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# INSIGHT *and* OUTLOOK

*a conservative student journal*

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Vol. IV Number III

January 1962

## "POLISH OCTOBER"

EDMUND ZAWACKI

## THE HAWKSHAW

CY BUTT

## MIMEOCRACY

JARED LOBDELL

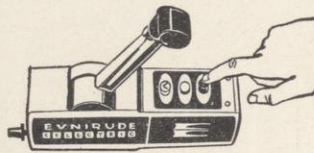
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TIMOTHY JON WHEELER



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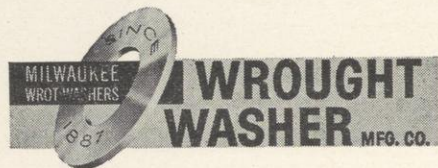
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# INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK MAGAZINE

A CONSERVATIVE STUDENT JOURNAL

Vol. IV Number III

January, 1962

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF . . . . . Millard W. Johnson  
MANAGING EDITOR . . . . . Timothy J. Wheeler  
ASSOCIATE EDITOR . . . . . Henry Hempe  
ARTIST . . . . . John Schrup

## CONTRIBUTING EDITORS:

Doug McCoy . . . . . James O'Connell  
Barbara Sturgeon . . . . . Jared Lobdell

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## IN THIS ISSUE

Jared Lobdell, a Madisonian who helped establish the YAF chapter at Yale, offers a critique of the mimeographic element of young Conservatism ● Detecting the stain of tell-tale totalitarianism, Aëtius scrubs down a certain novice columnist ● What are the significant tensions between the people and their Company rulers in Soviet-bloc nations? Associate Professor Edmund Zawacki perceptively analyzes these stresses in Western-minded Poland and points out weaknesses in Leninist control susceptible to Western exploitation. ● Cy Butt's indescribable and malevolent prose has Fremont Guilfoyle, super-snoop, tracking down tax-treason ● Just about everybody knows that Johnny can't read. Timothy Wheeler tells what one community, Twin Lakes, Wisconsin, did about it and the resistance it met.

## CAMPUS OUTLOOK

### Shake, Winnow and Sift!

Not so long ago a young lady publicly performed a remarkable service for her peers in the intellectual community by condensing into a few brief, powerful sentences the most modish philosophical concepts of the academic world. To us the silence that followed her remarks was ominous, for they really deserved comment from the many who profess to believe them and establish their political doctrines on them. What the young lady wrote was the central premise of relativism, itself a working premise for contemporary Liberalism, the pride of the Academe. In her words:

"No idea is completely right or completely wrong. Every idea requires a great deal of sifting and winnowing. One way to do this is to hold rallies where students can do just this—vocally; where, if anyone is going to listen to them, students have to have the courage of their convictions and a solid intellectual basis for their arguments."

Let's sift and winnow that a bit. Logicians may be excused here to get an aspirin.

If no idea is completely right or completely wrong, then the idea that no idea is completely right or completely wrong is completely right. *But*, if no idea is completely right or completely wrong, then the idea that no idea is completely right or completely wrong is neither completely right nor completely wrong. *But*, if the idea that the idea that no idea is completely right or completely wrong is neither completely right nor completely wrong is completely right, then the idea that no idea is completely right or completely wrong is completely wrong. *But*, if the idea that the idea that no idea is completely right or completely wrong is completely right is right, then the idea that no idea is completely right or completely wrong is again wrong. *Thus*, the idea that no idea is completely right or completely wrong is demonstrably A) completely right; B) completely wrong; C) neither completely right nor completely wrong; D) *always* wrong. This is known as a solid intellectual basis on which to have the courage of one's convictions.

The same insanity takes other forms. "There are no absolutes," they say, saying an absolute. Or, if they are sophisticated, they phrase the absolute, "There are no absolutes save the absolute that there are no absolutes."

Such is the premise of relativism and such is the impotence of Liberalism. If no idea is right or wrong, by what criteria shall we sift and winnow? What do "right" and "wrong" mean? How can the intellect function at all? Imagine, if you can, the political mind committed to such nonsense. Every issue is diffused into shades of gray, for Black and White, right or wrong, do not exist. Every issue is reduced to an



# A TALL AND NOBLE STAKHANOVITE

"Exactly," she interrupted. "That's my point. They listen to records and play bridge and hold dances. Do they discuss ways and means to better the condition of the working classes? Do they collect funds for the families of martyrs of the class war? No! No! No!"

"But that doesn't make them fascists," I protested.

"Ah," she screamed, "but it does."

(— Max Shulman, *Barefoot Boy With Cheek*)

Two decades ago, when Max Shulman recorded this insight into the mores of a Progressive, the Revolution still held considerable attraction. But the world moves forward, with or without the Progressives. Twenty years enlightenment suffice to show even intellectuals that a classless, changeless, back-to-the-tribe concept of Society, passed off as the Beatific Vision, leaves something intellectually to be desired.

Today, of course, the saints of the proletariat rank somewhere in the shadow of Rock and Roll in intellectual appeal. When one of these "super-revolutionaries" mounts the podium to plead for a return to the good old days of horse-and-buggy Bolshevism, he provides little more than a source of amusement, and may even find himself the subject of sociological treatises. Which brings us to the question of the moment, where, oh where, did the Daily Cardinal find their new columnist, Dick Roberts? We thought his type was obsolete.

Mr. Roberts' "View From the Left" recently joined the other four one-a-day efforts on the Cardinal editorial page, and, any way you want to look at it, it is not entirely unjust to note that he is the fifth columnist.

As everyone knows, the revolutionary mentality is marked by paranoia, illogic and a haughty disdain for reality. Witness his "View", Roberts is great with proletariat.

Establishing the hypothesis for his latest column ("Attack From the Right", December 9) Roberts charged, "Conservative forces on this campus have made three noteworthy attacks on civil liberties in the past months." These three attacks were a speech by Assemblyman Nile Soik before the Wisconsin State Assembly, a lecture by Mr. Joseph Mitchell on campus, and a defense of the film "Operation Abolition" by Assemblyman Curt McKay for his half of a debate sponsored by the Union Forum Committee. A glance affirms that the three incidents cited have nothing to do with the charge. To construe the exercise of free speech as an "attack" would be hard to defend, and raises some very interesting questions about, for example, the communist party in the U.S. And, of course, the above gentlemen are not "conservative forces on this campus." To round it off, Roberts neglected to give us the slightest hint of what "civil liberties" he had in mind.

Already we see the three elements of the revolutionary mentality combining to produce this silly, unfounded, unsupported charge, which exemplifies, clearly, the usual Progressive reliance on McCarthyism.

In one of the three incidents mentioned, "conservative forces on campus" played an indirect role. Joseph Mitchell was brought to campus by the Wisconsin Conservative Club to explain the principles of his famous Newburgh welfare reforms. It may be interesting to review the charge in this case to see if we can pin something on the rascals in the Conservative Club by association.

Apparently, the charge against Mitchell is misbehavior in the handling of two questions directed to him after his talk. "The first question which confronted Mr. Mitchell when he had finished his talk," wrote Roberts, "raised by Fred Ciporen . . ." — but let Ciporen put it in

his own words (taken from the tape-recording). Nothing else would do the question justice.

" . . . The question I want to ask is this: The statement I want to make is this: You've assumed . . . Let me put it to you this way: The system that we live under today in this country is a system of chance, a system of gamble, either you succeed or you don't succeed. Some people do succeed, other people don't succeed, 'cause this is the way the system is. Now, what you're saying is that those people who don't succeed are those people who God has said are low, immoral people, who are born degenerate, somehow unable to succeed, innately, or is it that they haven't succeeded because you have a system that says that some will succeed and others will not succeed and your philosophy, instead of recognizing that this is what the system has done and this is what the system has stated, are saying that we people who have succeeded must protect ourselves against those people with complete . . . completely negating the fact that you are supporting this that demands some people not succeed and your instances of sordid people and illegitimacy — suicide, for example, is a very high rate, a lot of it coming from middle class . . ."

William Breihan, interrupting: "May we have the question, Freddie?"

Mr. Ciporen: "My question is, could you deal with that last statement?"

Complained Roberts, "Mr. Mitchell answered Mr. Ciporen by asking if he knew what 'B.S., M.S., Ph.D' meant, and explaining that B.S. had its 'street-talk connotation', 'M.S.' meant 'more of same' with the rest standing for 'piled higher and deeper.'"

We'll reserve our opinion, but the audience cheered.

And what of the second question? In Roberts' words, "Later in the questioning period Mitchell gave reign (sic) to an outburst of racism when asked whether Newburgh had been successful in 'getting the niggers out'." In other words, Mitchell, not the questioner, must bear the blame for such a question being asked.

"It's never been a racial issue in any manner whatsoever . . .," replied Mitchell firmly, and it only remains to be added that the bigot in the audience was not known by any member of the Conservative Club, to determine just *who* is prostituting the race question.

Roberts wraps it all up, tears streaming down his soap-box: "The protection of civil rights is no joke. In this country men are beaten up in the streets every day, they go to jail and get killed over the matter. (Memo to Nile Soik, Joseph Mitchell and Curt McKay: stop *killing* people!) The United States will not go far shouting 'Castro-lover' when, one after another, South American countries follow the path of Cuba to freedom from imperialism. (Memo to Dick Roberts: freedom to want, freedom to fear, freedom from speech, freedom from religion. International Communism isn't a bit imperialistic, no sir.) The conservative answer to these problems — that would rather deny they exist than deal with them — would be a disastrous path for our country to follow. (Memo to conservatives: Stop denying that Castro is a problem.) Germany was too drugged to realize the path she was following (note: to national socialism like that of Cuba, for which Roberts demands fair play) when Hitler (note: a Castro-type) led her out of the depression; let us hope that we are not too drugged to resist reactionary efforts in this country," he concludes.

"But that doesn't make them fascists," I protested.

"Ah," she screamed, "but it does."

— AETIUS



exercise in what is (intuitively?) better or worse. The relativist mind is shackled to the periphery of every issue, for there are no principles and no Truth on which to take a stand; there is only "wouldn't-it-be-nice-if" thinking, the splendid onrush of sentiment and passions and illogic, and futile "dissent" from an incomprehensible reality. Is discrimination wrong? Not completely. Are war, killing, theft, slavery, cruelty wrong? Sometimes, maybe; there are lots of variables and it's all very complex. Is it right to oppose evil? Sometimes.

