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insight and outlook

in this issue . . .

The Glorious Blasphemer

James M. O'Connell

***Will Criticism Kill The
Fraternity System?***

Tom Charles Huston

Legislatin' Up a Storm

Cy Butt

Rich Man, Poor Man . . .

Henry Hempe





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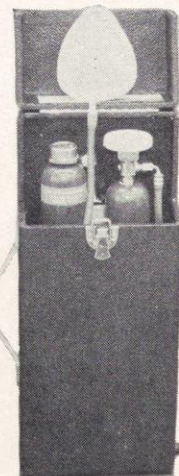
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Returning the Fire

Amidst the fury of left-wing campus activity these past few months, ranging from bus trips to Selma and Washington protesting something over there, to all night vigils and pickets and marches and "teach-ins" expressing a feeling of discomfort with United States retaliation against the Viet Cong in Southeast Asia, responsible conservatives have had to fight hard to keep from drowning in Leftist propaganda. But, here at least, they did a good job.

It was heartening to see organizing on campus "The Committee to Support the People of South Vietnam," with an active program favoring a free world victory in Vietnam. After all the noise and clamor which had supposedly been typical of the collegian's reaction against "U. S. aggression," it was encouraging to see the snow-balling response to the Committee's plans. Concurrently, foreign news correspondent Miss Dickey Chappelle sent the defeatists running with her own on-the-spot observations of the Vietnam situation, and her suggestions for ending the war, i.e. win it.

In this issue **INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK** presents several more new writers covering neglected topics. Tom Charles Huston, nationally known conservative rebel, presents, for the first time in these pages, a well reasoned defense of the American fraternity system. Fraternities *do* have faults, Huston admits, but the present criticism heaped on the Greeks is neither fair nor helpful. It is wholly destructive. Ross Parisi, another newcomer, discovered a lesson to be learned from an old Roman General. To paraphrase a familiar saying: we conservatives have seen the future, and it means work. James O'Connell is back again pleading, this time, for the right-wing to come up with another H. L. Mencken. He's serious. Is there a difference between what conservatives actually are and what they're called? Jared Lobdell finds the discrepancy to be not nearly so great as desired. The State Department, declares Richard Wright, is so muddled up in ideology that it is no wonder we keep slipping. In his article he find little to praise in the whole mess. In the line of reviews, Henry Hempe looks at an article which uses every available stretch of the imagination to justify a preconceived conclusion; wrongly, as it turned out. And Dick Fischer finds Whittaker Chamber's last book to be rich with meaning.

Who Shall Come Over?

Amidst the furor over Medicare, the heated controversy over President Johnson's Voting Rights Bill et al, another key portion of the Administration's program is being overshadowed. In the background looms S. 500, the bill to amend the immigration laws. The measure is not being rammed through as frantically as the others, explaining, perhaps, the lack of controversy surrounding it. In viewing the radical concept changes it proposes, however, one should expect many cries of alarm.

As it now stands S. 500 would eventually transfer the complete immigration quota system out of its present position as being governed by Congress. In its stead, nearly complete discretionary power over quota allotments would be awarded to the Attorney General. This step is necessary, the Administration argues, to get rid of its discriminatory attitude toward the world. But that argument is nonsense; quotas will remain and only their method of determination would be altered. Nothing inherent in the proposed bill requires an indiscriminate selection of future immigrants. This matter will be merely turned over to the Attorney General—cutting Congress's power to empower the Executive.

It is true, our immigration laws are badly in need of revision; they have been for quite a while. As with any federal measure dealing with individuals on an IBM number basis, hardships and blatant individual injustices abound. Inflexibility in refugee cases, for instance, continually creates major problems—especially on the books—and many outdated and inefficient restrictions are, by necessity, still being enforced.

It is true that much of the bill does aim at these inequities. Greater flexibility in emergency refugee problems would be provided. An attitude of leniency is assumed toward those wishing to join naturalized relatives and, in general, the measure would be more cognizant of world realities. If that were the essence of the bill the conservative could wholeheartedly support it.

But the proposed change in the quota system is another matter. It has long been said, and often with a great deal of truth, that an American is a mixture of a dozen nationalities or more all melted together in a big pot. In other words

"American" equals the product of world immigration. That's at least how they talked when first-generation Americans were comparatively plentiful. But this is 1965, America is suffering the effects of overpopulation along with the rest of the world, and almost 200 million Americans, most of which are third or fourth generation or older, may feel that their representatives in Congress ought to have at least as much to say about our immigration policy as an executive bureaucrat.

For can any deny the profound effect immigration has born on America? Indeed, different immigrating peoples have greatly reshaped the nature of our nation. Their customs, their ideas of government and the characteristics of their nationality all produced special twists in our otherwise predominantly English political and social customs. America changed correspondingly.

Unless the American public wishes to waive their right to any control over their way of life, we, as Americans, are compelled to be at least somewhat selective in our choice of immigrants. Reprehensible as it may seem for the U.S. government to tell certain peoples that they are not desired in our nation, it is a choice forced upon us.

The bill S. 500, in abolishing Congressional control over the quota system, denies the American citizenry their discretionary power over what peoples should be allowed to involve themselves in shaping the American tradition. It gives that right to the Attorney General.

The discrimination argument, when they apply it here, is frivolous. For it is not in essence a matter of quota discrimination at all. It is a matter of in whose hands this power should rest. Perhaps the quota system is not the manner by which desirable immigrants may best be chosen. But no one realistically argues that every person desiring entrance can be admitted. The problem is, therefore, how to discriminate. Shall this function be passed to the Executive under the Attorney General, or should it stay under the indirect control of the people affected, in the United States Congress? Common sense dictates the latter.

—Aetius



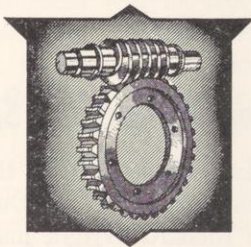
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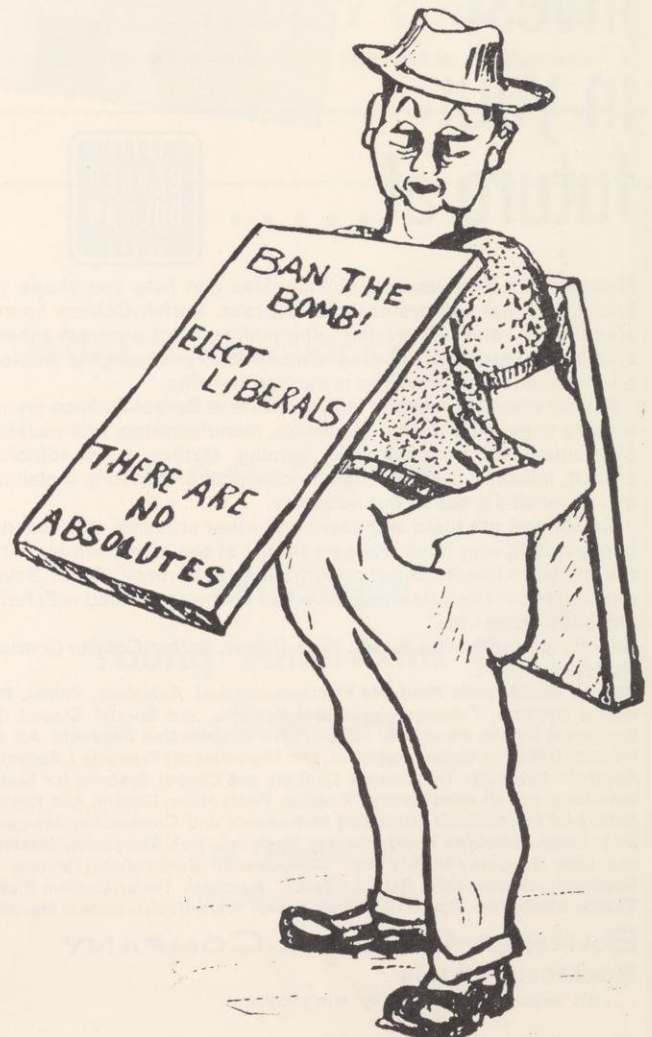
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Progressing Backward

A full section in the University of Wisconsin *Daily Cardinal* Magazine a few weeks back drew our attention to an aspect of American culture that gives the lie to a major assumption of Liberalism. The feature spoke of "maladjustment," stating that about one out of every ten students sees a psychiatrist during his or her years at the University. They termed the problem a "serious" one.

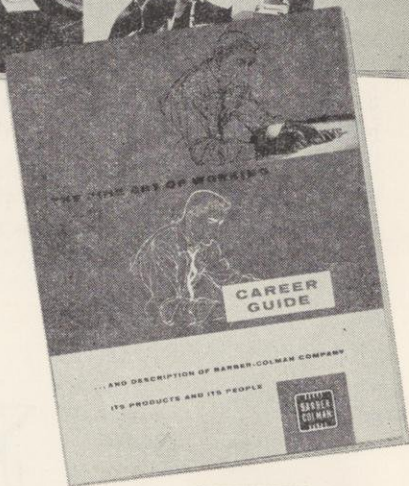
Liberalism, on the other hand, has made a big issue out of the assertion that society is constantly improving, that people are solving their problems, and that as government moves leftward "progress," the movement upward, follows naturally. According to this assumption progress, like evolution, becomes inevitable. This, after all, is the idea behind the "Great Society" theme of the present Administration — that we are pressing onward to Utopia.

