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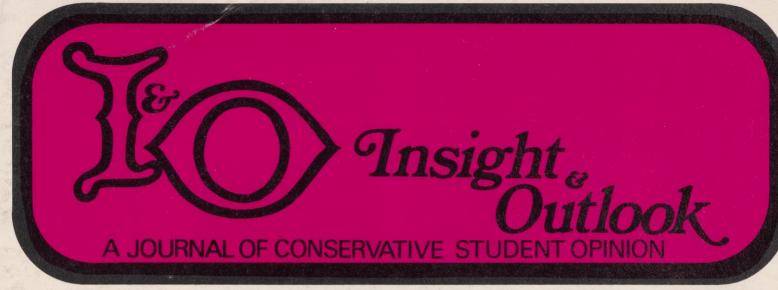
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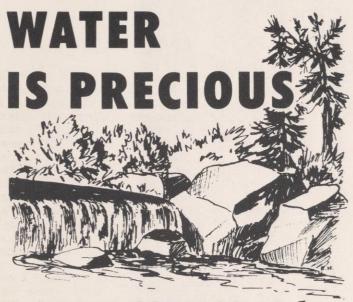
in this issue . . .

Special on YAF at the Crossroads with:

PLUS ARNIE STEINBERG RECALLING ST. LOUIS
. . . RICHARD S. WHEELER TAKING ON THE
VIETNAM BUG-OUT MOB . . . AND L. ARNHART
AND R. WRIGHT REVIEWING KIRK AND NORTH.

VOLUME X, NUMBER 4

MARCH 1970



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Insight and Outlook 1315 E. Randolph Court Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53212 It cannot be argued that the Young Americans for Freedomhave assumed the predominant leadership role in the common causes of the young conservatives, if not of the entire conservative intelligentsia. There have always been internal battles in YAF, each befitting the hot blooded nature of most of the membership, but centering usually on arguments over personnel and politics, not basic philosophy. The post war baby boom has hit YAF too, it appears, and now the supericon smashers of the present age can be found even in YAF chapters, in recognition we suppose, of the essentially anti-establishment stance taken by the organization. Some of these youthnow are questioning whether they do in fact have common cause with conservatives.

In this issue, <u>Insight and Outlook</u>, presents a one sided view of who should find common cause with YAF conservatives. For this, we return to the 1969 YAF Convention in St. Louis for our material. We wish particularly to thank Mr. William Buckley, Jr. for permission to print his address to the convention, and Arnold Steinberg, formerly editor of the YAF magazine, <u>The New Guard</u>, for his review of YAF's status at and following St. Louis. In addition, we have prevailed upon our new editor, Dave Keene, for the taped manuscript of his inaugural speech as National Chairman of YAF. To this material we have added a piece by Richard Wheeler on the most significant development (in our view) in the Left-Right split in the months since Labor Day week end, the Anti-War Moratoria, and reviews of two books which don't quite seem to have made the review columns of most national publications.

We would like to call our reader's attention to a new publication by a former managing editor, Tim Wheeler. The publication is SNAFU: A Journal of Conspiracy, published at Box 1228, Larchmont, New York, by our People's Underground, purveyors of buttons to conservatives. Incidentally, those of you who are interested are urged to write Tim at that address and suggest he consider making a button containing the Richard Weaver definition of conservatism 'Conservatism is a paradigm of essences toward which the phenomenology of the world is in continuing

approximation".

Meanwhile, we are in the era of the Silent Majority; Spiro Agnew is the third most admired man in America behind Richard Nixon and Billy Graham; the Conservatives have an opportunity, however, slight, to reverse (to some extent) the disastrous course of the 1960's. Probably, through factional squabbling, noxious arguments over libertarianism vs traditionalism and a general inability to withstand prosperity, we will blow the chance. Let us hope not. In any case, with a new Editor, Dave Keene, Insight and Outlook will do its best to preserve the force of Conservatism and hope that the force of Conservatism will be able to preserve the American Republic — even to make it free as it should be, lest the anti-conservatives among you libertarians think you have a monopoly on that desire.

- R. O. W.

YAF After the Saint Louis Convention

David A. Keene

Arnold Steinberg

Every two years, some poor, unsuspecting hotel falls victim to a national convention of Young Americans for Freedom. Last Labor Day weekend one thousand YAFers from throughout the nation (including Hawaii) convened in St. Louis at Stouffer's Inn. The convention was the most significant in YAF history, and not simply because it was well attended, but because issues of profound philosophical significance were introduced and discussed

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Libertarian conservatives believe in individual freedom and laissez-faire economics. Since 1960 when YAF was started at the Connecticut estate of Wm. F. Buckley, Jr., more and more libertarians have found YAF to be an outstanding vehicle for educating young conservatives. By this year's convention, the libertarians were prepared to field a slate of candidates for the YAF national board of directors.

The "establishment" slate was victorious, and yet the libertarians were not losers. The libertarians gained many converts and opened the minds of many young conservatives intellectually gifted, but lacking philosophical inspiration. Some of the establishment candidates were libertarians themselves, and only a few are traditionilist, that is, tending to favor a religious, patriotic-based order as an alleged basis for individual freedom, or hostile to libertarian sentiment. Most are perceptive enough to recognize the efficacy of laissez-faire economics, and further many accept the libertarian emphasis on campus action, especially an emphasis on education and philosophically-based programs. Few YAFers at the convention

labeled themselves "traditionalist." The establishment slate was victorious because several of its candidates were outstanding, and because the establishment had methodically collected on political debts owed by state and chapter chairmen. Many delegates voted for the establishment slate because some establishment propagandists had convinced them the Libertarian Caucus represented the Karl Hess/Murray Rothbard "anarchocapitalism" mentality. In fact, most libertarians repudiated the Hess-Rothbard line, winch is favorable toward the New Left and hostile toward YAF.