It is small wonder that Liberalism only pays lip service to "peace" and "democracy" and especially "progress". It not only insists that they are not completely right, it can't even define them.

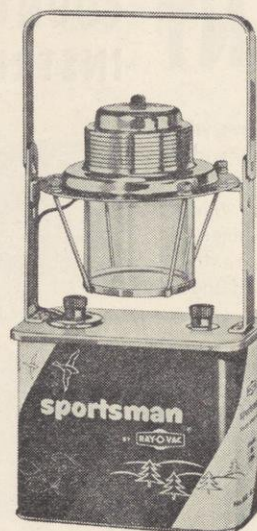
## Wind Mills

Recently a professor on the East Coast wrote a book which he entitled "An Answer to Goldwater". Presumably, it was to be a criticism of the New Conservatism in general, and of Senator Goldwater in particular. The only trouble was that the poor professor failed completely to attack anything Conservatives stand for, and thus wrote a hundred pages of vacuum. He could not make up his mind, for example, whether Conservatives favor utterly cutthroat competition, or whether they favor the suppression of competition and the growth of monopoly. This side of the millenium, they oppose both. He loosed a mighty diatribe against the ideas of Herbert Spencer, although Spencer's significance to the New Conservatism pales into nothing beside the granitic meditations of Edmund Burke. Likewise, the professor attributed much of Conservative belief to Henry Ford and William Vanderbilt, despite the fact that neither contributed an iota to the body of Conservative idealism.

More recently, and closer to home, the campus Liberal egghead R. E. Fauber wrote an extensive tract reducing Conservatism to the forces of reaction, status quo, and, verily, the slave-owning mentality. Much to Fauber's mortification, no less a Conservative spokesman than William F. Buckley, Jr., confirmed in these pages that Fauber wasn't writing about Conservatives at all, and that those of Conservative persuasion would simply reject categorically the values Fauber ascribes to them.

When engaging in polemical debate, there is undoubtedly no more embarrassing position to be in than to be demonstrated ignorant of the enemy's ideology. It amounts to a public failure to comprehend what the other side is talking about and to criticise it coherently and meaningfully. If individuals on this campus continue to knock over straw men and joust with wind-mills, instead of directing their attacks to the genuine Conservative position, we shall avail ourselves of these pages and any others available to us and simply laugh at their continuing ignorance. In fact, we will go

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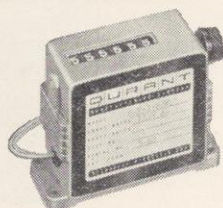


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further. Once a semester henceforth, beginning with this issue, we will publish a list of great Conservative books, so that there can be no more excuse for ignorance about the New Conservatism. Should the vapid criticism persist, we will bloody up our instruments, reminding the Left that this even-handed justice commends the ingredients of their poison'd chalice to their own lips. Anyone who misrepresents what we believe will be exposed as a poltroon and a fool.

We recommend the following 50 works of Conservative scholarship:

ESSAYS ON FREEDOM AND POWER, Lord Acton  
THE LAW, Frederic Bastiat  
A GUIDE TO ANTI-COMMUNIST ACTION,  
Anthony T. Bouscaren  
GOD AND MAN AT YALE, Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.  
MCCARTHY AND HIS ENEMIES, Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.,  
and L. Brent Bozell  
UP FROM LIBERALISM, Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.  
CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN TRADITION,  
James Burnham  
STRUGGLE FOR THE WORLD, James Burnham  
AMERICAN MIGHT AND SOVIET MYTH,  
Jameson G. Campaigne  
CHECK-OFF, Jameson G. Campaigne  
WITNESS, Whittaker Chambers  
REVOLT ON THE CAMPUS, M. Stanton Evans  
PROSPERITY THROUGH FREEDOM, Lawrence Fertig  
THE ROAD AHEAD, John T. Flynn  
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Barry Goldwater  
WHY WAGES RISE, Dr. F. A. Harper  
CONSTITUTION OF LIBERTY, F. A. Hayek  
INDIVIDUALISM AND ECONOMIC ORDER,  
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ECONOMICS IN ONE LESSON, Henry Hazlitt  
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ACADEMIC FREEDOM, Russell Kirk  
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DARKNESS AT NOON, Arthur Koestler  
LIBERTY OR EQUALITY, E. V. Kuehnelt-Leddihn  
THE DISCOVERY OF FREEDOM, Rose Wilder Lane  
GIVE ME LIBERTY, Rose Wilder Lane  
THE FREUDIAN ETHIC, Richard LaPiere  
THIS BREAD IS MINE, Robert LeFevre  
THE MOULDING OF COMMUNISTS, Frank S. Meyer  
ON LIBERTY, John Stuart Mill  
SOCIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY OF COMMUNISM,  
Jules Monnerot  
THE ADMIRAL'S LOG, Ben Moreel  
FREEDOM AND FEDERALISM, Felix Morley  
OUR ENEMY, THE STATE, Albert Jay Nock  
1984, George Orwell  
LABOR POLICY OF THE FREE SOCIETY, Sylvester Petro  
A HUMANE ECONOMY, Wilhelm Roepke  
PROTRACTED CONFLICT, Robert Strausz-Hupe  
ANTI-CAPITALISTIC MENTALITY, Ludwig von Mises  
PLANNING FOR FREEDOM, Ludwig von Mises  
HUMAN ACTION, Ludwig von Mises  
SOCIALISM, Ludwig von Mises  
THE NEW SCIENCE OF POLITICS, Eric Voegelin  
IDEAS HAVE CONSEQUENCES, Richard Weaver  
DEMOCRACY AND PROGRESS, David McCord Wright



# WORLD OUTLOOK

## The Kremlin Learns

Years ago, during the Hungarian Revolution, the Soviets learned for the first time that the United States was no longer willing to assume the initiative in the cold war.

In an atomic stalemate, the side which holds disputed territory has great advantage over the side that doesn't, because the latter does not dare risk atomic warfare to win the territory. For a few breathless days, the Soviet Union lost possession of Hungary, and the United States had only to sweep in troops to keep the Soviets out permanently. Once the free Hungarians had established possession of their country under our atomic protection, Russia certainly would not have risked atomic war just to recoup Hungary. Liberty would have been advanced, and enslaved peoples everywhere would have been heartened.

However, the United States did not act, and thus the Soviets learned that the West had lost its vigor. President Eisenhower was willing to defend, but not expand, the sphere of liberty.

In recent months, Soviet Russia has learned a great deal more about the courage of the West. Watchful eyes in the Kremlin noted the timorous attempt of the United States to secure its flank in the Caribbean, and fail in the fiasco of the Bay of Pigs. And later those same eyes watched the West stand placidly by while tens of thousands of East Berliners were sealed into perpetual gloom by a concrete block wall.

Toward the end of 1961, those Soviet eyes perceived something even more telling about the West. They saw, for the first time, the spectacle of the West defeating itself by its own hand — in Katanga. They watched the United States implacably turn upon the only bastion of liberty, order, Christianity, Western idealism, and anti-communism in all of central Africa, and grind Katanga into the dust. They saw an avowed friend of America, Moise Tshombe, scorned by American diplomats. What's more, they saw all of this being done in the name of anti-communism, for it was patiently explained to the American people, by those sophisticated minds in the Department of State, that had America allowed Katanga to secede, all of the Congo would have fallen to the Soviets, and atomic war might have ensued.

No doubt this sentiment puzzled those watchful men in the Kremlin as much as it did some Americans. Why, if communism menaced the Congo, did not the U.N. army wipe out the Congolese communist menace first, and then worry about Katanga's secession? Indeed, had communism been eliminated in the Congo, much of the reason for Katanga's secession would have been eliminated as well, and the province would easily

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have been persuaded to return to the fold. No doubt those men in the Kremlin wondered how in *any* circumstance the destruction of Katanga benefited the West.

Undoubtedly, those men of Moscow were pleased to see the Department of State do their business for them, and even foot the bill. But undoubtedly they were even more pleased by the significance of the act; the unreasoning blindness and meanness by which the West slashed its own wrists. Surely, it is the fact of the West's self-administered defeat, the fact of the West's new-found suicidal bent, that pleases them even more than the winning of the new Congolese satellite.

## A Sheltered Life

A group of 37 University of Wisconsin faculty members, and local civic and religious figures, have gone on record as opposed to government sponsored fallout shelters on the grounds that the shelters do not contribute to the "peaceful accommodation of our vital national interests with those of the Russians."

By the open letter, the United States stands accused of being willing to use nuclear weapons to defend the freedom of its citizens, a most terrible indictment, indeed. Shelter programs backed by government agencies are deemed evil because they inform the Russians of this willingness. The Russians are offended by the shelters, and thus they are harder to deal with, or so reasons the letter.

Now, be it known that *Insight and Outlook*, too, is against federal fallout shelter programs, on the grounds that, in case of nuclear attack, the citizens will be placed in double jeopardy. Not only can the bomb hurt them, but also their reliance on a blundering government for protection from the bomb. The individuals and groups who care for protection are building their own shelters privately. This is the way it should be. But the most important aspect of the open letter is not fallout shelters but the candor with which the signers advocate appeasement.

Our real obligation, said the letter, is not to inflict nuclear war on either ourselves or our children (off-hand, we can't think of anyone who feels obliged to inflict nuclear war on himself or his kids), but to commit ourselves to peaceful accommodation of our vital national interests with those of the Russians, to be effected by sustained negotiations which would define and accommodate those interests.

An examination of some of the terms the signers use, such as "national interest," "negotiation," and "peaceful accommodation," will be useful.

The federal government notwithstanding, what is the "national interest" of America but the interests of 185 million individuals living in that country? An informal poll of seven of those individuals, the staff members of *Insight and Outlook*, reveals that at least seven people do not recall giving proxies for their interests to a nameless "negotiator" to be placed on the

block, defined, and sold. We of *Insight and Outlook* cherish our freedom, and we would like to think that it is not negotiable. If the signers had their way, we would not be allowed even to define our interests, let alone preserve them.

