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**INSIGHT & OUTLOOK**

**A JOURNAL OF CONSERVATIVE STUDENT OPINION**

**in this issue . . .**

Insight & Outlook:

**The First Ten Years**

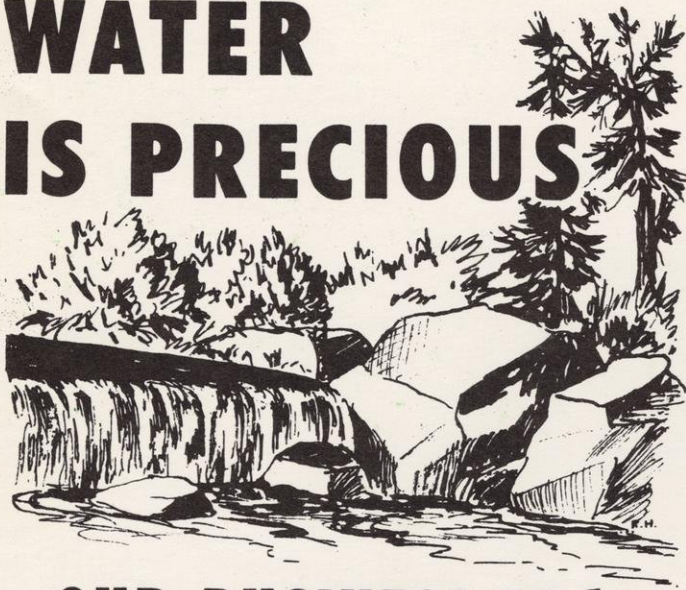
Jared C. Lobdell

Plus . . . Representative selections  
from the best of 10 years in I & O  
including J. O'Connell, C. Butt,  
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D. Keene and R. Wright

**SPECIAL 10<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY ISSUE**



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# insight and outlook

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## A DECADE OF INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK

There is a certain amount of nostalgia connected with a venture of this kind. To those of the staff, and to those formerly active on behalf of the magazine, ten years of continuous publication of Insight and Outlook is a feat of considerable merit. Probably, our advertisers and other benefactors can claim much of the credit for that, and they have often been interested advisors and friends as well. Many longtime readers and fans have equally faithfully followed the journal. Add to this group the many article contributors and journalist friends, and it is indeed an impressive list of tenth anniversary celebrants.

These people, our friends, can well appreciate that after ten years of Insight and Outlook we officially adopt the Insight and Outlook logo, as the new cover emphasizes. Over these years most of those who knew us rather affectionately referred to the journal by that title, and it is appropriate to initiate the next decade by formally adopting it.

For ten years, Insight and Outlook has furthered the conservative onslaught upon the Liberal Orthodoxy which has prevailed in America. The magazine never attempted to gain wide readership, but it soon graduated from a local interest to a nationally and internationally respected student journal read by a select group of politicians, businessmen, journalists, and the conservative elite. For this reason, we claim to have contributed our influence, if not numbers, to the direction and education of the conservative movement.

Thus, we are proud of the achievements in the last decade, and take this opportunity to reminisce through pages reprinted from old issues. **Jared Lobdell** reviews the ideas and writers who contributed over the years, and through their writing he finds insight into the nature and progress of our end of the political spectrum.

An anniversary issue would not be complete without reprints from the many articles written by **Timothy** and **Richard Wheeler**, who have since become noted journalists. **Tim Wheeler** wrote on the cold war way back when America could have avoided so many of the problems we now experience in foreign affairs.

The Wheeler brothers are joined by notable articles contributed by **Jared Lobdell**, eulogizing Winston Churchill, **James O'Connell** foretelling the student-university battles, **David Keene** writing on Vietnam when logical debate was yet in vogue, and **Richard Wright** taking pot shots at Ayn Rand, for which transgression the atheist evangelists have yet to forgive him.

We hope that everyone joins us in celebrating the tenth anniversary of Insight and Outlook. A dinner is still planned, and is now being scheduled for early Fall. Those interested in receiving an invitation to the tenth anniversary fete may write for further information.

R.O.W.



# Insight and Outlook: The First Ten Years

Jared C. Lobdell

To write an organized account of what has not, over the years, been a particularly organized endeavor, is rather a hard task. Nevertheless, *Insight and Outlook* is the oldest conservative university magazine in the country (it was founded in 1959) and it is time to look back and see what the ten years since its founding have brought -- both because of the light it may shed on the development of the Conservative movement, and because of the interest the magazine itself may have for those who have been associated with it.

Student, or university, conservatism may perhaps be divided into three schools. Two of them, libertarian conservatism and traditionalist conservatism, are certainly not peculiar to students; the third, what might be called rebellious conservatism, is. This rebellious conservatism, which attached itself largely to the figure of Senator Barry Goldwater, flourished particularly from 1960 to 1964; we might expect to find it bulking large in the early pages of *Insight and Outlook*.

Before examining those early pages, though, it must be pointed out that the value of studying the history of *Insight and Outlook* does not lie in the fact that its editors have gone on to Conservative fame and fortune. One of them to be sure, Timothy Wheeler (Managing Editor 1961 - 1962), appears on *National Review*'s masthead as an Associate, and another (the author of this piece, who was Editor in 1966 and 1967) as a Contributor. Several of those who contributed articles in the early years have gone on in Republican politics -- one of them, William Steiger, being Congressman from Wisconsin's 6th District -- and of the present staff, both Editor Richard Wright and Associate Editor David Keene are officers of Y.A.F., the former as Wisconsin State Chairman, the latter as National Vice-Chairman. But it remains true that none of the editors has been sufficiently important for what they said to have taken on added importance from the fact that they said it (at least not yet), and the purpose of looking at the past pages of *Insight and Outlook* is to find out something about the development of collegiate conservatism in Madison, Wisconsin, as well, of course, as to pick any available plums out of the back issues.

When *Insight and Outlook* was first published, on February 17, 1959, it opened with a statement that "an ideological battle is being waged across our land, al-

though news of its most significant campaigns does not always reach the popular press. And the stakes of the conflict are America itself, and the freedom of each citizen in it." The first issue contained a defense of American business by Professor Philip Fox of the Commerce School, an attack on social welfare policies by Managing Editor Robert Adams, an anti-forced-integration article by *Daily Cardinal* columnist Richard Wheeler, and the first of many articles trying to define conservatism, this one by Editor Alan McCone.

McCone wrote that "Conservatives are stuck. Their only course appears to be to fight the habit of the populace and to endeavor to make the word 'Conservative' respectable." The recommended source of respectability was Russell Kirk, and the article itself nicely balanced libertarian and traditionalist conservatism, with perhaps somewhat more emphasis on the first. The same could probably be said of the entire issue. It may be noted that there was a strong concern with economic issues.

The second issue, a month later, evidenced an even stronger concern with economic issues than the first. Associate Editor Gale Pfund called attention to the miracle of the free German economy, and Editor Alan McCone noted the problem of "robbing selected Peter to pay for collective Paul" in an article entitled "Equality vs Prosperity". From the first two issues it might legitimately be concluded that the initial impulse in founding *Insight and Outlook* came from a desire for economic freedom. In addition, as Robert Adams (who was Managing Editor in 1959) recalled in an article in the May-June 1966 issue, "In Memoriam: Leslie K. Pollard." "*Insight and Outlook* ... despite the occasionally simplistic, sometimes sophomorically zealous tone of the first issues, never displayed that hostile and intolerant certitude that characterizes much of the New Student Left ... Perhaps this lack of arrogance was the only distinguishing feature of the early *Insight and Outlook* (besides its being the only conservative student journal in the country)."

In short, it is fair to say that rebellious conservatism, conservatism which is (in the words of an *Insight and Outlook* article in 1964) the "bold amusing instinctive thing to do", was only dubiously present in the



early *Insight and Outlook*. The magazine was, in the modern phrase, issue-oriented; and, indeed, Volume I, Number 4 (May 1959) was the first number devoted to one particular issue -- the issue, of course, of Communism. The Managing Editor wrote, in words which have not lost their relevance, that "the Communists' association with sincere pacifists is only an attempt to gain support in their fight to weaken our national defenses ... one notes that the Communist Party will not try to settle racial or labor disputes in an unostentatious and effective manner. Rather they will try to aggravate conditions by using mass marches, rallies, demonstrations, and inflammatory propaganda."

But the even temper (on the whole) of the first year began to give way. By Volume II, Number 3 (April 1960), though Roger Claus, President of the Wisconsin Conservative Club, wrote temperately on the Income Tax, and Anthony Cadden on liberty of contract, Richard Wheeler, accustomed to hurling challenges at Liberalism in his *Cardinal* columns, hurled them at greater length in the pages of *Insight and Outlook*. "It is easy to see", he wrote (in "Underdogger: The Liberal Disease"), "why liberals congregate in colleges, where the atmosphere is that of a soft pink womb. It is easy to see why liberals flock to the banners of intellectualism where they can heave paper gliders at one another in ribald displays of manly courage." Admirable, doubtless, but not likely to win converts.

Volume III, Number 1 (October 1960), "grudgingly" supported Richard Nixon, noted that "our real choice, however, is Senator Barry Goldwater, a man of towering presidential timber, of unparalleled virtue, strength and courage", and remarked that *Insight and Outlook* was formed not merely to present the conservative view ... but rather, to aid and abet the conservative offensive in every possible way." The two main articles (by Anthony Cadden and Richard Wheeler) were legal and philosophic in nature, and did in fact seek to aid and abet the conservative offensive precisely by presenting the conservative view. Mr. Wheeler's article dealt with the difference between "freedom to" and "freedom from" -- a concern which reappeared, curiously, in an article by another author in Volume V Number 6 (Summer 1963)

In Volume III, Number 2, appeared the first mention of the Y.A.F., as a note to *Insight and Outlook*'s first entirely humorous article, by YAF'S first National Chairman, the late Robert M. Schuchman. The tone of the issue -- and certainly the tone of Mr. Schuchman's parody of a Kennedy victory celebration -- was combative. But not nearly so combative as the tone of Volume III, Number 4 (February 1961), a special number devoted to the defense of the South. It is worth noting that Richard Wheeler's article "The Black Treadmill" was opposed to integration -- in fact, no writer in the special number favored integration -- a view which was greater heresy in 1961 than it is now.

