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insight and outlook

in this issue . . .

Freedom and Security

James M. O'Connell

The Witty Divine

Russell Kirk

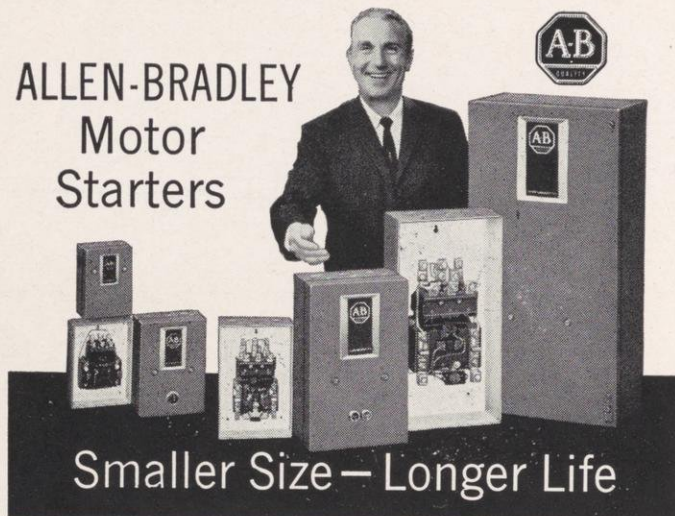
Conscription Revisited

James E. Blair

Chaos in Coalition

Dale Sievert

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insight and outlook

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Insight and Outlook is published bimonthly by students at the University of Wisconsin. Editorial offices are located at 150 Langdon St., Madison, Wis. Application to mail at controlled circulation rates is pending at Madison, Wisconsin.

We hope that you, our patient and loyal readers, have borne with us over the long drought. Our editorial staff, usually the most responsible individuals, chose, during the summer, to finish their work on various degrees, go to conventions and otherwise neglect the fifth issue. After our intrepid Editor-in-Chief corraled the lot of the staff, by wandering from bar to bistro—and even into classrooms!—we got the issue out.

But let us to the bill of fare. Fred Bachmann, a newcomer to these pages, analyses a philosophical disease endemic among our professional pundits—including one W. L. who remains unnamed. Guess who? James Blair, one of our more fierce reactionaries, takes a hard look at conscription, much to the dismay of SANE, which was under the impression that it had a monopoly on “peace.” As a counter-point, the most excellent Fremont Guilfoyle, philosopher-in-residence at Joe Troia’s Steak-and-Martini palace, prepares to march off to war.

The main courses include a delightful article on a forgotten English divine by Russell Kirk, the Duke of Mecosta, an opening essay on principles by Dale Sievert, a new member of the staff, and a march through the thorny brambles of the debate between civil libertarians and those dedicated to upholding national security offered by retiring editor James M. O’Connell. As usual, we offer Aëtius and Hindsight, the last to be enjoyed over coffee.

We direct our readers’ attention to our next issue, which will be an exercise in nostalgia and, hopefully, a sword in the hands of those conservatives who are working to place Senator Goldwater in the White House. Our editors have been busy culling the best articles from our six year history and offering them as “The Best of Insight and Outlook.” Those of you who have enjoyed in the past such master penmen as Anthony Cadden, Henry Hempe, Roger Claus, and Robert Adams, as well as Richard S. and Timothy J. Wheeler, Jared Lobdell, and James O’Connell will find this most rewarding. Those of you who are new to our readership will find your conservatism awakened and strengthened, and your determination to work for the election of Senator Goldwater given invaluable aid. We shall also offer, in this upcoming issue, editorial comment on the campaign and the candidates.

Finally, we would like to take this space to congratulate the new members of our editorial staff, Dale Sievert and Richard Wright, and wish the best of luck to Henry Hempe and James O’Connell, who join the ranks of the *emeriti*. We are certain that these new editors will continue to bring out this magazine in the tradition which has titillated, informed, and, occasionally, enraged our readership. After all, isn’t that the reason for a magazine of opinion?

Barry and the Brahmins

America's **brahmins** are spending most of their waking hours these days peering down their long, aristocratic, blue noses at Sen. Barry Goldwater.

They have primed their brains with all the cant phrases about Goldwater's alleged intellectual inferiority, his supposedly simplistic solutions to supposedly complex problems, and—horror of horrors!—his lack of book larnin'.

They have also managed to convince themselves that once the amiable senator becomes president, he will appoint one Rob't Welch secretary of state instantler; a pack of snarling Birchers will take over the FBI, and the anti-fluoridationists will form the palace guard.

It's rather a shame that they can't or won't meet the man who has become the cynosure of all the phobias of knee-jerk liberalism. They might end up liking Barry Goldwater, or better, they might end up respecting him and his ideals. In any case, they would find him a very different man from the scarecrow they have furiously constructed to spook the voters.

Those who know Barry Goldwater best are unreserved in their belief that the man is presidential timber. One such is the eminent Dr. Russell Kirk, whose friendship with the senator extends back through the early days of modern American conservatism.

"Mr. Goldwater is an ear-learner, primarily," says Professor Kirk. "He forms his practical judgments chiefly upon the basis of conversations with men who, he has reason to believe, know what they are talking about. And in this he has a curious power of rapid penetration. Conceivably he possesses an hereditary talent for shrewd measurement of men: certainly those successful merchants, his father and grandfather, were accomplished in this art. In a few minutes of talk, he grips the heart of the matter under discussion—and doesn't forget."

About Senator Goldwater's presidential capacities, Dr. Kirk is even more specific:

"If there is any such thing as an efficacious Presidential Mind," he says, "I think Mr. Goldwater has it. Doubtless he would deny any such remarkable endowment. But I put the case as follows:

"Mr. Goldwater has a mind calculated to distinguish tellingly between the able lieutenant and the pretentious subordinate.

"He has a mind calculated to anticipate difficulties and make preparations for them.

"He has a mind calculated to arrive at hard decisions without dangerous vacillation.

"He has a mind calculated to reconcile necessary improvement with the essential continuity of institution and purpose.

"He has a mind calculated to withstand the ideologue's bullying, without himself indulging in rant and rodomontade.

"He has a mind rooted in principle and tradition, but enlivened by a love of action, and humanized by humor.

"If these are the marks of 'shallowness,' gentlemen — why, preserve us from political profundity."

An engaging young professor of geography, Dr. Susan Huck, has made her own shrewd observations about the denigrators of Senator Goldwater.

"There is a 'line' to the effect that Senator Goldwater 'oversimplifies' the issues of the day," writes Miss Huck. "This is an interesting comment, coming from the proponents of government by slogan. Who, after all, are the people who consider 'passing a law' the cure for all domestic problems, and passing out money the cure for all foreign situations? Who are the wishful thinkers who take the view that the Communists don't really mean to bury us, or that Castro will go away if you just ignore him?"

The brahmins, of course. Those very brahmins whose befuddled intellects have paralyzed this nation's will to survive as a strong and free republic.

BARRY-BARRY

Fred R. Bachmann

In the medical literature today more and more reports are appearing regarding a strange new disease which medical researchers have come to know as *Barry-Barry*. This is not to be confused with *Beri-Beri*, a vitamin deficiency; there is no relationship whatsoever, for *Barry-Barry* is not a physical affliction, rather it is an assortment of intellectual peculiarities exhibited primarily by major and minor political philosophers—men of great wisdom whose observations and subsequent interpretations of the passing political scene serve to direct and crystallize the thinking and attitudes of the vast reading public. These intellectual peculiarities, when viewed together over a period of time by the trained medical eye, reveal a basic pattern referred to in medicine as a syndrome. The *Barry-Barry* syndrome, oddly enough, occurs only among

political pundits with a propensity for left-wing causes.