How about the "national interests" of the Soviet Union? Individuals are disallowed there; only the collective exists. The whole of Russia is ruled by the Communist party; thus, the interests of Soviet Russia are the interests of the Communist party. Let Lenin speak for those interests: "First, we will take Eastern Europe, then the masses of Asia, then we will encircle the United States, which will be the last bastion of capitalism." Let Khrushchev speak for those interests: "The principal feature of our efforts is the emergence of Socialism from the confines of one country and its transformation into a world system . . . Whether you like it or not, history is on our side. We will bury you." These, then, are the interests to which the learned professors say the United States must accommodate itself. But not, of course, before being defined and negotiated.

How about the "negotiating" policies of the Soviet Union? A recent report in the Congressional Record informs us that during the last 25 years, the United States has had 34 meetings with the Communists, including Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam, Panmunjom and Geneva. The negotiators spoke 106 million words (700 volumes). All this talk led to 52 major agreements, and Soviet Russia has broken 50 of them. If anyone still wants to negotiate, let him heed Lenin's own words: "Promises are like pie crusts — made to be broken."

How about "peaceful accommodation" with the Soviet Union? The signers believe, obviously, that peace with Communist-controlled Russia is possible. Let Dimitri Manuilski of the Lenin School of Political Warfare speak of peace: "War to the hilt between communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack . . . The bourgeoisie will have to be put asleep. So we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard-of concessions. The capitalistic countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to co-operate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down we shall smash them with our clenched fist."

These frank admissions of Soviet intent, and the spilt blood of those who have stood in the way, are a matter of record, available to all 37, especially those in the University of Wisconsin history department. Can it be plain and simple ignorance about these matters that has made the signers so gullible? It can, but this answer is too simple. We think it is the 30-odd years of the liberal disease of moral relativism — of the domestic collectivist attack on the worth of individual liberty — that has all but destroyed the faith of these 37 in the promise of their country. What they have signed is a suicide note.



## The "Secession" Myth

American Liberalism, by its tenacious defense of the United Nations action in the Congo, has notably hastened its own decline as the dominant American political credo. Not only is the position "save the U.N., right or wrong" morally untenable, case after case has arisen where the salvage effort itself has been marked by deceit.

The latest embarrassment to the Liberals is the admission, long held secret by the United Nations and the U.S. State Department, that there is no constitution binding any of the Congo provinces to a central Congolese government. During the chaos and carnage that marked the Lumumba days, no attention was given to the *Loi Fondamentale*, the provisional constitution provided by the outgoing Belgians in June, 1960. This constitution has never been ratified. The U.N. is now faced with the hard task of explaining how it is possible for Katanga to "secede" from a government which never existed. But "secession" was the rationale behind the U.N. aggressive intervention against the Katanga province. The implications of secrecy about the Congolese constitution become clear.

In the U.S., the Liberal cry of "secession" was doubtless calculated for its emotive powers, rather than its intellectual validity. It is a cry hurled at the likes of Katanga for seeking what the Liberals would call "self-determination" elsewhere, such as in Algeria and Angola. This double standard has been applied by the State Department for some years now, and reads: if the rebellious section is orderly, democratic, anti-Communist, pro-West and for free enterprise, it is definitely suspect; if the regime of the "emerging" nation is leftist, however, then all possible succor must be given at once to steal the "reform" thunder from the Communists.

Whittaker Chambers once pointed out that stressing the similarities between peoples under the competing systems, that is, emphasizing the fact that the Russian people are friendly and do not want war, can only obscure the control and direction of Communist power. The Russian people do *not* determine Russian foreign policy, and the Kremlin *is* unbending and tireless in its efforts to socialize the world by force. A proper defense must make utterly clear the awful differences between the Kremlin's way and ours.

The Congo is but the most recent in an inglorious succession of self-defeating enterprises by the State Department. The evidence shows that the internal contradictions of Liberalism render it unable to cope with the militant, unified and ruthless killer that is international Communism. For so long as the Liberal ideology motivates its policy, and for so long as Liberals-at-large continue to defend that policy, the State Department must remain effete. As our prescient president put it, things will get worse before they get better. But what reason is there to believe that they will get better?

*John Oster*

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One of the most encouraging signs in America today is the wave of "conservative" thinking on college campuses, embracing the idea that the survival of this nation as a free people depends on *less* socialism rather than more. It is a trend that adds power and purpose to our participation in the Cold War.

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# Poems

by J.C.L.

## Self-determinehru

In olden times in India,  
Holka invaded Scindia  
And Scindia fought Holka;  
They fought with scarce a pause for breath  
And trod their Indian dance of death  
As gaily as a polka.  
Now ring the sound invincible  
From Madison to Meru  
To celebrate the principle  
Of Jawaharlal Nehru.

In olden times, as I have said,  
They didn't care who might be dead,  
The fun was in the killing;  
The Thug prepared his rope and cried  
"You may trust me" — his victim died  
*Instantly*, Kali willing.  
The Thug would strangle kind and kith,  
Nor did he really care who,  
In peaceful coexistence with  
The principles of Nehru.

Now let us celebrate this age  
For honest Indian brokerage  
In complex world relations,  
And watch the little contrasts grow:  
The warlike S. E. A. T. O.,  
The peaceful neutral nations.  
The vulture feeds on human kind,  
The nightingale sings "tere":  
The two combined should bring to mind  
The principles of Nehru.

---

## Congo Lines

Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien  
Led us to the promised Zion,  
Valiant as a Congo Lion  
In his Adoula-tion:  
U. N. Raj is here to stay;  
U. N., U Thant, U. S. A.,  
Each in his own special way,  
Gives self-determination.

See the hospital below:  
Open up the bomb bay —  
Watch the list of victims grow;  
*That* will conquer Tshom-be!

Ultra-Belgian Mercenaries,  
Black Imperialist Minière-ies,  
Pupils of the Missionaries,  
Mad in Methodism —  
Such do not appeal to Adlai:  
They have acted very badly,  
Don't appreciate how gladlai  
We sponsor neutralism.

Watch the valiant fightingmen —  
Swedes and men from Bombay:  
*L'Afrique pour ces Africaines*,  
Not for Mois-e Tshom-be!

---

## A Bas Abbas

Tout de Gaulle divisa est  
Dans les par-tes tres  
La Plus Belle France, le F. L. N.  
Et l'Al-gé-rie Fran-çaise

Certainly mon General  
Acts always comme il fait  
Exploding bombs in le Sahare  
But keeping off debré

Le coté droit in le salan  
Most enthusiastic  
Marvellous the many ways  
They use up surplus plastic

Big wars from little bombs challe grow  
Armá parachûtiste-qué canó  
Les braves colons, le S. A. O.  
And after them — que sais-je?  
Le Mendès-France, le F. L. N.  
And then la France Algérienne  
For l'Al-gé-rie Fran-çaise.

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# THE HAWKSHAW

**Fremont Tracks Tax-Treason,  
Hardsells the Hogboom Hotchpot**

CY BUTT

Yesterday afternoon at the regular 4:30 tea time in Madison's newly refurbished (and at a frightful cost, too) Troia's Steak House the chromium doors swung wide and through them strode Fremont Guilfoyle on silent tread. Removing a fore-and-aft Deerstalker cap from the front of his massive head and the collar of his Burberry from the back of it, Fremont laid aside his quizzing-glass and ordered a cigar. A trichinopoly, he specified that it be.

"Are you returning from a masquerade, Fremont," I asked, "or going to one?"

"Neither," he replied, "I am now Director of the new Department of Investigation and I thought it would be proper to dress the part. It aids my morale, but I must say that these sneakers are hardly the thing for this weather."

"I would think so," I said. "But what do you investigate?"

"Frauds," he said, "wherever we may find them."

"I suppose then," I said, "that you are well into the vote frauds in Illinois and Texas that rude reactionaries say gave us the Peace Corps and other such goings on."

"Well, no," Fremont answered. "Nobody in the Department has ever heard of them. In this particular foray, which my biographer is going to call 'THE ADVENTURE OF THE TREASONOUS TRIO', I am going to investigate the three Madison businessmen who had money left after paying taxes."

"That would be about the right number," I said, "but is such conduct treasonous?"

"It is now," said Fremont. "We cannot have such conduct becoming popular at a time when we need 40 billion to send a man to the moon, 20 billion to rehabilitate South and Central America and the Caribbean, and 10 billion for a score of Asian and African nations whose names I can neither remember nor pronounce. Then there are the United Nations, and planes, arms and money for Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, whose leaders are only low-intensity Com-

munists. A few hundred millions per year will suffice for them, but it all adds up."

"It seems so," I said. "How are you going to raise funds for these necessities?"

"We must raise taxes," said Fremont. "Our social analysts and consultants have assured us that money can be used more wisely and with more social significance by government agencies than by the citizens that earned it. Thus we must leave nothing in their hands to be frittered away foolishly."

"I thought that would be the answer," I said, "but how are you going to raise them? When a man is smart, or stupid, enough to make big money the national tax takes 91% and the state, city and county some more, so it will be difficult to raise the exaction much."

"Not at all," said Fremont. "We will raise them to 125%. This will deplete any insidious bank accounts that he might have and undoubtedly lead to the forced sale of his home."

"In such case, Fremont," I asked, "who would have the money to buy it?"

"A silly question," said Fremont. "The government, of course." We will buy it and then install him back in it to initiate the new social program just thought up by Professor Hogboom of Lobscottel Tech."

"You seem to have thought of every contingency, Fremont," I confessed, "but when taxes are raised to 125% won't an uproar be raised?"

"That has been taken care of by the Hogboom program," said Fremont. "The citizens will be conditioned to it. We will announce that the raise will be to 150% and then, a few days later, reduce it to only 125% and our subjects, I mean countrymen, will be so happy they will come in smiling with the payments."

"Not smiling," I said. "Gibbering is the word you want there."



# "POLISH OCTOBER"

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR  
EDMUND ZAWACKI

In 1956 Polish Voices Cried Out for Bread  
and Freedom. Have they been stilled?

When Senator Fulbright was engaged in debate by Senator Goldwater on the subject of U.S. victory in the cold war, an important controversy about United States foreign policy got under way. It has certainly spread far beyond the Senate floor. Having traduced the very idea of victory over the Communist system into something foolish, and dangerous, the liberal camp has begun seriously to consider a "No Win" policy. What is foolish and dangerous, however, is not the idea of victory, but the morally vacuous intellection that makes it appear so.