This year of 1960-1961 marked the conversion of *Insight and Outlook* from a magazine presenting conservative views to a magazine vociferously arguing conservative doctrine. In Volume III, Number 6 (April 1961) appeared the late Cy Butt's first Fremont Guilfoyle piece, "The Great Buggywhip Coup". The editorial page of that number talked about the potency and explosiveness of the Goldwater approach: "He creates Republicans, while Rockefeller can only borrow Democrats." In the same number, an article by John Kolbe recounted recent Young Conservative successes -- the formation of YAF, the publication of *Insight and Outlook*, and the success of the Party of the Right at Yale prominent among them.

In Volume III, Number 7, Richard Wheeler argued that "The only way conservatism can ever hope to vitalize our society with its ideals is to become, in fact, some sort of movement, even though such a development is hostile to tradition." The point that the idea of a movement was hostile to conservatism was later (Volume IV, Number 3, February 1962) amplified by the author of this piece under the title "Mimeocracy", an article which was (regretably) later reprinted in part in the *New York Times* and in an anti-Conservative tract called *They'd Rather Be Right*. But the point remains both valid and disturbing.

Volume III, Number 8 was a summer issue designed for the 1961 National Student Association congress in Madison. Its tone was rather more flip than in the past -- verging, from time to time on the outrageous. The pseudonymous columnist Aetius (making his first appearance, and taking his name from that Flavius Aetius, who defeated the Huns in 451 A.D. and was shortly thereafter murdered for his pains) wrote in his column, concerning the National Executive Committee, of the N.S.A.,

"I am not seriously suggesting that some silly-clever members of the N.E.C. be taken out and shot. If they are actually guilty of treasonable activities, it is likely they did not quite realize what they were doing, and in any case it would be like killing a mosquito with a cannon. But I am suggesting that any organization which will approve such activities would itself be better off dead. In that, it too is like the mosquito."

Not very conciliatory, and yet I have heard the author since go further and say that the mosquito should have been cannonaded then and there. In any case, this was one of the best issues of *Insight and Outlook*, perhaps the best until the Special Issue of October 1967, which the author of this piece had the honor to edit. Besides Aetius, there was a Fremont Guilfoyle piece, "The Paper Putsch", an article on the doctrine of interposition by James O'Connell, and two firsthand foreign reports, on West Berlin by Timothy Wheeler,



and on Cuba by Luis Valdes. One passage from the article on Berlin particularly deserves quotation, the more so since it echoes an essay in the same issue on "History and National Defense."

"I have hitherto tried only to establish the value and significance of Berlin to us: symbol, outpost, friend, and gateway to freedom. To argue that, say, Berlin's eighteenth century Baroque sculpture qualifies that city for preservation is more sentimentality than strategy. But it is nonetheless undeniable that even Andreas Schlüter's delightful work weighs heavily upon our obligations to defend Berlin: we are committed to defend our way of life, our moral values, our church, our cultural, artistic and scientific traditions, our peoples, our homes. Let there be no creeping denial of our heritage, for in it our moral resources are to be found, without which we have nothing left to face the foe."

The year 1961-1962 produced additional episodes in the career of Fremont Guilfoyle, a guest article by Russell Kirk (Vol. IV, Number 2, December 1961), a plea for McGuffey's readers (by Timothy Wheeler in Vol. IV, Number 3), the "Mimeocracy" article (same issue), a defense of public taste in television (by Edwin MacDowell), a defense of free trade (by Contributing Editor Theodore Cormaney, now Congressman Steiger's assistant), in numbers 4 and 5 respectively, and several articles by Contributing Editor James O'Connell, one of which, "Technophobia", (Vol. IV, Number 2), deserves special mention for being an early recognition of the Luddite characteristics of the present day Left. The magazine's style may be judged by the following item, from the April 1962 issue:

"Before taking office, President Kennedy cautioned Americans that we cannot return 'to the days of McKinley', which sounded at the time like a forward-looking, progressive statement. That is, until we ... noticed that at the end of the nineteenth century the U. S. rate of growth of per capita realized production income, adjusted to cost of living, was the highest of any period in U. S. history, and that during this time the long-term annual increase in total production was about three and one-half percent -- a figure which the current administration would love to equal. All this growth was achieved with no income tax and a federal budget a fraction of the present one. Oh yes, and it was during the administration of William McKinley that the United States successfully liberated Cuba."

The next special issue was Volume V, Number 1 (October 1962) on Foreign Affairs. Associate Editor James Blair attacked the governmentism -- in fact, the basic out-and-out socialism -- of the Alliance for Progress ("Alianza para What?"). The pseudonymous

John Caravan reported from the Helsinki Youth Festival ("Happy Happy Hooligans"). Managing Editor James O'Connell urged resistance to Communism in economic terms, echoing Blair's article. Timothy Wheeler examined the U.N. War against Katanga, echoing remarks by James Blair in Volume IV, Number 2. The first of **The Old Custom** columns appeared, suggesting that "the White Man's Burden" was "the obvious and necessary and beneficial ancestor of our own concern with civil rights and underdeveloped nations", and remarking that "the story is told of the ingenue who, when asked if she enjoyed Kipling, replied that she didn't know, she'd never kiplped. Could Sargent Shriver say the same?" Oh yes, and Cy Butt derided presidential pretensions to royalty, in "The King's New Clothes".

Volume V, Number 2 (November 1962) is of interest for James Blair's "The Liberal Papers", which, meant as a satire, sound at seven-years' distance a bit less satirical than he intended. The regular features, Fremont Guilfoyle, **The Old Custom**, were there, and in addition, there was an article by Richard Fischer on "Prayer and the Law", asking "Is secularism the will of God?", and finding, for once, something good in the remarks of the sometime Bishop James Pike.

In Volume V, Number 3 (December 1962) Editor Millard Johnson brought John Kolbe's article of the year before up to date, Timothy Wheeler talked about "The Atlantic Common Market", James Blair asked questions about the Income Tax, and an editorial noticed the advent of Libermannism in the Soviet Union. In short, the magazine was back on an economic tack, Fremont and **The Old Custom** notwithstanding. The tack continued in the next issue, a special on Labor Unions. The issue following that (Volume V, Number 5) was marked by the first appearance of William F. Buckley, Jr.'s oft-reprinted "Notes toward an Empirical Definition of Conservatism."

At the end of the fifth year of publication, **Insight and Outlook** still struck a balance between libertarian and traditionalist conservatism, was still relatively immune to conservatism-for-the-sake-of-shocking-the-liberals, still very (if not inordinately) interested in economics, and had become, in its fifth year, perhaps (Cy Butt and Mr. Buckley's guest article certainly aside) a trifle dull.

Volume VI, Number 1 began with a promise "to maintain our offensive until ... the last bureaucrat is pensioned off." But the shots in the offensive were somewhat scattered. The Editorials in the issue were, of course, pro-Goldwater, but the articles ranged from Scott Lake's attack on Railroad Unions ("How Long Must Diesels Burn Coal?") to James O'Connell's notes toward a theoretical definition of Conservatism, with an attack on Walter Lippmann, a piece by Dr. Robert



Needles ambitiously entitled "Praise We Then Man", Cy Butt on the administration in Washington (he was agin it!), and **The Old Custom** arguing for prayer in the schools "not that the state may support God, but that somehow, in the end, if ever the prayer is meant, God may save the state."

The remainder of Volume VI (1963-1964), and indeed the first issue of Volume VII (September-October 1964), remained scattered in approach, acquiring an interest in the draft Goldwater movement ("Round Two: The Nomination" by Richard O. Wright) and struggle for control of the G.O.P., but (Fremont and **The Old Custom** aside) remaining very interested in economics. So for that matter was Volume VII, Number 2 (November 1964 - January 1965), where one article (James O'Connell, "Lessons from an Election") considered Goldwater's defeat, concluding that the chief reason for the calamitous margin of defeat was that Goldwater had dumped the **National Review** people and waged a non-intellectual campaign. Mr. O'Connell echoed Alan McCone's remarks in Volume I, Number 1, that the Conservative's first task is to convince the American people of the intellectual responsibility (and respectability) of Conservatism. Whether he was right or not, the article illustrates the connection which **Insight and Outlook** felt with **National Review**, as well (presumably) as the reasons for its disengagement from the Goldwater campaign and for its unimpaired progress in the years immediately thereafter.

Volume VII, Number 3 (February 1965) included "Longer Thoughts on the Farm Problem" by Dale Sievert, and (in **The Old Custom**) an appreciation of the late Sir Winston Churchill, "This Was Their Finest Man", the latter, in the author's opinion, being one of the best things he ever wrote, though it resists quotation. The next issue (March-April 1965) produced a defense of fraternities by Tom Charles Huston (now an aide to the President, as is another former contributor, Lyndon (Mort) Allin), an appreciation of Mencken by James O'Connell, a consideration of Legal Aid by Henry Hempe, an attack on the State Department by Associate Editor Richard Wright, and an **Old Custom** column which urged a Conservative sense of humor and in the process tallied up Liberal complaints against Conservatism:

"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 ... 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."

A bit overstated, certainly, but recognizing the vulnerability of Conservatism because it lacked a single leader of the stature of Robert Taft (or, for that matter, Douglas MacArthur). Two issues later, the same author attempted to divorce himself from the lunatic right (successfully, in the particular case involved), and these two pieces may be considered to have begun a considerable change in **Insight and Outlook**, though Aetius in that same issue (Volume VII, Number 6) returned to the school prayer controversy, and Managing Editor to Edmund Burke ("Freedom Was An English Thing"). Meanwhile, in Volume VII, Number 5, Richard Wheeler had produced a very long article, "The Annihilation of Liberal Tenet", and Aetius had rebelled against the "one-man-one-vote" doctrine.

The change that came about in Volume VIII (1965-1966), under the editorship of Dale Sievert and of the author, may have had something to do with the heating up of the Viet Nam War, and the resulting radicalization of the University of Wisconsin student body, but it was basically a redirection of the magazine away from economic interests, and it might (given the fact that Mr. Sievert and the author both have pretensions to be economists) have occurred anyway. It began (and this was the importance of the two columns mentioned above) with an examination of the views Conservatives were believed to hold, and the discovery that Liberal misinterpretation of Conservative economic doctrine was minimal, and that, in fact, for all its importance, no one was very interested in Conservative economic doctrine.