The standards by which we measure our standing as well as what we mean by progress are the im-





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portant catch. If we measure society economically — in terms of standard of living, luxuries, elimination of poverty and labor saving gadgets — in comparison with the past decades and centuries we are certainly improving (although largely not because, but in spite of the fact that government has moved leftward). But are materialistic standards adequate for our age? Liberalism, either implicitly or explicitly assumes that they are, and it is on this basis that the "gospel of progress" rests.

But it is obvious that materialism is very limited in its explanation of man, and that in areas outside of economics society seems not only to be not improving but steadily slipping backward. Rootlessness, "mal-adjustment," crime, suicides, frustration and guilt seem to be just as symptomatic of the twentieth century as supersonic jets and the electric toothbrush. The race problem is, if anything, becoming more inflamed, and each new piece of legislation becomes an acceleration of violence and new demands. Abroad, there are wars of one degree or another in over a dozen trouble spots around the world with a dozen others at the brink. Despite the flowery language, it is beginning to appear obvious to the realistic observer that the day when swords will be beat into plowshares will not be before this world is changed fundamentally by divine decree.

We have practically solved the problems of material goods, perhaps, but we have not even approached a solution to the problems of society and human relations, and we know almost nothing about the problem of man. We can call this a great society if we want, but let us not be surprised when the intelligent man and his God cannot hold back their unbelieving smile.

Monroe Doctrine Si?

We were considerably cheered by the recent action taken by President Johnson in the Dominican Republic. In this issue Richard Wright makes note of the new, hardened appearance of United States foreign policy. We think that President Johnson's action confirms his contention that our foreign policy has developed some realism as a consequence of past mistakes—in this case, of course, Cuba.

But the aggressiveness of the action is, nevertheless, extremely surprising. We had every right to expect another Cuba; the elements were quite similar. For instance, the popular former leader, Juan Bosch, had assured us that he was not a Communist—as had Castro. True also, President Cabral was charged with strong-arm tactics, as was Batista. Cabral also was the tool of the wealthy landed interests (he tried to smash the workers strike, didn't he?). Since when

have they needed more excuse to churn the public anger against such a leader? Also, in both Bosch's and the Cuban revolution there were many revolutionaries seriously struggling for a free government. Why then, is not Bosch considered the "agrarian reformer" that Castro was?

The same arguments have been, and undoubtedly will be forcibly put forth concerning Bosch's innocence, but the surprising—and hopeful—sign is that the Administration is calling them for what they are. For this is the first time since who-knows-when that the President of the United States actually has determined that Communists did plan, disguise and attempt to execute a "popular revolution." And all this was done in time to completely counter the move.

What's more, the world news media are not campaigning earnestly or effectively on the behalf of Bosch. Perhaps the Revolution's P.R. fronts are taking the press for granted. The Liberal press also was, from all appearances, quite surprised at the events—and, belatedly, quite angered by the President's bold action.

We had been expecting another Cuba. It has been a long time since we announced to the world that "we don't care what you think; we are forced to do what is right!" Indeed, it's been a long time since we've led rather than followed. It's been a longer time since we have effectively used our vast power, and its been the longest time since we have let on that we are willing to fight for world freedom. It's been a long, long time.

As we see it, the world situation can only look up. In the first place, the marines will seriously crimp Castro's style; no doubt can be left in Castro's mind that his aggressiveness will be met with the same. In addition fighters for freedom everywhere will regain confidence in their cause, perhaps forgetting U.S. betrayal in the past. Finally, the world will again take us seriously; the paper tiger has fangs after all.

The freedom offensive of which we have always dreamed is by no means fulfilled by President Johnson and the marines in Santa Domingo. It is still a defensive action; Communism is still on the offensive. But it is the most aggressive defense we can remember.

insight and outlook

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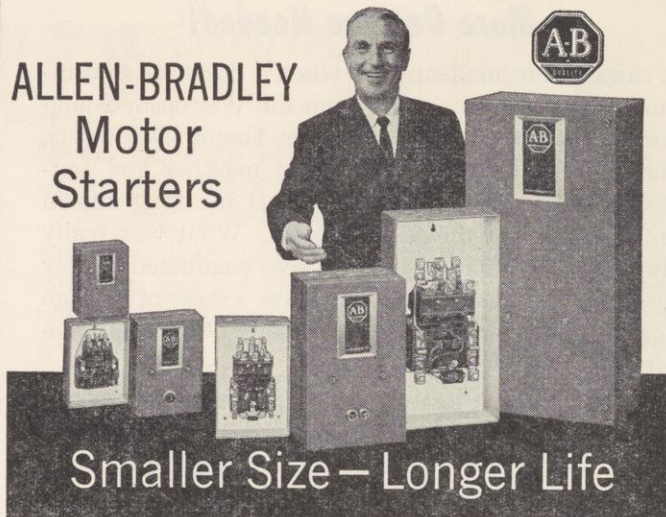
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More Outrage Needed!

It came as no small surprise when a dozen or so campus organizations, ranging from the Wisconsin Young Americans for Freedom to the Young Democrats, and others even further left, got together and supported an organized protest against the long known anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. What was really surprising was that this protest was conducted largely by prominent, known Liberals. Such a show of outrage against Leftist injustice from anyone other than conservatives was long overdue.

We had almost lost patience with those Liberals so eager to denounce injustices to the individual by "racists" or "fascists" or the denial of civil liberties in "right wing" countries or areas, who, when the same or far worse injustices were committed by the Castros or Sukarnos or Nkrumahs or Khrushchevs were so peculiarly silent. Liberalism's hypocritical second face was revealed in 1956, for example, when its only reaction to Russian intervention and brutality in Hungary was either to apologetically justify the Russian action in terms of Russia's "obvious national interests," or to loudly oppose any retaliation on the part of the free world.

It had become almost divine writ for the Liberals to spend their efforts emphasizing the democratic aspects of Soviet totalitarianism with Soviet "liberalization" et al, in the myopic hope of "easing East-West tension," while at the same time overlooking the hordes of atrocities so typical, and so essential to the grip of Communist power on the human spirit, the very spirit—by the way—which the Liberals claim to defend. The effects of Liberalism's silence were seen on the streets of Budapest, on the blood-drenched wall in Berlin, in the firing squad pits outside Havana, etc.

Outrage, genuine disgust and angry protest is long overdue. We were glad to see the stand taken against Soviet mishandling of the Jews; we were especially glad to see prominent Liberals leading it. But we are also afraid that when situations arise in which protest and outrage are desperately needed the campus and national leaders will find the broad way—the way of "easing tensions" and scraping to World Opinion—a more persuasive cause for support than the dignity of man. We shall take note.

The Design of Disorder

In assessing the impact of Communist manipulation of the civil rights movement, there are at least two pitfalls to avoid.

One, which is the failing of the far Right, is the erroneous presumption that the whole movement is basically a Communist plot.

The other, which is the failing of civil rights extremists, is the erroneous presumption that there are few, if any, Communists in the movement, and in any case, the matter is irrelevant.

The existence of Communists in the movement is entirely relevant, and can help explain why rioting and disorders persist even after the movement acquired a massive legal weapon to accomplish virtually every goal it ever set for itself.

This ought to be a period of conciliation, new amity, and diminishing violence. Instead, it is a period of unprecedented trouble which is forcing more and more authoritarian action to bridge the ruptures in the social order.

There is no question but that Communists are involved in civil rights disorders. Of the approximately 500 persons arrested in the various San Francisco



demonstrations, some 200 had records in the Communist party, its front groups, or related activities.

Significantly, the demonstrations were loaded with the sons and daughters of known Communists, such as Mickey Lima, Joseph North, Herbert Aptheker, Louis Goldblatt, William Mandel, Mike Gold, Joseph Starobin, Frank Wilkinson and Albert Kahn.

Miss Tracy Sims, who led the Ad Hoc Committee to End Discrimination, shares an apartment with Roseanne Forest, the daughter of a Saint Louis Communist leader. She attends the Marxist oriented San Francisco School of Science, upon whose faculty are former Daily Worker correspondent John Pittman, former Castro employee J. P. Morray, and Holland Roberts, Irving Fromer, James Forest, and William Mandel, all four of whom have been identified under oath as Communists.

These extreme leftists have motives entirely different from the just aims of the civil rights movement. They are exploiting the hopes and dreams of thousands of good Negro citizens. They are inciting violence when there is desperate need for peace. They ought to be purged from the movement.

