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INSIGHT *and* OUTLOOK

a conservative student journal

Vol. IV Number II

December 1961

STICKY THICKETS

TIMOTHY JON WHEELER

OPERATION ATTRITION

CY BUTT

TECHNOPHOBIA

JAMES O'CONNELL

WHEN TIME IS OUT OF JOINT

RUSSELL KIRK

NEW



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1962

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INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK MAGAZINE

A CONSERVATIVE STUDENT JOURNAL

Vol. IV Number II

December, 1961

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IN THIS ISSUE

Russell Kirk, whose scholarly writings have found widespread acclaim on campuses across the Republic, makes his first appearance on these pages. Dr. Kirk proposes an approach for conservatives ● One of our editors, Timothy J. Wheeler, explains why a certain Liberal columnist, who traces conservatism from the slaveholding South, snaps, crackles and flops ● Cy Butt brings back Fremont ("There is too a Santa Claus") Guilfoyle, who flattens Thomas Malthus with a left to the breadbasket ● A new word, technophobe, has been coined by contributing editor James M. O'Connell to describe the Liberal fear of automation ● Katanga, under all-out attack by U.S. pens and U.N. guns, gains an able defender in Jim Blair, who finds evidence of extensive UN foul play.

WORLD OUTLOOK

That self-proclaimed champion of the "little fellow" the Madison *Capital Times* has long displayed a singularly myopic insight into the problems of the "little fellow". A case in point is its odd views on federal spending and inflation.

In a recent editorial calling for federal medical care for the aged, the C-T argued that "this aid is urgently needed in many cases where the impact of inflation on the fixed income of aged people has made it impossible for them to meet medical expenses without aid."

The problem is granted. Inflation has hit the aged hard, as well as many other people in the Republic. It erodes the value of fixed-dollar assets, such as savings accounts, insurance policies and company plans. An adequate pension by 1940 standards has only half of its former value today. The elderly who must depend on their pension are reduced to meager circumstances, for there is little they can do to halt the decay of their investment.

What, precisely, is inflation? Defined simply, it is an increase in the money supply without a corresponding increase in the supply of material wealth, viz., money that hasn't been earned by productivity.

Government has the sole monopoly on the currency supply, and is therefore, solely responsible for any inflationary trends in the economy. Other factors, of course, can and do motivate the government to institute "easy money" policies, e.g., pressure from the various lobbies or the wage-price spiral resulting from wage demands over the market level. But in the last analysis, only the government has the capability to inflate the economy.

Governmental inflationary mechanisms might be divided into two varieties, those which adhere to the classic definition and simply increase the currency supply without regard to productivity, and those which, in effect, decrease productivity in proportion to a fixed supply of money. The first variety encompasses all manner of deficit spending schemes, the second includes the use of revenues for non-productive ends.

Federal aid to relieve inflation is valid only if it acts to curtail the very causes of inflation. It is patently obvious that increased spending will just make the situation worse, thus the aid must be in the form of a retreat by government from every project by which it manipulates the economy and damages the productive capacity of the Republic.

The *Capital Times*, in its droll, Marxian way, divides the nation into two classes: "Fat Cats" and "Little People". It seems to sense that inflation is damaging to its brood, but recommends, for relief, the universal Liberal balm — Federal funds. Perhaps it feels that the "little people" can somehow avoid the burdens of the direct taxation and inflationary taxation which will result from said relief. They can't.

THE LOSING OF THE WEST

We recall with some nostalgia the Saturday afternoons we used to spend in the old Wisconsin Theatre.

The lights in the theater would dim, and, after some newsreel photos of Mrs. Roosevelt smiling beneficently upon the winner of the Newsboy of the Year Award, the fun began. A hush would fall over the crowd as Johnny Mack Brown or Hopalong Cassidy or some other cowboy hero appeared on the screen. After an hour and a half of cliffhanging suspense, in which the mustachioed villain tried to steal "the richest ranch in these hyar parts" from the heroine and her crippled father, our boyhood idol (whoever it was that Saturday) would lead a detachment of U.S. cavalymen across the Badlands and, to the lusty cheers of a theatreful of seven year olds, save the day for the forces of good and righteousness.

All that's changed now. The Wisconsin Theatre burned down a few years ago. Today's youngster (or his parents) can get his thrills by simply turning on the TV set. The photography is better, and one needn't be fearful of being hit on the back of the head by a flying wad of chewing gum.

But something else has changed too. The villain isn't a villain anymore. He doesn't wear a black mustache. Instead, he has an unsightly scar down one side of his face, and the embarrassment caused thereby has motivated him towards a life of crime. The hero still wins, but he isn't the Good Guy triumphing over Evil. Instead, plagued by guilt feelings over his affair with his brother's wife, he "proves himself" by talking the neurotic gunman into giving up his misguided ways and becoming a school teacher.

As we were watching the one-zillionth episode of "Sigmund Freud Rides Again" the other night, it struck us that perhaps we were watching a symbol of our society. Can it be that we don't *believe* in Good and Evil anymore?

A leader of the National Student Association tells us that whether student opinion (whatever that is) is right or wrong is irrelevant. The important thing is that the students must be militantly articulate. Militantly articulate in favor of *what*, may we ask?

Last semester, the appearance on our campus of a professor, who had been fired from the University of Illinois for publicly advocating pre-marital sex, was defended on the grounds that, "He has an important viewpoint, and it ought to be presented in the market place of ideas." Licentiousness has a valid place in the "market place of ideas"?

In 1894, the Board of Regents called upon the University to "encourage that continual and fearless sifting and winnowing by which alone the Truth can be found." This is, indeed, the duty of the Academy. But once Truth has been discovered — what then? Are we to continue to sift and winnow *ad infinitum*, just for the pure exhilaration of it?

And once having found Truth, are we to subject it to a majority vote to see if it's acceptable? We suspect that were the United Nations tomorrow to adopt by majority vote a resolution calling Buddhism the true faith, our friends Mrs. Roosevelt and Mr. Stevenson would im-

mediately begin reciting their "Om's" fervently. And if the next day, a majority favored Jainism, they could be found cautiously picking their way along the sidewalks of New York lest they squash an ant.

From our comments thus far, our Liberal friends will no doubt charge us with being against the Academe, sifting and winnowing, and majority rule. We are against none of these, but let us have no claptrap about their inviolability. If a majority of the American people were to tell George Gallup that there is no God, would that mean that God does not exist? If a majority — or two-thirds — or 100% of the American people were to vote in favor of omphagous cannibalism, would this make it right?

Today, the struggle between Western Civilization and the Communist Enterprise, when viewed through the eyes of the moral relativist, is little more than a political controversy between two great powers, each with legitimate aspirations and national goals. "It would be nicer if the West won this little power struggle, but *some* things these *extremists* are talking about are just Unthinkable, and we don't really *deserve* to win unless we stamp out HUAC and unemployment, and, besides that, segregated lunch counters are the *real* problem anyway."

But surely Communism is not wrong only because its leaders want territorial aggrandizement, any more than Hitler was wrong *only* because he wanted more *Lebensraum*. Communism is wrong because it rejects God and the dignity of man, and because it applies the rules of animal husbandry to human beings — because it is, in effect, a syndrome of all that history has proven to be evil. And surely the West's position in the Cold War approaches good through more than its mere desire to protect its legitimate interests. The West is right, because it stands on the side of Freedom — and Freedom is good, because it regards man as a child of God, with a soul and a free will and the rationality to use it.

He who teaches otherwise — he who rejects eternal verities and sanctifies moral relativism — dulls our national purpose and our moral fibre. In so doing, he weakens our ability to resist the Communist Enterprise.

That this is happening can be seen in our national debates over the recognition of Red China, shipments of arms to Marshall Tito, the defense of Berlin, the overthrow of Castro. If we are to resist Communism, these are not open questions. The debates rage because our national effort to resist has been dulled by those who tell us there is no such thing as immorality, as Good or Evil; that it's all relative, a matter of opinion.

