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INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK

A Student Journal of Conservative Opinion

Volume 2 No. 1

November 20, 1959

International Morality and the UN

Millard W. Johnson

The Myth of Soviet Co-Operation

Gale Pfund


UNESCO - A Closer Look

Roger Claus

Up From Liberalism . . .

a review of two reviews

Robert C. Adams



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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

INTERNATIONAL MORALITY AND THE UN Millard W. Johnson	4
THE MYTH OF SOVIET CO-OPERATION Gale Pfund	6
UNESCO — A CLOSER LOOK — Roger Claus	8
FREEDOM AND THE UN — Robert C. Adams	10

DEPARTMENTS

CAMPUS OUTLOOK	3
BOOK INSIGHT	12

CAMPUS OUTLOOK

"Selfishness is not living as one wishes to live; it is asking others to live as one wishes to live. And unselfishness is letting other people alone, not interfering with them."

— Oscar Wilde

An Open Letter To The Campused Coed Who Had To Report Hourly To Her House Desk Clad In Pajamas. (The Daily Cardinal; Wednesday, October 28, 1959)

Dear Campused:

You ain't seen nothin' yet.

You are the victim of only a very minor infection of a very major disease, controlitis. Your reaction to it was a bit different from that of most people though; you complained. The expected reaction is, at least, an acquiescence; but, ideally, you are supposed to feel

gratitude toward the authors and enforcers of the rule which you broke. For it was designed for YOUR OWN GOOD.

You see, it is the opinion of the do-gooder that people, when left to their own devices, are not to be trusted. Oh, of course, they, themselves, can be trusted, but it is the OTHER FELLOW who needs watching. This is why we have RULES.

Not satisfied with protecting himself from your misdeeds, the do-gooder decided to protect other people from them. And finally, he decided to protect YOU from them. Now, as every good progressive knows, you cannot tell the do-gooder to mind his own business, for he is not motivated by SELFISH INTERESTS. He wants to help YOU; (And he aims to, whether YOU want his help or not.) and therefore he must be a wonderful person — like the good woman who suggested the University have someone check all student apartments, in the closets and under the beds, no less, to see if the occupants were harboring members of the opposite sex. (Heaven forbid.)

Now what the do-gooder doesn't realize is that laws do not improve the character of a people. They are obeyed either because people recognize the moral necessity for doing that which the law requires or because they are afraid of the coercive power which stands behind the law.

The tendency, of both the controllers and the controlled, is to equate legality with morality; no longer do they consider the injustice or unreasonableness which might be inherent in a law's enforcement. This is just what you encountered — the "rules is rules" thought process of the petty bureaucrat.

Of course, when the moral arbiter becomes the law, the public conscience inevitably becomes the policeman with the gun; people begin to ask themselves not "Is this right?" but "Can I get away with this?"

It is moral, not legal force which creates the good society. If we plan to rely more on moral force, people must be given the opportunity to make moral decisions.

Comparatively speaking, you have little to complain about. How do you suppose a producer feels when he is hamstrung by all manner of government regulations and restrictions? Can you imagine the frustration of the many individuals who, harming no one and minding their own business, are harrassed year after year by a horde of petty bureaucrats for failure to comply with some silly rule (like the one you broke) which should not have been there in the first place? How do you suppose Farmer Yankus felt when he lost his home for raising grain to feed his own chickens?

And what we have now is nothing compared to what the social planners and welfare-staters have in mind for us.

Be patient, my dear, be patient.

Cordially,

Robert C. Adams

Wis. Conservative Club

INTERNATIONAL MORALITY and the UN

by Millard W. Johnson

While many Americans shrink from any plans to yield state and federal power to any international agency, they nevertheless may be fond of a council of nations where issues can be brought out into the open. Such a council, while being impotent to act, would provide a voice for the moral indignation of the world.

The late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles was once one of these people. In 1954, before a Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee, he asserted that the United Nations "has become a place where world opinion can register and exert a moral authority which no nation, however powerful or despotic, publicly disdains or wholly disregards."

This indeed was a fine sentiment but fourteen months later Dulles had apparently realized how false this notion was. Speaking before the Advertising Club of New York then, he condemned the Chinese Communists thus:

"They hold and continue to hold United States prisoners of war in flagrant disregard of the Korean armistice terms, and they have so far rebuffed the efforts of the United Nations to secure their release, despite the fact that the Secretary General traveled all the way to Peiping on a mission of intercession.

"The have contemptuously rejected an invitation to participate in United Nations proceedings, initiated by New Zealand, which were designed to bring about a cease-fire in the Formosa Straits area. They have, with impunity, three times challenged and rebuffed the United Nations . . ."

In his book *The UN Record*, Chesly Manly says of the moral authority myth: "The member governments are composed of individuals, who are motivated not by moral principles but by what

they conceive to be the best interests of their own countries if they are honorable men or by baser considerations if they are not."

It is only natural for a government to seek its own advantage in its political dealings. Delegates to the United Nations, after all, are only the appointees of their respective governments and they must all take orders from their governments or be relieved of their post. Delegates to international assemblies are directed to make their country's political objectives appear in a favorable light, i.e., moral. Is such an assembly capable of sound moral judgment?

Russian participation in the Korean War provides a good example of United Nations moral failure. An excerpt from the UN charter:

Art. 2, para. 5 states "All members . . . shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action."

The Department of Defense reported in 1953 that there were from 6,000 to 12,000 Russian tactical troops in Korea in addition to approximately 1,300 Russian staff and technical advisors. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge in February, 1953, declared before the General Assembly's Political and Security Committee that "Soviet planning instigated the original aggression, which was subsequently maintained by Soviet training and equipment."

Evidence, however, was unnecessary. Vishinsky, the Soviet delegate to the UN, readily acknowledged that, in accordance with a treaty with Red China, Russia was indeed supplying arms to the Chinese Communists.

The Soviet Union's treaty with China was void by Art. 103:

"In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the members of the United Nations under the present charter and any other

international obligations to which they are subject, their obligations under the present charter shall prevail."

Article 6 calls for the expulsion of any member which persistently violates the charter's principles, an action which is certainly warranted in the light of Vishinsky's shameless admission of guilt. What did the United Nations do about this open violation of its charter? Nothing!