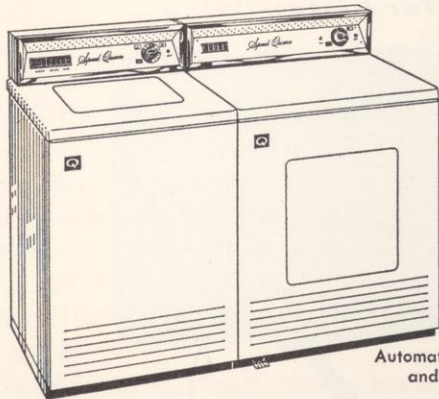
Let's examine the case of W.L., regarded by the liberal establishment as one of the foremost, and most respected, dispensers of liberal orthodoxy in the nation today. A man whose every utterance is eagerly awaited, and eagerly absorbed, by all levels of the left-of-center followers. W.L.'s case is typical of those suffering from the *Barry-Barry* syndrome, and a discussion of his symptoms will serve as an excellent illustration of the classical pattern of this disease.

As in all other reported cases, W.L.'s first symptom occurred during the Republican Convention of 1960 when he observed on his TV set a spontaneous demonstration for a little known senator from a small western state. The delegates appeared to W.L. to be actually expressing their desire for the

nomination to the highest office of the land of this conservative senator. Upon witnessing this scene, W.L. had the first hallucinations with which he was to be intermittently plagued for the next four years. W. L. imagined, as did the sufferers in the other cases studied, that his TV set was defective, and consequently he called the TV repairman. (The repairman, incidentally, later reported that upon entering W. L.'s home he found W.L. sitting before the set, transfixed and trembling.) W.L. reported to his physician that upon hearing the bad news that (his set was in perfect working order,) he became feverish and the first series of frightening hallucinations set in. In a steady stream, visions passed before him of nuclear war, state's rights, anti-Communism, shrinking federal government—in short, W.L. imagined that his entire room



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had been invaded by an endless procession of dancing, conservative shibboleths. When the senator from the small western state declined the nomination, W.L. quickly recovered. He was unaware of it at the time, but W.L. had experienced his first attack of *Barry-Barry*.

Observers of the *Barry-Barry* syndrome all agree that with the initial attack of fever and anti-liberal hallucinations, the disease enters a dormant incubation period which runs for approximately two years. During this period, the victims (liberal political philosophers and pundits) display little in the way of outward manifestations of *Barry-Barry*; however, it appears now, in retrospect, that the syndrome continues its insidious work all along. As a matter of fact, W.L. showed signs of warmth and cordiality toward the Western senator during the incubation period. It is believed that this reaction is not untypical and merely reflects the patient's inability to grasp the re-

ality of the situation; that is to say, W.L. was merely indulging in a form of self-delusion common in the early stages of many diseases.

In the case of W.L., the third phase of *Barry-Barry* erupted somewhere the start of 1963 with the victim writing column upon column about the Western senator. A review of W.L.'s writings reveals the typical third-phase pattern of the syndrome. For example, one W.L. column depicted the senator as a "right wing radical," a near Fascist who would "turn back the clock." (Incidentally, excessive use of the phrase "turn back the clock" generally indicates a possible victim of *Barry-Barry*.) In still other columns W.L. reveals an inconsistency in his objectivity with a schizoid tendency to regard the senator as a moderate in the great middle-of-the-road tradition of America. This alternating display of panic and calm in W.L. writings continued well into 1963 until the divorce of an Eastern governor, reflecting itself in a Gallup Poll,

showed the conservative senator to far in the lead for the Republican nomination. At this point W.L. suffered an attack even more severe than the one he experienced in 1960. High fever, emotional trembling, and profuse sweating, followed by the wild flailing about in all directions, ending finally in an extreme Cassandra-like-depression. W.L. took to his typewriter at this time and wrote that should it come to pass that the senator is elected to the presidency, we shall all be doomed.

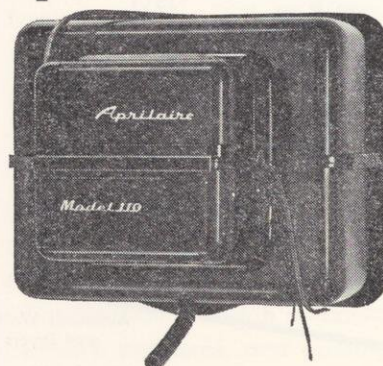
What is the prognosis of this unusual disease? Most medical observers predict that *Barry-Barry* will reach a crisis about November 1964. At this time the victim will either completely recover or he will fall over the edge into his own self-made world of complete unreality. It must be pointed out here in the case of recovery, immunity from future attacks does not necessarily follow.

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The War-Monger

Cy Butt

Wherein Fremont Guilfoyle talks against the Heathen Arms

Attired cap-a-pie in a paratrooper uniform, pearl handled pistols a-dangle at each side and a tommy gun under his left arm, Fremont Guilfoyle marched into Mr. Joseph Troia's Steak and Martini House and went to his reserved seat at the rear of the bar, from which a Senior in Social Studies arose hastily. Beside Fremont was Fifi, his confidential secretary, in some sort of a sailor outfit. Fifi docked alongside Fremont at the teakwood pier, easing her prominent bow over the edge and settling her cruiser stern onto a stool, over which it protruded slightly on the starboard side.

Mr. Troia ceased his perusal of the morning line at Santa Anita. "What will it be?" he asked, always the perfect host.

"We'll have a couple of doubles with olives and pearl onions. We haven't eaten yet and that makes sort of a salad," Fremont said. "You had better stir up several more for the immediate future. We are leaving for overseas tonight and we might as well pitch a little one while we have the chance."

"Where to?" asked Mr. Troia, who is always eager to keep up with current events.

"We are attacking the Union of South Africa," said Fremont. "Their continued offenses can no longer be tolerated."

"What have they done?" asked Mr. Troia, dropping the olives into the luscious stimulant. "And are we going in with ICBMs or just the standard A-bomb?"

"What have they done?" asked Fremont, his voice rising. "Everything! The worst thing, I suppose, is their persistence in remaining solvent and entirely out of debt when we have set an example for the world by going in the red 300 billion and continuing at an increasing pace. How can world socialism be achieved when they act like that?"

"I don't know," said Mr. Troia. "Do we have to have it?"

"Of course," said Fremont. "Schlesinger, AID, the UN, Galbraith, NATO, SEATO, OAS and the Alliance for Progress have stressed the virtues of socialism and the wonders of government deficits. Planned deficits, that is."

"How about unplanned deficits?" asked Mr. Troia, opening a magnum of Gilbeys.

"They're just fair," said Fremont. "They're not as

good as planned ones. Planned deficits, Keynes says, are a certificate of progress."

"I haven't found it so in the restaurant business," said Mr. Troia, pouring. "Why it is so otherwise?"

"It just is," said Fremont. "The Administration says so. But let's get on with these reactionaries in South Africa. Not only do they have a surplus each year, but they refuse our loans and grants and gifts. They even insist that they don't want Schriver's Peace Corps or United Nations teams in there to tell them how to run their business."

"Horrors," said Mr. Troia, standing aghast. "What are you going to do, bomb out Johannesburg and Kimberley for a starter, I suppose?"

"Not at all," said Fremont. "We dislike the shedding of blood and our social scientists have evolved a plan vastly better. Under the guise of tourists we are going to send one million bureaucrats into South Africa, and with the unlimited expenses which we will provide they will infiltrate the government."

