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INSIGHT *and* OUTLOOK

a conservative student journal

Vol. V Number VI

Summer 1963



The Double Standard

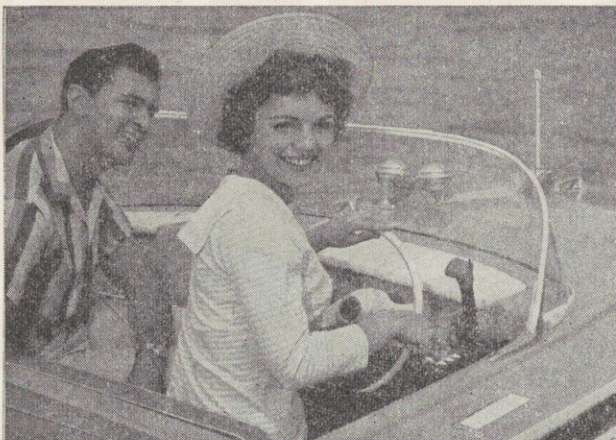
ROBERT SCHUETTINGER

Eggs or Eyren

JARED LOBDELL

The Three Legs of American Foreign Policy

RICHARD S. WHEELER



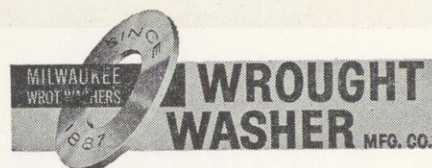
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—John Stuart Mill

Essay on Representative Government

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National Outlook

A Psychic Impossibility

At one time, in the not-too-distant past, the State of Wisconsin had a reputation for honest, although Liberal, politics. Now, however, it seems that many of our LaFollette-pure Liberals are as liable to have questionable ethics and to engage in corrupt practices as the ward heelers in a political machine.

As of late, we have had the Campenni-Proxmire affair, which has done much to tarnish the Proxmire "image" as a defender of economy; we note that the legislature plans to investigate the activities of David Carley, a former Nelson appointee; and Republican chairman Claude Jasper has questioned publicly the entire ethical concept behind the Democratic Party in Wisconsin.

We wonder if this decline in ethics can be traced back to the rise of *political relativism*; that is, to the increasing belief that the only sanction for a political program is the will of the people, and that dictates of reason or the bulwarks of tradition are to be considered meaningless. Edmund Burke noted that "to deliver an opinion is the right of all men; that of constituents is a weighty and respectable opinion, which a representative ought always to rejoice to hear and which he ought always most seriously to consider. But authoritative instructions, mandates issued, which the member is bound blindly and implicitly to obey, to vote and argue for, though contrary to the clearest conviction of his judgment and his conscience, these are things utterly unknown in the laws of the land . . ."

Such an idea seems repugnant to the mind of Governor John Reynolds, who, after he learned that the AFL-CIO had refused to purchase tickets to the annual Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner, went before the labor leaders and, with an air of outraged beggary and impotent self-pity which was hardly disguised by the objectivity of the newspaper story, begged these gentlemen to relent. If Governor Reynolds can no longer feel that he is his own man, if he is willing to mold his policy as the pressure groups dictate, then why should we be at all shocked by the lack of ethics displayed by others in his party?

After all, if political principles go, then what reason have we to support ethical ones? Why cavil at putting a part-time student on the payroll, at a large salary? After all, ethics, like everything else, is relative; the end justifies the means. We are not surprised that this system could cause H. L. Mencken to remark that "It has become a psychic impossibility for a gentleman to hold office in our Federal Union."

The John Birch Society --- Cont'd

"The Birch Society is—" well, fill in your own contumely. One hears such a range of charges against it, so frequently uttered, that it can be readily assumed the facts have been marshalled, the prosecution has been heard, and the conviction assured.

Or can it?

"The Birch Society is totalitarian." Or "dictatorial." Or "Hitlerite." At first, you may recall, no one called the Society these things—that came later when someone, somewhere, began to say them over and over and over. Someone, apparently, whose fortunes were being damaged by the Birch Society. And of all the charges brought, these are among the silliest.

What is totalitarianism, after all? It is simply the domination of the whole society by the state. It is the condition of unrestrained, unlimited, total government acting in behalf of "the people." It is always characterized by the insinuation of the state deep down into the private lives of private individuals.

How extraordinary that the Birch Society, which in deed and in policy is dedicated to eradicate Communist totalitarianism and to defend the American tradition of strictly limited constitutional government, should itself be labeled totalitarian!

"Oh, but it's the way the Birchers are organized that's totalitarian," goes the charge. "The Society is undemocratic. It is quasi-secret. Its members must adhere to the lunacy of its fuehrer, Robert Welch."

These are the sole reasons, such as they are, for crucifying the Birch Society.

The central attribute of a totalitarian society is that its leaders can impose their will upon the members, by force if need be. Does Robert Welch, or his advisory council, possess the powers to coerce Birch members? No. Does Robert Welch demand unanimity of method and purpose among the chapters? No. Are the chapters essentially autonomous? Yes.

Is one compelled to belong to the Society against one's wishes or principles? No. May one attempt to alter Birch policy, or express disagreement with the founder? Yes. Does a man who founds a political society to gain certain objectives have the right to demand of those who join him that they undertake to accomplish those objectives, too? Of course.

It is true that the members do not establish policy—Robert Welch does. So let it be agreed that the Society is structurally undemocratic. It can even be argued that Welch is an autocrat. But does an autocratic society which champions limited government and maximum personal liberty endanger American institutions? Of course not.

By way of contrast, one can examine the far-left Americans for Democratic Action, which unquestionably is democratically organized, in that its members establish its policy and vote for officers.

But what policies does this democratic ADA advocate?—without exception policies tending to strengthen and centralize the state, and place greater power in fewer hands; policies calculated to expand Federal and even supranational institutions at the expense of the private (or social) sector; policies that imply or explicate wholesale regimentation of individuals; and policies that accommodate a world tyranny which holds unnumbered millions of wretched people in its grasp.

It ought to be noted also, that a large number of ADA members already hold critical positions in the present

administration, and in the Congress and the judiciary. That is, the ADA is empowered to levy the state machinery behind its ideas. The Birch Society holds no such power.

Thus, on the right, an autocratic Birch Society battles Communist totalitarianism and domestic statism. And on the left, a democratic ADA imposes—that is the right word—statist, pre-totalitarian measures on the public. Which, then, actually threatens our free society?

It must be remembered that democracy is pretended by the Communists, defended by socialists as the one indispensable means of socialization, and limited by free peoples for the same reason. Hitler rose to power through democracy rather than revolution; there seems no doubt that a free election today in Argentina would return Peron.

No, it is not the Birch Society to be feared as totalitarian.

What of the Society's other grand sinning: it is "monolithic." So what? It is "fascistic." Nonsense. Its *means* are deplorable. Which—writing letters to newspapers, trying to win elections, mailing literature, taking part ("power-grab") in local affairs and government? Joining ("infiltrating") the PTA? Its members make nasty, "anonymous phone calls." *Anonymous* people make anonymous calls.

Although the Society's organizational structure, means and ends are hardly sinister, it does, as a matter of fact, have grave flaws which caused both *Insight and Outlook* and the Wisconsin Conservative Club to refuse all connection with it several years ago.

The central flaw of the Society is an abberant faculty for analysis, an operating premise (described in the conservative *National Review's* famous editorial attack on the Society) which asserts that from the objective deed one may *reliably* infer the motivation of the doer. Thus: the free world has suffered, demonstrably, a long series of defeats by the Communist leviathan in the cold war years. This did not "just happen." Therefore, the defeats *must* have been deliberately caused by a web of enemy agents and their sympathizers manipulating our government.

This is clearly the conspiracy theory in such great disrepute today (though not always: Jefferson and Lincoln were elected on "conspiracy" platforms), except among the multitudes who regard the Birch Society as a conspiracy.

When the Society's analytical premise is at work, its conclusions can be simply breathtaking: Dwight Eisenhower *knowingly* permitted himself to be used by Communists, the Hungarian Revolution was nothing but a stage show, and so were the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Chinese-Indian war; traitors in the State Department turned West New Guinea over to Sukarno, the Sino-Soviet split is completely fraudulent, and Charles De Gaulle must be a Communist.

These are very serious errors, stemming, for the most part, from an assumption which does not give due accounting to the endless clashes of countless independent forces, ideas and passions which comprise the sweep of history.

Confusion is what the Birch Society should be faulted for. But by no means for "totalitarianism"—for that, and plenty of confusion as well, one should look to the ADA.

AETIUS

The Patent Grab

If you were a socialist bureaucrat, and you were determined to socialize the economy as fast as possible, in a manner that would provoke minimal suspicion and resistance among businessmen, how would you go about it?

Very possibly you might decide upon what Dr. Jerome Wiesner, director of the White House Office of Science and Technology, has been doing.

For some months, Dr. Wiesner has been formulating a new government patent policy, under which the federal government would acquire patent rights to almost all inventions which result from government-financed research. The only exception would be where the contracting firm had a strong commercial position in the field, and could immediately put the patent to good use for the "public benefit."

The administration is heralding its policy as a moderate compromise between the claims of government and business, but in reality it is no such thing, nor is the issue as cut and dried as it may seem.

When the government seeks to have research done in a given field, it usually approaches those companies which are already the most advanced in the field. In many instances these companies invest vast amounts of money and time and thought in the development of a product or process, long before the government comes to them, contract in hand, seeking additional research.

Thus, when such companies do contract with the government to do research, the fruits of that research may well be the direct result of that company's private endeavors, even though the government did contribute some funds.

And yet, Dr. Wiesner — and the Kennedy administration — now insist that the government should claim the patent rights under such circumstances. They would have the government pirate patents which rightfully belong to private businesses and individuals.