Accounts of the barbaric treatment of Korean War prisoners by the Communists are well known and authoritative. That the United Nations virtually ignored these brutalities further testifies to its moral shortcoming.

On November 14, 1951, Colonel James M. Hanley, chief of the war crimes section of the 8th Army, issued a report stating that at least 5,790 UN prisoners of war (non-Korean) had been murdered by the enemy. Of these, at least 5,500 were Americans.

Later, Lodge told the General Assembly that at least 10,000 American war prisoners had been murdered. Most of them had been shot in the back of the head and dumped into mass graves. Occasionally, gasoline was poured on wounded men and then ignited by grenades or matches.

And what did the United Nations have to say about this?

First, the issue was, as much as possible, hushed up in the UN until after a Korean armistice could be reached. Discussing this unpleasant business would have aggravated the armistice negotiations. When a resolution was finally adopted by the Assembly on December 3, the Soviet Union was not even mentioned, even though Lodge had declared that Soviet personnel had commanded the torture camps. The resolution condemned "the commission by any governments or authorities of murder, mutilation,

torture and other atrocious acts against captured military personnel or civilian populations. No particular government or authority was accused, however. It did manage to express "grave concern at reports" about inhuman practices employed by North Korean and Chinese Communist forces during the war.

Nor is the West without sin.

Communism is a threat to freedom but by no means is it the only one. Many western nations may decry the suppression of individualism and absence of self-government in communist countries, but still pursue a colonial policy of their own. And the United States must be slow to criticize European imperialism lest it offend its Cold War allies against the Soviet Union. The United Nations inevitably bares a dualistic policy.

Speaking before the General Assembly on September 17, 1953, John Foster Dulles stressed the UN's responsibility toward what the charter calls Non-Self-Governing territories. "These people want

only the simple things," he said. "They want the right to live in their homes without fear . . . They want to be able to work productively . . . *They want governments to which they consent.*" (Italics added.)

Dulles went on to say "No peace can be enduring which repudiates the concept that government should rest on free consent, or which denies to others the opportunity to embrace that concept."

Only a fortnight before, the United States had joined four other nations on the UN Security Council in defeating a request by fifteen Asian and African nations for a hearing on French terrorism in Morocco.

If those fifteen countries were vexed by this seeming betrayal, Dulles redeemed himself in their eyes when he thwarted British-French intervention in the Suez Canal crisis of 1956. The seizing of that private property was a colossal piece of banditry by Nassar, but Dulles, by his quick action, was able to show that the United

States could and would put principles above certain "favored nations." He accomplished this without any dealings in the UN, where the spark of a British-Egyptian clash could have been fanned into further hostilities.

In this same year of 1956, incidentally, Morocco gained its independence of France. This also was "settled out of court." Yet in 1953, a resolution for Moroccan independence had come before the General Assembly and was defeated!

Compulsion takes the morality out of a decision and it is compulsion which the United Nations must ultimately use if it is to put teeth into its alleged moral authority. We have seen that this authority is mere pretense, riddled with compromise.

Each country looks out for its own best interests. Each block (Western, Arab, Communist, etc.) seeks its own advantage. If the United Nations claim of moral authority can cloak their activities in righteousness, so much the better.

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THE MYTH OF SOVIET CO-OPERATION

By Gale Pfund

Advocates of the UN idea, intent on painting world federalism in its most pleasant colors, are never at a loss for words to describe in all too reassuring terms the good arising from international concourse. Mr. C. M. Chen relates the following comment made by a member of the American Delegation to the UN a few years back:

How wonderful it is to have different people from different countries of the world, embracing different ideologies and worshipping different gods, come together to talk things over! As I have always said, as long as we keep on talking we would not be shooting at each other.

This statement is unfortunately typical of the prevailing climate which has blinded people to the false assumption on which the UN structure rests.

When the UN was established (with Alger Hiss as its chief American engineer) it developed a Charter outlining the mechanism for maintaining international peace and security. With all the foresight they could muster, the UN planners made Russia, the United States, France, Great Britain, and China permanent members of the UN's strongest body. The assumption was that Russia, whose avowed aim is aggressive conquest of the world, would co-operate with the other big powers in leading the world to peace.

The logic here is inexcusable. Consider, for example, how effective the Chicago Police Department would be in preventing crime with Al Capone as a police commissioner. Yet this is the very situation which exists in the UN today.

Here we expect a nation, whose first principle is force and violence, to co-operate for peace. We expect a nation whose record of purges, genocide, and wholesale slavery shames the human race, to fight for human rights and freedom. And, here we expect a nation, whose foreign policy is designed to create international tension and imbalance, to help maintain a secure world.

This is the grossly absurd assumption which has rendered the UN impotent. The great power Russia shares with the remaining big four in the Security Council is an example of how this basic premise is embodied in the Charter.

Article 24 confers upon the Security council "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security" This is the only body which can take any effective legal action.

Secretary of State Stettinius said the following in his report to Truman when the UN Charter was signed: "The prestige of the council, its influence in world affairs, and its success in the maintenance of peace and security will depend upon the degree to which unity is achieved among the great powers." When the council is in disagreement, all grandiose plans which the UN undertakes are meaningless.

Because of another ingenious bit of foresight exercised by the UN planners, Russia is held secure in her position to hamper any constructive program which might be undertaken. Article 6 states, "A member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the principles contained in the present charter may be expelled from the organization by the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security

Council." This means that any permanent member of the Security Council cannot be expelled without its own consent.

Article 108 stipulates that no change can be made in the charter without the consent of the Security council. Russia is now empowered to violate every principle set down in the charter, to hamstring any attempt to punish these violations and still retain her status as one of the most powerful members for as long as the UN exists.

Even the Uniting for Peace resolution which Dean Acheson persuaded the General Assembly to adopt in November 1950 is not enough to curtail Russia's power. The resolution states that the assembly should make recommendations, including the use of force, if the Security Council should be prevented from taking action to maintain international peace by the exercise of the veto.

This proposal has no legal basis. When it first came up for debate, Vishinsky immediately argued that it was unconstitutional. The Russians were well aware of their power position and were not about to surrender it. Unfortunately, many still believe that the Uniting for Peace resolution has introduced enough flexibility in the charter to circumvent the Russian veto.

