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insight and outlook

in this issue . . .

FAREWELL TO CY BUTT

Fremont Guilfoyle

THE PEOPLE ARE NOT RED

Chow Cheng-Wen

THE SEETHING CAMPUS/CALM

Kenneth W. Wright

FREE ENTERPRISE and COMMUNITY GROWTH

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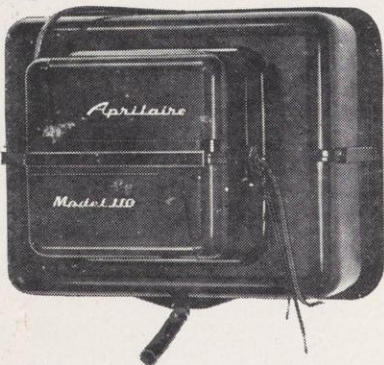
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In this issue, Insight and Outlook says farewell to an old friend, Cy Butt and offers a tribute from his devoted follower—Fremont Guilfoyle.

Executive Editor Jim O'Connell offers us his post-election comments and suggests some new directions for the conservative movement.

Chow Cheng-wen, a former Chinese lawyer and member of the "China Democratic League," an anti-Chiang group which sided with Mao in 1948 and, since 1956, a defector to the West, offers some insight on the political beliefs of the Chinese people. We commend the article.

Ken Wright discusses the "calm" on the University of Wisconsin campus against the background of rioting elsewhere and concludes that it is illusory.

The editor, in the *Second Wave*, dissects the nationalistic tendencies in the "Wallace Right". The *Old Custom* and *Aetius* are, as usual, enjoyable.

Cy Butt --- R. I. P.

I cannot think of Cy Butt without thinking of frogs — a set of carved wooden frogs of various sizes which he was trying to sell to some bemused bartender in a Madison watering place. Cy was, not exactly a character, in the way that some of our kookier non-conformists would have us believe they are; he went beyond mere character to being a legend. To Cy, however, non-conformity was not an issue; the state of the nation was. Cy believed that America—his America—was in danger and that the shoddy ideas of Liberalism were the chief evil. His answer was to fight them with a highly ribald pen—most of his stuff had to be toned down to make it decent, and the free plugs to various Madison taverns deleted or cut down to a reasonable size. Underneath the gingerbread and the loving description of night life in the happy city of Madison lay stone and iron—and if we wasted ten lines of print on his descriptions of Fifi to get one hundred lines of telling criticism on the vagaries of Liberalism, why then, what harm in that? But Cy Butt is gone, and those who knew him, not only as a legend, but as a man deeply concerned with the shape of the times, must mourn. Good luck, Mr. Butt, and may their be no shortage of either Fifis or martinis wherever you have gone to.—J. O'C.

TENTH ANNIVERSARY FETE

In March, the magazine will celebrate its tenth anniversary at a dinner and get together in Milwaukee. Interested persons may send us a note for further information.

You don't need to be a close friend, just send \$15.00 for a ticket (to the address on the opposite column.)

S. I. Hayakawa

I first read *Language in Thought and Action* back in 1954 and I recall being impressed by the author's ideas on the usages of language and the meanings of words. Hayakawa, of course, spoke many times of racial prejudice; he suffered it himself, as a Japanese, before and during World War II. Nevertheless, as President of San Francisco State College in California, a state which harbored more anti-Japanese feeling than any other and which, under the orders of Earl Warren, at that time Governor, sent its Japanese population to detention camps, he is damned by the black students as an agent of prejudice.

We suggest that it is Doctor Hayakawa's concern for the whole picture, rather than any feeling of prejudice, which cause him to act as he does. He attempted a peaceful solution and was rebuffed; his only choice in a chaotic situation, unfortunate as it was, was the use of force. We do not care to see such things any more than this man did, but we stand with him in his resolve to provide an education to all who want it. We could use more like him.

—J. O. C.

Imperialists at CBS

Now for the CBS view. "There is, in Paris," opined Mr. Safer, "a peculiar community of interests. Everyone, save Saigon, is agreed that U. S. troops must be withdrawn as quickly as possible." "Ah yes," chimed in Mr. Kolb "that being the case the real problem is to jolt Saigon into reality . . . to get Saigon to accept the inevitable."

The inevitable! And what, pray tell, might that be. You guessed it. "We must face up to the fact that the present Saigon government will have to be negotiated out of existence." Interesting? "Yes but can we expect Saigon to willingly accept such an eventuality," asked Mr. Collingwood. "Obviously not," replied Mr. Safer, "and this is what we have to face up to, if this government won't accept the inevitable, we are going to have to remove it."

Just so we realize where our real enemies are. "But," cautioned Mr. Collingwood, "I don't think the United States will accept immediate domination of the South by Hanoi." Of course not! "But we should realize that any regime that emerges from these talks will be dominated, indeed if not in name, by Hanoi within five years." But that's all right, for we'll have disposed of our real enemies.

Next it was good old George McGovern with some advice for those of us who thought we were in Vietnam to help guarantee the right of the Vietnamese to choose their own way. "It's time," said Mr. McGovern, "for us to start calling the shots."

Down with the American Imperialists!

—D. K.

A Hardliner in the Defense Department

We have looked, with some interest, at Mr. Nixon's appointment of Wisconsin Congressman Melvin Laird as the Secretary of Defense. Mr. Laird has, throughout most of his 16 years in Congress, sounded a philosophy with which we agree, and has shown, at the same time, a well-wrought savvy in dealing with Washington's War Lords. In light of some of his more recent utterings, and in light of a few of the things attributed to his mouth by members of the press in the past few weeks, it was not with a little interest that we came across a copy of a book Mr. Laird published in 1962.

A House Divided — America's Strategy Gap was Mr. Laird's *Conscience of a Conservative*. Here, in no uncertain terms, he set forth his ideas on foreign policy and military superiority—ideas which would give any liberal the cold chills were Mr. Laird *without* power. The book is, to put it briefly, hard line.