Fortunately, there still remain quite a number of people in this country able to think clearly about victory over the Communist system, and although not all those taking Senator Goldwater's side are among the clear thinkers, all on his side have, at least, the moral certainty of victory—which is half the battle. For all Americans with their sights set on victory, the big question is, of course, what are the significant tensions between the governing and the governed in the Communist camp and how can they be successfully sprung on the governing without precipitating a thermonuclear holocaust.

With this double-barreled question in mind, serious thought quite naturally gravitates toward Poland, for Poland is the least puppet-like of the European satellites and the most likely to assert its Western democratic habits of political behavior if given an opportunity. A case study could prove useful if only to dispel the notion that the satellites can be "weaned" away from the Communist camp, as if

they had freely chosen Communism in the first place.

Furthermore, past experience in "weaning" Communist-dominated countries—Tito's Yugoslavia, for example—with billions in foreign aid, should have demonstrated by now that economic philanthropy is not forceful enough morally to "wean" even Hoxha of Albania away from Khrushchev. Hoxha has just been "weaned"—but by Mao Tse-tung! Nor is the moral quality of foreign aid particularly noble when it is used as a policy instrument in the cold war. It may look noble when viewed through our end of the telescope, but, viewed through a Communist-dominated recipient's end, it looks pretty puny for it is measured against the prospect of Soviet tanks and flamethrowers in the streets. Indeed, it looks for all the world like American cheese offered on the trigger of a Soviet mousetrap, an inhuman kind of reverse Red-baiting. It can be taken, of course, but hardly with gratitude.

Obviously, until the jaw of the Soviet mousetrap is first sprung by intelligent know-how in U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union itself, the cheese offered the satellites on the trigger will remain nothing but bait, and no amount of American "weaning" will change its character. As a policy instrument, economic philanthropy is a failure. Whether better instruments can be devised depends on how astutely we diagnose what holds the Communist system together and how intelligently we act on the diagnosis. In this purpose, too, a detailed look at Gomulka-ism in Poland can help dispel a misconception or two.

In hindsight, no great perspicacity is required to see that the cries for "Bread and Freedom!" in Poland during the Poznan riots in June of 1956 were symptoms of serious anti-Communist fever in the whole country. By October that year Poland was seething with unrest. Some kind of political therapy was urgent. It took the form of a convulsion inside the Polish Communist party and the emergence of Wladyslaw Gomulka as a plausible cross between a Polish nationalist and a Communist puppet. As it turned out, Gomulka-ism served the Polish Comparty as a defense mechanism to diminish the heat from below and thus avoid bloody Soviet "assistance" from above. The Hungarians were not quite so lucky; the convulsion in Hungary, following the Polish one, seized the whole body politic and subsided in shock only after a terrible blood-letting.

In the theater of ancient Rome comic characters of low station used to be costumed in a garment describable with a certain amount of self-contradiction as "loose tights". In Moscow and Peiping today, as in Rome of antiquity, tights remain tights; they do not change their form or function into an enfranchised citizen's toga by virtue of an adjective. In shirt-sleeve English, every Marxist monopoly regime—whatever it may choose to call itself—must remain a closed Leninist system encasing the body politic in the rigid tights of a totalitarian organization of power. On this score Khrushchev has no serious differences of opinion with Gomulka, Hoxha or Tito, any more than Mao Tse-tung has.



I have used the word "Leninist" in a meaning not often ascribed to it by popular commentators, while the word "totalitarian" has so many meanings that it would be well to clarify both concepts. By *totalitarian* I mean simply "as total as possible". By designating any so-called "national Communist" regime as a totalitarian Leninist system, I mean that it is as totally closed as possible, and I submit that Lenin's fundamental significance to Communism is not in ideology or theory but in airtight organization of power. After all, in the Russian Social Democratic movement the insuperable point of difference between Lenin's Bolsheviks and Martov's Mensheviks (both equally Marxist) was the difference in their respective concepts of what the Party organization should be. Lenin's conspiratorial concept with its overwhelming emphasis on Party discipline and Party hegemony was the one eventually imposed, and Lenin's formulation of the paragraph on Party membership in the Ustav Partii (Party Charter) has remained a rigid constant in Party organization ever since.

### Crimes Against the State

Mostly by sheer necessity but partly by endurance Lenin's totalitarian organization of power has become more stable and more truly the mark of a Communist regime than any single item of doctrine. One needs but look into the latest published edition of the Soviet Criminal Code for proof. The very first item under the heading, GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF RSFSR CRIMINAL POLICY, reads: "Considered to constitute a social danger shall be *any act or omission that is directed against the Soviet system* or that violates the legal order established by the Worker-Peasant Regime during the period of transition to a Communist system" (Italics mine — E.Z.). What we have here is the all-embracing definition of a crime against the State, i.e., the crime punishable by death. The "general principles" are binding throughout the Communist camp, and if the satellite re-

gimes in Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Albania or anywhere else should find difficulty in observing them, "assistance" from the mother-Party in the USSR would be swift and massive. Tito, Hoxha, Kadar and Gomulka have not failed to observe them.

The never-ending Communist campaign against "revisionism" inside the Communist camp is always against revisions in the Party's totalitarian organization of power. Any conflict of opinion on this score is labeled as "antagonistic" and is not tolerated. On matters of doctrine, however, it is perfectly possible to have "non-antagonistic" conflicts, much like Tito's loyal opposition. Such, too, for example, is the much publicized conflict between Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung about the tactical doctrine of co-existence. Actually, the quarrel between them is — so far, at least — only as to whether "peaceful" co-existence is a more effective tactic at this time than "hostile" co-existence, and it would take a very fine measurement indeed to determine which is more hostile or peaceful in his actions toward the non-Communist world, Khrushchev or Mao Tse-tung. Quite obviously, no heresy is being practiced by either; the idea of co-existence between the Communist and non-Communist camps in the world social organism is acceptable to all Communist parties everywhere until further notice. However, the idea of coexistence between the Communist party and a non-Marxist party inside any Iron Curtain country, i.e., a country already "organized" is intolerable heresy and has always been so. This would be antagonistic tampering with the Party's totalitarian organization of power.

### Massive Resistance

By this definition of what constitutes ideological heresy, Gomulka is no heretic. Neither is Tito, nor Hoxha. If the organization of agriculture and of industry in Poland has not been brought into symmetry with that of the USSR, the reason is not Gomulka's heresy but

the massive resistance of the Polish, non-Communist farm and factory people. In real workers, as opposed to abstract Marxist figments of the proletariat, a personal proprietary interest in Party-organized factories and farms turns out to be pretty hard to induce. Who but a fool in this country, for example, would swell with pride of ownership at the idea that he personally as an individual owns a public park even if he has to keep off the grass? The percentage of fools in Poland, Hungary and other Communist-dominated countries is no greater than here. Must it really be greater in the USSR?

### Away with the Tights

To be sure, in the turmoil and tension of the "Polish October"—as subsequent events in Hungary amply proved—Poland was indeed running the risk of direct Soviet military intervention and a blood bath. What principles Gomulka stood for as a Communist were temporarily forgotten, and a wave of psychologically compulsive popularity engulfed him. Temporarily, his Leninist tights were at least "loose tights", and by contrast with the preceding ten years, they may well have looked like the toga of incipient civil rights. But they were tights.

Today Gomulka is no longer greeted with cheers as he was in October of 1956. The cry has been heard in the streets of Warsaw: "Precz z Gomulka, dajcie ser!" (Away with the little chunk, give us the whole cheese!) In Polish a "gomulka" means a small chunk of cheese. Hence in the analogies I have been using the cry was: "Away with the tights, give us the toga"—which as likely as not points up a dilemma facing even Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung.

To what degree the events of 1956 permanently weakened the Polish Comparty's totalitarian grip on the political, economic and cultural life of the Polish people, and in what specific areas the weakening occurred, needs to be assessed with both imaginative insight and realism. Nor should it ever be for-



gotten by Poles or by American policy-makers toward Poland that further progress in this direction, if it outruns analogous progress in the Soviet Union, courts ruthless Soviet military intervention and a terrible flow of Polish blood.

In a very perceptive analysis entitled "The True Force Behind the October Revolution in Poland"\*, Stanislaw Strzetelski listed seven items as the positive achievements of what — as I believe — he mistakenly called the October "revolution". They are as follows:

- 1) weakening of Soviet military and administrative control;
- 2) abolition of the secret police;
- 3) announcement that the Diet's powers of supervision over the government would be increased;
- 4) abandonment of complete collectivization of agriculture and some encouragement for small private shops and handicrafts;
- 5) restoration of freedom of religion and re-introduction of religious instruction in the public schools;
- 6) relaxation of press censorship;
- 7) establishment of cultural and economic relations with the West.

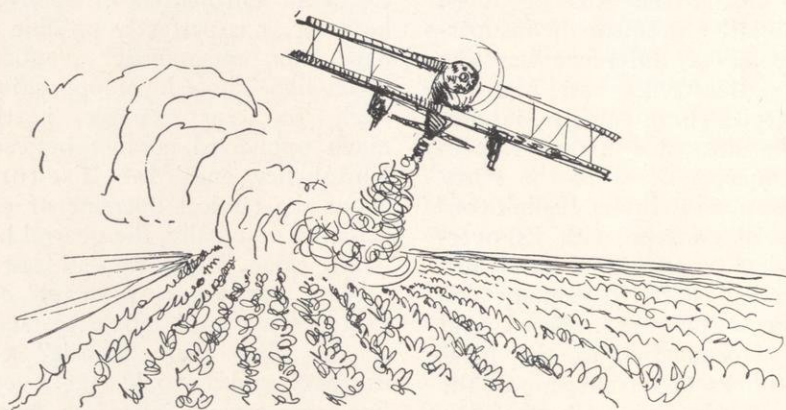
Taken in sum, these items did add up to a visible change in the general atmosphere in Poland, and Poles themselves welcomed the "change of air" (*zmiana powietrza*). The Leninist tights were, so to speak, stretched in a number of places, noticeably decreasing the political discomfort of the Polish people. In each one of these items, however, the Party carefully planned its moves in such a way as to safeguard the principle: "What the Party has given, the Party can also take away", while the general public had few illusions about the need to establish the opposite principle: "What has been taken from the Party, the Party may not recoup". It is not hard to agree that the political significance of each item in the list is determined by the

\**The Polish Review* (N.Y.) Vol. II, No. 2-3, 1957, pp. 19-31.

extent to which the second principle prevails.