"One million bureaucrats," said Mr. Troia. "Will there be any left at home?"

"A couple of million," said Fremont. "And if we need more we can get them on short notice from Liberal Universities. There is no sweat there."

"Once the Liberals get in charge of things, there will be deficits, planned and otherwise. Planned deficits good, unplanned deficits bad; planned deficits good, unplanned deficits bad. Repeat that nine times each day."

"Why?" asked Mr. Troia.

"Because we want to see whether Pavlov's theory amounts to a damn," said Fremont. "We have 25 billion unexpended dollars on hand now and if some reactionary Republican, like Goldwater, would slip in past Johnson, hell would be to pay. We would have tens of thousands of do-gooders who administer foreign aid and its adjuncts that would be homeless and hopeless. We can't have this, you know."

"No, I don't," said Mr. Troia. "Looking at my tax bills, I'm not sure about that at all."

"Come, Fifi," said Fremont, "sitting there like that you are ruining the press in Mr. Paul Berg's new britches, and I doubt not but what he is an isolationist, too."

They drank up, crossed Lake Street and headed for the Wisconsin Union.

Chaos in Coalition

Dale Sievert

A Study of American Principles

Nations formed in the past, nations forming now, and nations yet to be formed—have, are now, and will be deciding the type of government by which they wish to function. The question is then: What system of government is most compatible with the values, principles, and capabilities of its citizens, and what system will fulfill the goals of the nation with the maximum amount of efficiency and effectiveness. Because humans are inately congregatory, it is imperative that they do so. There is no greater problem to which a forming nation must find the solution. There is no greater problem to which an established nation must remain alert. Thus, there is no greater problem we must recognize, and there is no more important solution of which we must be sure.

I deal specifically now with the United States. In 1776 we began as a republic, one that was to be unique and admired as it matured—and often imitated. It did not move us at the fastest rate possible—but it did move us well. By 1910, we were one of the strongest nations on the globe. But, by 1910 there was a new idealism in the air, a new political system. The Progressives were active in the United States. Then the Great Depression—and Roosevelt. He, his colleagues, and a desperate citizenry felt the times demanded a change. It came. We moved toward a central-directed society and emerged from the Great Depression with a coalition government of two political systems, the central-directed and the market-directed. It still exists today.

Of the various governmental systems open to us, each has a different solution to each aspect of government, and each solution is integrated with certain fundamen-

tal principles whereby system derives its inherent nature. By analyzing a few examples, an ostensive difference is revealed. It is found the degree that each system uses central control in lieu of individual freedom to attain its goals. The choices are diametrically opposed, and thus each system's solution to a problem will be somewhat, if not totally, contradictory to the other's. So, if a nation chooses to have a coalition form of government, basic fundamentals concerning national ideals, morals, and principles would tend to be confused, and no longer could we express ourselves explicitly in regard to our innate character. In essence, this is the situation of United States politics.

The problem is stated. Let us now look at its results which can be divided into two categories. The first was already mentioned, and that occurs when compromises are made in a coalition arrangement. Here, attributes of one system are often cancelled partially or totally by the other in solving a problem. The result is confusion. Let me cite a few contemporary examples.

In the problem of minority group discrimination, the civil rights bill favors the use of coercion as the only effective solution. On the other hand, a conservative policy favors non-coercive methods of individual efforts, problem analysis and education, and the retention of all granted rights. The liberal draws his arguments from equalitarian philosophy and feels obligated to grant to everyone equal social as well as constitutional rights. The conservative also feels obligated to grant both, but draws a distinction whereby he feels constitutional rights deserve legal guardianship, but social rights, being individual and personal rights, deserve indi-

vidual and personal guardianship—not legislation that tampers with men's very souls. Debate of this problem and application of a solution will continue to cause serious resentment. The two philosophies are too divergent to prevent this.

Another prime example is the closed shop union vs. right-to-work laws. Compulsory union membership is a requisite for an employee in this arrangement which is usually conducive to labor and often to the management. Occasionally an individual may strongly oppose this stipulation for various reasons, including evidence of union corruption, union activities outside labor, leadership, and so forth. The liberal actually seeks protection for the worker here — protection from a monopolistic or oligopolistic management with excessive power, including the power to dictate wages unilaterally. The liberal then, attempts to redistribute the economic and political power in a competitive society. As in discrimination, it tries this by regulation of the whole society in which the situation operates. On the other hand, the conservative does not disturb this balance of power because, as a firm believer in capitalism, he allows these economic forces to interact and to find their own solution. But his duty is to retain all freedoms granted and implied by the Constitution. Thus he feels it his duty to grant complete freedom of entry and exit in respect to contracts. The closed shop is an example of forceful contract in a free enterprise, the labor market. Values and principles lie deep here. Either solution will cause conflict. Again, the two philosophies are too divergent to prevent this.

The same relation can be drawn from mention of other examples

from our government. Among them are mandatory social security as opposed to free selection of private enterprise insurance; mandatory production controls on agricultural commodities vs. the free market for all aspects of agriculture; price controls on many commodities to safeguard the economy from the side effects of capitalism, including public utilities, money (in the form of interest rate regulation), and transportation rates vs. the interaction of the forces of capitalism; and many others.

The main result of these differences is a confusion of values, principles, and direction. To every problem, everyone has a solution, and every solution is based on a different set of values and principles. But how often do these people consult sociologists, psychologists—and the people—to find out exactly the foundations on which they must base their solutions, the values and principles of America? What is going to be the American tradition in the future? Does anyone care?

Let us now examine the second category of results, the relatively recent attacks of “extremists” in government. It is hard to trace the origin of these attacks to any particular time, but at some time the citizenry began to “protect” itself from the radical right, the radical left, anything radical, whatever the definition of that might be. Beware if anyone threatened to take your rights, if anyone offered to give you more, if anyone’s policies were askew with present policies. The feeling now is to protect our American institutions. We must fear Barry Goldwater, fear the John Birch Society, fear the Americans for Democratic Action, and so on. This is to be abhorred, to be ashamed of, to be feared itself.

A democracy is a government of and by the people, requiring an intelligent public to function objectively; a public which understands differences in the principles of each candidate, whereby they derive

their entire platform, and not just differences in programs; a public that has an interest in government, not merely at election time, but always; a public that condemns, affirms, and elects in an objective and logical manner. No one can justifiably attack the corruption, the irregularity and the incompetence of our government if he voted by emotional appeal, injuriously attacked any aspect of it without reasoning, or if he ever acted with indolence toward it. These occurrences of poor democratic behavior are common in the United States, but there is reason for it. When the coalition began, many people adopted new values and principles when they were affected by the new liberal programs. At present, there are so many affected by so many programs that serious conflicts continually arise. The government, instead of drawing clear principles and direction, has aggravated the problem by condoning contradictory and senseless policies. If an individual advocates a clear policy, one uncluttered with confusing and contradictory policies, severe criticism falls on him for dissolving someone’s rights and some institution somewhere. He had to. Our government is structured that way. But how many of the critics realized that this individual was an American too, and that he may have understood more about America and its citizens than they themselves? Tom Paine, Patrick Henry, and Thomas Jefferson were all men who today could not get nominated for President if they tried, nor could they get anything that resembled a hearing. They were singular in principle and in purpose—and radical. But they feared little as did the people of the time. They understood that for which they fought and appreciated their successes. We respect these men; we carve mountains of their likenesses. Are we to imitate these men devoting ourselves to principle, or rather forget them and the glorious struggles fought to obtain these principles—principles we still retain.