At this point it would be well to inquire why the government should own any patents at all. "Public ownership" — i.e., government ownership — of patents merely means that the *public is excluded* from producing the new device or process, except at the leisure of the bureaucrats who control the patent. The sole reason for the government to collect patents is to undermine private enterprise, and turn businesses into appendages of the state.

It is obvious that once the government collects patents in large numbers, it will monopolize the newest, most efficient processes and devices while independent enterprisers will be forced to stick to outmoded products whose patents have fallen into the common domain.

At the rate that government is financing research projects, the socialization of the economy would be

John Oster

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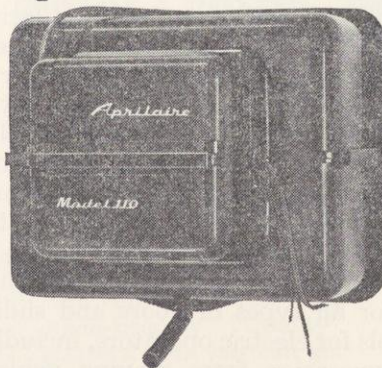
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completed in a very few decades, and American creativity and inventiveness would gradually disappear.

Thus, the Kennedy administration — which loudly proclaims its devotion to business — is promulgating a policy that will eventually destroy economic life as we know it today.

WORLD OUTLOOK

Speaking Up for Portugal

Of all the ancient, honorable and Christian nations of the West, little Portugal has been compelled to drink the bitterest draughts of vilification and abuse. Scarcely a day passes without the Afro-Asian bloc, goaded by Soviet Russia, viciously denouncing this Iberian country.

The reason for this unending spew of venom is simply that Portugal is swimming doggedly against the anti-colonial tide. She intends to hang on to her vast African territories, of which Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea comprise the principal part. In fact, she has made no plans at all for their eventual separation from the motherland — a fact which itself drives the Afro-Asians to excesses of fury. Worse yet (to many Afro-Asians) she calmly insists that the people within the territories are not now capable of self-government, and therefore she will not even consider separation until they are.

Although the provinces are a terrible burden upon this poorest of Western European nations, Portugal has many and valid reasons for staying put. For one thing, she has been active in Africa since the dawning of the Age of Exploration, about 450 years ago. In some areas, notably Southern Angola, she claimed and occupied uninhabited land, into which the Bantu tribes migrated at a later date. Moreover, the colonies are not colonies at all; legally and constitutionally for well over a decade they have been a part of Portugal itself, in much the manner that Hawaii and Alaska are portions of the United States. (To be sure, there are some administrative differences, such as the use of one type of money for the homeland, another type for the provinces. But it still remains true that the African territories are bodies of Portugal itself.) Certainly as a sovereign power she has a right to stay in Africa if she wishes, and a right to handle her domestic affairs according to her lights, without interference from brand new, two-bit busybody republics.

In her provinces, Portugal has fostered one of the few viable multiracial societies in the world. Racism is virtually nonexistent; both whites and blacks are in the civil service, with blacks often the superiors of the whites. It is precisely because of Portugal's success in fostering multiracial living that black Africa heaps

so much abuse on the Portuguese. Although some black African leaders pay lip service to multiracial living, for the most part "Africa for the Africans" — black supremacy — is the real goal.

Although no facet of Portuguese life has escaped the forked tongues of the Afro-Asians, they principally confine their attack to two main charges: One is that Portugal uses forced labor in the provinces, in contravention of the U.N. declaration of human rights, and the other is that Portugal severely represses the citizens of the provinces, even to the point of prohibiting all political activity.

The first charge was adequately refuted by the U.N. itself, which sent an International Labor Organization commission to Africa to investigate. The commission had complete access to the entire area and to the natives of the area. Its report substantially exonerated Portugal, although it found a few abuses of the contract system by which native chiefs recruit labor for various industries.

The second charge is particularly outrageous, considering the circumstances surrounding it. In March, 1961, a quasi-Communist terrorist named Holden Roberto launched a wave of terrorism from the jungles of the bordering Congo, that resulted in the mutilation, butchery and murder of over 1,500 Angolans of all races. Although the movement was pawned off as a "nationalist" attempt to "liberate" Angola, the terrorists were primarily Congolese who had been fed drugs and worked into a frenzy through macabre anti-Christian "religious" rituals. This grisly attack stands unequaled in modern history for its sheer barbarism and brutality.

The "repressive measures" that the Afro-Asians prattle about are little more than the stern efforts of the Portuguese to wipe out the last remaining bands of terrorists in the northern jungles, in order to protect the loyal native citizens of Angola.

Fortunately, in recent months the administration has swung sharply toward Portugal's defense. We hope that Americans will continue to support their old and honorable ally.

Art for the Kremlin's Sake

It has become fashionable in Liberal intellectual circles to emphasize the growing "liberalism and freedom" on the other side of the Iron Curtain. This de-Stalinization is then projected into a time when the Communist world will not differ too greatly from the Western world. In this way the dilemma of Communist conquest or nuclear war is neatly avoided.

Most of the basis for this projection was the toleration of some criticism of the Soviet regime dished out by a few Russian writers, and by poets like Evgeny Evtushenko. The fact that such writers were not jailed was proof of a liberalization of the Party.

Well, don't get too emotionally involved with this idea. Thus far, three Russian writers who had manuscripts printed in the free world have recently been committed to insane asylums; in this way Valerij Tarsis, Michael Naritsa, and Alexander Yesenin have been effectively silenced, and of course not for political reasons.

And now the Soviets are blowing the whistle on Evtushenko as well. He was rapped for "cheap sensationalism" by Khrushchev, and at a meeting of Soviet Union writers was denounced by almost forty authors for such offenses as "sacrilegious statements" about the Revolution. Dimitri Shostakovich's new Thirteenth Symphony was castigated by critics because part of the score is based on Evtushenko's famed poem, *Babi Yar*, an indictment of Soviet anti-Semitism, which the literary commissars have already made Evtushenko revise. The official organ of the Moscow writers' union has backed a suggestion that Evtushenko be expelled from the union — which would mean that the state publishing houses would no longer accept his work.

Add to all of this the recent cases of Russians who have been executed for such "crimes against the State" as selling grade B apples as being grade A, and profiteering in the sale of lipstick and rags, and you see that the Liberals have a long way to go if they are to change Russia's system into something compatible with our own. Or is it ours that will have to change?

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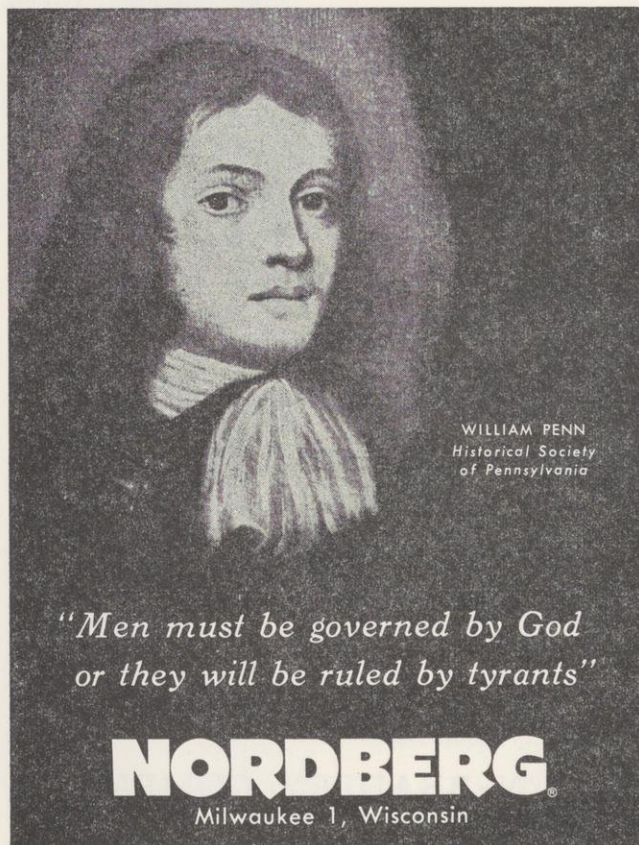
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The Last Best Hope

It was not long ago that the UN-firsters here were telling us that if only the Katanga rebellion were smashed and Tshombe's power eliminated, peace, progress and prosperity in the Congo would follow. Katanga has now been crushed but confusion and chaos seem to be gaining strength. And the UN's conduct in the Congo continues to raise grave questions about the nature of the world organization and its ideas of morality. For example:

1) For several months the UN had flatly and repeatedly denied reports of trouble and fighting in South Kasai province, then issued an official announcement that the "active rebellion in South Kasai" was now over. According to the London *Times* more than five thousand persons were killed, an unknown number tortured and mutilated, and scores of villages destroyed in the joint UN-Central Government crushing of the Kasai rebellion. Why the 'managed news' from the UN?

2) *Time* magazine, April 5, 1963, reports that the UN is turning Elisabethville over to the Central Congolese army whose trigger-happy soldiers have been getting their kicks by shooting down Elisabethville civilians at the rate of better than one a day. Why does the UN release these savages on the population of Elisabethville?

3) There has still been no investigation by the UN of the conduct of its soldiers in the Katanga war. Many charges of atrocities by UN soldiers have been made by a variety of on-the-spot witnesses. Published accounts have declared that UN soldiers fired on Red Cross ambulances, killed civilians and robbed their bodies, bombed hospitals, raped women, etc. Colonel Mitra of the UN's Indian Troops in Elisabethville has been quoted as saying that he ordered his soldiers to kill prisoners of war and the wounded.

Why, after nearly two years, has the UN permitted no investigation to be made of these many charges?

Out on a Limb

Those who believe that any kind of treaty would be better than continuing the arms race ought to consider the danger of unbalancing the nuclear stalemate in Russia's favor. If inadequate inspection permits the Soviets furtively to develop neutron bombs and anti-missile missiles while the U.S. just bides its time, then the Soviet Union will be equipped with both a superb striking force and a defense that would render it virtually immune to our retaliation. And if this happens, in the light of past Soviet history, the chances of nuclear war would mount astronomically. Surely, an inadequate test ban treaty is *more dangerous to the peace than a continuing arms race.*

The question then, is whether the proposed treaty, as it now stands, provides adequate control. Those who

favor the treaty believe that it does, even though there is almost no provision for on-site inspection of suspicious events, and provision for very few monitoring stations. And, should cheating be discovered no meaningful enforcement has been provided.