In pointing out the difference between the American Revolution and revolutions of the twentieth century, Mr. Laird shows a healthy disdain for neutralism, calling it our most frustrating expression of disorder. We are unprepared, he says, to face "a neutralism that demands to be left alone to produce its own chaotic revolutions with no regard for responsibilities, either individual or national. This neutralism is not, as it pretends, a rejection of the struggle between major powers; it is a total rejection of responsibility—which is to be borne, meanwhile, by the rest of us."

In the course of his argument for a stronger NATO, Mr. Laird suggests that we should give nuclear weapons to General DeGaulle, a position to which he undoubtedly no longer adheres. But he does advocate absolute nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union, with a willingness shown on the part of our major political figures (read Secretary of Defense) to use them to protect our vital interests as a deterrent power.

Mr. Laird sees modern warfare in terms of communism. And this is not war in the sense that Washington, Napoleon, or even Clausewitz knew it. "The Communist Empire has," observes the Secretary Designate, "developed an entirely new lexicon. War is not the absence of peace. Peace, in fact, may be one of war's conditions. War, in the Communist lexicon, is the entire span of time and tactics involved in reducing the non-Soviet world to helplessness and, finally, to subjugation."

It appears to us that Mr. Laird was rather astute in his observations on America's "Strategy Gap" in 1962, and we hope that he has not changed. If he has, we would urge him most strongly to reread his book, and to take it to heart.

—A. R.

The Duodecaplicate System

By Fremont Guifoyle

Fremont and F. F. return to Madison after spreading the Elbie Jay Gospel Bread on the East River Waters

Just the other day I was in the company of my curvaceous amanuensis Fifi reminiscing with the genial Boniface at the Bar of the Congress anent the inspirational and character-building quality of the good drinks and good conversation of the past, when a longtime acquaintance and former host at one of State Street's finer steak emporia wandered in. He admired discriminately, the lusciousness of my secretary's curves and the martini's olives, deciding to try both, before turning to me and observing that I seemed to have grown a trifle shabby with the years.

"What's the matter, Fremont, doesn't the boss feed you down in Washington?"

"It's a little difficult to explain, Joe," I began, "but it started when I developed the Guilfoyle Duodecaplicate Filing System for the U. N."

"But what were you doing at the U. N. anyhow? I thought you were Secretary of Aspirations in the Cabinet, or something like that."

"I was, but the Republicans and Dixiecrats in the Senate blocked the appointment, so the Boss thought I should try spreading the Gospel of Elbie Jay on the East River."

"You mean, he walks on it?"

"No. We were working up to that but something came unstuck in New Hampshire, so we dropped it. I meant I was supposed to preach the benefits of bureaucracy to the U. N."

"I've heard of carrying coals to Newcastle, but isn't this a bit extreme even for the Boss?"

"This is just where the Boss outflanked them all. You know how the U. N. is always against us, or almost always, except for places like Botswana, which don't count. But they still have to give us credit for developing almost perfect red tape. So the Boss appointed me to the Council on Intragovernmental Procedures with the rank of permanent Assistant Deputy Ambassador. They rank just above Temeporary Night Custodians. And I got to work on my Duodecaplicate Filing System."

"If I remember my Latin", Joe observed, "that means twelve copies of everything. What's new about that?"

"If you put it that way, nothing", I answered, as I reached to disentangle the publican's arm from Fifi so that he could resupply my olive with its customary liquid covering, "but in my system the copies had to be typed simultaneously in twelve languages on the same typewriter. First copy in English, second in Swahili, third in French, fourth in Russian, fifth in Urdu, down

to the eleventh in Nunamiut and twelfth in Kwakiutl."

"Why Nunamiut and Kwakiutl?"

"They have limited vocabularies, so that large portions of each document cannot be translated and are left out. This saves time."

"Even if that's a good thing, how many people read those languages anyhow?" This from the bartender, who was torn between his desire to agree with everyone and his difficulty in understanding exactly what was going on. Besides, he had been concentrating on Fifi.

"That doesn't matter," I answered. "No one reads U. N. documents anyway. Much better not to lead anyone into temptation."

"It sounds like a typical U. N. scheme," Joe said, "but I don't see how it explains what's happened to you."

"That came later. You see, the operations research people managed to work out a computer program that would do this, using only 18 trillion memory units, and the Intragovernmental Council Task Force voted to use the Guilfoyle system on a trial basis. But as soon as they tried it, all the computers went crazy and started spewing reams of blank paper over the whole East River Home for the Mentally Indigent, the fuses blew, and the entire shebang ground to a convincing halt. The Intragovernmental Council couldn't meet to rescind the order, because the meeting would have to be recorded in simultaneous duodecaplicate printed translation, and until the order was rescinded, nothing could be done."

"And how did they get out of it?"

"They didn't. The U.N. closed down unofficially about the time the computers ran out of paper, but they're still running and everything is still officially going on. The Night Custodians went out on strike—after all, the U. N. is in New York—and Mayor Lindsay has begun to tow the computer print-out away."

"You mean the U. N. has closed down and no one knows it?"

"That's why the Boss exiled me to Madison. No one here ever listens to the Administration, so I can't do any harm spreading the story. But I thought I might try it anyhow and I've been looking for Cy Butt to give me a hand."

"Cy died last month, Fremont, up in Viroqua."

I stood up, detached another martini from mine host's willing hands, and proposed a toast. "To Cy Butt. May his memory be ever green among us, as long as wit and fellowship remain." It was a seven-martini toast, and then Fifi and I departed to approximate as best we could the wake he should have had.

—J. C. L.

Now the Hard Work Begins

It would be foolish to predict that President Nixon will sponsor an immediate and marvelous transformation from the Kennedy-Johnson brand of government to one dominated by the thinking of conservatives. The question of direction is not settled. No doubt a conservative-moderate struggle will develop and, perhaps, determine the path of this nation in the last third of this century. The outcome could well depend on the attitude of conservatives toward the President's effort to rule.

But already we can see the conservatives developing an "Eisenhower syndrome". The President's Cabinet is from the very first suspect of moderate liberalism as an average; but no thought is given to what influence who in the cabinet will actually have. The complainers tend to neglect the conservative and anti-communist records of those who are likely to be closest to power. Then, they forget that Mr. Nixon, unlike General Eisenhower, is one who decides for himself, in accordance with his own knowledge of humanity and the world struggle. I am not contending that the government will therefore favor the conservative view. To the contrary, that will be decided later, and a negative attitude is the last thing conservatives need at this point. Nixon is the best thing to happen in America for decades.