Conscription Revisited

James Blair

A REVIEW OF THE DRAFT IN TODAY'S WORLD

In view of the fact that the United States today faces the most powerful military machine in the history of the world, the Red Army, it is not surprising that when the selective service law was due to expire last summer it was extended for four more years without alteration and with almost no discussion or dissent. Yet, in a country founded on the primacy of the individual, compulsory military conscription cannot be casually accepted, there must be strong indication that only through conscription is it possible to maintain our society.

It should be noted that military conscription is historically as well as logically a movement of the political Left. Modern conscription started with the *levée en masse* adopted by the French Convention on August 23, 1793 and is only one of the legacies of the French Revolution which plagues the world to this day. Prior to that time wars were fought in a far more humane and reasonable manner—by proxy through mercenary soldiers.

Conscription in this country made its modest beginnings during the Civil War where it was adopted by both the Union and the Confederacy, and it was met with bitter opposition and by rioting in both the North and the South. It seems that sacrifice of the individual to the State did not set well with those reactionary old 19th century minds. Conscription was reintroduced in World Wars I and II and now again following World War II. It has met decreased resistance as our 20th century minds have become more “enlightened” and, indeed, it has

now become an accepted part of our way of life.

Even a brief survey of military history is enough to impress one with the importance of keeping pace with changes in the technology of war. History abounds in examples of how armies which are small but properly equipped and trained to use modern weapons have routed superior numbers of troops who were sallying forth armed to fight in the previous war. The heavily armoured knight on horseback was the symbol of military strength in the early middle ages, but with the coming of the English long bow the nature of military affairs changed. The French kings refused to recognize this profound change in the methods of war, and consequently during the Hundred Years War saw their armies of armoured knights cut to pieces by archers on the fields of Crécy, Poitiers and Agincourt.

In the fall of 1939 approximately 110 French and British divisions were lined up against the very weak German Western Wall defended by only 23 divisions. But they failed to strike, influenced in part by World War I reasoning that defense held the advantage and that defended positions could not be taken without great losses. By early May of 1940, while the combined French and English armies were dug in behind their Maginot Line—a formidable military force preparing to fight World War I all over again—the Wehrmacht at the West Wall was brought up to about the same strength numerically as the Allied armies. But German military leaders realized that 1914 thinking no longer applied; that now the advantage rested with a bold attack using the fast tanks and the battle tactics that modern technology had made possible. As a consequence, the mighty French army was destroyed in a single week. Dunkirk was only three weeks away, and only a mix-up in German communications stood between the Allied armies and total annihilation.

The lesson is clear: he who does not realize the military significance

of technological innovation, who is prepared to fight the previous war rather than the one at hand, will learn his lesson the hard way. One of the most pathetic figures to emerge from World War II was the Polish horse mounted cavalryman charging German Panzer tanks—the price of falling behind.

The relevant question then is: is the United States military policy directed towards preparing for World War II over again? The draft is based on the proposition of maintaining a large army of moderately trained soldiers. This kind of army was fine for 1944, but will it work in 1964 or 1970? I submit that it won't.

For one reason, the Western powers could not possibly match the Red Army as a conventional ground force. Soviet ground strength is estimated at from between 40 to 60 divisions upwards to about 175 divisions. Any of these figures represent an army far larger than what the U. S. would support. But the primary objection is that in these days of helicopter mobility and tactical nuclear weapons, huge ground armies would be easy prey to small numbers of properly armed and trained soldiers. The large staging areas for the massive troop movements of World War II would be impossible to protect from atomic artillery today. Mobility and fire power, not numbers, are the key to victory in conventional warfare in 1964.

It should be noted that military men are often slow to abandon the trusted methods of the past. The French generals, victorious in the First World War, had not adopted the new tactics of 1940. The superior German tactics were shaped by fresh new minds rather than springing from the traditional military establishment. The successful strategy of the 1940 victory was developed by a junior staff officer and employed by Hitler over the objection of some members of his General Staff. Surely an intelligent layman familiar with the battle at Crécy could have foreseen the English victory at Agincourt, but the

knights of France apparently could not.

It would seem that American military men are hesitant to abandon the methods which were successful in the Second World War (but which brought only a stalemate in Korea). I submit that if the full implications of new battlefield weapons were realized, our standing army could be reduced in size to the point where it could be adequately maintained by voluntary enlistments and at the same time be made into a more effective fighting force. The current selective service system provides only 80,000 men of the 600,000 that the army inducts annually. That is, it provides the army with only 2 soldiers in 15, the other 13 being volunteers. In addition, the re-enlistment rate of draftees is only 15 per cent compared to 54 per cent for the volunteers. Hence the draftees, aside from often being less than enthusiastic students of military training, tend to leave the army about the time they are ready to acquire specialized skills.

Perhaps the Selective Service pressures a good portion of the half million men into enlisting each year, and quite probably this figure would be lower without the draft, but no one knows how much lower. Over half of the volunteer soldiers must like army life since they re-enlist. If the money used to operate the Selective Service were spent instead to provide higher pay for career soldiers, the army needs might well be met. And if the money and effort spent on draftees, most of whom leave the army after two years, were spent instead on modernizing the equipment and intensifying the training of the volunteer soldiers, our army could well be the better for it.

The current Selective Service Act will be in effect for three more years. During this time the ideas involved should receive the consideration of the Congress. Hopefully when the draft expires again in 1967 we should have a serious discussion of the basis of our military thinking rather than another voice vote extension of the status quo.

Freedom and Security

James M. O'Connell

No one pretends that actions should be as free as opinions. On the contrary, even opinions lose their immunity when the circumstances in which they are expressed are such as to constitute their expression an instigation to some mischievous act. An opinion that corn dealers are starvers of the poor, or that private property is robbery, ought to be unmolested when simply circulated through the press, but may justly incur punishment when delivered orally to an excited mob assembled before the house of a corn dealer, or handed about among the same mob in the form of a placard.

John Stuart Mill — *Essay on Liberty*

Time and circumstances have changed since Mill was able to discuss internal security from such a simplistic standpoint; the question today is not how to deal with marching mobs but a subtler menace: the marching ideology. Yet, even though the circumstances have changed, the principle remains: freedom of speech may not be used as a justification for some "mischievous act." The question of internal security is rather how to define such mischief and how to deal with it while maintaining the structure of law.

Civil libertarians, both in and out of the conservative movement,¹ have misapplied constitutional theory here; other conservatives have shifted too far in the opposite direction.² It is the purpose of this essay to strike a balance between the positions—a balance which will preserve both liberty and order. To achieve this balance, this essay will consider three sore points in the dialogue between the partisans of liberty and the defenders of order: the Smith Act, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the nebulous area of "academic freedom"; it leaves to other hands the problem of a general reconciliation of freedom and order.³

The opposition to the Smith Act has centered about three questions: the "vague and uncertain" wording of the statute itself, the supposed "abandonment" of Justice Holmes' "clear and present danger" dictum, and the "enlargement" of the law of conspiracy.⁴ These charges stem from a misunderstanding of the Supreme Court decision: *Dennis et al. vs. United States*. But what were

the grounds for the decision upholding this conviction? Let us read Justice Jackson's concurring opinion:

This prosecution is the latest of never-ending, because never successful, quests for some legal formula that will secure an existing order against revolutionary radicalism. It requires us to reappraise, in the light of our own times and conditions, constitutional doctrines devised under other circumstances to strike a balance between authority and liberty.

Activity here charged to be criminal is conspiracy—that defendants conspired to teach and advocate . . . overthrow and destruction of the Government by force and violence. There is no charge of actual violence or attempt at overthrow.

The principal reliance of the defense in this Court is that the conviction cannot stand under the Constitution because the conspiracy of these defendants presents no "clear and present danger" of imminent or foreseeable overthrow.