These people argue that recent advances in the science of seismic detection have made it unnecessary to construct a huge, worldwide system of monitoring stations. All we need, they insist, is a handful of on-site inspections per year, plus a few unmanned, automatic monitors.

Of course, it is true that the science of seismic detection has advanced a great deal recently, but it is also true that the science of concealing nuclear blasts has progressed at an even faster pace, enabling the Soviets to hide their experiments in outer space, or trigger them automatically whenever a real earthquake appears, or fire the bombs in specially constructed caverns which "capture" the shock waves.

Senator Thomas Dodd of Connecticut even believes that the science of concealment has progressed so fast as to render insignificant the whole field of seismic detection.

This being so, is a treaty justified now? One which neither France nor Red China are having any part of? Moreover, under such conditions, what is to prevent the Soviets from testing ostensibly "Chinese" bombs in China? Even if both Russia and the United States sign and abide by the treaty, we will eventually be overwhelmed by other nuclear powers who refuse to have anything to do with it.

The Kennedy Administration must at all costs be prevented from abandoning the security of this nation in the pursuit of a fragile, foolish dream.

That Old Devil, Conformity

Among college students it is fashionable to be agin' conformity. Yet very few students have bothered to ask why it is so bad to be like others. Is conforming *per se* an obnoxious trait? Do individuals fulfil themselves only by achieving some sort of variation — *any* sort of variation — from the normal and accepted? Is the perceptive man, or the genius, to be found only among the heretics and sceptics?

Conformity *per se* is neither good nor bad. It acquires goodness only in conjunction with high principles and acts. It becomes evil only in conjunction with evil ends — when, for example, the social pressures within a street gang compel its members to steal and fight. The perennial campus assault on conformity is meaningless because conformity is a trivial and neutral happenstance. Nothing is gained by the attack, and much is lost as the central values of our society crumble without being replaced by equal or superior values.

There are many who regard conformity as a direct threat to their individuality, and for this reason seek their self-gratification in being unorthodox. They grow beards because the majority shaves; wear dirty, drab clothes because the majority is clean and decently dressed; advocate adultery because the majority recognizes the sanctity of marriage; buy foreign cars because the majority prefers domestic; read obscurantist literature because the majority prefers popular literature, and so on. *But these people aren't individualistic.* Their every act is a reflex against a society to which they are hogtied by hate. They are actually less individualistic than the normal soul who has no obsessive fears about losing his identity in the masses.

The true individualist seeks not merely to be different, but to be *better*. In his struggle toward moral perfection he must necessarily hew more closely to the Decalogue and the Sermon on the Mount than others. In his struggle toward wisdom and knowledge, he must absorb *more* of his culture than others. Like Sir Winston Churchill, he can reach a sublime level of individuality and genius without challenging or disowning any of the moral, social, economic and political values of his society, nor any of its manners, mores and customs.

Geniuses are commonly conceived to be arch non-conformists who devote their energies to demolishing accepted values and ideas. A few of them, such as Darwin, did manage to demolish some cherished beliefs. But there were far more geniuses, for example Shakespeare, who worked almost entirely within the value of their times.

Non-conformity is the road neither to individuality nor greatness. In fact, the deliberate non-conformist is liable to waste a lifetime scavenging the refuse heaps of history in search of a "new" idea, while the person who readily accepts the central values and customs of his times has, for the most part, the best wisdom of two millenia as his starting point in his quest for truth and virtue. This is not to suggest that a person should reject all new ideas or deny genuine progress. It is to suggest, however, that non-conformity *per se*, as a *modus vivendi*, is absurd.

"To complain of lack of leadership is, in the field of political affairs, the characteristic attitude of all harbingers of dictatorship. In their eyes the main deficiency of democratic government is that it is unable to produce great furthers and duces."

—LUDWIG VON MISES

The History Hoax

CY BUTT

Through the parking lot door, past the patent dishwasher and its perspiring attendants and the high-capped cook, came Fremont Guilfoyle and his light of love, Fifi, to the front of Mr. Joseph Troia's Steak House where that black-eyed boniface was mixing the usual tub of martinis for the cut-rate hour between five and six. Fifi perched beside me as usual and I thought, also as usual, that never before in all this world has meat been distributed on a human skeleton so judiciously.

"I thought, Fremont," I said, "that you were in Chicago with the Illinois Public Assistance Commission. What brings you to Madison?"

"It came to The Boss' attention that the University of Wisconsin has at last taken a proper Liberal stance and eliminated American history from the requirements for a degree and replaced it with a double dose of Social Science. I was sent here to cleanse the libraries of subversive volumes."

"What is Social Science?" asked Mr. Troia, opening a bottle of vermouth and passing it gently over the tub of gin so that the fumes of the divine essence might waft down and enrich its contents.

"It is a group of courses that teach that everyone must look to the government for everything," said Fremont. "It is, first and last, a study of Socialism. The word 'Science' is added to throw Republican reactionaries off the track. For God's sake, don't quote me."

"I won't," said Mr. Troia. "That is just what I thought. And now tell me about these subversive books."

"They are the American history tomes," said Fremont, "and must be swept from the shelves with the besom of the Lord. You see, Joseph, they tell of Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln and the Declaration of Independence and all the rest of that rot. They exude the doctrine that it is better to fend for this country and neglect the Congolese than it is to live in One World under Socialism and JFK. They tell of the pioneers and how they felled the forests and rafted the rivers and plowed the prairies without government aid. The books fairly reek of patriotism and initiative and private enterprise. Hell's breakfast, man, we can't have that. What would Gus Hall, Consultant Sub-Rosa, say if he realized the depths to which the school had descended — it makes me shudder."

"It's the martini doing that," said Fifi.

"What are you going to do with these seeds of treason?" asked Mr. Troia.

Fremont gathers his data
and makes some astute observations

"We can't burn them because of the clamor that would ensue," said Fremont, "so they are being sent to Tierra del Fuego for the use of the natives."

"The last natives left in 1957," said Mr. Troia, "and they were illiterate, anyway."

"We know that," said Fremont shortly.

"I thought so," said Mr. Troia. "But tell me of your adventures with the Illinois Public Assistance Commission."

"It was wonderful," said Fremont. "Unless you have seen a riot call in an anthill you can't envisage the social workers shuttling in and out of the Chicago headquarters. There Welfare provides the expenses of birth, infancy, adolescence, youth, manhood, senility and death. And now, through a new program, divorces and contraceptives are also provided. The originator of the program got the JFK Award of the Month."

"Yes," said Mr. Troia, "but contraceptives — I thought . . ."

"I know what you thought," said Fremont. "But, you see, the morals of the average welfare client closely



approximate those of a chicken, and they are increasing faster than we can ship social workers there. It is but a temporary stopgap."

"I see," said Mr. Troia. "Now with all this and Heaven, too, these clients pretty well have it made, don't they?"

"We thought so," said Fremont, "But we weren't sure so we put out a questionnaire. We found that there were shortages of Cadillacs."

"Cadillacs?" queried Mr. Troia.

"Yes," said Fremont, "A large sum has been appropriated for divorces and, of course, it must be spent. To have divorces there must first be marriages, and how will the poor chaps find broads that will marry them unless they have a Cadillac? It is all very simple and logical."

The Old Custom

Eggs or Eyren

JARED LOBDELL

He asked after eggs, and the good wife answered, that she could speak no French. And the merchant was angry, for he also could speak no French, but would have had eggs, and she understood him not. And then at last another said he would have eyren; then the good wife said that she understood him well. Lo! what should a man in these days now write, eggs or eyren? Certainly it is hard to please every man because of diversity and change of language.

— Caxton

Beyond the fact that a Conservative is one with whom a Liberal disagrees, and a Liberal one with whom a Conservative disagrees, it is obviously necessary to have some definition of the words in order to know what, if anything, we are talking about when we explore the split in American politics. Presumably a Liberal is one who is free with things, and a Conservative one who wishes to save them. The distinction is simple enough, but there seems to be a certain amount of confusion attendant upon the two words, not to mention an inordinate tendency to judge their value in the abstract, which makes the names almost meaningless — and they probably will remain so in the face of all efforts to restore them to something like a useful currency. What is worse, they will probably retain enough connotative value to keep them going as catch-words, slogans, or political brickbats. Sometime I will get around to discussing the misuse of the word *conservative* by those who are not out to save so much as to grab. Right now I wish to look at a slight confusion on the other side.

The word *freedom* is used to cover everything the so-called Liberal wants, by a neat semantic trick. Now it is quite apparent that one cannot be free to want at the same time one is made free from want. Whether anyone in the normal course of events would choose the first alternative is not the question. Similarly, it is evident that one cannot be free from government at the

same time that the government is making one free from foreign aggression — that is not the point either. In general, obviously, if one is having something done for him, he is not free to be not having it done at the same time.

That, to be sure, is a tautology, and should normally go without saying. But the unfortunate thing is precisely that it has gone without saying, and the world is anything but normal. Let us consider an argument, not infrequently heard, on the subject of unemployment compensation, or possibly Social Security. Now if one side argues for the freedom from starvation, and the other for the freedom from government-enforced eating, I would suggest not (as one side or the other would claim) that only one party to the argument is really in favor of freedom, but that neither side is talking about freedom at all. What they are talking about is *freedom from*, by which they mean the absence of a particular quality or a particular thing. It would be best to avoid the phrase altogether, but since that is obviously impossible (how would it sound if Roosevelt's Four Freedoms were called the Four Absences? — like an inept vocal group, that's what), it would be well to remember that, when we do use the word *freedom* in this sense, we do not mean what we say. To be free from want is not freedom, any more than social teas constitute Socialism, or the House of Commons practices Communism (whatever the isolationist may say). Similarity of sound is a mighty slim thread on

which to hang political philosophy, let alone one's political opponents.