We don't like this moral relativism business very well. We don't like it any more than we like the new crop of "shoot-em-ups", in which the hero is an escaped convict who seduces his partner's daughter and then plugs his partner.

We liked the cowboy shows they used to run at the Wisconsin Theatre much better. There were good guys and bad guys, and you could tell the difference without a program.

— AETIUS

CAMPUS OUTLOOK

The matter was simply too trivial. Perennially the campus, jarred out of its torpor, opened one sleepy eye, yawned, and lapsed into ennui. Who *cares* about discrimination here, where complaints of intolerance are too few to constitute an issue.

It must have been with saddened hearts and genuine anger that the self-proclaimed opponents of discrimination, seeing a disturbing "precedent" in what few local offenses they could gather, resuscitated the 1960 Clause. "Who cares?" they must have thought. "Who is not blinded to the fact that the reforms of the 1960 Clause are slipping away?" "Is this the 'intellectual' community of a progressive university?" Whether from apathy, boredom, or some innate stubbornness which refused to validate the truths of "those who cared," few students paused to listen.

The 1960 Clause originally provided that greek letter societies at the University of Wisconsin must remove all discriminatory clauses from their charters by 1960 or face suspension. (Needless to say, in the environs of a progressive university, the regulation was welcomed.) Suspension is a stiff penalty, and the transition generally took place with a minimum of clanking and groaning.

In some cases, however, things have dragged out interminably. This fraternity has stalled, or that sorority has evaded the intent of the edict. The attitude of the university administration toward these hold-outs was lenient, too lenient — such was the provocation which brought the 1960 Clause to life once again. If the university did not deal severely with the offenders, a dangerous precedent would be set for further evasion of the Clause.

And that sort of hole in the dike is irresistible to the Liberal finger: the left moved in to plug things up.

Thus we heard again, however weakly, the same old comfortable platitudes, the same old moralizing, the same old attacks on sororities and fraternities.

An open letter in the Daily Cardinal by one William Smith suggested, at length, "SUSPEND THE PHI DELTS!" The campus ADA wanted to "BAN THE PHI DELTS!" And so it went.

"Suspension," pontificated Mr. Smith, "is the only course of action that is morally right," invoking "policy and principle" to witness the heresy: Phi Delta Theta had received a two-year extension to square things with their national organization.

Such idealistic energy in the face of gummy student apathy was certainly commendable. It is indicative of something, if not quite so commendable, that for at least eight straight years these tireless guardians of student morality have, with unerring precision, missed the point.

(Continued Overleaf)

“

Long before our own time, the customs of our ancestors moulded admirable men, and in turn these eminent men upheld the ways and institutions of their forebears. Our age, however, inherited the Republic like some beautiful painting of bygone days, its colors already fading through great age; and not only has our time neglected to freshen the colors of the picture, but we have failed to preserve its form and outlines. For what remains to us, nowdays, of the ancient ways on which the commonwealth, we are told, was founded? We see them so lost in oblivion that they are not merely neglected, but quite forgot. And what am I to say of the men? For our customs have perished for want of men to stand by them, and we are now called to an account, so that we stand impeached like men accused of capital crimes, compelled to plead our own cause. Through our vices, rather than from happenstance, we retain the word "republic" long after we have lost the reality.

”

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It goes without saying that beneath the tub-thumping and vendettas against, e.g., the Phi Deltas, there lies the belief that discrimination is a moral wrong, from which moral justification is drawn to punish the intolerant.

One could argue that discrimination is a fact of nature, hence good, or, if discrimination can be shown to violate some inalienable right, that it is morally wrong. To begin from either position, however, is to put the stick before the carrot. The immorality of force precedes and supersedes any issue of discrimination.

Even granting that discrimination is a moral wrong, the relevant question is, does it follow that an organization should be compelled to admit all applicants, or rather that it should only feel morally obliged not to discriminate?

The distinction is clear enough: voluntarism vs. compulsion. The 1960 Clause forces an organization to remove discriminatory entrance requirements from its charter on penalty of suspension — but surely no solution to the problem can have its foundation in such compulsion.

What sort of "morality" is derived if an organization is *compelled* to adopt an ethical code to which it would not voluntarily subscribe? Shall the end justify the means?

The 1960 Clause is untenable. As one disgruntled student wrote in the Daily Cardinal, "That the rights of the minority cannot be enhanced by removing the rights of the whole is so palpably obvious as to render dissent intellectually perverse."

To return to the morality or immorality of discrimination, the principle of voluntarism is again applicable. If white wishes to associate with white, or black with black, or white with black, fine. But, if either party chooses not to enter into the association and is compelled to do so against his wishes, he has lost his freedom. This principle applies equally to Negro and white.

Freedom is a God-given right. To deprive an individual of his freedom, by, e.g., compulsory association, is a *moral* wrong. It follows that, while enforced discrimination is deplorable, it is not morally wrong, because it does not impinge upon rights; but enforced *non*-discrimination, which limits another's freedom, is morally wrong.

Rousseau held freedom so dear that he wanted to force the people to be free, even though this is philosophically contradictory, and hence self-defeating. The same fallacy underlies "civil rights" agitation, "freedom-riding" and the 1960 Clause. With every instance of compulsive integration the rights of Negro and white alike diminish.

On November 5, the faculty of the University of Wisconsin, with the support of the Student Life and Interests Committee, voted to suspend the Phi Delta Theta fraternity. On behalf of all students thus denied their right of voluntary association, *Insight and Outlook* censures this vote by the faculty.

STICKY THICKETS

In Search for the Dread RIGHT-WINGED BUGBEAR:

A Journey through the Wilds of Calumny with Gun and Chimera

TIMOTHY JON WHEELER

Among the failings of contemporary Liberalism is its inability to deal with fresh-blooded conservatism without a departure into clichés, catch-words, and a considerable amount of common, garden-variety yelping. Liberals who recognize and deplore this phenomenon might consider it the onrush of intellectual senility; conservatives might point out that this platitudinous intellect is symptomatic of more than just fusty, status quo Liberalism; rather, it is indicative of a mentality torn apart and rendered impotent by contradictory premises. In any event, conservatives are so steadily bombarded with Syrupthink that they look forward to criticism from the left which bears a modicum of intellectual probity, for they seek an honest level at which to test the validity of ideas. They turn to leftist intellectuals in search of a fair debate. How rarely they get it!

Jeff Greenfield's review of the *New Idea*, the campus literary quarterly, held forth promise of an honest critique of the conservative position: "There is one poem in the *New Idea* which bears special attention," wrote Greenfield, "R. E. Fauber's political essay on the search for a conservative ideology . . . What is most refreshing in the essay (in addition to a reasoned, thoughtful political discussion) is its readability. Despite the length and the subject matter, Fauber avoids the disease of his academic elders, and makes his discussion come alive through an amazingly simple device—clear and vivid writing . . ." A brief introduction to

the essay was not the less encouraging: "R. E. Fauber writes an erudite political column for the *Daily Cardinal*, and is perhaps the most consistently articulate liberal spokesman on campus." With such a preview, one could scarcely have avoided the feeling that this was going to be a powerful rebuttal of conservatism.

One can hope, can't he?

A reading of Fauber's essay serves to convince that he is indeed articulate. He writes vividly, if not always clearly. But as the creator of a "reasoned, thoughtful political discussion", it is to be hoped, from the conservative point of view, that he is the best the Liberals can offer, for this constitutes a plea of *nolo contendere*.