Mr. Justice Jackson goes on, in the next section of his decision to discuss the application of Holmes' dictum; in particular, he notes the distinctions between the anarchistic terrorism of the early part of the century, its lack of disciplined organization and its isolated pattern of attack, sabotage and assassination and the more subtle and disciplined methods of the Communist movement. He points out that, while Communism does not necessarily shrink from violence, it makes use of the existing political and social systems to infiltrate and subvert liberal and progressive groups. Continuing with the Jackson opinion:

The foregoing is enough to indicate that, either by accident or design, the Communist stratagem outwits the anti-anarchist pattern of statute aimed against "overthrow by force and violence" if qualified by the doctrine that only "clear and present danger" of accomplishing that result will sustain the prosecution.

The "clear and present danger" test was an innovation by Mr. Justice Holmes in the *Schenck* case, reiterated and refined by him and Justice Brandeis in later cases, all arising before the era of World War II revealed the subtlety and efficacy of modernized revolutionary techniques used by totalitarian parties. . . . They proposed "clear and present danger" as a test for the sufficiency of evidence in (these) particular cases.

I would save it, unmodified, for application as a "rule of reason" in the kind of case for which it was devised. When the issue is criminality of a hot-headed speech on a street corner, or the circulation of a few incendiary pamphlets, or parading by some zealots behind a red flag [or, nowadays, behind a swastika banner] or refusal of a handful of children to salute the flag, it is not beyond the capacity of the judicial process to gather, comprehend and weigh the necessary materials for decision whether it is a clear and present danger of substantive evil or a harmless letting off of steam. . . . The formula in such cases favors freedoms which are vital to our society, and, even if sometimes applied too generously, the consequences cannot be grave. But its recent expansion has extended, in particular to Communists, unprecedented immunities. Unless we are to hold our Government captive in a judge-made verbal trap, we must approach the problem of a well-organized, nationwide conspiracy as realistically as our predecessors faced the trivialities that were being prosecuted until they were checked with a rule of reason.

I think reason is lacking for applying that test in this case.

Justice Jackson continues his opinion with a discussion of what knowledge would be necessary to the government if such a rule could be applied. He notes that "no doctrine can be sound whose application requires us to make a prophecy of that sort in the guise of a legal decision." He is referring, of course, to a knowledge of the exact time Communism *would* constitute a "clear and present danger." Justice Jackson concludes his rebuttal of the "clear and present danger" contention:

The authors of the "clear and present danger" test never applied it to a case like this, nor would I. If applied as it is proposed here, it means that Communist plotting is protected during its period of incubation; its preliminary stages of organization and preparation are immune from the law; the Government can move only after imminent action is manifest, when it would, of course, be too late.

Justice Jackson then discusses the "conspiracy" doctrine:

What is really under review here is a conviction for conspiracy, after a trial for conspiracy, on an indictment charging conspiracy, brought under a statute outlawing conspiracy. With due respect for my colleagues, they seem to me to discuss anything under the sun except the law of conspiracy. One of the dissenting opinions even appears to chide me for "invoking the law of conspiracy". . . .

The Constitution does not make conspiracy a civil right. The Court has never before done so and I think it should not do so now. Conspiracies of labor unions, trade associations, and news agencies have been condemned, although accomplished, evidenced and carried out, like the conspiracy here, chiefly by letter-writing, meetings, speeches and organization. . . . While I consider criminal conspiracy a dragnet device capable of perversion into an instrument of injustice in the hands of a partisan and complacent judiciary, it has an established place in our system of law, and no reason appears for applying it only to concerted action claimed to disturb interstate commerce and withholding it from those claimed to undermine our whole Government.

The basic rationale of the law of conspiracy is that a conspiracy may

be an evil in itself, independently of any other evil it seeks to accomplish. . . .

There is lamentation in the dissents about the injustice of conviction in the absence of some overt act. Of course, there has been no general uprising against the Government, but the record is replete with acts to carry out the conspiracy alleged, acts such as always are held sufficient to consummate where the statute requires an overt act. . . .

Also, it is urged that since the conviction is for conspiracy to teach and advocate . . . the First Amendment is violated, because freedoms of speech and press protect teaching regardless of what is advocated. I have never thought that to be the law.

I do not suggest that Congress could punish conspiracy to advocate something, the doing of which it may not punish. . . . But it is not forbidden to put down force or violence, it is not forbidden to punish its teaching or advocacy, and the end being punishable, there is no doubt of the power to punish conspiracy for that purpose.

The defense of freedom of speech or press has often been raised in conspiracy cases, because, whether committed by Communists, by businessmen, or by common criminals, it usually consists of words written or spoken, evidenced by letters, conversations, speeches or documents. Communication is the essence of every conspiracy, for only by it can common purpose and concert of action be brought about or be proved. However, when labor unions raised the question of free speech against a conspiracy charge, we unanimously said:

It rarely has been suggested that the constitutional freedom for speech and press extends its immunity to speech and writing used as an integral part of conduct in violation of a valid criminal statute. We reject the contention now. . . .

Having held that conspiracy alone is one crime and its consummation another, it would be weird legal reasoning to hold that Congress could punish the one only if there was clear and present danger of the second. This would compel the Government to prove two crimes in order to convict for one.

This essay has devoted much space to Justice Jackson's concurrence, not only to show the justification for the provisions of the Smith Act, but to lay the groundwork for investigatory powers of Congressional Committees.

The distaste of many liberals for the activities of the House Committee on Un-American Activities crystallizes into a demand for its abolition. Yet, fairness and logic demand that the function of the Committee, on which turns the question of its existence or non-existence, should be kept separate from the actions of individual members of the Committee. A discussion of the need, or lack of need for such a Committee—for few demand that all the investigatory powers of Congress be curtailed—must turn on the questions: what is the purpose of HUAC? and has it fulfilled this purpose?

The House has defined the Committee's purpose as follows: "The Committee on Un-American Activities as a whole or by subcommittee is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character and objects of un-American propaganda in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of the government as guaranteed by the Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation."⁵

If we recall the language of the Jackson decision, we see that the stated purpose of the Committee is clearly within the limits of Constitutional law; it investigates the conspiratorial nature of direct Communist propaganda and the indirect propaganda of front groups. It investigates such groups whose material is in close agreement with pro-Communist propaganda, and attempts to determine, for both legislative and informative purposes, the extent, if any, of Communist penetration. In this, it does a service to the Liberals who condemn it by separating the genuinely Liberal and progressive movements from those infiltrated by Communists—just as the McClellan Committee separated corrupt unions from the

main body of the labor movement. But, while the Liberal or "progressive" supports the procedures of those committees investigating labor or organized crime—no tears are shed for the gangster or labor racketeer before such a committee—he balks at HUAC and its procedures.

What are the objections to the Committee? Some feel that its charter of purpose is too broad; it cares for any unpopular idea under the name of "un-American activity." William F. Buckley, in his *The Committee and Its Critics*, has suggested a better definition of purpose: to investigate "any . . . idea . . . which is (a) sustained by foreign and powerful enemies of the republic and/or (b) which threatens explosive internal crises." While this might be even a better definition, let us consider a third: the purpose of the Committee shall be (i) to investigate the character and extent of all organizations and activities which are or might be in violation of the Smith Act, (ii) to investigate the extent to which otherwise legitimate movements have been infiltrated or subverted by persons whose activities may be subject to prosecution under the Smith Act, and (iii) to investigate all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any remedial legislation. By defining the activities of the Committee in terms of the Smith Act, its purpose are clarified and limited while its effectiveness remains.