The theme of the convention was "Sock It to the Left." The unfortunate negativism is probably attributable to some of the less imaginative St. Louis YAF people, but the real direction of YAF leadership is to provide a freedom alternative to the authoritarianism of the New Left. There was no question that the convention indicated things to come: less of an emphasis on juvenile Republican politics, which can be handled by senior post-YAF specialists, and a steady emphasis on confronting the Left, philosophically and, if need be, when rational and legal alternatives are exhausted, physically, on the campus.

One of YAF's most charismatic and activist leaders, Harvey Hukari of Stanford University, was defeated in his bid for the national board. Hukari, originally an establishment slated candidate, publicly left the slate, on the basis that conservatives should not vote for a slate, but should vote for individuals. Though personally defeated, Hukari made his point. In the future

it will be very difficult for the national office to field a slate of candidates, some of whom would be elected anyway through the competitive wheeler-dealing at an open convention, and some of whom are too mediocre to be elected based on their own intelligence, competence and personal appeal.

YAF IS BEST BET

David Keene was supported by virtually everyone as YAF National Chairman, and he was elected by acclamation. Keene was principally supported because of his personal attributes and leadership ability. An intellectually-gifted and articulate spokesman for young conservatism, Keene shares a good part of the libertarian program. He accepted the establishment slate as his own, and thus given the broadly-based support of establishment-oriented candidates, plus the libertarian caucus support, he won without opposition.

Keene's greatest challenge will be exercising his leadership to convince libertarians that YAF is still their best bet. Some of them are in no mood to be convinced - but YAF now has its most solid financial footing and organizational structure in its history. Membership is growing, and members are more intelligent and better read than ever before. More and more, YAF is in fact emphasizing freedom, which means opposition to the status quo, though working for change within it. If Keene is a strong leader, willing to assert himself, YAF's future is in good hands, but his position, because of libertanan intransigence may be a difficult one.

As Conservatives Who Cherish Liberty

William F. Buckley, Jr.

Ladies and gentlemen. I assume that you know that I am happy to be here. Otherwise, as a libertarian, I wouldn't be here. Right? Wrong. I might very well be here, even as you, and you, and you might be here, not because you want to be here but because you feel you should be here. What is it that determines what one should do? Surely not what one wants to do, because the answer is then circular, leaving the question substantially unanswered. Duty sometimes coincides with desire, a happy but alas unusual conjunction. Duty more often marches off in a direction independent of desire. and I do not of course mean merely fleshly desire, but also intellectual desire. How does one know. I repeat, what duty is? Does it issue only out of the concatenation of one's senses, material and spiritual? There are those who say that: and they reduce--or such is my judgment, anyway--the meaning of freedom to an arid solipsism. It is fun-and-games to think that freedom consists alone in the gratification of one's own uniquely brewed desires. It is much more complicated to understand that freedom, this side of Paradise, means not only the pursuit of one's own objectives in one's own ways-that is extremely important -- but also a certain attachment to common principles. That attachment we must always be free as individuals to renounce. But having renounced it, we must recognize that we then become excommunicates, who have lost the freedom that issues from that common bond. We rightly despise the society that forbids apostasy, and pity the apostate who finds no honorable alternative to apostasy. I despise the Soviet Union among other things for for-

bidding apostasy, yet I pity Kuznetsov for suffering the loneliness of apostasy. The freedom that some of our fanatics talk about is the freedom of the excommunicate. I listen to their songs, and find only disharmony. It is reflected not alone in their curious paradoxes but in their strident rhetoric. Thus the most conspicuous critic of the Young Americans for Freedom says that you are dumbfounded by "false and authoritarian friends"; that the leadership of your movement "would like nothing more than the return of Cotton Mather or Torquemada"; that the "f" in YAF stands for what you have "secretly stood for all along, fascism"; that "order" as you desire "order" means simply "State dictation and State-controlled property": that the State defends itself by the hiring of "goon squads." Not only is the thought remarkable for its opacity, the rhetoric acquires that feel of the ideological meathook. It loses balance, point, direction, equilibrium, grace, geniality. It turns to heavy banality--"Poor Bastiat and Cobden," the critic writes, "must be"--one hopes for surcease, but the iron pull of platitude does not permit the freedom of literary imagination-- "Poor Bastiat and Cobden must be turning over in their graves." Poor Shakespeare and Hemingway are surely turning over in their graves. Another man, by nature so gentle and kind, is drawn by the same cankerous muse to the fever swamps. And there he writes such prose as "This supposedly noble land"--he means this country, the second oldest republic in the world, the great fortress of freedom in a terrorized world; the object of the affections of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, of Theodore Roosevelt and Barry Goldwater,-- 'this supposedly

noble land, he writes, "had been fed and bred on this obviously ignoble fare." "Fed and bred" "On this obviously ignoble fare" Does he mean bred and fed? Is he distinguishing obviously ignoble fare from surreptitiously ignoble fare? "It seems now impossible," he continues towards his rhetorical climax, "to say that all of this horseshit is just some aberration of an otherwise perfect civil comity and economic dynamism." It certainly seems now impossible to recall that the gentleman used to write speeches for Barry Goldwater: as an alternative, it seems clearer why Barry Goldwater lost. It is a deep and paralyzing drug, fanaticism. "To really love this land. you must first learn to loathe this nation and the system for which it stands." The analysis is as mystifying as the syntax. Surely if this land is to be distinguished from this nation, you can love it just as it is. There is no such thing as Communist or a totalitarian or a democratic or a libertarian lake or mountain-spring or prairie. What does he mean? Why must you loathe this nation? In what sense does this nation "stand for" a system? The thought is as confused as the language is extreme. Is this extremism in defense of liberty? I shouldn't think so. I rue, and continue to do so, the unnecessary distance this country has traveled away from the freedom for its citizens. YAF was founded among other things to brood over that excess. and to keep it constantly before the mind of the public. But to assume that young Americans or old Americans could have any freedom at all in the absence of a measure of sacrifice towards that common affection which lifts our society into being, is to assume

that each one of us is omnipotent, and to prove only that each one of us is omnipotent only in the capacity to fool oneself, and to make oneself a fool.

