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INSIGHT and OUTLOOK

a conservative student journal

Vol. III Number V

March, 1961

SUMMITRY

ROGER CLAUS

THE WORM TURNS

HENRY HEMPE

DEATH OF A TEXTBOOK

WILLIAM ACKERMAN

JOHN WAYNE!

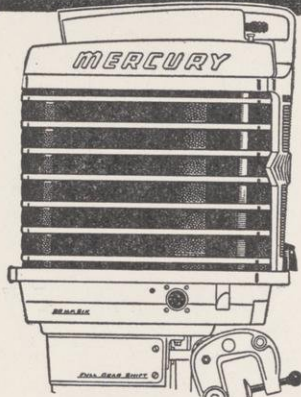
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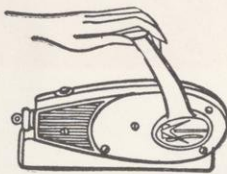
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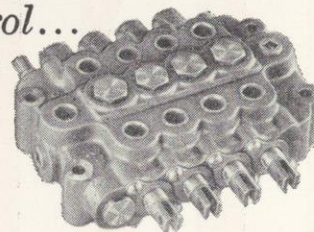
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INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK MAGAZINE

A CONSERVATIVE STUDENT JOURNAL

Vol. III Number V

March, 1961

Editorial Office 2545 University Avenue
University of Wisconsin — Madison, Wisconsin
AL 6-3797 — CE 3-7361 — CE 3-1174

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WORLD OUTLOOK

At no time since the founding of the republic have America's moral resources faced a more formidable challenge than that of the Soviet monolith. At no time in our history has there been a greater dearth of moral resources to rally in meeting the Communist menace. As a result, the underlying moral resolve, so essential to victory in our war with the Soviet Union, is missing.

Ironically, our military strength is at an all time high. Despite the atomic test ban, our retaliatory powers are still in almost even balance with Soviet offensive capabilities. Moreover, our knowledge of the enemy's cold war tactics is available and at the disposal of our national leaders, even if they do choose to ignore it. Even the strongest and most informed army is helpless, however, without the moral resolve to stimulate its will to fight.

The Soviet Union is scoring victory after victory in the cold war quite basically because of our own moral indecision, which prevents our taking a firm stand against the demands of Mr. K. We, as a nation, have not firmly decided which system, Capitalism or Communism, ought to prevail. Ostensibly, we brandish our swords against an enemy whose avowed methods and purposes represent everything we abhor, but in reality we pursue policies more closely akin to *his* ideal than to our own. We have overburdened private property and private ownership of the means of production with government regulations and controls. We have convinced ourselves of the equitability of the progressive income tax (which in the Soviet Union isn't nearly so graduated as our own), the advisability of government handouts, the morality of federal social control, and the expediency of government intervention in the economy and federal manipulation of the money supply, all of which is certainly more Communistic than Capitalistic. Presently we are debating the advisability of medical care to the aged, federal aid to education, and the necessity for increased federal housing, and increased government handouts.

Although we do not necessarily hold the philosophical assumptions of historical and dialectical materialism, we nevertheless pattern our social and economic behavior directly upon the collectivist ideal. How can a nation, whose compromise with welfarism is more in sympathy with the Communist ideal than the American make a firm moral resolve that Western institutions ought to prevail and are ultimately worth fighting for? How can the United States stand up against a government whose strength and determination are unparalleled in the history of the world? Presently, it can do neither. The moral irresolve of the West is pitted against the maniacal fanaticism of those in the Kremlin who labor day and night under the absolute conviction that Communism is the *only* proper system of political, social, and economic organization.

In our attempts to solicit the assistance of the non-Communist nations, we are asking the free world to join us in a cause, the merits of which we are still not firmly convinced. The Soviets, on the other hand, profess their beliefs with admirable solidarity and firmness, and with an unwavering ideological consistency even more appealing to some nations than free American dollars.

It is clear that if America is to triumph in the cold war, mere strength will not suffice. America must firmly resolve that Western values are worth *defending*. Unless we do this without equivocation, the power struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union becomes nothing but a power struggle. The cold war is important only as an ideological conflict. Unless we are willing to practice the ideals we are presumably fighting for, crawling on our knees to Moscow would indeed be the saner alternative to exposing ourselves to possible atomic war.

66

... the ideas of economists and political philosophers, both when they are right and when they are wrong, are more powerful than is commonly understood. Indeed, the world is ruled by little else . . . Not, indeed, immediately, but after a certain interval . . . in the field of economic and political philosophy there are not many who are influenced by new theories after they are twenty-five or thirty years of age, so that the ideas which civil servants and politicians and even agitators apply to current events are not likely to be the newest. But soon or late, it is ideas, not vested interests, which are dangerous for good or evil.

— John Maynard Keynes



Our forebears bequeathed to us a set of premises, theories and truths carefully devised to insure the dignity and freedom and supremacy of the individual. But through interpretation, modification, even convenient omission by many of our educators today, there exists a strong and growing tendency to teach that the individual is second to the state. The influence of these teachings — already apparent — will be felt increasingly five, ten and twenty years hence.



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CAMPUS OUTLOOK

Recently a young whippersnapper caused a mild sensation at the University of Wisconsin when he fled pell mell from a Seminar offered by Ayn Rand. "Your mind is closed!" he accused, as he stumbled toward the door. "You're damn right it's closed," she shot back. "You have nothing to teach me."

The incident pointed up one of the ways in which the conservative — or in this case, Ayn Rand — differs fundamentally with the prevailing liberal idealism of these times. He rejects that most holy of holies, broadmindedness. In fact, he strives to be just as narrow as human intelligence can make him.

Not be broadminded? Ah, now there's a heresy indeed! Who but these crazy conservatives would ever want to be narrowminded?

Probably nobody. Broadmindedness, as defined by the dictionary, means a lack of prejudice; a liberal attitude; a tolerant attitude — and that is the Grand Ideal of most every person who lives in this Age of Modulation. Everyone, that is, except conservatives.

Now, before conservatives are entirely written off as old fogies, there ought to be a careful evaluation of the goals and limitations of broadmindedness. The person who seeks to broaden his mind does so with the intention of making himself flexible, of releasing himself from the past, of banishing rigid Victorian taboos, of diversifying his life through new concepts and activities. But note that his very goal of broadness of mind prevents him from being selective. To select is to narrow; to discriminate is to accept a few things and discard the rest. It is impossible to be discriminating and broadminded at the same time. Only a narrow-minded person can close his mind to an idea or practice and say, "Enough! This is bad; I will not tolerate it!"

Ideas, habits and customs swarm upon a person from every quarter of his environment, and his greatest task is to separate the valid impressions from the trash. The broadminded person, who has deadened his capacity to discriminate, simply absorbs as many of these myriad impressions as he can, without evaluating them.

Only a madman can simultaneously accept ideas which contradict each other, yet the broadminded person is forced by his ideal to do exactly that. The typical liberal, for example, reads Jefferson and says, "Yes! Let's limit government!" and then he reads Marx and says "Yes, let's nationalize!" He only manages to circumvent madness by subscribing to that intellectual debauchery known as relativism — i.e., "sometimes this is right; sometimes that is right; its all very complex and there are no absolutes . . ." And to this relativism he adds the suspicion that he shouldn't quite accept or reject anything, not even God, for to commit himself would be to become "rigid" and "doctrinaire," which would destroy his "individuality." He hedges on every idea that he meets, and then pawns

off his confusion as wisdom. But in the last analysis, this is mindlessness, the very *antithesis* of thought.

Broadness of mind is also the fountainhead of neurosis. When a person permits conflicting ideas to reside in his mind side by side, equal in value, their antagonism unrelieved by selection and rejection, then neurosis is inevitable. Such a person is mentally drawn and quartered; he has no more peace of mind than a man on the rack. He must always be scourged by neurosis until he learns to narrow, and reject.

The person whose goal is to narrow himself as much as possible, faces none of this chaos. Having selected out the Good, by dint of hard thinking, he accepts it with a great affirmation, a profound "Yes, yes," and says, with equal vigor, "No, no," to those ideas which are inferior to his own. He does not for an instant believe in the equality of ideas. The selective conservative, for example, absolutely rejects the welfare state as inferior to a free society. He absolutely accepts the idea that man, by his own nature, is endowed with inalienable rights which the state cannot grant but can only take away. Both ideas are part of a cohesive, monolithic concept of man. Such a concept provides a unified goal toward which conservatives mould and remould themselves.