It may be half a pie; still, the partisans of liberty have not had this opportunity of influence for almost forty years. For most of us, it is the first opportunity we have ever had to actually develop and present a program geared to direct America back toward the goal of freedom and human dignity. It is also the best opportunity we have ever had of presenting an answer to the challenge of organized Marxism.

This is true, because whether or not conservatives can entirely trust the new administration to do right, the government is now largely in the hands of people who are not prejudiced by their participation in the futile efforts of the last thirty-six years. The center of power has shifted. The liberal premonitions of the Eastern States do not set the prevailing tone of the Nixon administration. The South, the Midwest and the West have, with Nixon, finally assumed power. The new government is not disposed to protect the huge establishment which had long maintained national political power in the East. There will be an attrition of the establishment personnel in government, and they will be gradually replaced by Americans reared in the

atmosphere of vitality which still exists in the conservative "provinces". Their background is like ours, and their minds are open to our ideas.

Is it not for the first time in an era, that we can expect domestic policies premised on individualism rather than on the "public interest" which after thirty years meant little more than high taxes? For the first time cannot we expect a foreign policy based on a determination to meet the international communist threat, rather than the past euphemistic expectations of coexistence? The basic attitude is there, and more favorable to our ideas than ever.

However, the program is not -- yet. The Nixon administration is charged with the task of **acting**, not with opposition. Something must be developed, and the only experience to draw upon is that of the recent past -- along with the recognized errors. Without more, President Nixon can only develop another Eisenhower type administration, whatever predisposition he has to act differently. The new administration needs our cooperation more than our complaining. It needs ideas from the conservative camp.

It was easy to formulate an attack on the policies of the last era. But now conservatives had better offer more. We now have a government that buys our idea of federalism and the worth of decentralized policy making. Is tax sharing the only thing we can promulgate to implement this idea? We finally have an administration interested in order and national security. Have we nothing to offer in that regard? Now, Washington would be amenable to programs for a comprehensive attack on international communism. Cannot we devise needed ideas in that area? Obviously, now we need a program -- besides an attack.

In 1964, after conservatives recognized defeat, the need for conservative organization was immediately apparent. With victory, half way as it may be, the need is even greater. A concerted effort should now be made to organize our influence and to then develop the program with which to peddle our ideas to America in the next eight years.

Whatever justification for doubting the conservative credentials of the Nixon administration, it can be no excuse for our inaction at this point. Unless we are too happy with the art of opposition, and unless we have a bankruptcy of constructive programs which will implement our ideas, conservatives, are now in the position of greatly influencing the course of the world.

Aetius

Test Case of 1969

This morning's news brought the information that Yale University has instituted an undergraduate program in Afro-American studies. It also brought pictures of the rampaging students, aided and abetted by some of their professors, attempting to close down San Francisco State College for reasons which have become a trifle obscure with the passage of time and violence, but which certainly are or were connected with Black Separatism.

It was only a few years ago that the decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* was praised by sundry, if not by all, and especially if not by all students of constitutional law, as a landmark in the Negro struggle for equality. It seems, with time, to have become a watermark instead, and the tide has already begun to flow in a new direction. This, of course, says nothing about the preferability of integration or separatism. It does suggest, however, that judicial lawmaking, no less than other forms of fiat legislation, is subject to at least one hazard from which democratic legislation is partially immune. Laws made by judges may be better or may be worse than laws made by the elected representatives of the people, but there is no doubt at all that the wishes of the people had much less to do with their being made than they would have had the people's representatives made them.

It is in this, I think, that much of the problem lies. In 1954, the N. A. A. C. P. had been arguing and for that matter representing a kind of integration for the better part of half a century — Gunnar Myrdal had been arguing it for a decade—and few voices, except those of the white (which is largely to say the literate) South and the growing Negro ghettos (where Marcus Gar-

vey and Elijah Muhammad found followers), were raised against it. In other words, few voices, except the voices of those who had the preponderance of first hand experience with the American dilemma, were raised in favor of separatism. The Supreme Court made its law and, in Little Rock, President Eisenhower enforced it. Fifteen years later, with the advent of the Black nations in Africa, the Africanization of the U. N., the immense impact of the Negro athlete, the increasing northward surge of the American Negro, and the coming age of a generation having no ties to a merely or quintessentially American past, things have changed—changed so much that in some cases (as at Northwestern University) Black Separatism is hamstrung by Civil Rights laws. Yet even with this on the record, the cry for fiat legislation is ever more loudly and insistently made.

Granted that portions of White America, having by design or accident contrived to abandon their Americanism in a frenzy of self-abnegation, have in that frenzy turned also to abandoning or at least despising their whiteness—this, though tragic, is not the immediate problem. The immediate problem is that the demand for instant redress of grievances is precisely conducive to the disintegration of democracy. The grievance in 1954 was Separatism. In 1969 it is integration or assimilation of Blacks into a White culture. Never mind, for now, whether integration or separatism is better—the question is probably unanswerable. It is the contravention of majority rule on behalf of any special interest group, whether students or Blacks or Black students, whether by armed force or judicial decision, which is the present problem and the skeleton key to the whole series

of Pandora's boxes.

Doubtless the majority can be tyrannical. It can be wrong and frequently is. More frequently, it does not care. I should be surprised if the majority of students at Yale cares very much about the introduction of an Afro-American Studies major, though it is to be hoped that a large number of them do. It is likely that by this time a majority of the students at San Francisco State does care about attending a battlefield rather than a college, but then the situation there is a bit out of the ordinary. It is only in extraordinary cases that the majority does care, and probably only in such cases that majority rule is more than a mere form. And, of course, it is precisely in these cases that democracy must function if it is to be preserved.