The major objections center around individual rights. Much of the furor comes from a misunderstanding of the proper purposes of a legislative committee. There is a major difference between such an investigation and a criminal trial. In the one, the facts of the matter are not at hand and must be sought, while in the other, the relevant facts are at hand and must be demonstrated. The legal limitations which are properly placed on judicial proceedings, the rules of evidence, the right to Due Process and other rights are relaxed here, just as they are relaxed in other Con-

gressional committees. The Committee cannot punish a recalcitrant individual *per se*; if an individual is cited for contempt, whether he be tried before a court or before the bar of the House, then and only then such judicial safeguards do apply. However, the Committee has adopted a written code of procedure for dealing with witnesses—a code which is unique among the standing committees of the House—patterned after recommendations made by the New York Bar Association. C. Dickerman Williams, a former director of the American Civil Liberties Union, feels that this code provides an excellent safeguard for the rights of witnesses.⁶ While no doubt the character of the material investigated might suggest some room for even further safeguards, the Committee's procedures can hardly be considered arbitrary.

So much for the legal objections to the Committee. What of the others? We see charges that it has "imperiled" the power of Congress to conduct investigations—supposedly by "perverting" them—a charge, even if it were true, could hardly be considered logical. At most, it has imperiled its own power. We are told that it "has helped to discourage free study and inquiry" in the area of peace—although pacifist groups have been and continue to be a flourishing part of the Liberal-progressive ideology. We are told that it "harasses Americans who work for racial equality and justice" and that "it has increased bitterness between racial and religious groups" thereby imperiling "our good relations with Asia, Africa and Latin America"—a blanket charge which, in the light of the strong movement for equality in this country, is hardly tenable.

The charges, which stem from a group called the National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee, are more hysterical than factual. A "Reign of Terror" is supposedly upon us—despite evidence to the contrary—and the Committee is to blame. Of course, the continued vocal criti-

cism of the Committee, the contempt with which it is treated by a portion of the press, is waved aside. The facts cannot be allowed to interfere with the theory. As for the "sufferings" of the recalcitrant witnesses, one can only conclude that a contempt citation from HUAC is a certain passport to successful authorship and/or lectureship.

If any criticism of the Committee is valid, it is the one of "distortion of evidence" in the notorious *Operation Abolition* filmstrip. Here, however, two nuggets of truth can be found. There *was* some sort of disturbance, caused by the "passive resistance methods" used by the students, and there *were* known Communists present during some of the disturbances. At worst, we can only condemn the legal counsel for the Committee for their unwise actions in the matter of the film, and the Committee members for sponsoring it. The attitude of the Committee members, while not thereby excusable, might be understood if we considered the equally rude attitude of witnesses to the Committee.

While a discussion of the Smith Act and the House Committee on Un-American Activities can turn on the law, such is not the case for the question of academic freedom. The rights of teachers—or for that matter, of students—to profess unpopular doctrines has been defended in the name of academic freedom. Yet, the term is defined by custom rather than by law. We are faced with the question: what is academic freedom, and to what extent does it guarantee immunity from the law when the teacher professes a doctrine defined as "conspiratorial" under the Smith Act? Or, more explicitly, should Communists be allowed to teach?

One definition, given by Mr. W. T. Couch, and repeated by Russell Kirk in his *Academic Freedom*, is that "academic freedom is the principle designed to protect the teacher from hazards that tend to prevent him from meeting his obligations in pursuit of truth." Mr. Couch goes on. "The obligations of the teacher

are to direct to truth, and the teacher who, in order to please anybody, suppresses important information, or says things he knows are not true, or refrains from saying things that need to be said in the interest of truth, betrays his calling and renders himself unworthy to belong in the company of teachers." Under such a definition, where does the Communist stand? There are, of course, sincere individuals who have accepted the Communist philosophy as truth. Yet, in many cases, their beliefs verge on fanaticism and their intolerance toward non-Communist ideas makes their own demands for freedom questionable. Thus, Sidney Hook would feel that it is not a violation of academic freedom to refuse employment to a Communist, or to discharge him from a teaching position, although such a discharge might accomplish, so he feels, more harm than good. Similarly, Friedrich Hayek and Russell Kirk agree that the Communist teacher has but a cloudy title to the freedom of the academy.

The real question is not, of course, the attitude of the university; it is rather how to preserve the principle of academic freedom and the dignity of the academic profession on one hand, and the requirements of internal security on the other. To be sure, the ideas put forth by the Communist or fellow-traveling professor do not come under the ban of the Smith Act, if taken by themselves. However, if we consider the official position of the Communist party (in the May 1937 edition of *The Communist*):

Party and Y. C. L. [Young Communist League] factions set up within classes and departments must supplement and combat by means of discussions, brochures, etc., bourgeois omissions and distortions in the regular curriculum. *Marxist-Leninist analysis must be injected into every case.*

Communist teachers must take advantage of their positions, without exposing themselves, to give their students to the best of their ability a working-class education.

To enable the teachers in the party to do the latter, the party must take careful steps to see that all teacher comrades are given thorough education in the teaching of Marx-

ism-Leninism. Only when teachers have really mastered Marxism-Leninism will they be able skillfully to inject it into their teaching at the least risk of exposure and at the same time conduct struggles around the schools in a truly Bolshevik manner.

This fear of "exposure" would seem to indicate that Communism is not willing to take its chances in the so-called market place of ideas; that it prefers to mask itself under the banner of "social democracy." Under these circumstances, the label of conspiracy could well be attached to teaching by *Communist Party members*. What of those not under the party "discipline" but in substantial agreement with it? Here the question is more difficult. To be sure, the government, if it is to discover the extent of conspiracy, must investigate all who seemingly follow the Communist line. In so doing, however, it should investigate with all due regard for the rights of the academy, and not give credence to those who would turn the investigation into a circus.

It is the last which has made much investigation of important internal security problems difficult. In many cases information comes from privileged sources, sources whose identity may not be revealed without endangering national security. However, where it is possible, the accused should have the opportunity to confront and cross-examine his accuser, if only to determine whether the accusation has a basis in fact or in bias. Investigations must be conducted at all times with the highest regard for the truth; otherwise, they lose their whole reason and purpose.

We have spoken so far of public inquiry into the matter of internal security; in particular, we have attempted to justify the measures for internal security to the extreme libertarian. At the same time, we must question much private activity in this area. Many, from an excess of zeal, have gone about, uttering wild charges against those of Liberal and progressive persuasion, with the only result being to discredit the whole attempt to balance indi-

vidual freedom and national security. While few responsible individuals listen to absurd claims of extremists, the Liberals and others who oppose the internal security program find in their charges further grist for their mills.

Finally, we must ask the question: can a legitimate concern for internal security be perverted into an ideology which will end freedom? It can, for it, like any activity of man, is subject to the irrationalities of fear and suspicion. We have the example of other countries, still dedicated to the Western ideals of freedom, where the treatment of subversives or suspected persons is far less humane and tender toward individual rights than our own. The conservative, with his respect for traditional liberties, his sense of balance, must see that any such program is kept within bounds. For just as the tyranny of a majority to the Left can bring the destruction of our freedoms, so can an equally intolerable tyranny of the Right. The conservative must strike the balance between the libertarian, who would carry the idea of the open society to a position where it would be defenseless against subversion, and the authoritarian, who, in his passion for order, would suppress all dissent. A just respect for the demands of both liberty and security remains the only way our society can be preserved.