The one thing a broadminded person is the most smug about — his flexibility — is exactly what he lacks. The best he can do with a new idea is to stuff it into his mental Fibber McGee's closet along with everything else he has acquired. Because he has no discriminatory habits he confuses *newness* with progress, while in fact progress occurs only when something *better* than the old comes along. The selective person, on the other hand, when confronted with an idea which is demonstrably superior to his own, goes through an emotional crisis — but then he is free to affirm the new and reject the old. This complete affirmation at once enables him to act with all the resources at his command. Thus the narrow person stiffens when encountering trash, but is flexible when great ideas come along, whereas the broad person permits an endless stream of junk to clutter his mind, which leaves him rigid precisely when he is pressed with a *good* idea.

Narrowmindedness has no quarrel whatsoever with academic freedom, which, in its true sense, is simply the freedom to publish, circulate and discuss all manner of ideas. Academic freedom does not mean, however, that all ideas are of equal value; it does not mean that all ideas should receive equal respect; it only means that all sides have the right to be heard.

Liberals, alas, don't practice what they preach about broadmindedness. In fact, their attitude toward conservatives is scandalously narrow. We urge them to cease this blatant hypocrisy forthwith and start broadening their minds so as to include conservative concepts. Conservatives, of course, are completely narrowminded about liberals, and that is the way it should be.

A LEAKY BUCKET

Federal subsidies to schooling is comparable to carrying water in a leaky bucket from your own reservoir to a big, communal well. What is left of the water is poured into the well, and then the bureaucrats in charge apportion you some water — according to what they think you need — into that same leaky bucket and you carry it home.

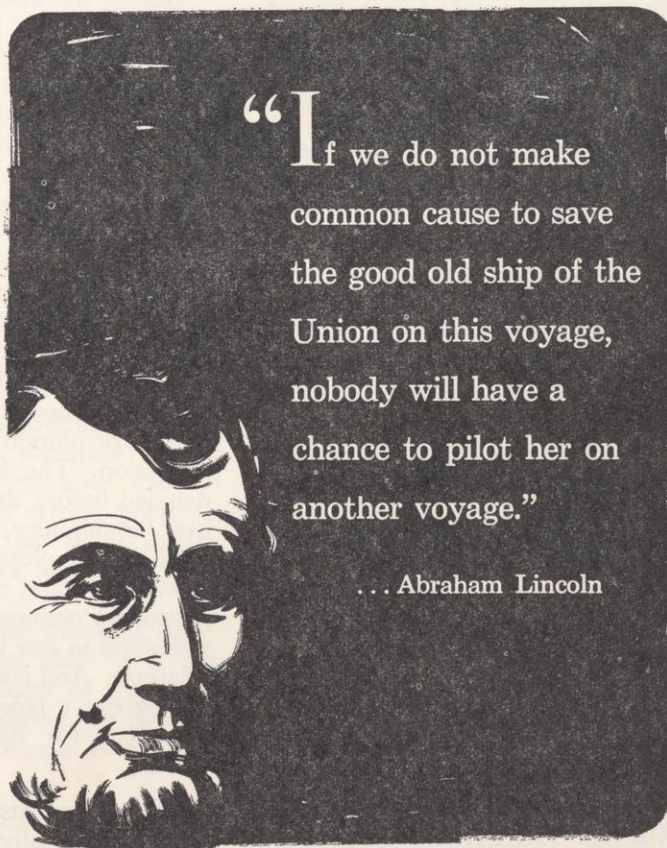
Besides spilling some water on the round-trip, you eventually find yourself being told what to do with the water that remains (or you are told not to return to the communal well) although it is your own water you are rationed.

Education means learning. And the principal lesson one learns about federal subsidies to schooling is that you receive considerably less than was confiscated from you to start with. The handling costs get more excessive as the bureaucracy grows.

Wouldn't it be wiser and more economical to keep the water at home in the first place?

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“If we do not make common cause to save the good old ship of the Union on this voyage, nobody will have a chance to pilot her on another voyage.”

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CLIMBING TO DEFEAT

SUMMITRY

ROGER CLAUS

President Kennedy will soon be called upon to meet Mr. Khrushchev at the Summit. In anticipation of this contingency, I have asked myself a number of questions that should concern any American who has even the slightest interest in foreign policy. These questions are important because they shed light on the *big* question of whether it is advisable for the President to go to the Summit in the first place. The questions, which will overlap and complement each other throughout the discussion, are: (a) Can we possibly gain anything at the Summit? (b) Is it even possible to negotiate with the Soviets? (c) Will the Soviets honor any promises they might make? (d) Does history show us anything on the subject that we should profit from?

I will begin by examining our history of negotiation with the Russians. A good starting point is the debate which took place in the early thirties over the diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union, which in many ways is similar to the present-day debate on Red China. Russia very much wanted to be recognized, and we were not sure it was the wise thing to do. Roosevelt proposed that we should "see what they are doing. Bring the whole Russian question into our front parlor instead of back in the kitchen." And to facilitate his idea, he sent Hull and Morgenthau to investigate the possibilities of rapprochement with Russia. They, as well as the Soviets, were well aware of the factors that stood in the way of recognition. There remained from the twenties a deep distrust of the international implications of Marxian radicalism. There was decreasing hope that the Russian

people would throw off their leaders. The question of the Czarist debt to us was also a problem, and it was obvious that the Soviets were in no hurry to pay. The State Department felt that we would be wise to settle the debt matter *before* recognition, when we had greater bargaining leverage, but Russia, in an effort to obtain quick recognition, made a series of promises intended to smooth the way to settlement. Taken in by these promises, we went ahead to what I would now call our first "Summit."

THE FIRST FIASCO

During the first "Summit," when war would have been catastrophic to the new revolutionary regime in the U. S. S. R., she cried for "indivisible peace." "If only you would recognize us," we were told, "all would be peace and harmony thenceforth." Other pro-recognition arguments were rushed to the fore. The editors of *International Press Correspondence* made the curious assertion that recognition would "increase the courage and confidence of the workers and deliver the deathblow to the inner counterrevolution" — an interesting admission. The lure of trade was dangled before the American business community, and it brought forth many pleas for recognition. *The Nation* and the *New Republic* hailed the coming recognition as a milestone in our history of foreign relations. And lastly, the spectre of an aggressive Japan was raised as an argument for the recognition of Russia.

The arguments against recognition were equally cogent. In 1933 the experts in the State and Treas-

ury departments warned that "it is only fair to point out that even the most ironclad guarantee would no doubt have been violated without hesitation by the Soviet government had it been in its interest to do so." The Russian promises, however, finally seduced the doubters in this country — as they have ever since.

Among the terms of recognition were "detailed pledges by the Soviet Government to refrain from participation in or encouragement of any propaganda or subversive activity which would affect the U.S." In fact, article two of the recognition document pledged the Soviet Union to *prohibit* any subversive activity by the agents of its government, or by individuals directly or indirectly under its control. Article four went even further. It pledged "not to permit the formation on its (U.S.S.R.) territory of any organization which has as an aim the overthrow of the political or social order of the United States . . ." Article four, we were told, applied directly and unequivocally to the Third International and its operation in the U.S. through the American Communist Party! Beguiled, we signed, and the dawn was not long in coming.

The first sour note, and the harbinger of many more to follow, was the almost immediate *Daily Worker* story which assured the American Communist Party members that the commitment in no way affected their activities. "After all, comrades," Litvinov was quoted as saying, "you should by this time know how to handle the fiction of the tie-up between the Comintern and the Soviet Government . . ." Unabashed, we asked about the matter of debt and were told, bluntly, that "no nation pays its debts." When gently prodded with the threat to withhold our trade from them, the Soviets announced that they could do without our goods. "The Russians," said the *New York Times*, "sat back and gravely went through the forms of negotiation while laughing up their sleeves at Amer-

ican simplicity. Now they add a touch of irony by explaining that they no longer want the goods they professed to be so anxious to obtain." In July 1935, the Comintern added the final touch. It disposed of the non-subversion pledge in the Terms of Recognition. "The Soviet Government," it declared, "cannot take upon itself obligations of any kind with regard to the Communist International." So much for Summit One.