Legislatin' up a Storm

Cy Butt

**Fremont Guilfoyle goes a-law-making
While closely following the Movements
Faithfully serving the Chief**

Mr. Joseph Troia got to his Steak and Martini House this day, the 20th of March, 1965, at an early hour to see if the swamper had gotten into the corners and also to see if he had gotten into the top-shelf bottles while doing it, a pernicious habit of his which Mr. Troia deplored. There was a banging at the big bronze doors that were created by Giuseppi Bonino, a Milanese master craftsman, and Mr. Troia threw back the great bolt to find Fremont Guilfoyle and his nubile secretary, Fifi.

"The chef isn't here yet, and anyway we don't serve breakfast," said Mr. Troia.

"We shall wait," said Fremont. "You had better give us some martinis now for I never eat on an empty stomach. Delete the olives, please."

"What are you doing in Madison?" asked Mr. Troia. "I thought you'd be down in Selma where all the action is."

"I thought so, too," said Fremont, "But Elbie Jay is going to declare some new laws and I have to get Professor Noodle up in Law school to draw them up."

"What kind of laws?" asked Mr. Troia, refilling the flagons.

"We're going to rig it," said Fremont, belching, "so that it will be a felony to identify the race of anyone committing stranglings and stabbings and rapes and such unless he is white. This applies to radio, TV, newspapers and magazines."

"That seems to cover the field," said Mr. Troia. "But why the law? Few of them do it now except by accident."

"Yes, but we've got to stop those accidents," said Fremont. "We must have it unanimous. If a TV station doesn't follow Cronkite's example, Elbie will have the FCC cut it off the air and refuse to permit its sale (unless it's to Elbie for three cents on the dollar). Elbie's a great hand for bargains."

"You speak smooth," said Mr. Troia.

"There's no doubt about it," said Fremont. "He parlayed 17 grand and a few judicious FCC rulings into \$14,000,000. Who has done better than that?"

"Croesus," said Mr. Troia, getting classical, as he does at times.

"Maybe," said Fremont. "But not much. When Elbie rounds up a few more stations he's going to buy the Chicago Cubs."

"Why, in God's name," asked Mr. Troia. "They

haven't been out of second division since before I started to get bald."

"Prestige," said Fremont. "C.B.S. has the Yankees and Elbie isn't going to run second, Cronkite or no Cronkite. The club isn't so much right now, but Elbie will declare laws making it illegal for other teams to get more runs than the Cubs do, and they figure to win about 162 games the year after he tucks away the franchise in one of his trust funds."

"There won't be much competition, will there?" asked Mr. Troia.

"Elbie doesn't want competition," said Fremont. "He wouldn't let Hubert Horatio go to the Churchill funeral, and now he's got him confined to inspection tours of the firecracker factory at Cape Kennedy. Hubert is still giddy from the constant contemplation of the magnitude of his own magnificence, and when this palls Elbie will give him a medal and some ribbons and a mirror, and that will hold him indefinitely, especially the mirror."

"What's all the rumpus out on State Street?" asked Mr. Troia. "Is there a beatnik convention under way?"

"No, no," said Fremont. "It is the Student Nonviolent Movement for Beatification of Boogies. See there! They got a cop down and refrained from doing more than kicking him in the head. There were only five of them, too. So dashing, so daring, so consecrated to Ideals! They are on their way to the Capital to raise hell with the Governor and maybe get on TV. Aren't you in touch with Movements?"

"Not to any extent," said Mr. Troia. "I sell steaks that can be cut with a harsh word to anyone that has three dollars in his pocket, and the rest of my time is taken up with preventing minors from buying my nutritious, character-building martinis, though I really can't blame them much. Ah, how delicious they are! But, these Movements come around regularly. We had the Goldfish Swallowing Movement, the Filthy Speech Movement, and now this one, whatever you said it was."

"These are students," said Fremont, "from that new course the University has, 'DeSade's Seminar on Sodomy: Vocational and Recreational Aspects.' But Joseph, we must leave. I must buy some books for Elbie, though my efforts have not succeeded as I wish they might. Several months ago I gave him a book of Lincoln's speeches. He opened the book at random and happened to hit the Second Inaugural Address. His eye happened to light on '...with charity for all,' and he closed the book and slowly walked away."

"I can believe that," said Mr. Troia.

Summer Soldiers and Sunshine Patriots

Jared Lobdell

For years my liberal friends have been telling me what is wrong with conservatives. I have listened to complaints about their desire not only to turn the clock back but to replace it with a sundial, their desire to draw the wagons together in a circle in the event of an ICBM attack, their Birching and their Welching and (going back a few years) their McCarthying, how they would have dropped bombs on China and unleashed Chiang and bombed Moscow (and Egypt) in 1956, defoliated TVA, sold Viet Nam to private enterprise, how they hid Alger Hiss in a pumpkin, forged evidence, tried to make a hero of Tricky Dick, despise the poor (and want to sell them to private enterprise), want to sterilize unwed mothers, starve their children, send the minority groups back to the minority nations, underdevelop the underdeveloped countries still more, eliminate the Federal Government, use it as a weapon against Communists, eliminate defense spending, go to war, and so on and so on. Let us for the moment suppose that any or all of these views have at some time in the past dozen years been held by some person or persons who might be considered conservative spokesmen in the absence of a genuine conservative spokesman like the late Senator Taft — what then? Is this what's wrong with conservatives?

In a sense, of course, it is. Not because the views are wrong but because they are contradictory, it is clear that something ought to be done about a philosophy that can hold — or appears to hold — all of them simultaneously. But that is not, to my mind, the real fault of present-day conservatism, or of present-day conservatives. The real faults lie somewhere else, and I regret that one of them was recently

evident in the writing of the man I most admire (and like) in the so-called conservative movement. I will not mention his name, but in a column on Churchill, shortly after the great man's death, he engaged in some debunking (call it true appraisal if you like — I dare say it was true — but it looked from the outside like debunking) that I could have well done without. If I, a conservative — begging for the moment the question of a definition of that word — was embarrassed and upset by the column in question, what was the reaction of a person less convinced of the truth of the conservative position?

Or are we to worry about such things? Must not the truth be held to at all times? Of course it must, and yet, is it necessary to hold to it in quite that way? There are certain conventions commonly held to, along with the truth, and a minority group cannot afford to outrage them if it is to gain political power. At least, it cannot afford to outrage them unless the majority is sympathetic to its desire for power (as with the Negro struggle for civil rights), which is certainly not the case here. And, on occasion, I confess I have noticed a tendency in conservative circles to state the truth provocatively, not out of a desire — at least so it looks to me — for stating the truth so much as out of a desire to provoke. But to provoke is not to convince, in case no one had noticed.

So it may be fairly said that one fault is needless provocation. And one, I have admitted, is disorganization, or at least uncertainty as to what exactly we are talking about when we talk about conservative doctrine. The others that I (after some ten years watching the advent of new conservatism and the decline of the old) have found again and again are clannishness — even

when I am inside and being clannish — and its allied sins, faction, the conspiracy theory of history (that's the polite name — my liberal friends call it paranoia), what in general might be called a hot-house atmosphere of self-congratulation, suspicion, and intolerance of the world outside. The world outside calls this intolerance rudeness, but let that pass also. It is always possible that the world is wrong.

All this has a good side, and the name of that side is fellowship or camaraderie or (if you will pardon the word) comradeship. And when the conservative organization can look at itself with a certain amount of humor, knowing that it is serious, and like all serious things, will be a little absurd, and more than a little absurd if it does not perceive its absurdity — well, then, there is hope. The Party of the Right, at Yale (not noted as a hot-bed of conservative virtues, nor even as a hot-house thereof), has so far as I know been notably successful in maintaining this humorous attitude. I have seen something of the same thing in the *National Review*. I have even noticed it (from my own experience of him) in the person of a former National Chairman of that un-humorous group, the Young Americans for Freedom. I have noticed it in Barry Goldwater. But taken all in all, conservatives are not noted for their sense of humor.

None of this has any relevance to the rightness of conservative belief, of course. That belief must be defined and discussed and fitted to the truth quite independently of what conservatives are like. But when it comes to spreading that belief, that is a different question. You will recall what Thomas Paine said about those who shrink from the service of their country. How much worse are those who cannot perform their self-appointed service because they need the self-made summer and artificial sunshine of the new conservative hot-house, and cannot or will not face the continuing winter of freedom's discontent that howls outside? I think it is time we opened the door.

A Lesson from Quintus Fabius

Ross J. Parisi

Undercutting our Strength Via the Back Door

The Roman General Quintus Fabius held that the only way to defeat Hannibal would be to avoid direct engagement. So, by a series of clever maneuvers, he successfully undercut Hannibal's strength and defeated him piecemeal. That was in 175 BC; yet today, Fabius' stratagem remains so effective that it is employed by every movement that would undercut existing social, political, and economic institutions throughout the world.

The Fabian Socialist movement in Great Britain, for example, is a study in piecemeal attack upon these very institutions through the clever maneuver of social reform. Their rapid rise to power in England serves as a notorious example of the effectiveness of social agitation as a vehicle for importing socialist ideas into the minds of the common man.

