencement address, entitled "A Strategy of Peace," given at American University in Washington on June 10, 1963. It was a penetrating look at the world situation, and its concluding words bear remembering not only because their eloquence is memorable but because they are relevant to the Goldwater-Ful-

bright debate: "This generation of Americans has already had enough—more than enough—of war and hate and oppression. We shall be prepared for war if others will it. We shall be alert to try to stop it. But we shall also do our part to build a world of peace where the weak are safe and the strong are just. We are not helpless before that task or hopeless of its success. Confident and unafraid we labor on—not towards a strategy of annihilation but towards a strategy of peace."

Steps Taken

There is reason to believe that the 'open cities' idea was among the stimuli for this address, and that it was under consideration at policy-making level when President Kennedy died. From five states—Wisconsin, Iowa, Massachusetts, North Dakota, Minnesota—some 288 cities and villages had taken the initiative and urged federal action on the 'open cities' idea in formal resolutions and communications to President Kennedy, and had offered their active participation in a policy move of this kind and magnitude. The 'open cities' idea did not die with President Kennedy, nor will those 288 cities and villages remain the only ones able to recognize a big idea when they see one.

Who the next President of the United States will be cannot be foretold. But whichever of the candidates seeks the direct and active participation of all our cities and villages in a bold strategy for a genuine peace, will by the same token make an uncontrovertible case for victory at home and abroad.

"When we speak of the triumph of Communism all over the world, we have in mind, first and foremost, the inevitable victory of Communist ideas and the triumph of Marxist-Leninist philosophy."

—NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV

Steer the GOP Right

For decades the Republican Party suffered a soul-sickness that threatened its very existence. Ever since it was captured by eastern liberals and turned into an anemic sibling of the Democrats, it has lost its reason for being. During the Eisenhower years the disintegration actually accelerated, largely due to the marshmallowy, suffocating political non-philosophy of those in the White House.

The initial purpose for steering the party leftward, against its own grain, was to counter the revolutionary impact of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. But when the GOP donned the gaudy trappings of "modernism"

THE WINNING SIDE: THE CASE FOR GOLDWATER REPUBLICANISM

Ralph De Toledano
Putnam, \$3.95

the voters upped and balked. Traditional Republicans saw no difference between the two parties, and absquatulated; independents voted for the real McCoy instead of an ersatz, bloodless New Deal or Fair Deal.

And so, the GOP lost its soul and began its long tumble toward oblivion. By the late 1950's, GOP registration was half of that of the Democrats in many areas. In big cities, the GOP had surrendered altogether, lacking even precinct organization in spots. In Congress, outnumbered, out-flanked and out-talked Republicans fought a rear guard action and resigned themselves to eventual extinction.

The process by which the Republican Party recaptured its soul in recent years is one of the most amazing political phenomena of our times. That story is superbly chronicled in Ralph De Toledano's new book, *The Winning Side*. It is De Toledano's thesis that not only is Barry Goldwater the strongest candidate that the GOP can field, but that unless the GOP turns toward conservatism the party is doomed to go the way of the Whigs and the dodo.

Unquestionably conservatism in general, and the charismatic Senator Goldwater in particular, have done electrifying things to the Republican Party. What began under heavy seige in the academies in the 1950s has now blossomed into a fullbodied, ennobling political philosophy, and a clearcut alternative to the Leviathan state of the liberal Left.

In Barry Goldwater the party has a leader of unimpeachable integrity, leadership, intelligence and stature. It has a man with a touch of daring, a willingness to be unpopular for the sake of his ideals, and a husky virility that puts effete liberalism to shame.

At first the Arizonan was dismissed by the pundits as a freak from the desert. But then, as Goldwater made a brilliant name for himself through his devastating assaults on labor abuses and monopolies, the usual liberal cannons were rolled out and fired point blank into Goldwater's desert-leather hide. When the kiss-of-death label, "conservative," failed to dent the Senator's armor, the liberals attached the pejorative "ultra" to the word — to no avail. Then came whistling salvos against Goldwater's alleged "neanderthal, 18th century views" and his alleged "military, warmongering mentality." All this bounced off the Senator like grape shot off the hull of a battleship. And so, much to their consternation, the liberals discovered that they had authentic opposition — for the first time in three decades.