Improbable as it may seem at first sight, the last three items, namely, restoration of religious freedom, relaxation of press censorship, and establishment of cultural relations with the West, are the most hopeful ones from this point of view. A closer scrutiny of all seven in order reveals why. The intervening five years afford a reasonable perspective in time.

Actually the ousting of Marshal Rokossovsky from his post as Min-



ister of Defense and from the Polish Comparty's politburo did not diminish the strength of Moscow's military and administrative control in Poland. What was diminished was the humiliation of it. The humiliating direct control of Poland's military and administrative establishments was supplanted by a less humiliating but no less strong remote control through the political and military organs previously set up in the Communist NATO, i.e., the multi-lateral Warsaw Agreement (ratified by Poland on April 19, 1955). Marshal Ivan S. Konev is commander-in-chief of the United Armed Forces of the Participant States, with headquarters in Moscow. The Polish Minister of Defense, whether Rokossovsky or Spychalski (who succeeded him), was and remains subject to Konev's orders.

### MVD Replaces Cheka

The secret police was reportedly diminished in size by some 9,500 members in August, 1957, but it was not really abolished. The pre-

October Committee of Public Security with its built-in Soviet advisors was liquidated in December, 1956, but its duties were transferred to specially created departments of the Ministry of the Interior. Translated into more familiar Soviet terminology, the Polish "Cheka" gave place to an MVD. The present size of the secret police is, of course, a secret.

The increased supervision by the Diet over the actions of the government, promised as a reform in 1956, meant simply that the Party leader-

ship consented at that time to inform its own legislative organ more fully of its actions in the future. The responsibility of the government to the Diet remains just as factitious today as before.

In relation to the farm population, the regime's hand is less heavy in its control of agriculture, but hardly less strong. When Edward Ochab (the original organizer of the Polish secret police) became Minister of Agriculture in January, 1957, he found a situation in which scarcely 2,000 kolkhozes remained out of the 10,600 in existence on June 30, 1956. Today there are less than 500 by unofficial reports. In a matter of a few months, more than ten years of so-called "socialist building" in Polish agriculture had apparently fallen apart. However, so long as the totalitarian Leninist organization of power in the monopoly system ("hegemony of the proletariat") remains intact, no damage is done to the system, and hence no heresy is involved by de-collectivization. It frequently es-



capable notice that collectivization of agriculture is not so much an economic measure for increased production as it is a practical measure for political control of the rural population. When—as in the case of Poland and Yugoslavia—resistance to collectivization becomes explosive and identifies itself with resistance to the Party's political power, collectivization *per se* ceases to be indispensable. In such cases it is condemned as "dogmatism". Insistence by Stalin in 1948 that Tito speed up the collectivization of agriculture in Yugoslavia is now counted as one of his ideological mistakes; evidently Stalin, too, could get "dizzy with success". Other means of political control less vulnerable than economically discredited collectivization have to be found. Communist regimes are quite resourceful in this respect, as Tito has proved.

Tensions between the Party and the people in the four items already taken up can, it seems, be conjured away by the Party's prestidigitation without undermining its real hegemony. These items, therefore, are not the weakest links in the chain of control that the Party has forged. Only when we come to cultural items like freedom of prayer, freedom of expression, and freedom of social intercourse, does a new and unexpectedly powerful factor enter the contest. The Party's instruments of control find themselves opposed by a new kind of force. Moral force is a very real and powerful thing, only it must not be confused with the casual passing of moral judgments by mere onlookers.

### Moral Authority

The Catholic church in Poland is a religious institution whose unique moral authority derives not only from a two thousand year tradition of divine origin but also from a thousand years of Polish history. Its moral strength is not something that can be usurped easily by a pseudo-scientific social doctrine. Also, Catholicism is closely identified with Polish patriotism by reason of the Polish

people's existence throughout the nineteenth century as a nation without a state. Because Polish nationalism has its spiritual anchorage in the church, persecution tends only to revitalize it in the hearts and minds of the faithful. In a survey among students conducted by the Department of Sociology of the University of Warsaw in 1958, one of the key questions was: "Do you think one should risk one's life in defense of religion?" Affirmative answers were given by a startling 42% of those polled. Gallup-type polls are no longer practiced in Poland.

In dealing with the Catholic church in Poland, the grip periodically applied by the regime is to charge it with entering politics, declare it reactionary, subversive of the "socialist" state and, therefore, illegal. In such a frame, of course, the church hierarchy and its faithful become subject to real political harassments, and the church's functioning as a religious institution becomes dependent on how much of its moral authority it is willing to lend to the regime by dealing with it politically. The Primate of Poland, Cardinal Wyszyński, was released from prison by Gomułka on October 29, 1956, for political purposes, not religious ones; in the political crisis that the Communist regime was facing at home with the Kremlin, Gomułka's leadership needed moral authority, a commodity that the Party could not supply. The Party could only give him political power. The church was the custodian of moral authority.

Re-introduction of religious instruction in the public schools and desistance from harassment of the church hierarchy was a price that the regime had to pay the church for doing what desperately needed to be done in the interests alike of the people, the church and the regime. The Primate could call on the people for patience and calm, and expect to be obeyed. Neither Gomułka nor any other Communist would have been listened to. Nor could Gomułka or any other Pole have warded off Soviet military in-

tervention if the Primate's call had gone unheeded.

The order of the Minister of Education, effective December 16, 1956, re-introducing religious instruction in the schools, was quite artfully contrived, however, to carry a veiled threat against those families that took advantage of the concession. The instruction was made optional, and only "should the parents express their individual wish for such instruction in writing". (A reduction in the personnel of the secret police was not announced until much later, August 3, 1957). Few if any parents were scared off; classes in religion were opened in the public schools everywhere.

### Police Raid Monastery

In July of 1958, the regime returned to its harassment of the church with a raid by the secret police on the Jasna Góra monastery in Częstochowa. On the heels of the raid a virulent press campaign was launched in the Party press, charging that the Primate had violated both the spirit and the letter of the December (1956) Agreement between church and state, was engaging in hostile political activity and was attempting to usurp control of the schools. The Primate reacted not with political argument but with a call to all the faithful for prayer. The contest was thus lifted to a moral plane where the church, not the Party, could grow stronger. The Polish people need no permission from the Party to pray. Consequently, both in Poland and in the Kremlin the regime must pretend to ignore the fact that concerted prayer can be a cohesive force intangible, perhaps, but stronger than a political program, and that in the situation now prevailing in Poland it is not religion that is being debased by politics, but politics that is being ennobled by religion and prayer. For the time being the moral force is in a defensive posture, but the tables can be turned. Power politics with moral force may be an unfamiliar concept to many political theorists,



but it is a very real thing. We will return to this phenomenon again.

Closely related to freedom of prayer is freedom of the spoken word. Although there is no freedom of speech in Poland today, the people have seized freedom of conversation. They have been speaking their minds boldly and openly in massive numbers. Practically every traveller in Poland has wondered at their almost compulsive disregard of the secret police. There is, therefore, the pervasive phenomenon in Poland of an active public opinion functioning independently of the Party but in an atomized fashion for lack of legal means of mass communication. It thrives in the safety afforded by the overwhelming numbers of people engaged. The Party's totalitarian monopoly of press, radio, and permission for peaceful assembly tends to conceal this remarkable phenomenon but is, I think, powerless to destroy it. By many reports, the phenomenon seems, indeed, to be taking root even in the Soviet Union. People are talking more freely there, too — taking example, perhaps, from Khrushchev's own garrulousness.

### Individual Faith

When the Central Committee of the Polish Comparty at its XIIth Plenum (October, 1958) issued the directive that freedom of expression would be curtailed in Poland if in the Party's judgment it endangered the maintenance of Communist power, the move was based on the assumption, of course, that independent public opinion in Poland derives from the Party's permission. This may still be the case in the USSR, but in Poland it no longer is. In actual fact it derives from the moral solidarity of the Polish people, who are embattled with the regime politically as separate individuals. The Leninist organization of political power atomizes opposition to it in Poland as in all Iron Curtain countries. In Poland, however, the rallying point in the struggle now is the church, which

needs the loyalty of the Polish people as much as they need its moral stamina. In the event of all-out police terrorism against freedom of the spoken word, the only support the individual Pole will have will be his faith that he does not resist alone, faith that in every martyr's suffering lies the cumulative certainty of victory. However, statesmen in the West should realize that great as is the courage and stamina of the Polish people in such a contest, help is needed from the West far more than philanthropy or applause.

### Cumulative Truth

Printed opinion, to be sure, can be controlled in Iron Curtain countries mainly because the people who write for the public are few in number, and because there are enough jails to hold them. But what can any Communist party actually do when millions of people under non-Communist compulsions of hardship, religion, patriotism, curiosity and biological survival in the hydrogen age, dot their "is" and cross their "t's" in daily conversation? Poles have been doing this now for over five years. These habits cannot help but make their way into the printed word—albeit at a slower pace.

Whether or not the Party is yet aware of its impotence to reverse this trend by censorship and arrests, it must be aware that great damage to the Communist system in Poland has already been done by the printed word. It is not a question of "if" but of "how much?" A tragic love story like Marek Hlasko's *Eighth Day of the Week*, which appeared in the November, 1956, issue of the literary magazine, *Tworczosc*, does shock the public mind into a realization that a political system can be not only tyrannous but obscene. No amount of synchronized blaring from loudspeakers throughout the land can diminish the truth or the tragedy of Hlasko's Agnieszka and Pietrek. The story, by reason of the detachment of its artistry,

cannot spare the Communist system even if its author wished. In proportion as the young and virtuous love of Agnieszka and Pietrek becomes more beautiful, insistent, even desperate, the more does the latent obscenity of life in Communist-run Poland come into the open and intrude upon it. The normal yearnings of two decent, resolute and loving young people thereby turn of necessity into frustrated anguish and, eventually, tragedy as the only escape from depravity. Hlasko's story is not a political pamphlet against the Communist system, still less against the Gomulka regime. It is seriously and sincerely a pursuit of truth and a work of creative art. As such, its virtue is that it has successfully mirrored the perversity of life in Poland today, only — like a lens catching the rays of the sun—it has focussed that life in a single white-hot and brilliantly lighted point. It burns deep into the flesh of the regime. Nor is the Communist party of the USSR immune to the searing effect even of works like Kirsanov's poem, *Seven Days of the Week*, Dudintsev's novel, *Not by Bread Alone*, or Pasternak's *Dr. Zhivago*. What is ominous for the Party is that the effect of such literature is cumulative and can never stop. Such is the power of artistic truth.