THE SECOND FIASCO

The series of attempts during World War II by Franklin Roosevelt to sweet-talk the Russians out of their long range goals can be grouped together under the heading of Summit Two. There is no need to dwell on the ultimate result; suffice to say that Russia extended its domination over East Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, East Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Mongolia, Manchuria, North Korea, and soon after, Mainland China. The question is, how did she achieve her ends through "summitry," and the answer is, that she was bargaining with a man who thought he "knew" the Soviets just as well as those Summiteers of today think they do.

When President Roosevelt returned to Washington after Teheran, Bullitt, his former ambassador to the Soviet Union, begged him not to appease the Soviet Dictator, reminding him of Munich and of the Nazi-Soviet pact. F.D.R. replied: "Bill, I don't dispute your facts, they are accurate. I don't dispute the logic of your reasoning. I just have a hunch that Stalin is not that kind of man. Harry Hopkins says that . . . he doesn't want anything but security for his country, and I think that if I give him everything I possibly can and ask nothing from him in return, *noblesse oblige*, he won't try to annex anything and will work with me for a world of democracy and peace." Bullitt was speechless at this school-girl naivete, and he asked Roosevelt if he had ever bothered to read the

Soviet *Mein Kampf*, (*Principles of Leninism and History of the Communist Party, Short Course*.) Roosevelt admitted he never had.

So much for "Summit Two."

Quite apart from school girl naiveté, is it, in fact, possible to negotiate with the Soviets at all? The question, of course, refers to the *meaningful* give-and-take negotiation that all Americans are familiar with. I say that this kind of negotiation is impossible, and I would suggest that those who disagree with me do not appreciate the Soviet interpretation of the word "negotiate," nor of the use to which "negotiations" are put by them.

One of the contributors to a book called *Negotiating With the Russians*, which is composed of articles written by men who have had experience with the Soviets at the bargaining table, states: "we were forced to the conclusion that the Soviet delegates were more interested in propaganda than in negotiations, and that their propaganda was directed almost entirely to the emotions . . . rather than to the intelligence." Another states that "you can *successfully* negotiate with the Soviet Union if your ultimate ends and theirs are the same." Still another states that "it is almost axiomatic that the vigor, vindictiveness, spleen, and outright dishonesty of the Soviet argument increases in direct ratio with the weakness of its position."

Proponents of Summitry have argued that the weakness in our negotiations up to now can be traced to human errors, implying that negotiation, per se, is worthwhile but that we must find more talented negotiators. One of the experienced men in this field, however, pointed out that "it is not difficult to be master of any game in which one reserves the right to make or break the rules as the game progresses."

Because we scarcely heed the implications of this statement, we assume a crushing disadvantage right

at the outset. This disadvantage is inherent in the Western view of negotiation itself, which is entirely different than the Russian concept of negotiation. One of the experts pointed out that "Soviet leaders approach their international relations without any of the inhibitions inspired by morality, integrity or any other virtue." We, on the other hand, feel that moral force is on our side, and to forsake morality at the bargaining table is to negate the goals of negotiation. Our representatives are generally given a flexible set of goals to achieve; they are allowed to "think on their feet" and are trusted to use common sense and a sense of what is in our best interests. The Soviet negotiator, however, is so much an ideological slave that any minor concession or relinquishment opens him to the charge of "falling captive to imperialist insinuations." We view bargaining as a give-and-take process; we are prepared to sacrifice a point to gain a point. To the Russian, a minor concession appears as a sign that Soviet principles are stronger, and that with iron will there will be more where that came from. The Soviet purpose in negotiation is *not* to reach agreements, but to undermine the moral stamina of its opponent. Our alternatives, therefore, are simple: either adopt their methods, lose our shirts, or stop negotiating. Our Western morality rules out the first; number two would eventually plunge us into slavery; the last idea is common sense.

PROTRACTED WAR

In the "new" era of protracted cold war, the practice of head-of-state negotiation cannot help, but can only hinder us in winning the cold war. The tactics of the Russians have now entered a new phase in which the revolutionary millennium has been discarded in favor of "protracted conflict." Formulated in the mind of Mao Tse-Tung, the strategy of protracted conflict postpones the decisive battle and calibrates its challenges to a calculus of risks — until the balance of power

has shifted overwhelmingly to the side of the revolutionary forces. It is a doctrine of carefully measured shifting and pacing of tactical offense; it confuses the foe, keeps him off balance, and wears down his will to resist.

Another detriment to negotiation is a sort of word-deception which the West never seems to fathom. Peace, to us, for example, means the world in a state of tranquil repose, but the Soviets view "peace" as merely the continuation of war by other means. Americans feel a sharp dichotomy between "war" and "peace" but the Russians have blurred the distinction in their own minds to the point that peace merely consumes less gunpowder.

This new era of protracted conflict exposes the basic difference in the manner in which Summitry is viewed by the U.S. and the Soviet Union. We enter negotiations with a childlike hope for a settlement (favorable to us) in the cold war. The Soviets enter the bargaining chambers seeking to establish another base in which to maneuver without disturbing our slumber. The result: the Russians achieve whatever they set out to do. Our hopes and our naive anticipations subject us to a numbing let down, which gives our liberals of little faith the license to ponder the viability of Western Civilization.

FORBIDDEN GROUND

The Soviets have divided up the globe into a "war zone" and a "peace zone." The "war zone" is the nonCommunist world, while the "peace zone" is the Communist bloc. A cursory glance at the history and progress of the cold war quickly reveals that the "peace zone" has been virtually closed to Western intervention as well as the ministrations of the United Nations. The cold war has been fought almost entirely in the "war zone"; all negotiations, in fact, have dealt with the "war zone"! By Soviet edict, the "peace zone" is *never a subject of negotiation*. In all the "war zone" bargaining, the West has been will-

ing to give-and-take in the spirit of what it knows as negotiation, with the result that a Western "victory" maintains the *status quo*. But a Soviet "victory" means that they gain ground previously closed to them. This situation lends itself to a homely analogy of two football teams playing perpetually on one team's side of the fifty yard line.



The defensive team can, at best, salvage only a tie; the other team seeks victory, and gains it at the first falter of its opponent. The analogy is valid. In our "game" with the Soviets, we permit them to lay down the rules. Their very ideological nature *precludes* discussion of the "peace zone"; ergo, we meekly allow the cold war to be fought over non-Communist real estate.

Our whole program of foreign policy is couched in terms of maintaining the status quo. Summitry can only reflect this policy; so long as our goals remain static, we can't expect a miracle at the top. Were we, however, to go to the Summit demanding to discuss the enslaved nations of the Eastern orbit, the best we could possibly hope would be for Khrushchev to have an apoplectic fit while pounding on the table in insane rage. He would stalk out in a huff — and we would have blown a chance to "ease tensions."

The protracted conflict has weighted us down with another crushing disadvantage in regard to a Summit meeting. For one reason or another, we have not been able to heed the edict "know thine

enemy." We give every sign of being ideologically illiterate. Primarily due to the influence of "liberal" intellectuals upon our policy makers we have not, as yet, realized that the Soviet Union is at *war* with us just as surely as if she were bombing our cities. Therefore, "we know not" our enemy's long range goal and his means of achieving it. Our halting resolve to pierce the Iron Curtain prevents us from gaining fuller knowledge of Russia's short-range day-to-day tactics. For example, our top policy makers credited the Soviets with nuclear parity almost from the day the Russians detonated their first atomic bomb—the size of the stockpile and delivery systems notwithstanding.

The Soviet's cold war military tactics seem to baffle us. We are deluded by the conflict-fanning arms shipments through satellite proxies. We half-believe the phony concept of "volunteers" and some of us actually thought that we were fighting Chinese "volunteers" in Korea. We allow ourselves to engage in fatuous debates over the changing nature and goals of the Communist system. It seems that we have not even discovered the Soviet device of deliberate falsification of economic data. In the space race, we continue to take the Tass-published weight of Soviet space satellites as the most significant sign of Soviet rocket capabilities. Clearly, we do not "know our enemy."