I hope it will not be thought a betrayal to observe that the fight for freedom, and the fight to conserve, require different emphases depending on the historical situation. One American could hardly be enthusiastic, for instance, about the policies proposed for Czechoslovakia by Dubcek in the spring of 1968: such policies, were they proposed for the United States, would pitch this group, and quite understandably, into revolutionary resistance. But such policies as Dubcek proposed for Czechoslovakians in 1968 were wildly welcome there--as an advance upon freedom. The concerns of young and old Americans for freedom are. I judge, twofold. First to hold out some idea of how things ought to be, ideally; second, to hold out some idea of the direction towards which our society should move considering which are the available roads. The most conspicuous enemies of freedom nowadays are of course--as always--the governments that gorge themselves on human freedom. But there are other enemies, the identification of which is surely the business of anyone who is concerned with such freedom as matters. Listen for a moment. if you will, to a letter, a lengthy letter, that reached me yesterday, in whose lines are impacted almost everything that there is to worry about in our time; or in any other time

"Dear Mr. Buckley:

"I am writing to you in a state of frustration, frustration at my own life. I do not know whom to turn to. My parents I can't bring myself to ask. My church, Grace Cathedral, was the former stomping ground of Bishop Pike. I am amost 19 and will be attending my second

year at Berkeley. Last year is when what I call my "attacks of doubt" fully blossemed. I do not really know what is wrong with me, but I do feel that something is wrong with me, and I ask your advice. I am sorry for wasting your time, if I am, but I am so sad and need help.

"In college last year I joined a fraternity (sex and pot among the liberal element is as frequent there as drinking beer, which is as frequent as eating, which is as frequent as breathing). And I have discovered that I am, like Dmitri Karamozov, enchanted with sensual pleasure and beauty. I eat, play music and want to sleep with every woman that arouses me in the least, and hardly study.

"I became confused. My English 1A teaching assistant, a most depressing young Marxist, came to the conclusion that literature; art, are totally useless, frivolous. I could not find words to reply, nor reason. Then I took a philosophy course which sent me spinning. How can one learn the Truth about something he wants to know about when he cannot know for sure if what he is told is the truth unless he knew beforehand what it is, in which case there would be no reason to ask questions? I began to doubt reality after a while. A painful pang of doubt overcomes, clutches my heart every word I utter any more and then my mind goes reeling off into a thousand thoughts.

Today at work (I work in the laundry in the basement of Children's Hospital) my boss angrily said to me while we emptied a box of new baby blankets into a soiled linen cart, 'Did' you read about those damned hippies

A.

giving the addresses of those narcotics agents in their paper. They oughta be blown up.

"'Yeah,' I explained, 'and they intend to give the names and addresses of the Tac Squad. Christ, every Black Panther in the state'll be trying to blow them up.'

"Their philosophy is very simple.' I said, 'They figure that everything in society is evil so all they have to do is destroy everything and then everything'll be all right.'

"isn't what they're doing evil?"

"Suddenly, the doubt was upon me as my boss said that. 'Yeah,' I said inwardly, pathetically. 'What is evil?' I thought. What difference does any of this make. I was lost, lost in a thousand thoughts. I felt no moral outrage. When Sharon Tate was murdered a couple of weeks ago suddenly I felt no outrage after reading the details of her death. 'Another bit of ferment has hit the dust' came through my mind - Wolf Larsen's words - or thoughts. I read in the S.F. Chronicle that the Red Guards are on the march. But then my initial shock wore off and I found myself feeling hypnotized by the words, 'dialectical materialism,' which my English 1A teacher cast over our class one day. History is on their side, perhaps. What does it matter what they do?

"I go back to Berkeley soon. I went there to save the world initially, but now I believe alternately during the day in nothing, and, somesomething. I was times. of the revived president chapter of the Y.A.F. long enough to revive it officially and to set up its first pamphlet table. As I sat there, the first person to confront me

was a grinning joker with red-tinted glasses, a communist, a Marcusean. He made mincemeat of me. I could not answer him. I could do nothing. I went to a Y.A.F. conference near L.A. last Christmas, found most of them to be atheists, tried to break up a fight over a wine bottle so savagely that I frightened the guy I grabbed into attacking me; listened to a philosophy teacher comment that your magazine is malarky because it's hung up on religion and then he ridiculed James Burhham. Back at school I found myself going rollerskating instead of to Y.A.F. meetings.

"When I go back to Berkeley I will be lost and what with all the damned depression, riots, and attempts by everyone to get me on pot I am afraid I shall just'flip. Please, can you offer me some advice? Forgive me for inconveniencing you. Thank you. Sincerely,"

How does one reply to such a letter, other than on one's knees? There is freedom abounding in America--which does not help that student. He sees the ground of truth removed from him, lowering him down into the depths of epistemological despair. At one YAF meeting he finds that the excitement is over who gets the wine bottle, and who can exceed the other in iconoclasm, as though freedom consisted in a Luddite destruction of all our carefullybuilt ties to the past, to present, to nature, to super-nature.

How does it go for us? What are the proximate concerns of those who care for freedom? What is the new, the current conservatism?

It is correctly supposed that it is in some respects at least different from the old conservatism. Consider ten years ago. Conservatives in America rallied in their disapproval of the invitation to Nikita Khruschev to visit the United States, attaching to that visit a symbolic significance which indeed it had, notwithstanding the violent reversals that were to come so soon, over the next three years, Khrushchev successively 1) withdrew his reciprocal invitation to Eisenhower, in high dudgeon over the U-2 flight; 2) erected the Berlin Wall; and 3) sent missiles to Cuba with which to threaten us. But the trend had set in and when, in June 1967, Kosygin came over to the UN and popped down to New Jersey to visit with President Johnson, there wasn't a picketer in sight.