### Hospitality Is Moral

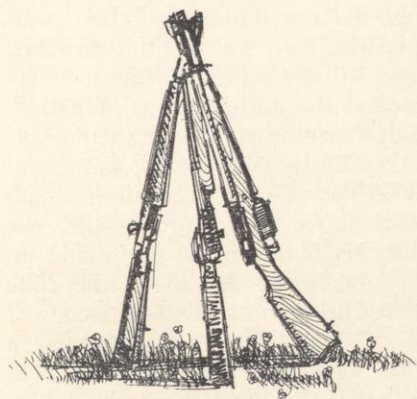
When we finally arrive at the item of international people-to-people contact and cultural exchange, this activity should be recognizable by now as the weakest spot in any Communist party's chain of control. The arena of the contest between Party and people broadens to include the Western hemisphere and the entire world. The tension between Comparty and people on this issue becomes tension over the difference between international coexistence and international peace. Coexistence is between hostile political systems or camps; peace is between peoples. And it is a truth as humble as it is universal that people who wish each



other well exchange visits freely as a matter of course. Among nations it is no different.

### Open Cities

To the travel-starved Polish people freedom to travel abroad for peaceful international people-to-people contacts would be a very great advance in the direction pointed by freedom of prayer and freedom of the spoken word. In Poland the effect of a simple proposal by the United States to receive on a reciprocal city-to-city and village-to-village basis—let us say—50,000 guests for a two-week visit annually, all expenses on shipboard and abroad to be paid by the *host* country, could be quite electrifying. On such a proposal the Polish tradition of hospitality would acquire political significance at home and abroad. It is certainly in the power of the Congress of the United States to pass legislation with an appropriation of funds that would enable the President to make such a proposal. This would be power politics with moral force.



However, the Congress of the United States should bear in mind that it would be dangerous for the Polish people to press the Gomulka regime so hard as to outrun the mother-Party in the USSR on a matter so disruptive of Leninist totalitarian control hegemony. This kind of power politics must be resolutely applied directly and exclusively on the regime in the USSR first—thus springing the

Soviet mousetrap *for* the satellite countries, not *on* them.

An inspection of the two successive Cultural Exchange Agreements of Jan. 1958 and Nov. 1959 between the USSR and the United States indicates quite clearly that the Soviet purpose in them has been to limit the idea itself of people-to-people contact to the exchange of a few small and highly specialized delegations. In practice, the delegations sent to the United States so far (apart from performing-arts groups like the Moiseyev dancers) have been small groups consisting of carefully selected and trained scientists and Party officials. The whole operation, despite wishful American sentimentality about it, is a combination of a propaganda trick and an intelligence device. This need not remain the case. Appropriate policy moves by the Kennedy administration, supported by Congressional legislation addressed to the idea of massive city-to-city and village-to-village visiting, could change the whole rationale of United States policy from jittery “No Win” coexistence with the Communist system to peaceful but morally forceful contact between the 20,000 cities and villages of both countries.

There is no need to go into further detail here—except to point out that an appropriation of \$250,000,000 annually would be sufficient to apply politically effective moral force. Obviously, not a penny of it could actually be spent until an American invitation to representative delegations from 20,000 Soviet cities and villages to be the guests of their American partner-communities, all expenses paid by the *host* country, had first accomplished its purpose. Its purpose is to reject in the minds of men the world over (including *especially* the USSR and the European satellites) the Communist sophistry of “peaceful” coexistence between ideologically hostile camps, and replace it with the grassroots principle of massively organized international hospitality among plain human beings.

In a continuous glare of worldwide publicity focused on this humble but morally powerful definition of peace—regardless of what the present Soviet government should say or do, or fail to do—a morally forceful public opinion *inside* the USSR could cumulatively and with relative speed be created among the Russian people, who are as hospitable as they are travel-starved. It is readily conceivable that their deep Slavic tradition of hospitality, their equally deep curiosity about everyday life in the United States, and their normal human desire to avoid biological extermination together with us in a thermonuclear holocaust would outweigh their concern, if any, for the longevity of the Iron Curtain and the Leninist monopoly system that cannot exist without it.

### The First Real Rip

What would then happen to Khrushchev's regime would be the business of the people of the USSR. If the regime does indeed have the willing support of the Russian people, nothing drastic will happen to it. If it has not, quite drastic changes in the relation between the governing and the governed will be reasonable to expect. What would swiftly happen to the regimes of Gomulka, Kadar, and Tito would be the business of the Polish, Hungarian and Yugoslav peoples. But this much is certain: freedom of travel as the invited guests of other countries, all expenses paid, would be only the first real rip in the rigid tights of Leninist totalitarianism wherever it prevails. Others would follow. Our business would be only to demonstrate conclusively to the Russian and satellite peoples that our “open cities” proposal is friendly, sincere, and serious.

This, I believe, is the tremendously simple truth exposed by the tensions between the Polish people and the Gomulka regime. It is also a sufficient answer to the morally vacuous intellection of the “No Win” liberals.



# HOW THE UNITED STATES LOST WORLD WAR II

On this 20th anniversary of Pearl Harbor, it is appropriate to review the events of that day, and to recap the episodes which led to America's defeat during World War II.

Perhaps, if things had been handled differently, the United States would not now be ruled by the joint occupation authorities of Japan and Germany. But some still take comfort in the popular slogan of 1941, "Better Nazi than Dead."

Perhaps the most notable occurrence leading up to Pearl Harbor was the growth of the "Sane Aircraft Policy Committee," which agitated for a complete halt to the development of the American air force. If we took the lead in abandoning these "terrible weapons of death," the Sane committee argued, the Germans and Japanese would be shamed into following our example.

After Pearl Harbor, hoping to "ease tensions" in the Far East, President Roosevelt announced a unilateral moratorium on aircraft development. The President consulted a scientific committee headed by Lycurgus Spalding (member of several dozen Nazi front organizations), who told him the Japanese and Germans probably were not developing any airplanes either.

Also in the hope of easing tensions, the American government ordered an immediate withdrawal of our forces from Bataan and Corregidor in the Philippines. Simultaneously, President Roosevelt sent German-American Bundist Ervin Katzmore as his special representative to Great Britain, to demand that Churchill form a coalition government with the British turncoat, Lord Haw-Haw. As an island off the coast of Europe, Katzmore explained to the desperate Churchill, Britain was indefensible.

Katzmore's fellow Bundists repeatedly argued that the United

States, if it was to avoid the "terrible realities of aerial warfare," had to come to terms with Hitler. The Fuehrer, they pointed out, was actually a "moderate," and far more unreasonable Nazis would take control if we did not cater to him. As a result, President Roosevelt sailed off to a summit conference with Hitler, who told him that America, heavily tainted with non-Aryanism, was doomed to defeat. Hitler concluded by taking off his boot and hitting Roosevelt over the head with it. The befuddled President returned to America saying he was "hard put" to answer Hitler's cogent arguments.

By the middle of 1942, Lord Haw-Haw had ousted Churchill, and all of Europe was firmly under Nazi control. Because Bataan and Corregidor had fallen so quickly, the United States had no time to supply its garrisons in the Pacific, and the Japanese ruled that ocean from the Aleutians to New Zealand. We attempted for a while to dent Nazi power by sending arms and foreign aid to Vidkun Quisling in Norway and Haw-Haw in England, on the theory that they were not Nazis, but "urban reformers." Unfortunately, the more aid we give them, the closer they seemed to align themselves with Hitler.

Toward the end of 1942, another "urban reformer" named Pedro de Vega appeared in Cuba, in rebellion against the anti-Nazi government there. The German-American Bundists said we had to help idealists like De Vega. Sherwood Matthews wrote in *The New York Times* that De Vega was a Latin Alexander Hamilton. Heeding these arguments, Roosevelt embargoed all aid to the anti-Nazi regime, and De Vega seized power. (After he gained office, De Vega revealed that he had been a Nazi ever since grammar school.)

As the Nazi tide began to roll through Latin America, a number of people in this country became unhappy with Roosevelt's policy. Certain generals and admirals said the United States was becoming surrounded by Nazism. They demanded resumption of aircraft development programs, exhorted Americans to realize the Nazis were their enemies, and urged an end of foreign aid to pro-Nazi regimes.

The German-American Bund quickly denounced these officers as "a menace to democracy." The War Department issued an order silencing the generals and admirals, saying they did not have the necessary training to understand the current difficult situation. Phrases like "Hitler is our enemy" and "we are at war with Fascism throughout the world" were censored from speeches. The military were also prevented from taking part in anti-Nazi seminars, which alarmed citizens had begun holding in an effort to find out what was wrong.

President Roosevelt became greatly angered at the growth of anti-Nazi sentiment in the country. Those who clamored for a "hard" course against Hitler he said, simply did not understand the "complexities" of war in the airborne age. In two major addresses, he attacked the anti-Nazis as "fanatics" and "extremists." The theme was taken up by *Newsweek*, *Time*, and *The New York Times*, all of which ran long articles arguing that the anti-Nazi movement was made up of crackpots. At about the time that Hitler was seizing Mexico, and Lord Haw-Haw was imposing a pro-Nazi coalition government in Canada, the popular cry in America became, "Anti-Nazism is more dangerous than Nazism."

The rest, of course, is history. The defeat of America by Nazism, said many who had advised President Roosevelt, was inevitable; there was no way we could have opposed the implacable course of destiny.

And yet there are still some who believe, if things had been done differently, the Nazis might not have won World War II after all.

*Reprinted from The Indianapolis News,  
December 7, 1961*



JARED LOBDELL

It is one of Professor Parkinson's discoveries that "a perfection of planned layout is achieved only by institutions on the point of collapse." (*Parkinson's Law*, p. 60). A rather different instance of this same general rule is to be found in Mr. Martin Mayer's book, *The Schools*. Mr. Mayer notes in that work that "an idea is dead when an organization is formed to support it", and gives as evidence for his contention the Progressive Education Association — the deace of whose guiding idea I cannot grieve, although this is not my present concern. What I would like to suggest is that the idea of Conservatism, especially of student Conservatism, is in danger of slipping into the same variety of desuetude. I do not wish, at present, to enter into the quarrels that have beset this as they beset every Cause, nor will I condemn the work of the several national organizations of the New Right. But perhaps it is time for a look, not at what they do, but at what they are. Let us consider the nature of the Young Americans for Freedom.