At the present we are obviously unfit for Summit negotiation, and we will remain so until we rectify our damning lethargy, and start trying to loosen Russia's hold on Eastern Europe and Asia. This "isolationism" of the liberals is supreme folly in view of the explosive political situations we could be creating which would keep Russia completely busy handling her own satellite capitals. It is doubly damning to us because Russia has already shown us that she worries a great deal about satellite strife. Her moves to mollify her satellites and the West, each in relation to each other, show how scared she really is of

(Continued on Page 17)

The Worm Turns

Is Liberal Conformity The Heart of Nationalism?

HENRY HEMPE

In the past, America has been commonly called the "Great Melting Pot." What this term implies, of course, is that this country has served as a refuge for peoples of various and sundry nationalities, and that their cultures, though still distinct and identifiable, have been blended together to form a single American Heritage. It is no exaggeration to say that whatever greatness and nobleness America possesses is due to this mixing process.

Most of the ingredients in this American Heritage came from an older Western European civilization, primarily that of the English. But to say that this Heritage is only an extension of Anglo-Saxon custom is to grossly limit the true state of affairs. Slavic, Latin, Negroid, and Mongoloid groups have also had an undeniable impact on the "American Way of Life." Although their contributions to American Culture are sometimes underrated in an English speaking land, they do exist and have real value. They are akin to the last cup of water needed to fill a quart jar; without that last cup, the jar, though mostly filled, still remains incomplete.

Traditionally, Americans have been proud of this unified, yet paradoxically diverse culture, which they regard not a process of mongrelization, but as the highest form of selective breeding.

Almost needless to add, this concept of the American Culture is a patriotic one. It implies a love of a whole country — the land and its people. It manifests a respect for

a whole country — the products of the land, the products of the people. It is, in short, an intense pride in all the parts that make up the whole.

It is unfortunate that there is, at present, a trend in the Republic to destroy, or at least visibly modify, this American Heritage. The adherents of this movement, masquerading under the pliable guise of egalitarianism are attempting to create a monolithic American character, and discard the heterogeneous political and social traditions which have led America to a position of world leadership. These people are hardly patriots; if they deserve any name, they must be called "nationalists."

GUILT TURNS

These liberal creators of American conformity accuse Conservatives, who are dedicated to the perpetuation of the American Heritage, of the sin of nationalism, when, in truth, it is they who deserve the opprobrium of "nationalist." If the charge of "nationalism" directed towards Conservatives were based in fact, the Liberal position would be even more embarrassing and hypocritical. How is it conscionably possible for a Liberal to condemn Conservative "nationalism," when out of the other side of his mouth he advocates "fair play" for Cuban nationalism? But the truth is that Liberals not only bark for Cuban, or Arabian, or African nationalism, but, by example, for American nationalism as well.

Much of the Liberals' assault is directed against the America First foreign policy advocated by Senator Barry Goldwater in his *Conscience of a Conservative*. They would have us believe that since Goldwater and other Conservatives resent attempts to give a piece of American sovereignty to a World Government, they are, *ipso facto*, nationalists.

Nationalism and patriotism are not synonymous, however, and what Liberals mean when they accuse Senator Goldwater of nationalism is that he is a patriot. When these two words are examined with a patience that the careless haste of the Liberal precludes, there is found to be a significant differences between them.

SEMANTIC CLARITY

Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary gives as the first definition of the word, "nation," the following: "1. A people connected by supposed ties of blood, generally manifested by community of language, religion, customs, etc." This explanation is prefaced with the brief statement that the word's etymological origin is the Latin "natio" which is translated as nation or race.

In point of fact, a nation is quite a different thing than a state. Hitler, for instance, was attempting to build a nation, i.e., "a people connected by supposed ties of blood . . ." The United States of America, on the other hand, is a number of races unified under one government. By definition, alone, it is a state. While it is true that many who should know better have confused a state with a nation, this does not modify the factual implications of either.

In *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* there is also an explanation of "nationalism," to wit: "1. National character; nationality. 2. An idiom, trait, or character peculiar to any nation." It is tautologous to add that a nationalist is one who practices nationalism. Where, then, does this lead?

To say that nationalism is an "idiom, trait, or characteristic peculiar to any nation" (and remembering that it is generally manifested by community of language, religion, custom, etc.), is tantamount to saying that it is a trait which only similar people possess — people of one race, for instance.

Far from being passive, Nationalists are filled with the proselyting zeal which drives missionaries into strange lands. If everyone in their particular country doesn't happen to fit the norm, isn't the same, but has some spark of individuality which sets him apart from the mass, these self-styled egalitarians will spare no effort to hammer the different ones into the desired mold.

So sure are they that theirs is the "enlightened" way, or so afraid that theirs cannot meet the test of challenge, that all different or varying philosophies and practices must be either altered or junked, depending upon the degree of heresy. A common people, a common doctrine, a common tradition, common race — this is the rallying cry of the nationalist. And, often he wins exactly that which he professes to want — that which is common!

SAMENESS FOSTERED

How, then, does this fit the Liberal philosophy? As a matter of fact, there are a number of kinetochores which connect nationalism with present Liberal belief.

The field of education serves as one example. Supposedly standing on the tenets of John Dewey, Liberals ignore the gifted student, boost the dimwit up, and thus achieve some sort of balance or median. The "well adjusted" child is now what is being sought, but well adjusted mediocrity is generally what is gained.

Liberal educators try to build an ideal social environment out of the school, but putting into it only that which they consider good, and omitting all which they believe to be harmful. One of the "pernicious" aspects thus being forgotten is that of failure. Oblivious to the fact

that most progress is made on the foundation of previous failure, these egalitarians have dropped the old concept that promotion should result from achievement, and automatically pass all pupils from one grade to the next, regardless of whether a child has successfully completed the traditional minimum requirements of his year's efforts in one grade.



This, it is argued, is the "democratic" way of doing things. The child must not be made to feel different than his contemporaries. Put them all in the same classification (whether they really are alike, or not) and a happy (though uneducated) child will result. When the child grows to adulthood, he and his mediocre brothers are somehow expected to improve society, despite the fact that he has been rendered incapable of even improving his own mind.

In other areas, a similar picture exists. Professing to be concerned with the rights of minority groups, racial agitators are razing the traditional neighborhood school, and are trying, instead, to get some sort of "equal" distribution. Now, it is not even enough that schools in mixed neighborhoods integrate, but there must also be the same proportion of Negroes, or Puerto Ricans, or other minority groups at all schools! Very often this means (as it has in New York City) that a school bus must come to pick up the students in one school district, and transport them to a school in another district so that the percentage of "minority groups" at all schools is constant.

It is not really minority rights over which these agitators are concerned, however. Rather, it is the *right to be different* which they would destroy. Apparently, they are so fearful that the Negro cul-

ture is undesirable, that they egotistically insist on integrating as many Negroes as possible in White schools, even if it entails a bus ride halfway across the city. Rather than being proud of the distinct Negro culture which has made many valuable contributions to our society, they would attempt to make the Negro white. They call themselves Liberals. I call them *racists in reverse*. (Historically, racism did begin in the concept of nationalism or the "Volksgeist.")

Even politically these Liberal nationalists move on their missions of carnage. Federal aid to education (or, more properly, federal coercion of education) uses the dollar to activate the leveling process. Education is no longer a local concern; any schools which do not follow the lines advocated by the national government are in danger of being cut off from federal support. This, in itself, would not be injurious to education, for, ideally, schools and teachers' salaries should be financed on a state or local level.

But, it is quite harmful to the American concept of individualism and freedom for central government to so control education. To say that all schools must fit a certain norm countermands the Constitutional rights of our supposedly free society. If the practice of federal aid continues at its present rate, it is not difficult to foresee the day when a man's conscience is completely controlled by economic pressure from higher authority. Everyone will think alike — or die, and the true concept of nationalism will be fulfilled.