In 1883 a small group of Socialists, led by George Bernard Shaw and Ramsay MacDonald organized the Fabian Society — appropriately named after their historical mentor, General Fabius. These men and

their ideas were under the direct influence of Marx, although they modified his positions somewhat. They knew that if socialism was to be brought to Britain it would have to be done gradually, and not by violent revolutionary means. And they were confident that it could be done. Their plan was to initiate socialism without mentioning it by name; to offer the voters only a small part of it at a time without the "socialist" label. In this respect they rejected Marx's dialectical approach.

To meet their goal the Fabian Socialists drew up a master plan for peaceful revolution through social reform. They began by promising the workers higher wages, free medicine, pensions, and benefits of all sorts. Next came more promises to abolish overtime and establish funds for the unemployed. Then demands for the nationalization of basic industries — steel, coal, transportation, electricity, and communications. ("These belonged to the rich.") It was not long before this social reform took on an air of benevolence that captured the imagination and the vote of the working classes. At that point, then, the workers themselves supplied the impetus needed to complete the revolution. They turned to the state for correction of

all their new found ills. Many advocated "free" tax supported medicine because their backs ached, without care or concern about the real issues involved. Others clamored for nationalization of the railroads because of personal reasons or prejudices. But one thing was clear: these divergent promises and demands added up to socialism. Max Beer noted that "there was no reason for the Socialists to plot violent revolution. The realization of Socialism began the moment the state became accessible to social reform ideas."

Thus, as the King sat solidly on his throne, and Britain's aristocracy slept in its grandeur and security, a small handful of Socialist doctrinaires rewrote British history by successfully bringing about peaceful socialist revolution in Great Britain, the birthplace of free enterprise.

But is the British example an isolated one? Those who think so should take another look. Here in this country we face the same Fabian Socialist movement that bowled over the British. Only the actors are different. Albeit, there has been a visible "socialist" movement here (hats off to Gus Hall et al), but the *real* inroad to socialism has been made by the American edition of the British Fabian Socialist, i.e. the twentieth century Liberal. The American Liberal, like his British counterpart, denies he is a socialist. He prefers to be called an economic planner, welfare statit, Social Democrat, or what have you. He may be an anti-Communist, and probably votes Democratic, but one thing is almost invariably certain: he is a socialist in the Fabian tradition.

During the Depression the American Fabians made their greatest gains. At that time whole broods of

(continued on page 18)



Whose Side is the State Department On?

Richard O. Wright

President Kennedy, it had seemed, talked of exporting freedom to the world. We were gladdened. But, as we waited, he buried freedom's transport license deep into the murky jungles of the State Department. The Department first floundered in Cuba; then they proceeded to guarantee freedom's expulsion from South East Asia and Africa. By that time well meaning Americans labored to escape the conclusion that something other than ineptness in their ranks was responsible for these disasters.

The outward appearances of foreign policy under the Johnson administration generated a spark of hope in free hearts. But is that hope substantiated? Recent events are heartening, even to the Kennedy era's seasoned skeptics. We cannot fail to note that the U.S. has assumed an aggressive position in Viet Nam; that the Communist sympathizer in Brazil has been temporarily deposed; and that Moise Tshombe has gained the Department's announced support. But are these events actually the result of a reversal in the State Department's "the-Communists-are-our-friends" policy?

That there would be changes is a natural thing. The top echelon officials are bound to react to the consequences of their mistakes. The dog which plays in mock combat, finding the real thing different, changes tactics after his ears are bitten. Thus, the foggy ideals of Kennedy's college professors, who still run the Department, have not adequately withstood the experience of practice. For, it is discernible that the top officials in the State Department have developed a more practicable view of the Communist challenge. This, in part, explains the changes.

Of course, President Johnson may have been partly responsible for the new look, although, it is questionable just how effectively the Chief of State's formulations of general policy filter down through the bureaucratic levels to its practical effectuation. A general directive can be — and has been — pilfered beyond recognition by the lower echelon officials working in the field. But, the top officials remain responsible to the President for any aspect of United States foreign policy; no move blatantly contrary to his general directive could be afforded. Still, whether President Johnson has so engendered changes in our foreign policy can be merely conjectured.

A best guess depends on the particular situation in question. As the most glaring example, all indications point to the President as the one primarily responsible for the Viet Nam policy. This is reasonable, since when immediate war threatens, the Secretary of State always asks the President. However, most of the other situations about the world seemingly carry the marks of the State Department. It seems that L.B.J. generally gives them a free hand. The President's interests are at home — except, of course, he favors peace.

Pacem In Terris

That is our foreign policy, peace. Vice President Hubert Humphrey represented the President at the opening ceremony of the convocation on *Pacem in Terris* recently held in the U.N. General Assembly Hall. His remarks were perhaps as close as we will ever get to a general statement concerning the objectives of United States foreign policy. Humphrey's speech revolved about three central themes:

(1) the new face of war—the nuclear holocaust; (2) the peace-endangering inequality of wealth; and (3) the need for a strong world organization to keep the peace. Now is there anything new in that policy? No, we have watched it develop from within the confines of Foggy Bottom even before Kennedy. It is the policy of our State Department.

Humphrey's *Pacem in Terris* remarks are, thus, a convenient wedge into the lock box secrets of those who promulgate the working theory of the Department's policy. Referring to the pending nuclear disaster he said:

"... war has worn a new face. And the vision of it has sobered all man and demanded of them a keener perception of mutual interests and a higher order of responsibility. Under these conditions mankind must concentrate on the problems that unite us rather than divide us."

Because of the Bomb, they say, we are compelled to forget our differences. That depends, I would argue, on who "we" refers to. If the two H-bomb wielding adversaries were the U.S.A. and, say, Great Britain, who would argue? No great differences exist between us; Britain is not actively impressing upon the world a new social order, a system of government diametrically opposed to American ideals of free choice. Whether two nation's differences may be ignored, then, is determined relative to the degree of mutual interest. America and Great Britain would be foolish to war because we have many mutual interests.

But, in their applications, Liberty and Marxism are totally incompatible. One exists at the expense

of the other. The only manner in which mutual interest can arise between the Communists and ourselves is in the case that one accepts ideals of the other. Freedom of choice suffers — as it has — when we accept a collective (governmental) responsibility for the economic plight of the unfortunate — as we have. Poverty, I'm sure, would be a major mutual interest cited by Humphrey and his fellows in the State Department. The Marxist premise has been accepted; the two powers find a mutual interest. Freedom and Maxism have not.

The Nuclear Factor

The Bomb only introduces a multiplication factor — little acceptance X Bomb equals more willingness to compromise. The formula remains essentially the same.

It is my contention that Hubert and the Department do indeed have many mutual interests with the Communists. And they are quite willing to concentrate on "the problems that unite us rather than divide us."

Again, Humphrey's peace speech evidences this thinking. Talking of the inequalities in this world he stated:

"In Latin America, in Asia and Africa, another threat to peace lies in the shocking inequality between privileged and impoverished . . . A real threat to peace in these areas is a revolutionary challenge of an unjust social order in which true peace — peace based on justice — is impossible."

What Marxist could have stated it better? Now, not even we conservatives now to perpetrate poverty in the world. But the proposed change in the social order is precisely what Mao intends for Southeast Asia — and the Communists for the world. It is but a cruel rationalization to justify our participation in this scheme as an anti-revolutionary project. Revolutions don't start among peasants, and stable social orders are their greatest deterrent. The goal is the changed social order. That change is also the object of the Communist.

I wish we could ignore Humphrey's words as the incessant jabber of an ideologue; but the State Department is sold on the policy. The Alliance for Progress, for instance, requires the Latins to promulgate sweeping land reforms. Joao Goulart, deposed president of Brazil, can thank his too eager compliance with these demands for the wide unpopularity he experienced. Further, the Alliance has too often sponsored nationalization of Latin American industry. The program's object is clearly not peace, or progress to freedom; it is the Marxist dream of the changed social order.

A second example avails itself. Before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, David Bell, administrator of our foreign aid agency, reported that the U.S. is paying for major development programs in India, Pakistan, Turkey, Nigeria, Tunisia, Brazil and Chile. In all of these — excepting possibly Brazil under new leadership — the major developments he speaks of are openly socialist programs. Each tends to change that "unjust," feudalistic, social order. Again, the State Department embraces the Marxist dream.

Further, incriminating evidence is derived from Hubert Horatio's *Pacem in Terris* statements advocating strengthening the peace-keeping function of the U.N. He says he desires a world community (read: government). He thinks the free world, if it would only mature, could lock arms with the Communists and dance down the road to Progress. Yes, he speaks for the Department. Not only do they freely and expressly agree with Humphrey on the above, but they pronounce proudly the fact that world organizations — most of which have Communist bloc membership — now take credit for much of our foreign aid. Why? Because they are desirous of strong world organizations.

None of them seem to consider the impracticality of a world body which could give fair hearing to both the Western and Marxist goals. One power must eventually gain internal control; and then, of

course, world control. The State Department sees no danger of that happening. Quite simply, they haven't yet noticed the ideological clash between the Communist bloc and the Free West — at least as they view the Free West.