Very well then, we will restrict the word *freedom* to its absolute use, and if we argue about its meaning, that is what we will argue about. The opposite of this absolute freedom is, presumably, servitude, but for the nonce — looking at its positive qualities (which is doubtless what the southern planter said in 1860)—we will call it security. Security is provided *for* one, usually by government of some variety, precisely to the degree that one is no longer free (allowing, of course, for the incompetence inherent in government bureaucracy). I am not saying that freedom is more desirable than security — maybe Benedict Arnold had a point after all. The only thing I am pointing out is that the similarity in sound between liberalism and liberty should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the doctrines of twentieth century American "Liberalism" are — probably quite justifiably, the world being so dangerous and all — the doctrines of security. By which I mean servitude. By which I mean slavery.

If the people of America wish to serve their government that is their privilege — and also, I suppose, mine, things being what they are. Nor do I know that I am brave enough to be free. But one thing I do know. Years ago, when the Danes had all but conquered England, and Æthelred the Redeless was practicing appeasement, disarmament, and Danegeld, there was a knight of Essex who went out to die for his faith and as a free man, because death was better than the security bought by the king. Æthelred has gone down in history as the Unready (his nickname actually means the Unadvised), and Bryt-wold's dying words have been remembered these thousand years,

Thought shall be harder, heart
the keener,

Courage the greater, as our
strength faileth.

I cannot think of a more perfect statement against security.

The Double Standard

ROBERT SCHUETTINGER

... to which the D.C.L.'s repair,
reports our correspondent from Chicago

In the United States today, no group is more concerned about smears and low-level blows in the area of political debate than are the Liberals, especially the editors of Liberal newspapers. According to the rules of the club, when a certified Liberal* is smeared, the hue and cry seems calculated to provoke divine intervention. When a conservative has his words taken out of context, his motives impugned and his reputation scarred, however, this is set down as simply his just deserts.

At the University of Chicago recently, a good example of this double standard of morality occurred when Dr. Linus Pauling addressed a meeting of the Student Peace Union. Dr. Pauling, it will be recalled, has been complaining up and down the land that (1) his right of freedom of speech was being so abridged that he no longer dared to Speak Out and (2) that Senator Thomas Dodd's sole purpose in asking his co-operation in gathering needed information on the dozens of Communist-front organizations that he (Dr. Pauling) has first-hand knowledge about, was to harass and discredit a man who dares to disagree with the Senator's views on nuclear policy. In his speech to the Chicago peace group, Dr. Pauling mentioned his debate the previous night on a local television program with Dean Clarence Manion. Dean Manion, of course, is a man who happens to disagree with Dr. Pauling's views on practically every question, including the problem of nuclear defense.

The student newspaper at the University of Chicago, the consistently left-of-center *Maroon*, reported that Dr. Pauling had quoted his opponent, Dean Manion, as saying that "he would be willing to sacrifice 60 million Americans to be able to destroy the Russians because the Russians are godless. Dr. Pauling and Dr. Eric Fromm," the *Maroon* went on, "retorted that they, too, are godless, and Manion expressed the wish that they would die along with the 60 million."

Dean Manion was thus represented as having made two statements which, on the surface, would seem impossible for any intelligent man to make. If the *Maroon* story were true, Dean Manion had said that we should be willing to sacrifice 60 million people in order to destroy the Russian people since the Russians don't believe in God and, more incredible still, he is alleged to have expressed the wish in a television debate that his two opponents would be killed in an atomic war.

As might be expected, Dean Manion wrote a letter to the *Maroon* in which he termed the statement attributed to Dr. Pauling "the most fantastic lie that I have ever seen in print." "In the television interview," he wrote, "I used a figure cited in a survey made by the Rand Corporation to refute a contention by Dr. Pauling that in a nuclear war with the Soviet Government, we would suffer at least 120 million casualties and civilization would disappear in the process. The Rand survey — with which Dr. Pauling was familiar — put the maximum casualties in such a war at 63 million . . . I did not say that the Russians are Godless or express any wish that the Russians should be destroyed. On the contrary, I expressed the wish and hope that the

Russian people — who probably have more religious faith per capita than we have — could be liberated from the tyrannical slavery in which they are now held by the *Godless Soviet Communist Government* . . ." He concluded by asking the *Maroon* to publish his explanation in their next issue.

This the *Maroon* did. In an editor's note the newspaper pointed out that what Dr. Pauling actually said, according to a tape recording of the meeting, was the following: "Manion urges that we plan to attack and destroy Russia, and he says it is worthwhile to sacrifice 60 million American men, women and children, and larger numbers still in England, France and so on to do so. Why does he urge this terrible act? Because he says the Russians are Godless, they don't believe in God, they are amoral, and they should be destroyed. Well, Dr. Erich Fromm was [at the 'At Random' TV program with us], and he said that he was Godless, he was an atheist. And he said that I was Godless. And so our adversary then, I think, hoped that we would be among the 60 million."

Except for the last sentence, it would seem that the *Maroon* reporter had faithfully reproduced Dr. Pauling's perversion of Dean Manion's remarks. The last sentence, however, in which Dr. Pauling speculated out loud as to what he *thought* Dean Manion was thinking, was blithely changed by the reporter to read: "Manion *expressed the wish* (italics mine) that they (Pauling and Fromm) would die along with the 60 million."

In its editor's note, however, the *Maroon* made no mention of this distortion of an unfounded imputation. Instead, the *Maroon* blandly noted that "Although this tape alone showed that *Pauling was*

*See the exhaustive monograph on this subject "Procedures and Regulations for the Conferring of the Degrees 'Liberal', 'Ultra-Liberal' and 'Deeply-Committed-Liberal' (D.C.L.)" by Dr. Richard Rovere of the Institute of Higher Social Research of the Sewanaka High School Library.

quoted correctly in the *Maroon* (italics mine), the *Maroon* also obtained a tape recording of the 'At Random' TV program, so as to determine exactly what Manion had said. . . . [According to the tape] Manion stated: 'So the implication of the movie "On the Beach" that there would be a few people left (after an atomic war) is not true, not that 60 million casualties anytime, anywhere wouldn't be a horrible thing to contemplate, but it would be worse in my judgment to sacrifice freedom than it would be to sacrifice 60 million people.'

"A WBBM-TV official," the *Maroon* added, "noted that, in the context of the discussion of Russia and the United States, 'sacrificing freedom' meant refraining from war with Russia."

The *Maroon* editor was either too stupid or (more likely) too crafty to make clear to his readers that the point of Dean Manion's argument was that he would reluctantly choose to sacrifice 60 million people rather than refrain from war with Russia. . . if the Soviet Union attacked us. Even the editor of the *Maroon* would probably agree that, if we are attacked, we would have little choice but to resist. Dean Manion, therefore, was saying nothing at all unusual — until his words were filtered through Dr. Pauling and the *Maroon* reporter.

The *Maroon* editor, as might be expected, ended his comment on a note of smug self-satisfaction. "Therefore, we conclude," he wrote, "that the *Maroon's* coverage of Pauling's lecture was entirely accurate and further, that Pauling had some basis in fact for his statements"

In other words, it is acceptable for a Liberal to misquote and libel a conservative as long as there is at least "some basis in fact" for his fantasies; of course, if a conservative newspaper ever took similar liberties with a Liberal, that would be McCarthyism, if not out-and-out Fascism.

If he's not careful, that *Maroon* editor may wind up on the editorial board of the *New York Times*.

Human Rights and Property Rights

DAN BOYER

It is not the right of property which is protected, but the right to property. Property, per se, has no rights; but the individual—the man—has three great rights, equally sacred from arbitrary interference: the right to his life, the right to his liberty, the right to his property. . . . The three rights are so bound together as to be essentially one right. To give a man his life but deny him his liberty is to take from him all that makes his life worth living. To give him his liberty but take from him his property which is the fruit and badge of his liberty is to still leave him a slave.

—GEORGE SUTHERLAND,
Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court

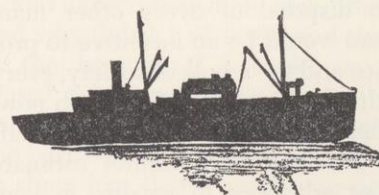
The defender of liberty and individualism who has not been faced with the trite phrase "But human rights are more important than property rights!" is indeed rare. For the belief that human rights and property rights are somehow distinct, and that there is a difference in importance between them has become a major tenet of the Statist mystique. The Socialist who turns out his endless diatribes against the bourgeois propertied class is joined by the so-called "Liberal" who attempts to "defend" liberty by subverting the right to property. Indeed, the apparent Statist hatred of the propertied individual has created some strange bedfellows: the Marxian atheists, under the standard of dialectical materialism, join with the religious who, under a false sense of compassion and a distorted view of religious tradition, advocate "Christian Socialism" and a partial or total abrogation of property.

Under either belief, the capitalist is depicted as an inhumane and selfish individual, unconcerned with need and blind to poverty. The sufferings of the "deserving poor" are used to blot out the achievements of the capitalists and entre-

preneurs who have deproletarianized the "masses"; the activities of those who use their wealth in patronizing the arts, or in experimenting with new products are completely ignored. The use of the automobile, the refrigerator, or even the bathtub would never have occurred had there been no self-sufficient individuals willing to defy the disapproval of the community to try them. We take these comforts for granted, but we forget that they could not exist without the right of the individual to property.

Of course, we do not propose to defend private property on the grounds that it provides creature comforts; its justification must be defended on other than materialistic grounds. Nor shall we go to the other extreme, and defend it by having recourse to such vague terms as the "dignity of man" or "God-given rights". The right of the individual to property can be defended by having recourse to such metaphysical constructs, but it is questionable if such constructs compromise the best means of rational persuasion.