The incident is revealing not only for reteaching us what is after all obvious--that that which arouses public protest on Monday becomes routine on Tuesday. It teaches us that some issues are forever broken by the snapping of a symbolic switch. What appeared so very wrong to many people was the very idea of a state visit by the active leader of the most highly organized totalitarian force in history. That is the force which Mr. Henry Kamm of the New York Times, no doubt greatly surprising many of his colleagues, identified two weeks ago on his return from a tour of duty there as the "most comprehensive onslaught that has ever been mounted on the human spirit." But the moment that Khrushchev's visit was consummated, it would become ever after all but impossible to restore the status quo ante; so that the return to chastity became, in a way, pointless. Once deflowered, that is it; one moves on, does what one can within such ground as is left to us to maneuver in. As conservatives who cherish liberty we survive as the most adamant anti-Communist class in America, looking always for fresh forms by which to express our resolution. The Soviet Union is most cooperative, never letting too much time go by without giving us cause. Notwithstanding, every time it becomes a little tougher, because of the general attrition of anti-Communism,

which began with the great symbolic rupture of 1959.

Thus when the invasion of Czechosolvakia took place the editorial chastisements of the Soviet Union were just a little perfunctory, like an obituary notice written years ago, and pulled out with a fresh lead. Sub specie they are equally horrifying, the rape of Hungary (as we used to call it) and that of thirteen years Czechoslovakia later. But somewhere along the line the word went out--and its force was not lost on conservatives-that it had become somehow vulgar to raise one's voice against the Communists quite so forthrightly. So that when we did so in the summer of 1968, it was like an impromptu cadenza, the climax of which was Candidate Richard Nixon's suggestion that perhaps this was not the ideal climate in which to vest our confidence in an anti-proliferation treaty. Six months later President Nixon routinely sent the treaty through for ratification, with an explanation as to why things were different now from what they were last August, an explanation which nobody can recall with any precision.

What is the meaning of this for conservatives? It drives us even as domestic developments do, to different, if by no means inconsistent, positions. The major battle of the year was over ABM. Never mind the scientific dispute which, after all, is neatly consigned to irrelevance by the observation that if the one group of scientists is correct we have lost five or so billion dollars, if the other is correct we might lose thirty million lives. The anti-Communism of the old days, when YAF was founded, was one part evangelistic. It held, as the Sharon Statement records, that we had an obligation of sorts to help those who could not help themselves to fend off the juggernut. There was talk, even, of rolling back the Iron Curtain--the liberation rhetoric of the early fifties. But the principal strength of anti-Communism--again I refer you to

the Sharon Statement--was less evangelistic than self-affirmative. Anti-Communism was not only a means of saying that we disliked Stalin, but that we liked the opposite of Stalin, represented, roughly speaking, by--us.

The debate on ABM counterpoised at one level the true conservatives and at the other--call them what you will--The Doubters is perhaps the least provocative designation. The conservatives are reduced to insisting that the defense of our country is worth it at any cost. This was at the heart of the debate. During the four or five years preceding it, doubts about America were industriously cultivated, raising generic doubts that had never been raised before outside the camps of the neurotically disaffected. Who, for instance, listening to the public utterances of the Reverend William Sloane Coffin or of Dr. Benjamin Spock, would conclude that in order to save what we now have--whatever our faults-is worth the risk of atomic war? What we have (ask the Kerner Commission) is a country deeply and passionately committed to racism; a country (ask Seymour Melman) altogether dominated by industrial-military complex; the world's principal agent of violence and savagery (ask Martin Luther King); the apogee of materialism and hypocrisy (Marcuse). Why would anyone go to such lengths as conceivably might be required, to preserve such a nation as that? A velleity to survive is one thing. An atomic war is another.

I see it as the historical role of young Americans for freedom and old Americans for freedom not to abandon our traditional concerns, but to accept the necessity for gutaffirmations respecting America's way of doing things, some of which were traditionally defended by the liberals and the progressives, whose contemporary uncertainty about them (Messrs. Wicker and Reston of the New York Times have several times, for instance, shown themselves sympathetic to the use of

force by Negro militants), imposes special burdens on the conservatives. We are under the circumstances constrained to look anew at, for instance:

1. The democratic process. This was never considered by conservatives as a principal responsibility of ours. There were quite enough bards of democracy floating about, even ideologists of democracy, even imperialists of democracy, so that for years conservatives thought it better to ask questions about what it was that democracy had ushered in, rather than join in the chorus that made of the democratic process itself the venerable

It is a little different now, because order has been challenged, and the conservatives have always believed in the blessings of a rudimentary order. It was (above all) the conservatives who observed that Lyndon Johnson had been elected President by the democratic process and that under the circumstances, pending his repudiation, rights were vested in him to exercise. The new conservatives have had to stress the democratic process at other than government levels. It isn't exactly democracy that designates who will be the president and the fellows of Harvard University, but there is a feel of democracy there. Some of the fellows are directly elected by the relevant constituency, the alumni of Harvard. Those who are not so elected but are designated by the incumbents cannot in fact be so offensive to the alumni body as to give rise to mutiny--Harvard is rich but not that rich. So that conservatives find themselves defending the rights of the authorities of Harvard over against the mobocratic demands of students and faculty who wish to leapfrog the authorities so as to have their own impulsive way, instantly.

2. And due process, the meticulous cousin of the democratic process. We often looked cynically on due process--the means, along with the Constitution's commerce

clause, by which the federal government managed whatever intervention in human affairs appealed to it during that season. Thus due process was used by the Supreme Court to revolutionize criminal prosecution, even as the Courts had used the commerce clause to defend Congress's right, via its authority over interstate commerce. to set the rate of pay of elevator operators. The abuse of due process was rampant: but how valuable due process becomes, up against Marcusean furies. Thus conservatives, though perhaps historically bitter over what due process was made to do at the hands of the abstractionists and the semantical profiteers, find ourselves fighting especially hard for its survival. The guillotine is sharpened by those who disdain due process and restraint--not alone for those who have been raised over us by the exercise of democratic authority-the Lyndon Johnsons, the Mayor Daleys, the Nathan Puseys -- but for others--the prosperous owners of Dow Chemical (merchants of death, take away what they have), the little Jewish delicatessen owner in Harlem (racist exploiter, vandalize him out of existence).

