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insight and outlook

in this issue . . .

***Extremism 1965-
Still the Issue?***

James M. O'Connell

***On Our Archives-
On Good Government***

Dale Sievert

Pickets, Placards, and Publicity

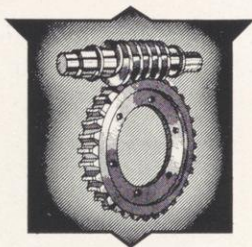
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On Our Purpose

There is a war on in Vietnam. We realize full well the gravity of that situation. We know that in any war, every nation must have a purpose and a role. The Nation, indeed, the whole world seems to be at a loss as to what the purpose of the United States is in this war.

We here, at INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK, hope we have chosen a good and responsible purpose, for we shall have history to answer to if we are wrong.

America, ever since its birth, placed great faith in the individual and in his will. We have thus believed in democracy, where the people are the governed and the governors and where they determine their nation's actions.

The unimpeachable truth is that the enemy of South Vietnam, whether a true national revolution or an aggressive North Vietnam, is a Communist regime, a central-directed government. By its very definition, such a regime cannot ever hope to grant the will of the individual or of the people. That, necessarily, leads to tyranny — not to "self-determination." Once this regime is established, the people have no power to alter or abolish it because they are not the government. They must, indeed, have that right.

We hope to insure South Vietnam that right and to give them the same chance we had: to operate and better their own government by their power and will.

In This Issue

This issue marks the start of our eighth year. For the new student, we especially offer ourselves and our thoughts. We welcome your comments and you in our ranks.

In Aetius, there is an uncomfortable feeling that 1984 is not so far off. It may be here in ten years.

Cy Butt's Fremont Guilfoyle reveals Elbie's master plan in full. Is Fremont really a prophet?

Jared Lobdell, in The Old Custom, looks at this thing called patriotism to see what it is.

James M. O'Connell epitomizes the feelings of responsible conservatives on the extremism issue.

David Keene, a new writer, gives comment on a most timely issue, the war in Vietnam.

Can democracy be found with socialism? History, Ross Parisi tells us, shows this to be false.

Ken Wright outlines the plans for conservatives at the University of Wisconsin for the coming year.

Another new writer, T. K. Meier, has a great fear for this country if it continues along its present path.

Dale Sievert, in From the Editor, is very concerned with the style of today's representative government. The Fathers, he feels, would frown heavily on us.

History and Winston Smith

Sylvester K. Stevens is the author of a one-volume history of Pennsylvania. Helen Clay Frick is the daughter of Henry Clay Frick, who had a great deal to do with the history of Pennsylvania at the end of the last century — notably in the Homestead Strike of 1892. Mr. Stevens and Miss Frick are the protagonists in a case which is now going through the Pennsylvania courts, which may go to the U. S. Supreme Court, and which should have attracted much more attention than it has.

What the matter comes down to is this. Can an historian, in making a judgment on the actions of a man now dead, be held liable to the man's heirs if his statements tend to damage the man's character? Mr. Stevens produced expert witnesses (that is to say, other historians) to prove that what he said about Henry Clay Frick was a matter of common historical repute. The judge refused to permit their testimony. Miss Frick has claimed — successfully, as of the time this is being written — that Mr. Stevens would have to produce documentary evidence, the result of original research, to substantiate his judgment (that Frick had acted during the Homestead Strike in a manner inconsistent with his Christian principles) before he could be allowed to make it.

Essentially, of course, Miss Frick is challenging the validity of the common historical judgment. No one denies her right to do this. I, for one, suspect that the judgment may be biased, and probably ought to be challenged. But I also, and others should, have grave doubts concerning the way the challenge has been made. Let us consider the issues raised here.

First, to what degree can this argument that judgment on a dead man damages the man's heirs be allowed, assuming it can be allowed at all? Or, to put it another way, when does history stop being current events? *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*, to be sure, but can the descendants of William the Conqueror be permitted legal redress against historians who call that illustrious monarch a bastard? And if that seems a bit absurd — stretching the time period out for nine-hundred years — where, between William the Bastard and Henry Clay Frick, do we draw the line?

Second, if we can find a distance in time at which the line might be drawn, can we draw it even so? The question, *where*, can, after all, be answered with no more absurdity than the question: **when are a man's works public property?** To be sure, it was absurd that Sir Arthur Sullivan's music became public property in 1950, whereas Sir William Gilbert's words remained in the possession of his heirs until 1961. But this is the sort of absurdity which is the inevitable (and, to me, not altogether displeasing) concomitant of law. The question I am raising here is not only whether truth is a defense against libel in the pages of history (once you have decided when history begins and current events leaves off), but more especially what kind of evidence is to be required to establish the truth?

I suppose that we are to require a degree of proof varying with distance in time. What will suffice as evidence for the character of Henry VIII will not do for the character of Warren G. Harding. The closer we are to the present, the closer to absolute certainty we must be before we judge an action. But it is important to realize that this is a standard of historical accuracy, and not properly a matter involving legal redress.

For, as I see it, the true importance of this imbroglia is that Miss Frick has applied, not to any court of history, but to a court of law. And a court of law (even if it is functioning as a court of equity) is an agency of government. If any branch or agency of the government, for whatever good, pure, and ninety-nine-and-forty-four-one-hundredths-percent-on-the-side-of-the-angels reasons, can tell the historian what he is or what he is not to record as history, then there is something far more important than mere freedom of the press that will be lost. What will be lost is the past itself.

If it is decided that the courts have jurisdiction over history, if the state can tell us how to record the past, then Orwell's world has come upon us. You say that this is a very small acorn to be so worried about, and you are doubtless right. But the oak that grows from it is poison, its name is falsehood, and under its shade will spring up, like toadstools, the mindless tyrannies of 1984.

—Aetius

Insight to the Issues

Vietnam - the Issue

Mothers who write to the President are not the only ones who wonder about the American mission in Vietnam. Although we understand the need for American involvement in that troubled Southeast Asian conflict, we have serious questions about the minimal program being undertaken to assure the success of our efforts. By following the current policy for protracted stalemate, can we realistically expect that Communist China will be deterred from conquering economically and strategically important Southeast Asia? Does the Administration fully comprehend that a successful "National Liberation Movement" on the Chinese model will result in similar guerrilla insurgencies sparked by Communist leadership throughout the world?

Red China wants the rice bowl. She needs the varied resources of Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia, Burma, and Malaysia. She seeks the neutralization of even Australia and New Zealand through territorial expansion and nuclear development.

Time is on her side. The attrition rate achieved by the tactics of the Vietcong is agonizingly slow and methodically devastating to a population which has suffered war for over twenty years. The success of Chinese revolutionary tactics as inspired by Mao and warmly adopted by General Giap of the North Vietnamese Army will be the signal to local Communist parties in all the developing nations that they no longer need to swing indecisively between Moscow and Peking. They can then follow Maoist doctrine as the path to power. This insidious technique, so impossible to combat in states which lack stability and security, must be proven a failure now.

But the peace branch has been waved. Too much, we feel, for it obscures the issue. Indeed, most of its leaves are gone and, with them, the meaning of peace itself.

Negotiations developed by such men as U Thant and Nkrumah could and very likely would be a deceitful travesty on the lives of those South Vietnamese who died to stop the brutalities and atrocities of the Vietcong. We cannot lightly dismiss the probable liquidation of Buddhists and Catholics, of the veterans of the South Vietnamese Army, which in view of Communist history, would undoubtedly result from a "coalition" government. Our commitment of men, money, and ideals must not lead to a nation

half slave and half dead.

For the future, then, only additional American air and sea power, combined with foot soldiers of free Asia, can lead to a tolerable settlement. North Vietnam *must* keep her agit-prop, her arms, and her men above the 17th parallel. South Vietnam *must* be free from the vicious aggression from the North. That is the only settlement until, of course, the people in the north, like the million escapees of 1954, also decide they have had enough of Uncle Ho. Then and only then can Vietnam be reunited. However, not as a feather in the cap of Mao's National Liberation Movement.

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The Right Move?

Conservatism is not dead, much to the dismay of those who beat it down so furiously last November. The best indication of this, and possibly an unfortunate one, is the formation of various conservative organizations. Recently the Free Society joined the earlier American Conservative Union and the United Republicans. Because of its figurehead, Barry Goldwater, much more fanfare accompanied the Free Society's announcement than the other groups. But now, after the furor has settled, it may be wise to objectively assess the situation.