The most disheartening thing, however, is not that the peace resolution is illegal and therefore ineffective. It is rather the general reluctance of other members to even speak out against Russian atrocities rendered unpunishable by the veto. Ever since Jacob Malik walked out of the UN meetings over the question of admitting Communist China, the attitude has

grown that Russia must be accommodated. The Soviet walkout threatened the UN's very existence and sent Secretary General Trygve Lie on a frenzied world tour trying to reunite the divided assemblage.

And what more could Russia ask? With Lie playing into their hand, they could almost set the price for returning to the fold. One observer said at the time that Lie appeared genuinely hurt when someone called him a "stooge of the Reds".

What the UN planners apparently hoped was that the noble goal of world peace would instill such a spirit of cooperation among countries that national interests would give way to international considerations, that the common good would have priority. Much to their surprise, nationalism still raised its ugly head. Since Russia is the major cause of discord in this world council, it is in order that we examine the facts which led the planners to such erroneous conclusions.

On paper, Russia's intentions seemed spotless. By reading all the high-sounding proposals and resolutions in vogue during the war and post-war periods, one could only conclude that no greater lover of peace and freedom had ever existed than the Soviet Union.

When Russia signed the Declaration by United Nations in January of 1942, she thereby subscribed to all of the noble principles set down in the Atlantic Charter issued by Roosevelt and Churchill on August 14, 1941. Peace and prosperity for all nations were promised the world by these statesmen. Based in part on Roosevelt's annual message to Congress in 1941, the Charter contains all of FDR's grandiose visions of what the future held. Roosevelt looked forward to a world based on four essential freedoms: freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion, freedom from fear, and freedom from want. Russia signed and the world awaited the promised Utopia.

Russia reaffirmed her pledge to

co-operate for peace by signing four more proclamations: The four-power Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943; the Teheran Declaration of December 1, 1943; the Yalta Declaration of February 11, 1945; and most important of all, the United Nations Charter of June 26, 1945.

Russia's acts, however, spoke somewhat louder than did her words. In fact, about the only peaceful thing which Russia did was to sign resolutions. Her record of international gangsterism is long. Stalin began by making his agreement with Hitler precipitating World War II. At every opportune moment Russia forcefully expanded her territory. She invaded and annexed half of Poland. She took Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Bessarabia and Northern Bukonia. She waged aggressive war on Finland seizing part of its territory. She put a strangle hold on Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania, and Germany. She mercilessly crushed the Hungarian uprising and has been behind countless Red instigated riots and minor conflicts including the Korean War.

Clearly, these are not the activities of a peace loving country. How the UN planners could have mistaken Russia's real intentions is beyond comprehension. The only thing that one can predict about Russia is that she will back any program which may further the cause of world communism, and give only tacit support to peace programs only when doing so offers short range tactical advantages.

The old Red tactics outlined years ago in the internationals are still operative today. Take one step backward so you can take two steps forward was the slogan. Russia took her one step backward by hiding behind every high-principled resolution passed during the last 15 years. But she also took her two steps forward, and now has countless millions under her tyranny.

But her major victory is still forthcoming. Fearful now of an

all-out atomic war, Russia is spreading her domain by very subtle means. Little by little we are falling into the well set trap that world government is the only way to peace.

As things are presently structured, the UN is powerless to act effectively. The only way it can overcome Russia's hamstringing tactics and do something is for anti-communist nations to surrender to Russian demands and effect a compromise.

No active program can be carried out unless it has Russia's approval. Her record of stubbornness teaches that a valuable price must be paid for this sanction. The program must be beneficial to the communist cause. And, the more we compromise, the more the UN will become a vehicle for bringing about world communism.

Rest assured that on this issue Russia will give very little ground. And furthermore she doesn't have to. She has thousands of collectivist do-gooders inadvertently working for her every day. While the apologists for Russian gangsterism are offering praises for the wonderful things the UN is accomplishing, Americans are being acclimated to a belief that people must be ruled by a world dictatorship.

The day is slowly approaching when our ideals will be so distorted that we will grant the UN sole legal monopoly on the use of force and violence. The selling point is simple enough, and rather appealing on the surface. The only way to eliminate war between nations is to eliminate individual nations and their governments, supplanting diffused power with a central power.

If that day comes, you can be certain that the men in the Kremlin will have full control of the UN and its programs. But consider the irony. By resorting to a world council to achieve peace so men can be free and prosperous, we will have established the world collectivist tyranny, Russia's most important long range goal.

UNESCO - A CLOSER LOOK

By Roger Claus

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is an agency affiliated with the U.N. but with headquarters in Paris, France. This Specialized Agency of the United Nations is one, and perhaps the most important one, of many which operate in the bailiwick of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Among UNESCO's co-agencies in ECOSOC, we find the Universal Postal Union (UPU), the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Labor Organization (ILO), and several others. These agencies work both individually and collectively toward the goal of, as the Secretary of ECOSOC puts it, developing into world Departments of State.

UNESCO itself has two primary functions. Its first objective surrounds the thought-perpetration of the Welfare-state activities of the Economic and Social Council. UNESCO's second purpose is that of being the Propaganda Indoctrination Ministry for the U.N. as a whole.

The first department includes everything from the United Nations Technical Assistance Program (U.N.'s point four) to a myriad of absolutely vital projects such as: establishment of a World Press Agency free of "National" bias; a library for the newly literate in Delhi; an international Computation Center in Rome; creating international professional organizations; and improving the status of women in odd corners of the world. UNESCO is responsible for Full Employment, for the Covenant on Human Rights, and for countless varieties of technical assistance (under Point Four). Admittedly this is a fine sounding list of proposals; let us see just how they affect an American citizen, his economic situation, and his priceless

heritage of freedom. The Point Four with its accompanying Socialistic schemes is a plan to warm the heart of a person who dislikes to see need in the world. The grand goal of this plan is to alleviate want wherever it exists by overcoming the technical barriers that hamper production. The Covenant of Human Rights, also known as the Genocide Convention, is even more noble in intent. It is to stand as an international watchdog to protect Human Rights and guard against hurt feelings. Example: There is a provision of the Convention under which, if an American citizen should give offense to someone of different race or creed or color, thereby causing "mental harm", as the convention puts it, he could, if the United States refused to prosecute him, be transported overseas for trial before an international tribunal. A few extremely important factors must now be considered. First, all of these plans can be imposed on the American people merely by subjecting ourselves to an international declaration or treaty, for Article VI of our Constitution provides that:

"... All treaties . . . shall be the supreme Law of the Land . . . any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding."