3. Upward mobility. Over the years the social democrats were thought of as the principal enthusiasts for it because of their social programs, which were essentially egalitarian, redistributionist. The conservatives insisted (quite rightly) that upward mobility was precisely what the free market most generously contributed to, and we had the figures to prove it. But having said as much, we left it (quite naturally) to internal resources, up against the system. to take advantage of the opportunities to rise. Many many millions took those opportunities. But now the need for that mobility is more acute than ever, because of such restlessness as is suggested in the letter of the despairing young man from Berkeley. So much so that many conservatives are giving the free market place something of a

hand-for instance, by preferential hiring of Negroes. That is helpful. Even more helpful, I think most of you would agree, is a concerted assault on institutional barriers to the rise of the depressed, to the victimization of the poor. So? Repeal the minimum wage laws. Destroy anti-black discrimination in the labor unions. Ease--preferably, eliminate--the graduated feature of the income tax. Adopt an altogether different attitude towards what Mr. Roger Starr so acutely isolates as the "disorganized poor," in contrast to the transient

Here is an order of concerns for the conservative which by no means involves abandonment, let alone the theoretical repudiation, of some of our other concerns. But the historical responsibility of the

conservatives is altogether clear: it is to defend what is best in America. At all costs. Against any enemy, foreign or domestic. That way only can we find fruitful avenues for our energies, and rediscover a way to attract the attention of the sophomores at Berkeley and elsewhere who, lacking your faith, lack your imagination. They turn to booze, sex, drugs, iconoclasm, each one of them, taken to excess. a killer, psychologically, physically, spiritually. It is well to remember that Don Giovanni died not only an excruciating death, but a death of great anxiety, fearing that somewhere, somehow, there existed a maiden he had not seduced. The young pusher in a recent issue of Esquire is tormented by the fear that there might exist a drug he has not tasted. I lie awake at

night, fearing that I might die before having yet one more opportunity to enrage the New York Times. It is all quite useless, isn't it. when there is so much that might rescue us, that might leaven the life of the sophomore at Berkeley. You can't get it merely from an organization. But organizations have their place, and yours is a glorious place in these days of upheaval and self-doubt, when you can be seen going about your business, exercising your freedoms as individuals, but concerting to make known to the doubters that you know -- know enough to believe in the American dream; enough to know that what we have in America is worth saving, yea even unto the consummation of the world.

Chairman's Address to the 1969 YAF Convention

David A. Keene

I stand before you this evening to thank you for the vote of confidence in me, to pledge myself to work to justify that confidence and to ask you to join with me in working to carry out the programs we have dedicated ourselves to this weekend. In my opinion, the work that Young Americans for Freedom does in the next few years may well prove to be the most important work in our continuing history. I say this primarily because of the position of our organization in the American Conservative movement,

and because of the opportunities available to conservatives at this point in the history of this country. We have come a long way since the Sharon Conference, a conference that I wasn't even around to attend. We like to speak sometimes of Young like to speak sometimes of Young Americans for Freedom as the largest and most effective conservative youth organization in the United States, but we have to realize now that YAF is even more than that; YAF today has become the most important conservative

organization in America. A realization of that fact must lead us to an appreciation of the responsibilities that go with that status. The truth of the statement that YAF is now the most important conservative organization in the United States illustrates by itself the progress that we have made since Sharon. We have all enjoyed some good times together in the 9 years of our history and I think that most of us can remember that we have suffered through some that haven't been so good. We have stood behind literally hundreds of conservative candidates at the national, state and local levels. Our activities have brought thousands of young Americans into the conservative movement and helped us train a generation of young conservative leaders who will be charged with the task of implementing programs consistent with our beliefs in the years ahead. This success in our present position is directly traceable to our devotion to the enduring principles embodied in the Sharon Statement, and to our refusal to compromise those principles. Indeed, I am personally convinced that it has been our principaled stand that has brought us so far in an age when principles have so often bowed to expediency.

I am not going to spend much time here this evening talking about our past accomplishments, we all know about them, and because I feel that our task here is not to go over the accomplishments of the past but to plan for the accomplishments of the future, yet I do feel that we must recognize the fact tonight that we are what we are today because of the dedicated work of those who met at Sharon and worked to put Young Americans for Freedom together. We owe particular thanks, it seems to me, to those who have served in positions of leadership at the chapter, state and national levels over the years. We have been blessed with excellent leadership throughout those nine years. A survey of our national leaders for example, has convinced me that I have some pretty high standards to live up to, standards set by people like the late Bob Schuchman, by Bob Bauman, Tom Huston and Alan Mackay. All of these people deserve our gratitude and our thanks for without them we would not be where we are this day in 1969. I said earlier that I feel we are faced with tremendous opportunities at this point in the history of this country, I say this because we are entering a period of intellectual and political turmoil which will shape the future of America for generations

to come. We have spent a good deal of time this weekend discussing our responses to the so-called New Left. We must recognize the fact. however, that most of our discussions concerned defensive tactics designed to thwart leftist assaults on our campuses and upon the American society. These responses are necessary; in the short run they may occupy a good deal of our time: but they alone will not win the more important challenges that we face at this time. We must ask ourselves in addition why our politically naive colleagues on the campuses of this country are so easily exploited by the manipulators and the professional revolutionaries of the left. We must ask ourselves why legitimate social concerns can be so easily channelled by skilled and semi-skilled radicals into destructive action. We must realize, it seems to me, that this happens and this is happening because in one way the left is correct, it is correct when it says that the American establishment has failed the people of this country. The trouble on our campuses, the trouble in our cities, the troubles that we see all around us represent and symbolize the dangers inherent in a period of listlessness and ideological decay. The liberalism of the fifties and sixties is dying and the new ideologues are at the scene ready, willing and perhaps able to move into the power vacuum that has been created.