Up from Slavery

Fauber's essay, entitled "Freedom is a Breakfast Food", stumbles a scant five sentences before contradicting itself, but even this is hardly a portent of the tortured history of conservatism in the United States which follows. Stripped of sophistries and irrelevancy, the central thesis is that—hold your breath! — "Calhoun's doctrines, framed in the interest of Southern planters and Southern slavery, constitute the principle (sic) American source for contemporary conservative philosophy." The burden of this revelation is that, well, Fauber says it's so. Even excluding the host of American and European scholars—many of the classical liberal persuasion—who lent their ideas to the New Conservatism, are conservatives now supposed to lobby for

the repeal of the thirteenth amendment and plant cotton? The whole argument ill-conceives conservatism to deify the status quo (seven times), to be reactionary (twelve times) and is, in the kindest analysis, a crude attempt to associate contemporary conservatism with a slave-owning mentality. But lest anyone confuse such a gallimaufry of eloquent, documented distortions with, say, thought, *Insight and Outlook* hereby goes on record in opposition to slavery. Including the collectivist brand Fauber peddles.

Fauber brings conservatism up to date from the ante-bellum days via the Terror Theory of the cold war (all conservatives are *reactionary*) and through the sticky thickets of McCarthyism. He then suggests that Eisenhower drove conservatives to reject the status quo, an aposiopesis which leaves the reader wondering what happened to the neo-Nazism theory that usually appears right after Senator Joe. In the resulting confusion, everyone forgets that conservatives weren't interested in the status quo in the first place. (Who, literally *who*, would be interested in perpetuating that morass on the Potomac?)

Fauber's next line of attack is a discussion (sic!) of the contemporary political views of Russell Kirk, William F. Buckley Jr., and Barry Goldwater, then a few dozen nasty words about *Insight and Outlook*, some righteous conclusions about The Horror Of It All, and off to bed.

Direct quotes notwithstanding, the political theories of the above
(Concluded Overleaf)

INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK 7

(Concluded from Page 7)

named conservatives were reproduced so haphazardly that your servant called Fauber's essay to their attention (excepting Senator Goldwater) with an invitation to comment on same. Dr. Kirk answered, simply, that he never replied to intemperate attacks. Wrote Bill Buckley, "Fauber's thesis is so tedious and so illiterate that to answer him means either to take over his education, or to analyze his philosophical malversations. His polemic does not invite the former, and I haven't time for the latter." However fascinating a point-by-point tabulation of factual, logical and omissive fallacies in the essay might be, the question is academic. The issue is more easily resolved: is Fauber talking about conservatives or straw men?

It is obvious that a criticism of a position must reflect that position with scrupulous accuracy. As Lord Acton suggests, one must reproduce his opponent's stance in the most fair and favorable light before a rebuttal can have the slightest meaning. (This is to be recommended; it will bring scores of converts into the conservative camp). The primary fallacy of Fauber's machinations lay in his failure to present the conservative position as it is. Anyone of conservative persuasion would categorically reject the values Fauber ascribes to him, and thus the essay, as a critique, is rendered perfectly meaningless.

"If Fauber is correct that that is what conservatism is, then I am not a conservative," Bill Buckley wrote. "The alternative is that Burke, Calhoun, Kirk and Roepke are correct—but then, they haven't read Fauber!"

The inability of "the most consistently articulate liberal spokesman on campus" to grapple with the reality of conservatism, and the quick acceptance of his straw men by liberalist intellectuals, beg the question: is the Left just amazingly simple, or is that pernicious "disease of the academic elders" incurable?

KATANGA

LEBENSRAUM FOR THE U.N.

JAMES BLAIR

Events in the Congo and Katanga have been subject to varied interpretations by editorial writers in this country, but the general tendency has been to express alarm and horror at the "white mercenaries" in Katanga's army and to imply that Moise Tshombe is a stooge or dupe of the *Union Minière*. Mr. William R. Frye, of the *Christian Science Monitor*, has even gone so far as to suggest that Dag Hammarskjöld may have been murdered as part of a vast plan on the part of the stockholders of the *Union Minière* to destroy the United Nations. While this rather fanciful notion is being discredited by technicians investigating the plane crash, it reflects a feeling that there is more to the situation in the Congo than appears on the surface.

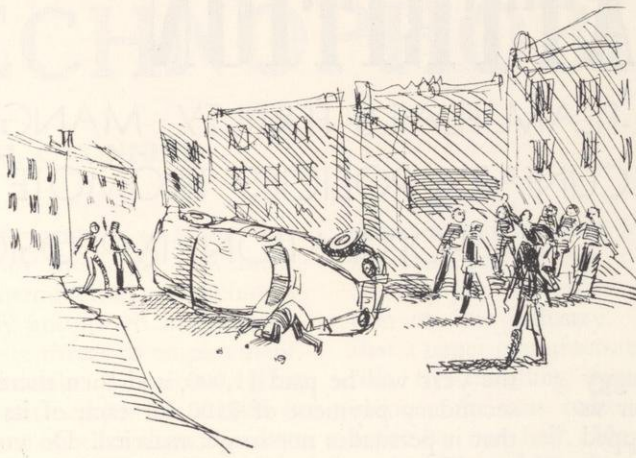
One might suspect that the facts will be found in inverse ratio to the bias of the bulk of the American press. Information, however, is available for study, and I'd suggest that the following is highly relevant to any judgment on Katanga:

One. Since the Congo colony was a completely artificial unit with no natural or tribal boundaries, there is no historical or logical reason why Katanga should be considered as part of the Republic of the Congo. The people of Katanga are different: they have a different history, different customs, different ideas, a different society and stem from a different tribe. Katanga has produced an industrial society reflecting thrift, hard work, and well organized social services.

Schools in Katanga are attended almost equally by girls and boys—a rare thing in Africa. In the summer of 1960 when the Congo fell into chaos, law and order remained intact in Katanga.

The Katangese have long felt that they are a separate political and economic entity, and hence anticipated the formation of the Katanga state after the day of independence. Both black and white support Katangese autonomy, which is now called "secession", since they do not want to be dominated politically by backward tribes with whom they have nothing in common. It makes no more sense to insist that Katanga is part of the Congo than to insist that Israel is part of Jordan.

Two. The central Congolese government of Premier Adoula (which the U.N. insists must rule Katanga) is now infiltrated by Communist agents to about the same extent that the Czechoslovakian government was in 1947. The cabinet posts of Vice-Premier and Minister of the Interior are held by Antoine Gizenga and Christophe Gbenye; both are Prague-trained Communists. Gizenga has the authority to select the Minister of Defense, the Minister of Justice, the commander of the army, and the U.N. Ambassador. These are the positions of the greatest value to Communists, for they command a complete monopoly on governmental armed power, the police, security forces, and the military. With these posi-



tions, Communists have been able to grab several nations.

Three. It was the United Nations which committed war of aggression against Katanga, not the reverse, and it has been guilty of atrocities in the pursuit of that war. *Newsweek* magazine (September 25, 1961) relates that correspondents on the scene found Katangese prisoners-of-war shot in the back by U. N. troops and describes how U. N. soldiers set up a machine gun nest under a Red Cross flag. Eyewitness accounts of United Nations behavior in the Congo have been damning.

Mr. Harold Soref, in a letter to the London *Times*, described the events he saw on the morning of September 13:

When daylight made it possible to leave the hotel I took up a position beneath a pillar opposite the Post Office, which the UN forces had wrecked. I witnessed two passing Jeeps attacked by UN machine guns. The Katangese occupants, who had not fired a shot, were slaughtered without warning. Shortly afterwards, an unarmed police jeep was machine-gunned from the almost adjacent UN Red Cross hospital. The wounded Katangese were left to die. When a Red Cross Katangese ambulance arrived it was attacked by a UN armored car. Any attempt to render aid was repulsed by trigger-happy UN troops. On several occasions I saw press

photographers similarly threatened, and one was wounded whilst taking a shot which might well have been embarrassing to the United Nations' apologists. Such incidents were not isolated. On the following morning I witnessed another unarmed Katangese ambulance, carrying an enormous Red Cross flag, attacked and the driver was seriously wounded.