In Volume VIII, Number 2 (November-December 1965), for example, the basic issue was the racial question, with subsidiary attention to Viet Nam. To be sure, Aetius was considering the question of academic tenure, and James O'Connell was writing on David Hume (neither of them topics of particular economic import), but Mr. Buckley, as a guest, Managing Editor Richard Wright, and the author were all considering the matter of black and white, and Mr. Wright and James Blair were considering domestic and military aspects of Viet Nam.

A new contributor, David Keene, added impetus to the change in direction of the magazine, and he typified the new breed of conservative activist. Deeply committed to the struggle for America and the world, Mr. Keene used the columns of **Insight and Outlook** as one further weapon in the attempt to keep first Asia, then America, from going under.



With Volume VIII, Number 3 (January-February 1966) began an attempt to find new conservative writers, in part because former Managing Editor Timothy Wheeler had begun, in Milwaukee, a Conservative magazine, **RALLY**, which was likely to draw off some of **Insight and Outlook's** regular contributors. In that number M. Stanton Evans discussed "The Meaning of McCarthyism" (a guest appearance), the author and James O'Connell debated the position of blacks in a white society, Timothy Wheeler detailed the Communism of the Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Viet Nam, echoing Robert Adams' article on Communist technique in Volume I, Number 4, Aetius considered academic freedom, and Frederick Reynolds III reviewed the Wisconsin Salon of Art, and concluded that "distinguishable and understandable forms of art have much more excitement and much more life than those which merely shock the viewer with their newness."

In Volume VIII, Number 4, the Editor delivered a eulogy on the late Robert Schuchman, James O'Connell and James Blair discussed the "inequity of equality", Aetius talked about academic freedom, Kenneth Wright about high-school education, and Karl R. Ziebarth discussed the necessity for Conservatives considering "little, grubby, everyday problems", a point also made (in an academic context) by Phoebe Seilin in the previous issue ("Women's Hours and the Horse Shoe Nail").

In Volume VIII, Number 5 (May-June 1966), Dale Sievert drew up a cubic consideration of ideological differences ("Two Dimensions Past Left and Right", with drawings of cubes), Aetius considered academic freedom, Robert Adams discussed the late Captain Leslie Pollard and the early days of **Insight and Outlook**. Richard Wright examined the expanding power of "The Fourth Branch", and the pseudonymous John Caravan actually (saints preserve us!) found something good in the Supreme Court's strictures on police questioning ("Guilty Until Proven Innocent, or An End To Perry Mason"). John Meyer looked at "Some Ethical Problems of the Draft." Virtually no economics.

Volume VIII, Number 6 (July-August 1966), William C. Dennis examined "The Testimony of George F. Kennan", Donald Lambro "The Reformation of Congress", and Managing Editor Richard Wright reported from the front in Viet Nam, while Aetius considered academic freedom, and John Caravan the demonstrations in Wauwatosa ("we have reached the limit of racial warfare for the sake of justice and are passing over into racial warfare for the sake of racial warfare"). Mr. Wright's "Viet Nam Diary" is worth quoting from:

"When we tour the villages we generally have hundreds of kids lining the road as they hear the approaching jeep. As soon as one of them spies an American in the jeep, a chorus of 'Halloo'

is sung out, and they all wave. This is the anti-Americanism over here. 'Halloo' is the only English word they know."

Richard Wright took over as Editor in September 1966. The magazine began to assume what appeared as a somewhat harder line, perhaps because of an increasing concern with foreign affairs. His second issue, in fact, was billed as a "Special Asia Edition: On the Scene Reports by World Youth Crusade for Freedom Corpsmen", with an introduction by William A. Rusher, and reports on Viet Nam, the Philippines, Free China, Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and "Hanoi, Peking, and the Viet Nam War" (by Associate Editor David Keene). The theme was picked up again in Volume IX, Number 5, in articles on "The Cuban Threat 1967" (by Managing Editor James Casper) and "Threat to Hong Kong" (by WYCF Corpsman James Elkjer), though this issue also had room for a long article on "Nathaniel Hawthorne: Conservative", by David Keene, and for an **Old Custom** column remarking that "Somehow I think we have been here before. In the summer of 1961... **Insight and Outlook** was much concerned with the iniquities of the National Student Association. The N.S.A. was in the process of giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States by (inter alia) supporting those Japanese students who had rioted to prevent Eisenhower's visit to Japan -- eons ago, that was, or at least so it seems now. I read in the paper this morning that the N.S.A. has voted to support the achievement of Black Power by any means necessary. And just to make sure that they were properly understood by the world at large, they specifically rejected an amendment to remove the 'by any means necessary clause'." Plus ca change, plus c'est la meme chose.

The radicalization of the Wisconsin student body led, on October 18, 1967, to the Dow Demonstrations. **Insight and Outlook** covered them in the first half of its Fall 1967 issue (Volume IX, Number 6), with the second half, for counterpoint, being Mr. Marvin Lieberman's interviews with soldiers in Viet Nam ("The Young Heroes"). Despite the undistinguished style of some of the on-the-spot reporting of the Dow business, this was one of the best issues of **Insight and Outlook**. It may be noted in passing that Aetius suggested in his column he would someday picket Benjamin Spock with a sign saying "Today's student rioters were raised according to Spock." Also to be noted: the conclusion of Patrick Korten's on-the-spot report, "tearing down the American flag was a fitting final gesture in a demonstration whose leaders, to judge from what they said and did, want to tear down America." The lines were hardening.

The two issues thus far of Volume X, under the second editorship of Richard Wright, and with Milwaukee as the new place of publication, show these harder



lines. If you are a real rebel, the editors say in Volume X, Number 1 (Fall, 1968), you will read *Insight and Outlook*. Much of the issue, and some of Volume X, Number 2 (Winter 1968-1969), is devoted to a discussion of the Children of the New Left, their tactics, their "Confrontation Politics in Chicago". James O'Connell, back on the Editorial Board, argued in "Thoughts for the Morning After" (Volume X, Number 2) that Nixon's victory is a defeat for Conservatism. Mr. Chow Ching-wen, in the same issue, argues that the Chinese people are not Communists, and that we "feel that the Nationalist government should by no means lose this opportunity to rescue our mainland compatriots."

In that issue also are two tributes to the late Cy Butt, one in the form of a pastiche of his adventures of Fremont Guilfoyle. It is a long time since the first adventure in the Guilfoyle saga, and longer still since the first issue of *Insight and Outlook*. The concern with foreign affairs has grown; the concern with economic freedom is still there, but muted. Conservatives, and *Insight and Outlook* with them, have a new enemy, the New Left. They still lack the one charismatic

leader (though some in *Insight and Outlook* have professed to see him in Ronald Reagan), still are trying to define and justify Conservatism. There have been gleams of prescience and gleams of absurdity, but more important perhaps than either, the magazine is still going after ten years. Four of the eight editors are still students at the University of Wisconsin, and it is probably safe to say that *Insight and Outlook* is the third oldest surviving conservative university organization, older by a year and a half than the Young Americans for Freedom, though younger by six years than the Party of the Right at Yale, and by the same margin younger than the ISI.

Perhaps the key to its survival has been its derivation from old conservative origins. It antedated the new or rebellious Conservatism of 1960-1964. Granted it may have argued economics to the point of irrelevance (and certainly to the point of boredom), it was there to take up the cudgels when Viet Nam and the New Left came along, while younger, less issue-oriented organizations have foundered. Though it may not always have been able to define the faith, it has kept it nonetheless.

# Freemont Guilfoyle: Two Episodes

*Cy Butt*

## I. THE BUGGYWHIP COUP

Just the other evening I ran across a boyhood friend, Fremont Guilfoyle. Fremont, dressed to the nines, stepped from his Mercedes with a blonde on his arm who would make a man gnaw a crowbar. I wondered at all this affluence, for since the time he was four Fremont had been known to all as a misfit, a square peg in the round hole.

"Fremont, old boy," I said, "from whence comes this sudden wealth? The last time I saw you, you were having difficulty holding your raking job with the WPA."

"I," said Fremont, "am in the buggy whip business. I am presently en route to California, where I shall open a branch factory."

"But aren't buggy whips a little passe?" I asked. "I have seen no buggies and but four horses since 1925. Just how did you get into this racket?"

"Well, it's like this," said Fremont, "I had about a thousand left from the dough the old man left me and what happens but I get talked into using it to buy a buggy whip factory. Everything else I had tried had blown up in my face."

"There was quite a stock on hand when I bought the place and I kept putting out whips until the grand was gone. I had something like 9,000 whips that were selling at the rate of a dozen a week. I couldn't meet

the payroll or even buy my daily cigarettes.

"I was on my way to get a pistol or some poison or a rope or something when I happened to take a gander at a government brochure someone had thrown on the post office floor. From that moment everything was changed. I am now in a position where everyone in the family, including cousins and Fifi, here, has his own swimming pool. Fifi is officially my secretary."

"What is the secret?" I asked. "It may be of interest to the common man."

"It was simple enough," said Fremont. "I wrote to Washington and explained that I couldn't even sell my whips for cost, and that unless something was done, the industry would be ruined."

"They sent an economist down and he agreed with me wholeheartedly, even thinking of some things I hadn't. It was agreed between us that the government would buy for \$1.87 each all the whips I couldn't sell. I produced them at that time for \$1.53."

"But what did they do with them?" I queried.

"I don't know for sure," said Fremont, "but I understand they sawed the handles off short and gave them to the Arab nations for use on camels. Hands across the sea, you know. However, in a couple months



all the storage space in town was full of my buggy whips that the government had taken over.

"By this time I was flush. I could put out the whips for 69 cents because of new machinery developed with government aid. I took the money realized from this and bought surplus buildings from the government for 10 cents on the dollar and rented them back to the government to be used for storing the whips.

"I didn't think that things could be any better but I was wrong. The economist came down again and said that since storage was a problem, the government would pay me the estimated profit I would make on any part of the factory I would take out of production.

"I closed down three wings that had the old machinery and in return the government paid me \$19,000 per month. With this money I am going to open a new, efficient plant in California. I figure that I can double my output at a cost of only 58 cents per item. Anyway Fifi adores the West Coast."