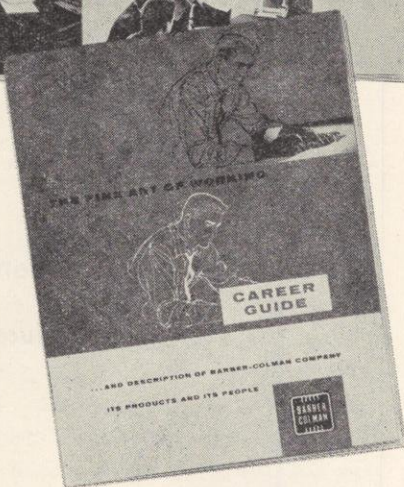
First, we welcome Barry Goldwater into the ranks, as well as his organization. His personality, his fundraising potential, and his name can only assist the conservative movement.

Ray Bliss erred in his belief that his GOP ought to be the one and only. Conservatives need an outside organization to develop a program, to educate the public, to improve the political position of the Right, and to remove the social stigma surrounding the ideals of conservatism — and its stigma on the GOP.

However, we feel it might be unfortunate that Barry Goldwater — and Denison Kitchel — should form a new group. Ideally, conservatives ought to have only one organization, ADA style, outside the GOP. They



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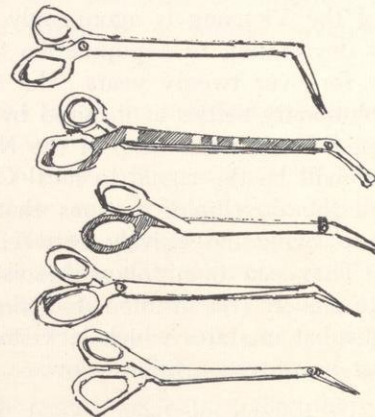
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simply cannot afford clashes which, even among well-meaning individuals, must naturally arise among groups whose object is the same.

Perhaps for the time being this present arrangement will work. Actually, there are several advantages in this arrangement. Each organization seems to have developed — or has shown the potential to develop — a particular field of concentration. The American Conservative Union seems well-fitted for the project of developing a conservative program. The United Republicans' stated aim is to channel conservative political activity into effective areas. Finally, the Free Society appears to be an excellent publicity and fund-

raising agent. So, we think it might be best to start in this manner. Each organization can perfect a more particular method of operation without jeopardizing the whole movement. In that light, no immediate and lasting harm should come from the division.

However, this arrangement cannot be permanent if we are to expect maximum effectiveness. We commend the leaders of the new organizations. But we plead with them to seriously consider a merger in the not too distant future.

Student Rights?

Ambrose Bierce once remarked that a conservative was "a statesman enamoured of existing evils, as distinguished from the liberal, who wishes to replace them with others." The more we watch the activities of various student groups demanding "freedom" — the Free Speech Movement in Berkeley is one example — the more we feel our conservatism coming to the fore.

Let us admit that we are no more lovers of the Deans and Administration than our liberal friends. We dislike the impersonal attitude of the Administration, its multiplicity of rules and regulations which are, in many cases, childish. Nevertheless, when we read the demands of many of these groups, we shudder. What is not wanted is more freedom for the individual student, but more control over student activities by students. In short, we take from the Dean to give to the student senate.

The question is: can we trust such power in the hands of the students? The Deans' actions were, at least, tempered by their recognition of long-range responsibility. Would a student senate, out to purge a student newspaper of dissident elements, either Right or Left, feel any such responsibility? Would student political groups outside the mainstream of campus opinion, as determined by those in power, be allowed to function? We wonder.

There are those who say that students would never act in such a manner. But, in a recent book, *Generation of the Third Eyes Young Catholic Leaders View Their Church*, George Lawler laments that university administrators are reluctant to force participation in efforts for medicare and disarmament, peace marches, sit-ins, civil disobedience, and other forms of social protest. If this is what we can expect from the Catholics, what might we expect from Bettina Aptheker and the FSM?

Insight and Outlook goes on record as being opposed to student soviets and promises that if the Utopia promised by the FSM and others ever does come to pass, we will turn, as we must, to our own right to revolt, and apply, most liberally, a decent coating of tar and feathers to naked insolence.



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Through His Great Wisdom

Cy Butt

Is Elbie Jay Really the New Messiah?

With his cohort, Fifi, gleaming with silver and gold, Fremont Guilfoyle, Envoy Extraordinary, strode into Mr. Joseph Troia's Steak and Martini House, which is on State Street in Madison, Wisconsin. Mr. Paul Berg, a couth, gainly gentleman was seated at the bar talking to the proprietor and was having something to stimulate the heart and to relieve his ennui. Fifi, her several hillocks and drumlins jiggling enticingly, perched beside him.

Mr. Troia hastened to assemble a quadruple version of the house specialty that he knew Fremont favored when in a mood, which he clearly was. He placed the brimming tankard on a napkin in front of Fremont and enquired in his liquid baritone how things were.

"Fifi is giving me silver threads among the gold again," said Fremont. "This morning at five I dashed into her room to secure her services as amanuensis. There was something I just had to do at once."

"Yes, yes, go on," said Mr. Troia, his molten eyes glittering like the Ancient Mariner's. "What is an amanuensis?"

"A secretary," said Fremont shortly. "But to get on with it, as I came in one door, Fifi entered the other, dishabille and obviously the worse from ardent waters. Her outer garments were in disarray, as I said in the last sentence, and the others were missing entirely. They were torn off, she said, by centrifugal force when she rounded the corner from Fairchild onto West Washington. I am nonplussed over this event. Can such things be?"

"It is quite possible," said Mr. Berg. "There was a strong wind this morning, too."

Fremont shot a stern glance at Fifi, who sat with her unfettered fireplug profile looming in the low lights and continued, "She said that she left the Loraine to meet me here and got confused and wound up at the Pirate Ship, where Doctor DeHaven plays that great big trumpet of his. She was afraid to go out alone, so when the concert was over, Doctor DeHaven kindly offered to serve as guide in her search for the hotel. It was two blocks away, and it took them four hours to find it."

"I understand," said Mr. Troia. "Doctor DeHaven is known far and wide for his willingness to aid people in distress, especially when they are girls like Fifi."

Fifi giggled.

"I went back to the room," said Fremont, "to prepare a lecture for Fifi on the evils of drink, but when after an hour's retrospection, I couldn't think of any, I sat down and wrote a report for Elbie Jay."

"Highly commendable," said Mr. Troia. "How are things coming in Washington?"

"They couldn't be better," said Fremont. "Elbie has everything sewed up. He now controls, or soon will, industry, commerce, farming, health, housing, education, and several other items that I can't happen to think of just now."

"Amen," said Mr. Berg.

"And then," continued Fremont, "he has his wars—the War on Poverty, the War on Billboards, the War on Used Car Lots, and that thing in Vietnam."

"Is that last one actually a war?" queried Mr. Troia. "I have always thought that according to the Constitution only Congress could declare war."

"Of course it's a war," said Fremont. "Didn't you hear Elbie say so on TV?"

"I must have missed that one," said Mr. Troia. "We have been pretty busy the past couple of weeks."

"Well, it is," said Fremont. "And get this. The Constitution has been passe since 1961. Elbie, with the backing of the Supreme Court, is going to do away with it."

"Won't that cause some comment?" asked Mr. Berg.

"Not at all," replied Fremont. "Elbie manages the news, as you must know, and he has most of the TV commentators visibly drooling when he gives them so much as a kind glance. Then, after the Constitution's obsequies are over, Elbie is going to abolish Congress by an Executive Ukase."

"Good gracious!" said Mr. Berg.

"And why not?" asked Fremont. "Last week the freshmen Congressmen voted for the Anti-Poverty bill by 54-0, and since it is clear that they would continue on this line, Congress is as superfluous as the vermiform appendix. Anyway, Elbie knows best."

"That's what he says," said Mr. Berg.

"And, sooner or later," said Fremont, "he will do away with the governors of the several states."

"Why?" asked Mr. Troia.