Jerzy Szymanski, writing to the London Polish-language publication *Wiadomosci*, reported:

In the dead of night platoons and companies of UN troops simultaneously left their encampments to launch a large-scale roundup modeled on the best Gestapo and NKVD traditions. Their objective: to seize, if possible, all Belgian and other European officers asleep in their billets and homes. These officers were dragged from their beds, some were handcuffed, even though they had offered no resistance. They were not even permitted to take their toothbrushes. Everything at hand was wildly destroyed...

The religious Irish (UN troops) were assigned the perfectly appropriate task of assaulting the large Catholic College of the Salesian Fathers. The imposing wrought-iron gates flanking the magnificent church of modern architectural design were knocked down with bulldozers. The beautiful and elaborate flower beds and well kept lawns

were trampled and ruined; the doors and windows of the students' dormitories were broken... The results of this action were magnificent: the capture of three warrant officers serving as accountants.

(The Swedes) were ordered to "unload" the headquarters of the Katanga army and to remove officers who were on night duty there. The Negro armed guards outside the building were felled with rifle shots that demonstrated superior marksmanship, and a few white officers were seized... The Swedes (worked) methodically and thoroughly as befits officers of a civilized nation. In the middle of every room visited by them there was a sizable heap of what used to be furniture and office equipment, now smashed and broken into small unusable fragments.

Incidents and murders at the hands of the United Nations troops continue to the present day. It is a reflection of the burning desire of the Katangese for independence, and a credit to Moise Tshombe, that Katanga has been able to repulse UN aggression.

Four. No section of the Congo is capable of maintaining order without the aid of trained outsiders. In Katanga, European mercenary soldiers aid the army; in the Republic of the Congo, mercenary soldiers of the United Nations perform the same function. The only difference is that the former are limited to defense while the latter most decidedly are not.

Finally, while it must be admitted that President Moise Tshombe is educated, Christian, pro-West, anti-Communist, non-racist, and is a firm believer in free enterprise, i.e., a dangerous radical, consider, nevertheless, this question: Just how far may we, a nation committed to the self-determination of all peoples, intervene in the internal affairs of Katanga and attempt to overthrow the head of the state, who has been elected by a representative assembly and has the support of his people?

OPERATION ATTRITION

FREMONT'S FINANCIAL FLIM-FLAM FLAILS FERTILTY, MANGLES
MALTHUS; PECUNIARY POLICIES PROMOTE
POPULATION IMPLOSION

CY BUTT

My old friend Fremont Guilfoyle, the buggy whip magnate who began his government career as head push on a WPA street sweeping project, dropped into Madison's Congress Bar this evening for an apertif, as he calls them now. On his arm was Fifi, a little longer in tooth and a little thicker through the transmission, but still something to remember well into next week.

"It's been a long time, Fremont," I said. "What goes with you now?"

"Big things," he answered. "The Administration, having learned of my new treatment for the overpopulation problem, directed that I report to Washington at once to set up a new bureau."

"Kind of clue me in, Fremont," I said.

"It all started with Thomas Malthus several hundred years ago," said Fremont. "Malthus' theory was that if people kept on doing what comes naturally, there eventually would not be enough room on earth for them. We now have all but seven of the 108 nations of the world on our beneficiary list, and what with the money and the food we have been tossing their way the day Malthus foresaw eventually isn't much farther off than the day after tomorrow.

"On top of that, Shriver is all in a sweat over the booboo that Peace Corps girl pulled. Writing postcards about the things that go on! What a terrible thing to do! The first rule of Global Giveaway is to suppress everything not favorable, and she has to go write postcards.

"But to get back to overpopulation: I began to worry about being forced to take in roomers at Guilfoyle Acres, my estate at Del Prado, when the answer came to me like a bolt from the blue. As you must know, the Department of Agriculture pays farmers not raising cotton and wheat and things, or anyway not raising so much of them, and has had such remarkable success . . ."

"Remarkable success?" I questioned with a rising inflection.

"Just success, then," said Fremont. "But it seems that this continence thing is for the birds and nobody will buy any stock in it so my new bureau is going to pay the people of the world for not having children.

"Each family that does not have an increase during

the year will be paid \$1,000, and then there will be a secondary payment of \$500 for each of its daughters that it persuades not to get married. Do you like it?"

"It's great," I said, "but if Agriculture pays, say, \$200 for not raising five acres of corn, it also pays \$400 for not raising ten acres. Why shouldn't you pay a family \$2,000 for not having twins? It follows as does the night the day."

"Wonderful!" said Fremont. "We will. Just think what Mrs. Dionne will be making. And now that I have this Malthus backed into a corner, I am going to begin the manufacture of rocking chairs."



"I thought that you were against private enterprise," I said.

"I am, usually," said Fremont, "but not this time. You know when President Kennedy popularized the rocking chair some time ago he must have been looking deeply into the future. With Socialism almost here — and make that a capital 'S' — we have about one government worker for each eight of the population. When it gets down to four, as we expect it to shortly, that will amount to one social worker for each family.

"Everything will be taken care of for us and there will be nothing to do but to sit on the porch and rock. My chairs will sell by the millions. I tell you, it's the finest thing Kennedy has done."

"I don't know if it's the finest," I said, "but it's pretty near bound to be the most successful."

TECHNOPHOBIA

JAMES M. O'CONNELL

A belief, common to many connected with the labor movement, that the introduction of machinery—especially automated machinery—constitutes a threat to employment, is economically fallacious. This fallacy is not new; it has existed in one form or another since the days of the Industrial Revolution. The introduction of such machinery as the spinning jenny and the stocking frame in the textile industry caused rioting among laborers, who feared the loss of their jobs. Today the spokesmen of organized labor pass solemn judgment upon the evils of automatic machinery and speak, with great foreboding, of the “dislocations” such machinery will cause.

It is quite possible to amass an impressive mountain of statistics to show that the fears of the Technophobes are groundless. The employment of statistics, however, has but limited value *per se*: to be valid, it must be accompanied by deductive methods. Otherwise those who fear automation can argue that such statistics may have held true for the past, but that conditions have since changed. An example of such fearful “thinking” was given by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who declared that: “We have reached a point today where labor-saving devices are good only if they do not throw the worker out of a job.” (*My Day*—September 22, 1954)

If these charges levelled by the Technophobes were valid, that is, if every labor-saving device introduced a rise in unemployment, we should have to look at our economic progress with horror. Not only is each future technical improvement in industrial equipment and technique to be shunned, but all of our past gains must be considered evil, a nonsensical if inescapable conclusion.

To assume that automation is a

threat to employment is to neglect its secondary effects. Consider, as an example, the effect of automation on one industry. Let us say that a paper manufacturer discovers that by installing automatic machinery, he can reduce his work force by one half. He installs the equipment and lets the workers go. On the surface, this is clearly a loss of employment. However, we have considered none of the secondary effects. First, the new machinery required the expenditure of labor in its manufacture. Were there no demand for such machinery, such employment would not exist. Second, the increased efficiency of the operation will enhance profits and lower consumer prices, both of which have a salutatory effect on the economy.

Even assuming that the loss of jobs for workers in the paper mills is not offset by the creation of jobs for workers in the heavy machinery industry, both the diffusion of surplus capital from savings to the customer and reinvestment of profits by the manufacturer create jobs, either from direct capital investment or increased consumer demand. Other beneficial effects are to be noted: the paper manufacturer has achieved a competitive advantage, and forces other paper firms to purchase more efficient tools; he may use his profits to expand operations; the increased availability of paper products will stimulate economic expansion in other areas. All these effects create jobs and raise the general level of material well-being. Thus we see that expanded economic activity and more efficient industrial operation create employment, an axiom of the free market readily discernible since the earliest days of the Industrial Revolution.

In the paper industry itself, favorable employment trends will

eventually offset the original dislocations. Since the paper products are less expensive, they will find greater demand; as a result, more paper will be purchased, and hence more will be manufactured. While this is a slow process, it will nonetheless create jobs, almost certainly for more persons than were employed before the introduction of automated machinery. Hence, it can be argued that automation will, over a long period, increase employment in a particular industry; and that, in the short run, it creates jobs in other industries, although a temporary dislocation occurs in the newly-automated industry.