For several decades mankind not only in the United States but in the world has been involved in a sort of wild love affair with the government. People have looked to the state, to government, for the solutions to almost all the problems that they face; the government has been loved and trusted—and very, very rarely questioned. But, today, for the first time, this love affair seems to be rapidly coming to an end in the United States of America.

The love affair is ending not so much because people have learned to fear the power of the superstate as because they have seen it fail to solve the problems that led to its creation. Statist solutions has failed in case after case, until many people have lost faith in the whole governmental approach to problem solving.

The power of the state, for example, was mobilized against poverty nearly forty years ago, but poverty remains with us. Negroes were told back in 1963 that a law would solve their problems only to find that laws do not create men of good will. In many other areas governmental programs have institutionalized and perpetuated problems they were de-The record of signed to solve. failure is astonishing to many, but has convinced increasing numbers of the inability of Big Brother to deliver on his promises.

The obvious failure of the statists gives us an opportunity, because now, for the first time, Americans are casting about for alternatives. For the first time in decades we will be listened to if we can come up with answers to the very real problems facing our country.

Our failures in the past, it seems to me, can be traced to the conservatives tending to concern ourselves more with theoretical than practical matters. Our task during the next few years must be to apply the theories and philosophy to the problems that concern us all. We must, for example, develop and present alternative solutions to the problems of urban poverty and environmental decay. If we can do this we will attract new converts to our cause; we will defuse the totalitarian left; and we will lay the groundwork for a new and freer society.

The future of conservatism is largely in our hands. We must accept the challenge or lose by default. This convention is a sure sign that we are going to accept it.

Thank you.

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After the Moratoria

Richard S. Wheeler

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The moralizing against the Vietnam War reached such a crescendo during the fall moratoriums that it would be well, for the sake of truth, to examine that moral posture carefully. The assaults on "the war machine" were particularly grounded on the Sixth Commandment, Thou Shalt Not Kill, and so it is to this commandment we must look to see whether it undergirds the moratorium position.

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To apply this Mosaic commandment to war is to misunderstand an historic moral position of Judaism and Christianity. Traditionally, the Sixth Commandment has been interpreted to mean, "Thou Shalt Not Commit Murder." It prohibits a personal act. This is manifest throughout the Old Testament, in which there are numerous examples of the success of Israeli arms, with the blessing and assistance of God, over neighboring powers. To take one well-known and dramatic example, when David slew Goliath it was not considered an act of murder. but an act of war against the Philistines. So far was God from being angered by the slaying that He promised the Jews, and ultimately the world, a Messiah from the house and lineage of David!

There are, in other words, just wars from the Judeo-Christian standpoint; wars sanctified by God. Such wars are not, generally, aggressive wars, but defensive ones-- particularly the defense of one's homeland, such as the land of Israel. Biblically, murder is qualitatively different from an act of war. It is personal and perversea product of passion or premeditation. But an act of war is impersonal and is designed to help

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College Transfer

There are about a million Roman Catholic Christians in South Vietnam, according to columnist Joe Alsop. They were converted by missionaries during the French colonial days. Many are refugees from the north, which they fled for their lives when the Communists took over. In addition, Alsop reports the existence of nearly half a million more loyal officials, making a total of about a million and a half South Vietnamese who would be murdered or liquidated, according to intelligence estimates, if Hanoi were to gain control of the south. If the North Vietnamese follow the example of the Chinese Communists, the Christian community in Vietnam will be substantially wiped out. A foretaste of what would happen has already occurred at Hue, which the Viet Cong occupied for two weeks a while back. They left behind them, in a mass grave, the bodies of 3,500 civilians who were murdered during that brief period. The North Vietnamese murder machine, that is, would begin to shed more blood upon controlling the south than has been spilled in the war. The deaths of those Christians and officials would be cold murder: not acts of war, but executions.

Those who advocate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam on terms that would permit the Hanoi murder machine to function shall face the responsibility for genocide. Those who shout "stop the war machine!" would have the blood on their hands of the Communist murder machine. Those of us who have favored the war for the sake of a free Vietnam have every right to respond with a cry of our own: "Stop the murder machine!"

ment to the second for the second sec Morally, the proponents of of instant capitulation are no different from the isolationists who argued on the eve of World War II, in the face of Hitler's poised armies, "Let Europe fall! And if the Jews are murdered, why, that is a small price to pay for peace!" In each instance the U.S. has had to oppose murder machines, the ghouls of totalitarianism who follow in the wake of the armies. If there is such a thing as blood guilt upon the supporters of the war, then surely there will also be blood guilt upon those who would permit the triumph of Hanoi. Those who favor defending the south can at least presume they wage a just war. But those who favor capitulation to Hanoi must acknowledge, as history will surely acknowledge, their complicity in the murder of the Christian innocents in Vietnam. The blood of murder truly stains darker and deeper than the blood of war.

II -- Hypocrisy

It is a phenomenon of the Left that its indignation is selective. If a barbarity is committed by the parties of the Right, such as a Franco or the Nazis, the Left's moral indignation knows no bounds. But if the atrocity is performed by the Left, such as Red China's genocidal liquidation of some twenty million Chinese, including China's Christians; or the Soviet Union's liquidation of millions of kulaks; or the Russian liquidation of the Polish Officer Corps in the dark forests of Katyn; or the impending slaughter of a million Vietnamese Christians upon the triumph of Hanoi- why; these are more or less ignored, Many steps from the best waite or considered minor blemishes in the course of the world's progress leftward.