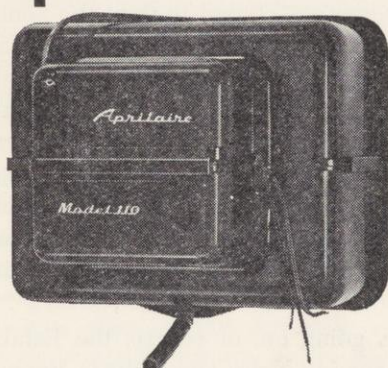
While all this was going on, of course, the Establishment was busy booming Nelse (who else?) Rockefeller for the Republication nomination. Nearly everyone except the neanderthals thought Rocky had the 1964 nomination sewed up, until he managed to pull Mrs. Murphy out of the woodpile. However, as De Toledano points out the Rockefeller star had begun to fade long before Happy happened.

For one thing, he proved to be a feeble vote-getter in 1962, even against the Democrat's kewpie doll, Ed Morgenthau. "Until election day," wrote De Toledano, "Governor Rockefeller's managers were predicting a sweep of such proportions — an 800,000 plurality — that no one would be able to contest his claims to the presidential nomination. The sweep materialized — but not for Mr. Rockefeller. . . . His built-in advantage as the incumbent availed him nothing. In fact, he polled 43,856 votes less than when he ran against Averell Harriman. . . . When the votes of his opponents were added up, Governor Rockefeller's plurality was whittled down to a sad 357,832 votes — hardly a sign of popular enthusiasm."

Since then, the Rockefeller popularity has declined steadily in New York, as well as elsewhere in the country. "The citizenry was also up in arms over Governor Rockefeller's attempts to increase taxes in his home state," wrote De Toledano. "This opposition is fairly unusual for New Yorkers, who have developed a numbness in the pocketbook nerve. . . . The outrage was not over the proposed increase in auto and liquor taxes, but in the fact that the governor had flatly promised during his 1962 campaign that there would be no further surgery on the voters in the form of new taxes. . . . In many Republican communities, the town fathers passed resolutions condemning Rockefeller. Newspaper editorials were not kind. Legislative mail was heavy and nasty. Bumper stickers warning DON'T STEP ON ME blossomed on the highways."

De Toledano has particular fun describing the

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"He is, in a sense, an unreal man, a human front for a UNIVAC machine or the guardian of a mechanical brain trust. The public sees his smile and feels his handshake. But the warmth is very temporary."

That's a pretty good reason why the nomination ought not to go to Rockefeller. The rest of the book bulges with reasons why it *should* go to Goldwater. The book is lively, to say the least.

RICHARD S. WHEELER

Dropping the Dictator

The recent coup and assassination in Viet Nam has awakened a great many Americans to the reality that the U.S. government sometimes resorts to revolution to get its way. A much less publicized, but equally shameful coup occurred in the Dominican Republic early in the history of the Kennedy administration. The victim of this CIA-planned coup was the dictator Rafael Trujillo, whose total grasp of the Dominican government was intolerable to the State Department.

Trujillo's erstwhile security chief, Gen. Arturo Espallat, has recorded the ugly plot which led to the murder of his boss. Whether the late President Ken-

TRUJILLO: THE LAST CAESAR
Gen. Arturo Espallat
Regnery, \$4.95

nedly had any knowledge of the impending assassination of Trujillo is impossible to say, but it is highly improbable that he was unaware of what the CIA was up to.

Elsewhere in the book Espallat recounts the debacles and triumphs of the Trujillo era, including the Generalissimo's attempts to bribe about half of Washington; his remarkable executive talent, his vendetta against Castro, and his paternalistic rule, which in the end brought thousands of weeping campesinos to his grave.

Apparently the U.S. delivered a number of ultimatums to Trujillo before it organized the coup. It sent a message via Trujillo's friend, Ambassador William Pawley, for one, and divided up its Voice of America broadcasts into anti-Castro and anti-Trujillo segments. But Trujillo's power increased, if anything, and so Washington took more drastic action.

According to Espallat, two CIA agents he called Mutt and Jeff organized the coup and arranged for delivery of arms. There was even a plan to keep Tru-

jillo's playboy son, Ramfis, bottled up in New York until the new government sank its roots. The plan failed because Ramfis chartered his own plane upon hearing the death of his father rather than take passage on a commercial flight. The return of Ramfis is what messed up the politics of the island for months after the murder.