Unquestionably, the present test case for democracy — the present case which does in the long run effect all citizens, and about which, in the long run, all citizens, all men, care — is the case of relations between White and non-White, and especially between White and Black. It is the irony of the American situation today that the barricades are up, and democratic process abrogated, on precisely this issue. And it is in this context that the decision at Yale, made after months of study by a duly-constituted board, is proper, whether right or wrong; and the attempt to force the closing down of San Francisco State, whether right or wrong, clearly improper. One affirms, the other denies, democratic process.

Admittedly, the militant students do not wish to affirm or preserve democracy. I do. It is, in the long run, the only system of government where it is possible for freedom to be preserved without something like

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Thoughts for the Morning After

J. M. O'Connell

... wherein Mr. Nixon's victory and its effect on the Right are examined ...

Richard Nixon's victory was not a victory for conservatism, but rather a dangerous weakening of its position. Ten years ago, William F. Buckley wrote: "... we must bring down the thing called Liberalism, which is powerful but decadent; and salvage a thing called conservatism, which is weak but viable." Certainly the power base of Liberalism, the old Democratic coalition of labor, the intellectuals and the black man, is weakened, probably irreparably. The Vietnamese war, the racial conflict and the new affluence of the lower middle class have reduced the Rooseveltian catchphrases to absurdity. Various splinter groups—the black militants, the McCarthy doves, and even the frenzied followers of George Wallace—have inherited parts of the power base. But what, we ask, has conservatism salvaged from the wreckage?

To answer this question, let us consider the condition of conservatism after 1960 and 1964. In 1960, Mr. Nixon ran and the conservative spokesman, in a moving speech at the end of the convention, urged all conservatives to support him and to "take back the party." Even though Mr. Nixon lost, the conservatives did exactly what Senator Goldwater asked of them. The young people in particular rallied around the conservative leader and espoused conservative ideas to such an extent that the pundits of Liberalism were certain the country was doomed to total reaction. It was not to be, as we so painfully remember, but the conservative movement did not fold up. In the years following 1964, continued attention was given to the content of conservative rhetoric and the methods of explanation and defense used. However, by the time the 1968 elections were at hand, the supposed corpse of

Eisenhowerism, as personified by Mr. Nixon, dedicated to the preservation of "moderate" ideology and toothy sentimentality, arose and stalked the Republican party. The General, who still believes that Senator Goldwater is a "kook", gave his blessings; Arthur Larson, high priest of "modern Republicanism" was in ecstasy, and even a semi-royal marriage uniting the Nixons and Eisenhowers appeared fortuitously. Where would conservatism find a position in such a melange?

Even more unfortunate was the seeming continued erosion of conservatism's power base: the young people. The dedicated workers of 1960 and 1964 had graduated and moved on to other things. There was, to be sure, still a YAF and an ISI, but more young people seemed interested in Senator McCarthy. Well-scrubbed young people joined with the hippies in attempting to have their candidate nominated only to see him cut down by the party regulars. Whether these people will continue to support the Democrats as most conservatives have supported, although with distaste, the "modern Republicans" is not important to us here. What is important, however, is what we, as conservatives, must do to bring the young over to the conservative side.

The main issue that concerns the young, and which overrides nearly everything else, is personal freedom. The young do not, despite the comments made by Senator Goldwater at the 1968 convention, realize the commitment of conservatism to the ideal. The libertarian position of conservatism—its opposition to collectivist philosophy, its belief in the personal worth and dignity of the individual—must be emphasized even more than it is at present. Conservatives must develop their ideas

and apply them to the immediate questions which concern the young. Let me suggest a few examples.

Much of the disgust felt toward the war stems from the mismanagement of the Johnson era and the continued shoddy prevarications and elusive statements made by that administration. Conservatives can offer more than the simplistic hawk-dove views, and could contend for a realistic solution to the war.

Along with the war lies the problem of the draft. Mr. Nixon has promised to end the draft, as soon as the Vietnamese issue is cleared up, and to seek means of raising a volunteer army, an old Goldwater proposal. Conservatives should emphasize these pronouncements. Even further, they should, where possible, offer their services to any group staging *legitimate* protests against the draft. Questions of constitutionality might be raised: is the draft somewhat in violation of the spirit of the Thirteenth amendment? Or, what of due process when a man is forbidden to bring legal counsel to a draft hearing? Conservatives, by their nature, are better equipped to throw legal roadblocks against the progress of an institution so repugnant to libertarian ideals.

The attitude of the young toward the continued regimentation of society also deserves conservative sympathies. Conservatives ought to support those students who protest universities more dedicated to research than thinking, to universities which produce the massman rather than the independent and free thinking individual, universities which offer pap instead of the meat of Western culture. While, of course, we cannot condone those

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The American Nationalist

Now we know the story of the "forgotten Americans." They have rejected the people who would remember them, and have decided to remain in the democrat - labor closet, to be brought out, no doubt, in 1972 and once more vote their "little people's" prejudice. Will they ever make the break?

Having now had several months to reflect on the November election, my thought is that they probably will not. Sure, there was some pre-election flirting with George Wallace, with the idea that the old bosses were not, after all, acting in the interest of ordinary folks. But when it came down to actually voting, the traditional patterns prevailed. When Hubert Humphrey looked close, this voter block chose not to protest, but to play dead once again.

Precisely this preference qualifies these voters as the forgotten Americans— because they are the largest part, yet the least part, of the old Liberal - Labor - Minorities coalition. The Wallace thing did at least demonstrate that they are not in tune with the party and that they dislike the pro-liberal and pro-minorities policy of the coalition. Still, the Democratic candidates were their preference as against the Republicans, who, like Wallace played heavily on these dislikes. It was the politicians who bus their children and coddle the leftists against the politicians who — everybody knows — are against the working man. Thus, the working man did his thing once more, and once more gave his Democratic party the mandate to push all the liberal things which the working man actually dislikes (meaning, in effect, high taxes, inflation, easy welfare, public disorder, accommodation with international communism, and *ad infinitum*).

In the first place, was it

conservatism, as we recognize it, that appealed to such people? Richard Nixon could not identify with them, even though he presented his own version of a conservative tone. George Wallace borrowed much sentiment from the hard-nosed conservative text, but he also prescribed a strong dose of populism. I think that, in view of the concerted effort to go after their vote, it must be recognized that relatively few have defected from the Democrat tradition, and fewer have taken up the conservative banner.