"You seem to be doing all right," I said, "but from a common sense viewpoint, is the whole set-up reasonable?"

"Of course not," Fremont laughed, "but they have been doing it for years with wheat, corn and cotton — why discriminate against buggy whips? I am surprised that nobody thought of it before."

"Come to think of it," I said, "I am surprised myself."

## II. PROJECT INFINITY

Fremont Guilfoyle, Ph.D. (Director of Philanthropy), clad in what appeared to be a skin-diver's outfit and with a goldfish bowl over his head strode into Madison's Congress Bar yanking and twisting at his helmet and its chrome accoutrements. The bartender, just having ejected a travelling squad of peace corpsmen at the cost of a few minor bruises and a wedge of skin from over his left eye, picked up his bung starter and with one swipe freed Fremont of his incubus.

"Whoosh!" said Fremont, "What a relief. It seemed for a time that I would have to go thirsty. I'd rather not have broken the helmet but we have plenty more, and anyway the government pays for them."

"I imagine it would be inconvenient," I said, "having the water run into that rubber underwear."

"It's not to keep the water out," said Fremont, "but to keep the air in. This, I will have you know, is the official uniform for Guilfoyle's Project Infinity. Our social scientists have, after involved computations, discovered that there is a risk, a very real risk, of running short of nations to support. Now that we have made ourselves responsible for Africa, India, Southeast Asia, Poland, Yugoslavia and some others, I don't happen to think of at the moment, and have been fortunate enough to secure assurances that a gift of a billion, for a starter, will be accepted by Latin and South American nations if it is presented with the proper humility, we have come to a dead end. Little or nothing remains for our Global Giveaway organization just when we have gotten it into overdrive. It means the end of things as we know them now. Therefore, we will have to beat the Russians into space!"

"I just don't follow you, Fremont." I said, "In some circles they would call that a non-sequitur. What are you getting at?"

"Try another touch of that inspirational, character-building brandy," said Fremont, "You seem to be a little on the dense side this morning. If we are there first, we will have first chance to redistribute our national wealth. Think of the stars, planets, constellations, nay, even galaxies that we can flood with social workers! Think of the new Marshall plans, Guilfoyle plans, Point-4 programs and UNRRA's! The possibilities are unlimited!"

"I'm afraid so," I said, "but what, if anything, is being done about the plight of the 17,000,000 Americans who were alleged to go to bed hungry every night? A great deal was said about them — before election, that is."

"They have served their purpose," said Fremont, "though we may get around to do something for them should Project Infinity lag momentarily. But to return to the subject, Project Infinity workers will zoom in on rockets that will be anchored a suitable height above Arcturus, or Orion, or whatever it happens to be. Then helicopters filled with \$50 bills will be extruded and flown to the nearest settlement. The currency will be tossed into the slipstream of the propellers and we believe that with some practice we can carpet a square mile in practically no time at all. I don't know why I didn't think of this before. This gracious gesture will bring us gratitude and friendship without reservation."

"Like it did in India?" I asked.

"Not exactly," said Fremont, "But our leading analysts and consultants are certain that it is all for the good."

"Why do you think that United States currency will be accepted as legal tender on the stars?" I queried.

"We don't think so," said Fremont, "But it will be. In a couple of weeks it will be."



# This Was Their Finest Man

*There is the pugnacious damn-you-all, with the chin well out, the face of "blood and sweat and toil and tears." There is the rather bored face in the Smoking Room, which makes the young member think "what the Hell should I say? Or would it be better to say nothing?" Then — lest I should be thought to suggest bad manners, which I certainly do not intend — there is the sudden smile and twinkle, which make the young man glad to be alive, and doubly glad that he was elected; for here he is, a mortal, on intimate terms with a god, in good humour.*

—A. P. HERBERT

It was the custom of the British government, in other days, to bestow upon its successful leaders in wars, titles which included the names of the battles in which they were victorious. In a way, I could wish the custom had been continued, for the great man who died in Hyde Park Gate on January 24th was, without any territorial sovereignty, rightful Baron and Viscount and Earl and Marquess and Duke of Britian. It is a curious trick of phrasing, I suppose, that while the "Battle of Britain" brings to mind, quite naturally, the R. A. F. and the dark days of 1940, the idea of a Duke of Britain suggests (to me at least) the dark days of the sixth century, the Count of the Saxon Shore, the struggles of King Arthur to preserve Christian Britain from the heathen invaders. I do not find the suggestion inappropriate.

For half a century or so, Arthur's victory at Mount Badon preserved the dwindling strength of Celtic Britain, until the darkness and the Saxons,

came again. I do not say it is likely that England will fall in fifty years' time, though her empire is already gone: but Churchill, like the shadowy Arthur, was the last of his kind, the last giant of the elder days, the last knight of Europe, the last Crusader for Imperial Britain.

Already, before he died, his time had passed. It is long ages back, in another world, that he charged with the cavalry at Omdurman, that he escaped from the Boers, that he first stood for Parliament, when Victoria was Queen of England (and Ireland) and Empress of India, and Waterloo was within the memory of living men. One feels as though a promontory, having withstood the wave for aeons, had suddenly been washed into the sea, as though a mountain had fallen, as though Atlantis had been swallowed up. And one understands, for a brief moment, why it was that the romans deified their emperors, and the Middle Ages beatified and canonized their kings.

All this has nothing to do with his policies or his politics. Doubtless Arthur made mistakes; doubtless Alfred did too. The Norsemen won out in the end over the Saxons at Hastings, as the Saxons won out over the Britons at Dyrham. But Mount Badon and Ethandune and the Battle of Britain were victories, no matter what comes after. Somehow, in the end, the West was saved: who can say Arthur and Alfred did not save it? All Sir Winston's errors, all the cakes that burned at Athelney, are insignificant beside the man himself.

Very soon the anecdotes that are told about him will be told no more. No one will be left to tell of his declining a drink

before he went to lunch with the Royal Family, on the grounds that it would not look well if he were to slither under the Royal table — or to report how he ended his speech on Dunkirk ("... we shall fight in the fields and in the streets; we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender.") with an aside to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "and we'll hit the blighters over the head with beer bottles because we haven't any bullets." The anecdotes will fade, gradually the memory of the speeches will fade, but the man will live.

If we turn to his life for a lesson, we will find one: but it will not be anything that will help us explore the old separation of liberal and conservative. It will not be a set of policies: it will be nothing that we can organize and governmentalize or alphabetize — nothing, in short, that we can make political capital, or even political use, of. But we will find a lesson even so.

If we are to defeat those who desire the trampling down in other lands of liberties and comforts they have never known in their own, if we are to triumph over whatever forces of tyranny encompass us; then, though death and sorrow will be the companions of our journey, hardship our garment, constancy and valor our only shield: they are companions we must welcome, a garment of glory, a shield we would not bargain for all the safety we can imagine. And it may happen again, that we will in the midst of the struggle pause, look up, and find ourselves on intimate terms with a god, in good humor: and we will know, whatever happens, that we are on the right side.



# WEST BERLIN -- THE OUTPOST CITY

*Timothy Jon Wheeler*

Is West Berlin merely another piece of real estate to be protected from Soviet imperialism, or does the city hold more significance than a pawn in the struggle between the great powers?

The ultimate worth of Berlin defies estimation. It is philosophical in nature. Berlin is an integral part of the West, and therefore speaks for the West in the philosophical questions which trouble the world. If the West is to be defended (and this paper presupposes that it is) Berlin's defense at any cost is worthwhile.

I intend to examine briefly some of the factors necessary for a political analysis, such as traditions, economic potentials, military posture and the people (they are the city's most valuable asset). The intangibles escape our scrutiny here, for they are delicate and must be lived and felt, not mutilated by the printed word. I refer to the unique spirit of West Berlin bound in its ancient traditions; to Berlin, the symbol; to the irrepressible defiance of free West Berliners living and working in the shadow of Communist arms.

First public mention of two fishing villages, Berlin and Cölln, alongside of lazy Spree river in central Germany, was made in 1237. A century later the ruling Brandenburg Nobles Johann I and Otto III united their villages, and thus laid the foundation for a city which was to leave its ineradicable mark upon all mankind.

A fortuitous location on the old trade routes between Hamburg and Dresden, and between Poland and western Europe, as well as easy accessibility by land or water, assured the fledgling Berlin of quick com-

mercial growth. Enjoying recognition as a center of trade, Berlin became the seat of the Elector in 1470. Two centuries later, Friedrich Wilhelm, the "Great Elector" established his Brandenburg-Prussian state, and Berlin, "Lieblingskind" of the monarch, became the capital, and first assumed major political and military significance. Friedrich Wilhelm was a strong man of diverse talents from canal-building to armed expansion (he got as far as Africa). In 1701 his son was crowned King Friedrich I, and thus the Hohenzollern family came to rule the Prussian Reich, which reign extended until the first world war.

Under the Great Elector culture began to flourish in Berlin as well as commerce. A style of architecture peculiar to the city — the "Prussian-Berlin" style, severe and simple — developed, but many examples of the rich Baroque style were also to be found. In the arts and sciences many great names came to prominence in the friendly urbanity of the city. As a geographical, cultural, communications and commercial center, the city could advance a claim to be, in effect, the capital of Germany, that claim being realized in 1871 when the King of Prussia became the German Emperor.

Scientists, artists, architects, writers and philosophers found haven in the urban sophistication. Berlin gave the world Wilhelm and Alexander von Humboldt, Helmholtz, Mommsen, Mitscherlich, Hegel, Leibnitz, Schlueter, Schinkel . . . but it is presumptuous to list them. The great were both attracted and created; men drawn to the city stayed and became Berliners, "That audacious race," as

Goethe called them. The cultural tradition of the city became established in the expression of its creative arts: music, German literature, architecture, theater, and more recently the motion picture industry have been vastly enriched by Berliners. The political impact of the city has been less happy; the names Marx, Engels, and Hitler belong to Berlin as much as native-born Konrad Adenauer's and present mayor Willi Brandt's. Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor, and a number of the Hohenzollerns left their mark.

The First World War brought an end to the monarchy, and in November, 1918, the Deutsche Republik was proclaimed. Berlin remained the capital of the beaten country, as well as its leading intellectual and industrial center.