BEHIND THE BLUFF

Of course, the Liberal will deny this charge of nationalism. He will explain his philosophy in terms of equality, democracy, and humanitarianism. It is quite true that on the surface the Liberal would appear to differ from franker nationalists as Hitler, Nasser, and Lumumba. But, scratch the surface

(Continued on Page 17)

DEATH OF A TEXTBOOK

A Young Man Challenged A Keynesian Tract - and it Died

WILLIAM J. ACKERMAN

*A debt of the federal government which is held by the citizens of this country is of little or no economic burden to the national economy. The debt contract says, in effect, "The citizens of the United States, as taxpayers, owe money to the citizens of the United States, as bondholders." As far as the national economy is concerned, it is merely an accounting trick: the left pocket owes money to the right pocket.**

The reading of this statement started a chain of events which brought unexpected reactions from many parts of the United States. When I read it for the first time I was a sophomore, studying to become an electronics engineer. It is a passage from the textbook which was then being used in a course on the Principles of Economics, a required subject for all engineering students at my university. Each time I completed a reading assignment in this book I had a feeling that something was not quite right; that there were some conflicts between the "facts", as presented in this book, and the basic ideas of the founders of this country, as I understood them.

I have always been interested in American history, and had done quite a bit of reading on the formation of the United States, about the men who are identified as its founders, and what they wrote. The above passage troubled me because I remembered that Thomas Jefferson had made some statements

on the question of public debt and they were the direct opposite of the ideas being advocated in this textbook. After paging through some books on Jefferson's writings, I found what I was after:

We consider ourselves unauthorized to saddle posterity with our debts . . . The only safe, the only lawful and honest system (of finance) consists of borrowing on such short terms of reimbursement of interest and principal, as will fall within the accomplishment of our own lives. — Letter to(?), 1813.

I place economy among the first and most important of republican virtues, and public debt as the greatest of the dangers to be feared. — Letter to Governor Plumer, 1816.

It was now clear to me that my earlier misgivings were fully justified: the slanted presentation of opinions (and sometimes plain wishful thinking) as "established facts" permitted only one conclusion — the book disparaged the fundamental economic and political principles upon which the United States had been founded and has grown to become the greatest nation in the world; in place of truth it presented a subtle dose of socialist propaganda.

During the Christmas vacation I had an opportunity to discuss these phony economic doctrines with a consulting engineer. He was greatly interested and requested that I "brief" the book and copy some typical examples of what I was talking about. As we talked, he mentioned that he was going to turn "professor" for a semester and give a series of lectures on his ex-

periences in engineering to a group of sixty seniors and graduate students at a prominent mid-western university. He thought it would be a good plan, in case he ran short on preparing a lecture, to have a good "quiz" question ready and I suggested that he could keep the boys busy for a couple of hours on the question: "State the motivating factors in the free enterprise system and enlarge on them."

Later on I learned that he had used my suggestion, and he was very much disturbed over the fact, that, among the sixty answers he had received, not a single one could be considered reasonably satisfactory. He then discovered that the engineering students at this university were not even required to study economics! He again urged me to "brief" the textbook we were using at my university.

TAKING ACTION

It was almost a year later when I finished the "brief", and it consisted of more than twenty typewritten pages of the more obvious examples of bias in favor of socialism. Since the economics course was now behind me, my first thought was to send the 'brief' to the consulting engineer, and then forget the whole thing. Yet, I couldn't ignore the fact that for most of my classmates this book would be their only textbook on economics and would give the majority of them a false concept of our economic system.

The more I thought about it the more I became convinced that something should be done, and that

*ECONOMICS: EXPERIENCE AND ANALYSIS. Broadus Mitchell, Anatol Murad, Monroe Berkowitz, William C. Bagley. 1950

the only chance of obtaining effective results would be to bring the situation out in the open and call it to the attention of all concerned. As a regular reader of the *Wall Street Journal*, I was aware of the concern which its editors had about economics, education and, in more general terms, about anything that might have an adverse effect on our national well-being. The most promising method of bringing the textbook out in the open appeared to be the writing of a letter to the editor of the *Journal*, in the hope that he would see fit to publish it in the "Letters to the Editor" column.

My first draft of the letter was concerned only with the particular textbook in question. However, I felt reasonably certain that this was not the only textbook on economics which was slanted to the left. I changed my approach to the subject, therefore, and generalized a bit by using our textbook as an example and at the same time urged that other books be given a careful looking over.

THE FATAL LETTER

After writing and revising the letter three times, I finally mailed it to the editor on December 12, 1955. The following excerpts from the letter will give a good idea of its content:

"According to the book, the best way to preserve the system of private capitalism is through deeply progressive income taxes along with high inheritance and gift taxes. Even so, developments in Britain since the war strongly suggest that social planning will supercede the 'hit-or-miss' economy which has survived in this country. The experiment in Britain seems to show that public enterprise is 'surer and more resourceful than private enterprise can be,' and that security and progress can be obtained by no other means.

"At the present time, the most urgent needs are extension of benefits and coverage of Social Security, further guarantees of civil liberties,

The maxim of buying nothing without the money in our pockets to pay for it, would make of our country one of the happiest upon earth.

I consider the fortunes of our republic as depending, in an eminent degree, on the extinguishment of the public debt . . .

—Thomas Jefferson

elimination of slums, raising diets to 'minimum adequacy,' 'effective educational opportunities made available to all,' and a compulsory health insurance program; all these being done by 'immediate' Federal action. The main problem confronting us in the future is the question of whether we want planning by and for private interests or by organized society for the public welfare. We are assured, however, that public claims will surely advance.

"... The impression is given that the only reason America enjoys a high standard of living is because of the efforts of the political and bureaucratic 'humanitarian reformers' in Washington. The overall theme of the textbook can be summed up in one sentence: Public (government) enterprise is good, private enterprise is bad.

"... It seems difficult to believe that the idea of private enterprise will be able to survive in this country as long as there is no effective effort to contradict the socialist propaganda now being taught the majority of college students. It is for this reason that I feel it would be helpful if businessmen would take more interest in the matter. Otherwise freedom and free enterprise will lose by default."

About a week after mailing the letter I received a letter from the editor asking for more information about the book and for page references to the quotations I had used in my letter. After supplying the requested information I heard nothing further for quite a while and was beginning to doubt that my letter would be published when I received a telegram advising me

that my letter would appear in the February 24, 1956 issue of the *Journal*.

Naturally I awaited that Friday's issue with more than usual interest, and when it finally came I quickly turned to the editorial page and the "Letters to the Editor" column. My letter was there, all right, but it was a very pleasant surprise to see that the editor had written an editorial of his own calling attention to my letter. Here is what he had to say:

JOURNAL EDITORIAL

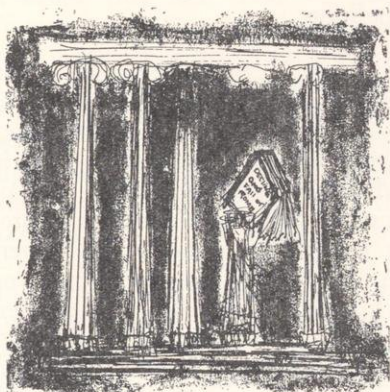
"We recommend to all our readers the letter we publish today from Mr. Ackerman, a college junior studying for a bachelor of science degree.

"In his letter, 'Course in Economics', Mr. Ackerman quite plainly questions the theme of the economics textbook he is studying, and after looking the book over we think he does a fine job of explaining why he questions it. Not all students of the same textbook do question the theme, of course. In the absence of contradiction, or of other views, a great many of them will take the book's precepts at face value.

"We don't mean to suggest that every book on economics used in colleges and universities believes that the 'logic of Marx's position was irrefutable', or that it doesn't matter how deep the Government goes into debt because the national debt only means that since the people owe money to themselves nobody ever has to pay up. Nor do we suggest that there is no way to better our system of private enterprise. Nor do we question the right of the authors to write the book.

"What we do suggest is that whether in tax-supported institutions or in private schools, parents have a right—some old-fashioned people even think it is a duty—to know exactly what is being taught their sons and daughters.

"If they think well of what is taught, all right. If they think ill of what their youngsters are learning, they have a right to speak up. We think some of the quotes Mr. Ackerman offers from this particular textbook will open the eyes of many a parent. We hope they'll take the trouble to open the books their young people are studying."