Unfortunately, the forgotten Americans are not interested in many of the things which conservatism presents. What did



the Wallace rebellion want? A return to constitutional principles of government? I think not. Wallace demanded that the disorder be squashed, and the little people sang, "yeah," and demanded full banishment for the noisy leftists. They have no regard for the niceties of preserving political freedoms.

Nor have they any awareness of the problems which America faces. They haven't the slightest cognizance of the organizing and proselytizing efforts of the guerilla left, which would be little hampered by a crude authoritarian reaction

short of civil warfare. Instead of a basic commitment to liberty the Wallace people have generally no more than a reaction to the disturbance of civil order. It is only this, for they have not recognized any infringement upon their own personal freedoms, and are quite happy with the programs of the past thirty years. Indeed, bereft of any desire to exercise them, these people are quite willing to destroy the constitutional civil rights (except for bearing arms). Conservatives cannot abide that; rather, we recognize that the day would come, absent the political freedoms, in which an all powerful state would curtail all personal freedom. Conservatives, at least, weigh the political freedoms against the need for order.

In short, what developed in 1968 was not a new conservative wing in American politics, but a nationalist wing. Wallace courted the pride of the people, their pride in America and in their hard working selves. The reaction was not in itself undesirable. Indeed, it was probably one of the few healthy reactions to the national situation since Joe McCarthy. No better than raw nationalism and pride should be expected of people who continually consign their souls to a master who returns them only to a forgotten and essentially unrepresented role.

Whether or not they are gradually drawn to a third party from a broken Democratic party — they aren't interested in the Republican Party—the nationalist wing is presently of little assistance to conservative programs for the future. Perhaps, if the situation ever demands, their love for America would be sufficient to save the country from the leftists. But then it would remain for the conservatives to save the nation from the nationalists.

The People Are Not Red

By Chow Cheng-wen

*... an old partisan in Chinese struggles
sees more than reported in present turmoil ...*

The rapidly expanding anti-Communist revolution on the Chinese mainland isn't something out of one's imagination or wishful thinking; it is supported by facts. When I returned to the free world at the end of 1956, I had on different occasions spoken of my personal experiences and observation of the situation in the mainland. I said then, that: "Over 85 percent of the Chinese people are anti-Communist". This was a statement of fact. This estimated percentage stood every chance of being increased instead of being decreased through the many unpopular policies after 1958 mainly including the people's commune system, the great leap forward campaign, and the anti-rightist movement. It is most likely that such percentage of resistance has further been expanded as a result of the widespread famine in 1961-62, the sweeping purge of the various social strata under the socialist education movement in 1963, and the more recent enforcement of brutal suppression during the great cultural revolution". It is under such circumstances that resistance against the Peking regime is rapidly engulfing the whole country, and it is advancing in great strides toward the road to final victory.

Some newspaper and big-character poster readers and self-claimed experts certainly will be shocked to read these observations. They will shake their heads in disbelief and say: "What we are watching with growing interest is the feud between the Mao-Lin and Liu-Teng cliques. We keep close check on who will be the winner, and we haven't noticed any anti-Communist revolutionary actions of the people." This further proves that these people are "newspaper-reading experts" who would go blind

without their newspapers.

Since most of the Chinese people are anti-Communist, it really doesn't matter to what social class they belong, or what kind of work they do, for they share the same anti-Communist concept. Resistance against Communist rule has become their "general will." The sharing of this general will inevitably bind the relations of all anti-Communist Chinese on the mainland, and such a bondage is even stronger than the relationship between the Communists themselves. It is also through this general will that every individual and unit can carry on resistance against the same enemy.

Facts appear to show that the present anti-Communist revolution in the mainland has the following three characteristics:

- (1) The people are spontaneously carrying out anti-Communist activities from their respective work posts and areas;
- (2) In general, there is no one to guide such activities from the top to the bottom, but small group leadership possibly exists;
- (3) In general, such activities are unorganized from top to the bottom, but small-scale organized resistance possibly exists.

We must bear in mind that the Chinese Communist regime has ruled the Chinese mainland through brutal force for 18 long years. The people suffered ruthless suppression, persecution, exploitation and deception. They have, through personal suffering, learned how to deal with their Communist rulers in the same way as they have been treated.

The clever and flexible anti-Communist revolutionary strategy and tactics the Chinese people are using do not originate in books, but from personal experience; such tactics are

worked out in the light of practical conditions on the mainland.

First, they infiltrate into various government organs and organizations, including military and police units. When the Mao-Lin and Liu-Teng cliques are at each other's throats, both sides must try to line up as many followers as possible. Their eagerness in expanding their ranks provides the best possible opportunity for the infiltration of anti-Communists, and they are making full use of this opportunity. In the mid-August clash in Canton, labor reform inmates were released from their camps to take part in the fighting. This means that in the present turmoil, even criminals may be called upon to side with one of the rival cliques. This undreamed of favorable situation is really a God-send.

Secondly, they are smashing up the ruling machines and tools. In Communist terminology, the State is a machine of suppression, while the Party organization, the Young Communist League, trade union and the Liberation Army serve as tools of the ruling clique. Ever since the struggle between the Mao-Lin and Liu-Teng cliques has entered the stage of open fighting, official reports have openly admitted the existence of anarchy, in which the Party, League, and trade unions are practically paralyzed and government organs at various levels are smashed up. Personally, I believe it is the Chinese Communists who are largely responsible for the destruction of the State ruling machine, and the anti-Communist elements understandably have made full use of such a situation, thus aggravating the degree and extent of destruction. To smash the Communist ruling machine and its tools is the wisest strategy

for the anti-Communist people on the mainland, and it is the Communists themselves who have inadvertently smoothed the way for the success of the anti-Communist people.

Thirdly, they "oppose the red flag by waving a red flag". This is one of the charges the Mao-Lin clique laid against Liu and Teng and their followers. While the two rivals are fighting for survival, the anti-Communist people also see a chance of "opposing the red flag by waving a red flag," their common objective is to oppose the Chinese Communist regime as a whole, and they enjoy the freedom of switching their "loyalty" from one clique to the other. They well realize that to aggravate the struggle between the Mao-Lin and Liu-Teng cliques is a clever way for weakening the strength of the Chinese Communist Party as a whole, and they make very good use of this tactic. Mao and Liu are well aware of this fact, and yet they just don't know how to stop it. When people fight for survival, they tend to cling to any possible help.