In 1920 it stood a giant of over four million inhabitants, encompassing 8 towns, 57 rural communities and 27 agricultural districts — altogether about 340 square miles. In 1933 the Nazi party came to power, spawned by the punitive Treaty of Versailles and the worldwide depression, and led by a madman. The fate of the city was sealed.

At the outset of the Second World War the only symptoms of the conflict were rationing and the blackout. But later the bombs began to fall, more and more heavily as the Luftwaffe was shot out of the sky. The great city trembled before the onslaught and finally crumbled into grotesque ruins. In what is now the West Sector alone, 100,000 buildings — about 2/3 — were badly damaged, and another 30,000 demolished. 1/3 of the apartments, 1/6 of the schools, almost half the churches, and 1/5 of the hospitals turned to useless rubble —



enough to build fifty great pyramids. No one will ever count the dead.

In the spring of 1945, while the American armies were held at the Elbe river, the Russians swept into the city from the east. The tired defenders accounted for themselves well, finally capitulating May 2. After the German guns fell silent, the Russian armies vindictively poured tens of thousands of shells into the ruins. Denying the Allies access, they stripped the city of all that remained of any value, shipping it to the Soviet Union, and raped nearly every woman in the city, their gesture of contempt for a defeated foe. After several months Allied occupying armies were allowed into the city.

With the entry of the Allied armies, the population, reduced to three million by the war, began the arduous labors of reconstruction with their bare hands. Progress was painfully slow, but soon food, funds, and medicine flowed into the city in ever-increasing quantities. The worst appeared to be over when in the summer of 1948 the Russians sealed off all communication with the city. The Berlin blockade had begun. The story of the Allied airlift is well enough known: in 277,728 flights, over two million tons of food and supplies were flown into Berlin's three airports, keeping the city from starvation all through the bitter winter of '48-'49. The cherished Grunewald was lovingly forested to provide fuel. Finally, after a year of siege, the Russians lifted the blockade, but the Berliners will never forget it, nor the rape of the city in 1945.

Reconstruction was stressed during the economic boom of the fifties so that today scarcely any destroyed buildings remain. The highest points in the city, though, are the rubble heaps, now overgrown with foliage—a curiously pleasant memorial to the horrors of war.

Berlin presents the tourist with a magnificent show. Almost all of Berlin's landmarks are restored—in the West sectors, that is—and the

cabaret industry has preserved its unique Berliner charm. The Hansa quarter and the Zoo area are the creations of the world's finest architects. Unusually spacious parks provide the "lungs" of the city; the Berliner Luft is still intoxicating. The U.S. presented the city with its famous "pregnant oyster", the Kongresshalle, not to mention the Berlin Hilton.

Present day West Berlin stands in sharp contrast to the Russian sector, where rubble lies untouched, buildings remain unrepaired, and everywhere the Communist failure is visible. "To understand the German problem," goes the saying, "step through the Brandenburg gate."

I have intimated that Berlin's greatest asset is the Berliners. It is they who have had to defy the Red might, they who suffered the indignities and atrocities at the war's end, they who survived the hardships of the Blockade. They have maintained their courage for fifteen years, and have never lost their Berliner humor. They defy their imperialistic neighbors with equanimity and endless faith in the West. Nowhere else is the American GI made to feel so welcome: how many have come to love this strange city as their own home? And how many will return from Lotus Land having lived and learned a deeper lesson from Berlin?

The influx of refugees from the East Zone has doubled and tripled in recent weeks since Khrushchev threatened to seal off Berlin permanently. The rate has reached thousands *daily*—these people have given up everything to affirm their belief in Western freedom. We cannot allow Khrushchev to stop their testimony about hell on the other side of the Brandenburg gate.

Isolated from sources of raw materials and agricultural produce, and denied its former service-providing economy, West Berlin owes its economic existence to its manufacturing industry. Commercial recovery was seriously impeded by the Russian blockade, and, although growth has been steady and satisfactory since, tools of production are still lacking. Even if it

realized its full industrial potential, it is doubtful if Berlin could support its populace. For one thing, it is burdened with an over-age, and "feminine" population, and unemployment, even among the able, is still high. The economic foundation for the city lies in the purchasing power and subsidies of the German Federal Republic. It is, therefore, a dependent and vulnerable economy.

West Berlin is the largest industrial city in Germany, with a turnover approaching \$2 billion. Nevertheless it operates at a steady trade deficit, which loss is borne by the Federal Republic in the form of subsidies and tax privileges. Another major source of funds is ERP loans.

The Soviet government fully recognizes the importance of the ties between West Berlin and West Germany. In its note of November 1958 it stated: "... The Soviet Government finds it possible for the question of Western Berlin to be settled for the time being by making Western Berlin an independent entity—a free city—without any state, including either of the existing German states, interfering in its life ... The free city of Western Berlin could have its own government and could run its own economy, administrative and other affairs ... On its part, the Soviet Union is ready to do its utmost to promote the normal development of the economy of independent West Berlin ..."

Were this plan effected, that is, were the enormous buying power of the Federal Republic denied to Berlin, the results would be immediate and catastrophic for the city. It would be forced to dismiss public servants, and would be unable to find adequate markets for its enterprise; building construction, operating on the basis of loans from the Federal Republic, would be correspondingly curtailed; unemployment would rise radically and further reduce the purchasing power of the city, leading to a diminution of retail and wholesale turnover on a local level, and thus more unemployment would result



from the loss of market. In this way the economy would spiral downward to total economic collapse or to some equilibrium at a vastly reduced level of activity, and hence one incapable of supporting the people. The economy would be further plagued by the loss of stable currency and subsidies, and by an uncertain political future, one not conducive to capital investment. It is extremely unlikely that Russia could "fill the economic gap," and in any event, economic dependence on the Soviet Union is tantamount to political suicide.

The dangers of the Russian plan apparently escaped Senator Mansfield, Senate majority leader, when he proposed substantially the same thing, with the inclusion of East Berlin, recently. The response to his suggestion was immediate and gratifyingly negative.

What if Russia chooses to move into the city by force—what chance will it have? I fear the greatest weapon in the Berlin garrison's arsenal is deterrence. Tactically, they haven't a chance; Berlin is indefensible.

The city would fall but this is just a military exercise, and barely pertinent to the question *whether*

it should be defended. It is part of the West, and the West is not indefensible.

The post-war period marks the beginning of the episodic struggle between East and West; in no place is the conflict more apparent or important than West Berlin. The city stands today a symbol of defiance, an outpost, a beacon. Remarkable recovery and progress testify to a singular firmness and resolve by the West Berliners and contrast starkly with the surrounding drab, lifeless despotism. What is the symbolic significance of Berlin—the triumph of Capitalism over Socialist bureaucratic inefficiency? A testimonial to the courage of freemen living in the very shadow of tyranny? It is these, of course; it lies, too, in the refuge for the thousands who have fled to the West. Perhaps therein lies our closest approximation of the secret of Berlin: individual liberty is ever infinitely more preferable than enslavement. The flood of refugees must leave behind all material wealth, homes, friendships and roots; this they do seeking a new life with but one immediate advantage, freedom from the Communist yoke. They are not fooled by the Socialist sophistries,

for they have had to live in a well-planned Brave New World. West Berlin is the gateway to liberty. As long as it so stays it will be a force redemptive of a Hitler or a hundred Hitlers.

I have hitherto tried only to establish the value and significance of Berlin to us: symbol, outpost, friend, and gateway to freedom. To argue that, say, Berlin's eighteenth century Baroque sculpture qualifies that city for preservation is more sentimentality than strategy. But it is nonetheless undeniable that even Andreas Schlüter's delightful work weighs heavily upon our obligations to defend Berlin: we are committed to defend our way of life, our moral values, our church, our cultural, artistic and scientific traditions, our peoples, our homes. Let there be no creeping denial of our heritage, for in it our moral resources are to be found, without which we have nothing left to face the foe.

The loss of free West Berlin would, I think, transcend understanding. Who can comprehend the price of one soul lost to the aliens? Who can comprehend the loss of the West?

## In Defense of Orthodoxy

Richard S. Wheeler

A lot of verbiage has been expended glorifying the bold dissenter, the non-conformist, the icon-smasher whose insights and daring contribute to the upward thrust of man's understanding. In liberal circles there has even arisen a hagiology which centers upon the geniuses through the ages whose dissents have provided enlightenment. Throughout America a kind of formula has surrounded the dissenter, which holds that tradition and or-

thodoxy are the enemies, and the journey upwards depends upon the dissenter's capacity to smash the stranglehold of the past and liberate men to face the future without fetters.

The trouble with such a view is that it ignores the apparent damage done by irresponsible and reckless dissenting, or dissenting for its own sake. Nobody has paid much attention to the gaping holes left in the social fabric by the ignorant, ob-

sessive dissenters whose object was merely to destroy. And even fewer have given consideration to the value and importance of a vital orthodoxy as the *sine qua non* of any healthy social order.

It is safe to say that no civilized society, including our own, has ever managed to survive at great length without a strong orthodoxy. There is an irreducible minimum of transcendental belief which is necessary to achieve community and com-



monality of purpose. When the orthodoxy begins to crumble under the assaults of dissenters, the result of the onslaught is usually chaos. The rules of life itself begin to dissolve, and then men split into factions and feud barbarously. If anyone doubts the existence of some orthodoxy in American life today, let him find out how many persons would willingly abandon their right to a jury trial, or due process of law, or protection against theft and bodily harm. Let him find out how many of us are opposed to totalitarianism, or plural marriages. Let him find out how many believe it is wrong to lie. These are elements of orthodoxy itself, and cannot be demolished without crucially wounding society itself.

When we speak of orthodoxy, by no means do we refer to mere conformity, nor do we speak of a rigid set of beliefs which must be imposed upon the masses by brute force. Far from it. Orthodoxy has an element of tradition and history in it. Orthodoxy could be described as those moral, social and political ideas which *come closest* to being settled, or, in other words, closed issues at this time. It is, moreover, that indefinable essence which gives society its unique character and value system. It is what makes Americans American.

