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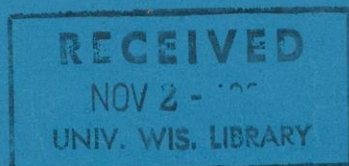
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insight and outlook



in this issue . . .

***A Bold Amusing
Instinctive Thing To Do***

Jared Lobde



Reckless Nuclear Policy?

Roger D. Ritley

Extremism 1964:

A Political Assessment

Dell F. Pendergrast

With Malice Toward All . . .

Carl Kolata

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A CONSERVATIVE STUDENT JOURNAL

insight and outlook

Conservative Club
Young Americans for Freedom

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Insight and Outlook is published bimonthly by students at the University of Wisconsin. Editorial offices are located at 150 Langdon Street, Madison, Wisconsin.

Here We Go Again

For seven years INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK has provided a voice crying in the wilderness, indeed one of the only voices at the University of Wisconsin that dared to object. Officially, we have been welcomed, tolerated, scorned, damned. Some other reactions to our existence dare not be printed.

Here at Wisconsin, the official breeding ground of collectivism and left-wing activity, like elsewhere, the conservative "element" has, for nearly a decade, had a minimum of support and a maximum of opposition. Campus conservatism is indeed a student movement; the impetus, the activity, the enthusiasm were all of students—students with the courage to declare their opposition to not only their Liberal professors, but indeed to the prevailing trend of American life. This opposition took the form of rebellion, indeed (if you can stomach the word) of reaction against that philosophy degrading to man and destructive to his liberty and moral responsibility.

We at INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK have attempted now for seven years to provide a reasonable alternative—to give a picture of conservatism in its totality, in its ethical, philosophical, social, economic as well as its political manifestations. We believe we've come a long way; so has the movement we represent. We modestly note that the present Republican Presidential candidate was received by conservative students while the party pros were still talking to Dewey.

In this issue we have concentrated purposely on conservatism in American politics, and politics in general. Carl Kolata, GOP candidate for Congress from Wisconsin's second district critically examines the nature of the left-wing Americans for Democratic Action. He concludes that if the American voters really knew what the ADA is all about they'd send it out to fly a kite. Dell Pendergrast, a welcome newcomer to these pages from Boston University, takes a needed look into the great "extremism" controversy, placing it in its historical context. He suggests an intelligent alternative to Moderation's view of it's role in the election. Returning with "The Old Custom," Jared Lobdell, in a remarkable essay, does not really want to turn the clock back after all... Would Barry Goldwater's nuclear policy really produce a radioactive, smouldering planet? It's a Johnsonian lie! concludes Roger Ritley in an exploratory first effort, but it's proving too damn effective. The burden of disproof now rests with Barry, he notes, and the conscience of the nation. Dale Sievert digs into price supports of farm products, and watches them crumble. And Cy Butt, again following Fremont Guilfoyle, Elbie's man of affairs, discovers a sinister, post-election gambit of shocking proportions.

The Tougher Route

The melancholy disruptions that tortured Harlem a few months ago set me to wondering, as I often do, just to what extent liberalism has actually helped harmonize the races in recent years.

Harlem is a unique place; at once a terrible slum and the crucible, or test tube, for virtually every liberal-oriented social program ever conceived. There are programs on top of programs — private, local, state and federal. There are settlement houses and social workers. There are militantly liberal school boards, a stringent body of anti-discrimination laws, and a gentle judiciary predisposed to sympathize with the plight of Harlem's citizens.

It is, in short, liberalism's best effort, and that is what is so significant about the melee which exploded there those nights last summer.

Liberals tend to exaggerate the scope of social problems in order to incite remedial action, but I, for one, accept most of what they say about the terrible social pressures and ostracism which confront Negroes. A crushing environment must be blamed for the tragedies which befall our minorities and destroy their spirit.

But having accurately assessed the environmental blame for distorting and hurting the Negro character, the liberals make, I think, a crucial mistake. They usually presume that because the environment, or "society," is to blame, it is therefore society's responsibility to "correct" the situation.

This results in new demands for even bigger programs; in endless social tinkering and law-giving. If only the environment can be rendered more hospitable, goes the theory, the Negro people are bound to progress.

And so, the paternal state finds them jobs, proffers relief, plumps them into urban renewal projects, wars against discrimination and treats lawbreakers with kid gloves. All that may be well and good, but it does not get to the root of the problem.

Blame and responsibility are two different things. A crushing environment may be at least partially to blame for the predicament of Negroes, but ultimately, only each individual Negro can help himself. No matter how friendly or hostile our environment, the ultimate responsibility for our success in life rests with ourselves. A dictatorial government could arbitrarily set up Negroes in good jobs and homes—and make

little progress at all toward harmonizing the races or putting Negroes on a better footing.

Liberals are not opposed to self-help or personal responsibility, but they do de-emphasize it because social tinkering—the engineering of society as if we were all mere clay to be molded on the utopian potter's wheel—is the preoccupation of the collectivist mind.

And as a result, more often than not, the slum child, the Negro youth, forgets all about applying educational disciplines to himself; forgets about learning to govern his hungers, and comes instead to the passive feeling that a hostile "society" owes him something.

But this doesn't relieve his tensions or set him along the active path to fruitful self-sufficiency. It leads, as it did in Harlem, the crucible of liberal experimentation, to explosive hostility toward some dim, vague entity known as the environment, or the white man's world. Those riots vent rage, but don't direct energies toward higher plateaus. And the liberals, viewing the whole problem as a glorified slum clearance operation, are helpless.

I think total solutions are impossible, but I would like to proffer some conservative alternatives here. I would begin by re-establishing calm and order. I would seek to win respect for law through firm, impartial and complete police enforcement, and by urging courts at least to honor defendants with the presumption that they are responsible for their own behavior. I would encourage schools, families and community groups to exercise voluntary discipline in order to minimize the need for state authority.

Once order is restored, the principal task would be to get each person to assume responsibilities. That means more emphasis in schools, pulpits and the press on clear moral codes, the Christian concern with the self and its potentialities, and the teaching of love and forgiveness for those of us in the white world who have failed in our own moral duties.

That route is tougher, but it leads somewhere. Some would call it naive, but I think it has a better chance to succeed than facile liberal solutions that end up in new frustrations, riots and enduring bitterness. I'm not sure how it could be implemented, particularly in slums, but I'm quite sure it must be implemented if Negroes are ever to take their place in the American sun.

— Aetius

We Want Barry!

In 1960 Insight and Outlook editorially endorsed Richard Nixon for the Presidency of the United States. We did so with reservations however, and reluctantly. The choice was largely a false one, between two candidates who, having shifted ground so often for votes, stood on positions that actually overlapped. We picked Nixon as likely to do the least harm. But we did note, back in 1960, that our real choice, if not for election then, at least for 1964, was the conservative spokesman from America's West—Barry Goldwater.

Nineteen sixty-four is upon us and, to the credit of the Republican Party, Americans are finally faced with a choice between the two major political philosophies in the United States today. We don't know what America's choice will be on November 3, but we do know our own, and we know why we've chosen the man we have.

This election year, of the two men before us, the incumbent, interim-President Johnson has shown and declared himself to be definitely a New Deal style Liberal. Barry Goldwater, on the other hand, has proudly identified himself with American conservatism. The following editorials state why we feel Barry Goldwater should be our next President.

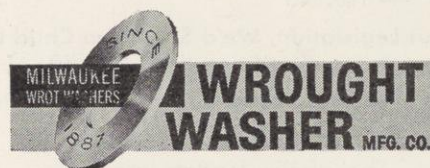
A Realistic Foreign Policy

The glossy showmanship in the White House has, in typical Johnson fashion, clouded the candidates' sharp differences on principles of foreign policy. In spite of his rhetoric, President Johnson has maintained the ill-fated course of conciliation and inaction set by the preceding administration. During the Kennedy-Johnson administration a rebel attempt to free the island of Cuba from the Soviet grip was betrayed at the last minute; an illegal wall was erected through the city of Berlin blocking the pathway of thousands of refugees clamoring for freedom—while U.S. soldiers, armed to the hilt, looked on; in Laos the pro-Western forces were abandoned by the Administration in favor of a neutralist government with heavy Communist inroads; amidst impassioned African screams of anti-colonialism, the Kennedy-Johnson Administration jerked the rug out from under the stable pro-Western Tshombe government in the Congo, producing pure chaos; in Viet Nam U. S. soldiers are dying in an undeclared war for undefined objectives . . . In nearly every area of conflict, military and political, the U.S. has chosen to give in. This record is an obvious liability to LBJ; his speeches noticeably sidestep that issue.

On the other hand, Barry Goldwater is at his best when speaking on foreign policy; it is his foremost concern. An idealist in the traditional liberal dream

"In the end . . . a funeral requiem will be sung over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism."

—Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. 7, page 298.