So, viewing this seeming agreement with Marxist aims, how can we explain the new appearance of the hard nose approach in the State Department? I have not claimed that Rusk's crew mutinies against America out of their love for Communists. That's ridiculous. No rational human, born and raised under freedom, will consciously work to destroy that freedom. But many, in their zeal to give prosperity to the world, will forget their freedom. That is the State Department's disease. Sure, they cringe when Communists murder — but not like I cringe. They'll fight when the Communist dictators aggress — but not like I'll fight. For it is in their minds that the world struggle is but an intra-party fight, a disagreement between proponents of two methods to the same end. Communism, according to our State Department, will mellow, freedom being given its slaves. And the Free World, they hope, will eventually burst from the chain of its "unjust" social order. As you can see, mutual interests between Communists and Americans abound in such a theory; except for Communism's extreme methods — its too eager overturning of the social order at the expense of Freedom — no argument would be had. And they do, in fact, find little between themselves which will arouse their ire.

No, the State Department doesn't love Communists. They merely like them better than we do. It is the aim of the Department to stand off the Communist onslaught; they wish to save some vestige of human dignity. For that we must commend them. However, it is not the aim of the Department to eradicate Communism from the earth; they only wish to institute their own brand of the same product. For that we must insist they leave the country.

The Glorious Blasphemer

James M. O'Connell

Although nearly ten years have passed since his death, most American intellectuals find it difficult, indeed, impossible, to evaluate H. L. Mencken. His searing blasts at the follies of businessmen, preachers and respectable *burghers* would seem to locate him in the Socialist camp; yet, his comments on liberty, democracy and capitalism are deeply libertarian. Although he was an agnostic, perhaps even an atheist, he remained on fairly good terms with men of religion—unless they were out attempting to suppress liberty on their own—unlike the Madelayn Murrays or Ayn Rands who devote reams to the denunciation of the “opiate of the masses.” A Tory himself, he had little patience with the pretensions of authoritarian conservatives who, at points, drifted dangerously close to Fascism in their attitudes toward government.

Mencken argued for aristocracy—not the aristocracy of birth, with its decayed scions of once proud houses, nor the plutocratic aristocracy of wealth—but an aristocracy built on the intelligence of superior individuals, dedicated to human liberty, and tolerant of the attempts by various radicals and reformers on one hand, and authoritarians on the other, to advocate their own systems. Mencken believed in free speech, just as John Stuart Mill believed in free speech; were he alive today, his support of American security programs would be far more conditional than most conservatives would prefer. I doubt if he would support fanatical groups on the Right at all; he would, however, limn them with his typewriter in such a manner as to leave them permanently ridiculous and ineffectual. Nor would he confine his shots to the starboard; the vagaries of the Left: the ADA, the vari-

ous Civil Rights groups, the super-pacifists would all be bathed in the searing and pitiless light of his ridicule and consigned to some intellectual Gehenna for their absurdities.

We could well imagine his mirth during the last election at the expense of the Democratic ticket; neither the sage from the Pedernales and his unphotogenic brood nor the *ci-devant* druggist from the intellectual swamps of Minnesota would have stood against the flow of satiric wit. Nor would the Republicans have fared much better. Eisenhower, Rockefeller and Romney would have been dismissed for the wowsers that they were, Scranton would have been deflated for his pomposities, and even Barry Goldwater would have received only a grudging approval, especially after he “modified” his positions in a vain attempt to attract voters. More than likely, Mencken would have sat and watched as democracy continued its own destruction. Indeed, it was toward democracy, “the worship of jackals by jackasses,” that he directed his most pungent comments. Democracy in the age of television would have left him gasping and howling with unrestrained glee.

Many conservatives would be puzzled by his attitude. Why his merriment over the decline and fall of the American Republic? In an article for the *New Individualist Review* (Summer 1962) Murray Rothbard noted:

Any man who is an individualist and a libertarian in this day and age has a difficult row to hoe. He finds himself in a world marked, if not dominated, by folly, fraud and tyranny. He has, if he is a reflecting man, three possible courses of action open to him: 1) he may retire from the social and political world into his private occupation . . . 2) he can set about to change the world for the better, or at least to formulate and propa-

gate his views with that hope in mind, or 3) he can stay in the world and enjoy himself immensely at this spectacle of folly.

Rothbard used this approach in his attempt to explain Mencken; as he saw Mencken, Mencken believed that *boobus Americanus* would remain *boobus Americanus* forevermore. Most libertarians are committed to the second course* but a case can be made for a certain amount of “Menckenizing” in the field of politics. America sadly needs a Mencken when the Presidency can be debased by a vulgarian like Truman, a neo-Grant like Eisenhower, a pious fraud like the late Mr. Kennedy and a dunghill statesman like the present incumbent. America needs a critic of the arts and of literature in the age of Norman Mailer, a critic of music in the face of the Beatles, a gastronome in the era of the Pedernales barbeque, and a libertarian theorist when the only popularizers of liberty are Hugh Hefner and Ayn Rand.

America needs a Mencken to strip away the hypocrisies and frauds of the idiot Left as well as the idiot Right; a man who could dump Robert Welch and Martin Luther King into the same pot, season well with devastating logic, fry with the roasting coals of wit, and serve to a public famished on a diet of pap. Above all, the conservatives need a Mencken to tear down the structure of Liberalism, and do so with a whoop and a holler. Only then will there be any hope of carrying the conservative credo to the American people. Mencken astounded a decade and sent Prohibition and Comstockery down in ruins; a new Mencken may be needed to send Liberalism tumbling after. Let us hope that he is not long in coming and that his reception is fitting. It is time for a glorious blasphemer to heave dead cats into the temple, pencil moustachios on the idols and tweak the noses of the high priests. May he be up to his task!

*See my own *Lessons From an Election* and Richard O. Wright's *Ne'er Buck The Establishment* in the January 1965 Issue of INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK.

The Increasing Criticism: Challenge or Threat to the American Fraternity System?

Tom Charles Huston

**Has the death
of U.S. fraternities
become inevitable?**

The vitality of the attack upon the American fraternity system appears to be in direct proportion to the maturation of local fraternity action. As Dr. Russell Kirk pointed out in *National Review* Magazine, "Fraternities are not getting worse, which is more than one can say of the world at large . . . Yet criticism of fraternities and actions against them have been growing more intense." In recent months criticism of the American fraternity system has reached unparalleled intensity, while at the same time local fraternity activity indicates that today's fraternity members are more academically oriented and less socially frivolous than ever before.

Throughout the years there have been many criticisms of the American fraternity system, the most penetrating of which have often been made by those who have worn the badge and taken the vows of membership in a Greek-letter fraternity. Generally these conscientious and sincere critics have directed their attention to the legitimate question of fraternity purpose: questioning whether the undergraduate members were striving to live in accordance with their ritual and attempting to excel in accordance with their purpose. These friendly critics questioned the hazing policies followed by many chapters in the training of pledges, and seriously objected to pranks and practical jokes which took up time which could better be expended for more serious things. The criticism was harsh,

but it was sincere and friendly and just.

The loudest of our critics today are neither sincere, friendly, or just. Many of them are professional assailants who criticize for pay in articles noted for sensationalism, not truth. Their knowledge of the fraternity system is exceeded only by their sense of proportion. One critic, for example, traced the American fraternity system back to the Ku Klux Klan, in whose tradition, he maintained, they act. These cynics, so engrossed in their own mundane, materialistic outlook on life, cannot imagine an organization being founded on ritualism and guided by idealism. The fraternity system, says Brock Brower, an assistant editor of *Esquire* magazine, "is not composed of values, but of meaningless repetitions in form." Mr. Brower obviously does not understand that the fraternity system exists solely for the purpose of perpetuating through the lives of its members the high goals and lofty idealism of its founders, and the "repetitions in form" are the standards and guidelines by which the members judge their own performance. The eloquent ritual, the demanding vows, the high goals, and lofty idealism may seem "meaningless" to the skeptics; but to those who share their mystery and seek their implementation they are meaningful; more than that, they are challenging and provoking and important. Man cannot live by bread

alone, nor can he live through pragmatism or cynicism. The professional critics cannot understand this for they cannot see beyond the limits of their confusion; they cannot understand beyond the confines of their dogmatism. Their yardstick, by which they judge the things of the world, is of the world. They cannot evaluate ideals or values because they cannot touch them or see them or sell them. But there are values and there are ideals which are important in the lives of men, and it is in the American fraternity system that the ideals of brotherhood and service, understanding and sympathy, devotion and dedication, excellence and diligence are living values, sought after and lived by each day on the college and university campuses of our nation where fraternity chapters are located.

The Sin of Sifting

The charge most frequently leveled at the fraternity system is that it is unjustifiably exclusive; that it encourages snobbishness and perpetuates social inequality. On many campuses chapters of old and distinguished national fraternities have been threatened with expulsion because of alleged racial discrimination, not necessarily by that chapter, but by some chapter within the national fraternity. This has been particularly true of fraternities whose national constitutions contain "discrimination clauses." Many vigorous assailants, however, have not limited their attack to those fraternities with such clauses, but have turned their wrath on all fraternities which have not shown good faith by conspicuously admitting Negro, Jew-



ish, Oriental, or Catholic students into membership. In some cases, university administrators have gone so far as to insist on a quota system whereby each fraternity chapter would be required to have a specified member of Negro, Jewish, Oriental, and Catholic members.