FOOTNOTES

1. See, for example, the debate between William F. Buckley and Ronald Hamowy in *New Individualist Review* v. 1, no. 3, and Martin Glasser's "The Judicial Philosophy of Felix Frankfurter," *New Individualist Review* v. 1, no. 4.
 2. Willmore Kendall's article, "Baloney and Free Speech," is one example of this trend.
 3. Frank Meyer, *In Defense of Freedom* and F. A. Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty* are two such works.
 4. See "The Smith Act and the Supreme Court," *American Civil Liberties Union*, April 1952.
 5. H.R. #5, 83 Cong. 1st Sess.
 6. Wm. F. Buckley et. al. "The Committee and Its Critics," New York, 1962.
- Other works which examine these subjects are:
- Russell Kirk, *Academic Freedom*
 - F. A. Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*
 - Frank Meyer, *In Defense of Freedom*
 - Richard Weaver, *Academic Freedom: Principles and Problems*
 - Loyalty in a Democratic State*, Amherst Series, Problems in American Civilization
 - And the following decisions of the United States Supreme Court:
 - #261—October Term, 1956: *Watkins vs. U. S.*
 - #34—October Term, 1958: *Uphaus vs. Wyman*
 - #35—October Term, 1958: *Barenblatt vs. U. S.*

The Witty Divine

Russell Kirk

THE DUKE OF MECOSTA RESURRECTS A LONG-FORGOTTEN ENGLISH WIT AND CHURCHMAN

Thomas Fuller, born in Northamptonshire in 1608, was the wittiest of English divines, with the possible exceptions of Sidney Smith and Lawrence Sterne; and, unlike Sterne and Smith, he took his religion very seriously. *The Holy State and the Profane State*, the most widely-read of his many books, was published in a time of troubles, just on the brink of the Civil War. With his *Worthies of England* and his *Church History*, it is still wise and still witty and still read.

For a clergyman, Fuller had a most lively career. He became a Cambridge bachelor of arts in 1625, and a prebendary of Salisbury in 1631. In the latter year, the first of his books appeared, and he wrote with mighty industry for the rest of his life, much to the profit of booksellers; by his writings, indeed, he supported himself and his second wife for some years. Whimsical and ingenious and eloquent as a preacher, full of conceits and apothegms as a writer, he united genuine learning with intellectual penetration and thorough good humor. Though an advocate of moderation, Fuller never lacked for courage, and did not hesitate to look up with reverence to anointed kings in the fatal year of 1642, when *The Holy State and the Profane State* was published.

Suspected of Puritanical leanings in some matters, and certainly always hard upon Romanism, still Fuller suffered manfully for Church and king throughout the Civil War, heartening the defenders in the first siege of Basing House, marching with Hopton, and daring to satirize the Revolutionary leaders even in their hour of triumph (in his *Andronicus*, first included in *The Profane State* and later published as a separate book). In field and camp, and in his lean years under the Pro-

tectorate, he never ceased to be a zealous antiquary, collecting masses of information on matters ecclesiastical and secular. With the Restoration, Fuller was made chaplain in extraordinary to Charles II. He died of typhus, in London, in 1661. Large and jovial in person, glowing with a hearty devotion to the Church of England, Fuller knew nearly all the men of letters of his age, and left his mark upon the time.

"Wit was the stuff and substance of Fuller's intellect," Coleridge writes. "It was the element, the earthen base, the material which he worked in; and this very circumstance has defrauded him of his due praise for the practical wisdom of the thoughts, for the beauty and variety of the truths, into which he shaped the stuff. Fuller was incomparably the most sensible, the least prejudiced, great man of an age that boasted a galaxy of great men." George Saintsbury, too, has given Fuller his due.

The Holy State and the Profane State is a book of characters, a literary undertaking of a sort common enough in the seventeenth century. But it is distinguished by a wondrous wit and by remarkably shrewd insights into human nature, and remains almost inimitable for its curious interweaving of conceit and profound aphorism. The original edition, divided into five books, is devoted chiefly to descriptions of worthy lives and types of life; the concluding book sets off, against these, some types and examples of profane life. The latter are perhaps the more lively, but Fuller contrives to introduce into even the most solemn instances of godly conduct a humor waggish and yet not irreverent.

Fuller's purpose, in considerable part, was to provide his generation with models of public and private

conduct. His was a society which had not yet wholly found its standards, after the social revolution of Tudor times; and it was threatened by radical levelling doctrines which Fuller abhorred. "The Good Wife," "The Good Husband," "The Good Master," "The Good Servant," "The Good Parent," "The Good Child," "The Good Master of a College," "The Good Physician," "The True Gentleman," "The Faithfull Minister," and the rest, are set down as examples of what *is* in England; in truth, they were more examples of what ought to be; and they served their purpose. Religious and civil duty is the theme of these studies. The better to make them vivid, Fuller chose particular eminent lives to parallel the general description of aspects of the holy state, in many cases.

In the middle of his book, the worthy Tom Fuller, B.D., inserts "Generall Rules" governing the conduct of life—all of them bursting with ingenious turns of phrase and thought, as, for instance, his opening remark on Moderation, Fuller's own most conspicuous virtue: "Moderation is the silken string running through the pearl-chain of all virtues . . . Moderation is not an halting betwixt two opinions, when the thorough believing of one of them is necessary to salvation: no pity is to be shown to such voluntary cripples."

Fuller has his crochets and prejudices, for all his good humor. He bundles poor St. Joan of Arc into a tumbril with the Harlot, Cesar Borgia, and the Witch of Endor, and, in effect, burns her twice. Yet his is a remarkably sane and tolerant voice in a time of fanatic fury. As a theologian, he is thoroughly respectable; as a moralist, highly perceptive. His influence has been greater, however, as a writer of bi-

ography. Though he followed earlier masters in his biographical method, he improved much upon that method; what he commences in *The Holy State*, the lively critical sketch of a famous life, he makes nearly perfect in his *Worthies*. Fancy, and even fiction, are woven into his portraits, and in *Andronicus* we see hints of the historical novel, not to come into its own until a century and a half after Fuller wrote.

Of the lives, I think I like "Caesar Borgia" best: Borgia, who "was perfect in the devilish art of dealing an ill turn, doing it so suddenly his enemies should not hear of him before; and so soundly, that he should

never hear of them afterwards, either striking always surely, or not at all." Of the general types, perhaps the most interesting are "The True Gentleman" and "The Degenerous Gentleman" (whose vocation was vacation), respectively the model and the corruption of the country squires that gave English society its general tone in Fuller's century and the next. Some of the types — among them the Good Schoolmaster and the Wise Statesman — are nearly as valuable now as they were in Fuller's time.

"Common sense was his guide and measure," William Addison writes of Fuller. "Indeed it is more

than likely that his fooling was as deliberate as his preaching." There is craft in Fuller's very puns. He would "extort laughter from a bishop at a funeral," Leslie Stephen says. "His power of fascinating posthumous as well as contemporary friends is easily explicable. His unfailing playfulness, the exuberant wit, often extravagant, rarely ineffective, and always unforced, is combined with a kindliness and simplicity which never fails to charm." This is just; but the laughing moralist must conduct his own defense in a century which has nearly forgotten real wit along with real principle.

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BOOKS:

The Westerner

The particular value of Edwin McDowell's fine new biography of Sen. Barry Goldwater is that it concentrates on the Senator's views and delineates his position within the corpus of modern conservatism.

The book is a definitive and well-researched study which will undoubtedly become a major reference source.

The most interesting chapters deal with the Senator's arrival on the national scene, and how his views became at first an irritant, and a bane to the monolithic Liberal Establishment which had dominated American politics for three decades.

It is frequently forgotten these days that only a few years ago, it was widely believed that conservatism was dead. Robert A. Taft, the last political exponent of the Right, had died, and with him, the hopes and dreams of the Republican Old Guard.