The Liberal economist, however, does not listen to this argument without bringing his last line of defense to bear—the gimmick. In this case, the gimmick is the unemployed paperworker. In following the misfortunes of our unhappy paperworker, he loses sight of the man newly employed in the manufacture of machinery, he loses sight of the man now employed in supplying greater quantities of, say, wood pulp to the paper manufacturer, and he forgets entirely about all the people who can now purchase paper products more cheaply. What of their misfortunes?

The temporarily unemployed paper worker is not, usually, in such bad straits; even if he is skilled in paperworking only, he can retrain for other employment, although he may have to accept a lower wage while he does so. Skilled workers are always welcome. (But the dislocation of a skilled worker is an extreme case. Those usually affected immediately by automation are the unskilled who can, with sufficient mobility, find employment elsewhere as unskilled labor.) Our friend is deserving of some sympathy, of course, but to withhold employment from others by tampering with the free market in his behalf, and to prevent a drop in the price of the product he helped produce solely that he may retain a job to which he has no natural right, is not economics at all. It is very bad politics, and cannot be considered humane.

WHEN TIME IS OUT OF JOINT

A renowned Conservative Spokesman suggests
some possible approaches to Conservative Action

RUSSELL KIRK

Integral conservatism does not consist in dull contentment with present dominations and opinions. In essence, the conservative is a champion of norms, of what Mr. T. S. Eliot calls "the enduring things"; and if the time is out of joint, if norms are ignored or violated, then the conservative becomes, in some sense, a rebel. He acts, if he can, to renew the public apprehension of norms and to restore a tolerable balance of order and justice and freedom. And today the thinking conservative finds himself under the domination of Dinos, King Whirl, and sees all about him the symptoms of social disintegration. In such an age the conservative turns reformer.

You may have read that short sardonic novel by an eminent conservative, Mr. Evelyn Waugh, *Scott-King's Modern Europe*. A classics-master at an English public school—Scott-King, a learned and retiring scholar who dislikes much of what he sees about him in the twentieth century—is invited to lecture in a Mediterranean state. Soon involved in sad difficulties, an innocent victim of the mass state and the age of ideology, at the end of the summer he finds himself stark naked in a concentration camp in Cyprus. Escaping at length, he returns to his school at the beginning of the autumn term. There the headmaster suggests that he teach some popular subject in addition to the classics—economic history, perhaps, for the classics are not popular. "I'm a Greats man myself," the headmaster says. "I deplore it as much as you do. But

what can we do? Parents are not interested in producing 'the complete man' any more. They want to qualify their boys for jobs in the public world. You can hardly blame them, can you?"

"Oh, yes," Scott-King replies. "I can and do." And, deaf to the headmaster's entreaties, he declares, shyly but firmly, "I think it would be very wicked indeed to do anything to fit a boy for modern world."

To be a Man

Here is the conservative confronting modern appetites: the champion of norms—the humane standards of the classical writers, who teach what it is to be a man. The disordered notion of education which the parents of the schoolboys entertain are the symbol of all our modern disorder; and the intelligent conservative is the last man to urge upon us a secular conformity to fad and foible; he does not confound present appetites with enduring truth. He is an enemy of "adjustment" doctrines in schooling; for if we adjust to error and crime, we are making ourselves privy to error and crime. Far from assuming that whatever is today, is right, the American integral conservative of 1961 is more likely to concur in a remark of Professor Eliseo Vivas: that it is one of the marks of human decency to be ashamed of having been born into the twentieth century.

What Disraeli once gave to England, a reflective and imaginative conservatism, what Theodore

Roosevelt often represented here—this, I think, is what modern America needs, and might support in office. Like it or not, we Americans have become the great bulwark against radical collectivism: we are the strong conservative power of modern times.

Yet, with few exceptions, politicians of both parties continue to utter the phrases of nineteenth-century liberalism. Party leaders and publicists still emphasize almost exclusively economic policies, assuming that the American public desires "more spending" or "less spending"—and little else. (As Chateaubriand wrote more than a century ago, "The modern statesman understands only the stock market—and that badly.") Many things are worse than a government somewhat plodding and unimaginative. But the 'Sixties are a time when America cannot afford to muddle through her difficulties—a period when, in Napoleon's phrase, imagination will rule the world. However much certain journalists and professors hanker after some new New Deal, the problems of the 'Sixties are not the problems of the 'Thirties. As Disraeli wrote, prevailing opinions generally are the opinions of the generation that is passing. Primarily, the grand problems of our age are not economic.

They are social problems, rather, which America shares with most of the world. They go to the root of things, and so are radical difficulties; but radical ills often are susceptible of conservative remedies. They are the problems of what makes life worth living, and of what con-

stitutes the just society. They are the problems of life with principle; of social boredom or work with purpose; of antipathy or harmony of classes; of a deadening mass-state or ordered liberty. They are concerned with whether man is made in the image of God, or is merely a producing-and-consuming animal. Many practical politicians may be embarrassed at having to deal with such notions as these; but the survival of our nation and our civilization may depend upon our finding some satisfactory answers.

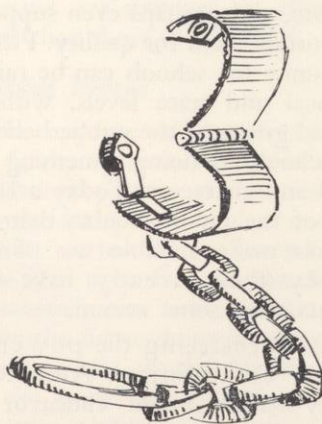
Even Schlesinger

It is not only thinking conservatives who began to perceive the real political needs of the time. Mr. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., for instance, wrote in 1960, for "private circulation" among Democrats, a pamphlet entitled *The Shape of National Politics to Come*. In this there was a great deal of hot partisanship; but also some interesting reflection. "Instead of the quantitative liberalism of the thirties," Mr. Schlesinger wrote, "rightly dedicated to the struggle to secure the economic basis of life, we need now a 'qualitative liberalism,' dedicated to bettering the quality of people's lives and opportunities. . . . In general, we can, in our central emphasis, move on from the quantitative problems to the more elusive and complicated task of fighting for individual dignity, identity and fulfillment in a mass society." A few years gone, Mr. Schlesinger seemed to be flirting with the notion of calling himself a conservative; and some suggestion of conservative ideas may be caught in this memorandum.

"One senses spreading anxiety and frustration in our society," Mr. Schlesinger goes on, "a confused, inchoate feeling that things aren't going right; a growing boredom with excessive self-congratulation and complacency; a growing discontent with our character and objectives as a people; a growing desire to start moving forward as a nation again, to renew our national

vision and to clarify our national purposes." Part of Mr. Schlesinger's misgivings may be bound up with the personal uncertainties of many latter-day liberals, now privately doubtful of their old enthusiasms; but part of it is objectively justified, certainly, and is shared by conservatives.

Another writer, Professor Glen Tinder (*The Review of Politics*, autumn, 1959), goes deeper into these questions than does Mr. Schlesinger. Calling his article "Human Estrangement and the Failure of Political Imagination", he argues that we suffer from the ills of 'mass disintegration.' Of "social welfare" measures we have no lack; but mass disintegration continues apace. Some aspects of this phenomenon are the separation of man from nature, through urbanization; the loss of human roots in place; the decay of truly personal property; the common lack of links with the past and of hope for the future; the dwindling of a genuine sense of community—all these pushing us toward what Gabriel Marcel calls "a broken world." To such primary problems of modern society, now urgently demanding thought and action, neither politicians nor political scientists have



paid much sober attention. Yet these, rather than "the relatively secondary problems of physical security and economic distribution", ought to be the preoccupation of the intelligent conservative and the discerning liberal. That we neglect

the true ends of the nations, to our imminent peril, is evidence of what Mr. Tinder describes as "the failure of political imagination."