An all-inclusive definition of American orthodoxy would be virtually impossible to construct, but at least the basic components can be discerned. What we have here is, of course, an adaptation of European or Western culture. Western orthodoxy is still constructed primarily around Judeo-Christian doctrine and practice. The Decalogue and the Sermon on the Mount comprise the essential basis for a moral and religious orthodoxy here and in Europe, which is manifest in our law, custom and idealism. Even where religion has virtually disappeared, such as Great Britain, the moral structure of Christianity still prevails, enjoining men to achieve virtue. With the decline of faith, and the encroachments of moral relativism (the doctrine that circumstances and environmental fac-

tors mitigate good and evil) the moral orthodoxy in America has grown pulpy. Its enforcement is now a matter of social strictures and conformity rather than a belief in divine reward or punishment. Recently, in fact, morals have been presumably justified on purely pragmatic grounds, which are the weakest means to enforce any orthodoxy because they reduce transcendental belief to mere expediency or practicality.

Political orthodoxy in America is grounded upon those ideals embodied in the Constitution, the Federalist Papers and to some extent, the Declaration of Independence. The orthodoxy was refined during the pre-Civil War debates on statehood issues. The original political orthodoxy was neither democratic nor egalitarian. It was, however, profoundly libertarian, insofar as it minimized the role of government, decentralized political authority, and maximized personal responsibility. Under the obsessive egalitarianism of the left, the older, more aristocratic orthodoxy crumbled: security, rather than liberty, became the end of politics; universal enfranchisement and democracy replaced republicanism; economic and social egalitarianism replaced the Jeffersonian ideal of a natural aristocracy. Today, of course, the political orthodoxy is further threatened by renewed left-wing dissents aimed at collectivizing and equalizing society still further. Portions of the Bill of Rights persist with vigor, but American political orthodoxy has probably suffered more erosion than any other element in American tradition.

Another primary element of American orthodoxy is the Anglo-Saxon mercantile and social tradition. Thanks in great measure to our British origins and heritage, we have become a nation of traders and manufacturers, and we have assiduously developed those casts of mind which generate profits, fiscal prudence and marketing ability. Our natural aristocracy, if we have one, is composed primarily of industrial genius. Our national character has been molded extensively

by sound English discipline, moderation and tolerance. The English essence of our culture predominates in spite of successive waves of immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe and elsewhere. In recent decades the mercantile orthodoxy has deteriorated under the impact of incessant dissent against profit-taking, business oriented culture, and "organization men," but nonetheless it remains the most intact of any of the elements of American tradition.

And finally, there is the pioneer orthodoxy, which produced a race of hardy, self-reliant, independent and ferocious men who learned to lick anything on the face of the earth. The harsh wilderness molded a character at once prudent and wary; at once sociable and independent. It fostered traditions of cooperation which still persist in American culture. The wilderness, with its lurking dangers, is conquered today but the pioneer orthodoxy persists, in spite of the amassed assaults of the dissenters. Some areas of the country, such as the Southwest, are only half a century removed from the frontier, and their politics and mores reflect a deeper appreciation of the survival values of frontier life, as well as an ingrained suspicion of government and welfarism. With the advancement of urban culture the pioneer orthodoxy is rapidly softening and disappearing. But the dissenters in the academies have accelerated the process by teaching new doctrines of dependency on government, the evil of individualism, the value of collectivism, and the superiority of bookish men over men of action.

These four elements — Judeo-Christian faith and morals; the political concepts of the Founders; Anglo-Saxon commercial values, and the pioneer tradition — comprise the guiding genius of the American race. They are worthy of honor and respect for molding the superior American character and guiding the Republic toward its manifest destiny of world leadership. Call it the social cement, call it "Americanism" if you will — the fact remains that it molded this



nation into the greatest and noblest entity ever conceived by man.

It is the conservative's insight to recognize the priceless quality of American orthodoxy and defend it against the mindless assault of nihilistic critics. In recent decades conservatives have witnessed barbarous attacks upon American ethical and moral codes, charitable concepts, political ideas, religious beliefs, and business mores. Much of the demolition has been produced by ideologues who couldn't adjust to the competitive American culture. Other destruction has been wrought by intellectuals on the make, or plain neoterics who form the scum of any civilized order. Their carping has already dissolved much of the social cement: unless it is rebutted it could destroy America as we know it today.

In the demolition of orthodoxy, conservatives have unwillingly witnessed not merely the destruction of the old, but also the abandonment of the good. When the orthodox disciplines of the classrooms were abandoned for the fad of life adjustment and progressivism, we witnessed the emergence of a generation of half-educated slobs. When judges and sociologists abandoned the orthodox relation between crime and punishment we witnessed the explosive growth of brutality and crime.

When psychologists abandoned the orthodox Christian concept of free will and proclaimed that "society" is responsible for the acts of individual men, we witnessed the appearance of a rationale for sin and a blurring of right and wrong. When "advanced" theologians — Unitarians in particular — abandoned not only God but also concepts of sin and guilt, we witnessed the growth of a society grown arrogant with narcissism and incapable of comprehending its own meanness. When political scientists abandoned orthodox opposition to large government, they unloosed forces of bureaucratic oppression which produce more misery and constriction than all the ills that were supposed to have been cured by "positive" government.

When leftist ideologues undercut orthodox approval of profit-taking, they slowed American economic growth to a crawl, while more progressive nations are rapidly overhauling us. When empire-building politicians substituted compulsory welfarist schemes for orthodox charity, they fostered the growth of an enormous class of parasites who subsist upon the sweat of other men's brows.

In each case, the disintegration of orthodoxy was followed not by liberation or improvement, but by a reversion to barbarism and evil. The new values which rush so precipitously into the vacuum left by the old are usually inferior, or at least engender a whole new set of problems. Modern man, estranged from orthodox belief, is not more civilized than his forbears, and is probably more brutal in some regards. He generally has few compunctions about living a life of raw hedonism. His conceit knows no bounds because he's abandoned orthodox gauges of character and virtue. His despair knows no bounds because he has abandoned the guideposts to rational behavior and the transcendental goals of religious faith.

There is nothing hollower in the 1960s than the liberalistic cries for new, bold and exciting dissent. The reason is simple: there's not enough solid orthodoxy left to dissent against. Moreover, compared to the armies of self-proclaimed dissenters, there are scarcely any defenders of orthodoxy. With the dissolution of transcendental orthodoxy, a vast egalitarianism has settled over the world of ideas and values. One concept is now supposedly as good as the next, particularly because there are few standards left to weigh one idea against another.

Obsessive dissent seems to be the hallmark of the American intelligentsia. Fame, rewards, honorariums are heaped upon any half-baked academician with a penchant for mockery. The more sacred the target of the dissenter, the louder is the raucous acclaim of the intelligentsia. God is a particularly good plum. An amazing number of dis-

senters have worked Him over with literary brass knuckles. The American businessmen are always good for a laugh — particularly those who have generously endowed universities, and those who have built a prosperity which enables scholarship to flourish.

On the other hand, the scholar who defends Western orthodoxy can expect neither fame nor remuneration. Within the academic community he is a pariah. He can look forward to few, if any, promotions. He can forget all about leapfrogging into a professorship. Even the students will ignore him if they can, because they sense the pecking order in the academy. Not even if the traditionalist is a genius whose scholarship is sublime does he get his just desserts — and so, he must write for future generations rather than the mocking present. He is condemned to the loneliest of vigils. And he quietly despairs.

It is time for American scholarship to look inward; to accept its guilt for destroying the essential faith of our civilization; to accept the responsibility for inculcating Judeo-Christian belief into new generations.

That means, if you will, inculcation or indoctrination in much the positive fashion that was once universal in America's little red schoolhouses not so long ago. It does *not* mean permitting youngsters to select their notions cafeteria style. For orthodoxy is, in truth, the product of indoctrination. It is preserved and enriched and enlightened by positive transmission from generation to generation. It is openly recognized as a transcendent and sacred body of belief.

If we fail to transmit our orthodoxy to succeeding generations, we will bequeath to our young a society without belief, without the capacity to defend itself from the ominous hordes at our doorsteps; a society brutalized by violence, barbarism and disorder; a society where only despotism can maintain a semblance of civic order. In the end, the demolition of orthodoxy is but the prelude to the suicide of ourselves.



# Student Rights -- What Now?

James M. O'Connell

One of the noisier issues at hand during the last school year was the question of student participation in politics and student rights in the areas of speech and morality. We are undergoing, if we can believe the mass-circulation magazines, a period of ferment and experiment on the campus; students are questioning rules of conduct, not only pertaining to morality, but to political activity. In California, "non-violent" violence almost brought the school administration to its knees; in Selma, students were in the forefront of the mob that, in the name of civil rights, defied order and, probably, provoked police brutality; at Yale and St. John's, students protested educational policies.

The protests varied in both means and ends; some students did nothing more unusual than write letters and make speeches, while others picketed, indulged in sit-ins or, in the Berkeley case, deliberately provoked police action. Their causes ranged, as I have noted, from protests against school policies to political activity to, in some cases, the ridiculous (as in the protests against dress rules in dormitory dining rooms at Wisconsin). As the year went by, it became obvious that student unrest was appearing, not in prankish activity, but in outright questioning of the status quo. Indeed, we confidently expect the National Student Association to deliberate on student rights at its next convention.

The question remains, however: just what are student rights? To be sure, we can agree that Mario Savio's hoodlumism at Berkeley is hardly licit, but, at the same time,

we can also agree that an unthinking adherence to the "publish or perish" rule by a university administration can, and should be protested in some manner. There are, of course, difficulties. We cannot write out a list of student rights in the abstract; we must consider the nature of the school and the students. What may be freedom for a senior at the University of Wisconsin would be a chaotic license for a freshman at Wisconsin State University at Oshkosh. And, since a college education is still a privilege — until the Great Society declares otherwise — we must ask if the college has any reason or duty to recognize any student rights as such, or are rights actually privileges to be given and withdrawn at will.