Fourthly, they sabotage industrial and agricultural production, paralyze communication lines and launch large-scale sit-down strikes. Mao-Lin's accusation of Liu-Teng on the ground that the latter resorted to economism to bribe the peasants and workers has also been turned into a wise strategy by the anti-Communist people. Since it is widely accepted that

one of the rival groups actually tried to bribe the peasants and workers through the various temptations of "economism," it is only natural that the workers and peasants who form the backbone of anti-Communist force in the mainland want to take the fullest advantage of this situation. Consequently, agricultural and industrial production drops have been reported. In addition, anti-Communist peasants and workers have destroyed large quantities of farming implements, starved farming cattle and draft animals to death, smashed up factory machines to bring about a standstill of production. Other activities included destruction of communication facilities, and disruption of railway traffic. Understandably the revolutionary people have to carry out the sabotage in absolute secrecy to insure success.

Fifthly, they make the countryside encircle the cities. At the present, the Communists still hold on to their occupation of the cities, while the vast countryside is already in the hands of anti-Communist people. Liu-Teng's utilization of the peasants and militia to encircle the cities again played into the hands of anti-Communist masses. This is another God-send the revolutionary people have long waited for. We are positive that if the strategy of using the countryside to encircle the cities is successfully carried out, the victory itself will serve as a mile-stone for the revolutionary success of the 500 mil-

lion Chinese peasants.

In short, the anti-Communist Chinese still have to take advantage of the power struggle between the Mao-Lin and Liu-Teng cliques. Outwardly, it is a struggle between the two power factions, while in fact it is a struggle between the Chinese Communist Party and all anti-Communist Chinese people.

As anti-Communist force continues to snowball, and when the ultimate objective becomes clear to all, a qualitative change will emerge in a due course of time. The anti-Communist Chinese will under their own political banner, recruit and accommodate large numbers of disappointed and weary Communist, and uneasy and confused military, political, cultural and educational cadres.

Whatever the Chinese people are thinking in the mainland, I think it is high time the United States—the No. 1 enemy of the Peking regime—reconsidered its attitude toward mainland China. The United States still regrets over the lost opportunity when the Hungarian revolution was brutally suppressed. Meanwhile, also feel that the Nationalist government should by no means lose this opportunity to rescue our mainland compatriots when there is still time. Otherwise, once the mainland people have set up their own government at the cost of their own lives, the flag of the Nationalist government may never fly over the Chinese mainland again.

The Seething Campus Calm

Fred Harvey Harrington, President of the University of Wisconsin and an "old radical," noted, on December 8, 1968, that his University was calm. Indeed it has been, if the recent past is the measure. Other campuses enjoy the relative quiet—with a few notable exceptions such as San Francisco, Berkeley—and when hasn't U. C. been an exception—and Oshkosh. But in general, fewer

buildings have needed liberation, fewer deans have found themselves spending the night in their offices, and fewer police have heard themselves referred to as pigs and fascists.

An uninformed person, such as Dr. Harrington, may assume from this new quiet that the protest movement has moderated. Nothing could be further from the truth. In fact, the quieter campuses are only the

result of the protest movement undergoing a period of transition. Probably the schools experiencing more turmoil have passed through the phase. Elsewhere, the rebel leaders are learning to develop a new type of issue for application of the old disruptive methods. The goals, however, are still the same.

The design in the past was two-fold: first, the overthrow

Kenneth W. Wright

of the "unjust and psychologically insecure" system of capitalistic democracy, to be replaced by a totally "just and secure" pure socialistic democracy (Note: democracy has approximately 52 varying definitions, depending on how you want to use the word this week.); second, and this is necessary to the first, the "education" of the populus as to the "true nature" of the capitalistic democracy so that they will help in the overthrow effort.

The hard core protest movement is still directed toward accomplishing these two goals, using the same methods, even though its leaders have moved the battlefield somewhat away from the cameras and toward the classroom. Certainly the public needs further education to assist their revolution. But now the concentration will be upon "educating" students. The movement's activities will focus upon issues and grievances of a local nature, this to capture the active participation of a larger number of students. Campus protest has been introduced. Vietnam is too distant a problem.

Now, instead of complaining of the apathetic reactions of students to world issues, the rebels are developing issues which more immediately involve the students. Local issues do this, mainly by providing an achievable goal for protest activities.

Columbia was the proving grounds for the local issue protest and proved how an achievable, short range goal could muster the kids to the barricades. Instead of booing at the draft, the leaders of the Columbia revolt pried open many hearts of hitherto untouched students with a humanitarian plea to save a park that the surrounding Negro neighborhood wanted saved. It may be true that the protest leaders had no humanitarian interests in the least, since in fact eight years earlier some 40 Negro community organizations endorsed the building of the now-famous gymnasium that would

take two acres of the 30 acre park. The protest leaders were interested only in the revolt and the new allegiances it could establish. These leftists have been outright hypocrites, but at Columbia they had become effective hypocrites their spiel drew sympathetic humanitarians to active support of rebellion.

The reason for the lull in campus rioting in some places is not that the protest is dying, but rather that the various campus protest leaders have shown an inability to choose the right local issue. They are still learning the techniques of Columbia. If they practice and perfect the skills needed for local issue protest, Columbia may well be duplicated throughout the nation.

Because of the splintered nature of the movement, much of the teaching and learning of the lessons of Columbia's local issue protest must be done informally. Personal conversations and correspondences between leftist leaders of the wide assortment of organizations is now the mainstay proselytizing effort. It may be assumed that any educating done through organized means will be done through SDS simply because SDS, even though loosely organized itself, provides the only working nation-wide campus organizational structure for protesters. But most of the educating is necessarily by informal "shop talk" sessions.