"Up to now," explained Fremont patiently, "the governors had a good bit of authority in their home precincts, but this anti-poverty thing that Elbie forced through gives Shriver, or whoever happens to be there, the right to reverse a governor's decision. Thus, with the authority centered in the Administration, governors are also obsolete."

"My stars!" said Mr. Berg.

"And he will abolish the ballot," continued Fremont. "You see, Elbie jammed through a bill taking away the right of the states to have right-to-work laws, and now everyone will soon have to join unions. The union leaders are always Democratic, and they always open their treasuries to Democratic slush funds. So, elections are but a waste of time and money."

"But," said Mr. Troia, "the minorities have been yelling about the ballot for a couple of years and have been shooting and stabbing and robbing people in the process. What are they going to say?"

"Elbie has that fixed, too," said Fremont. "He will put them all on some kind of relief, double the allotments, and put them on a point system like the gasoline ration cards during World War II."

"I don't quite understand," said Mr. Berg.

"Well," said Fremont, "they will get so many points a month, and a murder will use up three points, a robbery two points, and inconsequentials like aggravated battery one point. You see, last night in Los Angeles the cops were actually going to jail one for drunken driving. You heard the rumpus *that* caused. With the immunity conferred by the new point system there will be no more arrests. There are no arrests in the Congo for minor misdemeanors, so why should there be here?"

"Why, indeed?" said Mr. Berg. "Anything else?"

"Yes," said Fremont. "We are going to start the erection of the Elbie Jay monument. If you remember, Frank Lloyd Wright designed a building a mile high. We're going to use those plans. On the side there will be a bas-relief of an American soldier dying in Vietnam and beneath it a graven summary of the war to date. Wilson had his World War I, Roosevelt had his World War II, Truman had the business in Korea, Kennedy had the Bay of Pigs, which didn't amount to much, and now Elbie has declared one on his own hook that he thinks may last ten years. It will set a record for Democratic presidents.

"I don't doubt it a bit," said Mr. Troia. "I suppose that's all the news for today."

"Almost," said Fremont, paying the tab." But I don't think I mentioned the movie we're starting to cast soon. It will be an epic of Elbie's life in Texas and elsewhere, and it won't hurt Elbie's prestige a bit."

"I would suppose so," said Mr. Troia. "Who is paying for it?"

"That's a silly question," said Fremont. "Some government, of course! The only problem that we still must meet is choosing a proper title."

"Why don't you call it 'The Second Coming?'" asked Mr. Berg.

"Magnificent," said Fremont. "Come, Fifi."

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Jared Lobdell

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—S. V. BENET

It is not unheard of, in these days, for patriotism to be derided on the grounds that national states are essentially artificial creations, their boundaries merely lines drawn on a map, and that no one can remain loyal to such man-made units when the real question before us is the question of human survival. Loyalty to humanity, the argument goes, necessarily takes precedence over loyalty to the United States.

At the outset, it must be admitted the argument has a lovely sound. But I am not sure the problem is as simple as this makes it out to be. For one thing, there is in fact more to the idea of the nation than merely man-made boundaries. The Russians certainly are bound by the mystical presence indwelling in Mother Russia. In this country, though it may be we are reluctant to acknowledge it, there still exists this kind of patriotism, based on some kind of presence in and of the land. Of course, one admits that as the cities and housing developments spread, the land is increasingly lost to us, and it is harder to be loyal to row upon row of bon-bon houses than it is to be loyal to the hills and fields they have replaced. Nevertheless, as I say, this sort of patriotism still exists, and still motivates some part of the American people.

To ask whether this land-love, this thing which speaks through the *Finlandia*, which produces much of the success of the Viet Cong in South Vietnam and the very existence of the Republic of Eire, is good or bad is like asking whether sex or hunger is good or bad. The thing is there, and the goodness or badness depends on how it is used. Normally it centers

around one's own possessions, *my land* in the sense of *my piece of property* or *my farm*. The mechanics of patriotism, however they work, transform this into *my land* in the sense of *my country*, and it must be noted that this means not the country I own or have a part in, but the country, the land, which bore me, shaped me, made me aware, gave me its ways to roam — the homeland, the fatherland, the *patria*.

This is a real feeling, no matter how much we try to neglect or mortify it. Now when we talk about loyalty to humanity, loyalty to mankind, we must be talking about more than a desire to keep a certain number of people alive longer than they might otherwise be — we must be talking about something which binds us to mankind, and not as we may want them to be, but as they are. The Nazis, after all, had a sort of loyalty to mankind, but they wanted all mankind to be Aryan, which (it is admittedly an extreme example) involved killing the others off. It is neither friendship nor loyalty nor love to accept only the parts of a person or of mankind that one likes, and to reject the others.

If, therefore, we are to be loyal to humanity (that is to say, if we are to govern our actions according to our ties to the rest of mankind), we must be loyal to that humanity which hungers, which thirsts, which loves its homeland. On one level this may seem easy enough. Give them food, you may say, give them drink, guarantee their territorial integrity. But this business of giving "them" something is, on another level, a denial of this loyalty, a denial of these ties. It increases the distance, sets us apart, separates us from "humanity," leads us to expect something in return at the same time we are proclaiming our

"humanitarian" motives. This is not loyalty to humanity or even loyalty to humanitarian principles. This is self-interest only. The true way lies deeper.

But, you will say, does not patriotism, love of country, demand that we act in the country's interest, and in that sense demand that we act in our own self-interest? Much of the difficulty here lies in our definition of the word *my* in the phrase *my country*. "The land was ours," the poet writes, "before we were the land's." If we restrict patriotism to the land we own, then patriotism and keeping off trespassers are roughly synonymous. But if we realize that we do not own the country, but it owns us — and by *country* I mean not the bureaucratic nation governed from Washington, but the *countryside*, the land itself — then true patriotism consists in being true to the spirit of the land, its genius, its own indwelling presence.

But this does not put us at a distance from mankind. If we pursue fully the dream which rose out of this American land, if we are true to our own American character, if we rest ourselves secure upon the very rocks of this America, then we are loyal to that part of humanity which is ourselves, and more than that, by fulfilling our own character, inherent in ourselves and in the land, we come closer to the mystical unity of all mankind. But if we reject this, and proclaim our loyalty to humanity only, then what we are loyal to is only a phantasm. We have cut out from the thing we suppose ourselves to be loyal to the very force that motivates it. By discounting this mystical love of country one does not rise above it into an even more mystical love of man. Instead, one sinks back into more parochial concerns and, in the end, into oneself.

Extremism 1965 — Still the Issue?

James M. O'Connell

Will Extremism Continue to Plague Us in the Future?

Last fall, in the closing weeks of the presidential campaign, this magazine printed an excellent piece on extremism.¹ Unfortunately, a *furor illogicus* stalked the land, and the Republican Party was defeated because its candidate neglected to footnote his oft-quoted comment on extremism. No one was really interested in explanations or clarifications; the words were taken at face value, and the man who said them was rejected.

One year later, the victorious candidate has been forced to adopt his rival's foreign policy to survive the continued menace of Communism. The only rioting and bad behavior came from over-indulged left-wing students, and the terrible specter of the John Birch Society seems to have faded into the mists of time, just as the so-called "terror" of the McCarthy era faded before it. So, like Peterkin, we now inquire: what was it all about, and, perhaps more cogently, is it still with us?

No discussion of extremism is valid without prior definition. This has been the stumbling block to every liberal attempt to catalogue the "evils" of the right wing. The nefarious activities of the John Birch Society or the Young Americans for Freedom are first described and then presented to us as "extremism." By what definition? By what criteria? The authors' say-so? For that is the main thrust of the liberal critique. So we ask the question: what makes an organization or an ideology extreme, and what are the criteria for applying the label of extremism?

The most obvious characteristic of the extremist is his willingness to accept a conspiracy theory: some particular group or ideology is responsible for the present state of things, and we cannot hope to survive until this group or idea is eliminated or its power over the Nation drastically curtailed. Often, the most shoddy documentation is offered as "proof" of this conspiracy: the famed (and forged) *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* used to bolster the idea of an "internationalist Jewish conspiracy" is one fascinating, though horrible example. But holding to a fixed idea is not sufficient reason; there are many who hold that the Negro is genetically inferior but who do not, unless given sufficient provocation, act on the idea. Extremism becomes overt when the word crystallizes into the deed. A man may believe that internal Fascism is the reason for the conservative resurgence; he does not become an extremist until he joins with others in an attempt to purge "Fascist influences" from the Republic. I chose this deliberately, of course, to point out that it is quite possible to have a liberal analogue to the John Birch Society, and one which, in all probability, would receive more public support and sympathy than the overly smeared followers of Robert Welch.