Racial discrimination is one of the most vital issues of our time, but it is also one of the most volatile. Discrimination is not itself an evil or undesirable thing, for every day in a thousand ways each citizen exercises his capacity for discrimination in buying peaches instead of apples, in watching Ben Casey rather than Dr. Kildare, in joining the Methodist rather than the Baptist Church. In considering discrimination, three important factors must be determined: (1) what is the criteria used for making a discriminating choice; (2) who is the agent applying the criteria? and (3) for what purpose is the choice being made? The *Brown v Board of Education* decision has relevance only where the criteria employed are racial in character; the agent applying the criteria is government, or people doing business through or with the assistance of government; and the purpose for making the choice is to deny a citizen rights explicitly guaranteed to him. When, however, individuals acting without the assistance of government desire to make a discriminating choice, they are free to employ any criterion they choose regardless of its rationale or desirability. Frequently it is overlooked that the right of a voluntary organization to select its members on any basis it chooses is guaranteed by the same 14th Amendment which guarantees membership on an equal basis to all who wish to join a civic or publicly owned association.

National or Local?

While primary attention has been directed to the question of membership determination, a great deal of consideration recently has been given to the question of local

autonomy. Although the two issues can not easily be separated—the one following as it does from the other—it is convenient for purposes of discussion to consider them independently in so far as it is possible to do so.

It must be pointed out at the beginning that among those who favor local autonomy—or who think they favor it—there are many who are sincere in their convictions, whose loyalty to the Greek-letter system is beyond question. There are, however, those who see the issue of local autonomy as a weapon to be insidiously used ultimately to destroy the national fraternity system.

NSA Nonsense

The vanguard of those who would use the local autonomy question as a cudgel to destroy the fraternity system is the National Student Association, the Liberally-oriented confederation of college and university student governments which claims to represent



the American student community, although less than one-fourth of the universities and colleges in the United States are members. Having succeeded in duping the leaders of higher education into accepting it as the legitimate voice of the American student, NSA has utilized its prestigious position to carry on a subtle attack against the American fraternity system.

In its policy statement on fraternity membership determination, NSA has expressed its belief that

discrimination in social organizations will not be completely eliminated until local chapters have complete autonomy over membership determination. It urges local chapters to work for this end by demanding alterations in their national constitutions. The premise for the position adopted by the NSA National Executive Committee is more explicitly stated in a resolution adopted by its Ohio-Indiana Region in which fraternity membership is declared to be "an implied prerequisite to participation in the life of the student community." The fallacies of this premise are obvious: first, if membership in a voluntary organization is a prerequisite to participation in the life of the student community it is because students have voluntarily deemed it so; secondly, so long as students are free to voluntarily organize, any student excluded from one organization may join another, or barred from all existing organizations, may form a new organization open to those with whom he desires to associate; thirdly, it is unrealistic in view of the size of student bodies and the luxuriousness of independent living facilities to assume that fraternity membership is actually a condition for participation in the life of the student community. In short, although the premise may be refuted on the basis of its false theoretical assumptions, it most easily can be refuted by analyzing conditions as they actually exist today on the campus—life in the student community has become so complex that fraternity affiliation has increasingly become less important in determining the role the student assumes in campus life. Fraternities are but one of the many private voluntary organizations which provide the student with extracurricular social opportunities.

The most recent NSA policy statement advocates the withdrawal of university recognition from chapters which engage in "discriminatory practices." It is obvious that every private social organiza-

tion engages in "discriminatory practices." How else would it function? The criteria for discrimination might not be based on race, color, religion, creed, political belief, or national origin, but how would fraternities prove that such was the case? How could they meet the standard set by NSA unless they let NSA select their members for them?

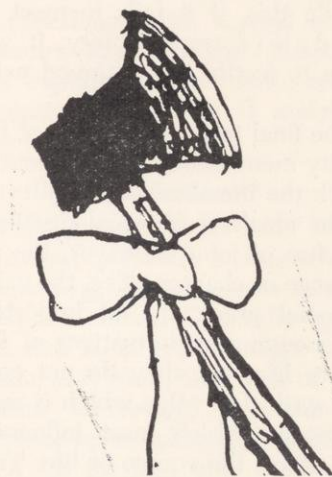
It is impossible for either a local chapter or the national fraternity itself to meet the standard set forth by NSA. This is deliberately so. There is no sincere hope that the doors of fraternity and sorority chapter houses might be open to all equally on their merit as individuals: there is only the veiled desire that the doors of every chapter house be closed forever.

Need National Strength

The Greek-letter system has grown to its present strength for two fundamental reasons. First, it has met a basic need for community—it has satisfied a fundamental desire to share with those whom we freely choose the experiences of our all-important college days. Secondly, it has developed as a national system, as an association of chapters which share common ideals, rituals, traditions, and policies. Because fraternities are national in scope they are able to maintain a broad and varied fraternal, philanthropic, and academic program. The importance of a strong national fraternity is not to be taken lightly, and those who would destroy the American fraternity system have judged wisely that they must first break up the nationals before they can proceed to the final step of eliminating forever the individual fraternity chapter.

Of grave concern is the attitude of many fraternity members who see their national affiliation only in terms of annual national dues. They concede a place to the national as a source of efficient administrative assistance, but they fail to see any further advantage.

This condition is the result of local chapters and national officers failing to orient the individual fraternity member toward the national fraternity. The perspective of the undergraduate member is dangerously limited. Fraternities are failing to teach their active members that the membership of the fraternity is national and its life is perpetual. Fraternity membership does not end upon graduation. Frater-



nity membership is a life-time obligation and a life-time opportunity. Perhaps undergraduates tend to overlook the post-graduate phase of their fraternal life because of the unpleasantness which occasionally arises between the active chapter and interested alumni. Alumni must remember that each active chapter is responsible for the administration of its own affairs, and although the active chapter is anxious for counsel and assistance, it naturally resents any overt intrusion into the day by day administration of the chapter. Alumni must convince, not dictate; counsel, not control. Too often alumni forget what things were like when they were undergraduates—how unevenly things went then; how much difficulty they had administering the affairs of the chapter. Somehow things always seem to work out, and it is the experience of managing a fraternity, of making ends meet, that is among the most worthwhile contributions of the fraternity system to the personal

development of the individual member.

The Road Ahead

The national fraternities have a difficult job ahead if they are to justify the confidence placed in them by the defenders of the American fraternity system. If fraternities desire to be treated as private voluntary organizations, free from university regulation, they must be prepared to assume greater responsibility for their own conduct. National fraternities must exercise far greater control over their chapters in matters of discipline, academic standards and financing, or else forfeit these responsibilities by default to university administrations. Only so long as fraternities can cope with their own problems, meet their own needs, manage their own affairs will they be able to retain their sovereignty. The membership of a local chapter changes completely every four years. The continuity so important in administering the affairs of a fraternal organization is lacking in a fraternity unless there is someone available to see the big picture, to concern himself with the future as well as the present. On some campuses today the national fraternities have allowed this task to fall to university administrations who have concerned themselves with building programs, academic standards, disciplinary problems. Fortunately on other campuses the national fraternities acting through alumni groups and national officers have assumed these responsibilities and have insured for themselves that the future of their local chapter is secure. The next decade will be decisive. Either the national fraternities will assume their rightful obligation on every campus where they have a chapter and work diligently for that chapter's future success or else the university administrations will assume this task and there will in effect be no need for national fraternities. The choice is clear. The action must be immediate and it must be vigorous.

When undertaking a defense of

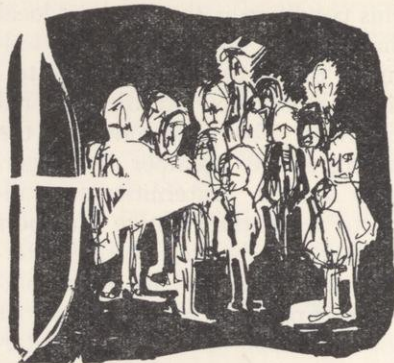
the fraternity system it is easy to be too generous—to overlook the faults of the system in an effort to protect it. The fraternity system like any social system is imperfect, and it must constantly strive to eliminate as many of its imperfections as possible. When it ceases to be critical of its own performance, when it becomes self-satisfied and unwilling to move forward, the fraternity system will fall prey to those who are eagerly waiting in the shadows to deal the system its death blow.

It has to be admitted that there is a great need for internal reform within the system. Life on the campus is changing rapidly with the demands on the student becoming more stringent. No longer is the student free to spend his time working on pledge dances or house projects during the week. Schools are overcrowded, and if a student isn't prepared to work, there is always someone seeking admission who is.