This informal method creates many problems for the movement, the greatest being that the experience of trial and error is the most effective tool. Abortive experiments have been witnessed recently in Wisconsin Universities. Ice cream was the issue at the U. W. A male, Negro non-student refused to pay the female student union cashier for what he considered was an undersized portion of ice cream. After some verbal unpleasantries were exchanged between the white cashier and the non-paying, non-student non-white, said non-student began to choke the cashier. Result? Charges of apartheid on the University of Wisconsin

Campus and a boycott of the student union facilities. These charges were leveled at an administration and a faculty that have initiated numerous programs, from financial to tutorial, aimed at helping minority groups to meet the requirements of the university for graduating. Clearly, here the protest leaders did not choose the right local issue for a duplication of Columbia. The ice cream revolt received only a carnival reaction, but little involvement.

At Oshkosh last fall, all of the student requests were in the process of being granted. This co-operative administrative attitude must have caused consternation among protest leaders, for on the day when the faculty committee was to act upon the demands, students of the organization rampaged through President Guiles' offices destroying files, furniture, and fixtures. Their reasons for the rampage: the faculty was not going to hire Black professors until second semester (they wanted them immediately) and the building offered for the Black union was old (They wanted a new one). These were new and impossible demands fabricated as afterthoughts, the original demands having had every promise of being acted upon.

From the protesters' point of view the tragedy of Oshkosh was that the leaders were amateurs. Their issue was poorly chosen and they lacked a sense of timing. The issue had little validity and the action of the administration gave absolutely no cause for the rampage. Their timing was bad, for a rampage like Columbia was prepared by a student strike and minor disruption of white professors' classes. These force the administration to take the first step toward discipline, and the disciplinary measures inflame the unschooled sense of justice of the rest of the student body. Oshkosh was an amateurs' show.

Other leaders have met with the amateurs of Oshkosh to salvage what they may from the

poorly handled affair. The point here is that the informal educating process is carried on in just the same manner, and not without purposeful hope—many protesters from Oshkosh were freshmen.

With this informal training in process, what is the future for campuses around the United States? For the most part they will enjoy a period of calm while their local protest leaders master the techniques needed for successful local issue riot building. The calm should not mislead the careful observer, however, even if it is announced publicly.

Such was the case at the University of Wisconsin, Madison; in September, 1968, an SDS leader announced to a meeting of University officials and Madison community leaders that there would be little violence on the campus this year. His reason for stating this was that the penalties were becoming too high to risk violence. This reason must be held somewhat suspect in that no penalties of significance have ever been used by Wisconsin's administration. The facts are that while the SDS leader was speaking on a quiet campus, at least four new militant organizations were being formed, all four of which threatened to close the University if their demands weren't met. The four organizations were cloaked in academic garb, calling themselves the History Students' Association, the Political Science Students' Association, the English Students' Association, and the Education Students' Association.

These organizations appear on the surface to be interested in changing policies within their department. But it must be recognized that all four had as a position statement in their respective bylaws the right of their association to disrupt classes, verbally or physically, if their demands were not met.

Further similarity existed in their demands. Each of the position papers included demands

for a student voice in the hiring and firing of faculty, granting of tenure, granting faculty leaves, a change in the grading system, and a demand that courses be made more relevant to "today's issues," this including a change in course structure to have fewer lectures and more discussion groups.

The demands touch upon a good deal of student sentiment, especially undergraduate sentiment. Undergrads coming to the great university expect marvelous things to happen, such as their easy transformation into intellectuals or at least having direct contact with intellectuals. Unfortunately, their dreams seldom materialize. The university's assigned task of mass education requires the student to operate greatly on his own; no intellectual professor willingly teaches an undergrad course and if he does, it is usually so large that the professor has no chance to engage a tenth of the students in satisfying conversation. So the student reaches out on his own, or becomes disenchanted.

The disenchanted ones become prime targets for the various departmental student associations. The associations tell the disenchanted that the present policies of tenure and hiring, and the rest of the issues listed in their demands, impair the contact or personal touch many students have expected to find.

As of yet, the associations have not developed a co-ordinated effort among themselves. They have instigated minor classroom disruptions, but these generally have not met with enthusiastic approval. As their ability to choose and develop issues on the University's system improves, co-ordinated programs are sure to evolve. First may come the call for a student strike to protest for the changes needed, this to be co-ordinated with minor classroom disruptions. If no disciplinary action is taken by the administration — and at Wisconsin it is not likely that the

administration would take such action — the disruptions will increase until the administration is forced either to discipline or resign. Either, by this late stage, could be used as a step toward rebel victory, but disciplinary action is most hoped for. Charges of callousness to student needs are the inflammatory issues. The question that was raised at Columbia will then be raised: "Whose University is this, after all?"

If enough students are convinced that it is their University, only that presently it is being occupied by a foreign power — the administration — and if enough students are convinced that only they can bring about the changes needed, then a Columbia will ensue.

The organizational talent and co-ordinating skill is likely to be present on campuses that have had organized protest before. On the University of Wisconsin, Madison campus, for example, the various departmental associations acquire much of their membership from the ranks of SDS and other veteran protest groups. One of the founders of the Education Students' Association, for example, was the first state-wide co-ordinator for the End The War In Viet Nam Committee. Such skills will provide ample organizational talent needed to co-ordinate the four associations toward a common goal. All they need is the time to develop the right issue or fabricate one.

Fred Harrington's supposed security is more a forewarning. The present calm on campus has not been procured by administrations solving the problem of disruption. If anything, administrations have simply granted the necessary time the protesters have needed to become fully skilled and organized. The calm exists in spite of administrative inaction simply because protest leaders are busy developing the best local sparks to ignite the powder keg. Columbia will be duplicated many times in the near future.

protests which hinder others or which leads to the wanton destruction of property, it may be well for us to remember that not every sign carrier is out to destroy our universities,

Finally, we have the problem of the black men in America. Some black men can succeed—early training, a belief in the advantages of continued hard work, and, perhaps, most important, a belief in themselves as individuals rather than as downtrodden members of a minority—all these can improve the position of individual black men. Unfortunately there are others, hindered by inferior education, poisoned by the prejudices of the ghetto — just as many whites are poisoned by *their* ghetto prejudices — embittered by the dreary life of the welfare recipient, who do not succeed. In many cases, it is difficult to reach these people, and many no longer desire any re-approachment with what they consider to be the white establishment. Such people are seemingly beyond hope, but some thought should be given to bringing them back into the American mainstream, if only to prevent their warped ideologies from poisoning and alienating other blacks.