To answer these questions, we must go to the root of the matter: the purpose of education; for, here we find the reasons behind the academic freedom of the professors, and the concomitant freedoms of the student. Russell Kirk, in *Academic Freedom*, sees the purpose of the college as a dedication to certain ideas:

To the proposition that the end of education is the elevation of the reason of the human person, for the human person's own sake. To the proposition that the higher imagination is better than the sensate triumph. To the proposition that the fear of God, and not the mastery over man and nature, is the object of learning. To the proposition that quality is worth more than quantity. To the proposition that justice takes precedence over power. To the proposition that order is more lovable than egoism. To the proposition that to believe all things, if the choice must be made, is nobler than to doubt all things. To the proposition that honor outweighs success. To

the proposition that tolerance is wiser than ideology. To the proposition, Socratic and Christian, that the unexamined life is not worth living.

As a result of this, the college is seen to be a place of learning, and not a production line which turns out Bachelors, Masters and Doctors with the same unconcern that General Motors turns out Chevrolets, Buicks and Cadillacs. These basic purposes of higher education must lead us to this conclusion; For if a student is to be educated at all, he must have some means of maintaining contact with his professors, not only in class, but outside as well. The large universities make any such contact difficult, and reduce what contact there is to impersonal interchange.

Yet, against this right to contact, society has launched its most devastating attacks. Education is not something only for the intelligent minority; to be democratic, it must be available to all. But this implies a lowering of standards. The professors, in despair, urge the establishment of graduate schools, in order to preserve some vestiges of the original aims of education. But graduate schools cost money and can only be supported if we let more students in . . . and so the cycle continues until the university becomes a factory and students are reduced to holes on an IBM card.

As the school gets larger, it becomes more and more difficult to evaluate a professor on his performance alone. The administrators are forced to fall back on the criterion of scholarly writing, in short, to employ the doctrine of "publish or perish." There seems to be no equitable solution for this problem; the idea that the students



should evaluate the professor's performance is one that must be rejected out of hand as preposterous. Such evaluation is nothing more than blackmail; the easy-going and the pleasant will prevail over the more stern insister on excellence. This is another tragedy of the megalopolitan university — one which could have been avoided if the aims of education were followed. The objectors will cry out about the need for degrees. Business and industry needs the continued flood of baccalaureate proletarians if the wheels are to be kept turning. But business could exist equally as well if it were staffed by two-year associates, trained in accounting, business law, computer programming, engineering technology and the like. The average position in industry hardly needs more; what positions remain can be filled by the Remnant, the truly educated individuals who are more fit for positions of leadership.

The main controversy over student rights has centered on the non-academic activities of the students. Wisconsin students question student regulations on women's hours, on apartment living, on the University's policy toward misconduct off campus. The confusion in this area again stems from a misunderstanding of the university's function. If learning is the means to elevate "the reason of the human person, for the human person's own sake," then, obviously, part of education must be the teaching of morality. But to whom belongs the responsibility for such teaching? The college professor? The high school or grade school teacher? The parent? Obviously, the last named is the prime source, with the influence of the others acting in descending order. The college professor, when he discusses morality, seeks to explain the "why" of rules, the metaphysical background behind both custom and law. But his explanations can only sound hollow to those who reach the university without ethical roots.

The average entering freshman is suffering from this ethical rootlessness; in fact, a good case can be

made for calling him morally stupid. When, in opposition to the aims of education, success is exalted over honesty — as in the cult of popularity common to the teenage and sub-teen-age world — then, a good case can be made not to allow complete student freedom in the moral sphere. When parents see the university not as a place of education, but as another substitute parent — just as they viewed the grade schools, high schools, various youth groups — then we might as well resign ourselves to seeing the function of the professor degraded to that of adolescent sifter, custodian of half-tamed children rather than imparters of knowledge to responsible adults.

What, then, should the policy of the university be toward the non-academic activities of the students? I will argue that it should be one of freedom. For one thing, the non-student contemporaries of the college student enjoy unrestricted lives (except, of course, for the normal restrictions of the law in their community, which also bind the college students). Let the law of the community suffice as a basis of regulation, and free the university or the college from the extra administrative duties of trying and punishing offenders for misconduct off campus. Further, let each university suggest to the parents of students that it does not have a custodial function; that, *a fortiori*, the parents who feel that it should be admitting their own failure to provide ethical roots.

It will be objected that this policy is one which invites chaos. Students who are left to themselves will fall into immorality, will fall out of school. But are college students more liable to this than their non-student contemporaries? Are we to keep them as long as possible in a custodial cocoon, away from the trials of freedom? Indeed, can we say that even now these rules prevent students from falling into immorality, or failing out of school? The argument for virtue over freedom has been put forth by many, including conservatives. But, as Frank Meyer has pointed out in

his *In Defense of Freedom*, the price of freedom is no less than the risk of damnation. If freedom is the essence of man's being, then he must be free to choose the evil along with the good.

So I would suggest that the student has a legitimate right to live where he chooses (although he must accept the rules which apply to the use of his dwelling-place), a right to act as he wishes within the limits of the law, and a right to engage in licit political activity. At the same time, he should be informed of the consequences of his actions, both probable and possible — this last concession I make to those who still point at the ethically rootless — and the knowledge that he, and he alone, is responsible for his actions.

In defending student rights, however, I find one area where I cannot approve of student activity; that of violent political activism. More and more students are turning from the traditional methods of protest — letters to the editors, speeches, and even milder forms of picketing and rallying — to the more violent forms — civil disobedience, student strikes and sit-ins as well as outright violation of law. For instance, we were treated to the spectacle of the Free Speech Movement last fall at Berkeley, when a change in a traditional university policy led to resentment, protest, and finally civil disorder. But what really happened?

A portion of the Berkeley campus, public property of the State of California with a restricted use, was traditionally used as a center for political activity, just as the basement corridor of the Union and the library mall are used at Wisconsin. The President of the University, feeling that the students were abusing this privilege, revoked this right, remaining within his rightful powers. Students from all sides of the political spectrum joined in an orderly protest; however, the movement soon came under the influence of professional agitators, non-students from the "university underground," and radical elements from the San Francisco area. The more re-



sponsible students withdrew and the remainder, swept by emotion rather than reason, harassed the police, committed acts of trespass, and refused to obey duly constituted authority. When the situation reached riot proportions, the police were forced to make mass arrests. Later, the Free Speech Movement degenerated into a plea for obscenity and the President and the Chancellor of the Berkeley campus handed in their resignations, although they were later withdrawn.

Much was made of the laudable aims of this protest — free speech, a desire for more individual treatment of students, and an end to the monolithic, computer-center approach to education as practiced at Berkeley. But the means were glossed over. Student rioters were given space for their statements; the comments of University officials were virtually ignored. Much of the extremism present in these protests can be traced to the attitudes of the press toward these students. The press reports have become more and more one-sided, sympathetic to the student and almost cursory toward those who advocate restraint.

The violent student attempts to justify his stand on the grounds of civil disobedience. But even Thoreau, when he rejected the authority of the state, did not attempt to interfere with his neighbors' acceptance of it; he did not stage a sit-in at the tax office to prevent others from paying their taxes in support of the Mexican War. It is only when civil disobedience becomes a mass action that disorder occurs. Gandhi led a mob to the sea to collect salt in opposition to the British salt tax; yet, his action would have been as dramatic and less conducive to public disorder if he had made the march alone. Martin Luther King began properly enough with the bus boycott in Montgomery; however, when he adopted the more militant "non-violence" of the Southern students, he found he could dramatize his cause more effectively and, by creating public

disorder, invite federal intervention. Those who act in a non-violent manner by blocking roads, hallways, and other public places or who trespass on private property — restaurants, lunch counters, and the like — are actually violating the rights of others. But this distinction seems too subtle; the cause requires some emotionalism and, significantly enough, the best shock troops for an emotional display are students.

I think that it is only fair for the college to ask a student who habitually engages in such activities if he is really serious in his attempts to attain an education. His disregard of the rights of others, his emotional frenzies and his scheming against the public order, all seem to indicate that his claim to education is a fraudulent one and that a suspension or expulsion might cool his temper. To be sure, college students do get restive and need an occasional period in which they can release their tensions. But the occasional student arrested for drunk and disorderly conduct is not so much a menace to the public order as the habitual demonstrator who parades his violence under the cover of free speech and civil disobedience.

At this point, let us consider the problem raised by the presence of professional agitators in the student body. It has been argued, cogently enough, that the Communist teacher, because of his devotion to a fixed totalitarian ideology, ought to be denied the protections of academic freedom. The Communist student, as well as the Communist teacher, is not a dedicated seeker after truth; he is the exponent of an ideology which distorts truth for its own vicious ends.'

It would be unfair, of course, to blame all demonstrations on Communism. But it would be equally foolish to discount the role of the Communist in organizing and indoctrinating the demonstrators and in fomenting public disorder. One need only consider the present movement to end the war in Viet Nam to see the depth of Com-

munist involvement. In the April 6, 1965 issue of *National Review*, Herbert Romerstein, commenting on the May 2nd Committee, a group opposing the war in Viet Nam, noted that the committee was a coalition of left-wing youth groups, including the Dubois Clubs (identified by J. Edgar Hoover as a Communist front organization, and successor to Advance, the older Communist youth group), the Puerto Rican pro-Communist Pro-Independence Movement (MPI) and its youth group (FUPI), the University Federation for Independence, along with various extreme leftist though non-Communist socialist groups. There has been some evidence of Communist infiltration into SNCC — which doesn't pretend to bar Communists — and other Civil Rights groups as well; the Communist attempts to use racial unrest for their own ends needs no further documentation.

Significantly enough, in the same issue, there was a report by a Dave Berkman, identified as a college teacher, who offered the results of a current affairs test given to students at the college where he teaches. The results indicated that the majority of his students were abysmally ignorant about the world around them. George Lincoln Rockwell, for example, was identified as a Negro Civil Rights leader! These students, semi-educated and ill-informed, yet full of sympathy for the unfortunate and of love for the democratic ideal, make the best targets for the professional manipulators. Still children themselves mentally, they long to react as children to the harshness of the adult world by throwing a tantrum. Still children, they delight in the publicity they receive for their outrages. Still children, nevertheless they have a hope of participating in the democratic process, of defending the ideological hodgepodge they imagine to be Liberalism, so they rejoice in their ability to protest and picket. And, once again, still children, they are glad to abdicate the responsibility of thinking and follow the mob.