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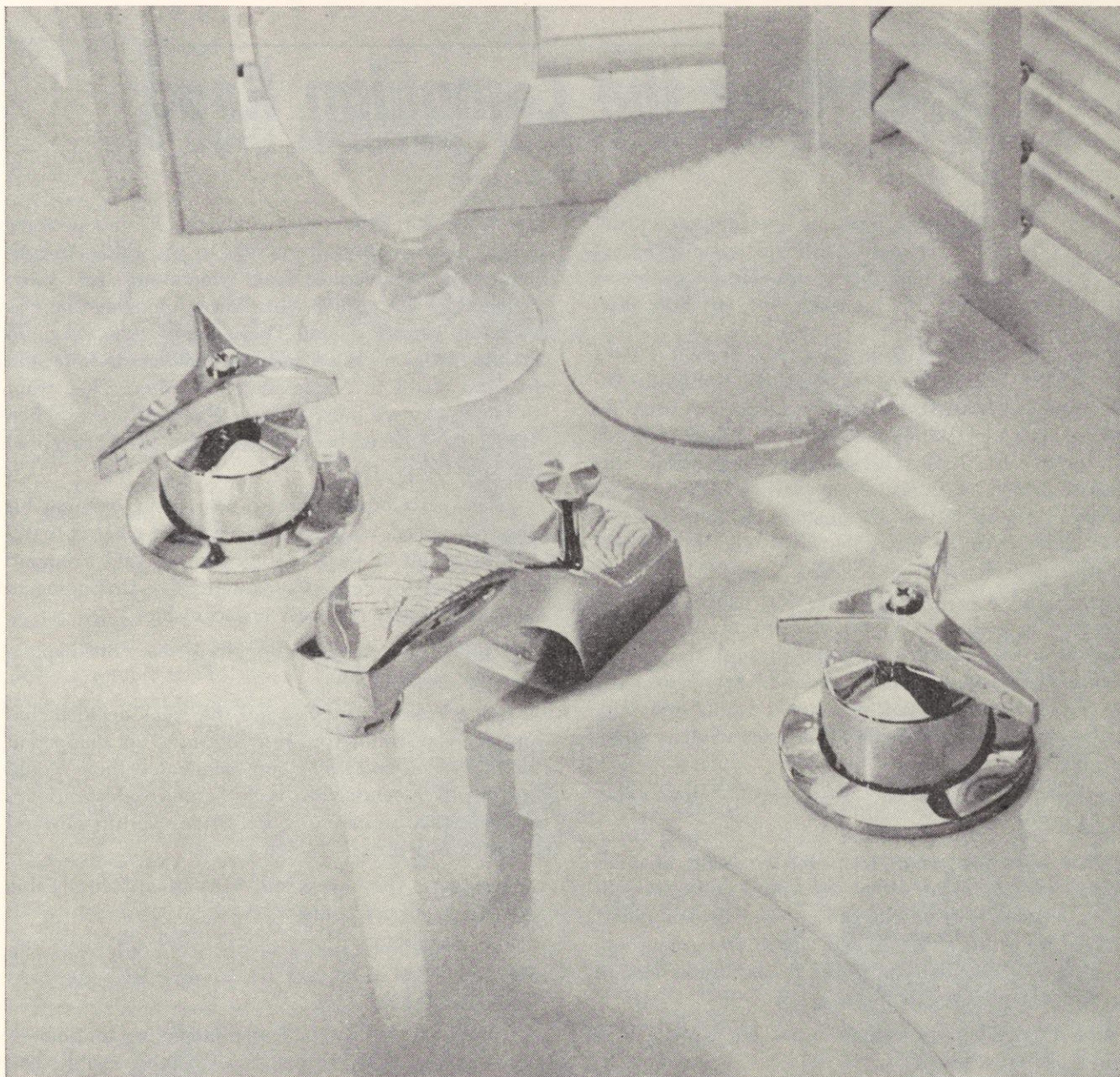
of eventually expanding American institutions throughout the world, Goldwater longs for a world of peace and freedom—a world in which human dignity and individual freedom are recognized as the true bases of government.

The last thirty years have seen a reversal of that traditional attitude toward the world. Democratic administrations of Roosevelt, Truman and Kennedy-Johnson, interrupted slightly, but never persistently, during the Eisenhower-Dulles years, pooh-poohed the threat of Communist imperialism and objected limply as Eastern Europe, China and Cuba went under Soviet control. With a watchful eye to "world opinion" our foreign policy shifted from extending freedom or making the world safe for democracy to a feeble containment and protection of the international status quo, be it just or unjust. But the idea of expanding liberty and justice was shelved in the process.

Barry Goldwater, more than any other political figure in America, has sounded the call to take up once again the struggle for human freedom and dignity. Freedom is his aim. His call to action is, unfortunately but necessarily, complicated by the presence of the militant Communist forces, holding in their arsenal weapons comparable to our own. The prospect of wide scale nuclear destruction must cause second thoughts on the nature of our challenge. But Barry Goldwater refuses to be terrorized into abandoning the principles of liberty, justice and human dignity because the consequences are far greater than before. If he must alter the immediate methods in the light of practical considerations, then he will do it. But never will he change the ultimate goal—forever will he work for the cause of freedom.

Herein lies the hope of humanity. Communism may have changed in tactics—although far more in word than deed—but it has never abandoned its goal. The Soviet leaders have grown smarter, more calculative in the light of Western power. But judging from their actions of the past few years, their determination has increased proportionately. Now both courage and wisdom are indispensable in defending against the Communist encroachment. Yet, Goldwater knows, peace is necessary to our cause. Policies born of fear can only lead to war. Barry Goldwater has the courage; it is the courage tempered with the wisdom of a man who, above any petty human desire, measures the importance of each move against his unit scale of ideals.

Goldwater, knowing how to use our nuclear power as a deterrent to war will never hand the Communists the advantage of military superiority; he understands the value of power. Peace requires that courage to face the nuclear threat of the Russian saber-rattlers. Freedom requires that wisdom to maintain the peace. Barry Goldwater asks America to once again carry the torch of liberty to the world.



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Smoothing the Campaign Road

Cy Butt

With the Boss on the campaign trail, Fremont Guilfoyle schemes to cut out future pre-election problems with one, er, little law.

It was the 17th of October and Mr. Joseph Troia's Steak and Martini House was holding its Eighth Anniversary celebration. During this auspicious occasion the specialty of the house could be purchased for 75¢ or two for \$1.50. The small but elegant bar was lined four deep with clamoring patrons when in came Fremont Guilfoyle and his amanuensis, Fifi. Fremont was clad in formal afternoon attire and Fifi in one of the new transparent blouses created by Mainbocher, and also a transparent skirt which she had thought up on her own hook. A low murmur punctuated by a few muted groans ran through the crowd, and it cleft asunder as did the Red Sea before the people of Israel. The pair proceeded through the gap, and seated themselves before Mr. Troia who, as usual, presided.

"Ah, there," said Mr. Troia. "Why the ornate regalia?"

"We have just come from the wedding of Fifi's sister," said Fremont. "It was a formal military wedding, I guess you would call it. The bride's father carried a white shotgun and, until the groom appeared, the best man and three of the ushers had to be quieted with small doses of gin."

"That's the best procedure," said Mr. Troia. "Will you be in town long?"

"No," said Fremont, gulping slightly as the olive went down. "I am working for Elbie now and I must get back to Washington to draw up some laws."

"Elbie?" queried Mr. Troia.

"Yes," said Fremont. "Elbie Jay. Elbie doesn't like elections and right after November 3 we are going to jam a bill through eliminating them."

"Why?" asked Mr. Troia.

"Because of the embarrassment," said Fremont. "People around the country keep asking the most insane questions and Elbie has to keep running around dedicating dams and highways and such to avoid answering them."

"Questions like what?" asked Mr. Troia.

"Well," said Fremont, "they want to know about

the Billie Sol Estes thing, and why Elbie's protege, Bobby Baker, clings so closely to the Fifth Amendment. And they write letters wondering how Elbie rounded up \$14 million when not too long ago he was teaching country school. They wonder why we build rockets with one hand and send billions to Tito and food on credit to Nikita with the other. They want to know why we must have a War on Poverty when 'things have never been better.' And they ask about the War Corps, too."

"The War Corps?" queried Mr. Troia, opening his glistening black eyes even wider. "And what is that?"

"Our troops in Viet Nam, of course," said Fremont. "Shriver has his Peace Corps and Elbie isn't going to let that Kennedy tribe get ahead of him."

"I thought as much," said Mr. Troia. "But explain this new election law."

"Elbie," said Fremont, "and the ADA decided that anyone who would vote Republican is not competent for the ballot, and with them eliminated there would be only Democrats left, and therefore elections are not necessary and are a waste of time and money and a source of worry to Elbie."

"I suppose they are," said Mr. Troia. "Does Elbie ever figure he could lose?"

"Of course not," said Fremont. "We only stole Illinois and Texas in '60, and we can do a lot better than that if necessary."

"I doubt it not," said Mr. Troia stirring up doubles for the house, which Fremont, expanding visibly, had ordered. "But what are these Civil Rights outfits going to say about stopping elections?"

"They're O.K.," said Fremont. "Elbie promised them God knows what all and they agreed to halt riots and rape and looting till November 4, and when Elbie is sitting tall in the saddle he'll handle them just like he did when he sold that land in Texas. But that's a small item — what we must concentrate on now is getting to the moon first."

"Why?" asked Mr. Troia.

"Elbie wants to set up a radio and TV monopoly there," said Fremont.

"That will make two for him, won't it?" asked Mr. Troia.

"Well, yes," said Fremont. "You might put it that way."

A Bold Amusing Instinctive Thing To Do

Jared Lobdell

The fact of the matter was, I suppose, that to us in those days the traditions and conventions of our class still seemed secure and strong; our one idea was to escape from them. Today that class is committed to a rearguard action, and for the young the bold, the original, the amusing, perhaps even the instinctive thing to do is not to rebel against traditions but—judiciously of course, and selectively—to rescue them. But I may be completely wrong about all this.