Using these criteria, then, we ask: who are the extremists? Very well, the John Birch Society fits in, and the White Citizens Councils, and the Klan and so on, *ad infinitum*. Conservatism depends, to a certain extent, on the emotional. As Clinton Rossiter, clearly a non-extremist, has noted: "Such symbols of tradition, of national unity and continuity, as flags, rituals, battlefields, monuments, and pan-

theons of heroes are equally dear to the conservative heart."² Nevertheless, this emotional, even non-rational feeling of pride in country, in way of life, in church, is balanced with a respect for order, for the traditional ways of doing things. It is questionable whether a true conservative would demand impeachment of the Supreme Court, even though he disagreed with it; it has stood and will stand as a bulwark of ordered freedom in a state of flux. He does not propose to adventure under a new and untried system of government, even if the old has shown a tendency to uphold the evil against the good. A few judicious reforms, a few prudential patches, a few reckless innovations curbed, and the system will work as before. In this, a conservative cannot, by his nature, be an extremist — although, since he is human and liable to error, he may throw in with extremist groups for a short time until he learns their nature.

The Liberals Too

The liberal, for all his protestations of rationalism, is equally given to emotionalism. Mention the poor, the Negroes, the laboring classes, the disadvantaged, and he launches forth in their defense. Nasty Southern whites, greedy capitalists, money-hungry landlords, and others of that type cause his gorge to rise. Speak of the need to ferret out internal subversion, and you are opposed to civil liberties; speak of the need to contain the external Communist menace, and you are a militarist. Question the activities of the newly emerged African and Asian nations, and you are a colonialist; question the abilities of American citizens, a point to moral decay, and you become a neo-Fascist.

These are emotional ideas, and

1. Dell F. Pendergrast, "Extremism 1964: A Political Assessment," (INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK), Vol. VII, No. I.

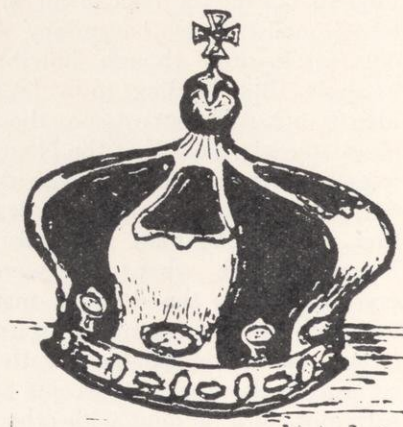
2. Clinton Rossiter, *Conservatism in America*, p. 28, New York, 1962.

although tolerance, peace, and civil liberties are more abstract than the conservative's symbols, they are capable of driving the liberal to an even higher pitch. Indeed, the liberal reaction to "conservative extremism" often borders on intolerance of all conservative ideas; at best, it blinds the liberal to all but the most blatant extremism on his left. He will condemn the Communists, to be sure, but will say little against the non-Communist socialists, the militant civil rights groups, who have turned from the law courts to the streets, the sit-ins, and demonstrators who have abandoned rational discourse for street violence and mob action. If the John Birch Society is extremist, then these groups are even more so. Except for a few isolated incidents, disapproved by the leadership of the society, the John Birch Society membership limits its activity to peaceful protest. It is only when we turn to the Left that we see incidents that require police action, or that cause property damage and inconvenience to others. This is not meant as an apology for the type of indiscriminate Red-baiting and harassment practiced by the fanatics of the Right or the foolish laws proposed by some of the quarter-educated. But these actions, annoying and immoral though they may be, do not have the support of the press as does the extremism of the Left. This was the crucial advantage the Democrats had over the Republicans. Some supporters of both were extremists; the Democrats were fortunate to have the preferred extremists as their allies.

Such was the furor over "extremism." Because one party was able to play upon the fears of its opposition's extremism more effectively than the other, it won the election. The concerned, both liberal and conservative, now wonder whether this continued threat of extremism is a permanent one. Liberal commentators have used the assassination of President Kennedy to bewail the "menace" of the far Right. Conservatives have countered with

the continued disorders of civil rights advocates, peace marchers, and student disorders. It is evident that extremism has become a part of the American political scene. The picket sign, the slogan, the chant have replaced cool reason in the political arena; the hoorah we normally indulge in only in election campaigns is now being used as a ready political weapon.

Intelligent individuals on both the conservative and the liberal ends of the political spectrum have good reason to deplore this new radicalism. Our present political system has succeeded only because it balanced abstract speculation with prudence, only because it



used traditional forms as a guide to rational approaches, because it tended to move slowly, with an eye to circumstance. It was said by the English jurist Sir Matthew Hale that he preferred "a law by which the kingdom has been happily governed four or five hundred years than to adventure the happiness and peace of a kingdom on some new theory" of his own. This attitude has been the basis of English and American common law. It has avoided the rash innovation, the unconsidered actions which might well destroy a nation. But sober consideration is not good enough for the sloganeers on either side. "Impeach Earl Warren!" — and take a chance on destroying the main bulwark to law and order? "Prevent subversives from speaking at the University!" — and hazard

the loss of a great tradition of academic freedom and the possible decay of a great university? "Freedom Now!" — at what price? Disorder? Violation of real rights? Special privilege for the Negro? "Get out of Viet Nam!" — and risk all of South East Asia, not to speak of violating our own commitments?

It is not an easy thing to build an equitable and free political system. As Burke noted: "To make a government requires no great prudence. Settle the seat of power; teach obedience; and the work is done. To give freedom is even still more easy. It is not necessary to guide; it only requires to let go the rein. But to form a *free government*; that is, to temper together these opposite elements of freedom and restraint in one consistent work, requires much thought, deep reflection, a sagacious, powerful, and combining mind."³

The Prerequisites

But any collection of malcontents, armed with a mimeograph machine, the materials for picket signs, and a querulous wail disguised as a "cause," can set in motion the animosities that go far to tearing it down. Does conservatism have today the respect it had at the start of the sixties? Or is it discredited because its leaders acted too late to repudiate the extremists on the flanks? Is understanding for the Negro still a visible goal, or has the "non-violent" violence moved it back? Indeed, are any of the goals sought by our extremists any nearer because of their actions? Or has the only result been to breed a climate of suspicion, of violence, of disrespect for the traditional forms of law without which a government cannot remain free? It would seem that the tragedy of extremism lies in its result: the denial or destruction of that good which the extremist wished to obtain or preserve and the possible sundering of those traditional ties which, in the end, make life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness possible.

3. Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 1790.

Mason-Dixon Lines

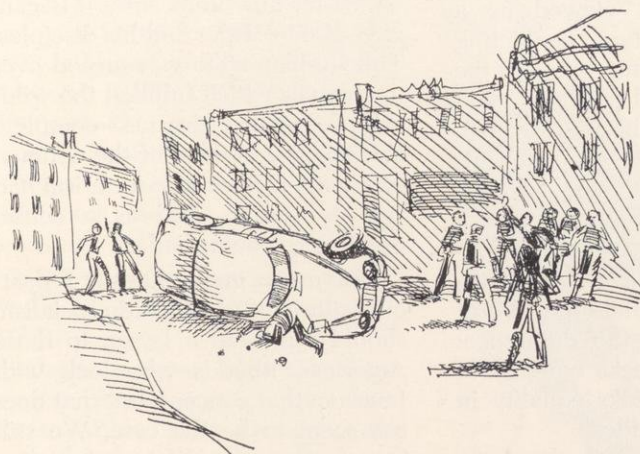
I.

In the South since before the Confederate War
The white men have always loved the black:
We've appreciated their value more,
We know what they're like from front to back,
And the Negro can live in the house next door
(If the house next door is a shack).

From Mississippi to Alabammy
The whites and the Negroes have lived in peace
But if she gets uppity, our old black mammy,
We've got dogs and whips and the State Police.