Some Approaches

Now I do not propose to outline here a regular program for conservative action. Rather, I describe a mode of analysis, and make some suggestions as to intelligently conservative attitudes. There is no such thing as a conservative "party line", and I cannot presume to speak for all conservatives; nor will time permit me to go deeply into these complexities. I simply touch, then, upon possible approaches to conservative action, in seven fields, chosen almost at random, where current practical political controversies are connected with more profound problems.

(1) When legislation for "human welfare" is being considered, the discussion ought not to center round the dogmas of nineteenth-century liberalism, nor yet to be concerned with a sentimental largess of public funds to masses of people that happen to have political leverage. As Mr. Tinder observes, "The rather indiscriminate fervor of welfare measures can appear highly ludicrous if one reflects on the degree of welfare which almost everyone already enjoys."

Our governmental action toward the general welfare should be rooted in an understanding of the effects of relieving men and women from their principal duties—and private satisfactions—in life. Politicians need to recall Irving Babbitt's aphorism, "We must find our happiness in work, or not at all." And thinking conservatives could do well to make a close study of the practical consequences of what Professor Frank Tannenbaum calls "the evil benefits of the welfare state," in Sweden, say, or Britain.

(2) In dealing with federal, state, and local taxation, the test applied by intelligent conservatives ought to be the probable consequences, in the long run, of particular taxes upon the welfare of society. The

progressive income tax and the inheritance tax were intended by their original proponents to bring greater equality of economic opportunity. But their practical effect often has been quite the opposite. By high rates of income tax, federal and state governments now make it difficult for a newcomer to accumulate capital—which means that existing firms and men already rich are guaranteed an advantage over the rising generation and aspiring competition. By high rates of inheritance tax and estate tax, family businesses often are driven to the wall, selling out to chains or big corporations in order to meet tax assessments—while the giant corporations, with many stockholders, do not suffer from this drain. Our present tax-system actually is assisting the growth of oligopoly and standardization—what Wilhelm Roepke calls “the cult of the colossal.” Thoroughgoing overhaul of the taxation-structure could be a genuinely conservative work more important than Burke’s eighteenth-century Economical Reform.

The Farm Problem

(3) With the “farm problem”, the end which conservatives should seek is the preservation of rural life and community, essential to any healthy nation: farming as a way of life, to employ a phrase abused but not meaningless. American liberals and conservatives both have blundered in assuming that we can resolve the problem of decaying rural society by subsidizing the commercial farmer, or by shifting rural population to industry in big cities. These makeshift measures only increase our alienation from a balanced social order. There is a good reason to suppose that present farm subsidies, far from encouraging people to remain on the farm, actually help to tax out of existence the subsistence farmer in order to bestow largess upon the big cash-crop operator; certainly farm subsidies, ever since the first Roosevelt administration, have not succeeded in arresting the drift of population from the land. I offer here no specific:

I suggest only that this question urgently needs attention from conservatives.

(4) As for the argument about labor-union power, what conservatives ought to work for is the commonweal, lying in a reconciliation of the chief interests in the nation. Unions could be a really beneficial means for saving men from the curse of estrangement. If the unions are to fulfill this function, they must be freed from the domination of the racketeers and the power-hungry; they must cease to be political machines or devices for extorting tribute. The union cannot rightfully be a rival to the state itself.

Curricular Quality

(5) Concerning the present debate over public instruction, intelligent conservatives need to address themselves to quality in schooling, so much more important than the improvement of “plant” and salaries. The Federal Office of Education might be reinvigorated, as an agency for the general raising of standards; in the past it has collected statistics of dubious value and published pamphlets in support of educational notions that may have deserved discussion—about 1910. The American public would tolerate, and perhaps even support, a vigorous stand for quality. Plenty of money for schools can be raised at local and state levels, without federal grants, if the public believes the schools are doing something for mind and character. Today a large part of the public doubts that the schools make suitable use of the money they already have—and doubts with some reason.

(6) In resisting the power of Soviet communism, American policy-makers might endeavor to persuade other nations—and our own people—that the real contest is not between two economic abstractions called “capitalism” and “communism”; instead, it is a struggle between ordered liberty on the one side, and a thoroughgoing degradation of human nature on the other. Our economic aid abroad should be

calculated not to convert the rest of the world to an imitation of American ways of life, but rather to strengthen, in a good many cases, established ways of existence.

In foreign relations, we Americans will not secure valuable allies by expecting them to become One-Hundred-Per-Cent Americans. Mr. Chester Bowles, that eminent latter-day liberal, recently instructed the Mexicans to alter their tax-structure instantaneously, for they were failing to emulate the gringo rate of a ninety per cent levy on large incomes. Well, James Mill, an arch-liberal, was of the opinion that he could write a complete constitution and code of laws for India without ever bothering to leave London—merely through reading about their economic system, their present habits, and the like. This *hybris* still afflicts liberals; but conservatives know better. Without digressing further, I suggest that this is one of the postulates of an intelligently conservative foreign policy.

And yet perhaps I may be permitted to digress just a little further: for this field of international relations affords a good contrast between conservative and liberal approaches. In this, as in much else, the conservative offers no Grand Design, equally applicable at all times and places; there is no such thing as The Conservative Foreign Policy, for the thinking conservative knows that the affairs of men are almost infinitely variable, and that every general principle must be applied expediently to differing circumstances. What the conservative does offer is a prudential method for conducting foreign relations; and the names of Disraeli and John Quincy Adams may suggest the success of conservative methods in such matters.

The Liberal Disease

The typical liberal tends to make in foreign relations the blunder I suggested a moment ago: to endeavor to enforce some rigid concept of a universal social pattern upon the world. As Santayana remarked, the liberal is resolved

that "the nun shall not remain a nun, and China shall not keep its wall." Also this liberal analyzes very shallowly the causes of modern revolution and rivalry between nations, and so attempts to apply shallow palliatives. Once upon a time, the liberal thought that there would be no more wars if only universal free trade could be established; later, somewhat disillusioned, he went over to the fallacy of Self-Determination as an international panacea; nowadays he is torn between Self-Determination and the notion of the World State. This comes of naivete concerning human nature and the policy of nations.



When, for instance, the representative liberal is compelled to say why the fountains of the great deep are broken up in our time, his answer is superficial. He tells us, usually, that the revolutions and international conflicts of the twentieth century have been produced by poverty, desire for democracy, and the decay of superstition. But these arguments will not bear close examination. Historically considered, usually revolutions have occurred not when a people were abysmally poor, but in periods of increasing general prosperity; and if a low standard of living were the true cause of violence we might expect modern Ireland—perhaps the poorest land of Western Europe—to be alight with insurrection, when in fact it is remarkably tranquil. As for rising democracy, real democracy has not increased at all in our century; and the new nation-states promptly

turn, most of them, to some charismatic and intolerant master, as in Indonesia, Ghana, or Egypt. And the decay of superstition? Old creeds indeed have lost their followers; but those beliefs ordinarily have been supplanted not by an Enlightenment, but rather by virulent ideology or by recrudescent savage faiths, as with the revival of witchcraft in Africa.

Now the conservative understands that the real causes of the disorders which plague us are of quite other origin. He sees that they probably are two, primarily: first, the decline of normative understanding and of the moral imagination; second, the swift pace of change, technological and social, with its consequent internal and external disorder. Communism triumphs not in very poor or very traditional societies, but in lands where the old standards and ways of life have collapsed. So the conservative does not waste his energies and his funds in inappropriate remedies. For instance, he is not deceived by the specious argument that international peace may be achieved simply by a general increase in the standard of living in the "underdeveloped" countries. Recognizing that man does not live by bread alone, he knows that many appetites are stronger, in able natures, than those of the belly.