Pledge hazing of any and all types must be abolished. No valuable end is served by it, and it merely interferes with the pursuit of important fraternity objectives. Emphasis during pledgship must be placed on scholarship, gentlemanliness, cultural appreciation, brotherhood and fraternalism. Pledges should be taught to assume responsibility and execute obligations. These traits need to be taught, not forced. The best pledge training is a good example on the part of the members of the active chapter. Action still speaks louder than words.

The Final Test

Fraternities need to ponder seriously their attitude toward scholarship. Is the potential author or scientist, Nobel Prize Winner or Rhodes Scholar sought after for fraternity membership? Is true scholarship—the great joy of seeking truth—encouraged within the Chapter House? If the fraternity system is going to compete on the campuses of tomorrow, it must be prepared to seek excellence to provide an atmosphere in which true



scholarship can flourish. If it cannot do this, if it fails to meet its academic responsibility, it will cease to justify its continued existence.

The final test of the value of fraternity membership is the extent to which the member's life is affected by the ideals of fraternal ritualism. The fun of joint endeavor, the experience of chapter office, the value of social grace are all important and meaningful derivatives of fraternity life; but they do not compare with that value which is most important, which most influences and affects the course of life. True fraternalism is love: love of scholarship, love of man, love of alma mater. With this love there is joy and awe which directs attention away from self and toward others. Fraternalism is tempered with responsibility; it knows no limits; it recognizes no restraint. It retains color during darkness and intimacy during absence. It sees life in all its grandeur; and accepting the challenge of the day, it ventures forth to greet the unknown, unafraid with head held high.

The American fraternity system today must take out of the mothballs of semi-annual initiation rites the great idealistic truths which show the way to true fraternalism. It was upon these great truths that the fraternity system was built, and it has been through the nobility of purpose and strength of conviction of its members that the system has survived. If the high goals and lofty idealism of the Founders cease to provide the base upon which the daily life of the fraternity is built, the future holds no hope for the system.

Fabians

(continued from page 1)

them swarmed to Washington in a crusade to "save" free enterprise—a la John Maynard Keynes (in the familiar British tradition). To meet this end they spent money—"priming the pump" as they called it. But the pump didn't prime, so the Liberals spent more, and more, and more.

To most Americans, the game being played was unimportant. The government was spending billions and they liked it. Washington became the symbol of generosity. But what most Americans didn't realize was that nothing was free; they paid for every dollar they received. Every time the government spent a million dollars another administrative ideologue became entrenched in the accompanying bureaucratic mess, and another "Fabian" politician insured his perpetuation at the next election. In 1940 a reporter asked a Department of Agriculture official who he thought would win the election. The reporter was taken to a vast room filled with hundreds of machines which were writing out checks for farmers by the hundreds of thousands. Huge sacks of these were going out to farmers everywhere. The official said, "Look at that and tell me what chance you think the Republicans have."

Today, it is understandable why the Socialist Party remains near bankruptcy while the Fabian spirited Liberals enjoy unmatched prosperity. Their mode of attack is fundamentally different. While the Party calls for socialized medicine per se, the Liberals take the Machiavellian approach through Medicare.

The future looks no brighter. Perhaps the President gave us a premonition of things to come when he labeled his administration the "Great Society." It was the title of a book written fifty years ago by Graham Wallas, one of the British Fabian Society's early leaders, in which he outlined a socialist blueprint by means much like the Administration's proposals. All indications seem to lead to one conclusion: Hannibal will not be avenged in America.

Rich Man, Poor Man . . .

Henry Hempe

Does the less fortunate client get legal justice?

Carlin and Howard's article, "Legal Representation and Class Justice," 12 U.C.L.A. Law Review 381 (January, 1965), is, at least, provocative. Through a clever and effective manipulation of various statistics and social hypotheses, the authors make a plausible case that poor people don't get legal justice. Out of a total of fifty-seven pages, almost fifty develop this thesis. In the remaining eight pages, Carlin and Howard do manage to solve their fifty page conundrum. Their answer, couched in terms of group legal representation and increased federal aid to indigents is hardly revolutionary.¹ Ironically enough, neither Carlin nor Howard seemed to notice that their eight page suggestions are not immune from their own attacks on present efforts to give justice to indigents, as well as raising new problems not considered.

But both past and current attempts to meet this problem are rather summarily disposed of by the authors. Legal aid societies are primarily administrative organizations given to lofty ideals and petty degrading practices. Small claims courts are merely additional weapons for collection agencies. As for court appointed attorneys, they are either a) inexperienced; b) financially unable to give an effective defense to indigents; or c) ethically irresponsible.

If true, this is a shocking indictment.

While this reviewer does not have access to the plethora of statistics advanced by Carlin and Howard, he does have a measure of experience with several of the agencies thus attacked. Based on this experience, and with certain exceptions, the C & H assault is a gross overstatement.

Misconstrued?

Take private legal aid. Petty? Whatever pettiness is encountered in this organization comes in main from the clients. Generally speaking, staff members are eager to do battle, as it were, on behalf of their clients. Obviously, a certain reluctance arises when a client smells as if his (or her) only connection with a bar of soap was through an ad seen on the television set the finance company is trying to re-

possess. This, however, is a human failure, not one of the legal aid system.

Carlin and Howard deplore the time a legal aid client is kept waiting for action by a staff member. Certainly, staff members are faced with a problem of time apportionment, but on the other hand, with court dockets as crowded as they are, speedy justice is hardly a feature of legal service to wealthy clients either. Irritating? Certainly. Degrading? Hardly.

Carlin and Howard charge also that legal aid societies turn away all but the most desperate cases. Besides being somewhat contradictory of the earlier claim of bureaucratic pettiness, this charge is again contrary to this reviewer's experience. Certainly, desperate cases receive the promptest attention, but any client with a legal claim will be represented. If Carlin and Howard mean that legal aid societies won't press frivolous claims while the privately retained attorney will, it would appear that in this respect legal aid societies are manifesting a higher respect for legal morality than private attorneys (as well as Messrs. Carlin and Howard).

Ideological Confusion

Certainly, legal aid systems aren't perfect. Neither is the adversary system, or, for that matter, any system created and operated by mere mortals. But the Carlin-Howard hyperbole regarding the faults of legal aid leads the informed reader to speculate whether it is not indulged in to lend credence to a preconceived theory of blatant social injustice.

Carlin and Howard similarly overstate their case against small claims courts. The simplicity of



1. As early as 1950, Professor James W. Hurst suggested group legal representation for indigents in *The Growth of American Law, The Law Makers*, Little, Brown & Company, Boston, 1950.

procedure, lower costs, and lack of need for an attorney (in some states attorneys are barred from these courts), it is argued, all operate to the advantage of the creditor because of his greater familiarity with these courts. Concededly, a higher percent of judgments are awarded to plaintiffs rather than defendants. Most of these judgments, however, are defaults in which the defendant has simply neglected to appear. Moreover, there's many a slip 'twixt judgment and execution of judgment. In



many cases, the cagey defendant is able to delay his final reckoning indefinitely.

This attack on small claims courts flounders on another ground. Inequality of antagonists is a problem throughout the adversary system, and not confined to small claims actions. Moreover, this inequality is a two edged sword; that is, the shrewd defendant may well have the advantage over his creditor. But Carlin and Howard assume that because a man is poor, he is also stupid.

Interestingly enough, the Carlin-Howard generalities about small claims courts are not concurred in by an eminent legal historian, Professor James Willard Hurst, of the University of Wisconsin law school. Hurst sees great promise in the development of these types of courts as an aid to the greater equalization of justice, provided this development takes place in a unified municipal court system.²

Court appointed attorneys also draw the Carlin-Howard fire. While it is true that a court appointed attorney is greatly hampered in the

preparation of his case by a lack of adequate funds, this difficulty has been met in many states by a statutory mandate that such attorneys be compensated.³ And in Wisconsin, at least, the Supreme Court has approvingly noted that court appointed attorneys have achieved an enviable record of success.⁴ This simply doesn't square with the Carlin and Howard accusation of inexperience or ethical irresponsibility.

The authors touch briefly on tax supported public defenders. Criticism is directed against an inadequate amount of public funds for this purpose. This charge may well be true, but for some reason, the main defect of this system, i.e., the tendency of the defender to consider his office as an official arm of the government for whom he works and thus cooperate too closely with the prosecution, is completely overlooked. Perhaps Carlin and Howard don't consider this an evil, but if this is the case, then why the concern over paternalism practiced by legal aid societies or welfare agencies?

Dignified Poverty

The fact is that Carlin and Howard should be not only faulted for overstatement and omission, but for confusion and self-contradiction, as well. For instance, welfare is mentioned as one area in which indigents need legal help. Recipients of welfare, the argument runs, should receive it as a matter of right. The person on relief should not lose one iota of his self-respect and human dignity, and should, in fact, be considered in the same light as the responsible productive citizen.

This is a *non-sequitur*. The very act of applying for welfare and relief is tangible and persuasive evidence that the applicant is unable

to care for himself, even on a subsistence level. It is ridiculous to argue that such an individual should not lose any of his dignity or self respect. He has already lost it. Any further official indignities (the article lists budget control as one of these) are largely superfluous.