The response from readers of the *Journal* was overwhelming — I received over 100 letters from all over the United States. They came from interested individuals, college alumni, magazine editors and publishers, newspaper editors, doctors, lawyers, businessmen of every description from the owner of a small grocery store to the president of one of the country's largest corporations, economics professors from many colleges and universities, and even high-ranking officials in the Federal government. Their remarks were both encouraging and gratifying. The following are some excerpts from various letters I received: (Although these remarks are overly generous, I am taking the liberty of quoting them to indicate the great interest which business and public leaders have in the younger generation.)

"My perusal and study of your letter . . . was an inspiring and thoughtful experience for me. I was deeply impressed by the thoroughness of your analysis."

— Retired Railroad President.

"It is good to see young men who have the courage and will take the

time to express themselves on such an important subject, as evidenced by your letter."

— Corporation Vice President.

"It would be a splendid thing if more students in our colleges had the fortitude to express their views on textbooks as you have done. Congratulations!"

— Father of a college student

"May I say that I think that you performed a very constructive service in pointing up the situation as you did" — Consulting Economist.

"Mr. Ackerman is not the first student who has been pressured by a faculty when he criticized the use of pro-Socialistic books by that faculty. However, we can use men with the intestinal fortitude and intelligence exhibited by Mr. Ackerman in his letter to you, and when he finishes school I will gladly assure him of a job." — Civil Engineer.

"My son had such a text but instead of making the courageous and able protest you did, he said the stuff had to be learned carefully or he would be downgraded on the course, I congratulate you."

— Newspaper Editor.

"Mr. William J. Ackerman, whose letter you published with editorial comment . . . deserves a Congressional Medal. He is trying to do as much for his country as any soldier at the front, and unless we soon have more of his kind who are alert to the dangers, there will be little of value left for our army to protect from without."

— Letter to Editor.

INTO THE RECORD

The Honorable Ralph W. Gwinn, Representative from New York, inserted the text of my letter in the Congressional Record with the following introductory remarks:

"Mr. Speaker, I was very much encouraged to read the following letter which appeared in the February 24 Wall Street Journal from William J. Ackerman . . . He protests against the use of college textbooks slanted toward socialism, especially in subjects such as government and economics. Undoubt-

edly there are many intelligent students in schools all over this country who realize that their textbooks are so slanted. It is upon them that we must pin our hopes for maintaining a free and democratic America. . . ."

The president of a large corporation wrote:

"Just so you may know what we, as management of this Company feel about this matter, we have recently given the University of Buffalo \$200,000 for the purpose of establishing a Chair in that University for the teaching of the Free Enterprise System in America."

My "Letter to the Editor" produced effects far beyond anything I had ever considered possible. Although the immediate reaction from the university administration produced a tense situation for a few days, our president announced that the use of this textbook was being discontinued at the end of the semester. Many of the letters I received indicated that the writers had definite plans and intentions to devote more attention to the books used in schools and colleges. In May 1956 the *Journal* published a series of articles on the "orientation of introductory college economics textbooks, as seen through five representative works in use on American campuses today."

AND THEN DEATH

As for the particular textbook in question, a letter to the publishers in December 1955 had brought the reply that nineteen colleges and universities were using it as a text. A similar letter in June 1959 resulted in the following postcard reply from the publishers:

"I regret to inform you that Mitchell et al: *ECONOMICS* is now out of print and no longer available."

In my "Letter to the Editor" I had expressed the hope that businessmen would take more interest in the teaching of economics. The results are beginning to speak for themselves.

JOHN WAYNE!

RICHARD S. WHEELER

There is scarcely a mogul in Hollywood who doesn't hanker for the services of John Wayne. He can demand hundreds of thousands of dollars for doing a single stint before the cinemascope cameras and still find studio panjandruns waving contracts and screenplays at him. The reason, of course, is that Duke Wayne is the undisputed box office king of Hollywood, having been in the lead or near it more years than any other bronco in the cinema stables. The Big Fellow virtually guarantees a profit: even if a film groans under an addled script or stodgy direction, his mere presence suffices to lure hordes of citizens to the theaters and divest them of their dollars.

The amazing thing about John Wayne's great success is that everyone takes it for granted. The fact that he remains at the very pinnacle of popularity year in and year out hasn't so much as piqued a drama critic to examine his acting, or prodded a biographer into a thorough investigation. Perhaps they think that he floated to the top as a child of fortune, or perhaps they think that he is a mere invention of a studio czar, a carefully blown up publicity balloon. But whatever the assumptions, no one has shown enough intellectual curiosity to pierce the barrier of cliches which surrounds him and find out how he achieved such profound success in his time.

There are some people who think that John Wayne can't act. But there are others, particularly those who have played a scene with him, who believe that he is an excellent actor. The masterful British star,

Laurence Harvey, for example, publicly despaired of holding his own against Duke in the scenes they did together while filming *The Alamo*. Wayne's extreme naturalism before a camera bamboozles a lot of people into believing that he is no actor, and probably he is content to have the public think that about him. Yet any critical examination of Duke's acting reveals one salient fact: He is a superb actor, and his brilliance is directly responsible for his profound international success.

THE ENTERTAINER

John Wayne's attitudes toward his profession are as simple as they are classical. It is quite clear to him that an actor's goal is to entertain — not to be “realistic,” not to “duplicate life,” not to “uplift the audience,” not to be “sensitive,” not to be “poetical,” but simply to entertain. If an actor succeeds in amusing and delighting his audience then he has achieved his prime purpose. It follows from this that if he would entertain an audience, he must win its attention and hold it by being the most dominant person in sight. And that is exactly what Duke does: his acting is a matter of dominating the screen. To the great masters of the acting academies, the men who judge a performance by its “realism” or its “sensitivity,” Duke's approach to acting is much too simple, much too gauche. In fact, Duke's approach toward his profession places him at odds with the bulk of present day actors and directors — but it also places him within the spiritual tradi-

tion of both David Garrick and John Barrymore, neither of whom would ever have dreamt of sacrificing a hammy, bedazzling, rip-roaring romp around a stage for such a dull and anemic ideal as “realism.” This is not to say that John Wayne is the master that Garrick and Barrymore were, but only to say that he alone in Hollywood is following in their lusty tradition.

Before a camera, he's like a cosack among peasants. His acting is a sort of warfare, and a well done scene in his estimation is one in which he makes a monkey out of another actor. He's such a master at his game that he rarely bothers to “top” an opposing actor, even when the other fellow, all aquiver, delivers a *coup de grace* of a line, a veritable scriptwriter's haymaker. In such instances the Big Fellow is liable to give out with a laconic grin, return his own line in an amicable, almost bored fashion, and somehow, deliciously, murderously quash his assailant. So superb is Duke at bullying everyone in sight that scriptwriters often give the snappier lines to his antagonists, and let them sass him with real stingers, but this doesn't seem to faze him at all. If anything, this practice helps to make a contest out of a scene that would otherwise be all Duke.

This gutsy approach to acting evokes a rich and sanguine response from Duke's audiences, and is responsible in great measure for his success. A good Wayne fan is conditioned to salivate at the sight of theatrical warfare, and he awaits each clash of will with an indescribable anticipation, undoubtedly similar to the excitement of the Romans back when the top bananas were lions and the straight men were Christians.

Much of Duke's success stems from his sheer cheerfulness on the screen. There is always a gleam in his eye, a wry little reminder that all the uproar in front of the camera is, after all, make believe. Most

Wayne films have a sunny quality about them which warms the bones and lifts the soul of the viewer, and in the best dramatic tradition they relieve tension with liberal doses of horseplay and low humor. In one picture a whole scene was devoted to the solemn business of removing a bullet from Ward Bond's left buttock.

From this rich vein of good humor comes the most singular and provocative aspect of Duke's acting. In a tense dramatic situation, where almost any normal, humdrum star would do his utmost to impress upon his audience the stark danger and mortal peril that he faces, the Big Fellow on the contrary, becomes positively cheerful. In fact, the greater his dilemma, the wider his grin. Whenever he can unwind his big, lean frame in a roaring barroom brawl, and knock the skulls of two thugs together, or clobber the saloonkeeper, or plug the crooked mayor and his six hired guns, or hogtie a couple wriggling dancing ladies, his face assumes an expression of benign radiance. Nirvana, for Duke, is to be surrounded by three hundred bloodthirsty Apaches.