According to Espailat, Trujillo was both a cynic and a curiously naive soul. He maintained unbounded faith in the Americans, in whose Marine Corps he had once served. But he also had no compunctions about using bribery, sex, theatrics and skillful propaganda to retain power. Espailat portrays his boss as a man with a good deal of merit, in spite of his obvious brutality.

The book is well worth reading as an exposé of Caribbean jungle politics; a portrait of one of the hemisphere's "better" dictators; and a study of American diplomacy at its most vicious. SCOTT W. LAKE

Still Too Risky

Back in 1946, when the Senate was debating whether to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court, shrewd old Tom Connally of Texas arose and inserted an amendment into the legislation that has provoked bitter controversy ever since.

Senator Connally's amendment merely asserted that the U.S. would reserve the right to decide which mat-

TOO GRAVE A RISK

Denison Kitchel

William Morrow, \$3.95

ters were essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of this country, and therefore beyond the purview of the court.

As an agency of the United Nations, the World Court was already bound by the UN charter not to intervene in the domestic affairs of any nation. Thus, the Connally amendment took nothing away from the court except the power to decide whether it had jurisdiction over some aspects of American affairs.

These days, with the UN plunging deeply into the internal affairs of member nations, the Connally reservation could become a matter of signal importance at some future date.

Mr. Denison Kitchel, a Phoenix attorney, has written a remarkable and lucid defense of the Connally amendment. *Too Grave a Risk* is both brief and readable, but nonetheless an exhaustive study of every facet of the amendment.

Among Mr. Kitchel's salient points are:

1) The United States has placed itself extensively under the jurisdiction of the World Court. By treaty, we are bound to accept the jurisdiction of the court in international matters, and can withdraw only after

six month's notice. By way of contrast, certain European powers can declare at a moment's notice that they refuse to accept the court's jurisdiction. Even with the Connally amendment, this nation is more deeply committed to international law than any other.

2) The Communist bloc, on the other hand, has made no agreement whatsoever to accept the jurisdiction of the court, although there are Communist judges on the court, adjudicating the affairs of other nations.

3) As the Afro-Asian bloc grows in the UN, it will be able to seat more of its people on the court. Under these circumstances, the court may drift even farther

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away from the principles of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence upon which America's liberty is constructed.

4) Only nine judges constitute a quorum, capable of hearing a case. A majority of these — or just five — is all that is needed to decide a case. This means that in some circumstances the Communist judges, plus a couple of sympathizers, could render the decisive vote. It would be foolhardy for the U.S. to expose itself to such circumstances.

Mr. Kitchel rightly concludes that repeal of the amendment would be too grave a risk at this juncture of world history. Maybe some day a few decades hence mankind will be willing to abide by codes which would permit the comprehensive development of international law. But certainly not now.

JOHN CARAVAN

Mr. Conservative

Take the cover of a paperback edition of Senator Barry Goldwater's classic *Conscience*, deepen the blue a bit, make the picture of Goldwater smaller, and replace the word "conscience" with "biography" (using the same style of type). The result, hopefully, should be a book looking sufficiently like the popular *Conscience of a Conservative* to be picked up by mistake by the undiscerning reader.

Still, something must be put between the covers. Messrs. Wood and Smith fulfil this requirement by

writing a scant 136 pages describing Barry Goldwater's life and views. The book is padded with an additional 40 pages of Goldwater's speeches.

While it seems to be written to please a pro-Goldwater audience, the authors occasionally include an anti-Goldwater remark, apparently wishing to appear impartial. Masters of the cliché, the writers pro-

BIOGRAPHY OF A CONSERVATIVE

Bob Wood and Dean Smith

Avon Books, Paperback, 50¢

foundly observe that "Goldwater is utterly convinced that the affairs of nations are determined — for good or evil — by power."

Senator Goldwater's life, as detailed by Wood and Smith, seems hardly to merit the reputation he has acquired. The authors method of merely chronicling the events of Goldwater's life offers no insight into his character.

This book will do little to help the Goldwater-for-President forces. There is little in the Senator's background mentioned here to contribute anything to any "Presidential image"; and if there were, it is doubtful whether *Biography of a Conservative* could reveal it. With a little effort, it would seem Rob Wood and Dean Smith *could* have written an inspiring book.

HARVEY D. SHAPIRO

WHAT'S RIGHT WITH OUR COUNTRY?

For one thing, its economic system. Sure it's based on capitalism and there are people that contend that capitalism is basically selfish. But this criticism loses validity when we accept the fact that profit for the individual is the only practical way to stimulate productivity—to make more things available to more people.