The organization, which claims (I think) between thirty and fifty thousand members, is, as it happily asserts, an "activist" group. It sponsors Victory Walks, picketing, rallies—adopting what used to be left-wing tactics for its present-day right-wing causes. It was mixed up with the Committee for a Responsible National Student Organization in the N.S.A. Congress last summer, is associated in one way or another with the Committee of One Million, the Comité Cuba Libre, and most recently the American Committee To Aid Katangan Freedom Fighters (ACTAKFF). It has members in common with the longer-established, non-activist Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, as well as with the Young Republicans and Young Democrats, and a ready source of supply in various local

conservative clubs, Parties of the Right, Eleutherian Societies, and so on. It provides its members and associates with magazines, newsletters, circulars, much sound, and not a little fury.

But now that there is a national organization of young Conservatives is Conservatism any better off nationally? It has been shown that Conservatives need not take second place in playing alphabet soup (ISI, CRNSO, ACTAKFF, even YAF itself), which, I suppose, was at one time in doubt. It has been shown—one might say, it has been shouted from the rooftops—that there actually are Conservatives, even young ones. But the thing I fear is that the very organization of Conservatism will work against it. I have nothing to say that would reflect on the estimable gentleman who is the National Chairman of the Y. A. F.—but why, pray tell, do Conservatives need a National Chairman? Might it not be the case that there is a contradiction in terms in the very existence of such executive leadership for Conservatives? And I would ask also, is it not possible that the idea of these Conservatives (and certainly of those who consider themselves Libertarians) fighting fire with left-winged fire, picketing, rallying, Armament-walking, shows the same inherent contradiction?

The question is not whether one can afford, even temporarily, to give up one's principles in order to see them triumph—the answer to that should be apparent—but whether in fact this is what the Y. A. F. are doing. I am not now referring to what YAF has done in particular, but what it promises in general. And what it promises, I repeat, is the adoption of the Liberal methods of the 1930s and before to destroy what those methods brought about. To be sure, it is accidental that the New Guard was a Bolshevik group long

before it became a Conservative magazine. It is not, however, accidental that the front groups grow merrily, in order, no doubt, to bring forth their New Conservative fruit in due season. Nor is it accidental that there is a growing young Conservative bureaucracy-by-mimeograph—doubtless necessary now that national headquarters for the Cause is so close to Madison Avenue, but not entirely unlike the Liberal bureaucracy to which these Conservatives are presumably opposed. Now perhaps the fruit will be good. Perhaps even the bureaucracy will bring forth an acceptable produce. Perhaps. But if we claim the end justifies the means, what is going to justify the end we come to? Picketing may be fun, marching may be fun, torchlight rallies may be fun, but if the battle is one of ideas, what is the idea of all this?

Those colleges where there are active Conservative groups have not, by and large, gained them from YAF. The Conservatives have gathered around separate and local traditions, separate and local causes. Some of them oppose YAF, quite properly, on Libertarian grounds. Better to fight fire with water, and better still with a fire extinguisher. So I ask, what is the nature of YAF? Perhaps Mr. Mayer's strictures would not be deserved. Conservatism, one trusts, is not yet dead. And it may be argued that the *New Guard*, the circulars, the newsletters, the sound and the fury, have all served to strengthen new converts to the Cause. Doubtless they may have—their actual efficacy is beyond the scope of these remarks. Perhaps even the alphabet soup helps. Shall we try for Old Americans for Freedom (OAF) or Middle-aged Americans for Freedom in America?

But if we except from consideration the special local endeavors of

CONCLUDED ON PAGE 21



# Why Not McGuffey's?

TIMOTHY WHEELER

## One Community battles the Educationists

"Educationism" is in its first fruition. Several decades ago its theorists decimated the remnants of "little red schoolhouse" public education, and few persons regretted the casualty. When the nation turned over its schools to the experts, it was optimistically thought that with flexible and enlightened theories established, future educational problems would be reduced to those of logistics and unruffled adjustment to the times. Unfortunately, in the process, the nation's children were also turned over to the experts, and it is now apparent to almost everyone that the mills of "educationism" grind out an inferior product. Johnny is a mess.

When job applicants are turned down for inability to use the alphabet; when universities are forced to lower entrance requirements and provide remedial courses in the most basic areas; when high school diplomas are no longer accepted as an indication of academic achievement; then it is clear that students are being badly retarded. But informed critics tell us that not only is Johnny unable to read, he is well on his way to losing what Harvard's David Riesman termed his "inner-directed" values and replacing them with "other-directed" conformity. Johnny's relationship to other members of society has blurred. No longer a sharply delineated individual, he has become a fuzzy mass-man, seeped in togetherness, untroubled by ambition or mental disciplines, bereft of his religion in a tide of moral permissiveness, conforming to the group and clinging to the middle of the road. He values security before independence, equality before excellence and above all, wants to be accepted. With characteristics such as these, he is ill-equipped to meet the challenges of daily life, much

less the vastly more exacting claims of greatness and creativity. His hopes of retaining his freedom are forlorn, for his are not the substance and spirit of a free man.

Viewing the juiceless product of "educationism", the school board at Twin Lakes, Wisconsin, sought out in the educational system the ills responsible for it. It decided, after reviewing the components of "progressive" education, that the fault lay with undue stress on methodology to the distinct detriment of curricular content. The board felt that a drastic change in text material was required—"see Spot run" had to go. It decided to introduce *McGuffey's Eclectic Reader*. Promptly and predictably, a storm of criticism arose.

*McGuffey's* is a set of readers which found extensive use in the past century, the last edition being published in 1879. The edition selected by the Twin Lakes board was revised and reissued in 1920. Obviously the Reader antedates progressive education, therefore cannot be progressive, therefore, must be worthless, at least in the eyes of the educationists. Indeed, the hassle at Twin Lakes has largely centered about the worth of the Reader for contemporary use.

The principal objection to *McGuffey's* was that it is "archaic", a meaningless charge. Forced to specifics, critics objected to its use of phonics, the older system whereby a word is learned by its constituent parts, as opposed to the now modish method of memorizing the whole word. If the competing systems were to be judged by their results, the former would seem preferable. It did not, for example, produce a generation of illiterates, and the question, "Why can't Johnny read?"

A second criticism was put forward by attorney Edward Zahn, representing the Twin Lakes Taxpayers' Alliance (membership: three), who declared that the board's decision was "a deliberate attempt of a small group to enforce on American children a political philosophy," hinting darkly that it was a John Birch plot. Politics, let it be admitted, find a place in *McGuffey's*: its political ideas are those of Washington, Henry, Paine and Jefferson. A *Time* article evaluated its philosophy to be honesty, kindness to animals and respect for parents. These values might be controversial to the likes of Zahn, but to imply that they would subvert American ideals is fatuous.

Attorney Zahn was joined by the *Milwaukee Journal*, the *Madison Capital Times* and a few liberal-minded citizens in suggesting that the long shadow of the John Birch Society lay over the Twin Lakes experiment. Obviously, the charge of "Birchism" was meant to have a discrediting effect upon the backers of the Reader, who happened to have a working majority in Twin Lakes. Its net effect, then, would have been to disallow the democratic majority on the grounds that their opinions were influenced by "Birchite"—i.e., extraneous and sinister—dogma. This is a curious and notably illiberal stance, with only the saving grace that the charge was never meant to be anything more than a smear.

The last frequently heard objection, excluding the inevitable mutters about Academic Freedom, was that *McGuffey's* is "sectarian", meaning that it is dotted with references to God. If, in our devotion to "non-sectarianism", we must do away with all such public references, does it not follow that the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and our currency, etc., must be scrapped?

Taken in sum, the criticisms of the Reader appear to be an uninformed and unbalanced reaction to the (quite real) threat it presents to "progressive" education. One detects among the critics a blind



devotion to the status quo in the face of reforms, hardly a realistic allegiance in a world of change.

Much deeper than the controversy over the merits of *McGuffey's* was a second issue uncovered by the school board's decision: to what extent should government control the field of education?

One would suppose that any attempt to improve the quality of the educational process, such as that by Twin Lakes, would be looked upon with favor by the state. However, not only did the State of Wisconsin (as represented by Superintendent of State Education Angus Rothwell) disapprove of *McGuffey's* as a text; it declared, in an action later found to be unconstitutional, that the texts could not be used if Twin Lakes expected further State aid. At first rejecting this ultimatum, the Twin Lakes board eventually agreed to delete "objectionable" religious and moral passages from the Reader. It was finally forced to compromise its position altogether by reducing the Reader to a supplementary text. At present, the board is fighting a suit seeking its removal from office for incompetence (shades of Earl Warren!) Whatever other implications all this may hold, it will at least lay to rest the dispute whether government aid to education means government control of education.

Public apprehension of government-controlled education is very widespread. The concepts of bureaucratically-managed curricula and mass-production schools—briefly, state-enforced conformity—are universally repugnant. What is the cohesive essence of these thoughts? If an essential element can be derived from them, it should serve as a viable criterion by which to judge the whole problem.

The primary drawback to government control is usually felt to be the inflexibility it necessarily entails. Bureaucratic methods are notoriously rigid. Moreover, a single "best" educational method, such as the state would impose, is at least highly suspect, for techniques improve with competition, not

rigidity. The essential element, then, is freedom.

Indeed, by what vehicle other than freedom can education expand and improve? While this has been explicitly recognized in the "free market place of ideas" concept of Academic Freedom, its extension into the area of government intervention has been obscured by more than a century of Madame D'Arusmont's "National, Rational, Republican Education, Free for All at the Expense of All, Conducted under the Guardianship of the State." But basically it is the responsibility of the parents to educate their children. Delegation of that responsibility to the educationist hierarchy must sooner or later result in a clash between the parents and the "experts", witness the uproar in Twin Lakes. Were it not for the three fundamental ideas behind public education—compulsory attendance, dictation of curricula, and forced collection of the costs ("free" education eats up a staggering 60% of general tax revenues in Wisconsin) from all members of the community—such situations could not arise. Parents would be free to send their Johnny to school wherever they pleased, or, if they desired, educate him at home. There would be no need to keep him in a school if they disliked the texts, for they could send him elsewhere in a real "free market place of ideas". Even now, parents have the option of trying to unseat the school board at the next election if they find fault with the educational system, but this is not only slow, it is an imposition upon other parents who take a different view. And it certainly is not practical except at a local level. Central authority always abnegates parental authority.