# After We Leave

David Keene

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

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

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

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

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

General Giap, leader of the North Vietnamese army, has been quoted

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

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

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

Communism — and this is too often ignored — is evil. It is a pseudo-religion which justifies a ruthless dictatorship. Since 1917, its disciples have been responsible for the planned deaths of many millions of innocent men, women, and children. It is a system of government that destroys its opponents without mercy, controls the minds of those who live under it, and ambitiously boasts that it will one day dominate the world.



Ho Chi Minh was a founding member of the French Communist Party in 1919. He worked in the Soviet Union for many years under Joseph Stalin and served throughout Southeast Asia as an organizer for the Comintern. He is a ruthless and skilled practitioner of Communist revolution. Although he is a Vietnamese Communist, we must remember that he is a Communist first and a Vietnamese second. His nationalism and dedication to his native land might well be illustrated by Communist East German reports that he applied for Soviet citizenship during the thirties.<sup>1</sup>

After the French surrender in 1954, his regime cynically signed the Geneva Agreement while at the same time hiding arms in South Vietnam for an eventual violation of that agreement. Indeed, the first Communist violations were taking place even as Hanoi's representatives were putting their signatures to the document. The cruelty of his regime was quickly brought to bear against the more than one million peasants who tried to escape his domination between 1954 and 1956.

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

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

murdered by 1962. The number has measurably increased since that time.<sup>3</sup>

At one point, school teachers were being killed as fast as village officials. The result was that by 1960, more than 30,000 school children were deprived of schooling, and, according to findings of a field survey of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession carried out in the spring of 1962, almost 80,000 school children had been deprived of schools because of terrorist action, and 636 schools were closed.<sup>4</sup>

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

It will be a Dich-Van group that will capture the mayor of a recalcitrant village and cut his body to ribbons, or leave his head dangling from a bamboo pole in the middle of the village (with a note attached to it warning that anyone who takes it down will suffer the same fate).

This is done, according to Fall, to create an atmosphere of fear which will result in complete Viet Cong control in the village.<sup>6</sup>

Dr. Thomas Dooley worked in Indo-China for many years, and his book *Deliver Us From Evil* is a moving account of the plight of the people of Vietnam. As a naval surgeon aiding the 1954 evacuation of refugees from Ho's "Communist Paradise," Dr. Dooley observed at first hand the results of Dich-Van moral intervention.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yet neither the teacher nor any of the pupils died.

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

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



# The Default of the Rand Intellectual

Richard O. Wright

An intellectual movement, no longer of negligible size, labeling itself "objectivist," yet claiming the right to march under the conservative banner has paralled the evolvement of the new generation of conservatives. They, as we, champion the individual; hence, they also cheer for freedom and capitalism. They herald the reason of man as the savior of the world; the rational man is its hero. And they deny the existence of God.

Their ideological leader is an extremely arrogant, emotionally malevolent woman, Ayn Rand. In her latest work, *The Virtue of Selfishness*, she departs in style from the massive novels *Atlas Shrugged* and *Fountainhead* from which her fame sprouted. It is a collection of articles relating the rudiments of the objectivial philosophy and its applications. No sex and violence to distract the readers attention in this book, unlike the others—and, unlike the others, no amount of intellectual or romantic curiosity is enough to nurture any desire to forge through the highly repetitious and dull prose which becomes characteristic early in its pages. But that can be no basis of a critique of the ideas represented therein.

It is refreshing to read an intellectual study which attempts to explain social issues, not in terms of mass concepts and vague generalizations, but by peering at the basic relationships which, in sum, govern the mass phenomena. Ayn Rand and the objectivists quite consciously adhere to this method of attack. It seems from their realization that the relationship between man and man is a high derivative of all social problems.

Ayn Rand, as she explores issues, invariably reduces each to its basics—as she recognizes them. Her manner of doing so precipitates little objection from other conservative corners. The essays in the book are, thus, instructive in their direct, logical definition of problems in terms of individual rights.

The base of the objectivist ideology is ill explained in this book. Perhaps it was not her purpose to dwell on the subject. I suspect a greater significance. Ethics, she contends, are required for man to survive; the rights of man are the result of his existential needs; government, if it is proper, seeks only to protect man's right to survival. Survival of man, she repeats and repeats, is the underlying notion of all proper relationships between men.

The intellectual breach in such a closed ended approach would be apparent to the objectivists should they apply their own intense interest, already noted, in a scientific reduction of phenomena to their basics. The situation with the objectivist metaphysics is illuminated by an analogy with the physical world. Newton's logically complete classical physics, which had

been based on certain constants, had the universe well explained until Einstein destroyed his constants. Newton's genius, nevertheless, had developed ideas which remain acceptable today once physics reaches the point, macroscopic enough, so that Einstein's and Newton's ideas become identical. It is the same with the conservative and Rand intellects, the importance of the individual being here the point of convergence. The objectivist scheme is based on a premis which in the conservative philosophy is yet too macroscopic.

Objectivism is consistent right to its base; yet it is suspended in mid air. Rand contends that nothing matters above the survival of man. If consistency is to be maintained, she must then deny that anything higher than man exists. That is to deny the existence of a Supreme Being. But that denial, again being philosophically consistent, is a denial of the existence of an ultimate reality, an absolute truth.

A denial of absolute reality—that is the actual basic premise of objectivism. Any philosophy must be derived, ultimately, from its basic notion of reality. Conservatism, not always consciously, is based on a concept of an ultimate reality, a Supreme Being, God. Intellectual Liberalism will belittle this concept and preach what they call a relativistic reality. Objectivists never consider the question—they don't have to; Rand starts on the next step up.

Ayn Rand hates intuition. It is faith, not reason. But this gives her no license to skip the basic issue, all the while claiming a superior philosophy. Now, sympathize with her problem (of which, I am sure, she is unaware). If she had started from her actual base, she would have been compelled to argue a negative concept, her disbelief in a Supreme Being. But this is illogical. She could have done as the Liberals did; develop a term (relativism) to describe her disbelief. But relativism is a nonentity by its own admission. It does not fill the void left by the disclaimer of reality. Rand devised a slicker tactic; she invented a super human, the rational man, giving herself a positive, concrete starting point.

Many followers of Ayn Rand have become so because, as is typical of large numbers of students today, they rebuke their parents' belief in a Supreme Being, yet, having attained a natural conservative background, are unable to shake these tendencies. Theirs is the plight of the quasi-scientific. God, they think, cannot be an idea coexistent with present scientific knowledge. They would do well to study the realm of scientific knowledge. In fact, no intellectual activity could more convince one of the existence of an Ultimate Reality, God.





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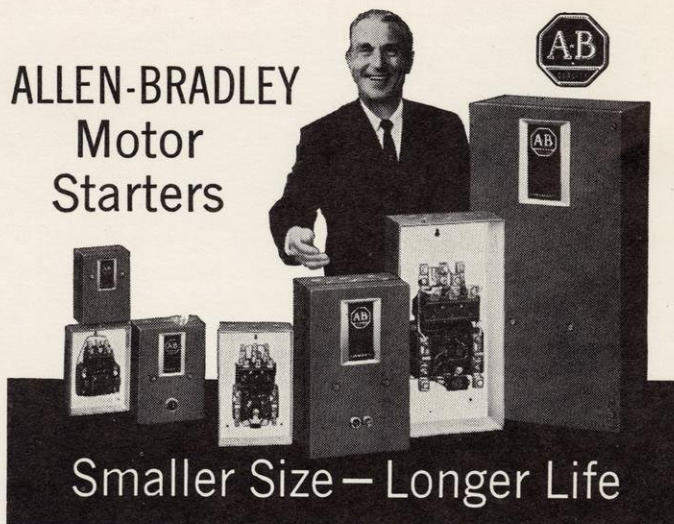
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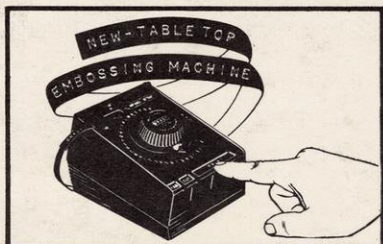
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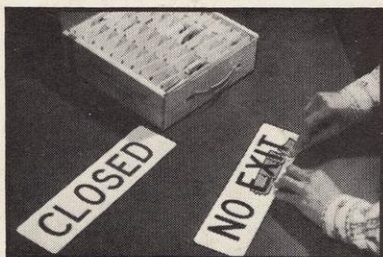
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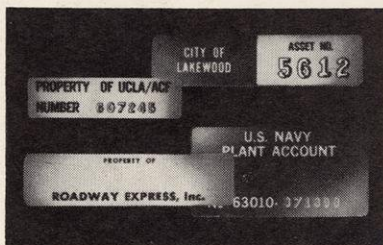
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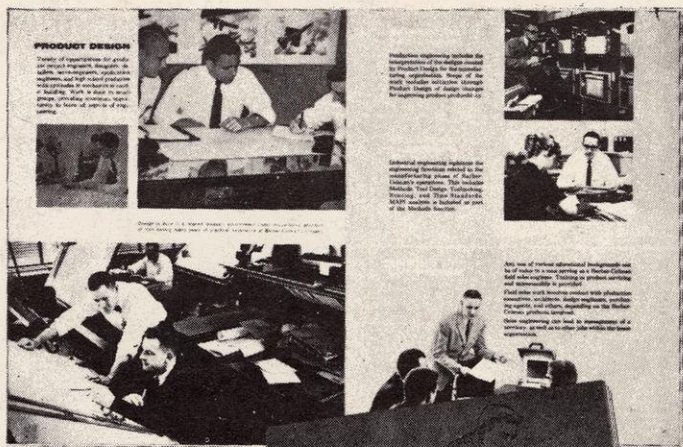


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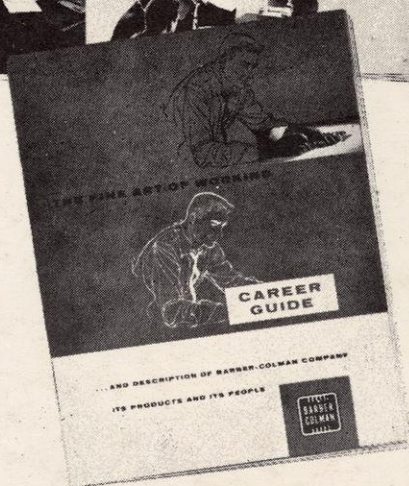
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