— Strix

Wrong? I think not: but it is questionable whether any attempt to rescue traditions selectively can be successful. To preserve traditions selectively may perhaps be possible, although history has few enough examples of successful rearguard actions even without the disadvantage of attempted selectivity. But to rescue traditions, to pull them back again to shore after they have been caught in the undertow from the tide of progress, to effect a Stuart Restoration, is likely at best to be extremely difficult, and may well in this day be impossible. Which does not, of course, mean that it should not be attempted—if we are going to go down it is as well to go down with the flags flying. But, it might be asked, to what extent is the present rebellion in favor of traditions, the so-called Young Conservative movement, no more than a turnabout on the rebellion against tradition of one or two generations earlier? And to what extent is it, or is it capable of being turned into, a true attempt to establish an altered society.

The question is very close to being a crucial one. Of course, if Senator Goldwater is elected, our political situation will, to some extent, differ from the political situation if Lyndon Johnson is elected. It would be a first step toward something other than what we have now. But it would not call back to life the days of the founding fathers. Nor would it be intended to. The often heard charge that Goldwater is an eighteenth century man

is doubtless partly true, but not because he has an outlook peculiar to the eighteenth century. I will not attempt to draw a character sketch of the man or his support, but I think that the suggestive attributes of both are characteristic of a frontier society, or at least of a society where the frontier is still significant. And, of course, it was significant in the eighteenth century, and the nineteenth as well. There is very little qualitative difference between the idea that the only good Indian is a dead Indian, and the idea that the only good Communist is a dead (or a reformed) Communist.

I would claim, therefore, that the society of the frontier — the old frontier — provides a much more exact analogue to the ideal society of the Goldwater movement than does the society of the founding fathers. But, as has frequently been pointed out, the old frontier is closed, and there is no comparable new frontier. It may, of course, be possible to instil in present society the virtues of the old west (or of the old east for that matter), to recall America to a sense of her heritage, dead Indians and all, but I think one is permitted to doubt it. The republican tendencies of the Emperor Claudius did not long survive his elevation to the Purple. The attempt of the more extreme Roundheads to return to primitive Germanic democracy went a long way toward ensuring the return to Charles II. You cannot go back into the past — that is part of what the word *past* means.

And is the Conservative experiment therefore doomed to failure? Not quite: for, leaving aside the immediate problem of the Presidential election (on which the major part of the instinctive energy has been expended), and turning to the question of the restoration of frontier virtue, even with the concomitant frontier faults, there is still a chance for some kind of victory. But it will require the regeneration of a national spirit, like that of the Revolution, or the Civil War (say rather, the Civil War less Reconstruction), a people caught up in something far greater than themselves, something which, casting its glory on Washington and Lincoln, has changed them from heroes to demi-gods. You talk of extremists. William Lloyd Garrison called the Constitution an agreement with Hell, because it sanctioned slavery. John Adams was extreme enough in his pursuit of an abstract will-of-the-wisp called Justice to defend the soldiers of the oppressor after the Boston Massacre. But their vision conquered. If I am given a choice between Lyndon Johnson's call for the great society, ringing loud and clear as a tin horn, and the narrow unfashionable Congregational extremism of Jonathan Edwards jr. preaching on the text "happy is that people whose God is the Lord", and claiming that "political prosperity requires the general practice of a strict morality", I know which I will take. Call me a reactionary for wanting to go back to 1794, but I would prefer to see of the people a national congregation than a congeries of interest groups manipulated by greed and dedicated to the proposition that some voters are more equal than others.

The Stuart Restoration was, in a way, successful, at least in part be-

cause it was the will of the people, and more so because it restored Charles II rather than Charles I. A Conservative Restoration is not going to happen here unless it is wanted, and if it does happen it is not going to be a restoration of something we had before, but (if I may be forgiven the paradox) of something new.

This present Young Conservatism may largely be the bold amusing instinctive thing to do, but at least

in certain places there are signs that it is more. In it, as in the Conservative movement generally, there are some beginnings of a true national spirit, despite the things about it that I as much as anyone can find to attack. I do not know what will come of these beginnings: time will tell the sum of their success. The Presidential election is a temporary thing, however far-reaching its results. The true restoration of the frontier (changed, one admits, and modernized) can only come in the hearts of the American people. And

there neither Lyndon Johnson nor Barry Goldwater has as yet a major place.

It may be that the wind of change is blowing truly, or it may be that there is only a light and fitful breeze. It may be that we are in a dead calm of prosperity, content with our present society and convinced that the only significance of the frontier lies in its death. But I think there is a wind, and while it blows, let us fly our flags, square the yards, and make the best of it.

A Reckless Nuclear Policy?

Roger D. Ritley

It is now apparent that the Democrats have been unusually successful in their vilification of Senator Goldwater. Since charges of "reckless," "trigger-happy," and "irresponsible" have been levelled at the Republican Party's nominee, it has caused at least part of the electorate to turn to "a man whose public house is splendid in its every appearance, but whose private lack of ethic must inevitably introduce termites at the very foundation." President Johnson has managed to maintain the offensive through the news media promotion of his propaganda line in distorting Sen. Goldwater's policies. However it now seems that the President has erred in his eagerness to denounce anything Senator Goldwater proposes, whether on foreign, defense or domestic policy. But more on that later.

Much of the news media is presenting the view that the question of control over nuclear weaponry is the decisive issue of the 1964 presidential campaign. Indeed, that may very well be the design, since there are obviously intentional discrepancies between what Senator Goldwater says and what the newspapers print, especially on this subject.

The clouds of doubt and fear surrounding Senator Goldwater's nu-

clear position were formed in October, 1963 when he suggested at a news conference that NATO field commanders be given greater discretion on the use of tactical weapons in the event of an attack by the enemy whoever it might be. The Presidential aspirant harvested a whirlwind of criticism from within both political parties since, ostensibly, the American people can sleep at night only if the possibility of a nuclear retaliation against hostile forces is held by one man, their President. Goldwater's view that there is a possibility of broken or delayed communications was sloughed away by the Johnson Administration even though in the last Tonkin incident, it was a full 28 hours before the Administration was clear about what was happening. Plainly the communications network was not functioning well. Can this network be depended upon or, as Senator Goldwater has suggested, should the commanders in these areas be allowed to exercise their own judgment in order to protect American lives and the integrity of our nation? As the Senator has clearly stated, these high commanders will only use these weapons under a prescribed set of conditions — when the president would be unavailable to issue orders and the situation demanded the stemming of aggressive forces.

It is reasonable to assume that the Communists tolerate American troops in Europe and other parts of the world, not because Allied conventional strength in Europe (26 divisions) can ward off Russian troops (est. 100 divisions), but because a formidable array of weapons act as a deterrent to the Communist regimes. Sen. Barry Goldwater, a man of considerable military experience, recognizes the importance of this "peace through strength" arsenal which serves as one of the effective bulwarks against Communism.

LBJ's Two Faces

Much of this controversy, which the crusading "Pentagon" stirred up, has come back to haunt the Administration since it is now generally assumed that certain commanders *have* received this authority from President Johnson. It was delegated to them as far back as 1958 under President Eisenhower and his successor John F. Kennedy. This seems to put President Johnson in an incongruous position. On one hand, he has decried his opponent's approval of the delegation of authority, stating that autocracy was the only solution to this dangerous situation. On the other hand, he, as chief executive, has

known about and sanctioned the delegation of the authority to use nuclear weapons in similar situations.

Certainly the President must be considered irresponsible when one couples the above paradox with his speeches about the devastation of nuclear war. Of course the American people have a right to know the effects of this horrible prospect, but when the leader of the country juggles unrealistic figures varying between 100 million and 300 million casualties, one must think about the ethics of a man buying votes through fear. In fact, the mark of the President's campaign is that in every part of the country he has sought to buy his votes through some emotional contrivance.

The President of the United States delegates his power every day. He must—the job is a tremendous burden even with so much of the authority and responsibility distributed. And yet in this controversy, Johnson would have everyone believe he can't and won't delegate his nuclear power authority. In 1957 the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy received written notification that plans were being developed which would delegate some of this nuclear authority. By 1958 those plans came into operation although they are still top secret. This fact has been evidenced numerous times. One such example is stated by former NATO Commander, Lauris Norstad: *"In every crisis that arose under President Eisenhower and President Kennedy, there never was a time when I felt that there was any possibility of lack of complete meeting of the minds between the President and the Supreme Commander as to what should be done in an emergency."* (Time, Sept. 25, 1964, pp. 17)

These words from one of the former highest U.S. military experts intimate that the authority to use nuclear weapons had been and is delegated to military commanders. The present administration would have us believe that Sen. Goldwater is advocating the crossing of the

"fire break" area between limited war and all out nuclear holocaust. But, let us ask, is his urging that the best deterrent to nuclear destruction is a clear understanding of the role of nuclear weapons in the meeting of our foreign and domestic defense obligations really "irresponsible" gibberish emanating from a "demagogue?" Or to put it another way, is President Johnson enhancing American security when he wants the world to believe that he is the only man in a position to unleash the might of our nuclear arms? Hasn't President Johnson actually weakened the defenses of the Western world through a reversal of policy by the placement of electronic locks on nuclear weapons in Europe? The danger of a communications breakdown has already been mentioned and should caution us against encouraging our enemies to believe that we have only one method of giving the "go" signal. That is, of course, unless the Johnson Administration knows that the enemy is aware that contingency plans do exist and it is only the American public that is being kept from the truth for politically desirable ends. In that case, Johnson should inform our allies who have recently expressed concern over the new European defense position.