Marxist Mores

The appetite of the masters of the Soviet system, for instance, is for naked power; communist demands for peace and economic equality ordinarily are mere masks upon the ugly face of the *libido dominandi*, or at best are subordinate to the fierce desire to assimilate all the world to the Marxist terrestrial paradise. In his inverted way, the zealous commissar is little more likely to be diverted from his chosen path by the offer of a mess of pottage than St. Jerome, say, could have been converted to paganism by the fleshpots of Alexandria. Though they may wear business suits, commissars are not really to be equated with Amer-

ican businessmen. The conservative, unlike certain liberals, is not of the opinion that Soviet leaders really would like to be humanitarians, if only they could be persuaded to rid themselves of some small faults of taste and temper.

And aware that we mortals cannot rest content in an eternal changelessness, as if we were angels, the conservative will view with suspicion all neat schemes, founded upon secular expediency, for establishing a perfected world order that predicates the assimilation of all peoples to one "modern" or "progressive" mode of existence. Diversity, he knows, is the inclination and the blessing of mankind. With Phyllis McGinley, he remembers that even God is said to be three separate persons:

"Then upright or upon the knee,
Praise Him that by his courtesy,
For all our prejudice and pains,
Diverse his creature still remains."

Liberal Evangelism

A few years ago, a spokesman for a great labor organization declared that we Americans are destined to assimilate all the world to our institutions and manners and appetites; some foreigners may not relish this, but it's Progress; so be damned to them. Not long after, I heard a president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States express convictions almost identical. Such "liberal" secular evangelism, the integral conservative feels, not only will fail of its object, but may disorder still further our time of troubles. In the long run, and perhaps the short run, the reaction to our "liberal" proselytizing would be that of the Arab in Cunningham-Graham's story "Sidi bu Zibbula"—sitting, like Job, upon a great dung-hill: "I have seen your Western cities; and the dung is better." Many of our foreign-aid programs, for example, the conservative understands, are vitiated by such fallacies.

I am quite aware that I have not outlined here a positive conservative policy for foreign relations. Space considered, I have tried only to suggest the character of conserv-

atives' realism in such concerns. And the first step towards remedying an affliction is correct diagnosis of the disease. Liberal foreign policy has been badly diseased for a long while.

Often the poets put political truths more clearly than can the philosophers or the statesmen. Mr. Robert Frost, in "A Case for Jefferson", put the case against "dis-integrated" or "ritualistic" liberalism very strongly in a decade when such conservative sentiments needed more backbone for their utterance than is required nowadays:

"Harrison loves my country too,
But wants it made all over new.
He's Freudian Viennese by night.
By day he's Marxian Muscovite.
It isn't because he's Russian Jew.
He's Puritan Yankee through and through.

He dotes on Saturday pork and beans,
But his mind is scarcely out of his teens.

With him the love of country means

Blowing it all to smithereens
And having it all made over new."

Action of that sort is not for the conservative, who knows that blowing a country all to smithereens does not usher in the Millennium. But reforming action founded upon the higher imagination, improvement rooted in continuity and the filtered wisdom of historical experience, has been the talent of able conservative leaders ever since Burke.

"As a negative force, conservatism is based on a certain distrust of human nature, believing that the immediate impulses of the heart and visions of the brain are likely to be misleading guides." So, forty-six years ago, said Paul Elmer More. "But this distrust of human nature," he added, "is connected with another and more positive factor of conservatism—its trust in the controlling power of imagination." I venture to say that the rising generation of American conservatives will display their just share of that imagination.

BOOKS

THE REVOLT - TWO VIEWS

Conservatives will welcome Stanton Evans' *Revolt on the Campus* as a history of the college conservative movement and a brief exploration of the illogic of liberalism. Liberals will welcome it as another embodiment of the illogic of conservatism.

Mr. Evans' exposé of liberalism is incisive. He discusses the conservative and liberal in David Riesman's terms — as inner- and other-directed men. First he shows that the conservative has the prototypical attributes of inner-direction — self-reliance, moral autonomy.

M. Stantons Evans

Revolt on the Campus

Henry Regnery Co., \$4.50

Then he points out the other-direction of the liberal — his lack of a value system, his concern with what others think and not what is objectively right or true. Mr. Evans demonstrates that the rapid, malignant growth of government has been concomitant with the decline of individualism; and he concludes with Riesman's trenchant comment that the other-directed young men want

social security, not great achievement. They want approval not fame. They are not eager to develop talents that might bring them into conflict; whereas the inner-directed young person tended to push himself to the limit of his talents and beyond. Few of them suffer, like youth in an earlier age, because they are "twenty, and so little accomplished".

On the issue of academic freedom Mr. Evans flails the liberals thoroughly. Noting that liberals have always cried for academic freedom, he provides a well-documented chapter on instances where liberal college administrations have deliberately suppressed conservative dissent. Thus he demonstrates that

liberals approve academic freedom for a speaker of their own "radical" orthodoxy — or one who will only lead students further to the left — but they oppose the same freedom for those who hold such subversive concepts as the value of free trade.

Mr. Evans devotes much space to the explanation of an interesting paradox — the *rebellion of young conservatives*. For thirty years young people have been more liberal than their parents, every generation reacting against the right and moving to the left until the right has nearly passed out of existence. For the current generations of professors and political leaders it must be a shock to see the young reversing the trend to the left; and it must be apparent to them that liberals are now proponents of orthodoxy and status quoism, while the young, the idealistic, the rebellious are truly breaking tradition — by rebelling to the right. In Mr. Evans' words: "It is indeed the Liberal who is old — who has aged in the comfortable exercise of power — and it is the conservative who is young, angry, declassé." The liberal now finds himself "the image of the faltering Old Guardsman, perplexed and discomfited by heretical novelties."

Mr. Evans proceeds to give the reader a history of the activities of these young conservatives — forming such groups as the Young Americans for Freedom and the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists; publishing radical student magazines; and battling the liberals on such issues as the National Student Association and the loyalty oath. His accumulation of material shows one the surprising scope and passionate intensity of the conservative rebellion.

Although Mr. Evans exposes the liberals' inconsistencies and illogic in much of the book, he gives them comfort with glaring inconsistencies of his own in a chapter called "The Intellectuals." After criticizing the liberal for other-orientation, he praises the conservative for adherence to tradition and religious authority. He makes this attitude

most explicit when he answers the "charge" that the young conservatives are really classical liberals. Attempting to show that these conservatives base their politics on religious authority, not on rational conviction, he quotes such student assertions as the following:

I believe in original sin, and hold that man is both good and evil; that he cannot rely on reason alone, but must also rely on the wisdom of his ancestors, i.e., tradition.

I believe that man's ultimate destiny of union with God in Beatific Vision is his most important consideration.

... human nature ... requires political authority. But this authority has limitations based on a Divine transcendence.

My idea of conservatism arises from a belief in an absolute moral law which cannot be tested by scientific and epistemological questions. This law is a natural law of order given by God, and only to be recognized by man. Upon this law should the political order be founded.

After his surprising quotation of these statements, Mr. Evans has the courage to comment:

The ethical tendency of these statements, I think, is clearly opposed to ... "classical liberalism" ... Overwhelmingly, the students and youth leaders ... premised their regard for freedom upon an affirmation of a transcendent structure of morality. Moreover while none has reasoned his case so tightly that professional philosophers could not pick flaws in it, I think these statements represent intellectual power of a high order.

Mystical prattle about the Beatific Vision is certainly less than rational; one wonders how a man so perceptive as Mr. Evans in some areas could support such profound irrationality in others. His weakness will certainly be a source of just gaffing among the liberals.

Modern liberalism was born around the turn of the century with the advocacy of intervention-

ism. It came to maturity at the age of thirty-two with the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt. As Mr. Evans observes, it has now become old and is approaching its demise: younger people have seen through its economic foolishness. Ironically enough, however, some young people have also seen the irrationalities of religious conservatism, and these classical liberals may have the final turn of the screw — in which case Mr. Evans' conservatism will be stillborn.