BEST GIMMICK

In a subtle way, he never admits that he is in any trouble at all, and this attitude invests him at once with the true heroic quality. His writers have discovered this extraordinary facet of his acting, and have capitalized upon it. For instance, there will be a series of shots showing the despair of men who are waiting through the eternal night for the frightful Indian raid at dawn. One shot will show a man pacing nervously, another will show a man writing his last letters, another will show a man smoking unhappily — and then there will be a shot of Big Duke, snoring blissfully. This is a simple device, yet only John Wayne has ever really mastered it. In his hands, it has been as potent as any theatrical gimmick ever invented, and a major reason for his box office success.

Hotblooded vixens and temperamental tamales make the best sort of heroines opposite John Wayne. Customarily he treats them with great courtesy and gallantry — and with the same amused spirit as if he were patting them on the head and slipping them a dime for a lollipop. Occasionally he goads them into a ripsnorting, nail-scratching assault upon him, but he always manages to be grinning through the storms, and so their tempests remain in the teapot. Duke never whimpers



and whines his way through a love scene: he roars, slaps the lady on the rump, and then wraps his meat-hooks around her until her struggles turn into wiggles at the fade out. This no-nonsense attitude usually sets the female viewers to sighing, and thinking dour and un-Christian thoughts about their husbands and gentleman friends.

John Wayne could scarcely be called an Apollo, but that doesn't seem to matter. His eyes are too small and too pale, while his nose is an ungainly blob of protoplasm which overhangs a thin mouth and a massive jaw. Beneath each eye is a baggy area, lacerated and gullied by weathering. His hair, which extends low about his neck and ears, is a plain Missouri River brown. Out of doors, he squints, and in so doing, furrows his brow into great ridges and valleys. Beneath a weathered neck his shoulders spread laterally in a great plateau of muscle, and seem more fitting for cavalry tunics and epaulets than for white shirts and ties. Yet altogether

his face is remarkable for its ruggedness and virility, and in comparison to the downy, cherubic visages of Rock Hudson or Tab Hunter, it stands out like Jupiter among mortals. It is a great asset.

The Big Fellow doesn't "act" in the sense of modern acting; he simply plays himself. On the screen he is never really anyone but John Wayne. So overwhelming is his character and his personality that he couldn't play a "part" or become "someone else" without doing great violence to himself. In this regard he is just the opposite of the usual actor who is so egoless, so devoid of self that he assumes a new plumage in each of his roles. It's a mark of Duke's majesty that he remains the same character in role after role, while most of his unstable colleagues can scarcely complete a single performance without drifting into several different personalities. Duke is devoid of all the instability and narcissism and neurosis which is the trademark of the typical actor. He radiates the sublime spirit of a man at peace with himself, of a man who knows what he believes, and who is intently trying to live up to his own ideals.

A CONSERVATIVE

Underpinning Duke's lusty approach to acting are some profoundly rich concepts about the nature of mankind. He has an almost mystic belief in what men should be and what men should do with their lives. He loves the Pioneer Spirit in men, with its emphasis upon courage, will, and the struggle to build and be fruitful. He loves nineteenth century men at their best, with their sense of personal honor and their rich gallantry and chivalry. He loves the older forms of morality in which personal integrity and self-sufficiency are more worthy than a shallow, facile humanitarianism. He loves personal freedom, the sort of freedom that permits a man to sink or swim according to his merits, and not the sort of welfarist "freedom" that removes a man's obligations from him and calls that liberty.

Thus John Wayne is a conservative. Rarely does he allow an interview to slip by without injecting into it some profoundly conservative idea or some richly libertarian thought about freedom. Often he expresses himself in a vivid and poignant fashion as, for instance,

snorted Sir Brendan Gill of the *New Yorker*.

For three decades John Wayne has received almost uniformly hostile reviews whenever critics have bothered to review him. At the same time he has drawn more

reviews usually get praised more concretely at the box office.

But for some reason it is always open season on Duke. Apparently the critics are intensely aware of his box office success, and regard it as pandering to popular taste. Brendan Gill says, for example, that "*(The Alamo)* is a model of distortion and vulgarization." *Time Magazine* concurs, saying that "when the film finally gets down to historical cases it proves to be shamelessly inaccurate."

Now, when any historical drama is inaccurate it is not because the producer has a contempt for history, but because it is necessary to to sacrifice some accuracy in order to heighten the drama, and enrich its entertainment value. *The Alamo* is just as distorted as *Richard the Third* or *Macbeth* and for the same reasons, yet the critics are not wont to complain about Shakespeare's inaccuracy. The only logical conclusion is that they have tried to judge *The Alamo*, a piece of theater, by the criteria relevant to a historical documentary film, and in so doing, have displayed a culpable incompetence at their profession.



when he professed his appreciation for "rough, lusty, wild guys who can change into heroes for the cause of liberty."

Recently he produced, directed and starred in his roaring American epic, *The Alamo*, which he made to remind his countrymen of their heritage of robust courage and toughness. The prime purpose of *The Alamo*, as in all Duke's films, is to entertain. But in addition, it is a message picture and the message is from a man who loves his country. Critics usually fawn all over a message picture, but in the case of *The Alamo* they were hostile. "Not like *The Alamo*? What am I, some sort of un-American or something?"

people into theaters to watch him than any other actor in history. *The Alamo* recently brought this enigma in to sharp focus: "greatest picture I've seen. It will last forever," said the astute old director John Ford, who has guided Duke through his biggest box office hits. "Preposterous flapdoodle" sniped Brendan Gill, epitomizing in two words what the critics have been saying about Duke's films ever since 1927. This fantastic disparity between public opinion and critical opinion is unique in the annals of show business. Almost always there is some sort of correlation between the pronouncements of the critics and the judgement of the public; shows which get praised in the

CONSUMER DEMAND

In many instances the critics condemn the Big Fellow for the very things that make him a popular success. "The role of Davy Crockett is taken by John Wayne, who would disappoint us if he didn't play John Wayne," snidely wrote Gill. He insinuates that Duke is incompetent because he always plays essentially the same character in every role. Gill's criterion for a good actor then is flexibility: the more versatile the performer, the better he is. The people who buy tickets, however, don't care whether Duke is versatile or not: they flock to Duke's films because he *moves and excites* them better than anyone else does. This view is shared by nearly all the great theatrical figures in history, who have always regarded the ability to be *entertaining* as the paramount criterion of a good actor.

In review after review the critics jeer at Wayne's masculinity, with an endless stream of oblique barbs and foppish wit. "As Davy Crockett, he demonstrates once again his superiority over the rest of Hollywood's strong, silent types in portraying the unaccommodated man — the natural ignobleman invested with the authority of size and the dignity of slow wits," said *Time*. Apparently Duke so completely outstrips them at the business of being male that they begrudge him any artistic recognition whatsoever, and indeed, seem determined to keep "the theatah" the private preserve of such delicate "entertainers" as Tony Perkins or Noel Coward.

It is true that by the critic's criteria Duke is a failure. He is neither "sensitive" in the current usage of the word, meaning moody and effeminate, nor are his performances "realistic"—i.e., perverse, dirty or proletarian. But it is no more logical to condemn the Big Fellow by these criteria than it is to condemn traditional art by the criteria and values of modern art, and if the critics were in any degree sophisticated they would appreciate those traits which are inherent in his nature. Whether they are motivated by a desire to feel superior to "mass culture," or whether they resent Duke's superior masculinity, or whether they are fuddled by current critical fads, in any case they are wrong and the movie going public is right. The reason why people shell out more dollars to see Wayne than any other star is because he is the best there is. He is a luminescent man and a luminescent star.

Duke Wayne is a relatively young man, and he should be around for a number of years. Some of the old greats, however, are beginning to retire; a few have died, and none of the baby-faced newcomers are filling their man-sized boots. Only Rock Hudson shows any promise, but he acts like a suave organization man and has none of the roar and rumble of Duke. The rest are mere *actors* — i.e., ego

vacuums. They can slip smoothly from role to role without ruffling a hair. More and more of late the scenario writers have given up scribbling with a particular star in mind: any one of the new crop will do.