Political Criticisms

Neither should Senator Goldwater suffer the unjust criticisms of those whose nonsensical arguments are buttressed only by a lack of honesty and forthrightness.

For example, the late President Kennedy's idea of a multilateral force, a nuclear sea force, manned by mixed crews from NATO nations, was recently supported by Goldwater and enlarged to include battlefield weapons as well. This only caused President Johnson to warn about "nuclear spread." Oddly enough it is the hope of many leaders that the plan will be enacted since much of the remaining strength of our NATO alliance depends on their participating in the "only real defense against Communist invasion."

In another anti-Goldwater ploy Secretary of Defense Robert Mc-

Namara says that the average tactical nuclear weapon in Europe is five times as powerful as the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. His point appears to be that nuclear weapons are so much more powerful than chemical bombs that we dare not use them because of their large scale destructiveness. This argument is without content. The important word is "average." No one except Secretary McNamara has even considered using an "average" bomb. The discussion here concerns only the smallest weapons in our nuclear arsenal. In particular, the Davy Crockett recoilless rifle has an equivalent yield of 40 tons of TNT compared with World War II blockbusters of five tons. This is significantly smaller than the World War II atomic bombs which had a yield of 20,000 tons. McNamara's statistics, therefore, are found to be little more than a scare.

Strategically Necessary

NATO estimates of our defensive effectiveness in Western Europe without the added firepower of our tactical nuclear weapons indicate that the Russians could push to the Rhine in three days and take all of Europe in 30 days. In other words, the weapons are absolutely necessary for a strong defense of Western Europe and, in fact, have been part of the strategy since 1954. Senator Goldwater has urged development of even smaller tactical weapons, a phase of weapons technology not being pushed as hard as many military men would like. His position has been that our forces should use "just enough firepower to get the job done."

More succinctly, Senator Goldwater's views are not those of a "triggerhappy extremist." He is a man of the highest virtue whose insistence on an intelligent international posture has brought him discredit by the world's collectivists. The Senator's sole concern in this issue, aside from noting his opponent's hypocrisy, is to point out to the world that this proud nation will, if necessary, defend her interests with America's nuclear arsenal.

Extremism 1964: A Political Assessment

Dell F. Pendergrast

Must the political Right wing now Purge its support?

"And may I remind you that extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice," declared the Candidate emphatically and the Convention roared its approval while Jacob Javits squirmed uncomfortably and David Brinkley smirked reflectively. No statement since William Jennings Bryan's "Cross of Gold" has electrified the faithful and provoked the skeptical at a political convention more than Senator Barry Goldwater's "extremism" reference in his acceptance speech last July. The Liberal Establishment has shuddered in a spasm of dismay, more convinced than ever that the Republican Party has been captured by those who advocate impeaching Earl Warren, repealing the income tax, and unleashing nuclear war. Despite thoughts about loving his wife "extremely" and repudiating the racist Ku Klux Klan, Senator Goldwater has failed to explore the subject with his characteristic honesty and perceptiveness. In fact, both the Goldwater camp and the conspiracy-hunters on the Left have avoided any deep reflection on the issue, relying chiefly on invective, guilt-by-association, and evasion.

What has been overlooked in the consideration of the "extremism" controversy is the profound revolution that has developed in American politics this year. Only in the context of this changing pattern of our country's election history can the issue of "extremism" be placed at all meaningfully.

In contrast to the Continental multi-party experience, the electoral college established by the Federal Constitution sired a predominantly two-party political system. In the Republic's early years

there was a natural geographic, social, and ideological division for the nation's first major political groups, the Federalists and Anti-Federalists (later the Democratic-Republicans). The former (its philosophical impetus provided largely by Alexander Hamilton) and the latter (the creature of Thomas Jefferson) closely paralleled the interests and ideological orientation of their respective strengths. The Federalists were associated with the mercantile and industrial forces of the Northeast, while Jefferson's party was the spokesman for the agrarian interests of the South and the Frontier.

Non-ideological Coalition

The country expanded westward, new states were added, immigration introduced an increasing diversity to the population, and the Industrial Revolution carved a variety of interests in the young Republic. The two-party system of the late 18th century was complicated by these developments and soon disappeared. The Whigs and Jacksonian Democrats later endeavored to succeed the Federalists and Anti-Federalists, respectively. What resulted, in fact, was the birth of the modern coalition system only incidentally related to any deep ideological divergence among the competing political organizations. The Whigs and Jacksonians collapsed from the divisive burden of the slavery issue, which ripped open both parties and provided the context for a new non-ideological coalition that elected Abraham Lincoln in 1860.

The pattern first observed in the Jacksonian Era and consummated by the Republicans after the Civil War conceived no great philosophical or ideological debate, but rather coalitions of convenience by various groups uniting to elect a na-

tional ticket. The political process evaded any deep ideological consideration, concentrating instead on a unifying issue (whether it be slavery, the National Bank, Free Silver, or "economic royalists" on Wall Street) and the personal appeal of the presidential candidate.

This development was not necessarily misguided in its undertaking. The rapidly growing character of the United States, geographically, economically, and in population, ostensibly precluded the possibility of a major party producing anything but the bare substance of political philosophy. The two-party system required that people put aside or ignore many differences in order to accommodate the Constitutional election process. This was apparently applicable to a country where limited communications and strong sectional allegiances impaired the national consciousness that would not be even partly achieved until after two world wars.

Diverse Appeal

The Great Depression ended the domination of the Republican coalition of Eastern industrialists and Western agrarian interests that ruled the country since the Civil War. The groundwork, however, for Franklin Roosevelt's victory in 1932 was made by Al Smith four years earlier when the Republican strength among voting groups in the large cities was dented considerably. Roosevelt constructed upon Smith's gains a coalition of unmatched political power and appeal. The diversity of the Roosevelt coalition could not have been more pronounced. The New Deal label embraced the Southern segregationist, the Negro, the descendants of Eastern and Southern European immigrants, doctrinaire intellectuals of prestige universities, and

the inheritors of the Populist-Progressive tradition in the West. The consolidation of these varied elements was fostered basically by two factors. The magical Roosevelt charm guaranteed success not only at the national level, but for local and state candidates as well. Secondly, the Republicans now were stereotyped unfavorably as the "Depression Party" and the Democrats became identified as the national instrument of compassion, charity, and pork barrel for all.

Failure of "me-tooism"

In the glare of the Democratic success, Republican conservatives pleaded for the Grand Old Party to inhibit and not imitate the spend-and-elect philosophy. What the Republican leadership attempted, instead, was to seek a coalition modeled largely on the Roosevelt example. After four elections of failure in this effort, the Republicans finally succeeded with a popular war hero as candidate and the not-so-original campaign admonition "time for a change" (as it turned out, in administrators, not policies). The Republican Party of the Eisenhower years moved to lure the working-classes with a tempered New Deal liberalism while taking for granted the hard-core Republican voters in the West and Midwest. The effort was successful for two campaigns (although, significantly, Congressional and Senatorial candidates found "modern" Republicanism not nearly so fruitful). In 1960 Dick Nixon attempted to step into the General's shoes, but the large metropolitan voting blocs found a charming Irish-Catholic far more palatable than the Vice-President's forbidding, unshaven television appearance and unexciting "me-tooism."

The whole concept of a coalition based on convenience and welfare state liberalism has been repudiated by the Republican Party in 1964. Conservatives, lacking significant leadership since the death of Senator Robert Taft, rallied behind Barry Goldwater to restore some integrity to the Grand Old Party

and some substance to American political discussion. Instead of mourning their plight, conservatives rolled up their sleeves, went into the precincts, and succeeded in making conservatism the prevailing voice of the Republican Party. The *New York Times* and Walter Lippman haven't been the same since.

While both political parties had attempted to squeeze beneath the same banner during the past three decades, there remained a large number of fringe groups on the Right and Left that resided outside the orthodox bread-and-butter liberalism. The Goldwater candidacy has altered this picture considerably. The Arizona Senator's nomination has dichotomized the nation's political differences along ideological lines rather than on the basis of which Party can best ad-



minister the same program. The so-called "extremist" or fringe organizations, espousing both reasonable and more often irrational ideas, for the first time feel comfortable in America's modern political system. In a campaign of competing conservative and liberal principles, fringe groups of heavily ideological orientation will gravitate towards the group closest on the political spectrum. In our two-party system, they have no other place to go for significant national expression and participation, even if they disagree on some issues with the major party.

The far right wing will turn to Senator Goldwater, and the far left will rally behind President Johnson. This need not suggest that either candidate is controlled or even associated with these fringe elements. The conservatism of Barry Goldwater is not necessarily the

conservatism of Robert Welch, the Minutemen, or Governor Wallace; but it is conservatism, and, if only for reason of the label alone, individuals and organizations of less than favorable reputations will declare allegiance to the cause. The two-party system encouraged by the electoral college hampers splinter parties that might better represent each individual group. It is a natural human instinct to seek a sense of efficacy in one's actions. The efforts of the far right in a third party would be (and have been) restricted by the customary procedure of awarding a state's electoral votes to the candidate obtaining a plurality. The rise of legitimate conservatism in the Grand Old Party has led "extremists" of the Right to at least *believe* that they have found a national instrument for their ideas. Again, this does not suggest that the candidate represents these groups; it is more important that they *believe* he does, and will feel more effectual in electing him than in supporting the token efforts of Major General Walker or Governor Wallace.