— Winfred Blevins

REVOLT: II

The most exciting aspect of "Revolt on the Campus," by M. Stanton Evans, is not its verification that conservatism is making notable inroads on campuses across the nation. Rather, it is that young conservatives have set out to achieve the most notable of human endeavors: a new moral order.

It is almost inconceivable to those who view young conservatives from the outside that the paramount objective of these "young fogies" should be a renewed transcendental morality based on faith in God. It is customary to think of conservatives as mere defenders of the status quo; champions of economic vested interests; advocates of nationalism simply for its own sake; or worshippers of the dollar and material well-being.

Yet over and over again, the author discovered in the young conservatives an overriding concern for moral behavior. It was their belief that only upon the establishment of morality could a renewal of freedom be predicated. They were aware that without the internal restraints of personal morality, people would turn freedom into license and bring down tyranny upon their heads.

The revelation of this moral and spiritual hunger within the young conservatives is what makes "Revolt on the Campus" so heartening and astonishing. For decades, young

people have been intent upon destroying what they called "Victorian morality" and "stuffy tradition", scarcely realizing that in the process they were pulling Western civilization apart at the seams. But the new rebels, the college conservatives, are not only intent upon the establishment of a new moral order; they are also committed to victory for freedom. They want nothing more than the freedom to stand on their own feet as self-sufficient human beings who depend upon government for nothing.

The book traces the rise of conservatism on the American campus from its dismal beginnings in the early '50s to its exuberant explosion in the '60s. With extraordinary understanding, Evans discusses what motivated a handful of lonely "inner-directed" students to tackle a vast and scornful "other-directed" world which for decades had heaped abuse on the principles that had made America great.

Stan Evans is the editor of the Indianapolis News, and at 27 is perhaps the youngest editor of a metropolitan daily in the country. He has been active in conservatism all his adult life, and knows the strengths of the movement. Even better, he knows its weaknesses and limitations. He points out that so far it has been unable to communicate its idealism to outsiders. It has scarcely a toehold in the academy and communications media, and even less a beachhead in politics and the government.

Even so, Stan Evans believes, the new conservatism will have a resounding and beneficial effect upon the future of the Republic. He believes, in fact, that unless these young people wrest the helm of the nation away from the liberals, Western civilization might perish.

"Revolt on the Campus" is an important book because it is the first to recognize and evaluate one of the most unusual phenomena in contemporary America. The book is a must for all who now ponder the fate of the nation.

— Richard S. Wheeler

Reprinted from The Phoenix Gazette

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A Trifling Matter

JOHN CARAVAN

"Eeny meeny miny mo," muttered our man on the hill, "catch a Nigger by the toe. I just can't *stand* it," he snarled and left to salve his distress at the Pub.

I fretted all through my econ lecture, and after the bell finally rang, hurried to the Pub in search of our man. I found him staring at the dregs of a pitcher of beer. He showed scant signs of recognition at my approach, but roused himself enough to chant, "Eeny meeny miny . . ."

"OK, OK, how many of these pitchers have you had?"

"What? Mmm, three."

"What's eating you?"

"Did you see the *Cardinal* this morning?"

I admitted I hadn't. Our man pulled a tattered clipping from his shirt pocket and handed it to me.

"COED SLAPS COP FOR RACE REMARK", read the headline in huge type. "A University coed was threatened with a \$15 fine for slapping a city policeman on the face when he taunted her for talking to a Negro.

"The girl slapped the officer because of the insult he had hurled at her Negro friend, one of the University football players, at the homecoming game.

"What is a nice white girl like you doing talking to a dirty Nigger?" the officer taunted, she said. In reply the girl slapped the officer in the face . . ."

"So?" I said, handing back the clipping, "If I'd been in her shoes, I'd have belted him one, too."

"Sure, sure, but you missed the whole point. That's a capital 'N' on 'Nigger'. Upper case. I just can't stand it."

"I don't follow you at all," I said.

"Look. Here's an incident with which everybody could be sympathetic—a girl slaps a cop because he calls her friend a 'dirty nigger'. OK. Who could be offended by that?"

"Everybody is on her side."

"Sure. Maybe it's only a tiny victory, but the incident was favorable. But the *Cardinal* writer had to capitalize 'nigger'—even in the context of this incident he thought he had to pretty up the word."

"I still don't get you."

"It's their . . ." he paused and searched for a word, "their attitude. Every move of these gung-ho integrationists shows the same attitude, that Negroes are inferiors and underdogs to be pitied, but never fellow-beings to be respected. What could be more bigoted than that? The writer was so lost in this attitude that he couldn't associate himself with the shame of 'nigger', lower case. He just had to make the word less offensive to his Negro readers—what a low opinion he must have of them!"

"You're beginning to come through now," I said. "He felt a Negro would be so thin-skinned and incapable of understanding that he would be offended by the word without the upper case. And he might take it out on the writer."

"That's about it. Except 'racist' would be better than 'thin-skinned'."

"I see. But really, old buddy, the whole thing isn't worth a glass of beer, much less three pitchers. So a *Cardinal* writer is harboring a secret contempt for Negroes. So what?"

"No, the incident doesn't amount to much, but the attitude I mentioned has been bugging me for a long time. The people who display this condescension towards the Negro are always the first to yell 'bigot', the first to fight for 'human rights', the first to be buddy-buddy with a colored guy just to show how unprejudiced they are. I hate hypocrisy wherever I find it."

"That's hypocritical?"

"Look," he said, "on the one hand they ostentatiously damn the world for its prejudice, on the other they have this constant, underlying attitude of racial superiority. They always treat the Negro as an inferior."

"Take some examples. The lobby movement to remove race identity from public documents, like birth certificates. Instead of thinking, 'he's colored, what's wrong with that?' they think, 'his color is a badge of shame. We'll have to pretend it doesn't exist'. You follow?"

"So far."

He continued, "Remember *Little Black Sambo*? That was one of the gentlest books for children ever written. It's been banned in a number of places. Not as though it gave a disparaging picture of Negroes, but because it says black isn't white. No child could learn to hate from that book — can you imagine a child who didn't like Sambo? Quite the contrary. But the attitude which got the book banned would surely teach a child to hate and fear."

"You know," he continued, "history records only two types of peaceful integration, where one race is in such a minority as to be a novelty, and where the races meet on an equal social and economic standing. Integration can never work if the two races are forced together and the one gains only at the expense of the other. Can't the liberals understand that? Can't they understand the damage they are doing in race relations? Even the Negroes get tired of being condescended to and pushed around by white civil rights agitators. It's a miracle they can maintain their self-respect."

"I understand, I guess. But let us get off the bloody subject."

Our man on the hill lapsed into silence and stared across the room at nothing, or maybe at a big capital "N". I don't know. He's a funny guy.

John Oster

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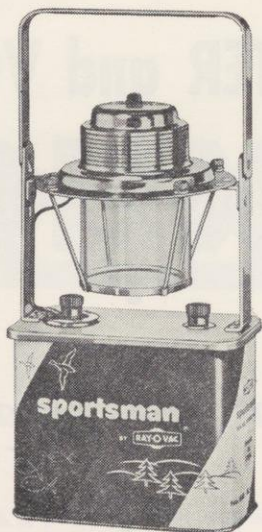
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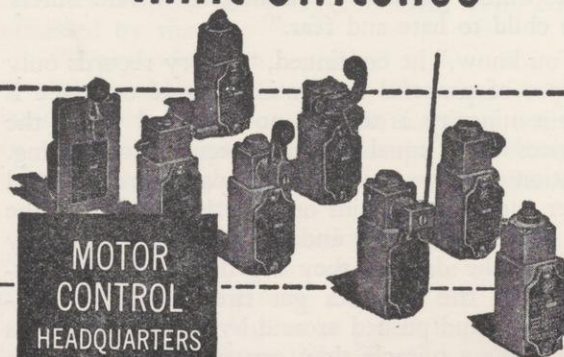
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