The proponents of a Vietnam bugout are frequently the very ones who favor and encourage an armed Israel. They hold on the one hand that South Vietnam should not defend itself, and on the other that Israel has every right and duty to preserve itself from the Arab states. They argue that Saigon has no right to resist invasion from the north, but that Tel Aviv has every right not only to resist invasion, but to strike back aggressively enough to make the Arabs pay territorial penalties. There are those on the Left who feel South Vietnam should unilaterally disarm for the sake of peace, but who would be shocked if it were proposed that Israel unilaterally disarm for the sake of Mideastern peace. There are those on the Left who support an Israeli war that involves aggressions against surrounding territories, but who oppose any Vietnamese or U.S. effort to bomb the north or in any other way carry the struggle outside the boundaries of South Vietnam. There is, in short, rank, contemptible hypocrisy on the Left regarding the two wars.

Those peace medallions the Leftists are so fond of wearing should be designed with a swept-back wing nuclear bomber on the reverse side to reveal the true colors and casts of mind of the wearers!

The salient fact about Vietnam, despite all the twisted efforts to fob off the war as a tyrannical effort by Saigon to suppress local uprisings and rebellions, is that it is defensive. The Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese regular armies are invaders from the north. The goal of the South Vietnamese and the United States has been only to repel the invaders. and not the capitulation and occupation of North Vietnam. And yet this, the most morally defensible sort of warfare, is under heavy siege from the Left while

the authentic aggressors are rebuked not at all.

Moreover, it is the Left that invokes the rule of world law as its highest and most urgent goal, but does not hesitate to scorn our treaty commitment to defend South Vietnam. Hypocrisy!

III -- Bugout

In the fall of 1969, the Nixon administration began an orderly withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam, in response to the growing restiveness about the war at home. The object of this orderly withdrawal was not to leave the South Vietnamese unarmed and defenseless, but to transfer the conduct of the war to the Saigon government, with continuing logistical support and technical aid from the United States. The Nixon policy, in other words, has been a responsible effort to disengage the U.S. from the Asian land war Gen. Douglas MacArthur warned against, while preserving the lives and liberties of the free Vietnamese. The administration does not want the blood of North Vietnam's murder machine on its hands; it does not intend that the South Vietnamese should lose the war.

Considering the responsible nature of the Nixon approach to de-escalation, it seems obvious that the fall moratoriums with their demands for an instant bugout has been motivated by desires other than peace. The beneficiaries of an instant bugout are the Communists of Hanoi: the beneficiaries of the Nixon withdrawal are both the citizens of the U.S. and the South Vietnamese. Both policies -- bugout and Nixon-involve American withdrawal. But the bugout Left is not satisfied with American withdrawal; it seeks the triumph of Hanoi as well. It is not so much interested in peace as in an American embarrassment. This is not to suggest that all those who supported the moratorium are Hanoi loyalists. Many

of them were simply sick of war and took the means at hand to display their weariness. But it is to suggest that the triumph of Hanoi would be the practical result of their bugout policy, and that among the moratorium proponents were those who seek an American defeat in Vietnam. There were some who shouldn't have been wearing a peace medal, but rather a likeness of Ho Chi Minh. And these, in particular, shall share complicity in the ultimate rape of South Vietnam, and the murder of the innocents.

If the war has been unpopular with the American people, it is not because they consider it unjust, but rather because of the tortured fashion in which it has been waged. The restrictions the Kennedy and Johnson administrations imposed on American arms guaranteed a bloody, lengthy, war of attrition. Moreover, victory was ruled out and a purely defensive struggle was imposed on our military. The goal was to repel the invader, not destroy him. In World War II terms, it was the equivalent of driving the Nazis back to Germany and then leaving them alone to plot another avalanche. The end result has been a war lengthier and bloodier than it would have been if the full armed might of the United States were set against Hanoi. It has been the war of attrition that most exasperates Americans, and leads them to the conclusion we should get in or get out. Washington's refusal to wage a victorious war is what makes doves of so many.

If the bugout people want a Hanoi victory, let them say so plainly, and not hide behind the peace symbols of liberalism. And then, let the blood of the murdered million Christians—it will surely come to pass—be upon them, and let the ghosts of the innocents terrorize their dreams, and let their guilt blacken their days with shame and pain.

Book Reviews

IN DEFENSE OF NORMALITY

Like the prodigal son, our generation has wasted its inheritance with riotous living. In his latest book, Dr. Russell Kirk reminds us of exactly what we have lost, and how we might redeem it. He defines the Western heritage in terms of norms and sees the rebellion against this heritage as abnormality. "A norm means an enduring standard. It is a law of nature, which we ignore at our peril. It is a rule of human conduct and measure of public virtue..."(p. 17)

These are the rules by which men live. They are the traditions which bind all men in a "contract of eternal society." They represent the wisdom of the ages, the judgement of history upon the countless speculations and prejudices of those that have gone before us. The wise man respects this body of standards as the foundation of social order and of individual sanity.

ENEMIES OF THE PERMANENT THINGS by Russell Kirk, Arlington House, 81 Centre Avenue, New Rochelle, N.Y. 10801. 1969, 311 pp., \$7.00

Norms, Dr. Kirk points out, have been preserved a "common patrimony" of Europe and the United States. This legacy embraces three elements: the Christian religion, humane literature, and the Roman and medieval concept of ordered liberty. Though acknowledging the importance of religion, Kirk divides most of his book into two parts for literature and politics, respectively.

The aim of literature is to clothe normative knowledge with moral imagination. "...Humane literature teaches us what it is to be a man...." (p. 33) Kirk contends that norms are more easily taught through the subtle tecnniques of literature than by the indoctrination currently fashionable, because young minds bored by the slogans of "life-adjustment" will turn to literature, even if it be merely comics and pomography.