The Conservative Dilemma

The task of electing Senator Goldwater has not been made any easier, to be sure, by those elements whose conservatism is really only a rationalization of their racial prejudices, hostility to society, or personal psychological problems. Conservatives face a real dilemma in joining hands with those who do little to enhance the proud tradition of conservatism. The desirable development of ideological identity in our national political system has attracted these people to the conservative cause and must be acknowledged as a necessary evil.

Liberals as well as conservatives must ascertain, however, exactly what "extremism" can be tolerated and what must be repudiated. Only the most narrow-minded can ignore the differences existing within the category of "extremist" organizations. A distinction should be drawn between those groups who advocate possibly undesirable pro-

grams but work within the political and legal structure and those who would work for their objectives outside the existing system. The Communist Party and the Ku Klux Klan have no hesitation to defy the law and well-being of Society for achievement of their goals. It would be disastrous, however, to associate these organizations with the John Birch Society. This group may have goals with which many conservatives (and all liberals) cannot agree, but the mere suggestion of impeaching a public official or ending American membership in the United Nations suggests a willingness to work within the Constitutional procedures of the National Government.

The marketplace of ideas is open to all, not just to those with whom one agrees. Still, the right to free speech does not condone screaming "fire" in a theater, nor does it tolerate those groups and individuals whose propaganda is violence against individuals and a declared war against the community at large. Any liberal or conservative who condemns lawlessness on the opposite end of the spectrum while apologizing for the style closest to himself is guilty of flagrant hypocrisy. The militant civil rights groups, while certainly not to be compared with the Communist Party or the Klan, frequently suggest an "extremism" far worse than the John Birch Society. While at the surface non-violent, the whole concept of "civil disobedience" too often ignites the animal instincts of those who wish to hurl bricks rather than bolster the cause of their own race. Before condemning groups on the far right, liberals perhaps should examine the fringe elements on their own side of the spectrum, discarding those who would destroy our society rather than improve it. Senator Goldwater has seemed to indicate that he perceives this important difference among "extremist" organizations by repudiating the support of the Ku Klux Klan. Hopefully, President Johnson does as well.

Conservatives have no reason to

apologize for "extremism". For the first time in years conservatives have a significant voice in national affairs. It does not utter the "pseudo-conservatism" of those who imagine a communist or "comsymp" under every bed, but a tempered, reasonable conservatism built upon the traditions of our ancestors and the vitality and promise of the future. Liberals, however, would like nothing better than to have Senator Goldwater and his conservative philosophy dismissed by American voters as "crackpot politics" embraced by "little old ladies in tennis shoes" and oil tycoons. The political system could then settle again into quiet reflection

on Tweedle-Dum-And-Tweedle Dee and on what new sector of American life can be brought under the benevolent thumb of Washington. "Extremist" groups on both Left and Right cannot be overlooked; but, the important dialogue of ideology now developing in our political discussion must be sustained beyond the November election, and not sacrificed for those interests and ideas that covet a monopoly in the American political system. The issue of "extremism", touching too heavily on the trivial in recent weeks, should not be allowed to impair or obscure one of the most significant developments in American history.

The Kernel of the Price Support Controversy

Dale Sievert

For those who believe that the price support controversy has not been obsessing the minds of sane citizens for some time, be enlightened and disheartened with the following. Under the King in 1619 the Virginia Colonial Assembly set minimum prices for tobacco, attempting to solve a depressed market. Obviously Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* had not yet been in print, and thus could this action be possibly excused. However, when this "solution" serves as the proposed panacea for low and unstable prices in 1964, then someone is far astray in economics and rural sociology. Have a look at the problem.

The 1920s began an era of low and unstable prices now reaching four decades in length. In 1929 Congress decided to dig into its Files of Forgotten Failures and came up with the price support. Its function was to hold prices stable in major commodities, offering higher than market prices to the farmer for his product. A term often heard in reference to agriculture is the parity ratio—that ratio between the prices farmers receive for their product and those they

pay for necessary farm inputs, all determined at a time when market prices for farm products were unusually high as compared with farm costs. At the base period for this ratio, the ratio was set at 100%, but today it falls far below that. Post-war parity ratios remained at 90% until the Eisenhower years when Secretary Benson attempted to abolish supports. A Democratic congress prevented total removal and the Kennedy-Johnson administration again increased the price supports to raise the parity levels.

Economic Light

The arguments against supports and for this withdrawal are convincing when clearly understood. Free market economics offers a good deal of understanding and clarity on this matter. The first point is that low, inequitable prices generally result from one major source: oversupply. Oversupply originates in this case from two major sources: too large a number of enterprises and rapidly expanding technology. The vast number of farmers, 3.7 million, prevents consistently correct free market responses to market changes in de-

mand and price. One farmer's production decision will not noticeably affect the market as a whole but will be readily dissolved in the overall picture. Farmers realize this, so they proceed to make personal short run decisions in their own interests at the expense of agriculture as a whole. Also many farmers make decisions by tradition, often again at the expense of agriculture as a whole. Without supports eventually only those farmers efficient enough to make the grade financially would remain; also, by clear logic, they would be those with a greater interest in free market operations. Demand would eventually be met by supply, and prices would return to equitability. This is a slow, and probably a painful process—but a certain one. Technology does not change the structure of the problem but merely aggravates it by giving farmers an increased ability to overproduce. This problem would find resolution with the above structural change in farm numbers.

Secondly, unstable prices originate from three main sources in agriculture, only one of which nothing can be done. First are the low elasticities of supply and demand; because the farmer can only significantly change the elasticity of supply, we can omit the demand case. Elasticity measures the response of either supply or demand changes to a change in the price of a commodity. Low elasticity of supply means that supply varies little with a change in prices. If we reverse this relationship, that is, have an economy with high elasticity it is evident that in a bumper year, or a lean year, this supply variance will effectuate a major price change—and possibly a very dangerous one at that, for large price changes may easily wipe out marginal farmers. Again, were the number of farmers decreased, supply would be better channeled to demand, greatly removing this problem. Also more efficient farmers would be able to withstand a drop in prices and not require assistance.

Second is the inflexible nature of

marketing margins. Inflexible margins mean that individual farms have relatively fixed costs when compared with industry. Thus, when prices change at the retail level, factors such as labor, advertising, etc. can be shuffled within an industry to maintain its profit; on most farms nothing like this is possible to any substantial degree. So the price a farmer receives varies accordingly with these fluctuations—often drastically. The reasonable and correct method of combat is through stronger and more efficient farms; an added benefit is increased bargaining power. But again the price support prevents this occurrence by perpetuating small and inefficient farms.

Third, the unplanned and uncontrolled nature of agricultural production plays against the farmer, but, of course, no one can assist in this respect.

Aggravating the Causes

The third major argument against price supports is that artificial market prices give farmers incorrect market signals to which to respond. In the case of price supports a greater supply will result than will be demanded because the price received is higher than the market price. The result? You can observe it by travelling through the Midwest and the West where it is stored in Butler silos. To be reasonable one must admit that a surplus will naturally occur when supports exist. It is acceptable to assume the administration to be unreasonable, but do not underestimate their cleverness. The *1964 Wheat Program* and the *Feed-Grain Program* include, as a stipulation for receiving support benefits, restrictions on acreage production. Seldom considered is the possibility that financial loss because of decreased acreage could very well be greater than the gain through the supports. This stipulation moderates an earlier but similar bill that is as repulsive as any bill ever dreamed of in anyone's treacherous mind. It would have forced farmers to abide by government restrictions on acreage

for various commodities, and end forever the right of a farmer to produce whatever he himself pleases on his own farm—truly a God-given right.

Besides, should not the administration correct its own mistakes instead of the farmers correcting them for it? Naturally, but this is an unmentionable topic, and apparently the administration would rather keep the citizenry ignorant of the truth of the matter than to admit their blunder. As the story goes, the federal government would actually be assisting the farmer where the farmer himself could not assist himself. Poppycock!

But what of the non-economic factors in the price support controversy? Should any executive or congressional individual have the power to act so arbitrarily, so sweepingly, so strongly on literally millions of enterprises, this power being a most lethal weapon for political ambition, for altering the economic and thus social structure of an entire agrarian society? But if rationality leaves us, and allows us to believe so, we must avoid the delusion in thinking this individual or faction will end its control at this beginning. Because so many private enterprises are farms, the very term "private enterprise" suffers its existence on this decision.

Last, what about the family farm and the issue concerning it? We define it as a farm owned and operated almost totally by one family; we can further add that the enterprise owes its existence to the managerial and financial integrity of the individual farmer. Politicians spend their forced emotions on the family farm—unfortunately mainly for votes. A bonafide interest in the family farm will lead them to fulfill its definition. Hardly will a price supported farm, heavily dependent on the federal government, be commensurate with its definition.

The abolition of price supports became the policy of President Eisenhower. It should, and very likely would be the goal of President Goldwater.

With Malice Toward All . . .

. . . the ADA takes on the USA

Excerpted From the Position Paper of

Carl Kolata

In January of 1947, at the call of an organization known as the Union for Democratic Action (U.D.A.), 150 prominent liberals, including Hubert Humphrey, then Mayor of Minneapolis, met in Washington, D.C. It was there that they formally organized the Americans for Democratic Action.