We take, as an axiom, the idea that man can achieve more if he acts in cooperation with his fellow



men, i.e., in society. The man living literally alone must spend the greater amount of his time in supporting his life—against starvation, exposure and inimical action from other

men and animals. In society, which permits a division of labor, man can devote himself to one task, and exchange the fruits of his action with his neighbors for the fruits of their actions. Now, what does this imply? First of all, we see that his life is no longer at the mercy of the whims of other individuals. If this society is to exist, then each individual must recognize that the person of every other individual is beyond the reach of arbitrary action. Secondly, we must recognize that each individual has freedom of action, so long as he does not interfere with either the person, or the similar freedom, of other individuals.

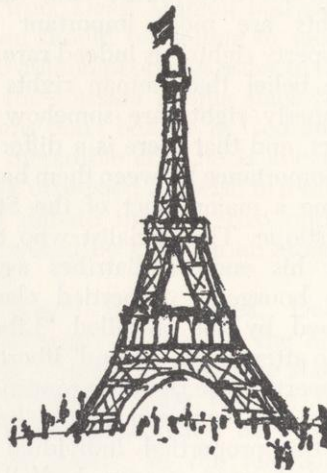
Now, it is at this point that the statist, of whatever persuasion, will disagree. He declares that it is the business of society to decide what tasks the individual is to perform. But such is patently absurd. Society does make that decision, but only by rewarding the individual if he proves to be a success at his chosen field of endeavor, and by not rewarding him if he is a failure. There is no way to judge an individual's success or failure until he acts; thus, if society is to learn whether an individual is competent or incompetent at a particular task, he must be left free to try. Thus, society must recognize the right to liberty.

Society and the State

This second right implies, almost immediately, the third: the right of the individual to retain the fruits of his labor, and to dispose of them as he so chooses. This is the right to own property. Were it not recognized, were every man's fruits at the disposal of every other man, there would be no incentive to produce and the whole of society, every individual, would suffer. Even now, when the government takes but half of the fruits, we cannot estimate what advances in wealth, in consumer goods, in medicine, in art and general well-being we have put off, if not permanently lost.

Up to now, we have spoken of *society* rather than the *state*. It is

unfortunate, but men are not angels. There are those in any society, who, either because of greed or of laziness, desire to live on stolen wealth. Thus, part of society's force is channeled into providing for a protective agency. This agency provides the necessary conditions for the preservation of rights and the existence of society: order, liberty and justice. Without order, no life would be safe; without liberty, no action would be possible, and without justice, the basis for the exchange of property, the idea of contract, would be impossible. It is these three things, each existing to guarantee a right, which make society possible. Without order, we would have neither property nor liberty nor life; society would degenerate into the anarchic "war of all against all." Without either liberty or justice, society would stagnate under an enervating despotism. It is



through the preservation of the free society, and thus through the preservation of the above-mentioned rights that the true meaning of the often misused phrase, "The greatest good for the greatest number," is achieved.

The so-called "Liberal" will, of course, protest. To him, it is never a question of destroying property rights, and the system of the free market or the contractual society which is based upon them. His goal is to "ameliorate" capitalism; to help

the poor escape the rigors of the economy based on contract. Thus we hear grandiose plans and schemes for income taxes, social security, subsidies and other such games. But because the "Liberal" differs from the socialist only in extent does not make him less evil. The so-called mixed economy tends, in the long run, to produce the same disastrous results. If the immorality of the "Liberal" programs were not enough justification for their condemnation, then the economic results would provide us with our case.

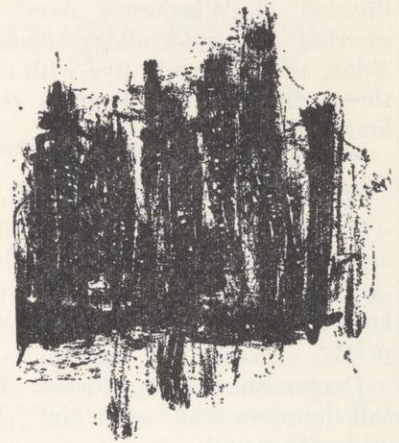
Root of Poverty

The poverty, the crime, the general loss of initiative which has increased in this country since the turn of the century is not a result of property rights, but a result of thinking of them as something different, apart from and inferior to the other human rights. This fallacious thinking, which fails to recognize that property rights form the basis for freedom, and that, in the long run, that freedom forms the basis of all human action, and therefore of life itself, has led us into stagnation. It is only in a society where the interaction of human rights with each other is recognized, and where an attack on one is regarded as an attack on all, that progress can really occur. It is only when a government exists to protect these rights by supporting order, liberty, and justice, and by avoiding any further activity as an attack on order, liberty and justice, that man can be said to be free, to be something more than an animal of the forest, continually fighting for his life, or a mindless robot in some Orwellian nightmare. Take away the right to property—either because of a misplaced Socialist hatred or because of abstract sloganizing and false sentimentality—and you take away from man the very thing that does make him what he is; you reduce him to the pigsty—and in the name of a cliché about "Human rights" being more important than "property rights."

Episode in a Nut House

DUNDAS

a chipmunk, a nut,
and water in a vase
of artificial flowers . . .



I don't know why, but the first thing that occurred to me when I woke up was why anybody would put water in a vase of artificial flowers. Whoever did that, I thought, must have been slightly off key.

I couldn't remember the previous day at all, and when I woke up in the room with the artificial flowers, I was really mixed up. I thought maybe I was in a hospital—the place smelled like one. But I've never been sick in my life except when I had whooping cough when I was two, and a couple of colds. Then I thought maybe I'd been in an accident, but I was whole, and there weren't any bandages. As a matter of fact, there wasn't anything: no clothes, not even any people; nothing except those stupid artificial flowers.

So I got up to go and find out what was going on. The door was locked. Now this is peculiar, I thought, *damned* peculiar. And just as I was about to show the door who was boss, a brisk little man who looked like a chipmunk with spectacles bustled into the room and told me to sit down. I demanded to know where I was and how I had gotten there and who in hell *he* was, reminding him that I outweighed him by about fifty pounds. He drew a pad from inside his white coat and wrote something down. Then he sat down and looked at me.

"Well?" I said.

He just stared and took down some more notes.

"I'm very good at staring people down," I said. "I can last longer than you can."

He smiled and wrote something more. I stared.

"Was it you who put water in with the artificial flowers?" I said.

"Mr. Dunham," he said at last, "Mr. Dunham, you have been assigned to us by the authorities for observation. Now I wish you would sit down and co-op—"

"What authorities? Observation for what? What the hell is this, anyway?" I shouted, grabbing him by his little white coat.

"Mr. Dunham: here at the Hilltop Sanitarium we do not deal in force. We—"

"Hilltop Sanitarium! You mean I'm locked up in a loony bin! Oh, no, Mr. Chipmunk! I'm getting out—"

"Mister who?" he said, jotting on his pad.

"I thought you said your name was Chipmunk," I said.

Well, it turned out that his name wasn't Chipmunk at all, but Rinaldi, Doctor Rinaldi. And he had been put in charge of observing me because the authorities had authorized him to. He didn't like the idea any more than I did, he said, but it was his job. "Now, tell me, Mr. Dunham: when did you first decide you wanted to kill the President?"

"You mean that SOB Kennedy?" I said.

"Well, uh, yes: President Kennedy, that's right," he said.

"Oh, I don't know. I guess ever

since I found out about his having Addison's Disease."

"His what?"

"He's got Addison's Disease: you know, puffy cheeks, bronzed skin, muscular atrophy. In the later stages you get what the medical books call 'mental asthenia,' a euphemism for cracking up. One of his doctors is the country's foremost authority on it."

"I see," he said. "And what—"

"Look," I said, "I don't know who you think you are, or what you intend to do with me. But I'm very annoyed about your keeping me here without letting me call my lawyer or my wife or anything. And if you think I'm insane, mister, you're the one who's crazy. I am perfectly normal. Now, where are my clothes?"

"Do you call throwing a hand grenade at the White House exactly normal behavior?"

"No," I said. "But I'd sure like to shake the hand of the man who'd try it. Wouldn't you?"

He said something about how he would like to know more about that, and why didn't I sit down and start at the beginning? I could see I wasn't going to get very far with my friend Doctor Rinaldi, so I figured the best way to get out of there was to show him that I really *was* perfectly sane, and to stop being belligerent.

"Well, I fought as an artillery officer in the Fifth Army in World War Two," I began. "After the war I went to work in the marketing

division of Winchester Arms. I married a wonderful gal named Edna, and we live in Rye with our three children, but I guess you know all that."

"No, no: go on," he said.

"I used to commute to New York with my New York *Times* just like anybody else—that is, until it became an organ for Kennedy: you know, 'All the news that fits, we print?'"

Doctor Rinaldi stopped me: "Or 'All the news that fits the tint,'" he said with a smile.

"Yeah," I said. "So anyway, I switched to the *Wall Street Journal*: it gives you the headlines and a paragraph or so. That's all I want; I don't need some stupid reporter to do my interpreting for me. You know, things have gotten so bad that people think that if you don't agree with the gospel according to the New York *Times*, you're a little screwball."

"I know what you mean," Doctor Rinaldi said.

"As for Kennedy, well, I never liked him much. As a matter of fact, I had him sized up as an opportunist when he was running in all those primaries, and I tried to convince other people that he was, too. I never voted for the man, and neither did a majority of Americans, so I never considered him the President—never called him *President Kennedy*.

"But I was all set to go along with him and give him a chance. After all, I figured, we've had some pretty bad Presidents before this one came along, and we made it through. So I decided to give him a chance, just like any normal person would do. When he appointed Stevenson and Bowles and Harri-man it still didn't bother me too much. I mean, he certainly wasn't going to be able to say that no one co-operated with him.