In the North, of course, let freedom ring:
Brown v. Board was a proper dose.
Integration's the coming thing,
Southern resistance is rather gross:
And we welcome Martin Luther King
(If he doesn't come too close).

When the black man calls the white girl darlin'
Do they like it in Deerfield, Illinois?
How many white men live in Harlem?
Can your daughter marry a Negro boy?



II.

In L. A., where the fun began,
We preach the brotherhood of man
By stealing liquor, wrecking cars,
Till men let down the color bars.

Each outrage practiced on the whites
Of course advances civil rights:
We prove by rocks and riotings
How fit we are for better things.

Each sheriff killed, each looted store,
Gets us to the matter's CORE,
And we show, by acts like these,
That we may mix with whom we please.

Human wisdom witnesseth
Men are equal in their death:
So in each man killed we see
Progress toward equality.

—J. C. L.

An Improbable Theory

Ross G. Parisi

One can hardly avoid the concept of democratic-socialism in discussing popular political philosophies—it seems that the idea refuses to remain in the grave. In fact, there seems to be a revival of the concept in recent years, especially among liberal students and educators who specialize in armchair philosophy. Yet, the question remains unanswered: can socialism fulfill the ideals of democracy?

It seems that many liberal educators feel that there is no reason why it should not. And let me clarify myself—I, too, agree that theoretically there is no reason why socialism and democracy cannot be metamorphosed into one workable political philosophy. On paper it sounds fine; in practice the merger has always resulted in a most unsuccessful failure.

Socialism has never proven itself compatible with the ideals of democracy. History teaches us this.

Socialism from the start was recognized as a grave threat to freedom. It quite openly developed as a reaction against the liberalism of the French Revolution. Those French philosophers who laid the foundation of modern socialism had no doubt that their ideas could be put into practice only by a strong dictatorial government. Where freedom was concerned, the early socialists made no bones about their intentions—they regarded freedom of thought as the root of all 19th century evils.

It was not until 1848 that socialists began to ally themselves with the concept of democracy—and this was mainly due to the overpowering democratic revolution. Socialists were forced to get on the democratic bandwagon in order to perpetuate their cause, thereby initiating what they termed democratic-socialism. Playing with the

ideals of democracy, the socialists cleverly made use of the promise for a "new freedom." Only to them, this "new freedom" constituted economic freedom rather than political freedom. They promised to bring about a new economic freedom, without which the newly gained political freedom was not worth having. Their position was that political freedom was but a step in the right direction and that only socialism could achieve complete freedom—a "new freedom."

Freedom in this sense, of course, did not encompass freedom from coercion and arbitrary power, but freedom from necessity and want. The demand for this "new freedom" was thus only another name for the old demand of equal distribution of wealth. It gave the socialists something in common with the liberals. Although the word was used in a different sense by the two groups, few people noticed it. Thus, by a subtle change in the meaning of the word freedom, early socialists won many unsuspecting democrats.

It is interesting to note that at the very birth of democratic-socialism, astute political observers challenged what they viewed as a merger between two conflicting concepts. "Democracy extends the sphere of individual freedom," said Alexis de Tocqueville in 1848, "socialism restricts it. Democracy attaches all possible value to each man; socialism makes each man a mere agent, a mere number. Democracy and socialism have nothing in common but one word: equality. But note the difference: while democracy seeks equality in liberty, socialism seeks equality in restraint and servitude."

In contemporary times, we have witnessed several alarming results of the democratic-socialist merger. Probably the most notorious is that of Germany in the 1930s. Germany professed to be both democratic

and socialist at the same time. Many liberal political observers fallaciously maintained that the Weimar Republic presented proof of a good democratic-socialist merger.

It had become apparent that since Bismarck the deliberate organization of economic activity had progressively increased. This, of course, was done in the name of efficiency and productivity. But efficiency was not realized, and production was moving slowly. So, in typical socialist fashion, German leaders tightened their control over the economy. But in doing so, they encountered an obstacle which challenged their socialist dreams—German libertarianism. It seems that many German citizens felt the effect of the democratic-socialist alliance in a situation where the degree of individual freedom was directly correlated to the number of national planning boards. They felt that in pursuing socialist objectives, Germany had abandoned the ideals of freedom, and rightly so.

But the German socialists responded to the obstacles which faced them by appealing to the sympathies of the people. Slogans were coined which drummed up support for the national welfare, central planning was depicted as a cure-all, and obstructionists were passed off as traitors. In short, an air of nationalism developed which, no matter how innocently it began, gave rise to Hitler and his disciples. The German state was turned over to a power which fulfilled the wildest of socialist dreams—complete and efficient control of the national economy. Democratic-socialism had run its course. And as a consequence, freedom died.

One might guess that the repeated failure of democratic-socialism should represent a lesson to those American liberals who look with favor on that concept, but that does not seem to be the case. We still hear such contradictions in terms such as "democratic-socialism" and "individualist socialism" seriously discussed. And if the multiplicity of these discussions is any prognosis, we can expect the worst.

EDITOR'S NOTE: This is the first of two articles on democratic-socialism by Ross Parisi, a University of Wisconsin law student.

Pickets, Placards, and Publicity

Kenneth Wright

Conservatives Prepare For a Productive Year

College freshman orientation weeks are here. Brilliant generalisms of sound advice will flow from parents, deans, faculties, and college presidents across the nation. College officials will charge the class of '69 with the responsibility of making wise use of their college years. After the speeches the class will charge into the college world and the confusion of pickets, placards, and publicity.

The fact is that after all the speeches, socials, and new acquaintances of orientation week, few freshmen will truly understand their reason for attending college. Few will have a goal determined—those that have are likely to change their minds before they receive a degree. The advice of orientation week will little prepare these purposeless tenderfeet for the sandal footed, hard-core intellectuals that have given to marching instead of thinking. Admittedly, the majority of students still spend more time studying than marching, but the publicity received by the angry emblem-bearers could prove decisive in the battle for the freshman's favor. It is always more collegiate to receive police brutality while sitting on the steps outside the House Committee on Un-American Activities' hearing than to sit in a small room reading, studying, or discussing topics for which you may never find an answer, much less be interviewed by a special reporter.

Perhaps the most important fact that the freshman may easily bypass is that he, like many who have marched before him, does not contain within his experiences and thoughts enough understanding to solve the world's major problems. These problems are complex and must be studied carefully before

even an attempt at an intelligent solution can be made. The emotional fever of a march should not replace the solid thinking and researching of the true college student—the student that one day through his earnest intellectual effort may help solve the problems the picketers could not comprehend.

It will be interesting to follow the results of a new idea started this year on the University of Wisconsin campus in Madison. A small group of students are trying to revive the true intellectual atmosphere that should surround our institutions of higher learning by holding a continuing seminar. These students plan to delve into philosophical problems as well as practical by holding weekly classes with assigned readings. Although the seminar is being sponsored by the Wisconsin Conservative Club, it is not to be an induction process, but rather a strengthening of an individual's philosophies through open-minded, honest searching for truths. The seminar will require the participants to become acquainted with many different philosophies and, then, through discussion, improve the individual's understand-

ing of his own thoughts by comparing them with those of others. The seminar will help fill the intellectual gap created by the picketers, and it will not have the political stench of teach-ins—it will be a refined bull-session.

It will be interesting to watch the outcome of this seminar for these reasons:

It is being started with the understanding that those participating do not have the answers to the problems of the world. This is hard for the present-day student to admit; why else would so many join in marches with their answers printed on crude signs? Students may find the intellectual objectives of the seminar much too boring when just beyond their quiet endeavors they hear the feet marching towards tomorrow's front page.

The seminar is asking for the student's time, both for attendance of sessions and extra readings. The seminar is competing with hundreds of other activities, school sponsored and otherwise. Only those students truly interested in searching, questioning, discussing, and then deciding will spend their time in its classroom. This will require a dedication to learning which is rare on many campuses.

The student will receive no medal for participation, perhaps even little recognition. It may be hard for the students to understand that their efforts will reward themselves with nothing that others will recognize—except perhaps an intellectual edge in future discussions.

The values gained through the seminar are mainly intangible, and the things lost—time, excitement, and publicity—are invaluable. The only hope for the seminar's success is the possibility that college students this next year will have become tired of the endless pickets of political purpose and will return to the quiet excitement of learning.