This was the same U.D.A. which had met previously (1944) in an unsuccessful merger attempt with two major organizations known as the National Citizens Political Action Committee (P.A.C.) and the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (I.C.C.). Both of these groups plus others in attendance were rather openly communist controlled or otherwise heavily infiltrated.

Subsequent attempts to merge had also proven futile. The leaders nevertheless worked as closely with each other for their common aims as possible. But the disagreements, mostly on the methods of political action, tended to divide the U.D.A. from the others more and more often. This trend was accelerated by the American public's post-war development of anti-communist sentiment.

The election of 1946 was the final blow to their unity. Republican congressional candidates were highly successful in defeating those liberal opponents with records of co-operation with the communists. It was clear that the left was heading for destruction and must diverge from its communist friends. Thus, on January 4th, 1947, the ADA was formed, supposedly as a non-communist organization. The ICC and the PAC had met previously to form their own united

front, the Progressive Citizens of America (PCA).

But the division was superficial. As noted in 1947 by *The Nation*, a pro ADA, pro-extreme left journal, "Many labor leaders and New Dealers previously close to PAC or ICC and even some politicians who had gladly accepted support from these committees—were active participants in the Washington meeting which set up the Americans for Democratic Action."

The background of the ADA thus gives the organization a very suspicious air of congeniality with communists and their aims. This has been proven often enough through the years, as they continually defend the communists against any manner of impediment our security forces seek to place on them.

Against Security Steps

In their "Proposed Platform For the Democratic Party" published this last summer, they propose "... We pledge the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Committee on Internal Security." These committees, of course, avail the only proper means through which our Congress can obtain information on communist and other subversive activity in the United States.

In the same publication, they call for the "repeal of statutory provisions, the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Communist Control Act of 1954. We pledge the abolition of the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations."

This the ADA still does for their former partners, the communists.

But the matter cannot be disposed of by simply charging the ADA with being another communist front. It is not.

However, several observations point to continued agreement among members of the initial aims of the organization. The ruling board is still comprised of people who participated in its formation; further, the resolutions of the annual conventions along with the positions taken in official publications have been quite consistent with the initial stands of 1947.

The foreign policy [the ADA has] consistently advocated through the years can best be described as one designed to eventually inflict upon the world a combination of socialism and democracy (which they name social democracy, democratic socialism, etc.). Note two things in the following discussion. The positions taken [by the ADA] are consistent in their support for internal communist revolution (under whatever guise it appears) as they are also consistent in their opposition to the communist's overt aggression. Secondly, the immediate danger of communist gain is never as immediate a concern to the ADA as the reforms that they feel are needed in the present governments of the various nations, albeit they are under attack.

The China policy, traced from the early ADA stands to today, is



one first of support for the communists, then conciliation and appeasement. In the ADA's initial publication entitled "Toward Total Peace," the official position taken was in opposition to the forces of Chiang-Kai-shek which were at the time fighting an internal war against the communists. They stated "The greatest opportunity for communist penetration in Asia would arise from unqualified military support of Chiang Kai-shek."

Betrayal of China

Much to the continued consternation of anti-communists everywhere, the U.S. State Department yanked the rug from underneath Chiang Kai-shek, as the ADA suggested, and the communists ran over China to threaten world peace for the next 15 years.

The ADA, undaunted, still hating the "dictator" Chiang has repeatedly . . . call[ed] for the recognition and admission to the UN of the illegitimate Red China regime. In an official ADA pamphlet entitled "Proposal For A Democratic Party Platform," published this year, the ADA asked that "we should be prepared to consider the initiation, together with our allies, of negotiations leading toward the diplomatic recognition of mainland China and its admission to the United Nations." Probably because the Democrat's 1960 Platform reaffirmed opposition to Red China, the statement was buried in "ifs" and "buts." The consistency with the former official position can nevertheless be seen.

In 1947, at the same time the ADA [was calling] for the dumping of the anti-communists in China, they indicated support for the Truman Doctrine, which meant in particular, support of the war against the communists in Greece and Turkey. The distinction was made clear in "Toward a Total Peace" that "if the Truman Doctrine does mean unconditional support of all anti-communists, [we] would, of course, oppose it. If it means only that the U.S. proposes to support countries menaced by external aggression, [we] would,

of course, back it up." To paraphrase, they mean that the communists are not as definite a menace to their goals and aims as are various petty strong men and dictators.

ADA platforms advocated, during the years of struggle in Spain, a policy of overt action against strong man Franco. They said "We unequivocally condemn the fascist regime in Spain. We favor political and economic support to the government-in-exile and to the democratic forces within Spain."

Later, Castro's Cuban revolution against Batista received the same unequivocal support. But, well after Castro was proven to be communist, the ADA had no such desire to rid this Hemisphere of that dictator's presence. The February 1961 ADA World maintained that "the provocative and ineffective embargo of Cuba, imposed largely in the interest of the Nixon campaign, should be suspended."

In February, 1962, their official position was that "action by the



U.S. to intervene militarily or to support military invasion by Cuban exiles or by others in violation of the Charters of the U.N. and the OAS would not only be wrong but self defeating . . . [This] is no time to take unilateral economic sanctions against Cuba."

Little substantive change is present in the stand the ADA assumes today on Cuban policy. Quoting from their proposed platform:

In the case of Cuba, we believe that American interests (and the interests of the Hemisphere and of peace) would best be served if the Cuban Government could be persuaded to assume a position of gen-

uine non-alignment and could, by giving guarantees of non intervention in the affairs of its neighbors, qualify for readmission to the Organization of American States.

It is very difficult to reconcile their support of unilateral measures against Franco and the previous Cuban dictator, Batista, with the conciliatory attitude taken toward the communist dictator, Castro. But it is the general theme in the history of the ADA. Peace was not important when Franco or Batista were concerned, but [it] was the stated objective for appeasement of Castro.

A few isolated examples of this inconsistency in ADA explanations for their stands would be excusable. However, while many similar examples are found in their platforms of this conciliatory attitude towards communist regimes, none can be found which ask appeasement of a non-communist dictator in the interest of peace (or any other interest).

A more recent case in point—the Viet Nam crisis—contains even more unreal positions. While they said "hands off Cuba," the ADA participated actively in the tirades against the Christian, anti-communist, reasonably democratic Diem regime.

A 1962 convention resolution reaffirmed a year later in "ADA World" read thusly:

To use pressure upon the Diem regime to institute political, social, and economic reforms—or, failing these, to seek a viable alternative to that regime.

To consult with friendly Asian countries having a concern in the matter no less than our own, with the aim of establishing a broad political mutual guarantee system, *preferably based upon the principal of neutralism* within the framework and in every respect subject to the provisions of the Charter of the UN. If the Administration, alone or in consultation with America's allies, and other friendly concerned countries in the area, should decide nevertheless that there exists an actual threat to the peace by reason of existing conditions in Vietnam, it should bring the matter before the UN for appropriate action.

Here we have a nation in dire need of assistance in its death struggle with communism—and the

ADA calls for reform action which would further upset the necessary internal order. Later events proved the fallacy of their demands. Diem was murdered—to the glee of the ADA—a more “democratic” regime was instituted and the communists gained ground against uncertain opposition. The news of the past two months, with the governments switching faster than we can count, has completely vindicated the murdered constitutionally elected President. But the ADA, their “repressive” rival Diem removed, still calls for a policy of neutralization of Southeast Asia—even though this very plan has resulted in chaos and near communist takeover in neighboring Laos just this last year.

Today, the [ADA's] Proposed Democratic Platform reads “In the case of Viet Nam, we support the strengthening of the International Control Commission so that it can achieve the creation of a neutral area embracing Cambodia, Laos, and both Viet Nams . . .” On one hand, they ask for reform of the anti-communist government and then they ask appeasement of the communists involved. Violent action is needed in the first case, but, where the communists are considered, appeasement is the cry.

The Great Delusion

The pattern is too well documented. The rationale of the ADA, unless we are to assume them to be singularly stupid, can only be classified as sympathetic to the aims of “native” communistic revolutions. This cannot be said of external aggression by the same, leaving no cause to call them communists. Still their foreign policy views have lent us invaluable clues to their aims.

The ADA is working for the “ideal” society they wish to see in this world. But, if they are not communist, why would a successful communist revolution be desirable to their end? The answer is partially discernable from other foreign policy positions.

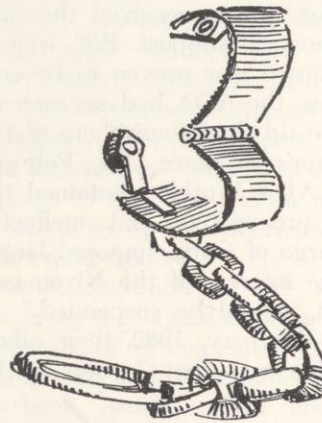
They expect communism to moderate. They perceive changes in communist countries which, they

feel, will lead them to democratic socialism.

That this is their concept is implicit in above mentioned resolution on Cuba.

In the long run, given patience and self-restraint on our part, we believe that the Cuban people will insist upon the restoration of these liberties when they see visible progress being achieved elsewhere in Latin America through democratic means.

The names are changed, but the idea has been the same when the resolutions have been applied to every communist nation. Nothing, however, is even mentioned of the



probability - or even the desirability—that the Cuban people will demand the return of capitalism. This is a clue, yet, not conclusive enough evidence for a positive statement as to the utopian world the ADA desires.