Secondly, most of this pell-mell Welfare Stateism is to be accomplished with money coercively taken (taxes) from that good old benevolent philanthropist, the American taxpayer.

This is a Socialist's dream. In the United States at present, the most an Egalitarian can hope for is income distribution among the American people. Now look at the horizons. Countless millions of Aliens can be brought under the

auspices of this perverted Robin-hoodry. And leave us not forget one important fact: free choice is a forgotten article here. We are dealing with a government — an authority to use violence or the threat of violence to compel the productive to give to the unproductive. I cannot help but feel that when this final and master leveling is accomplished, there will be very little for any individual — that is, provided this vanishing specimen is not abolished in the process. A great many people, however, seem to be in favor of this One for All — None for One Policy in spite of the fact that it virtually destroys the one source of real productive wealth, the individual in a free economy.

Let us dwell a moment upon the economic and social outlook of the aforementioned. History is extremely kind to us at this point, for we have many outstanding examples of what happens to a FREE MAN'S productivity when the goal of "common good" is swapped for "personal good." The role of foreign aid is also depicted in the history of two of America's first settlements: Jamestown and Plymouth. In either case, the people agreed to put the fruits of their labor in a common storehouse taking in return the governor's dole. The results are indeed interesting. Half of the Mayflower Pilgrims died the first winter. The second winter was not much better. In the spring of the third year, Governor Bradford ceased the communistic sharing and gave each colonist a share of land to do with as she pleased. Now, the picture changed. Many Pilgrims who had been too weak and ill to labor for the common good suddenly found the strength to hunt and till the soil for themselves and their loved ones. Consequently, the famine ended. Concerning the episode a historian states:

"Furthermore, the truly sick and helpless no longer starved. When no one was held responsible for his own welfare, few persons felt especially responsible for anybody. But when each became responsible for his own welfare, he began to feel responsible for being a good neighbor, friend and citizen."

The Jamestown colony was far more fortunate, however; they had "foreign aid". Being owned and governed by the London Company, they received a constant supply of aid from their proprietor. But even with this support, idleness, fraud, and famine prevailed. For nine years the London proprietor kept sending supplies and new colonists, hoping to make the colony self-supporting. Finally, an experiment was tried which gave the individual settlers tracts of land of their own. At once the colony began to "boom".

Here we can clearly see two things quite relevant to UNESCO's immediate objective and the One Worlder's ultimate goal. The swapping of goals (common good for personal good) runs aground of an integral facet of man's nature — a facet unalterable by legislation. Secondly, outside aid, however benevolent in intent, merely prolongs the malady.

Now we arrive at a saddening juncture; we contemplate one of UNESCO's prime methods: sell 'em while they're young. UNESCO has that in its power which could make us succumb to an edict of Santayana: "Those who ignore the mistakes of history are bound to repeat them." We must not lose sight of the underlying fact of this whole scheme. When and if the day comes that UNESCO's "omnipotence will match its omniscience" our children will have been well conditioned by twelve years of One World Collectivist slanting of text books.

This is the *E* in UNESCO, its second function as the propaganda arm of the United Nations. UNESCO publications describe this program as the "education for living in a world community." In other words, this is a program

designed to transform the thinking of citizens everywhere to soften them up for world government. The truly terrifying part of it is that much of the program is primarily directed toward the children in the schools.

There was once a time when American school children were grounded in the maxims of individual self-reliance and the principles of the Ten Commandments and the Constitution. UNESCO's opinion of this can easily be had by reading its own pamphlets. A very interesting example can be found on page 54 of *In the classroom with Children under Thirteen Years of Age*. It declares that families often "infect" their children with nationalism (I prefer to call it *Patriotism*), which is the "complete negation of world-mindedness." It goes on to state (p. 58): "As long as the child breathes the poisoned air of nationalism, education in worldmindedness can produce only rather precarious results."

Let us investigate this "poisoned air of nationalism." Volume XI of UNESCO's *Toward World Understanding* condemns the teaching of our young people about rugged individualist "hero types." Just who are these "hero types" whose existence in our historical literature the One Worlders find so deplorable? the Father of America, George Washington (p. 58), who else?

By this time it is apparent that UNESCO has a big job on its hands. The erosion of America's nationalism is a man-sized job which requires a great number of people. These people, in addition, must be of a certain character and temperament. They must be liberal, more or less uninformed, and enamoured of doing good. It is here where UNESCO notes its greatest achievement, that of enlisting allies. In its role as the equivalent of George Orwell's Ministry of Truth, UNESCO has drawn to its aid hundreds of private allies and agents which it chooses to call "Non-Government Organizations, or NGOs. These NGOs are a tremendous aid to UNESCO in carrying out its appointed aims. To fully utilize the efforts of the hundreds

of NGO's, the U.N. has set up numerous national commissions through which many thousands of sincere patriotic Americans can work for a organization about which they know little and understand less. Realizing the vast importance of these allies, the U.N. goes out of its way to shower them with acknowledgments and make them feel important. Every year there is an assembly of NGO representatives in Geneva. An expense-paid trip (guess who pays) to that convention is a clubwoman's dream. Through this and other inducements, the U.N. is able to use hundreds of private societies, clubs, leagues, and unions as effective outlets for its propaganda. Of the numerous NGO's, perhaps the best known are: the League of Women Voters, the National Student Association (NSA), The American Association for the United Nations, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and the Rotary International. Needless to say these groups are not subversive in the least; for the most part, they are sincere patriotic Americans who have not bothered to look behind the glittering facade which they are helping to perpetuate.

It is generally agreed upon these days that nothing is either all good or all bad. Contrary to the tone of this article, I agree. It is my opinion, however, that the U.N. is more of a menace to our American ideal of individual liberty than it is worth as a forum for "talking rather than shooting."