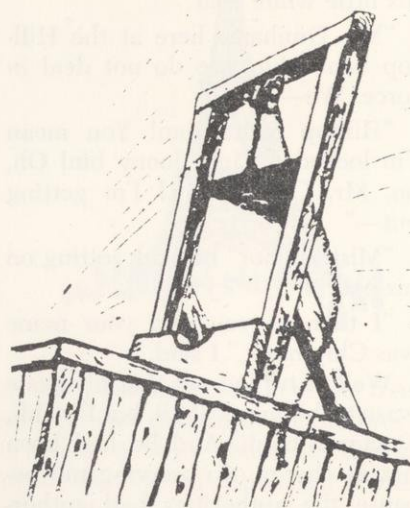
"Then, when he backed out on the Cubans at the Bay of Pigs and messed up Laos, and after that let the Berlin Wall go up, I thought well, this is pretty bad. Now, I'm

not a man of any more extreme emotions than the next guy but that was just letting things go too far. About this time I learned about his having Addison's Disease, and that accounted for his lack of direction and indecisiveness. Doctor, did you ever notice how he's always got to decide things in committee, never by himself? That's another sign of Addison's Disease, and it's getting worse."

"Yes, yes . . . indecisiveness," he said, sort of glowing as if he were discovering the solution to the riddle of the universe.

"The way he pushed around Tshombe and the Canadians and Roger Blough and the British on that Skybolt thing kind of bothered me, too. I'm surprised it didn't upset you, Doctor. Then he started giving federal aid to everything and said that the US has got to make the world safe for integration through the UN.

"After a while I began dreaming about his encouraging the stock market to go back up, and to put



our missiles back in Turkey after he said he'd never take them out, and maybe helping the Dutch to hang onto New Guinea. And in those dreams I tried to resolve how I could help him reconcile his policy of disarmament with his policy of co-existence with Communism, which you know as well as I do, Doctor, is impossible. I couldn't

reconcile those policies, and I concluded that if I, a man of at least average intelligence, couldn't then how could Kennedy, who has about as many brains as a dried-up turnip."

"Dreams?" Dr. Rinaldi interrupted. "Dreams that you used to have night after night? I know them well."

"Yes, you know the kind I mean? And my wife Edna used to get pretty upset when I refused to go to parties that were given by people who liked Kennedy. She wouldn't speak to me for days on end, but I kept telling her that anybody who liked Kennedy was no friend of mine, and principle is principle. I mean, I understood her much better than she understood herself, because women just aren't politically oriented. She finally got over it and came around to my way of thinking. It just seemed clear to me, Doctor, that Kennedy is scared of his responsibilities and doesn't know what to do. So I decided that I had to do something about the situation if no one else would. Just a normal guy coming to a logical conclusion."

Doctor Rinaldi stopped writing for the first time and took off his glasses. "Paranoia," he muttered, nodding his head. "Paranoia."

"Okay," I said. "You may think I'm a paranoid, but I want my clothes, or at least to call my lawyer. I refuse to—"

"No, no, Kennedy," he said. "That SOB Kennedy." He stood up. "Mr. Dunham, you are indeed a remarkable man. I'll have an orderly bring your clothes right away."

So I was out of there in no time, and after a while the authorities didn't bother me, not after Dr. Rinaldi had told them in court that I was sane as the next guy, and obviously not the person who had tried to kill the guy in the White House. Sometime later, when the *Wall Street Journal* had a paragraph about Kennedy being blown up by an anonymous assassin, I tried to get hold of Dr. Rinaldi at the Hill-top Sanitarium. But they told me he wasn't working there anymore.

The Three Legs of American Foreign Policy

RICHARD S. WHEELER

The State Department
comes under close scrutiny

American foreign policy is notoriously inconsistent: it rushes Yank troops to South Vietnam to impede the advance of Communist guerrillas there, while next door in Laos it negotiates for a coalition government of just the sort which permits the Communists to assume complete control behind the façade of neutralism. Elsewhere, it modestly averts its eyes while a military coup in Argentina checkmates the resurgent Peronistas, while only a bit later it huffily severs relations with Peru when a military junta seizes power to prevent a coup by a fascist, near-totalitarian leftist named Haya de la Torre (who failed to obtain even a third of that nation's votes for high office).

Elsewhere, it intervenes so heavily in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic that it virtually dictates the form of government that shall prevail there, while at the same time it shirks from an invasion of Castro's Cuba on the pious and sanctimonious ground that intervention would violate the sovereignty of that accursed land. Elsewhere still, it lavishes diplomatic and financial support on any subsection of an old colonial empire or tribal kingdom which proclaims its independence, even down to such entities as Upper Volta and Mali — while at the same time it assiduously denies independence to the Province of Katanga—perhaps the one political entity in black Africa which does have a reasonable case for self-rule.

It proclaims its intention to contain the global advance of communism, while at the same time it advances aid to the Communist or quasi-Communist governments of Poland, Yugoslavia, Algeria, Indonesia, British Guiana, Laos, Mali,

and even (through the U.N.) to Cuba. It develops a defensive alliance with our traditional and cultural allies in Europe, but then supports the efforts of colonial peoples to eradicate European influence all over the globe . . .

The list is almost endless, and it leads many Americans to wonder, in all seriousness, whether this nation even has a foreign policy.

The fact of the matter is that this nation has *three* different foreign policies, and sometimes four, when the State Department defers to the wisdom and prudence of those excellencies who command the apparatus of the United Nations. Each of these three foreign policies is based upon a different set of considerations, with the result that none of them reaches the level of an effective *modus operandi* in diplomacy. One program simply nullifies and contradicts another program. The result is manifest in the dismal record of postwar diplomacy, which in the brief period of 18 years has heavily eroded America's paramount position in world affairs; retreated disgracefully before militant communism in Europe, Asia, Africa and South America; failed to wrest any of the slave states away from the Soviet Union; failed, in spite of an expenditure in excess of \$100 billion, to make an appreciable advance in global living standards; and undermined the world power and prestige of Great Britain and Europe—the very nations from which we derive our institutions. Moreover, we have failed to keep the peace as effectively as did England when she ruled the waves. On the record, American postwar diplomacy can only be described as a dismal flop.

The best way to grasp the reasons for America's abysmal diplomatic performance is to examine each of the three bases of our foreign policy, and then observe how, when intermingled, they checkmate each other. Only then can we see which foreign policy programs should be eradicated, and which should be given a shot in the arm in order to achieve effective diplomacy.

Self Interest

The first basis of American foreign policy is the classical, or traditional, concept of self-interest. In this instance, the sole goal of diplomacy is the enhancement of the economic status and physical security of the citizens of the United States. Alliances are formed, treaties written, economic pacts negotiated, all with the express purpose of adding to the advantage of Americans. The well-being of other peoples and nations is a consideration only insofar as their disaffection toward us could endanger our security. The form of government prevailing in nations is irrelevant to our relations with them, unless that form of government (such as communism) is committed to the overthrow of our institutions and beliefs. And while a moral stance and consistency are considered desirable, they nevertheless are subordinate to the exigencies of pure self-interest. While recognizing the validity of national sovereignty, this type of foreign policy would nonetheless mount an invasion of a nation whose behavior directly threatens the safety of the Republic.

A foreign policy based on self-interest is predicated upon the assumption that there is no such thing as altruism among nations, and each nation will strive for advantage at

the expense of other nations. Therefore it is little more than the coldly practical business of survival.

Proselytizing

The second basis for the formulation of American foreign policy is a value system which is generally unrelated to the problems of survival and self-interest. This value system has to do with moral and ethical behavior, and the extension of our philosophy of government. In particular, the values of self-government, civil rights and anti-colonialism, are brought to bear upon our diplomacy. This value system endeavors to impose certain civilized concepts upon the jungle approach of self-interest. Thus, for example, the United States may withdraw recognition of dictators or military juntas or totalitarian regimes, basing its actions upon the value of popular government and civil rights. Or it may condemn a foreign power's aggression against another foreign power, basing its condemnation upon the inviolability of a sovereign state. Or it may agitate for the independence of a colony, basing its agitation on the principle of self-rule. Or it may denounce secret alliances or support presumably justifiable revolutions or attempt to subvert a totalitarian regime, all on the basis of some principle or other.

It is obvious that foreign policy constructed upon such a value system will occasionally run head-on into a foreign policy constructed upon the principle of self-interest. For example, take our foreign policy during the period when the quasi-Communist Sukarno of Indonesia was attempting to wrest West New Guinea from the Dutch. We successfully backed Sukarno against the Dutch, apparently because we are committed to the elimination of European colonialism (though not Sukarno's own Asian brand). But by so doing, we weakened our own position in several ways: we strained our relationship with our relatively powerful allies, the Dutch; we shriveled our sphere of influence in

the Far East; and we permitted the Communist world enterprise to advance its perimeter just one more notch toward our shoreline.

Another example of where moralistic foreign policy clashes with self-interest is in Cuba. We are morally opposed to landing the Marines, yet we endanger our national security, and our prestige in Latin America, by permitting Castro to subvert the



hemisphere. A third example was our overt and covert attempts to overthrow the Trujillo regime in the Dominican Republic, even though the dictator Trujillo was a staunch ally and an anti-Communist. It still remains to be seen whether we applied our moral scruples in that case to the detriment, or the advantage, of American security.

Thus, the standards of right and wrong are applied to national self-interest by this second approach to foreign policy. Sometimes this combination produces a magnificent policy of principled self-interest, as in the case of our refusal to recognize Red China because of its barbarism and inhumanity. At other times, however, these two policies are at variance and when that happens, the security of the Republic is endangered.