I have claimed, above, that their goal is democratic socialism. The claim is substantiated by the Domestic Policy which the ADA advocates.

While the ADA does not openly advocate socialism at home, every domestic stand they have ever taken hovers in and around the basic characteristics of socialism, namely government ownership and planning. The public utterings of ADA members concerning their welfare programs almost invariably center on the short range practical merits of the particular proposal. This certainly is quite incongruent with the generally cloudy, far-fetched, theoretical discussion of foreign policy, suggesting, I am afraid, that the ADA does not wish to reveal its long range domestic aims.

However, I have been able to find more intellectual essays concerning this aspect of their policy. One from which I will quote was written in 1947 by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., a present national vice-chairman of the ADA, and entitled “The Future of Socialism, III The Perspective Now.” As recorded in the May 28th, 1963 Congressional Record, Schlesinger, when asked if he had changed his mind, said “No. I believe now what I said then.” Following are pertinent excerpts:

Neither communism, with its despotism, nor capitalism, with its instability, nor facism, with its combination of the two, provide attractive solutions to the problem of how to live with modern industry and the modern state. Is there another possibility? Has non-communist, libertarian socialism a future?

He continues, in obvious sympathy for socialism, in the following paragraph:

If socialism (i.e. the ownership by the state of all means of production) is to preserve democracy, it must be brought about step by step in a way which will not disrupt the fabric of custom, law, and mutual confidence upon which personal rights depend.

A few paragraphs later this program is made clearer. “There seems no inherent obstacle to the gradual advance of socialism in the United States through a series of New Deals.”

What I have maintained of the ADA is conclusively shown in Schlesinger's rather honest statement of aim in his final paragraphs.

The intellectual must not be deflected from his responsibility by inherited dogma. It is clear today that Marx's method was often better than his own application of it. Experience is a better master than any text. The experience of a century has shown that neither the capitalists nor the workers are so tough and purposeful as Marx anticipated; that their mutual bewilderment and inertia leave the way open for some other group to serve as the instrument of change . . . and that the communist revolutionist is winning out over the Fascist and is today in alliance with an expanding world power which will bring every kind of external pressure to block the movement toward democratic socialism.

These seem to me the actualities of

the day. If their acceptance means discarding Marx, let us by all means discard Marx . . . If we can contain the counter-revolution of the U.S.S.R. within clearly marked limits, we have a good chance to test the possibilities of a peaceful transition into a not undemocratic socialism.

Schlesinger has summarized the plan which the ADA is working on this world. Step by step they intend to institute socialism in the United States; and to their moral credit—if not to the credit of their sense of reality—they hope to retain certain freedoms for the masses.

Curious Double Standard

This same democratic socialism is the plan for the world. Soviet Russia and the iron curtain countries already have the socialism—the new freedoms yet needed are supposed to arrive there by evolution. But *revolution* is the prescribed method for moving the non-communist countries into the socialist camp. It is no matter of real concern whether or not it is communist led, [the ADA] will still maneuver on behalf of the revolution. [For an economic system] capitalism is worse than communism even though it contains certain desirable freedoms. Freedom is in second place in the plan.

The public record proves my contention. The ADA member, fairly uniformly believes in democratic socialism. They therefore hold certain warm spots in their hearts for the foremost socialist society, Soviet Russia. Yes, they object to their brutality, but will tend to overlook these symptoms of fast change. The people of Russia, they are trying to tell themselves, will regain the rights they need. Then, peaceful coexistence (notwithstanding everyone's desire for peace) is quite consistent with their aims—the Russians aren't so bad.

Yet the ADA feels that the overt brand of communism must be held

in check, lest it cause unbalance in a situation when balance is needed for the democratic evolutionary process inside the communist-socialist nations.

These are the aims and practices of the ADA . . . Is there any doubt that these are totally alien to the aspirations and beliefs of the vast majority of American citizens? The ADA has the right to believe as it wishes—and the American public has the right to reject every last one of their members from any in-

fluent position in our government.

I favor a world in which all people have the right of free choice. I work for the day when this will be possible. Socialism can only be based on government control and government control is necessarily at the expense of free choice. I say, then, that the ADA's dream of combining democracy and socialism will only result in the despotism and coercion which they admit now exists in a communist world.

To The Memory of an Uncommon Man

R. P. F.

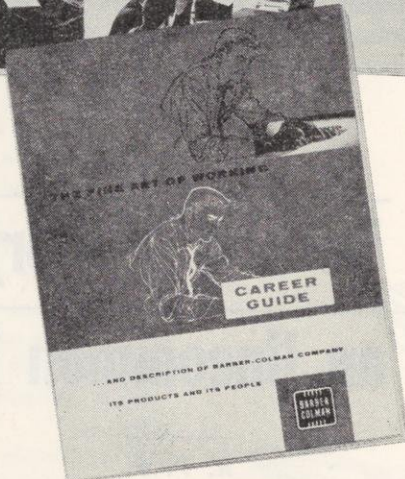
An idea that has gained wide popularity in recent years is that the explanation of this country's liberty and prosperity is the work and diligence of millions of common men. Indeed, this "common man" has received exaltation and praise from spokesmen in almost every aspect of American life. But that idea is not true and the statement is, at any rate, extremely misleading. This nation was not built by robots conforming to the commonness of the day, but rather by men with courage, foresight and wisdom to rise up to a position of extreme uncommonness. Indeed, the "Great Commoner" himself was a man the like of which has rarely appeared in history. It is the men who hold ideals ahead of ambitions; the men who, motivated by the love of God, completely give themselves for their fellow men; the men who prize liberty and fear tyranny to the point of accepting harsh and bitter ignominy; these are the men

— the uncommon men — of which a great nation is made.

Herbert Clark Hoover, thirty first President of the United States, was a man like that. Probably the greatest humanitarian the United States has ever known, a man of unchallengeable religious faith, Herbert Hoover retained his passionate concern for the individual throughout his long and full life. He was ever fearful of big government, and he wisely referred to that philosophy that would transfer local responsibility and authority to federal bureaucrats as a "false liberalism." His life, his ambitions, his achievements, recognized the possibilities and the limitations of his fellow men; he was a violent foe of tyranny and a great friend of liberty. He was, in short, an uncommon man. Truly the world mourns his passing, but what right have we to keep a great man indefinitely? Surely, with his life of faith and loving concern behind him, Herbert Clark Hoover is entitled to his promised reward.



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BOOKS:

Skeletons Clutter His Closets

In the early nineteenth century, the survival in America of "government by the people" was a political issue which properly assumed the foreground in the campaign debates. Since the Civil War, one hundred years of seldom interrupted national stability lent a certain permanence to the institutions which those of the past had jealously guarded. And, as the institutions hardened, concern for their continued existence understandably eroded. Today, one who expresses alarm that these freedoms are in jeopardy captures the attention of but a few; the balance remain blinded by the glitter of the golden calf.

A TEXAN LOOKS AT LYNDON; A STUDY IN ILLEGITIMATE POWER

J. Evetts Haley

Palo Duro Press, \$1.00

It is unfortunate that we, during this phase of tranquilizing domestic prosperity, should be faced with a despotic leadership skilled in the methods and practices of the tyrannical governments, which have long been thought "impossible" in America. Such is the present danger to the freedom of our citizens; and such, in the main has been the response.

There rises from the cattle ranges of Texas a brave voice warning of the moral decay which has seeped into the high echelons of our government, and, as the result of an assassin's bullet, taken firm roots in the White House. J. Evetts Haley, could not have cut LBJ down more effectively if he had used his old Texas six shooter. He has explored and documented the shrewd unscrupulous lust for power and wealth which has resulted in LBJ, Master Wheeler-Dealer. He has uncovered the underlying philosophy — or better, the lack of philosophy — which makes a power hungry President.

With the eagerness born of a partisan conservative tradition, Haley dives square into the corrupt history of our President. The young Lyndon attaches himself to a successful congressional candidate (helped to success by Lyndon's collection of illicit campaign funds) and learns the methods of political influence. The young fast dealer catches the attention of the Roosevelt administration, which promptly promotes him to head his state's National Youth Administration. In 1937, a congressman dies, eleven candidates, one of them Johnson, announce to take his place; LBJ, with the backing of the Roosevelt Administration walks away with the slim margin in a "winner take all" election.

In straight Texas language, the author bares the facts of the corrupt, thieving, and murdering empires which counted on LBJ as their congressman. The almost feudal Parr empire, with his Mexican gunmen terrorizing the few in their domain who dare to demand a voice in their well being; the businessmen, like Brown and Root, who make easy fortunes on the government contracts he gets them (repaying by contributing vast campaign expenditures); the Texas and Federal Bureaucrats who get their jobs through their friend and with no second thought cover his trail of graft; all work into the network of the greedy reach for wealth and power of one man, Lyndon Baines Johnson.

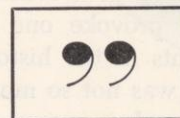
He looses in a first try senatorial primary. He returns to the House; then tries for the Senate again. This time the Parr empire sees their interest lying in LBJ's candidacy and forthwith produces within its domain a fantastic 30-1 margin. The stolen votes put Lyndon within reach of victory — but still 113 votes behind. No matter, the empire simply recanvasses and finds 200 more votes for Johnson. LBJ is in the Senate. But the determined defeated opponent, Coke Stevenson, pushes for an investigation. Predictably enough it is delayed and finally scuttled by the most outrageous of methods varying from arson and gun point diplomacy to crooked court injunctions.