I firmly believe that the time has come for many good Americans to make a long overdue value judgment. People must begin to take into account the aura of world socialism that surrounds the very concept of the United Nations. Charity is a priceless virtue when it is voluntary; but when coercion is its partner, it becomes a horse of a different moral color. There are some questions I would like to ask all Americans who have succumbed to UNESCO's image of the United Nations. Is the euphoria of false security and Mrs. Roosevelt-type do-gooding worth the corruption

(Continued, P. 11)

FREEDOM and the UN

By Robert C. Adams

It is no surprise that the United Nations, being a Government of governments and founded on the principle that governments cause progress and that material and spiritual well-being is a matter of legislation, has reacted against the American Revolution and has tried to reestablish Government as the source and arbiter of human rights. If one contrasts the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence to the U.N. Covenant of Human Rights, this becomes immediately apparent. The freedoms of the press and of religion, two extremely important ones, offer very good illustrations.

Article 13 of the Covenant states: (1) Everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion . . . (2) Freedom to manifest one's religion or belief shall be subject only to such limitations as are pursuant to the law and are reasonable and necessary to protect public safety, order, health, or morals or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others.

The list of restrictions is sufficiently broad and vague to make legal the article's invocation by any dictator on any one of the shallow pretense authoritarian governments generally offer for the curtailment of freedom. The charge against Jesus was that "He stirreth up the people." Pilate would have found in the "public safety and order" clause a convenient way to claim legal justification for his condemnation of Jesus. As for protecting the public morals, this was the excuse given by the Romans for the persecution of Christians and by Hitler

for his treatment of the Jews.

Against Article 13 of the Covenant stands our Bill of Rights: "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Or contrast the terms of the U.N. document to the position of James Madison: "The religion then of every man must be left to the conviction and conscience of every man; and it is the right of every man to exercise it as these may dictate. This right is in its nature an unalienable right . . . We maintain therefore that in matters of Religion, no man's right is abridged by the institution of Civil Society, and that Religion is wholly exempt from its cognizance." Or consider the Statute of Religious Freedom of Virginia in which Jefferson wrote, ". . . the (religious) rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present, or to narrow its operation, such an act will be an infringement of natural rights."

Concerning freedom of the press, Article 14 of the U.N. Covenant adds this qualification: "The right to seek, receive and impart information and ideas carries with it special duties and responsibilities and may therefore be subject to certain penalties, liabilities and restrictions, but these shall be only as are provided by law and are necessary for the protection of national security, public order, safety, health or morals, or of the rights, freedoms or reputations of others."

Governments sometimes find it very easy to close down news-

papers in the interest of national security and public order. La Prensa of Buenos Aires was shut down for just those reasons.

In the Constitution of the United States, the only restrictions are placed upon the government rather than on the people: "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of the press . . ."

More than force of arms, legal sanction with its implied moral prerogative is the most effective weapon for increasing and justifying authoritarian rule.

The United Nations is considered by many to be the Hope of Mankind. We do not quibble with this description; it is indeed very accurate. That the U.N. embraces practically all of man's aspirations is responsible for its being held in such high esteem by many Americans. Yet perhaps the most dangerous section of the Covenant of Human Rights is in articles 19 through 28 which attempts to make "human rights" out of what is nothing more than a list of hopes for conditions which can only come from individual toil and ingenuity. These are some economic objectives of the U.N. as stated in the Covenant:

"The States Parties to the Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living and the continuous improvement of living conditions.

"... recognize the right of everyone to just and favorable working conditions, including: (a) safe and healthy working conditions; (b) minimum remuneration which provides all workers(i) with fair wages and equal pay for equal work, and (ii) a decent living for themselves and for their families; and (c) rea-

sonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

"... recognize the right of everyone to social security.

"... recognize the right of everyone to adequate housing.

"... recognize the right of everyone to education.

"... recognize that primary education shall be compulsory and available free to all; that secondary education... shall be generally available and shall be made progressively free; that higher education shall be equally accessible to all and shall be made progressively free; that obligations of the States to establish free and compulsory primary education shall not be deemed incompatible with the liberty of parents to choose for their children schools other than those established by the State which conform to minimum standards laid down by the State."

Now if people have a "right" to all these things, surely they are justified in sitting back and demanding them from the government which assured them that these "rights" would be forthcoming. But governments cannot produce the wealth necessary to provide these benefits. Thus, in order to fulfill its promise, it must take from those who have and redistribute what they have confiscated to those who have not. Thus, one is justified in assuming that the Covenant gives tacit support to a socialistic state.

The wording of the resolutions shows them to be an attempt to bring government into every phase of people's lives. The government will have to lay down all working conditions if it intends to guarantee "fair wages," equal pay for equal work and a decent living to everyone. We can be sure that such vague concepts as "fair wages" and "a decent standard of living" will have to be defined arbitrarily by the government.

Government will have to enter the housing field if it plans to provide everyone with "adequate housing." How can government hope

to guarantee a continuous improvement in material and spiritual well-being and progressively free education unless it has the power to finance and control unlimited areas of activity? The Supreme Court has already decreed that government has the right to supervise that which it finances even, perhaps, to the extent of setting "minimum standards" for schools to which parents may send their children.

The reasoning behind the Covenant poses a grave threat to the American concepts of freedom and individual initiative and responsibility. Rights (freedom of choice, religion, contract, etc.) are natural and do not require material wealth for their maintainance. The drafters of the Covenant have committed a mistake common to socialists; they have equated freedom with that which freedom produces and have applied the name to the latter. In trying to improve the lot of man, they have rejected the means which has produced the highest standard of living yet known. Such thinking has become widespread and marks an ignorance of perhaps a majority of Americans of the nature and meaning of freedom, of what it took to achieve the material greatness which they are born into and which, in their ignorance, they fancy to be theirs by right.

Ortega was aware of this trend when he wrote in *The Revolt of the Masses*: "The very perfection with which the 19th century gave an organization to certain orders of existence has caused the masses benefited thereby to consider it, not as an organized, but as a natural system. Thus is explained and defined the absurd state of mind revealed by the masses; they are only concerned with their own well-being, and at the same time they remain alien to the cause of that well-being. As they do not see, beyond the benefits of civilization, marvels of invention and construc-

tion which can only be maintained by great effort and foresight, they imagine that their role is limited to demanding these benefits peremptorily, as if they were natural rights. In the disturbances caused by scarcity of food, the mob goes in search of bread, and the means it employs is to generally wreck the bakeries. This may serve as a symbol of the attitude adopted, on a greater and more complicated scale, by the masses of today towards the civilization by which they are supported."