Altruism

The third basis of American foreign policy is essentially a postwar innovation. It involves charitable or altruistic concern for the peoples of other lands. Its essence is philanthropic and (in spite of the propaganda in its behalf) it is a costly burden upon the taxpayers of the United States. This philanthropic concept, more than any other, un-

dergirds America's massive global foreign aid, as well as the misnamed "Peace Corps." In this approach to foreign policy, our overseas diplomats are lobbyists for their host countries in addition to being the representatives of the people of the United States. Exemplifying this new type of diplomat is our ambassador to Poland, John Moors Cabot. When the Eighty-Seventh Congress attempted to cut off Poland from our foreign aid, Cabot leaped to Poland's defense and wired Washington that Poland might "retaliate" if it were cut off.

The idea behind this third approach to diplomacy is quite the inverse of "America first," even though all sorts of attempts are made to justify it and rationalize it in terms of America's long range and short range self-interest. For example, its proponents often rationalize it by propounding the "stomach theory" of anti-communism — i.e., that material comfort will prevent people from becoming Communists (which is fallacious). But it is obvious that their prime concern is not U.S. security, but rather is alleviating foreign poverty. In terms of classical diplomacy, this tack very nearly approaches madness insofar as our diplomats subjugate the security and welfare of the United States to the interests of other nations.

Foreign policy decisions based on this third approach constantly collide with policy propounded on considerations of self-interest or American values. Programs which bleed off a considerable portion of the federal income, and which set up potential competitors abroad, and which generate enormous power vacuums by underwriting dozens of unstable, post-colonial tribal kingdoms do not accord with diplomacy clearly oriented to national self-interest. Nor do those foreign aid programs which are used as bribery accord with the moral values this country normally applies to foreign policy.

These, then, are the three major bases of American foreign policy.

Just which conjunction of them would be most efficacious is a matter of great controversy, but there are certainly some observations which ought to be made.

It should be obvious first of all, that self-interest *must* be the paramount purpose of foreign policy, and that decisions based on moral and charitable considerations are absolute luxuries. In international relations, whenever self-interest is subordinated to lesser goals, there arises an immediate and continuing threat to the country, either from economic competition, or war, or the modern psywar. It is axiomatic that there is no one else to look out for the United States, and if we fail to look after our own interests, there are other powers waiting in the wings to capture our markets, territories, and ultimately, our people. The irony of a foreign policy which sinks its deepest roots into moral and charitable considerations is precisely that it will ultimately lead to such straitened circumstances as to inhibit morality and charity. In other words, any policy not based on national self-interest ultimately defeats itself—and plunges the American people into an age of insecurity, poverty, and misery. It must be the cardinal goal of U.S. diplomacy to advance our influence, power, prestige and wealth in every corner of the globe. Such a policy, far from breeding international resentment, is instantly understood, respected and appreciated by most foreigners who come into contact with it.

Ostensibly the criterion of self-interest still remains the foundation of American foreign policy. So much so, in fact, that sophisticated State Department policymakers have learned to bathe their pet international charity programs in the rhetoric of self-interest in order to render them more palatable to Congress and the American people.

It often takes a great deal of intelligence and research to cut through the State Department's sophistry and expose the hard fact that a giveaway program does not

feasibly advance America's economic interests, nor halt communism, nor advance our national security. It is the easiest thing in the world to justify almost any approach to diplomacy as being in our short range or long range national interest, but it is not at all easy to ascertain which State Department machinations are designed to benefit the U.S., and which are designed to serve some abstract ideal such as "world peace and prosperity," and which are frankly aimed at boosting foreign powers. It is easy enough for the State Department to proclaim piously that Katanga must be crushed to keep central Africa from the Communists; it is much more difficult to acquire sufficient knowledge to conclude that such an assertion is pure poppycock. It is easy enough for the State Department to wring its hands and proclaim that a "neutralist" coalition in Laos will guarantee the stability of Southeast Asia; it is much harder, after the State Department has spoken to the millions, to get the truth about Laos to the American public. There can be no question but that our actual foreign policy is far removed from the ideal of self-interest, and that the American people have been led to believe otherwise.

The widespread use of the rhetoric of self-interest to "sell" various types of diplomacy to the American people underscores the fact that in postwar years, policy has been grounded more and more upon value systems and charity, and less and less upon self-interest. This may simply be due to the growth of an international concept of welfarism. It also may be due, in part, to the serious split between those who argue for accommodation as the best means to national security, and those who argue for a strong military posture plus aggressive psywar tactics against international communism as the sole road to national survival. The State Department is so badly confused as to how to advance American interests that in general it simply ducks the issue and concentrates, instead, on the

more comfortable problems of giving away money, in lieu of a real policy.

Another possible reason for the trend away from self-interest in diplomacy might be discovered in the fact that we have assumed the burden of free world leadership. To some extent, the American government is the captive of the whole free world, as was the imperial government of ancient Rome. If our ambassadors now press foreign claims and demands upon Washington in the name of good relations, they are behaving no differently than the ancient Roman governors and legates who petitioned the emperor and senate in behalf of their provinces. One might well describe the State Department and the Agency for International Development as a huge foreign lobby operating in the capital, while at the same time the State Department is the chief international representative of the American people.

But whatever the reasons, it is plain that policymakers are frequently making decisions which are contrary to America's self-interests, and that these decisions are seriously eroding our international position and power. Mr. Joseph Alsop, the liberal columnist, once labelled our foreign aid program as the "cornerstone" of our diplomacy. If this is the sort of thinking that exists in the Department of State, it is no wonder that our diplomacy has produced such disappointing results in recent years. Foreign aid should be the least and last consideration in the formulation of policy; it is extremely dubious that it has won us any friends to speak of, and it certainly has bred contempt among those who regard themselves as being bribed.

It is even less likely that this government-to-government aid has benefited the *people* of other nations. The evidence suggests that many recipient countries have used their largess either to construct huge bureaucracies which make life all the more miserable for the people, or to build uneconomical glamour

industries which employ very few and produce an overpriced product. Bolivia is a prime example.

The one type of foreign aid which does have value is the military matériel we ship to our allies in order to strengthen the free world, and ultimately ourselves. But this type of aid is the product of self-interest rather than charity, and cannot legitimately be included under the genre of philanthropy.

The finest and most virile diplomacy is based upon a blend of self-interest and American values, with self-interest the "senior partner" in all instances. Such a policy would entail acting in our best interests always, and within the framework of our value system as much as possible. Undoubtedly some will argue that that's what exists today, but they would be hard put to explain away our behavior in Cuba, Berlin, Laos, West New Guinea, etc. *ad infinitum*. Nor could they explain the

reverence — almost superstitious awe — accorded the foreign aid program by professional diplomats and State Department officials and liberals.

A first-rate foreign policy would operate on several basic axioms, among them that there is no real "status quo." Systems and powers are either advancing or receding, and if the Communists are advancing, then *ipso facto* we are retreating. It would presume that communism intends to subvert and capture the world. It would presume that the danger comes from the entire international conspiracy, and not from a mere entity known as the "Sino-Soviet bloc." It would be primarily concerned with the deployment of our military and economic power; much less concerned with doles and bribes and raising the living standards of all mankind through the fecundity of American business. It would aim toward the

specific goal of economic and political victory over communism, so that the free nations of the world can develop in peace. It would use the threat of superior military force as a lever to pry pieces of the Communist bloc away from Russia. It would expand its efforts to instill the basic Western tenets of personal morality, self-reliance and character across the globe. It would encourage in every way possible the investment of American private capital abroad, and it would provide great inducements for private charitable and missionary groups to expand their functions abroad. If it does use a limited amount of foreign aid, that aid should be granted primarily to allies, rarely to neutrals, and never to governments which bait the U.S. It would, in short, militantly defend and expand the best of Western civilization, and with the grace of God, usher in a blessed new age.



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As Others Pretend to See Us

The encounter on a train bound for New York is by chance, that is important; and he is Anyman, Mr. Average, Anonymous Joe, an engineer from Detroit it turns out. "Good morning, Madame! Good morning, Sir!" Joe says. "Is the seat next to you taken? Thank you . . . What's the mark on your camera? . . . Zorki? A Russian word? Are you Russian? Oh, I see . . ."

Soon Joe is telling the strangers about America, about steel mills, agriculture, capitalism, unemployment, culture, the railroads, Marx, automation. "To be sure," Joe remarks, "a deep contradiction exists in our society between the aspirations of the masses and the

THOSE AMERICANS, by N. N. Mikhailov and Z. V. Kossenko, Regnery, \$4.95.

aspirations of the government. Out of this split arise all our moral dilemmas. . . How does the simple-souled ordinary American compromise in this great abyss of contradictions? With neurasthenia.

"Although foreigners are perturbed," Joe chats on irrepressibly, "because the Americans have spawned so many infamous tyrants, criminals and burglars, they should remember that a healthy nucleus remains.

"Egocentric, the American is nonetheless quite hospitable. . . . The American is greedy, but not niggardly. What preserves his good qualities in the midst of so much brutality? Religion? No, labor. The workers have created in the United States, as elsewhere, the material and spiritual welfare. By intercourse with other toilers, the soul is purged. It is clean and lofty until spoiled by capitalism. . . ."

Here, we must agree, preserved in the rich original rhetoric of heartland America, is just the typical conversation of an every-day American whom an ordinary Russian couple meets on the train, by chance.

These ordinary Russians (man and wife despite their different surnames) in due course made available the homely opinions of Anonymous Joe, along with other experiences and observations gained touring the U.S., to Anonymous Ivan back home, in a sort of travelogue, *Those Americans*. However, we egocentric Americans amidst our brutality would never have known about it, nor escaped our neurasthenia, had not Joseph Suhadolc and Virginia Moseley of Northern Illinois University troubled to translate the book and have it published here. Certainly it was never intended that we see it.

That is because the context of *Those Americans*, in that it is about us, is peculiarly vulnerable to comparison with the reality Americans live and know: thus a distorted reflection of us will be particularly obvious. Ivan, of course, has no way to gauge the truth of a book about America — of necessity, he believes. But we, as the pretense is made to "portray" us, have not only the means to detect distortion, but the knowledge that such distortion will be a precise measure of the failure of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. The distortion, because it is deliberate, indicates the extent reality must be bludgeoned into obedience to Communist ideas, lest the ideas be demolished — as they should be — in obedience to reality.