Dependent Independence

Carlin and Howard's reference to an individual's being the "master of his destiny" in a "welfare state"⁵ is ludicrous. A welfare state assumes a *parens patriae* posture by definition. If a paternalistic attitude by the welfare state was not felt to be necessary, the very need for a welfare state could not be justified. To be master of one's fate in a welfare state is simply a contradiction in terms.⁶

Perhaps the deepest flaw apparent in the Carlin-Howard article is their tacit assumption of a *status quo* class of indigents. Poverty seems to be referred to as a permanent condition. Nowhere is the relative mobility of American society taken into account. It is rather assumed that 1) there will always be poverty; 2) the same individuals will always be poor; and 3) the answer lies in making them think they're not poor. At times, in fact, the almost inescapable impression arises that Carlin and Howard think an indigent should prevail simply because he's poor.

But, rightly or wrongly, wealth does have its privileges, and the attainment of these privileges can serve as a mighty stimulus for the individual alleviation of poverty. Certainly all people should be equal before the law. But in equalizing justice, care should be taken so as not to reward the pauper for his poverty. To do so defeats the very humanitarian ideals which provided the impetus for the excess — the preservation of human dignity and self respect.

3. See Wis. Stats. 957.26

4. "However, we believe the lawyers of this state are and will be devoted to their duty to render adequate and efficient service to indigents whether or not they receive compensation comparable to private practice." *Schwartz v. Rock County*, 24 Wis. 2d. 172, 181, 128 N.W. 2d, 450, 455 (1964)

5. p. 338

6. Similarly, to advocate an adversary system in a welfare state where private citizens may challenge a government's paternalistic determinations would also seem to reflect a certain confusion.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 159-163.

In Search of Meaning

"And one asks oneself where are one's dreams. And one shakes one's head and says how rapidly the years fly by! And again one asks oneself what has one done with one's years. Where have you buried your best days? Have you lived or not? Look, one says to oneself, look how cold the world is growing. Some more years will pass, and after them will come gloomy solitude; then will come old age trembling on its crutch, and after it misery and desolation. Your fantastic world will grow pale, your dreams will fade and die and will fall like the yellow leaves from the trees..."

DOSTOEVSKY,
from *White Nights*

The recently published writings of Whittaker Chambers make up a truly beautiful book. For Whittaker Chambers, through some painful experiences in his own history, has acquired a keenly perceptive insight into the problems, the hopes, the disillusionment, the outright plunder of our age. And in *Cold Friday* Chambers bears his heart. The book is, above all else, the portrait of a man as seen by the man himself, much deeper than the surface—down even to the depths of his own soul. Because of this *Cold Friday* becomes, at places, overly sentimental. Men are that way. The

COLD FRIDAY

Whittaker Chambers
Random House, \$5.95

nostalgia of the farm, the involved contemplation on the meaning of the "farthest field to the North," the deep, concerned, even sobby love and respect for his grown son; the high minded intellectual looks inside and we see aspirations, desires, simple minded *agape* love.

Whittaker Chambers is truly an "intellectual," but not because he's also a scholar, historian, literary critic and writer. His search is not in analyzing elections, or finding out who fired the first shot, or even in logical reasoning. Rather he asks, along with Camus, not to live, but reasons for living. Whittaker Chambers was concerned first and foremost with the problems that at one time or another hit every thinking person, and his life could be most accurately described as a struggle to know. Chambers rejected the ideology that held



him in its grasp for a sizable part of his life not because Communism wouldn't work, but because it was not *the* answer; there must be a different, a more real purpose for human existence. This, through a collection of brilliant essays, is at least in part what *Cold Friday* is all about. But there is more.

In many ways Whittaker Chambers speaks over the head of modern America. He both thought and wrote on a level parallel to, but distinctly different from, the intellectual perception of reality characteristic of the twentieth century.

Chambers had a unique sense of the movement of history as well as a set of values he saw being de-

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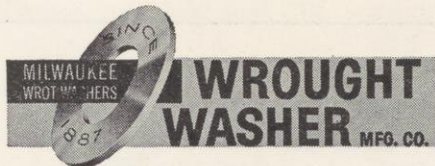
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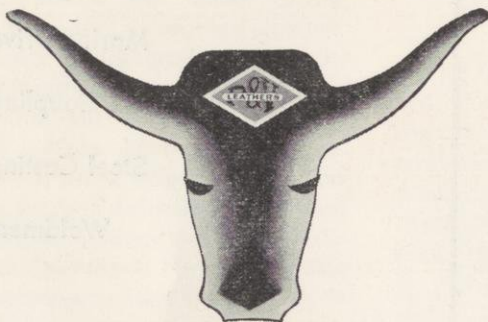
"If a nation values anything more than freedom, it will lose its freedom, and the irony of it is that if it is comfort or money that it values more, it will lose that too."

W. Somerset Maugham



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stroyed by that same movement. To him history was not a matter of legislation, accidents, day by day events, small wars or earth shaking decisions of willful men. Rather it was a matter of convulsions — slow maybe, here harder and in a different form than there, perhaps, but fundamental eruptions — concerning the "essential nature of civilization." Thus he saw the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the Nazi and Fascist take-overs in Germany and Italy, and the New Deal in the United States all as separate facets of a general convulsive revolution. He treats them not as similar but one, varying tremendously in form, but essentially alike. Every "front" had the common and central feature of subjugating man, of rendering him less and less independent — politically, economically and morally.

Cold Friday will have a familiar ring to the readers of *Witness* in many ways. Chambers' struggle with Communism and how it came to have such a grasp on his life is beautifully spelled out through numerous means. The revolutionary impact that American Liberalism had upon his set of values and norms — the trading of purpose giving faith for rationalism and Science — while attending Columbia University is as frank and honest an assessment of Liberalism's soul-crushing power as exists. Chambers left a West for which he could see no future for a side apparently on the rise. Once his faith in the life-force of the West was destroyed Revolution was the only answer.

What is sad, and possibly despair-production, in the book, is that in the eyes of Chambers the West still has very little to offer men searching for an answer. Materialism has almost conquered the spirit, and it is a failure. "The West believes that man's destiny is prosperity and an abundance of goods. So does the Politburo." To what, then, did Chambers and others like him return? In his words, they "were back in a West without meaning, a West that is unable to find itself a meaning equal to the crisis that besets it."

Chambers felt deeply that Western civilization had lost that characteristic that would give it meaning, purpose for being. And from this, his own retirement to Pipe Creek Farm showed his personal answer to a civilization that had lost its faith.

There is much in *Cold Friday* with which the conservative will take issue. Chambers' naive ideas on the farm problem and its solution will find few sympathizers. The movement of history, the essence of conservatism, the opinions on the future of the world, as well as its past, are all unorthodox. But yet, there is no one who will read *Cold Friday* with an open mind who will not be profoundly affected. For Whittaker Chambers has, in his own person and in his own testimony, lived the torture of the twentieth century and points the way out. His words deserve a hearing.

RICHARD FISCHER

"To be turned from one's course by man's opinions, by blame, and by misrepresentation, shows a man unfit to hold an office."

..PLUTARCH

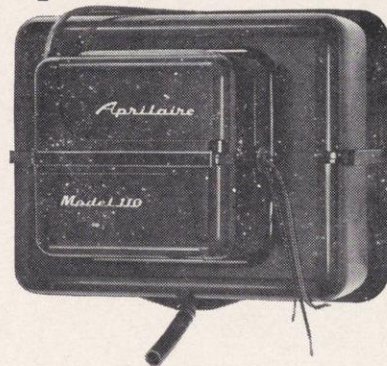
Rare indeed is the man who can hold steadfastly to his basic beliefs in the face of unreasoning opposition. This is as true today as it was nearly 19 centuries ago when the venerable Greek philosopher first discussed the virtues of determination.



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hindsights

Odd as it may seem, we find ourselves in agreement with the Committee to End the War in Viet Nam. They are right, the war ought to end. Before the committee enlists our more active support for their cause, however, it would only seem fair to inform them that our agreement does not extend to their opinion of who the victors ought to be.

Should they remain interested, we have a suggestion. Instead of picketing the President why not send a delegation to the Communist capitals and ask them to recall their attacking forces? Their efforts wouldn't be very successful, but at least they'd feel at home.

It is unbelievable! Nearly 7,000 war-mongers on one campus alone (the University of Wisconsin) made it known that they were definitely not in favor of withdrawing from Viet Nam. All were signers of a petition in favor of our present U.S. policy. It is concrete proof of what the left-wing has been contending all along: we rich capitalists are all imperialist at heart. We're hotbloods too; most of the male signers were of draft age.

"'U' Leading in Federal Funds" ran the headline, as the news story informed a tax-drained public that the good University of Wisconsin has been able to spend more of its money in the new aid to education program than any other University in the nation. Maybe it's because we're dense, but we simply fail to see why our school has to be first in everything.

We wonder how many people were perturbed at the free-spending Federal Government when they had to shell out the dough which they, through the inadvertance (sic) of the central planners, were found owing on their income tax this year. It hurts more when you see it go.



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

President of the United States,
Calvin Coolidge
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