(UNESCO — continued)

and despoilment of our finest American virtues and traditions? Has the world really shrunk to a size that compels all good Americans to subordinate their "nationalism", pride of individuality and self-reliance, and economic stability in favor of One World interventionism? Placing UNESCO in perspective with the United Nations whose aims it carries out, and taking into account the additional entanglements such as Police Actions (not war, you understand), known subversion at all levels, and submission to the magic "nyet", I would like to pose a final question. Are we as Americans going to continue to sacrifice our lives, liberties, traditions, and honor to the intrigues of an international organization that has given no proof of its ability to institute, support, or defend anything except the bureaucratic privileges of its subversive-ridden hierarchy?*

FOOTNOTE

*U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT —
December 12, 1953

"One-third to one-half of the executives of the U.N. staff are Communists or persons who obey the Communists. (p. 37)

BOOK INSIGHT UP FROM LIBERALISM . . .

A Review of Two Reviews

Up From Liberalism. By WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.
Foreword by John Dos Passos. McDowell, Obolensky.
\$3.50.

William F. Buckley, Jr., has written his third book, *Up From Liberalism*, in which, according to W. G. Rogers' review in the Wisconsin State Journal (October 4, 1959) he "tilts at nothing less than half the world we live in: He challenges Liberalism." (How dare he.)

Mr. Rogers continues: "But he concentrates his animus on the American manifestations of the creed he detests—a mere methodology, he snaps. After deriding some liberals for what he calls blind spots, he denounces the graduated income tax, the ban on religious teaching in public schools, the union shop, the farm laws, the FEPC's; he has his doubts about democracy, universal suffrage and racial desegregation; he even doesn't like middle-of-the-road Republicanism.

"What does he like? He's against sin, he's for God, and he dedicates his stinging book to 'mentors, colleagues, friends' including James Burnham, John Chamberlain and Whittaker Chambers, who contribute to his magazine *National Review*.

"You'll find nobody and nothing out beyond Buckley on the Right; he has reached the ultra conservative position. He describes it well but it had been done before not in detail but in principle in 1900, or even 1850."

Rogers' review, in tone and style, is similar to *Octy* and *Cardinal* reviews of *Insight and Outlook*. We thought these to be merely indicative of the writers' sophomoric conception of the nature of criticism and a lack of journalistic integrity and intellectual honesty.

Such traits, when displayed by a college freshman, can be attributed to immaturity and a youthful eagerness to display a critical ability which, to the untrained mind, is to butcher rather than to dissect an opponent's argument. It is forgivable in a twenty-year-old.

Yet, this technique of meeting the conservative viewpoint is not confined to campus journalism. It is, in fact, the standard procedure of many whose professional position would seem to demand something better.

As Rogers (a feature writer for Associated Press) demonstrates, this is the accepted method by which much of the liberal press answers those who dare to question their orthodoxy. It is the mark of intellectual degeneracy.

Let me make clear what it is about Rogers' review that lends itself to comparison with student journalism. Its tone is openly belligerent, its criticism is captious.

Its description of the book is shallow and inaccurate. It makes no attempt to come to grasp philosophically or factually with any of the points Buckley raised in his book. It merely sneers.

(Space does not allow a point for point analysis of the distortion Rogers makes of Buckley's stance. I suggest you read the book and draw your own conclusions.)

Buckley examines some of the past antics of the liberal to show that, at best, the liberal is confused, but more often he seems to be moved by purposes that compel him to disregard reason and honesty. (By a Liberal, Buckley does not mean the average American who may lean toward or accept liberalism but "a conscious agent, vocationally or avocationally," of the tenets and programs of modern liberalism. This means especially the liberal member of the academy, the press, and the government.)

For example: Sen. Flanders, on the Senate floor, asked if the loyalty between McCarthy, Roy Cohn, and David Schine might be explained by a homosexual relationship among the three men. When asked by a reporter if he wished to leave the safety of the interrogatory to make a specific charge, Sen. Flanders would not admit to having made what might be construed as an accusation but claimed he was simply asking questions.

Yet, Sen. Flanders' popularity increased, especially, curiously enough, among those who possessed the uncanny ability to spot a McCarthyite smear-artist through a dense jungle at twenty miles distance.

Case #2. Con-man Paul Hughes went to the McCarthy committee with a story of red operations at the American Air Force base at Dhahran. The story was checked, proved false, and Hughes was sent on his way, a way which eventually led him to one Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Chairman of Americans for Democratic Action. Rauh proved more gullible than the McCarthy Committee; Hughes succeeded in extracting from him some eight thousand dollars by posing as a disgusted secret agent of McCarthy who would keep Rauh posted on the latest skulduggery of his (Hughes') boss. (Remember, if you will, this is the same Joseph Rauh who wrote in *The Progressive*, "Let us do away with confidential informants, dossiers, political spies . . . No one can guess where this process of informing will end.")

Hughes knew what he was being paid for. His accounts of McCarthy's doings (one told how the Senator and his friends kept an arsenal in the basement of the Senate Office Building) were (writes Buckley)

"so grotesque and bizarre, so beyond the normal imagination, that they would surely have struck Rauh as incredible had they been imputed to a Communist, rather than to Senator McCarthy."

A grand jury, investigating Hughes' connection with the Matusow case, discovered the affair between Hughes and Rauh; whereupon Hughes charged Rauh was aware that the reports on McCarthy were fabricated. Thus, writes Buckley, "a legal battle went forward between two competing points of view, 1) that Rauh was a knave (argued by Hughes and his lawyers), and 2) that he was a fool (argued by Rauh and the government.)"

Rauh, after revealing that he had called James Wechsler, editor of the *New York Post*, when he had been told by Hughes that McCarthy had a spy working for the *Post* as cooking editor, was questioned by Hughes' attorney: "You didn't feel that the cooking editor was going to slant any recipes in McCarthy's favor, did you?"