T. S. Eliot, Ilya Ehrenburg, and Max Picard receive specific analyses from Kirk in their approaches to norms. He also gives a section to the fantasy of Ray Bradbury, C. S. Lewis, and others; wherein he counsels: "Myth, fable, allegory, and parable are not

Larry Arnhart

falsehoods; on the contrary, they are means for penetrating to the truth by appealing to the moral imagination. . . . " (p. 111)

Such literature runs counter to the spirit of the age. Its concern for the "permanent things" is an eloquent rebuttal to the materialist calculations of utilitarianism. Speaking for the modern temper, Robert Ettinger, a junior college physics professor, proclaims, "'I am convinced that in a few hundred years the words of Shakespeare, for example, will interest us no more than the grunting of swine in a wallow...'" (p. 149)

In dealing with politics, Dr. Kirk recognizes the unideological character of Americans. Among the founders of the American Republic, "the King James Version and the Book of Common Prayer, rather than Locke's Second Treatise, gave these American minds their cast. . . ." (p. 179) But amidst our current disorder, America needs a philosophy of normality to challenge the ideologies that assault our political traditions.

The norms of American government are justice, respect for authority, and ordered liberty. The opposition to these principles arises from those who would perfect man's nature through the ideologies of the moment. Thus behaviorism would reduce man to the Pavlovian level of stimulus and response. Harold Lasswell, a behaviorist luminary, has even proposed a utopia where "moral mavericks" would be suppressed along with those who "take a dim view of human perfectability." Without norms, the most utopian society also becomes the most unbearable.

As with most of Kirk's books, the arguments of this work are a repetition of a philosophy little changed over the years. It is therefore subject to the standard rebuttals. As always, Kirk's head concedes the principle of change, but his heart lies elsewhere.

Nevertheless, this latest book is proof that, as a paladin in defense of tradition, Russell is still unsurpassed. Excluding **The Conservative Mind**, many will consider this his best work. It would be vain to expect that any but a remnant will read it, but those few will be devoted readers. As Kirk concludes, "though the enemies of the permanent things are arrogant in our time, still normality has its champions in arms. . . ." (p. 303)

IT IS FAITH

MARX'S RELIGION OF REVOLUTION

by Gary North

Craig Press, 1968 - \$3.75

It is not fashionable to consider seriously the theologian's viewpoint on scholarly topics. More often it is the case that ostentatious flaunts directed at the very idea of the viewpoint are substituted for rational inquiry. College professors, supposedly the objective sifters of all ideas, seem especially to enjoy light humor on the religious topics. At every opportunity they imply that the faith of our parents is quaint, which implication is immediately appealing to a generation of students which assumes that because their experience in life is later in time they are somehow superior in knowledge. Thus, a vast portion of those who have the opportunity never become aware of philosophical approaches from the theological angle. Minds acquire hardened shells, and attempts at forming rational viewpoints on the human situation necessarily become more narrow and shallow because such traditional ideas are rejected out of hand.

I have little confidence in the intellectual capabilities of most of today's students and academicians in any case. Not that they do not possess the necessary intelligence—yet, intelligent study is too slow and difficult for their temperaments. Somewhere in the past era, passion has become the predominant force in their minds. In fact, it would be entirely out of character for most of the academic population if rational consideration were given religious views. Rather, it would seem that in these circles, the only encounter with reason is in their attempts to rationalize emotional experience. Such is not the atmosphere for a fair hearing for the theist.

Even many of my libertarian and conservative friends, who are prone to challenge every utterence of the academy, seem to have absorbed its antireligious taboo. Yet, the conservatives do not commit the next logical breach. They, at least, recognize the mystical precepts of what the Marxist-Galbrathian-Marcusian campus orthodoxy would substitute for the theist view. Not so for the student super thinkers on the middle and left. The latter entertain no doubt as to the "absolutely scientific" basis for their concept that man owes his existence to himself.

There will be few, then, who will not be immediately skeptical of the viewpoint presented by Gary North in his book, Marx's Religion of Revolution. The text reads like a cleric's Doctoral Thesis. Gary North's purpose becomes clear early in the book, where he states flatly -- and correctly -- that Christianity and Marxism have no debate, because the philosophies

have no common ground, and because they are entirely incompatible. He doesn't go into a proof for Christianity, although one almost wishes that he would at times. But he does eviscerate the "irreversible revolution" of the Marxists, dissecting it bit by bit until its mystical skeleton is bared. By so doing he destroys the supposed scientific basis for the dialectical materialists' jests directed at theist views.

The book dwells long on Marx's theory of human alienation. Again the purpose is clear, when North summarizes "Marx's concept of human alienation was used by him as a substitute for the Christian doctrine of the fall of man" (pg. 53, Italics his). He also points out that the alienation theme is the cause of Marx's popular reception today, and by crippling its basis he forms an attack on the prevailing opinion that removal of environmental ills is the natural path to human perfection.

Of course, property and the system of property, capitalism, was Marx's source of alienation. Hence, man's continued struggle against his adverse environment naturally assured the eventual destruction of capitalism, The revolution cannot be stopped by

their thinking.

Or is it faith? Gary North, at the very least, establishes that it cannot be logic. A lengthy quotation from page 69 of the book demonstrates this:

"How could he (Marx) even believe in economic laws at all? The answer is simple: he had faith. His 'empirical neutralism' rested on the most theological foundation imaginable. The contradictions in his thinking are astounding: asserting total rationalism, he drifted into mysticism; proclaiming the powers of prediction, he destroyed the very concept of law, which might have supported the possibility of prediction; arguing in favor of an all-encompassing philosophical and social theory, he came to a position of relativism. Only his personal faith enabled him to pass over these fundamental antimonies in his system."

Indeed, it is faith that propels the Liberal of the day, the same faith and fallacy that drove Marx to his impossible irreversible revolution. It has been said that Marx acted from his own severe alienation -against the Christian precepts prevailing at his time. Since he fostered so much of the prevailing "faith" of the present day, and since he was compelled to attack the Christian ethic in order to substitute his doctrine, one would think it a worthwhile intellectual endeavor to understand the Christian attack on Marxism. Gary North is to be commended for presenting anew this angle, but I doubt that many can lay aside their fashionable antagonism against the theist viewpoint long enough to appreciate his logic.



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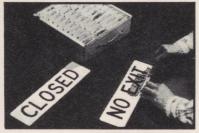
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