After We Leave

David Keene

The Tragic Consequences Following Withdrawal from Vietnam Would Be Unbearable

Any meaningful discussion of United States policy in Vietnam must take place within the context of the alternatives available to this country and the possible consequences of each alternative. The United States at this time must choose between two basic courses of action in Vietnam. We can either stand up to the Communist aggression there and be prepared to take the military and economic measures necessary to maintain the integrity of the Republic of South Vietnam and establish an atmosphere conducive to individual liberty in that country, or we can withdraw our troops and abandon another tiny and helpless nation to the forces of world Communism. It is to the credit of President Johnson that he has seemingly decided to defend South Vietnam, but the militant opposition to this policy coming from within our own country makes a study of the possible consequences of the second alternative important.

Peace would be won by withdrawing our troops, but it would be a temporary and an expensive peace. The price tag would include not only the geographical area of Vietnam, but the freedom and dreams of the fourteen million people living there, the honor of our own country, and, eventually, the security of the entire free world.

Appeasement has never been, and is not now, an effective method of dealing with aggression. It has been tried often, but has always served only to whet the appetite of the ambitious aggressor. Neville Chamberlain, in abandoning the people of Czechoslovakia to the horrors of Nazi domination, attempted to purchase peace, but only succeeded in strengthening an

enemy bent upon his own nation's destruction. Today's advocates of withdrawal and "peace at any price" are the intellectual heirs of Neville Chamberlain.

Many people are advocating that we withdraw from Southeast Asia, but few have considered or are even willing to consider the consequences of such a withdrawal. A United States withdrawal at this time would have disastrous effects on the international situation, including jeopardization of the nations surrounding Vietnam immediately, weakening the value of our defensive commitments around the world, and diminishing the value of our word in the eyes of the peoples of the world. Further, Russia and China are presently engaged in a struggle for the leadership of the international Communist movement. The Soviet Union has advocated a more moderate foreign policy line than that being pushed by China's Mao-tse-tung. An American defeat in Asia would seem to substantiate the Red Chinese charge that the United States is a "paper tiger" and could, conceivably, catapult Mao into undisputed leadership of the international Communist movement. Mao has been trying for several years now to tie his brand of Communism to a militant anti-imperialism, the "national liberation" struggle and a sort of

Afro-Asian anti-white racism. If he should succeed in this and gain the following of the world Communist movement at the same time, we could expect a tremendous increase in international tension. We might even expect a world Communist diplomatic and military offensive.

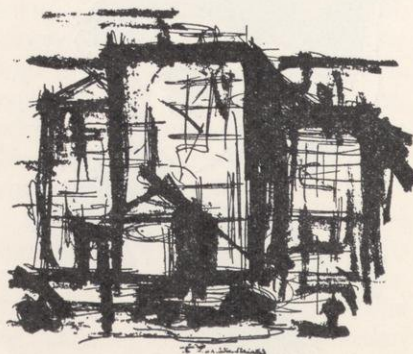
An Explicit Declaration

General Giap, leader of the North Vietnamese army, has been quoted by the *New York Times* as having said that, "South Vietnam is the model of the national liberation movement of our time . . . If the special warfare that the U. S. imperialists are testing in South Vietnam is overcome, this means that it can be defeated everywhere in the world." Guerrilla bands are already challenging the free world in the Philippines and in several South American nations. A Communist victory in Asia would surely lend impetus to this challenge.

These are the probable effects a U. S. withdrawal from Vietnam might have on the international situation. These considerations must assume primary importance in the minds of our foreign policy makers, but they are by no means the sole ones.

American withdrawal, we must remember, would abandon fourteen million of those people who voted with their feet against Communism when they fled from North Vietnam following the Geneva Agreements of 1954. They have trusted our word and they have fought Ho Chi Minh. The South Vietnamese population has suffered more than we can possibly imagine to keep their country out of the hands of the Communist regime to the north.

Communism — and this is too often ignored — is evil. It is a pseudo-religion which justifies a



ruthless dictatorship. Since 1917, its disciples have been responsible for the planned deaths of many millions of innocent men, women, and children. It is a system of government that destroys its opponents without mercy, controls the minds of those who live under it, and ambitiously boasts that it will one day dominate the world. The fraudulent economic policies it preaches have brought only misery and starvation to the millions who are forced to live under it.

Ho Chi Minh was a founding member of the French Communist Party in 1919. He worked in the Soviet Union for many years under Joseph Stalin and served throughout Southeast Asia as an organizer for the Comintern. He is a ruth-



less and skilled practitioner of Communist revolution. Although he is a Vietnamese Communist, we must remember that he is a Communist first and a Vietnamese second. His nationalism and dedication to his native land might well be illustrated by Communist East German reports that he applied for Soviet citizenship during the thirties.¹

After the French surrender in 1954, his regime cynically signed the Geneva Agreement while at the same time hiding arms in South Vietnam for an eventual violation of that agreement. Indeed, the first Communist violations were taking place even as Hanoi's representatives were putting their signatures to the document. The cruelty of his regime was quickly brought to bear against the more than one million

peasants who tried to escape his domination between 1954 and 1956.

Communist Troubles

Under Ho's rule, the economy of North Vietnam quickly collapsed and had to be shored up with economic aid from other members of the Communist bloc. By 1963 he was receiving more than \$70.00 each year for every man, woman, and child in his country, but even this aid failed to establish a workable economy. Classes quickly assumed racial characteristics, and "undesirable" elements had to be liquidated. A massive campaign against religion was instituted, and terror became an official policy of the regime.

In 1956 the peasants of North Vietnam objected to Ho Chi Minh's plans for them. He responded by ordering executions which, according to the International Control Commission, claimed nearly 60,000 peasant lives.² What will he do to the Buddhists in South Vietnam the first time they object to his plans? And what will be the fate of the 500,000 men serving in the South Vietnamese armed forces? Ho Chi Minh has shown that he forgets little and is not likely to forgive them for opposing his version of the "wave of the future."

In 1957 he began a campaign of terror in South Vietnam designed to isolate the people from their government. Principle targets included teachers, doctors, nurses, and village officials. John F. Kennedy, in May of 1961, revealed that between May, 1960 and May, 1961, more than 4,000 low-level officials were killed by the Viet Cong. Other figures revealed that as many as 13,000 village officials had been murdered by 1962. The number has measurably increased since that time.³

At one point, school teachers were being killed as fast as village officials. The result was that by 1960, more than 30,000 school children were deprived of schooling, and, according to findings of a field survey of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching

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Profession carried out in the spring of 1962, almost 80,000 school children had been deprived of schools because of terrorist action, and 636 schools were closed.⁴

The character of the Communist state in general and of Ho's regime in particular might well be illustrated by the fact that there is an official agency of the North Vietnamese government known as the Dich-Van, a special arm of the state security apparatus set up to handle psychological warfare. The name Dich-Van itself translates as moral intervention, and this agency, according to many experts on Southeast Asia, is responsible for many of the atrocities purposefully committed against the innocent citizens of the south.⁵

It will be a Dich-Van group that will capture the mayor of a recalcitrant village and cut his body to ribbons, or leave his head dangling from a bamboo pole in the middle of the village (with a note attached to it warning that anyone who takes it down will suffer the same fate). This is done, according to Fall, to create an atmosphere of fear which will result in complete Viet Cong control in the village.⁶

A Humanitarian Reports

Dr. Thomas Dooley worked in Indo-China for many years, and his book *Deliver Us From Evil* is a moving account of the plight of the people of Vietnam. As a naval surgeon aiding the 1954 evacuation of refugees from Ho's "Communist Paradise," Dr. Dooley observed at first hand the results of Dich-Van moral intervention. The following is one example of the terror perpetrated under the direction of an official agency of Ho's Communist North Vietnamese government against its own citizens in North Vietnam. He recounts on the following passage another example of Dich-Van moral intervention. The incident took place in North Vietnam itself.

Having set up their controls in the village of Haiduog, the Communists visited the village school house and took seven children out of class and into the courtyard. All were ordered to sit on the ground, and their hands and arms were tied behind their backs. Then they brought out one of the young teachers, with hands also tied. Now the new class began.

In a voice loud enough for the other children still in the classroom to hear, the Viet Minh (forerunners of the Viet Cong) accused these children of treason. A 'patriot' had informed the police that this teacher was holding classes secretly, at night, and that the subject of these classes was religion. They had even been reading the catechism.