To which Rauh replied, "That wouldn't have been the purpose of having someone there. Because a cooking editor like anybody else has access to all the records, files, and clips . . . It doesn't matter who the person is. I didn't feel he should have anybody on the paper." (During this same period, Rauh and his friends in the A.D.A., the National Committee for an Effective Congress, and the *Washington Post* were chanting "and even if Annie Lee Moss were a communist, why pick on her? She does not hold a sensitive position.") Such are the inconsistencies Buckley draws upon.

Incidentally, the Subversive Activities Control Board, as recently as fall, 1958, confirmed McCarthy's findings that the Annie Lee Moss whom the Senator questioned was indeed a member of the Communist Party. And as recently as fall, 1959, I have come across persons who still refuse to believe it.

Whether or not the conservative philosophy was expressed in 1900 or 1850 (He might have said 1776) does in no way relate to Buckley's book which was primarily a charge against the modern liberal and an examination of the contemporary scene on both sides of the ideological spectrum. Rogers tries to dismiss the book resorting to the stock argument that conservatives "live in the past", the tacit assertion being that conservatism is blind to the demands of the present world situation. Such proclamations have become a substitute for rather than a product of any serious and objective analysis of the conservative position.

Buckley acknowledges this approach to conservatism: "I mentioned . . . that what was once a healthy American pragmatism has deteriorated into a wayward relativism. It is one thing to make allowances to reality that reality imposes, to take advantage of the current when the current moves in your direction, while riding at anchor at ebb tide. But it is something else to run before political or historical impulses merely

because fractious winds begin to blow, and to dismiss resistance as foolish, or perverse idealism. And it is supremely wrong, intellectually and morally, to abandon the norms by which it becomes possible, viewing a trend, to pass judgment upon it; without which judgment we cannot know whether to yield, or to fight."

Max Salvadori, professor of history at Smith College, takes a somewhat less graceless approach to *Up From Liberalism* in *The Saturday Review* of October 10. Yet it appears Salvadori approached Buckley's book with certain preconceived notions. The liberal mind seems compelled to define all exposition of the conservative viewpoint in terms of 1) an admiration of Senator McCarthy and 2) an advocacy of class privilege and an idolatrous commitment to Big Business.

Salvadori's statement that Buckley's "conservative position could best be defined perhaps through his admiration for Senator Joseph McCarthy" is patently absurd.

Buckley's conservatism is a combination of the classical liberal interpretation of freedom and the neo-conservative position that all ultimate spiritual and moral values have been discovered, that they are embodied in our Judaic-Christian, Greco-Roman heritage, that tradition insures the continuity of that heritage and our American heritage of freedom. He rejects the belief that values are relative or that they can be discovered simply by applying the Scientific Method to sociological phenomena.

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This position, philosophically arrived at, is not original with Buckley, and owes nothing of its substance to an admiration of a late United States senator.

Salvidori writes: "With regard to conservatism, the author stresses 'freedom, individuality, the sense of community, the sanction of the family, the supremacy of the conscience, the spiritual view of life.' The meaning of these terms is most clearly defined through the liberal tenets Mr. Buckley criticizes; moderation, tolerance, democracy, equality, academic freedom, scientific thought, the priority of method over goals."

Which simply means that Professor Salvidori wishes to define the former values in those terms. That such definitions are misconceived was a salient point in Buckley's thesis which Salvidori here denies but does not argue.

Rather than a rejection of these qualities, the book is primarily a challenge to the programs liberalism would advance under these appealing designations.

Salvidori is correct in noting Buckley's opposition to the "the priority of method over goals." Buckley assumes that the concern over method must have as its basis an awareness and consideration of the goals whose achievement it is designed to facilitate. By what other means can one gauge the practical and ethical value of any method?

Writes Salvidori, "Putting together the various points of the book, the reader" (the liberal reader, that is) "concludes that conservatism means: worship of the past, hierarchy, dogmatism, and authority — a Metternichian system in which freedom has the medieval meaning of privilege."

At this point, Salvidori leaves *Up From Liberalism* completely and begins an essay of his own. Not by the most tenuous reasoning could anyone have extracted such nonsense from Buckley's book. The book was an examination of recent liberal intellectual and political irresponsibilities and of what Buckley terms the "conservative demonstration." It was not written as an extensive study of conservative philosophy.

It is sufficient for this review to point out that Salvidori's definition of conservatism is simply a list of vague and loaded phrases and that they bear no relevance to the book under discussion.

Two things are apparent from Salvidori's review: 1. Salvidori had constructed his definition of conservatism long before he ever heard of William Buckley and read his prejudice into the book and 2. Salvidori completely, and one suspects intentionally, avoided Buckley's main proposition — the evidence he presented and the conclusions he drew from it.

Instead, the reviewer twisted the author's position into one which he could acknowledge and take exception to with safety; e.g., accusing Buckley of making class privilege a requirement for freedom and of placing under "liberalism" . . . everything from 'modern Republicanism' to integral collectivism." This is such a gross misrepresentation of the position taken in *Up from Liberalism* that Buckley can add it too his examples of the irrationality of the liberal under fire.

There are a few other points on which the Professor could have done better.

He accuses Buckley of "using throughout the familiar trick of identifying the particular with the universal." Here Salvidori is using the familiar trick of calling a legitimate form of illustration a trick. Continues Salvidori: "Chapters usually begin with a comment on a book, an article, an episode; the rest consists of generalizations drawn from the single element." Here the Professor has not made a very startling discovery. Buckley began the book by stating the method he would use and the reason for his presenting particular cases; and projecting these cases onto a wider screen. Buckley explained:

"I shall be assuming that in most respects the Liberal ideologists are, like Don Quixote, wholly normal, with fully developed powers of thought, that they see things as they are, and live their lives according to the Word; but that, like Don Quixote, whenever anything touches upon their mania, they become irresponsible. Don Quixote's mania was knight-errantry. The Liberals' mania is their Ideology. Deal lightly with any precept of knight errantry, and you find, as so many innocent Spaniards did, the Terror of La Mancha hurtling toward you. Cross a Liberal on duty, and he becomes a man of hurtling irrationality.