After relating this general history of LBJ's rise to power, Haley next indicts him for the crimes committed to perpetuate his Texas kingdom. Those who have dared to uncover or wonder are destroyed. Minor officials in the government departments who are bent on investigating Johnson's friends and business associates (such as Billie Sol Estes), have developed an alarming tendency to commit suicide by carbon monoxide poisoning. One official, Henry Marshall, who had a very complete report prepared on Billie Sol, committed "suicide" by firing five shots from a bolt action rifle into himself. Others investigating the corrupt ring around Johnson have been less subtly gunned down in the streets.

Done with the sickening business of exposing the corruption that has attached itself to the President, author Haley swings into a case of bankruptcy — that present in the mind of LBJ. He wades into Johnson, as only one who has been close to his career could. He documents his Liberal voting record and shows, quite conclusively, that his conservative twinges seem to be geared only to impress generally conservative Texas.

Thus, author J. Evetts Haley, apologizes for Texas, which, in its apathy, has allowed this man LBJ, our President, to use this nation's free institutions to satisfy his worldly lust for power. The information is there.

RICHARD O. WRIGHT



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." —

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The Sour Fruit of the Fabians

Whatever the flaws of 19th and early 20th century capitalism, they were sufficient to provoke one of the most powerful reform movements in the history of the West. In fact, the movement was not so much remedial as it was revolutionary: it was less concerned with reforming capitalism than it was in fomenting socialism.

The Democrat's Dilemma is a critical history of the fabian revolution which, during the last half century and more, successfully undermined faith in capitalism; imposed a variety of socialistic measures upon the United States; captured the Democratic party and exercised massive influence on the Republican party,

THE DEMOCRAT'S DILEMMA

**Philip M. Crane
Regnery, \$4.95**

and installed a government of unparalleled size, cost and complexity in Washington.

Philip M. Crane, an historian at Bradley University, picks up the thread of the story with the creation of the Fabian Society in Great Britain during the 1880s, and concludes it with the recent efforts of American fabians, such as Walter Reuther, to suppress dissent or opposition to the collectivist programs of the American left wing.

Manifest among the early fabians, such as Bernard Shaw and Sidney and Beatrice Webb was a distrust of capitalism, a contempt for Christianity a lack of scruple as to what methods or arguments could legitimately be used to advance socialist ideals, a disdain for the simplistic theories of Marx and for the revolutionary tactics of communism, and a desire to destroy private property and individualism through parliamentary methods.

The hallmark of fabianism, according to Dr. Crane, is its brilliant dissimulation. It recognized early in its career that the word "socialism" would become a bogey, and so the fabians resorted to such euphemisms as "industrial democracy," "the welfare state," and "progressive legislation." Even the old Intercollegiate Socialist Society was transmuted into the League for Industrial Democracy.

This enabled the fabians to capture the support of a great number of people whose goal was merely to reform capitalism, and who never dreamed they were establishing the preconditions of a socialist state. Welfare and regulatory measures were avidly supported by liberals and reformers who saw in them simply an *ad hoc* remedy for an immediate crisis rather than long-term centralization of power.

Dr. Crane is among those who fear that persistent application of collectivist solutions to national and

even personal problems is destroying the spirit of the Republic. The steady shift of responsibility from individuals to the collectivity, often by coercion, has not procured the personal independence, liberty and responsibility that were once this nation's great promise. Rather, the individual has been submerged in a bewildering skein of organization, which leaves him dependent on others.

Unusually extensive research underlies this book. Its value lies not so much as an expression of conservative thought, but as a detailed compendium of left wing activity. It is a fine reference source.

RICHARD S. WHEELER

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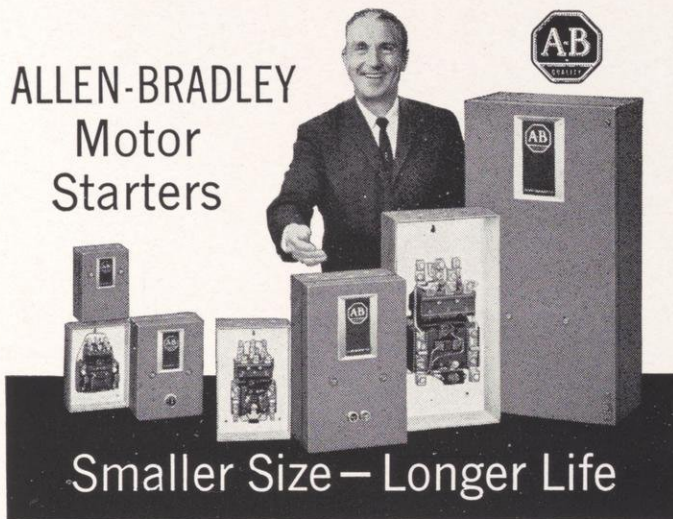
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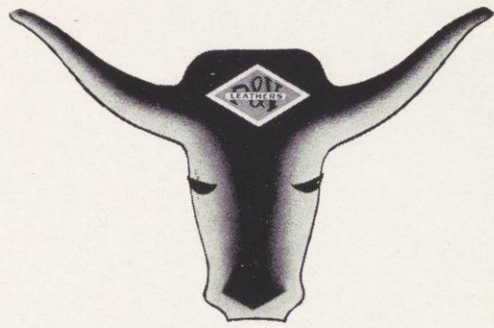
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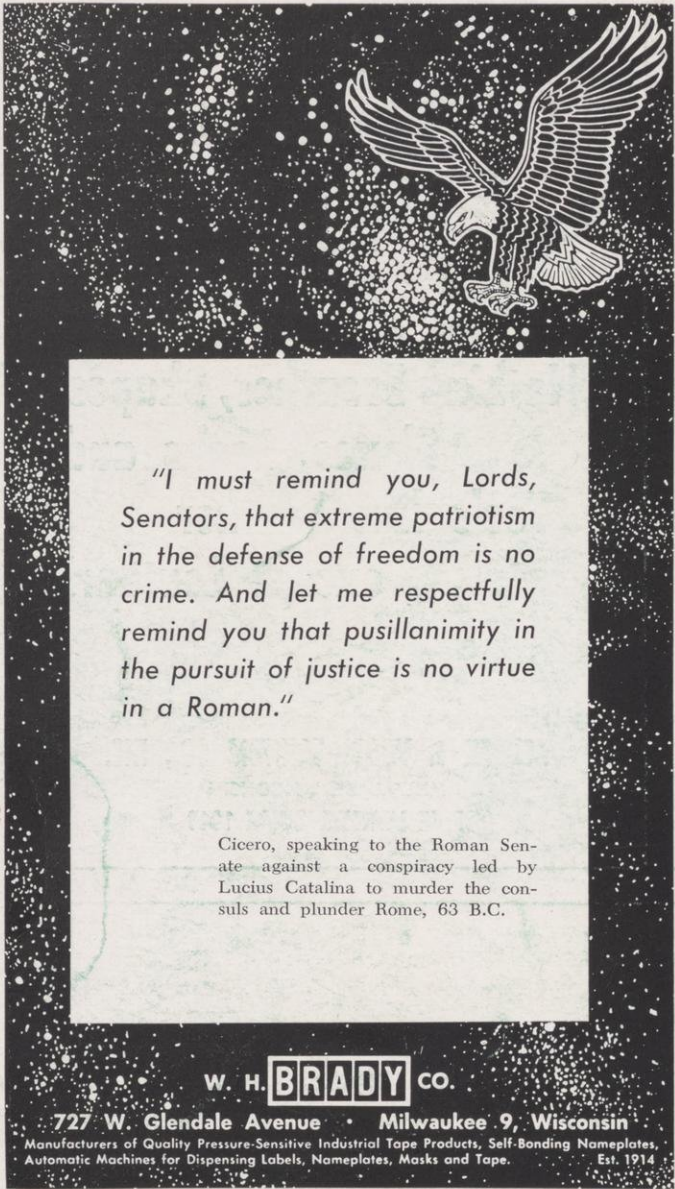
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Cicero, speaking to the Roman Senate against a conspiracy led by Lucius Catalina to murder the consuls and plunder Rome, 63 B.C.

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h i n d s i g h t s

Have you ever heard of a Presidential candidate running for re-election on the record of Peace and Prosperity, and at the same time the issues of Crisis and Poverty?

WELL, HAVE YOU?

"All participants please dress neatly," read the flier advertising the proposed demonstration against the appearance of Republican Presidential nominee Barry Goldwater speaking from the Capitol steps September 24. The flier was distributed by the "Ad-Hoc Committee Against Extremism," a non-organization composed of Liberals and leftists, of, generally speaking, Rathskeller origin. The only reaction worth newsprint was that if conservatives haven't accomplished anything else on the U. W. campus, at least they've finally got the beatniks to wash behind the ears.

First it was Billy Sol Estes in the fertilizer racket. Then it was Bobby Baker in the everything racket. And now it's Walter Jenkins in the to-hell-with-morals racket. And they wonder why the lights went out in the White House . . .

General Eisenhower says that the issues this election year are not clear in his mind. As we remember, General, you always did have a bit of trouble with that one.

Our prediction? Goldwater will lose the popular vote. The electoral vote, however, will be a cliff hanger. Watch the returns from Texas and California for the victor's margin.