It would be pertinent to recall the admonition of the *Wall Street Journal* that: "We might as well recognize that when the Federal Government (or the Office of the State Superintendent) pays, (it) will have the right to proscribe books our children cannot read. And the right to proscribe books is, in the end, the right to prescribe

what books they may read."

This, then, is the basic issue raised at Twin Lakes. Whether we will continue toward ultimate centralization, eventually handing over (as Doctor Conant would have us do) all education to the state, and thereby guaranteeing the continued production of oafish Johnnies, or whether we will return education to local autonomy and to the parents, hinges to an extent on the outcome of the Twin Lakes controversy. If other communities will observe the example (or the martyrdom) of Twin Lakes and declare their independence from the present educationist drift into statism, then "see Spot run" is on the way out. That is our only hope of turning out a free and truly educated people.

### "MIMEOCRACY" CONCLUDED

a very few chapters of YAF—if we look at the national organization, the increase of plan, the increase of layout, and the possibly dubious increase in the perfection of plan and layout—in short, the increasing organization itself (the Federal Government of young Conservatism, so to speak)—I ask you, does this not exemplify Professor Parkinson's discovery? Is the Conservative bubble about to break—not because the soap was bad, but because, in blowing up the bubble, it was put to the wrong use? Better far to use it for washing things away.

I put it to you now. Is there not an inherent danger, inherent in the very nature of Conservative organization, that in seeking amalgamation, coagulation, coalition, and compony, the Conservative cause is sowing the dragon's teeth—the Liberal dragon, I hasten to add—and will in time raise up the requisite crop of dead (or organization) men? Exactly when was it decided that numbers, bureaucracy, and solidarity forever are the things most to be desired? When was it proven that front groups, sound, and fury, are what we need? And what have we sold in exchange for this particular National young Conservative mess of pottage?



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## Books: THE CURSE OF CARLYLE

Lawrence Fertig, *Prosperity Through Freedom*,  
Henry Regnery Co., Chicago 1961, \$3.95.

Thomas Carlyle, quite understandably despondent over the pessimistic theories of Malthus, was moved to pronounce economics the Dismal Science, giving it a permanent, but not wholly justified, black eye. Indeed, some find the study of economics fascinating, and the student of liberty will at least recognize the necessity for economic study as a defensive weapon in these capricious times. But the dismal reputation persists, and those concerned must welcome the attempts by a few iron-spined souls to dispel it by word or example.

One recalls the word of Dr. William Peterson. He argues that a science which can bring into dispute the meaning of "residual oligopsony" or "differentiated polypoly" can't be all bad. Dr. Peterson adds that esotericism is the order of the day in all modern disciplines, "So when the economist slyly word-drops 'atomistic heteropoly', kindly keep in mind he's got a wife and kids to support. It's all part of the game."

And one welcomes the example of Lawrence Fertig. Heaven knows, a readable presentation of the discursive reasoning of the Misesian school is no mean challenge, however worthwhile. Mr. Fertig masters the problem in his latest work, *Prosperity Through Freedom*, a work both of eminent readability and precise logic. The book may not be able to exorcise Carlyle's curse, but it can make fundamental, libertarian economics a pleasure to study, and that is a praiseworthy advance for the cause of liberty.

For those unacquainted with the author, Mr. Fertig writes a syndicated column on economic matters for the New York *World-Telegram and Sun*, and other Scripps-Howard papers. *Prosperity Through Freedom* is an expansion of his columns into book form. Less concerned with abstract theory than with an exposure of the fallacies of modern interventionism in application, Mr. Fertig nonetheless cleaves to the economic principles of von Mises to premise his exposures.

Taking an eclectic approach, the author moves from one piece of economic humbuggery to the next, shedding a good deal of light in all that gloom. Take the examples of Russia and China. Even if the reported production figures for this pair of giants are to be taken as true, Mr. Fertig points out, back-patting the Marxist Ignoble Experiment is ill-advised. Russia today is at a lower level than it was in the last year of the Czar's rule; the people's paradise in China is so sunk in famine that Fertig predicts death by starvation for one hundred fifty million persons. The figures appall. Likewise, they point up the fraudulence of claims that the planned economy can yield a result other than chaos.

America, a bastion of the free market, is also a spawning ground for interventionist experiments,



which do not escape Mr. Fertig's notice. Examining such areas of heavy government intervention as agriculture and the railroads, he points out the difficulties caused by the meddling from high places. A sharp contrast is evident between those areas of agriculture still ordered by the market economy, and those luckless ones under Orville Freeman's green thumb. That the railroads, for decades tortured by other federal thumbscrews, have avoided complete disintegration is a testimony to the resilience of the market.

In one ironic subchapter, revealingly entitled "How Our Experts Almost Ruined Germany", Mr. Fertig unfolds a tale hidden from the public view for ten years because the pertinent documents were classified "secret". The Truman Administration once sent a covey of economic advisors to Germany — headed by Professor Alvin Hanson of Harvard and including Dr. Walter Heller, a product of the universities of Wisconsin and Minnesota — to see if they couldn't shore up the struggling economy in that country. They couldn't. The panacea these gentlemen suggested was government interventionism, advice *Wirtschaftsminister* Ludwig Erhard chose ostentatiously to ignore. Subsequently, Dr. Erhard's free market policies coaxed into being the economic "miracle" of West Germany, and Dr. Heller became, of all things, chairman of President Kennedy's board of economic advisors. One can only hope that the president keeps Dr. Heller around solely to ignore his advice.

Much of Mr. Fertig's attention is vested in the latest interventionist cliché: the "Affluent Society", a sort of *mare absurdum* by John Maynard Keynes out of John Kenneth Galbraith (or vice-versa). The theory of affluence suggests that greedy individualists are "starving" the "public sector" by spending too much on private goods. Mr. Galbraith recommends taxation to restore "social balance", as determined by Mr. Galbraith, and devil take individual liberty. This will not win him many friends, especially among taxpayers. The demolition of such a theory has a slightly sadistic aura of flogging a dead horse, if you'll pardon the phrase, but it's all for the good.

Many other areas of the economy, of course, are discussed: the connection between wages, unemployment and inflation; tariff policies; monopolistic unionism; and even the "thought-control" element in advertising. Hacking through the little foibles and conceits of interventionism, Mr. Fertig not only keeps his balance, but preserves a certain dedication, which might be reduced to the belief that, "All government is necessarily imperfect, but the American government was never meant to provide a demonstration of it."

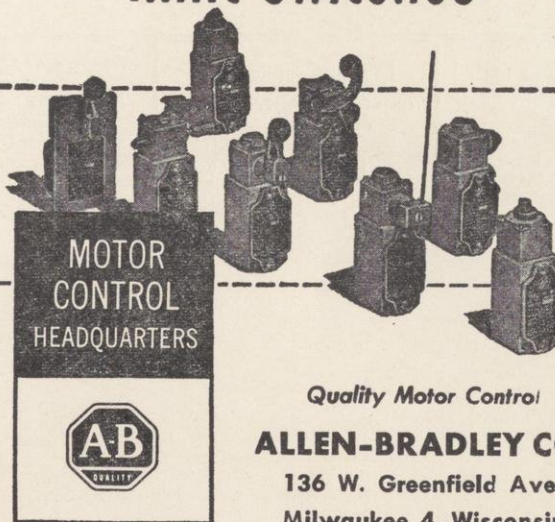
It has been suggested that *Prosperity Through Freedom* will prove useful even to students who take a dim view of the Dismal Science. It might be hoped that Mr. Fertig's example will blaze a trail from "differentiated polypoly" to "vestigial damfoolery" to "atomistic self-determination". He is, above all, a convincing man.

— Scott W. Lake

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“

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

”

Calvin Coolidge  
President of the  
United States, 1923-29



## HINDSIGHTS

◆ For years and years, peace and Democracy were threatened by poverty, Joe McCarthy, discrimination, Big Business, pro-Western dictators, HUAC, a declining national position in World Opinion, belligerent allies, and things like that. Maybe even Communism. All that's changed; in the course of a single year, the greatest danger has become — *mirabile dictu* — a clandestine internal Conspiracy. Of right-wing extremists. Last year at this time, we recall, there was nobody at all to the right of Barry Goldwater. This year there are millions, extremists all, and up to No Good. Next year — who knows? A democratic majority of extremists?

◆ Considering how rarely we agree with William T. Evjue, publisher and editor of the Madison Capital Times, it is almost a relief from drudgery to be able to commend him for his courageous public stand against the commercialization of Christmas. However, we could not accept his oft-repeated suggestion to make the mail-carrier a Santa Claus by giving our friends and dear ones Christmas subscriptions to the Capital Times.

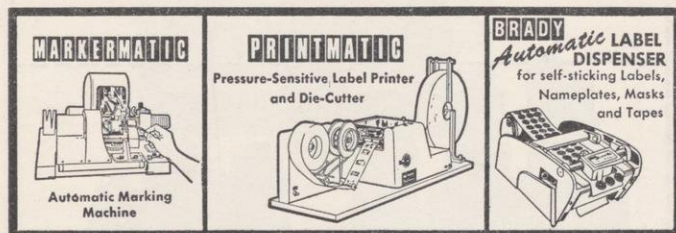
◆ The controversy over the HUAC film "Operation Abolition" simply will not subside. The California Civil Liberties Union has just issued its own version of the film with an anti-HUAC sound track. The HUAC itself has just issued a new 80-page defense of the film. All this fuss has not changed our own first and lingering impression of the film: its technical and artistic imperfections are so great as to make the film a pain to sit through. The sound track is scratchy, the photography is jittery, and the continuity is shoddy. Surely the academic community can find something more interesting to fuss over.

◆ An informant quotes a bigwig of the missing and presumed defunct Liberal Wisconsin Review as saying that issue #2 will "hit the streets any day now." In light of issue #1 last summer, what better place for it?

◆ Discerning people have long observed the generic similarities between latter-day Liberalism and Fascism. Fresh evidence was recently turned up in the extremist book-burning foray by leftist bandidos at Twin Lakes, Wisconsin—for the lurid details, see page 20 within.

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