The Viet Minh accused the seven of 'conspiring' because they had listened to the teachings of this instructor. As a punishment they were to be deprived of their hearing. Never again would they be able to listen to the teachings of evil men.

Now two Viet Minh guards went to each child and one of them firmly grasped the head between his hands. The other then rammed a wooden chopstick into each ear. He jammed it with all his force. The stick split the ear canal wide and tore the ear drum. The shrieking of the children was heard all over the village.

... Since their hands were tied behind them, they could not pull the wood out of their ears. They shook their heads and squirmed about, trying to make the sticks fall out. Finally they were able to dislodge them by scraping their heads against the ground.

As for the teacher, he must be prevented from teaching again. Having been forced to watch the atrocity performed on his pupils, he endured a more horrible one himself. One soldier held his head while another grasped the victim's tongue with a crude pair of pliers and pulled it far out. A third guard cut off the tongue with his bayonet. Blood spurted into the man's mouth and gushed from his nostrils onto the ground. He could not scream; blood ran into his throat. When the soldiers let him loose, he fell to the ground vomiting blood; the scent of blood was all over the courtyard.

Yet neither the teacher nor any of the pupils died.

Atrocities have occurred on both sides of every war ever fought. But, let us remember that these atrocities were perpetrated as the official policy of the North Vietnamese Communist dictatorship. This is what we will be abandoning the people of South Vietnam to if we decide to withdraw. The people of South Vietnam deserve something better than this. They deserve the freedom for which they have valiantly fought and for which we have committed our help.

1. S. R. Mohan Das, "Ho Chi Minh — Nationalist Or Soviet Agent" (Bombay, Democratic Research Service) 1952.
2. Fall, *The Two Vietnams*, Praeger, (N. Y. 1964) p. 156.
3. "Agression From The North," U. S. Department of State Publication Feb. 1965.
4. Fall, 360.
5. Ibid, 137.
6. Dooley, *Deliver Us From Evil*, p. 137.

Weakness and the West

T. K. Meier

Will America Fall Like Others Before?

Since every great civilization before ours has fallen, one is not to be thought an alarmist if he inquires into the stability of the West and of the United States in particular. United States civilization, although unparalleled in history, is not without its perils, many of which are direct results of its very uniqueness. To be rightly named, a great civilization must have been, for a certain space of time, supreme. Its decline, history demonstrates, will not be primarily the result of the increased strength of a rival, but that of its own weakening. The irony of the decline of most civilizations is that generally it is the result of the weakening of that element which produced their superiority; thus, we have seen the crumbling of Roman efficiency, Byzantine trade, and British finances lead to the ruin of empires. The painfully obvious lesson to be drawn from the study of any civilization is that the basis of superiority is strength.

Change in America

Aside from geographical and constitutional considerations, the greatness of the United States has been a result of individual initiative and adherence to the Puritan ethic. The present tendency is, however, not only toward rejection of these values but toward an acceptance, even a worship, of weakness. Personal achievement is being replaced by personal security as a national goal.

Weakness, once despised, is now respected. The descendant of the pioneer asks or demands governmental assistance; thus are the weak pampered, the unruly cod-

dled, the idle protected, and the criminal blessed. The capable are restrained and the future is mortgaged to support the present craving. Social tendencies are reinforced by intellectual forces: advances in medicine prevent the natural elimination of the physically weak (hardly an evil tendency in itself); modern psychology condones mental frailty; mass culture exalts mediocrity; contemporary scholarship trades greatness of vision for minuteness of investigation; popular religious thought embraces skepticism; and a restless lust for innovation reviles tradition. Furthermore, these tendencies cling parasitically to a prosperity that never would have matured had they been present in its vigorous youth.

As with the society, so with foreign policy; not only is imperialism abandoned, but more seriously, the aggressiveness of Teddy Roosevelt is replaced by the permissiveness of Franklin Roosevelt. The big

stick is now the big giveaway; the attempt is made to buy rather than demand allegiance, and the critical needs of a mortal enemy are supplied from our abundance. National sovereignty is surrendered to international government, and national prestige is compromised by the acceptance of tribal coalitions as national equals.

Unwelcome Strength

Amid this marvelous show of weakness, however, there is one significant use of strength, which is marshalled not in the support of national goals, but in the expansion of federal power. In spite of the vast cultural softening, some vestige of the traditional resoluteness remains, but it has been so strongly affected that it functions only internally. Hence the willingness to forcibly advance domestic policy and, hence, a government bent on homogenizing the national culture. States are plundered of prerogatives, and courts determine the laws of sociology. Favored minorities are established and socialization proclaimed, uniting the worst features of cultural oligarchy and mob rule.

Exceptions to all of these enervating tendencies are to be found, and in these exceptions is the hope of the West. Its rise has been the result of the actions, ideas, and abilities of exceptional men acting in an era which respected strength, cultivated individual initiative, and venerated the Puritan ethic. Its preservation amid an aura of weakness will be the result of the decisions and talents of men wise enough and strong enough to rise above popular weakness to save themselves and the West — by adherence to moral and traditional values.



To Breathe Is Not Guilt

Myrtle Spracklen

"We are all guilty. Each guilty,"
Apologists insist.
When lawlessness, poverty, rape,
Laughs loudly in the land.
Not so!
Guilty, yes, but of different sins,
Private sins; lonelier, flesh and
blood visceral horrors.
Guilt lies with men who taste
the sin.
Those guilty know their name.
We who honor the man
next door,
We who aid the poor at hand;
Are guiltless of the rape of
Stanleyville,
Harlem's pus and blood
and poverty.
Omniscience, omnipotence
are God's.
Push-pulled by our inky inside
wilderness,
Weak as pink bubbles,
As breath against a hurricane,
We bloody our helpless skins,
Powerless in a world armored
with apathy.
It is dexterous, easy therapy to
batter the breast,
Convenient expiation,
To sing, "Guilty! Guilty!"
But only God is God!

Contemporary Guide to Economic Jargon

Institute of Economic Affairs

AFFLUENCE: an immoral development that is in danger of superseding honest poverty; see consumption.

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS: something that doesn't balance and you don't pay.

COMPETITION: excellent in principle, deplorable in practice; see law of jungle.

CONSERVATIVE ECONOMIC POLICY: see liberal economic policy.

CONSUMPTION: a regrettable indulgence, the enjoyment of goods and services by the people who produced them; see status symbol.

CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION: betraying enjoyment in spending your own money.

EDUCATION: most desirable thing on which too much of other people's money can never be spent.

FORECAST: a pretence of knowing what would have happened if what does happen hadn't.

LAISSEZ FAIRE: an outmoded supposition that there are finite limits to the capacity of government to perfect the lot of everyone.

LAW OF JUNGLE: a disorderly state of affairs in which some prices or profits might be in danger of falling.

LIBERAL ECONOMIC POLICY: see socialist economic policy.

NEW ECONOMIC THINKING: not so much a policy, more a way of living beyond your means.

ORDERLY MARKETING: any device to raise prices, particularly for food and other necessities.

PLANNING: laudable attempt to combine inconsistent objects without being found out; see reappraisal.

REAPPRAISAL: abrupt change of mind after being found out; see forecast.

SOCIALIST ECONOMIC POLICY: the promise of more benefits than other parties.

STATUS SYMBOL: a term of contempt to describe anything other people would like and you've already got two of.

UNFAIR COMPETITION: selling cheaper than someone else.

WAGES POLICY: an endless search for a method of ensuring that people do not receive too much more than they earn.

WELFARE STATE: a compulsory system for taking in one another's inadequate incomes.

(These explanations are taken from lists (subversively?) leaked to the unsuspecting public by the Institute of Economic Affairs.)

EDITOR'S NOTE: Reprinted from the *Freedom Review*, an English journal edited by R. B. Carnaghan

Writers of Insight and Outlook

James M. O'Connell, who was born in New York in 1933, served in Korea from 1951-1954, received his B.A. from Wisconsin in 1961, his M.A. in 1962, and is now a first-year law student here. During the last year he had been teaching mathematics at Wisconsin State University at Oshkosh. He contributes a regular column to the *Cardinal*.