"The problems of demonstration are considerable, since I level my charge not merely at specific individuals, but at the disciples, en bloc, of a politico-philosophical movement. One can say, 'Disciples of Communism, en bloc, follow the Moscow line.' That is a responsible generalization, unaffected by the fact of schismatic flare-ups or deviationist sallies. Such a statement is not supported by counting the noses of all the Communists who have switched their position to harmonize with a change in the Moscow line. This type of census is impractical. Rather, one observes the shifting pronouncements of Communist spokesman and their house organs, and waits to see if substantial opposition develops from the rank and file. If it does not, the rank and file can be assumed to have complied — whether by internal assent or as a matter of discipline is irrelevant.

"If one sets out to show that a religious sect is corrupt, it does not suffice to point to a member of that sect who has been caught channeling money from the collection plate to his mistress. *He* is proved corrupt, but not, yet, the movement. Suppose, then, one approaches the delinquents co-religionists and asks them for an expression of opinion on the behavior of their brother. If they show a marked indifference to it, if they actively defend him, if they continue to countenance or even move him up the ladder of their hierarchy, more and more one is entitled to generalize — as in passing judgment on the union of Mr. James Hoffa — that the organization is corrupt.

"How does one, then, go about demonstrating that the mania I speak of afflicts the spokesmen of a contemporary political movement? By these means, I suggest: by citing instances of intellectual or moral

irresponsibility which, taken by themselves, would serve merely to demonstrate the limitations of the person under consideration; but which take on a much broader meaning if — and here is the critical distinction I make here and in other chapters in this book — the subjects' publicly observed irresponsibilities *do not have the effect of* blemishing his public reputation among his factional associates."

Salvidori also accuses Buckley of heaping "a good deal of rather scurelous abuse . . . on opponents. That Buckley's prose is colorful and stinging is true. It consists of scurelous abuse only to the extent that all irreverence to liberal mythology is by definition scurelous abuse — a view not in common among liberals.

So here are two men who do not like Buckley's book. One merely sneers. The other avoids an examination of Buckley's findings, preferring to shadow-box with his own conception of conservatism and with the nasty reactionaries who support it. What can one make of this failure of two supposedly talented men to meet with and successfully refute the author's main contentions?

Perhaps Buckley has a case.

— R. C. A.

Genesis of the World State THE UNITED NATIONS

By V. Orval Watts

Writing with simplicity and purpose, Dr. Watts argues that the United Nations, as now constituted, is reactionary rather than liberal — a step away from freedom and not toward it. Instead of being an instrument for peace, he says, the UN assures a state of perpetual war and hence is a blueprint for world tyranny.

The United Nations: Planned Tyranny is a compact, reasoned statement of principle. In it are centered the fundamental arguments against the UN as a colossal threat to the freedom of our country and of ourselves. It builds up the theme that the UN is a sure road to the greatest war in history.

Two reasons are cited for calling the UN reactionary. The first is that coercive collectivism is the basic policy of nearly all the member governments which finance the UN and control its policies. And secondly, each member, by the terms of the UN charter, pledges itself to support these policies as the way to peace.

The idea of a world government is an old one. Napoleon and Hitler tried it by the Roman methods of subversion and military conquest. The King of Bohemia once tried by negotiation to form a United Nations. Czar Alexander hoped that his Holy Alliance would unite all the rulers of Europe to preserve peace. The League of Nations at Geneva also attempted a world government. All failed. And yet

no force maintains the British commonwealth today. No commonwealth organization legislates for the people of the independent dominions or tries to regulate their affairs, but strong bonds of loyalty and cooperation exist between them.

Evidently, then, strong government cannot keep people living together in peace; and the independence of governments need not prevent men from cooperating in a common cause.

The UN is often defended as being a harmless world forum, "a town meeting of the world" where moral censure is brought to bear instead of physical violence. The UN charter provides that member nations must make available to the Security Council "armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rights of passage." (Art. 43) It also demands that members shall hold immediately available national air-force contingents for combined enforcement action. Article 42 allows the Security Council to use these armed forces to "take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security."

Author Watts asks: "Do these articles provide merely for a 'world forum' or a 'moral mechanism'?"

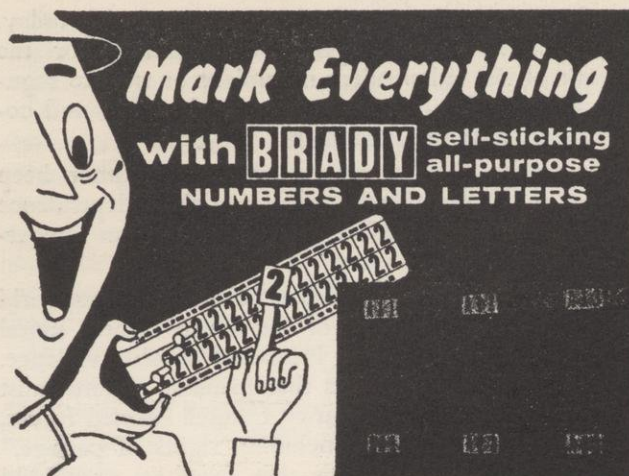
The United States Supreme Court has decided that, since the U.S. Constitution and treaties made by the U.S. government are both supreme law of the land and may conflict with each other, the one last in date will negate the other. In nearly all cases, this means that treaties will over-ride the Constitution. Thus, when the UN asked President Truman to send military aid to South Korea, he was able to comply without first consulting the Senate.

Watts contends that the UN is a government of men, and not law. He quotes former UN representative John Foster Dulles who told a Senate subcommittee " . . . if a situation is arrived at where you can't accomplish a reasonably fair result through technical Charter amendments, it may very well be possible to agree on procedures which would get a very large part of the desired result. Now it would be much neater and cleaner to do it by Charter Amendment, but if that process is frustrated by the fact that the five permanent members have the veto power on amendments, then other ways could be found . . ." Watts points out that the United States Federal Government is one of the five permanent members whose veto power on Charter Amendments can thus be circumvented by "other ways".

The General Assembly passed the Uniting for Peace Resolution in 1950 by which it claims for itself the authority to take any action approved by a majority or a two-thirds vote of its delegates regardless of the Security Council's failure to act.

This then makes it possible for a majority of the Assembly to become the final and complete concentration of government power, bound by no law except what it declares to be the law at any given moment.

— Millard W. Johnson



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