But let's see just how selfish we are. In many cases, industry shares its profits with labor after wages have been paid. We permit governments of our own choosing to impose heavy taxes on us. We pass laws providing for social security and unemployment insurance. We contribute to medical research. We endow the arts. There is something deep within us which cries out to us to be humane. We give millions to charity. We send our wealth and our people abroad to help the less fortunate. We are inherently generous.

Such problems as our people do have, seem graver than they are because of the general well-being of the

vast majority. And, because we spotlight our problems hoping to find solutions.

The benefits of our economic system are enjoyed by all our people. Our poor are fewer and less poor than the poor of communist countries. As our poor have been upgraded, our middle class has increased tremendously, eliminating the last vestige of the vicious European class system.

Our system has within itself, the capacity to find remedies for its problems, because the principal ideas behind our system is that our people have the right to be free. This freedom includes not only an absence of constraint, but assures the free choice of religion, occupation and association.

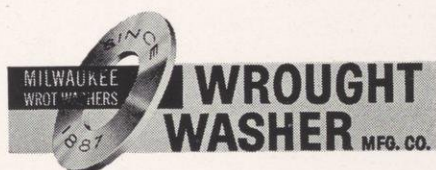
Who's in charge of America? Big business? Big labor unions? Wall Street? No one group is dominant. Influential? Yes, but we still come closer to guiding our own destinies than any other people ever have — and that's what's RIGHT with our country.

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"If a nation values anything more than freedom, it will lose its freedom; and the irony of it is that if it is comfort or money that it values more, it will lose that too."

—W. SOMERSET MAUGHAM *Strictly Personal* Chap. 31, (1941)



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hindsights

Breach of contract, argued Eland Chipandale before the high court in Blantyre, Nyasaland, according to a *New York Times* report. Chipandale had contracted with Odrick Kashochi to turn himself into a crocodile and kill Kasochi's granddaughter, in return for \$12. Now Kasochi refused to pay up. The high court pondered. Yes, it ruled, Chipandale had been a crocodile at the time of the killing and was entitled to the \$12. However, since the deed was for material gain, both men must be sentenced to death; case closed. Before the Winds of Change swept across Africa, it seems, the colonial authorities had practiced their well known "repressions" — on witchcraft. Now that they are gone, witchcraft has reemerged among the native population, and indignant crocodiles are becoming quite a commonplace in African legal circles. A modest 20th-century solution: mandatory adjudication by the World Court.

The Supreme Court prayer decision may have caused some puzzlement to school children who just participated in Thanksgiving Pageants. Just whom were they supposed to be thanking?

Dr. Walt W. Rostow, administration foreign policy wahoo, got off to a very bad start in the field of history when he recently let on that "the nature of the role of the state in the early stages of the development of the U.S. was not unlike the role of the state in the developing countries such as Mexico today." Uh huh. That phrase "not unlike" is a device called a litotes, and is a scholarly hedge against the possibility that the history of the U.S. Government might not be not unlike the history of the Mexican Government, which is not unlike having nationalized the petroleum industry and the railroads, issued fiat currency, expelled all foreign mining interests, imposed huge corporate taxes, broken up large land-holdings without indemnification, legislating phony profit sharing schemes and restricting farm acreage to uneconomic sizes.

Out of respect for President Kennedy, immediately following the assassination the neutralist government of Cambodia called a halt to the scheduled anti-American demonstrations for three days. Gulp, thanks. He would've really liked that.

"Socialism is only an idea, not an historical necessity, and ideas are acquired by the human mind. We are not born with ideas, we learn them. If socialism has come to America because it was implanted in the minds of past generations, there is no reason for assuming that the contrary idea cannot be taught, to a new generation. What the socialists have done can be undone, if there is a will for it. But, the undoing will not be accomplished by trying to destroy established socialistic institutions. It can be accomplished only by attacking minds, and not the minds of those already hardened by socialistic fixations. Individualism can be revived by implanting the idea in the minds of the coming generations. So then, if those who put a value on the dignity of the individual are up to the task, they have a most challenging opportunity in education before them. It is not an easy job. It requires the kind of industry, intelligence and patience that comes with devotion to an idea."

Frank Chodorov, Founder and President, Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, Inc.

(From the essay, "A Fifty Year Project," written in 1950. This essay served as a blueprint for I.S.I.)

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