Jared C. Lobdell, 27, who received his B.A. from Yale in 1961, where he was Chairman of the Party of the Right, founding Secretary of the Y. A. F., Secretary of the Linonian (Political Honor) Society, and an editor of the *Yale Literary Magazine*. From 1962 to 1964 he worked for Chase Manhattan Bank in New York, and since then has been a student in the School of Commerce here. He will receive his M.B.A. this June.

Richard O. Wright, 23, who received his degree in Math and Physics from Wisconsin in 1964, is now a second-year law student here. He manages the business affairs of INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK.

Dale Sievert, who was born in 1942, will graduate this January in Agronomy and intends to do graduate work in Agricultural Economics, before settling down to farm (and write), possibly in New England. He is, incidentally, Editor-in-Chief of INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK.

Ross J. Parisi, 23, who like Dick Wright is a 1964 graduate of the University, is now a second-year law student.

David Keene is a senior in the College of Letters and Sciences, local Chairman of the Y. A. F., sometime campaign manager for Karl Kolata, and testifier at the Kastenmeier extravaganza.

Kenneth Wright is a sophomore in Music, Dick Wright's brother, and the present Chairman of the Wisconsin Conservative Club.

Richard S. Wheeler, a former University of Wisconsin student, has been a regular contributor to INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK for many years. He was also past Executive Editor. Since leaving the staff here, he became an editorial writer on the Oakland Tribune. He has also appeared in *National Review*.

Timothy J. Wheeler, Richard's brother, also is a past member of the Board of Editors of INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK. He, also, has been a leading contributor to the magazine. Since leaving the campus, he has been an Associate Editor of *National Review*. We understand he now intends to return to the University of Wisconsin. We will be glad to see him back.

”

STATEMENTS BY PROMINENT PRESIDENTS REGARDING GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

"Government is not reason, it is not eloquent — it is a force. Like fire, it is a dangerous servant and a fearful master." —

GEORGE WASHINGTON

"If we can prevent the government from wasting the labors of the people, under the pretense of caring for them, they will be happy." —

THOMAS JEFFERSON

"I believe there are more instances of the abridgement of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachment of those in power than by violent and sudden usurpations." —

JAMES MADISON

Lincoln stated that "capital is only the fruit of labor", and that "capital is as worthy of protection as any other rights". He warned free men against, "surrendering a political power" which would "close the door of advancement and fix new disabilities and burdens upon them till all of liberty shall be lost."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Vetoed a give-away bill stating "though the people should support the government, the government should not support the people." —

GROVER CLEVELAND

"The history of liberty is the history of limitations of governmental power, not the increase of it". He did not "want a group of experts sitting behind closed doors in Washington, trying to play Providence to the American people." —

WOODROW WILSON



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On the Archives— On Good Government

Dale Sievert



During my gayer and more optimistic moods, I warm to the feeling that America really is what I had always known it to be. I first became aware of America the way most of us do, through a light dab of grade school history and, of course, Fourth of July. But somewhere along the line I read the Declaration of Independence, and I was proud to be a part of the overwhelming history of this country.

Though I do not know why, Tom Paine won my heart like no other. I still like him. I think all free people do. Then there was that simple and fine piece about men who died for our country—including me—although I never did quite understand how such a good government could have such turmoil. The Gettysburg Address, with each new reading, has always meant a little more.

Maybe this is all old-fashioned. But I don't know. I only know, somehow, there is greatness in our past.

When not in a gay and optimistic mood, which is often, I worry about my country and its government. I try to think what the Fathers would have us do now, in this new age. I feel, as they must have felt, that since time began, man has ever been thwarted in his attempts at good government, mostly because of his own nature. Without government, man can only rely on his own innate powers and the good will of others for his happiness and his very life. Because he is self-oriented, this system of no government fails.

What, then, did the Fathers consider to be good government? The answer is no deeper than our archives.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed . . .

These ideas derive from Locke, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and others, along with the Social Contract theory inherent in them.

America was the first great experiment with popular rule, where the entire people hold political power directly. American democracy, then, is the system where the consent of the governed is paramount; it is the active form of the Social Contract and is sometimes called the Common Will or the General Will.

This, then, was the base for the new experiment in democracy. The statement in the Declaration of Independence, “. . . governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed . . .” was backed by a long list of grievances against George III. The American people and the Common Will had been ignored.

Lincoln re-expressed the idea with immortal simplicity:

It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us . . . that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

There never has been and probably never will be a more perfect definition of good government.

Some of us believe that we have come a long way to achieving the task Lincoln had in mind.

Have we?

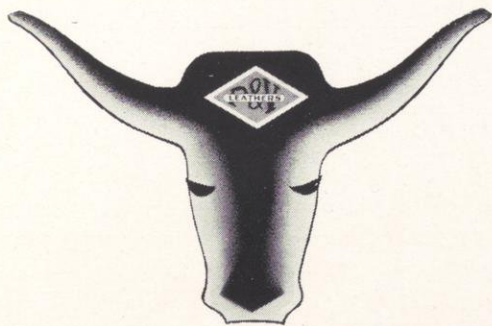
Nevertheless, whatever the answer, my heart is warmed by the reason, responsibility, and self-assured calmness of most Americans. Like their fathers, they have generally made liberty their backbone in governing themselves. The Fathers knew, and Americans today know full well that government *not of* all the people and *not by* all the people can only lead to disorder. It is disorder to bypass congressional representation, disorder to stifle democratic debate by perverting its conduct, disorder when individuals, instead of working for legal change, flout existing law. This would be rule by the strongest mob or the tyrant at its head. There would, then, be little liberty.

Americans further know that government *not for* all the people would only lead to government too weak to prevent commercial tyranny, too weak to enforce and, indeed, enact a good and protective set of laws, and too weak to aid the people where government should aid them.

Americans have generally avoided these pitfalls—but not always. Today, with modern technology, they are all the easier to fall into. Volatile mobs and insolent foes of good government are a greater danger than many realize. Consequently, we need more than a dab of grade school history.

"We remark the inherent tendency of government to tyranny. The prudent commonwealth will therefore labor tirelessly, by means agreeable to its peculiar genius and traditions, to limit and disperse the power of government."

— from the Statement of Principles
of the American Conservative Union



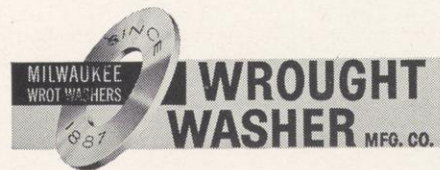
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Lord Acton



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hindsights

The National Selected Morticians Society has filed a code of ethics with President Johnson's Consumer Adviser. Members promise to post prices plainly on all funeral equipment and to offer a wide range of models. A tisket a tasket a green and yellow casket specially marked down for this week only to \$199.99? On second thought, let's all go for a ride in the suttee, with the fringe on top.

Since 1964, the nations of Western Europe have given up their former custom of limiting the Russians to five-year credit, and will now give them credit for up to fifteen years. Trouble is, they still won't give the United States credit for anything.

By virtue of a well-aimed leak on the front page of the *New York Times*, one learns that PRESIDENT WILL ASK RISE IN SPENDING FOR HUMAN NEEDS. We can hear the request: "Mah friends, I hate woe. Lady Bird hates woe. Even little Luci Baines hates woe . . ."

Now we think we've heard everything. One of Martin Luther King's assistants has proposed that Pope Paul VI, Mrs. Krushchev, Mrs. J. F. K., and M. L. K. himself should make a peace pilgrimage to Hanoi. Another famed quartet, now distinguished members of the British Empire, might accompany the group with a song for them to sing to Uncle Ho: "We Wanna Hold Your Hand."

We understand little Luci Baines isn't too fond of the Vatican Secretariat for Christian Unity these days either.

New Jersey has dropped her youth job corps program because it was enticing kids out of school. The job corps had been dreamed up by government planners to solve the school drop-out problem, it never having occurred to them that offering attractive situations to drop-outs would attract students to drop out. Possibly something has dropped out of the government's logic over the last few years?

"There can be no doubt that most of those in the democracies who demand a central direction of all economic activity still believe that socialism and individual freedom can be combined. Yet socialism was early recognized by many thinkers as the gravist threat to freedom."

Road To Serfdom
by Frederick A. Hayek

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