Perhaps it is when Duke scrutinizes these bland newcomers to his profession that he grows the most deeply disturbed about the plastic nature of the modern American. As a man who loves the ancient meanings of such words as valor, honor and courage, he doesn't like what he sees around him. That is why he poured his whole body and soul into producing *The Alamo* these last years. Perhaps in the chambers of his soul, he intended *The Alamo* to be a gift to the American Republic. If so, then indeed, it is his greatest success.

Ed. Note: This is the first in a series of articles about prominent conservatives. In future issues we will discuss Senators Goldwater and Byrd, Wm. F. Buckley Jr., Sir Winston Churchill, and others.

SUMMITRY . . .

(Continued)

trouble in her empire. She ballyhoos her regular "withdrawals" of Red Army units from Eastern Europe; she fatuously denounces the Hungarian Revolution as a fascist uprising; she arranges the fictional Warsaw Pact to perpetuate the facade of bloc solidarity, all because she fears us in spite of our benign behavior.

At this point I must anticipate a question. How do I explain the constant clamoring for a Summit meeting? I think that the American yen for Summit negotiation is not a victory for Lenin; it is a victory for Pavlov! The technique of altering pleasure-pain signals was used to create neurotic behavior in dogs. It is also entirely effective in international politics to speak peace and bare the sword. Khrushchev fully realizes the advantage in holding the dove in one hand and the missile in

the other. Therefore, whenever we show signs of stiffening, he rattles his rockets and the West promptly broods neurotically on "survival." Chairman Khrushchev is calling the shots in the cold war; he creates crises at will, and, after scaring us thoroughly, he drops them. He has been so successful that our whole mode of behavior in the cold war could only be termed "neurotic."

Once again, I would say that we must not venture to the Summit until we discover that we are not enjoying peace, but that we are engaged in a protracted war to the finish. Only by bearing that in mind when we enter negotiations, can we come out of such negotiations ahead.

WORM . . .

(Continued)

and the startled observer will find a marked similarity between them. "Everything and everyone the same," is their common motto! And while present day Liberals may shrink from liquidating or deporting all those not fitting the established pattern, they seek to mold them and mold history into shapes which mirror the predetermined norm. National Liberalism demands conformity. We already have a New Frontier. Is Huxley's *Brave New World*, then, still the figment of an over stimulated imagination?

It is not surprising, though, that present day Liberals wish to raze the American Heritage, for they have betrayed their own. Classical Liberalism, the doctrine that Man is a rational being who possesses certain natural and inalienable rights, was forgotten by them; Modern Liberalism, the idea that no freedom is universal, was substituted. There is a sort of supreme irony involved when one realizes that contemporary Conservatives are dedicated to the original Classical Liberalism, while "enlightened" Liberals have returned to the nationalism and state control once advocated by Uvarov and Nicholas I. The *worm* has turned!

John Oster

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BOOKS

WHITEWASH OF RED CUBA

Listen, Yankee, by C. Wright Mills, paperback, Ballantine \$.50; hardcover, McGraw-Hill, \$3.95.

Except for the opening and closing chapters, *Listen, Yankee* consists of eight "letters" from an imaginary Cuban revolutionary to his northern antagonist, the Yankee. C. Wright Mills has created a composite Cuban spokesman who is an exceedingly boorish and bumptious fellow — and if the caricature is inaccurate, Mills has done a great disservice to the Cuban people. The bearded one pokes his index finger at the Yankee and he means to tell him off good. "Listen, Yankee," he shrieks, "what we do to your citizens and property down here is what you've got coming to you." According to the revolutionary, or rather, Mills, everything printed about Cuba in the American press is a pack of lies — the whole mass communications system has conspired against Cuba. The press, it seems, is in cahoots with Wall Street and Washington to discredit the revolution in every way possible. If Cuba must seek military and economic solace from Soviet Russia and Red China, it's only because Cuba hasn't gotten a fair hearing in the United States.

Listen, Yankee is a mess. The book skips about from topic to topic and back again, bearing little coherent organization. There is a pitiful dearth of fact, as well as glaring errors of fact. From such a foundation, Mills has launched some truly breath-taking hyperbole and rationalization. What of the hundreds of people in Castro's Cuba who were taken out and executed without a trial? Why, they were Batista underlings and counter-revolutionaries, of course. Of these wholesale executions, Mills comments "We are trying, don't you see, to end the injustice and cruelty that have been built down into our very way of life."

American businessmen may be surprised to learn that their investments in Latin American countries are responsible for widespread poverty in those countries, but that is actually Mills' contention. The only way that Uncle Sam's good name can be redeemed in Latin America, he tells us, is for the United States government to help Castro and other Latin American "reformers" confiscate Yankee industries. If Mills expects the United States, for the sake of popularity, to start championing left-wing causes in the hemisphere, he has misjudged the American character.

Forget the Communist menace, snaps Mills. Neither Castro nor anyone else in the Cuban leadership is a Communist, or even a Communist sympathizer; the Cuban revolution is unique and independent. Yet this book was being written during September of last year while Castro was at the United Nations giving

his famous four-hour soliloquy on the virtues of Communism. And what of the news photo of Castro and Premier Khrushchev fondly embracing each other on the floor of the General Assembly? Another distortion of the Yankee press?

While Mills is engaged in his one-sided tirade against the United States, he ignores such Cuban realities as suppression of the press and denial of the right to vote. Cuban periodicals must follow strictly the revolutionist line, or shut up, or go underground. And Castro's initial promises of general elections have all but been forgotten. Says Mills, "What we are about, we think, is the search for new kinds of freedom." Perhaps being relieved of the burden of studying public issues and voting on them is one of the "new kinds of freedom" of which Mills speaks.

Mills spent less than a month in Cuba gathering his material (some of the "uninformed" Yankee reporters have been in Cuba since Batista days) and he confesses that he had never been to Cuba before. Revolutionary leaders were willing to take him into their confidence, says Mills, because of some sentiments expressed in his previous books. He spent three and one half 18-hour sessions with Castro himself and spread the rest of his time among others in the revolution's hierarchy.

Mills was under the influence and guidance of the revolutionaries for his entire stay on the island, and it shows up in his one-sided book. The long August days with long-winded revolutionaries has convinced Mills that all Cubans endorse Castro and hate Yankees,

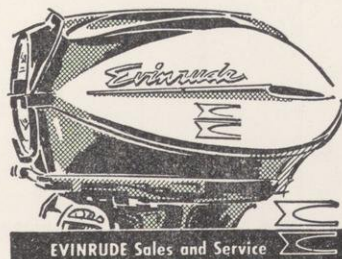
and never mind the growing colony of Cuban refugees in Miami.

Brenda Rotzoll, Wisconsin senior in journalism, took the Fair Play for Cuba trip to the island over the Christmas holidays and recorded her impressions in the *Wisconsin State Journal*. She heard the rantings of the revolutionaries, but she heard other Cubans, too — people who felt affection and respect for the United States. Nowhere are these other Cubans heard in Mills' book. Thank God, the American press is on the job in Cuba so that all the facts can be heard.

— Millard W. Johnson



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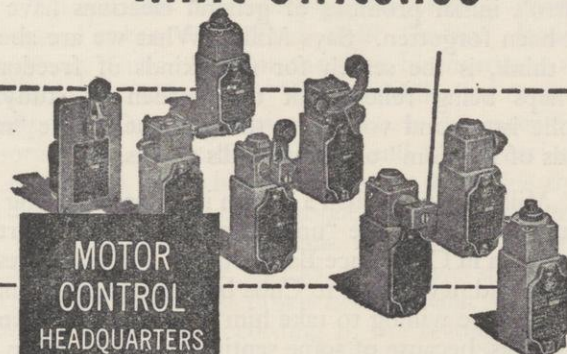
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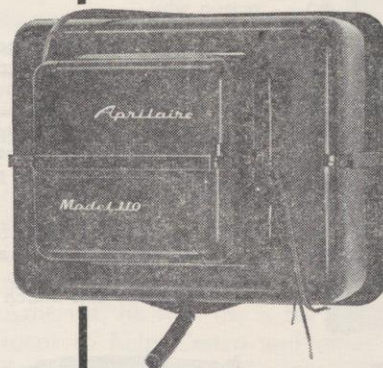
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