However, two developments not only revived the American right in the mid-1950s, but pumped it full of unprecedented vigor and intellectual ferment. One was the creation of **National Review** Magazine, by William F. Buckley Jr., and a handful of conservative

PORTRAIT OF AN ARIZONAN Regnery — \$4.95 Edwin McDowell

scholars. The other was the dramatic ascendancy of Senator Goldwater as an eloquent dissenter in the Senate. Between these intellectual and political polarities, a powerful conservatism sprang from the loins of America, and it was charged with idealism, a sense of urgency, and political savvy.

Edwin McDowell, a talented editorial writer for the Arizona Republic, traces the development of this vast conservative impulse from its miniscule origins to its position of respectability and power today. His focus is Senator Goldwater, but on occasion he ranges far afield to put the story in perspective.

Chapter of the book outline the senator's growth as an Arizona politician and businessman; his historical antecedents and background his election to the Senate; his feud with certain labor barons; his eloquent defense of the rights of working men; his case for personal liberty; his positions on such vital issues as civil rights, foreign policy and federalism, and his arrival as the preeminent political statesman of the Right.

Counterpointing and highlighting the study is the author's admiration for the high integrity which kept Goldwater adhering to his beliefs in the teeth of

fierce opposition and opprobrium. Mr. McDowell effectively conveys Senator Goldwater's belief that above all, what is needed today are the personal moral restraints which make liberty feasible and compulsion superfluous.

Interwoven through the book is the tragic, and sometimes shocking story of the shabby treatment accorded Senator Goldwater by some segments of the press. Probably no politician has been so misquoted and damned by the supposedly impartial chroniclers of public affairs. The senator himself, has rarely, if ever, complained, however, and has patiently set the record straight as much as possible.

This is a good, meaty book which ought to be perused by those who take their politics seriously.

Richard S. Wheeler

To Thine Own Self Be True

John A. Stormer is neither crank nor nut. He is an American, he is a Conservative, and he is a Republican, in that order. He is also a fairly apt writer.

His recent first effort, *None Dare Call It Treason*, was published in February of this year. In the short span of seven months, over two million copies have been sold. In the face of this prodigious record, any attempt to dismiss this work as merely another incoherent exposé would be sadly misleading. Over two million people don't read incoherent exposés in less than seven months.

Stormer's theme is familiar. America is losing the Cold War. In 1945, the Communists ruled "only" 160 million Russians, and controlled a land area smaller

NONE DARE CALL IT TREASON John A. Stormer Liberty Bell Press — \$.75

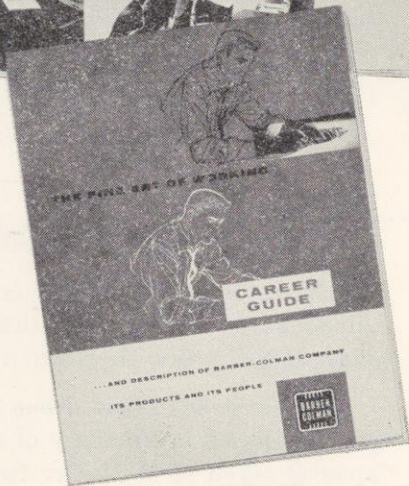
than the Russia of the tsars. Today, over one billion human beings are subjects of Communist rulers, who openly control twenty-five percent of the earth's land mass. Why? Stormer's title seems to suggest his response.

Stormer explains that America herself is largely to blame. Through American relief missions, technological assistance, and general consortment with the enemy, the United States has propped up and sustained a system which was doomed to failure through its own inherent flaws.

These programs have slipped through because the American people have been thoroughly conditioned to accept them. Dewey-inspired developments in educa-



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tion, reduction of inspirational religion to mere "social salvation" concepts, slanted reporting by personnel in the communications media, and perversion of legitimate goals of organized labor have all contributed to a no-win policy towards Communism.

Communism, Stormer explains, does not trace its roots to either the laboring or poverty ridden classes. It is rather an intellectual disease infecting and carried by respectable elements of the middle and upper classes. For this reason, the founders of tax exempt foundations find no inconsistency in having their fortunes used not only for medical and scientific research, but for research directed towards "changing society" as well.

Stormer makes ample use of footnotes, and the facts which he uses are irrefutable (the chapter on "Mental Health" is particularly devastating). His final chapter, entitled "What Can You Do," which advises self education, political action, and a spiritual rededication, from a general standpoint is virtually unimprovable. Yet, there is a certain confusion in the book which the author glosses over and refuses to clarify.

Stormer claims it doesn't matter whether Communist gains are part of a master plan put in operation by conscious agents of the conspiracy, including traitorous Americans, or whether these gains are rather due to the work of well meaning but misguided American idealists. And yet, the very title of the book refutes this view, for well meaning but misled idealists aren't traitors.

If this interpretation of the title is indicative of Stormer's belief, then he has become lost in the same shaded labyrinth in which many John Birchers wander, i.e., the imputing of subjective motivation from objective fact—which can lead to the absurd conclusion that Eisenhower was a Communist.

It is possible that Stormer does not fall into this trap. In a larger sense, *None Dare Call It Treason* may be an indictment of the entire American populace for the crimes of apathy and self indulgence. And in this sense, Americans have been traitors . . . to themselves and their posterity.

Lest there be confusion, John A. Stormer is no Robert Welch. But neither is he a William Buckley. His message is well worth the reading, however, for it is one of sincerity, urgency, and a plea for victory.

HEINRICH VON HEMPE

We must never forget that the Fourteenth Amendment protects "life, liberty or property" of all people generally, not just some people's "life," some people's "liberty" and some kinds of "property."

Justice Hugo Black — dissenting in

Bell vs. Maryland



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hindsight

The late President Kennedy will be remembered for mood, for color, for youth, for impassioned partisanship. But more certainly, the bittersweet judgment of history will accredit to Mr. Kennedy one single deed of moment, an act of what we now, unjustly, call brinkmanship. Facing down the enemy, as we all did at Mr. Kennedy's side that grim October afternoon, is routinely regarded with horror in those circles from which the President drew his support. But an act of courage cast aside doubts and the nation was united, that once. Let Mr. Kennedy's legacy to us all be courage.

Obviously the Soviets are better at planting microphones than at planting corn. The surprise is that the bugs in the Embassy were removed by the State Department, which ordinarily favors any effort to open new lines of communication, ease tensions and extend mutual understanding.

We told you, dammit, we told you so. We told you, when Under Secretary of State for Political Meddling Averell Harriman dispatched the problem of Communist aggression in Laos by doublecrossing the anti-Communist government ("forming a neutralist coalition government"), that Laos was doomed to fall to Communism. Followed in short order by a hopelessly flanked South Vietnam. Followed by Thailand and Cambodia. N. B., draft-age students facing combat in a no-win war.

What with the Liberals' rewriting of American history textbooks to suit their own egalitarian fancies, we're amazed they haven't yet tampered with Aesop's *Fables*. After all, how can they allow our school children to be exposed to such reactionary maxims as "It is wise to provide for the future" (from "The Ant and the Grasshopper") or "It is easy to propose impossible remedies" (from "Belling the Cat").

"The expansion of government to its present scale has politicalized virtually all economic life. The wages being paid most workers today are political wages, reflecting political pressures rather than anything that might be considered the normal workings of supply and demand. The prices farmers receive are political prices. The profits business is earning are political profits. The savings people hold have become political savings, since their real value is subject to abrupt depreciation by political decisions."

Samuel Lubell
"The Future of American Politics"

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