Ordinary Russians, it should be noted, can't *tour* beyond the iron curtain. Some few comrades can journey abroad for less leisurely purposes, unescorted, provided their political reliability has been passed on and approved by half a dozen lesser councils and the Kremlin. We are meeting not tourists but propagandists, ideologically certified and skillful. Their book even won a prize from the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace — indeed, in its way it is a masterpiece, a most subtle blend of obvious truth, gentle half-truth and blatant fantasy. But its pedigree for all the Russias is



no good here. In fact its Minitrue version of our reality comes out outrageously funny: and in laughter, all the dignity of Communism, so meticulously constructed of lies, washes away.

Consider this heavy-handed view of Americana:

" . . . on board ship . . . in the morning [Americans] go to pray . . . A button is pressed to open panels in the wall, and the altar comes to light. A record is turned on, a voice amplified on the loud speaker, a solemn chime floats out over the ocean. In three languages — French, Latin and English — the priest says Mass. Movingly, a string quartet plays Bach and Beethoven. Everyone is serious; some cry. Mass over, the panels in the wall close, the altar disappears. Having taken off his robes, the lay-brother helps members of the congregation turn their chairs around to face a screen on the opposite wall. Immediately, a movie begins. The

crowd now avidly watches women changing clothes, cowboys shooting one another, gangsters beating up detectives. The children scream in delight at each blow of a fight; when the shooting starts, they utter a war-like [get it?] cry, 'Bang! Bang!'

We are, then, simple-minded, superstitious, amoral, materialist technicians. And capitalist warmongers:

"We passed to the right of the huge ominous Pentagon, on which the inscription reads, I've heard, He who has much increases his wealth."

But as Anonymous Joe told us, a healthy nucleus remains:

"Sandy [a midwestern folksinger] sang one last ballad, for which he received a roaring ovation. I soon realized that it was because of this one he'd invited us. I had heard it before. It was composed by soldiers during the American fight for independence, but I hadn't known that new lines had been recently added — somewhere on the roads, in the fields, or in the mines of America:

I saw Roosevelt
Not long before his death;
He told me,
There's no room for lack of faith among peoples.
Russian or Yankee,
Black or white,
We're all members of the human race
And have the right to live as we like."

I personally am not much up on what they were singing around the campfires at Valley Forge — I tried singing these lines to the tune of Yankee Doodle but it didn't work — so I checked around the roads, fields and mines of America, and they'd never heard of the lyric either. Nobody even liked it. Too corny.

On the subject of being American, each of us is an expert. If you do not find yourself fairly depicted in *Those Americans*, you will have gained an insight into what a perverter, and a perversion, Communism is. It's not a trivial observation, for without deceit, Communism cannot exist.

JOHN CARAVAN

Clear Thinking About Policy

It was only 1958 when Tom Dodd of Connecticut was first elected to the United States Senate. It seems much longer, perhaps because in the brief period of Dodd's service to the Republic he has overwhelmingly demonstrated himself to be one of the most astute and thoughtful foreign policy experts now holding elective office.

Freedom and Foreign Policy is a collection of Dodd's speeches of the last three years. Massed together into a single book, they compose a stunning and eloquent

FREEDOM AND FOREIGN POLICY, by Sen. Thomas Dodd, Macfadden paperback, 50¢.

brief for the conservative foreign policy position. Undoubtedly, Democrat Tom Dodd would abjure the term "conservative", but whatever the label, he presents a brilliant case for a hard, virile foreign policy in the cold war, and he tears apart the muddleheaded, weak-spined, sentiment-inspired diplomacy which has repeatedly humiliated the West since the beginning of

its apocalyptic confrontation with international communism.

The Senator has a particular genius for presenting the adverse argument to his readers, and then whaling the living daylights out of it. In his exquisite little chapter dealing with the question of admitting Red China into the United Nations, for example, the senator details one by one the arguments in favor of Red China's admission, and then calmly smashes them to smithereens. For example:

"It is contended, for instance, as if it was relevant, that we cannot ignore one quarter of the human race. This is a peculiar argument to come from those who do ignore one quarter of the human race in the most cruel way possible, by consigning and abandoning them to perpetual slavery.

"Certainly we cannot ignore them. We should think about them and plan for their welfare every day of our lives. But our thoughts and efforts should be directed toward their betterment, then liberation, not toward a shameful action that will in a sense legitimize their enslavers and raise them to the status of a lawful government and an accepted member of the family of legitimate governments."



It is Dodd's broad thesis that the West has failed time and time again to exploit the considerable vulnerabilities of the Communist sphere. Part of the reason for that failure stems from the conviction among the liberalistic souls who formulate our foreign policy that the West is morally little better than the Communists — a thesis, by the way, that Dodd shreds with a scorching indictment of Soviet barbarity since the revolution.

Paralyzed by the ludicrous assumption that the West is not particularly right; cowed by a naive belief in Soviet claims to invincible military and nuclear prowess, our policy-makers — in both parties — have failed to come to grips with a clever underdog enemy, with the result that we have retreated and caviled in the cold war.

The senator's remedies include a good dose of moral conviction in the rightness of our cause; a willful program designed to achieve the liberation of the Soviets' satellite slave states; an eagerness to exploit the ruptures and revolutions with the Soviet empire, by military force if necessary, and a refusal to permit the U.N. to formulate policy in lieu of our own.

Freedom and Foreign Policy is one of the best literary massacres of the Left in print, and is delightful reading for all who wish to witness the ultimate triumph of American values.

—Scott W. Lake

The Materialist Credo

It would seem that a direct contradiction must exist between a philosophy of Materialism and humanitarian impulses. If nothing exists but matter and motion, then what logical basis exists for a reverence for human life? Is not man just another complex piece of machinery? And where is the immorality in disassembling a car, a computer, or a man? This is the interesting point expressed in Friedrich Duerrenmatt's thriller-chiller, *The Quarry*.

The author of *The Visit* and *The Pledge* has turned out another macabre story to be read while you are alone on a dark and stormy night. Former Police Commissioner Hans Barlach suspects a Swiss doctor of

THE QUARRY, by Friedrich Duerrenmatt, Grove Press, 1961, paperback, 50¢.

being a missing and presumed dead Nazi war criminal — a sadist who enjoyed carving up prisoners in concentration camps. In an effort to obtain conclusive proof of the doctor's identity, Barlach arranges to become a patient in the doctor's isolated country clinic. Once in the clinic, it does not take Barlach long to discover that 1) his suspicion about the doctor is correct, and 2) the doctor correctly suspects Barlach's purpose.

The real highlight of the novel comes when the doctor explains why he carves people up. His actions follow as a logical consequence of his Sartre-like philosophy of Materialism and Existentialism.

"I believe in matter," says the doctor. "How shabby and empty it is by comparison to say 'I believe in God'. Matter needs no God or whatever else is invented for it. Its only incomprehensible mystery is its being. Oh, the tremendous night when I understood this! Nothing is holy but matter: man, animal, plant, the Moon, the Milky Way, whatever I see, are accidental groupings, nonessentials.

"It is senseless to strive for the welfare of man in a world structured like a lottery. It is nonsense to believe in matter and at the same time in Humanism.

"I believe that I am — and that my existence gives me the right to do what I want."

As an existentialist, the doctor has no essence unless he acts. He must *do* something. He must rearrange matter if he is to face his freedom squarely.

"For when I kill another human being I become free," explains the doctor. "And the screams and the pain which flood towards me from glassy eyes and open mouths, the convulsing, impotent white flesh under my knife, reflect my triumph and my freedom."

The Quarry is both breath-taking and thought-provoking, and for some of our Rathskeller intellectuals who have the courage of their convictions, it should suggest an interesting new hobby.

JAMES BLAIR

"We cannot expect the Americans to jump from Capitalism to Communism, but we can assist their elected leaders in giving Americans small doses of Socialism, until they suddenly awake and find they have Communism."

— NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV

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It is by shouldering our own responsibility, meeting our own needs, fulfilling our own obligations that we attain true security."

From an Essay, "My True Security", written by Raymond L. Riccio when a student at Providence College in Rhode Island

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► The President (You Know Who) has announced that, by gum, the US must be prepared to accept increased criticism from abroad "in order to get something done. . . the fact is you can't possibly carry out any policy without causing major frictions." Very Well. Since we have spent the better part of the last 10 years irritating our allies — Britain, France, West Germany, Portugal, Belgium, Pakistan, Japan — we are forced to assume that NOW we are going to step on a few Commie toes. Goody.

► In Katanga, the administration has betrayed Moise Tshombe, friend of the West; in Laos, the administration betrayed Premier Boun Oum, friend of the West; in West New Guinea, the administration betrayed the Dutch, treasured allies and members of the West; in Germany, the administration betrayed East Berliners, who now have no access to the West; in Goa, the administration betrayed the Portuguese, another nation of the West; and all the time at the U.N., the administration has been betraying the citizens of the United States to a bloc that is distinctly anti-West. Well, at any rate, the administration has been strictly democratic: it has betrayed people without regard to race, creed or color.

► The Nation, boosting The Nation, ran this testimonial from a philosophy professor: "A student who does not read The Nation is likely to be uncritical, half-educated, and a potential dupe of extremists of many sorts." And a student who does read The Nation, the professor fails to amend, is certain to be.

► The reign of Rep. Brent Spence of Kentucky over the House Banking and Currency Committee has come to an end with the new Congress. Stepping up as Chairman is Rep. Wright Patman of Texas. Mr. Patman has already distinguished himself by announcing that alleged "abuses" of tax exempt foundations are "depriving the U.S. Treasury of large sums of money every year." Very interesting. But probably not nearly as relevant as I&O's charge that the New Frontier's "abuses" of the Treasury are depriving the U.S. of large sums of money every year.