In making these suggestions, I do not mean to imply that no conservatives practice them as of this moment. Certainly YAF works to reform the educational system and end the draft; other conservatives are profoundly concerned and deeply involved in the fight to maintain civil liberty in an overly regimented state. What I do fear, however, is that many conservatives, preferring to operate within the Republican party will accept the new Eisenhowerism as the best that can be done and cease fighting to make a still viable conservatism a strong force. I am condoning the militants only in the same sense that all conservatives should. We cannot cure the troubles of a society by repressing all dissent. Where order is needed, as a last resort, then let us have order. But otherwise, let us seek a balanced liberty based on conservative ideals, and not an empty consensus or cheap sloganeering. Once again, as in 1964, I say, *let us begin . . .*

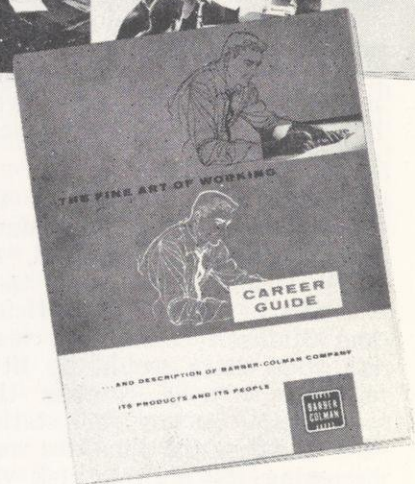
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sanctity in the governors. I do not see the halo around Eldridge Cleaver's head, nor yet around my own or any man's. The skeleton key must remain for the sake of freedom a skeleton in the closet.



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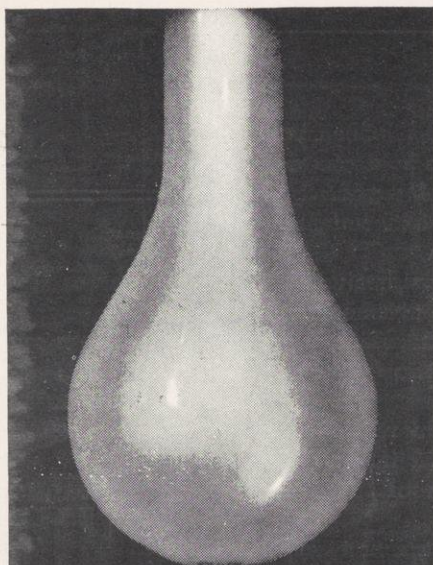
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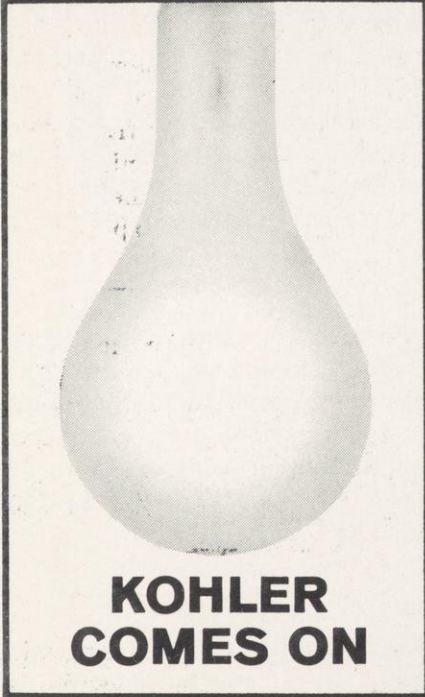
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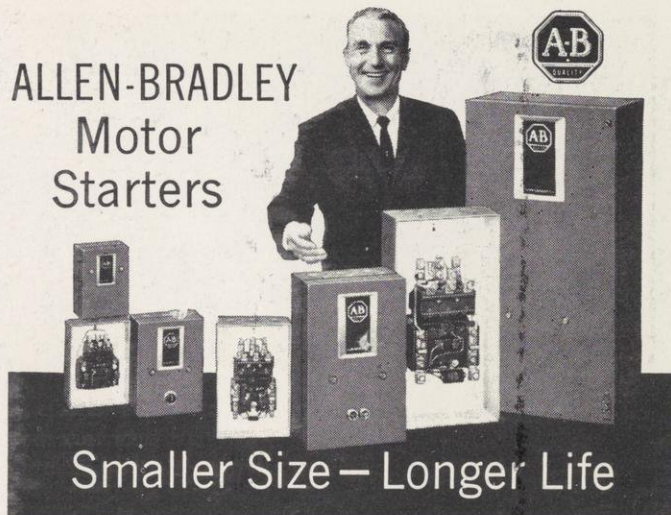
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h i n d s i g h t s

The news from the moon in December was not pleasing to the Madalyn Murray O'Hairs, the flat earth people or all those bellowing man to be the center of the Universe. Maybe some day events will surpass even the high arrogance of *Homo sapiens*.

One way to end the spread of marijuana: legalize it and let the Department of Agriculture pay farmers not to grow it!

Ex-Ambassador Harriman said that American objectives in Vietnam did not include winning the war. He seemed to feel that Hanoi and the NLF were aware of that fact, but that Americans needed one final reminder of this from himself, being the dean of the international accommodationists. (He had experience in Laos . . . recall?)

We don't mention names, but a friend of ours, and sometime contributor, has found a nice position with the Nixon staff. No mention of it, however; you know the press would never accept solid conservatives in a place where "ALL ideas are represented." They thought that "all" meant something else.

Whoever heard of a lawsuit contesting the unconstitutionality of the latest whim of the oppressed Black students? In a few years it will be, "whoever heard of the NAACP?"

Airline youth fares get the boot, because the bus companies got to the C. A. B., we presume. The bus companies could reduce their rates for young people, but then the I. C. C. and the railroads . . . well kids, somewhere in this transportation maze and stagnation there is a political science lesson to be learned. Think about it when you are busing home from college.

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

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